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Education for Sustainable Peace and Conflict Resilient Communities

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This book is dedicated to my mother Nada,
who taught me about love, sacrifice, and forgiveness.

Author's Note

Following faraway conflicts in the Middle East and Africa, images of the Balkans appear in my mind's eye, and with them a feeling of profound sadness and unrest. I can almost hear the cries of suffering and the clamor of arms, sirens, and the explosions of these distant, yet somehow familiar conflicts. Then the feelings of anger, despair, and shame set in for sitting in my room writing my book with the aim of mitigating conflicts, while conflicts persist with vengeance all around us. The calling of an author writing about conflict and peace cannot be just to explore, analyze, or research. Rather, the key of her vocation is about not losing touch with humanity. Above all, it is about empathizing with, caring about, and loving her fellow human beings. With this stance, and as an individual that has worked as a practitioner in both the conflict-resolution and academic fields, I humbly introduce my topic, trying to identify ideas that would contribute, if only in a miniscule way, to a much-needed change in handling and resolving conflicts in which education can play a pivotal role.

This book is not only an expression of my desire to find ways of dealing with conflict constructively. It is also an expression of the willingness and graciousness of many people who helped me along the way. I would like to thank my mentors, particularly my dissertation committee chair, Dr. Dennis Sandole. His knowledge and passion for the former Yugoslavia has been an inspiration. Dr. Karina Korostelina imbued me with her love for history education and Dr. Mills Kelly provided an important historical perspective. My special appreciation goes to my mentor, Dean Andrea Bartoli, who enabled me to grow as a scholar and challenged me to think

beyond the confines of current theories and practices of conflict analysis and resolution. I would also like to thank my student and research assistant, Malaak Jamal, who helped with proofreading and formatting.

Most of all, I am grateful to my family, my mother Nada, father Zdravko, brother Borko, nephew Marko, grandmothers Ana and Milosava, and grandfathers Janko and Djordje. They were often baffled by my choices, but they never failed to believe in me.

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Introduction to Education
for Sustainable Peace

This book is not about peace education, but about education for sustainable peace. While peace education focuses on teaching students about concepts such as human rights, freedom, and environmental protection as well as skills for managing conflicts, education for sustainable peace has a much broader meaning. It suggests a comprehensive education strategy to introduce positive change and contribute to sustainable peace in different contexts. This book aims to articulate the practice and theory of education that enables the emergence of conditions for sustainable peace. It will do so by examining the agency of different actors involved in educational programs and initiatives contributing to conflict-resilient communities, and the dynamical process of those communities' interactions with the larger societal structures. Analysis focuses on innovative solutions as well as major issues facing education in conflict-stricken societies such as the use of memory, economic factors, gender, and extremism.

Although education is viewed as a universal and fundamental human right, the design of educational policies, schooling models, and curricula, rooted in the intellectual culture of the Enlightenment and the rising industrialization of the previous century, has primarily been the prerogative of elites, be they governments, academics, or international actors. This book argues for a different approach to education, contending that there is a need for more inclusivity and open deliberation in modeling educational frameworks. The need for such an approach becomes ever more pronounced in fragile, conflict-stricken societies, where education may be

one of the key tools not only for dealing with consequences of conflicts, but also for creating conflict-resilient communities.

The book's diverse threads of separate disciplines, sectors, and actors will be woven together by a common framework of communal resilience. The concept of resilience has several meanings within the context of sustaining peace and transforming conflicts. It often refers to local conflict prevention and communities preserving peace despite the high probability of conflict inside and outside of those communities. Resilient communities are able to prevent and manage conflict escalation in a peaceful manner despite the fact that they may be surrounded by violence. Educational programs and activities are particularly important for resilience in transforming negative and contentious behavioral patterns into more peaceful ones (UNESCO 2015; Davies 2011). Changing the behavioral patterns, perceptions, and attitudes that contribute to conflict is often key; ways of attaining this change can range from demands for reform and capacity-building to dialogue and managing conflicts peacefully. The concept of resilience implies that conflict transformation is a process that is dependent on the type of interactions and quality of networks that feed into certain dynamics within communities.

Scholarly work on resilience typically examines the ability of systems to adapt, self-correct, and be open to learning when confronted with a challenge. *Self-correction* implies the existence of processes in the system that can be mobilized to address failures and establish equilibrium. Self-correction is not possible if the system cannot react to and embrace the voices and needs of those who are excluded and marginalized, and communities cannot find a way out of a conflict situation if they are not able to self-correct. This is extremely difficult in conflict systems, which are closed, non-interactive, and biased as they do not allow questioning, dissent, or inquiry. Instead, they require a consensus on the correctness of a single story. It is usually "Us" who are correct, good, and victimized, while the "Others" are wrong, bad, and aggressive. These types of systems are based on competition and aggression towards the Others, who are placed outside of the moral and political order, and therefore violence against them is justified as a necessity for the ingroup's survival. Systems rooted in the "Us versus Them" dichotomy are almost incapable of self-correction unless humans develop intentional responses that can destabilize them.

An *openness to learning and inquiry* refers to expanding ourselves through others in a way that creates a relational space where everyone can experience peace through open and liberating relationships. It is only by

finding ways to open up to the Other and learn about his or her needs and grievances that we can create conditions for communities to restore their adaptive functions, which can counteract conflict.

Adaptation to change refers to how the social institutions, cultures, and educational systems of resilient communities change, adapt, and transform, as they are always in the process of co-creation. Collaboratively, such communities seek to build resilience to conflict and destruction; they become home to relationships that can withstand heartbreaks and periods of turmoil.

The concept of conflict-resilient communities refers to the successful resistance of communities against resorting to violence and destructive conflict as they resolve or manage the tensions that exist in their respective environments. Communities' resilience denotes their ability to cope, adapt, and reorganize in response to challenges. In this regard, resilience is not a property allowing a system to resist change, or bounce back, but rather to adapt (Goldstein 2011, p. 360). Within this context, change emerges through collaborative learning, which enables new patterns of behavior and lays the foundations for the prevention of future violent conflicts.

The idea of involving communities—that is, a broader spectrum of educators and learners—in educational and curricular design and deliberative processes is not new, but there are very few studies that actually explore the current practices of such involvement as well as their impact on sustainable peace. By communities, I do not only mean students, teachers, parents, and administrators, but also other kinds of educators and contributors such as artists, civil society representatives, activists, authors, curators, political figures, and so on. There is a wealth of programs and initiatives implemented by these actors that go unnoticed or untapped because of a lack of connectivity, synergy, and deliberation. This book will take a broader look at how to bring those actors together in a meaningful conversation on education for sustainable peace.

By drawing on multiple examples of education-related issues in conflict-resilient communities, we will see how communities self-correct, adapt to change and open up to learning. Many groups have faced turmoil and upheaval, but have overcome challenges and found their way to constructive engagement via educational practices. By learning from a broad range of previous successes and current efforts we can recognize the patterns that are associated with the emergence from turmoil and the ways to avoid future conflict. This book will serve as a resource for teaching and learning in multiple disciplines, including peace and conflict studies, critical education, social engagement, and other fields that engage the processes of contextualized systemic change.

On Education

Before delving into the subject matter and overview of the book's structure, it is important to clarify the author's view on education. As mentioned earlier, education for sustainable peace is a comprehensive and broad conflict-resolution strategy. Education can be used not only as a strategy for peace but also for conflict. On the one hand, education can be seen as a medium for the transmission of values, attitudes, and cultural capital that leads to human progress. On the other hand, education is a stage of contention in which various groups are competing to control or reform it with the goal of achieving social, cultural, or political hegemony. At the very essence of this contention is the struggle over the values and knowledge that are necessary to maintain certain kinds of relationships in the present as well as the future. The argument that education can affect positive societal change is explored in this book with caution, while taking into consideration a plethora of other structural and institutional alternatives that can influence change.

Bourdieu (1977) and Gramsci (1971) are among the scholars who argue for caution about the ability of education to effect change. Schools cannot fully control the preferences and behaviors of individuals, because those preferences are also influenced by circumstances that exist outside of schools, and by complex social conditions imbued with power dynamics often beyond their grasp. Perhaps, truth is located somewhere in-between. The case studies analyzed in this book suggest that we should be open to the possibility of reforming education by recognizing its strengths and limitations in advancing social change and by bearing in mind the preconditions for educational practices to play a role in building more peaceful societies. An enticing vision of "complex adaptive schools," presented by Davies (2003), suggests that providing "the possibility space" for thinking about conflict resolution to maximize connectivity is a way to move destructive conflict systems into constructive ones. Work that has been grounded in the complexity theory has opened up a new horizon for thinking about education as a place in which it is fine for certainty and uncertainty to coexist at the "edge of chaos." It is only then that our thoughts and actions can truly be liberating and produce change.

However, *what does this mean in practical terms?* Systemic change cannot be introduced only by changing curricula, textbooks, programming policies, and teachers' training. The issues and causes of conflict are complex and, therefore, change cannot be thought of in linear terms. Change

has to be undertaken at various levels, by addressing multiple sources of conflict and involving a variety of actors such as teachers, parents, students, administrators, civil society, political and religious leaders, local authorities, advocates, artists, and so on. Communities should be empowered to create a relational space and capacity to spearhead the momentum for change through participation, and respectful and open patterns of engagement. This type of empowerment suggests an axiological shift towards liberating structures and an ethics of care that takes into consideration not merely what is good for the Self or the Other, but what is good for both.

Towards Liberating Structures in Education

When tackling the idea of liberating structures in education, we first need to distinguish between the concepts of education and learning. Learning is not confined to being an activity done within an educational context, but is a constant process that starts at birth and continues throughout one's life. Individuals make sense of new experiences and interact with others in order to learn by rejecting and/or forgetting redundant information, selecting what is useful, and associating it with previous knowledge. There is a distinction between *experiential learning,* which is learning by doing, and *formal learning*, which is a product of teaching or mentoring (Jones 2004). Despite their differences, both experiential and formal learning have a similar format that consists of interaction and the presence of mediators of meaning, be they parents, teachers, peers, or others.

Due to its institutionalization, education refers to established and conservative forms of learning. Learning, on the other hand, is a much broader social practice, which can take place anywhere, and in recent days has even become possible in the virtual world. While education is slowly making its infant footsteps beyond traditional educational spaces such as schools by moving into the virtual world and social media, learning has taken on an anarchic form by crossing borders and devouring everything in its path without asking for permission. We can say that learning is the vanguard of education. Simply put, learning is a revolutionary, copy-left liberating structure of human spirit that challenges the establishment and the status quo, while education is often perceived as the exact opposite (Fig. 1.1).

At the center of education, which provides the formal structure for learning, there is a tension which comes from colliding functions pertaining to the aims of learning, curricular content, and mediators of meaning. While rules and learning format are constantly in flux and being negotiated,
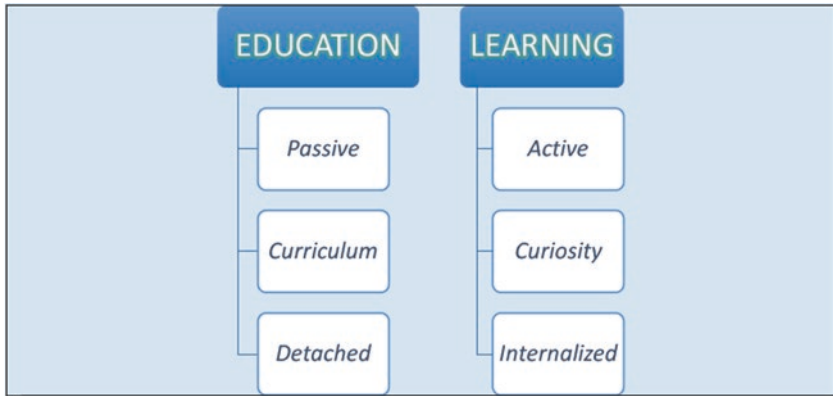
Fig. 1.1   Education vs. learning
Source: Created by the author. See elaboration by Mads Holman (2014) "Education
vs. Learning—What Exactly Is the Difference?" *EdTechReview*. Available at: http://
edtechreview.in/trends-insights/insights/1417-education-vs-learning-what-
exactly-is-the-difference. (February 22, 2017)

their implementation is often centralized and approved by authorities, be
they scholars, ministries, or teachers. It is not the learners and/or students
who are involved in the decision-making process of what to learn.

Although education is seen as more externally motivated, controlled,
and passive than learning per se, it provides a structure, format, and space,
which is amenable to change and necessary for the collective and interac-
tive deliberation of what should be taught and learned. As a formal system
of key relevance for the collective, education has been a focus of many who
characterize it as being charged with tensions and upheavals. The key ten-
sion within educational system arises from disagreement regarding its aims
and functions, which are not universal, continuous, or agreed upon.

In ancient Athens, Aristotle posited that education should foster stu-
dents' abilities to flourish and lead a good life. The problem with this for-
mulation is in its ambiguity as to what constitutes a good life; it does not
recognize the difference of individual preferences with regards to happiness
and fulfillment. Aristotle also posited that education should aim at creating
good citizens in order to ensure that their states can prosper (Aristotle
1984), which demonstrates that from ancient times, education has been
clearly recognized as the establishment's tool to shape its citizenry and
their behavior. Immanuel Kant introduced respect and care as functions

of education, which are to contribute to the development of values and respect of students towards their fellow human beings (Phillips and Siegel 2013). At the turn of the twentieth century, the Marxist and postmodernist perspective on education was that educational systems and the curriculum serve the aims and interests of the ruling class (Thompson 2015; Kellner 2006). Hence, they have a negative role, shaping people's thoughts in a way that contributes to the perpetuation of dominance and the status quo.

A critique of the structural issues and inequality embedded in educational systems is challenged by the American school of thought known as pragmatism, with John Dewey as its leading proponent (Phillips and Siegel 2013). According to pragmatists, students should not be treated as passive observers at the receiving end who are engulfed in a vicious cycle of domination, but as independent creatures who are able to engage actively in the processes of inquiry and learning through interaction with others. Learning occurs as humans are able to reflect, think, experience, and make associations. According to the American progressive education movement sparked by Dewey's ideas, the aim of education is not to impart knowledge to a passive learner, but to motivate an active learner to pursue his or her own learning interests as well as to question, reflect, and challenge different ideas. Dewey and other proponents of progressivism brought into question the very nature of schooling and what it means to be an educated person (Dewey and Small 1897). However, their ideas of education were more in line with, and embedded in, school reform under the state, and were limited to what can be imagined and created within established structures.

Last, but by no means least, are the critical, anarchist, and feminist thinkers, who argue for educational aims typically excluded from the traditional "patriarchal" curriculum (Tozer et al. 2011; Suissa 2010). Their emphasis is on the emotional, intuitive, and empathetic development of students and enabling students to care for themselves and others. Perhaps in opposition to all of the preceding general theories of education, and their rigidity and "objectivity," these theorists point out the mutability of educational aims and content, which are reflections of historical times, dominant beliefs, and conditions. They reveal to us that there is no objectivity and neutrality in designing what should be learned.

A special place in this short overview belongs to Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educator who promoted the development of a philosophy of education known as *critical pedagogy*. Although the influences for his philosophical

framework can be found in the writings of Dewey and the Frankfurt School, critical pedagogy emerged as a full-fledged approach with Freire's publishing of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). This book became a foundation for numerous authors and proponents of critical pedagogy (Apple 1995; Kanpol 1999; McLaren 1999; Shapiro 1990; Shor 1992). Freire posits that education is political and educators must teach for social justice. The ultimate goal of critical pedagogy is to reveal the true relationship between oppressors and the oppressed, and to counteract the reproduction of these relationships within teacher–student power relations. Similar to Dewey, he criticizes the "banking theory" of education, which treats knowledge as something an authority figure deposits in the minds of pupils who passively receive it.

The two most prominent historical examples of alternative schools based on postmodernist, feminist, liberal, and critical pedagogy ideals are the Summerhill and Montessori schools. One of the well-known liberal experiments in education is Summerhill School, founded by A.S. Neill in 1921 in the town of Leiston, England. The goal of its founder was that of "[making] the school fit the child—instead of making the child fit the school" (Neill 1992, p. 9). The school is based on the ideas of freedom, individual autonomy, and equality between all members of Summerhill. Within such an educational system, creativity, originality, play, and non-compulsory learning are promoted and celebrated. Deliberative processes and self-governing principles are benchmarks at school assembly meetings, where everyone gets one vote and students and teachers are treated in an equal manner. Teachers are called by their first names or nicknames, are seen as social equals, and have no real institutional authority over students (Neill 1977, pp. 4–8). Neill's view of human nature is that people are inherently good and that hands-off, non-authoritative education is the way to go. Some authors have offered a counterargument stating that the result of this type of educational system may be self-centered individuals who are unwilling to engage with broader issues plaguing society and who lack social consciousness, responsibility, and solidarity (Suissa 2010).

Dr. Maria Montessori developed the Montessori method of education, which has been successfully implemented throughout the world in thousands of Montessori schools in North and South America, Europe, and Asia over the past 100 years (Seldin 2016). Her child-centered, trust-building educational approach focuses on activities that help children to understand themselves by engaging in real-world activities in their communities such as farming or marketing their own handmade goods. By experiencing human interdependence, students learn about how society

is organized and develop the skills necessary to meet any challenge. The emphasis is on the student, who is regarded as an individual who is naturally eager for knowledge and capable of initiating learning in a supportive, thoughtfully prepared learning environment. The Montessori approach to education is similar to Dewey, Summerhill, and Freire's approaches in that it views humans as inherently good and capable of thriving in a supporting and empathetic environment.

Having lived through two world wars, Dr. Montessori also introduced peace education into her educational curriculum and many see her as the founder of that discipline. Montessori called for ethical, empathetic, and social educational practices that did not exist in the typical public school. As Montessori wrote, "Any education that rejects and represses the promptings of the moral self is a crime" (1992, p. xiv). Indeed, as states are social institutions, which commonly wage war, it is worth asking if current public school systems are capable of producing authentic peace education. This question underscores Montessori's pedagogical revolution. As Montessori wrote, "The question of peace cannot be discussed properly from a merely negative point of view … in the narrow sense of avoiding war …. Inherent in the very meaning of the word *peace* is the positive notion of constructive social reform" (1949, p. xi). While Montessori believed that education was the most powerful and universal way through which to reconstruct society, having the curriculum, or teachers who teach about peace, is not sufficient by itself to result in peace. We must create an environment that will promote the development of peaceful individuals and in which students can interact with care, empathy, and respect.

Drawing on two historical examples, this book proposes that education should provide the necessary space and non-authoritarian guidance for students to grow into their humanity, gain a critical analytical eye, and develop a compassionate and empathetic worldview that is capable of challenging oppressive, contentious, and unjust social patterns. Students should have a proactive role in education in order for them to be liberated from the oppressive relationships imposed by their society. The curriculum is not something that should be set in stone. Rather, it is more of an ideological basis that encourages critical thinking and a continuous moral project that enables young people to develop a social awareness of freedom. Classroom learning should be connected with the unique and distinct experiences, histories, and resources that every student brings to the school. Furthermore, it should enable students to understand that with knowledge comes power; power can enable young people to step out of their comfort zones at a specific moment in time and take positive and constructive action.

Inspired by the spirit of postmodernist, critical, and feminist thinkers, this book may surprise the reader with its counter-status quo claims, which are aimed at providing an alternative narrative which challenges objectivity, neutrality, and hierarchy as necessary for the sustainability and viability of education for peace. Education in post-conflict and conflict-prone contexts requires a shift in thinking about its current format; it poses a challenge to established norms and demands openness and creativity in both ideology and practice. This is not an argument for the dissolution of a formalized educational system, but is instead an argument for raising awareness of the changing nature of education as well as a request for adaptability and openness for improvement by learning from past and present experiences. One of the major goals of this book is to delineate ways to avoid the replication of educational structures from the past that may have contributed to the emergence of conflict and suggest educational practices that can lead to sustainable peace.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2 examines historical narratives and their influence on communal relationships through the case studies of Croatia, Japan, and Germany, amongst others; it contends that educational systems are loci where competing historical narratives often clash with one another, and that the way those competing histories are dealt with can determine if educational systems will become repositories of conflict or of peace. This chapter's focus on the relevance and use of history and memory in post-conflict societies reinforces the claim that historical knowledge is an important component of cultural capital. Memory and history are used as nation-building tools that unify the ingroup by glorifying its actions while excluding the outgroup through the silencing and omission of certain historical facts and narratives. The politics of memory, operationalized through competing versions of the same historical events, is used as a tool to assert, maintain, or challenge the actions, status, and legitimacy of different agents. Historical narratives promoted through educational systems tend to be centripetal and monochromatic (Bakhtin 1982; Gergen 2009). However, the realities that exist on the ground reveal that once the official historical narratives "touch the ground," they tend to have a life of their own and are multiplied through centrifugal forces that stem from experiences that individuals are exposed to within certain relational contexts.

Historical narratives often serve as a catalyst for the emergence of current underlying problems affecting fragile and post-conflict communities, such as economic uncertainty, unemployment, dissonance between expectations and reality, exclusion, nationalism, and structural violence. This book argues that we need to scratch the surface of problems that are associated with the politics of memory; the ground zero for our views of history is our present and multiple voices at the individual and interpersonal levels must be properly recognized. Examining how people on the ground deal with a contentious past can illuminate the local and contingent solutions that must be considered in order to integrate local experiences into peace and conflict-resolution strategies. One of the questions that this chapter tackles is how students both learn and make sense of history. This is particularly important in post-conflict situations, where knowledge about sources as well as mediators of historical meanings is essential for determining approaches to healing, reconciliation, and relationship- and trust-building. Learning is no longer seen as a linear, direct, and automatic outcome of teaching or textbooks. Instead, we need to pay close attention to the mediating effects of students' prior knowledge, beliefs, values, and biases as well as the role of teachers, parents, and peers as key mediators of meaning that induce disconnects and uncertainties in learning about the contentious past.

Chapter 3 focuses on longstanding cultural practices, gender issues, and funding mechanisms as some of the major factors that impede access to quality education in post-conflict and fragile societies. When these factors collude to produce conditions that pull these communities towards exclusionary social relationships, repression, and poverty, the result is usually political instability and conflict. Paying attention to cultural practices, gender issues, and funding mechanisms may be the key for transforming the dynamics of social instability and upheaval into dynamics that promote cooperation and an openness towards learning. During wartime, education is clearly affected by impediments to sending children, especially girls, to school. However, even in times of peace, deep-rooted cultural practices in many fragile and post-conflict societies have presented barriers to the education of girls. Chapter 3 explores the importance of gender equality in education, and its broader impact, by examining cultural practices that serve as impediments to gender equality in education, and initiatives that counteract such practices. It also examines how economic factors and international assistance initiatives influence access to quality education as well as communal responses to them. For example, in many parts of

Afghanistan, especially its rural southern areas, schools have been burned down and there is a lack of teachers. Some schools remain empty as a result of the poor security situation that exists, while in other areas classes are conducted in the open or under tents. Some of the key recommendations for action in Afghanistan and similar conflict-ridden societies include developing teacher training programs and increasing the number of qualified teachers, as well as the inclusion of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations, and local leadership figures in deliberations about improving the education sector. By looking at the issues that impede access to quality education, it appears that secular trends empowered by globalization and modernization will allow for an increased enrollment of both women and men in the educational systems in fragile and post-conflict societies. Cultural shifts in attitudes accompanied by educational reforms will contribute to gender equality and the stability of conflict-stricken regions of the world.

Chapter 4 explores the relationship between extremism and education, particularly with a focus on Islamic and anti-immigration extremism as the most compelling and widespread phenomena affecting the world today. This chapter aims to unpack how a diverse constellation of factors can lead to the creation of positive attractors that incite violence, through case studies of Boko Haram, as an example of an extremist organization targeting education, and the European right-wing nationalism and anti-immigrant extremism that has emerged as a result of an influx of refugees and migrants in Europe. The first case study showcases how a distorted Islamic religious ideology feeds into an extremist attitude towards education. The second case study demonstrates how anti-immigrant discourses have led to the shrinking of public spaces and how misinformation and a lack of educated dialogue enables the rise of right-wing ideologies and violence towards immigrants. The cases are seemingly different, but at the heart of each are the concepts of control and exertion of power. Knowledge and information are the primary and most valuable commodities in the modern world. The case study on Boko Haram will show how education has been used as the main ideological block to inspire extremism, while the anti-immigrant and hate-mongering rhetoric in the West will be examined as a popular tactic among politicians, who use it to garner the support of the disavowed masses. Under these circumstances, educating the public about what is truly going on and overcoming the contention in the realm of public discourse becomes very challenging.

Following the discussion of the importance of knowledge and information in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 will expand upon these concepts by exploring the potential of promoting peace and collaborative learning through innovation whether it be through art, study abroad programs, technology, virtual and/or online programs and platforms, or open educational resources. Innovative approaches such as intercommunal painting workshops, experiential exercises, reflective practices, photography, poetry, improvisational theater, dance, and music influence people's experience of conflict and their sense of identity as well as revealing new ways of addressing challenges and taking action. Traditional education programs, textbooks, and curricula are less likely to be sustainable and effective unless they work in conjunction with other collaborative learning initiatives that genuinely engage all members of a school community, including educators, administrators, students, and members of the wider community.

As a part of its focus on collaborative learning, Chapter 5 will examine student engagement in study-abroad experiences. Numerous studies show that such programs enhance students' global learning and development and lead to the cultivation of cultural empathy and an increased understanding of world issues and relations (Stebleton et al. 2013). Students experience emotional and intellectual challenges as a result of direct cultural encounters, and guided reflection upon their experiences encourages engagement with their peers, educators, and selves (Engle and Engle 2004). However, study-abroad programs should not only be seen as programs designed for privileged students from the West, who will hopefully in their future jobs use what they have learned to help the societies they visited. The argument is that mutually beneficial linkages and partnerships with local universities in fragile and post-conflict societies need to be developed and thought through, so that they can contribute to the development of capacities and human capital in local contexts. Such initiatives promote the values of trust and respect for each other's experiences which can lead to uninhibited and collaborative knowledge creation. Engaging communities in processes of collaborative learning, both inside and outside of classrooms, encourages the free exchange of opinions, relationship-building, and the promotion of peace and humanism.

Chapter 5 will also address how technology has functioned as a key method in educating for peace because of its ability to empower a larger

number of people to engage and participate in collaborative learning environments. Technological tools, communication, gaming, and networking can also affect behaviors that pertain to patterns of violence and peace through deliberative and collaborative processes of shaping peace and conflict narratives. The focus will also be on how technology can enhance the impact of a broad range of peacebuilding, social cohesion, and peace advocacy initiatives, drawing on the expertise of academics, practitioners, and technology experts and their lived experience and work in transforming conflict. The takeaway point from the discussion on technology will be that technology is a tool with which communities can build new participatory processes, foster deeper collaborations, and assume ownership for promoting peace.

Lastly, Chapter 6 will examine how education empowers people to exercise their will and contribute to the well-being of their communities, which in turn contributes to the movement from conflict to peace. Through an open dialogue, centered around care and trust, students can learn to think about issues that are important and relevant to their lives. It seems problematic to infer that a teacher can (and should) merely deposit knowledge onto a student. As Freire (2000) argues, teachers and students must both be treated as subjects. This means that "reality" must be unveiled from a different vantage point and in partnership, examined critically and recreated collaboratively. The task at hand requires us to exist in uncertainties, and within the contradiction of a developing process. "New understanding," known as the moment of insight, comes from *within* the individual student. It is not taught—it is realized when one becomes curious, reflective, and critical. Finally, the student re-engages in the process of learning by establishing co-ownership with the teacher, and in turn reaches unique, individual insights. Thus, the "banking" idea of education, which implies that a teacher merely exists to deposit knowledge onto the student does not capture a *collaborative learning* philosophy and instead inhibits creative power and discourages the often-bewildering capacity of being uncomfortable in one's own pursuit of knowledge (Micheletti 2010). On the contrary, collaborative learning centers on dialogue and interaction as vehicles to achieving collective understanding and individual insight. Educators and students become jointly responsible for a process in which all can participate and grow. With the idea of collaborative learning and synergy between different actors and sectors in a complex system, the final chapter will discuss the key findings of the book and set out a vision for education in conflict-resilient communities.

Conclusion

Overall, this book focuses on developing an approach to education that contends for more inclusivity and open deliberation in modeling educational frameworks at both local and global levels. The community is the focal point for such approaches. Often seen on the receiving end of the traditional educational models, community in this book has agency through its different actors, who participate in the development of educational frameworks and initiatives. The role of community in education is seen as relational; community emerges as key actors engage in the processes of contextualized systemic change.

The proposition is that people should be recognized as historical agents, and the only way to do this is by exploring the originality of their actions, which are always in the making and interwoven in relationships with others. As an alternative to the interventionism and militarism used to address conflict situations around the world, which invariably fail to address the roots of conflicts in their local settings, this book suggests building human potential through education as a strategy to address conflicts. Educating individuals who are able to think critically and who have the capacity to perform autonomous action despite constraining circumstances should contribute to a paradigm shift in approaching conflicts.

It is important to stress that we cannot understand and explain conflict if we only focus on people's potential to do evil and be aggressive and violent; neither can we understand it by only searching for causes of conflict in human *innate* competitiveness, historical traumas, and grievances. We cannot even start to comprehend the logic of extreme violence if we do not have counterexamples of people who decided to reject or interrupt it. By examining the resilience of local communities in dealing with the consequences of violent conflict, we can illuminate the processes and tools that can be used to promote positive views and attitudes towards the Other. This will be an attempt to look for examples of the human capacity and potential to do good despite a heritage of violence; it is a quest for the values of peace, forgiveness, and love that are much-needed but often glanced over in fragile and post-conflict societies.

The last, but not least, aim of this book is to contribute to the peace-building capacity and intellectual capital of local people as it seeks to develop suggestions for improving education with an emphasis on sustainable positive peace,[1] conflict resolution, and collaborative learning. There is a clear gap in knowledge about how education initiatives influence processes at the communal level. The recommendations that will be presented

in this book will be based on an in-depth analysis of key cases and local knowledge that could inform policies and encourage socialization and healthy relationships among different groups.

NOTE

1. According to Johan Galtung (1969), "positive peace" refers to the restoration of relationships and social justice, and the creation of social systems that serve the needs of the whole population. Negative peace refers to the absence of (direct) violence.

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Historical Narratives, Politics of Memory, and Education

Introduction

Educational systems are loci where stories about the past, present, and future often clash with one another, and the way those competing stories are dealt with can determine if education systems will become repositories of conflict or of peace. Stories about conflict are closely tied with the humanities area of study taught in schools and are inevitably a part of history, language, and culture classes. Institutional memory is shaped by governmental entities such as the ministry of education and is then transmitted by academic and religious institutions and the media. Institutional memory's reception varies and there is a multitude of interpretations at the individual level. In societies plagued by conflict, the contentious stories permeate both formal and informal spaces, often inhibiting integration and promoting the creation of cliques and students' separation in and outside schools. Despite the negative impact that contentious stories have on conflict-stricken societies, stories of conflict are here to stay. Narratives about the past—historical narratives—are considered an important part of the cultural capital and collective identity of a society, and serve as a nation-building tool that unifies the "ingroup" by glorifying its actions, while excluding the "outgroup" through the silencing and omission of certain storylines whether they be fact or fiction.

The way we remember history is important for our individual and collective sense of identity, and education is seen as an important tool through which to shape the sense of self and the collective that goes hand in hand

with state interests and beliefs as well as with generating obedience. The use of memory for political goals and agendas is called the politics of memory, which is not only exercised in humanities classes, but also pervades different spaces and practices within education systems, from the language used in the classroom to teachers' ethnic backgrounds and administrative agendas.

The use of historical narratives in identity formation, group bonding and the promotion of nationalist agendas has been broadly studied (Korostelina 2008; Volkan 1998; Tajfel and Turner 2004). History education has also been seen as a tool for the formation of an informed, critical, and accountable citizen (Seixas 2004). However, the humanizing function of history in situations where humanity has been wounded, destroyed, and almost lost, as often happens during the war, is a category not widely explored and put into context. Historical narratives play an inevitable role in post-conflict settings, whether we talk about a past that has been experienced directly or a distant history transmitted via books, television, the Internet, or other forms of media.

It is important to recognize that the memory and stories that give expression to memory are not static phenomena. They often serve as a catalyst for the emergence of current underlying problems affecting the community, such as economic uncertainty, unemployment, dissonance between expectations and reality, exclusion, nationalism, and structural violence. Their constant fluctuation is influenced by the present moment, interests, and conditions. Therefore, the flexible nature of stories can be an important entry point for conflict resolution and for the introduction of liberating structures, which will be discussed later in this chapter. The focus should not only be on the content of the stories, but should also be on the dynamics of how we tell those stories and how they are interpreted. The history of conflict and the way it is told is especially important in relation to students who do not even have an actual memory of the conflict themselves, but are socialized and embedded into certain culturally accepted frameworks of thinking and acting that are fundamentally prejudicial and close-minded.

Rouhana and Bar-Tal (1998) argue that collective narratives gain their centrality in response to current political events while serving, among other functions, as a coping mechanism to strengthen the community's resolve in the face of adversity. When narratives of past collective traumas are challenged by the existence of alternative narratives, those alternative narratives are perceived as a threat to national identity; as a result the latter become entrenched, more salient, and more likely to evoke those past

traumas (Volkan 1997). For example, when a group of authors, Snježana Koren, Magdalena Najbar-Agičić, and Tvrtko Jakovina, published a history textbook supplement[1] for Croatia's Eastern Slavonian schools that presented a diverse and complex narrative of the war depicting the suffering of both Serbs and Croats, this caused public outrage and protests, and the supplement was subsequently withdrawn (Marko-Stöckl 2007). It included a narrative about Serbian victims of the Croatian military operations *Bljesak* (Lightning) and *Oluja* (Storm), as well as the ethnic cleansing of Serbs from Croatia in the aftermath of these operations. To present the other side as a victim was unheard of in the public discourse of Croatia during that particular time period.

Counterstories in any societal context are often perceived as a threat, and especially in post-conflict societies. Educational settings are prone to becoming extremely political, as the views and perceptions of different groups of people clash in such spaces, given that different groups have different stories to tell. The issue of which or whose version of history is taught in schools may become, for different communities, a matter of their cultural and social survival; that is, it becomes a key issue for the preservation of their identity. As Margaret Smith (2005) points out, understanding and honoring the multi-perspectival nature of the past and realizing that different groups experience the same events differently may be more important than searching for common narratives of history, which are often imposed from the outside.

Nevertheless, educational systems are key sites in which to have difficult conversations about the past and explore how change can be introduced into the conflict cycle in such a way that it could lead to sustainable peace. This chapter will first examine how historical narratives shape identities and then delve into sources of memory transmission as well as mediators of meaning. It will conclude by presenting alternative solutions to the negative impact of historical memory.

Us Versus Them

Some of the key factors that seem to be cementing divisions and tension within educational systems are the polar positions among different groups about the past; that is, contentious interpretations of history that feed into the sectarian sense of belonging to a particular identity which is constructed in opposition to the identity of the relevant "Other." The "Us versus Them" dichotomy is a key ingredient in the stories told by

different parties about the conflict which shapes their versions of reality and produces separate sociocultural entities. Thus, the main challenge for sustainable positive peace is that different groups seek to legitimize their own views of the past and the present, through which they affirm their identities and position themselves on a higher moral ground in relation to the Other. As a result of this, people start to diminish the Other, while glorifying themselves, which in turn leads to the creation of new tensions between the groups.

Identity threat, for example, very often arises from people's perceptions that the collectives to which they belong are being evaluated negatively. Negative evaluation leads to the feeling of being threatened, which challenges the need of people to maintain a positive perception of their groups and collectives. Korostelina (2007) emphasizes this point by arguing that group members' identities can become salient and lead to conflict once individuals sharing a group membership perceive that their social identity is being threatened. According to Korostelina, they use defense mechanisms, embedded in their mind either through socialization or transgenerational transmission (narrative) of a negative past experience, to cope with this perceived threat. Underlying the emergence of the perception of an identity threat is the presence of opposite meaning systems that have at their core the idea of a positive, morally pure and superior "Us" and an evil, vicious, and negative "Them" (Rothbart and Korostelina 2006). The implication this presents is that conflict arises and is perpetuated when narratives based on "Us versus Them" become so important to communities that they are central for their group identity (Smith 2003; Wertsch 2008).

The narrative theory of identity is helpful in examining the "Us versus Them" dichotomy as an underlying structure of stories. According this theory, identity is seen not as a part of cognitive structures, but instead as an analyzable ingredient of narratives that include hidden scripts and overarching discourses about others and ourselves. These narratives are drawn from the knowledge stored in our "cultural memory," which is "characterized by sharp distinctions made between those who belong and those who do not" (Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, p. 130). Senehi (2000) argues that "stories create and give expression to personal and group identity by encoding a body of shared knowledge to which persons are intellectually and emotionally committed" (Senehi 2000, p. 48). Narratives are a mixture of master structural discourses, such as discourses of victimhood, aggression, domination, and unity on the one hand, and personal stories on the other. This mixture of structural and personal influences not only

impacts the development of personhood and identity of individuals and groups, but also establishes a certain type of order, which forms the foundation of relationships that position groups and individuals in a particular way, leading to further divisions between them.

Traumatic memories of war and past atrocities serve as vehicles for the continuation of divisions in post-conflict settings. This is particularly true in educational contexts, where a contentious history can be very much alive and persist as a heated topic through constant reminders such as textbooks, commemorations, media or, more specifically, criminal court decisions and so on. When a trauma remains active, the shared psychological and mental depiction of past victimization is often founded on misrepresentations of a large group's perceptions, which leads group members to view the descendants of the perpetrators and/or their ancestors' enemies as extensions of the current perpetrators themselves (Volkan 1998). There is also a feeling of humiliation and sense of loss that accompanies the past victims' shame, which serves as a bonding mechanism, transmitted from generation to generation, linking generationally different members of the same group across time (Jones 2004). However, it is not only shame that bonds the members of a group with one another, but a perceived threat, and fear based on the collective experience of trauma.

The contentious narratives about the Armenian Genocide are an example of how a major historical trauma can be highly detrimental for sustainable peace when parties struggle for legitimacy and shifts in power relationships pose recurrent threats to peace. The memory of the Armenian Genocide is a key element of the ongoing tensions between Turks and Armenians which have during the Nagorno-Karabakh war in the 1980s and 1990s, and especially in the wake of the Soviet Union's disintegration in 1991 (Manojlovic 2010). This war can be characterized as a protracted ethnic conflict between Azerbaijan, an ethnically Turkic state, and Nagorno-Karabakh's predominantly Armenian population, backed by Armenia, who sought secession from Azerbaijan. The conflict resulted in many atrocities and massive ethnic cleansing, committed by both sides. The peace brokered by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Minsk Group only stopped the direct violence of the conflict; arms races, intermittent border clashes, and hostile discourses continue to feed into a negative peace scenario which could very easily escalate into a new open violent conflict at any moment. In the meantime, narratives of victimhood in relation to atrocities serve both sides as justifications for the perpetuation of hostilities.[2]

Going back to the narrative theory of identity referenced earlier, identity does change and is constantly reclaimed through narratives that bridge the horizons of past experiences and future expectations (Gay and Hall 1996; Sachs 2001). The narrative identity approach "assumes that people act in particular ways because not to do so would fundamentally violate their sense of being at that particular time and place" (Somers 1994, p. 624). Within this framework of analysis, people's identities cannot be understood unless situated in a particular historical time period, place, and set of relationships. Moreover, an individual sense of Self cannot exist without the presence of Others. We need the Other to author ourselves and to open up to the possibilities of life, freedom, and the inevitability of living in a community of similar, yet different individuals. We should not assume that we can a priori apply theories that would help us examine human behavior or identity in a certain context and time, nor should we impose preconceived categories on people's views and behaviors in order to explain them. Instead, we need to be humble, curious, and willing to explore the realities that exist on the ground, with an open mind and sensitivity to the dynamics of identity in its historical context.

In addition to the narrative theory of identity, the contact theory provides insights into the ways groups position each other and how their identities are shaped through the separation of Us and Them. The findings of the contact theory, particularly in its early days, suggest that contact improves relations under the conditions of equal status, common goals, acquaintance potential, and the support of authorities, among groups that are experiencing or had experienced conflict (Allport 1979). These optimal conditions rarely exist in reality, where asymmetrical power relations between conflicting groups, lack of support and adequate initiatives from the government, as well as differing goals represent factors that persistently fuel divisions. Additionally, increased contact through educational integration may actually be seen as counterproductive and a threat to minority identity (Pettigrew 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp 2000). Hence, critics of the contact theory posit that it is not contact, but rather the quality of engagement between the two groups that matters. The quality of engagement and interaction cannot be understood by only looking at the interaction within different educational systems, but also by considering the wider communities and contexts in which students find themselves embedded. The influence of divided communities on patterns of interaction among youth has been previously identified and studied in various post-conflict contexts, most notably in Northern Ireland and

Israel/Palestine. For example, Gallagher (2004) points out that wider communal divisions and social inequity are some of the major contributors to segregation among youth in Northern Ireland.

The problem with stories in post-conflict settings is that they are troublingly dichotomous, but at the same time they are utterly essential for the collective and individual's view of reality. They acquire even more potency in educational systems, in which the politics of memory and history have very concrete goals and a significant amount of impact on how students perceive conflict. The takeaway point of this section is that educators and practitioners in the conflict resolution field need to advocate for an awareness of the workings of history or, more accurately, historical narratives in shaping identities, perceptions, and behaviors in post-conflict educational systems. Raising consciousness about the use of history may prove more effective in tackling a contentious past than the creation of joint historical narratives which may neglect addressing the root of conflict within a specific society.

To understand how historical narratives affect the individual point of view as well as the dichotomy of Us versus Them, I have developed a visualization called the "Spiral Model of Time and Narrative". Aristotle defines narrative in his *Poetics* (1987) as having a beginning, middle, end, and a single plot (See Fig. 2.1). Roberts (2001) argues:
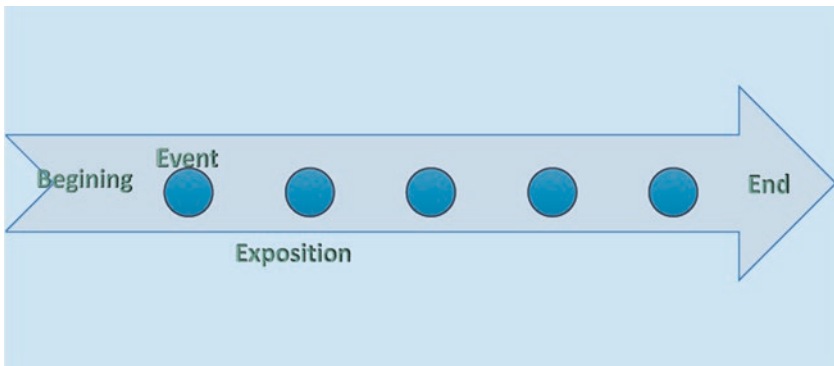

Fig. 2.1 Linear narrative model
Source: Created by the author

> What distinguishes stories from other forms of discourse is that they describe an action that begins, continues over a well-defined period of time, and finally draws to a definite close, with consequences that become meaningful because of their placement within the narrative. Completed action gives a story its unity and allows us to evaluate and judge an act by its results. (Roberts, 2001, p. 424)

Such a linear understanding of narrative structure is often challenged by the complexity of situations and phenomena in conflict and post-violent-conflict contexts.

I propose that the relationship between time and historical narrative is best visualized as a spiral (Fig. 2.2). The spiral model can be very helpful in showing the function of historical narratives in connecting the past, present, and future. The narratives about past events do not have a closure, their structure is cyclical and they are always connected to a speaker's present conditions and future orientations. The cyclical construction of historical narratives takes place around the axis of time, and such a construction is fluid and in traces, because the initial narrative does not preserve its content, but rather changes with the progression of time.

Fig. 2.2 Spiral model of time and narrative. The figure represents narratives as a spiral winding around the axis of time. The model was developed by Borislava Manojlovic. Graphic design by Ross Newcomb (newcombre@gmail.com)
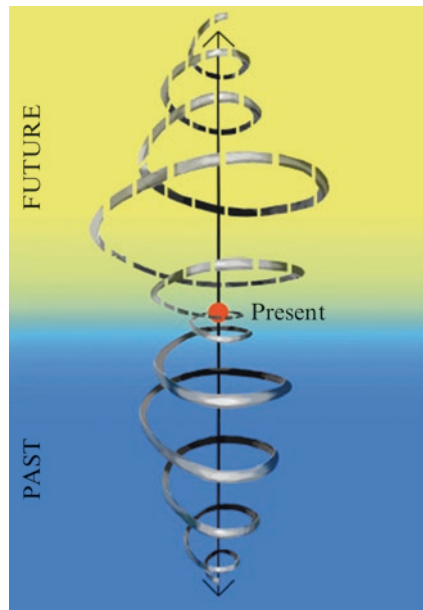
When we say that "history repeats itself," we are only partially right. While recurrent practices, behaviors, and language constructs can certainly be traced throughout history, even the most resilient master narratives change over time. A narrative contracts and widens based on the present orientations of agents. It contracts when there is less space for individual agency, openness, and curiosity, leading to the creation of a uniform, compact and simplified narrative. Morton Deutsch (1973) suggests that destructive conflicts are characterized by their tendency to expand and escalate in terms of issues, motives, costs, negative attitudes towards the adversary, and so on (p. 351). At the same time, "the processes involved in the intensification of conflict result in the harmful and dangerous elements driving out those which would keep the conflict within bounds" (cf. Deutsch 1973, p. 352). During a period of conflict, the number of events increases exponentially, while narratives and their diversity contract, thereby implying that historical time becomes denser during conflict. Voices of dissent are subdued and individuals are drawn towards more simplified, uniform narratives.

During a time of peace, the space for narrative construction widens, as people become more open, curious, and ready to engage with the stories of others. This model also shows that individual narratives are always in flux, dynamical, and responsive to changes in the evolving interactive processes of the people on the ground. In such a world, time is not linear, but axes of the past, the present, and the future interact, creating a complex and dynamical system. Heine (1994) describes "the historical continuity of past and future in terms of an ever-renewable cyclicality and reversibility of time" (p. 1). It can be argued that the concept of historical continuity, in a way, emphasizes the present as an intersection of the past and the future. The present is a crucial locale for understanding the past and imagining the future.

History Textbooks and Transmission of Contention

Official interpretations of conflict as presented in history textbooks function to transmit collective values, beliefs, and convictions. Cronon (1992) examined how the valence, source, and nation of historical accounts of the Korean War affected Chinese and American students' beliefs about their shared past, emotions, national self-esteem, and threat perception in the present. He discovered that historical accounts do have an influence on students' beliefs and emotions. Furthermore, he claimed

that exposure to positive ingroup historical accounts boosted students' collective self-esteem, identities, and emotions, while exposure to negative historical accounts of the ingroup had an opposite effect. According to Branscombe and Doosje (2004), negative outgroup narratives about shared history could have both positive and negative effects on ingroup members, either increasing positive ingroup identity or resulting in feelings of collective guilt. In their study, Gries et al. (2009) posit that:

> … differing knowledge about (a product of education and socialization) and the varying importance of certain past events to present-day national identities creates differences in how the people of different nations respond to historical controversies involving their shared pasts. (Gries et al. 2009, p. 438)

While we can argue that official historical accounts play an important role in shaping identity, and feelings of self-worth, victimhood, or guilt, we need to recognize that these processes not only take place in schools, but are also found in a variety of other settings such as the home and informal spaces, and are influenced by the mediators of meaning and individual preferences.

We should also make a distinction between history and collective memory, with the former approaching the past as an academic discipline and the latter exploring the past as social and cultural practices (Wertsch 2002). Despite the differences in how history and collective memory approach the past, they are similar in that they both are important and problematic for education in fragile societies. History's proclaimed function is to seek historical facts and truth, and the study of memory suggests historical bias and the embeddedness of history or, more accurately, of historical discourses in certain larger structures, be they ideological, political, or cultural (Assmann 2008). However, the border between history and collective memory is quite blurred because the people writing history, historians, and people on the receiving end, do not exist in isolation. Rather, they are situated in certain relational contexts.

To address the relational contexts in which history and collective memory operate, research on textbooks has been conducted in many settings. Whether in formal or informal spaces, the interpretation of history changes with time and surroundings; this is most succinctly expressed by Koren (2009) who conducted a longitudinal study on textbooks in Croatia showing how the narrative after the 1990s war was very different from the narrative at the beginning of the twenty-first century:

For the past ten years, Croatian history textbooks have gone through changes in both methodology and content, which has enabled them to –more or less— distance themselves from the strongly criticized interpretative paradigm that dominated throughout the 1990s. The analysis has shown interpretative differences among textbooks that significantly depend on how their authors position themselves in relation to the problematic heritage of the 1990s: whether their narratives show continuity with those elements that dominantly shaped the politics of history in the 1990s, or try to distance themselves from it and even to question some of its key elements. (Koren 2009, p. 263)

Textbooks, as main sources of the official historical narrative, have the role of communicating politically correct versions of the past carving values, the national identity and acceptable norms that are aimed at creating followers or loyal citizens (Bourdieu 1973; Luke 1988). They are often very adamantly controlled by states as a tool for shaping public opinion and international status. Textbooks have become not only a question of national identity and pride, but also a source of controversy that plagues the international arena. For example, Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, and Technology has implemented strict screening and approval processes to ensure that textbooks reflect the government's position on history and territorial issues. All textbooks have to promote Japan's claims on the disputed Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands (controlled by Japan, but the subject of a dispute with China) and Takeshima/Dokdo Islands (controlled by South Korea, which Japan disputes). The Ministry goes so far as to require subduing criticism of the military's involvement in mass suicides among Okinawans in 1945, or addressing the subject of comfort women (Pollman 2015). The screening and approval processes implemented by the Ministry sparked controversy and triggered anti-Japanese demonstrations throughout East Asia in 2005. The demonstrations were precipitated by the approval of a controversial Japanese history textbook and the proposal that Japan be granted a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) (Marquand 2005). Protestors demolished stores and billboards advertising or selling Japanese products. A few people were injured, but luckily no one was killed.

The book that caused controversy was the *Atarashii Rekishi Kyōkasho* ("The New History Textbook") written by members of the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform (George Washington University Online Resource 2017). The textbook covered controversial subjects, including Japanese war crimes during the First and Second Sino-Japanese War, Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, and World War II (WWII). As mentioned earlier, history textbooks serve as a main source of official

narratives and often focus on major traumatic events. The Nanjing massacre was one of the most important and painful episodes in Sino-Japanese wars, but the said book briefly mentions it as an incident, questioning the number of victims and downplaying the gravity of the events that took place (Romeu 2013). Particularly troubling was how the book addressed the issue of the comfort women who were forced to work as prostitutes in brothels in Japanese-occupied countries during WWII. Some of the book's authors claim that brothels had always existed in the eastern and southeastern regions of Asia and were aimed at Western sailors and soldiers, while others, such as Bradley (2007), posit that many of the comfort women worked willingly in the brothels, as employment in the occupied areas was scarce. This is contrary to the views of most historians, who are in agreement that the majority of comfort women were abducted from their homes and forced into prostitution by the Japanese government and army as sex slaves (Hicks 1997; Yoshimi 2000; Hsu 1993). There have been vociferous demands for this atrocity to be recognized and taught to the future generations.

Contention regarding textbooks is particularly evident in the interpretation of some key traumatic events in conflicts that are emotionally loaded and important for the identities of collectives. In the aftermath of the 1990s conflict in Croatia, its history textbooks have been anchored around the collective traumas of WWII, which left a deep imprint on the people's collective consciousness. The two collective traumas of WWII in Croatia, Jasenovac and Bleiburg, are featured as key themes in history textbooks. Narratives about the atrocities committed by the Ustaša regime in the Jasenovac concentration camp are often addressed in juxtaposition with a counter-narrative of Bleiburg that tells of retributions against the Ustaša perpetrators by the Partisans. These two collective sites of memory are discussed in separate sections in history textbooks, which speaks to their importance as well as their use for different and current political and ideological purposes.

Jasenovac was Croatia's largest concentration and extermination camp and consisted of a network of several sub-camps, established in August 1941 and dissolved in April 1945. It was run by the Croatian Ustaša fascists, who annihilated an estimated figure of more than 100,000 people, including Serbs, Jews, Roma, and Croats deemed as opponents of the Ustaša regime (Manojlovic 2013). In a textbook designed for the first-grade students of vocational schools in Croatia, Dukić et al. (2005) frame the narrative of Jasenovac and the implementation of race politics around the discourses of the Ustaša regime's repression of its political opponents, and the pressure the regime was under from its fascist allies. In the narrative

about Jasenovac, the authors first mention Vladko Maček, a Croatian politician, as one of the first political prisoners of Jasenovac (Dukić et al. 2005, p. 168). It is interesting that even though Dukić et al. refer to the "tens of thousands of victims" that were murdered in these concentration camps, they also point out that "the increase in numbers of victims by the Serbian historians have led to Serbian revenge and hatred that resulted in war in 1990s," (ibid.). The number of the victims of Jasenovac in a history textbook designed for eighth-grade students in primary schools is said to be around 70,000 (Erdelja and Stojaković 2007), or to range from "60,000 to 100,000" (Erdelja and Stojaković 2009), which, according to the genocide memorial archives, would only account for the identified victims; the list of victims is not complete as the gathering of names is still ongoing.[3]

The topic of Bleiburg and the Way of the Cross, or the so-called "death marches" represent counter-narratives in the textbooks that are intended to ameliorate the guilt of the Jasenovac perpetrators. The very name *the way of the cross* and its reference to Jesus' suffering implies the religious, mythical, and almost sacred nature of this site of memory. The narrative in the book starts out with the advancement of partisan units and withdrawal of the German army from the eastern parts of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), and—along with it—withdrawal of the NDH troops and of numerous civilians, primarily the families of Ustaša's collaborationists, who were fleeing from partisan retribution. The textbooks mention that this was a prepared withdrawal, "clarifying" that partisans not only wanted retribution against those who committed crimes but also to get rid of their possible class and political contenders. The people in the convoy wanted to surrender to the British, but the British refused to take them prisoner and they were left unprotected. In the aftermath, the Yugoslav army took mass retribution against the former soldiers in the area near the Austrian town of Bleiburg as well as at Dravograd and Maribor in Slovenia. The number of people in the convoys was estimated at around 100,000 to 150,000, while the number of those killed could not be accurately determined, although the book in brackets mentions an estimate by the controversial Vladimir Žerjavić, who is notorious for underestimating the number of victims of Ustaša regime and proclaiming that the scope of the Holocaust in the WWII-era territory of Yugoslavia was intentionally exaggerated. His estimate of 70,000 people having been killed, was however mentioned in the book designed for fourth-grade students in grammar schools (Erdelja and Stojaković 2009, p. 219). The remaining prisoners and civilians were then sent back to Croatia on foot with the partisan escort, which was depicted in terms of exhausting death marches "… on that journey many prisoners

died of hunger and exhaustion while a number of them was killed…" (ibid.). The textbooks' authors mostly agree that there are a lot of inconsistencies in describing this event as well as a politicization of the number of casualties in various textbooks due to the lack of historiographic research as well as secondary literature and sources.[4]

The lessons learned from the analyzed cases presented above show that these textbooks' narratives tend to have very dichotomous storylines located within discourses of *victimhood and aggression*. This is indicative of the concept of "Us versus Them" addressed earlier; in that these Croatian textbooks place an emphasis on legitimizing, silencing, and justifying the atrocities of the ingroup and demonizing the atrocities of the outgroup. Representations of major traumas from the past in the textbooks contribute to the entrenchment of monochromatic and uniform views of the past, which in turn exacerbate the dichotomy of "Us versus Them."

However, Germany and France's approach to history textbooks represents a counterexample to the approach that was taken in post-conflict Croatia. It represents an attempt to start a discussion about a critical approach to the past, which can lead to healthier relationships between former adversaries. In January 2003, the European Youth Parliament in Strasbourg presented an idea for a project that would place an emphasis on history that unites Europe. The main product of this project, a high-school textbook entitled *Histoire/Geschichte: Europe and the World Since 1945*, provided an overview of France and Germany's post-WWII history (Deutsche Welle Staff 2006). The project was wholeheartedly supported by then French President Jacques Chirac and Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, and it went hand in hand with their political agenda of resurrecting the Franco-German friendship and taking joint leadership of the European Union (EU). Despite bureaucratic obstacles posed by the educational systems in both countries, the first edition of the joint history textbooks was published in 2007. The textbook was intended to boost a sense of European identity and reinvigorate positive neighborly relationships between future generations of German and French citizens during their last three years of high school.

Ten historians, five from each country, worked on the book project. The French and German historians did not always agree with each other in terms of content but they managed to discuss their differences respectfully and were willing to recognize the Other's story. More specifically, they agreed on about 80 percent of the book, but they could not agree on several topics (Gruber 2006). For example, communism was considered

an important political platform in France in the 1950s and 1960s, and the French historians felt that this was a topic that needed to be historically recognized. The German historians, on the other hand, connected communism with dictatorship due to the Soviet Union's (USSR) hold of East Germany and the Berlin Wall ordeal. The historians' views towards the United States (USA) also differed. From the perspective of the German historians, the USA was considered a partner due to its contribution to the post-war reconstruction of Germany. Meanwhile, the French historians had a more negative view of the great power's engagement on the international stage.

The significance of this project was that for the first time in history representatives of France and Germany, countries that were both confronted with major conflicts in the past, were unified in their efforts to co-write a history textbook. The lesson from such a collaborative project is that if France and Germany have succeeded in framing history together, there is the potential for other countries to undertake similar projects. However, we do have to take into consideration that Germany and France managed to accomplish this 60 years after WWII ended, which meant the two countries had had an opportunity to heal and possibly to forget. Moreover, the book was focused on post-WWII history, thus avoiding the most sensitive topics. Interpretations of WWII and its aftermath have been significantly different for French and German people, so the textbooks intentionally and elegantly avoided that time period. However, the textbook as a whole did address some of the most contentious themes of post-WWII history.

Similar projects are underway and will be ready to unfold when there is a convergence of political will and grassroots support, which does not often occur randomly. The impetus for change will come from those who are passionately involved in reconciliation, and in peace processes in which education plays a key and vital role. Mediators of meaning are recognized and unrecognized agents of change. In the next section we will look at their roles as agents in creating movement from negative peace towards positive peace in the complex dynamical systems that make up fragile and post-conflict societies.

MEDIATORS OF MEANING

In societies dealing with a contentious past, students may share a common historical experience, but have completely different interpretations of what happened. Such discrepancies "at best render school history less

meaningful, and at worst pose an impediment to students' construction of any meaningful frame of historical reference" (Seixas 1993). The awareness that there is often a disconnect between the history taught at home and the history taught in school speaks to the need for a more meaningful involvement of both parents and teachers in their children's history-learning experiences. How children understand the history of their country, particularly the most contentious aspects of its history, may have far-reaching implications for the future escalation of violence.

Whether we talk about schools, museums, clubs, community centers, places of worship, or online spaces, learning becomes active and operative only through interaction between people. Such interaction has certain rules and within such a context mediators need to agree on guidelines as well as agree on who should introduce meaning and lead people through the process of making sense of the world. Learning can no longer be seen as a linear, direct, and automatic outcome of teaching or reading textbooks. Instead, we need to pay close attention to the mediating effects of students' prior knowledge, beliefs, values, and biases as well as the role that teachers, parents, and peers play as key mediators of meaning who induce disconnects and uncertainties in learning about the contentious past. By pointing out and highlighting these disconnects and uncertainties, we then enable students to use their own critical thinking to dig deeper into the subject matter and look for evidence.

In analyzing the importance of mediators of meaning as agents of change, it is apparent that there is an obvious gap in understanding the role of parents and teachers in students' learning, which cannot be taken for granted. The forms and levels of involvement of different key mediators of meaning has an impact on the effectiveness of schooling models. History is not limited to what exists in books, or on TV, or the Internet, which are typically considered key sources of knowledge about culture and history for today's youth. Unless students engage in discussing, verbalizing and understanding topics such as conflict by speaking about them with their parents at home, previous conflicts cannot become a living history and knowledge of them cannot be acquired as a part of the students' internalized system of values and beliefs. One of the key assumptions of this chapter is that the key mediators of meanings, especially in fragile and post-conflict societies, are parents and teachers because it is with them that youths engage in making sense of their own identities by learning about the past and envisioning the future.

An important distinction should be made between the acquisition and the adoption of information, in that receiving information from the Internet or other sources of knowledge is not the same as internalizing it. A process of verification, which takes place through interaction with the mediators of meanings, is necessary for students to adopt a particular piece of information on history, which then becomes knowledge. Children learn about history and culture primarily from stories told by their parents. The information presented in the stories that children hear at home sometimes clashes with the information children hear from their teachers at school, which then creates tension between students and teachers. Parents as mediators of meaning often view their role in the education of their children as contradictory and difficult, which points to the need for more involvement of parents in finding the educational modus operandi that would address this disconnect.

In addition to the difficulty that parents perceive in terms of the education of their children, teachers may be afraid and isolated, particularly in contexts in which their authority and teaching materials are challenged. The lack of programs and training sessions for teachers working on difficult topics in divided post-conflict contexts greatly contributes to this sense of isolation and inadequacy on the part of teachers. Teachers serving as mediators of meaning in fragile and post-conflict settings appear to be functioning autonomously, and have to individually face the challenge of talking about contentious themes in classrooms. When teaching difficult topics from recent history, teachers often focus on enabling students to learn through the process of exploration. Avoiding difficult topics has been another temporary solution, but this has only accentuated the actual problem of contentious historical narratives that clash in classrooms and create divisions among students as well as a rift between students and teachers. At the communal level these rifts are a reflection of wider social cleavages and point to the need for change and action to promote better and healthier relationships among youth, who represent the future of their country. Disconnects in teaching and learning about the recent past result in a lack of trust in the official historical narrative and present a serious obstacle to the reconciliation and peace strategies and programs promoted in schools and educational institutions (Cole and Barsalou 2006; Sadigbayli 2006; Aiken 2013).

The rise of technology has enabled communication to become much faster and has allowed for increased access to an infinite amount of sources that simultaneously facilitate and fragment relational and communicative

processes. As a result of this, there has been a proliferation of conflicting meanings as young people use the Internet as their primary source of knowledge. While the Internet provides an enormous amount of information that has opened the door for conflictual meanings to emerge, these meanings do not necessarily lead students to adopt certain fixed positions. What seems to be significant are the processes of verifying and acquiring certain meanings through interaction with mediators of meanings such as parents and teachers. In order to appropriate certain narratives, students need to confirm their content through their family, school, and community. The confirmation of narratives does not have to be intentional; rather it is randomly negotiated through various interactions that individuals have, and they are usually not even aware of it.

Studies have demonstrated that parents and teachers are very prudent when talking about conflict and violence, which can have a major impact on their children's interaction with their peers who belong to other groups (Delpit 2006; Weinstein et al. 2007; Danesh 2006; Davies 2003). Many are in agreement that tolerance and coexistence are values that need to be taught so that future generations can have better socialization, social mobility, and socioeconomic emancipation. The main challenge in teaching such values is the embeddedness of students, parents, and teachers in social structures that reinforce divisions and contentious identities. As mentioned earlier, some teachers attempt to override this problem by avoiding confrontation and difficult topics, and by focusing on learning through exploration and the presentation of basic information. However, teachers are cognizant that such techniques do not represent a long-lasting solution for addressing the widespread and entrenched problem of counter-narratives and counter-identities in fragile contexts. There is a need to develop a curriculum that is centered around a baseline of common values that can serve as an optimal space for exploring common ground when teaching about the recent past and provide more space for growth.

Providing a space for growth is essential because critical thinking is often lost in the limbo of teachers avoiding or not having the proper tools to discuss difficult topics, and parents' unwillingness to discuss contentious themes out of fear that it will impact their children's socialization. The problem is that students are bombarded on a daily basis with contentious topics through different forms of media, popular culture, and public discourses, and as a result of this they may see the past as something that pollutes their present. However, rejecting or avoiding discussion on the contentious past does not isolate students from narratives that are

responsible for perpetuating divisions between groups in fragile and post-conflict societies. Therefore, it is evident that, in order to cope with various ideologically motivated versions of the past, students need to be able to analyze and critically assess them, which actually empowers them to become more curious, open-minded, and thoughtful.

The discussion presented throughout this section of the chapter on mediators of meaning has demonstrated that the disconnect between the history that is taught at home and at school has not been taken into consideration by the developers of history curricula and programs. The history curriculum that students have experienced in school has done little to address the concerns, fears, and questions raised by the stories that they are presented with at home from their families. The forms and degree of involvement of different key mediators of meaning influences the effectiveness of schooling models, and for that matter, can have an impact on the communities themselves. Reconciliation and true integration may be possible only if school communities as a whole engage in an open and free dialogue, a joint inquiry that is about seeking solutions in a unified and collaborative manner.

Creating learning communities where mediators have agreed on specific guidelines of meaning centered around humanistic values and caring, and where youth, parents, and administrators are actively involved, are two of the strongest strategies in combating divisions and oppression. The myth of the Other (enemy) as less valuable or even less than human, in accordance with the "Us versus Them" dichotomy that exists in conflict situations, can only be dispelled by an openness to learning together and respectful interaction. How we communicate in our relationships and commitments to one another is more powerful than the message of segregation. We often make judgments based on emotions and false perceptions of the Other, which is something that we need to be aware of and combat in our efforts towards striving for sustainable peace. In relation to this, Freire (1972), in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, argues that the oppressed can change their circumstances through *praxis*—reflection and action—and that in order to do that, they have to learn to analyze their lives and throw aside internalized oppression. We can easily adapt Freire's ideology to the world of post-conflict and fragile societies in which oppressed communities are constrained by an enmity system. To liberate communities locked in an "Us versus Them" way of thinking is to empower them to learn how to overcome the distrust, discouragement, and divisions that are products of that discourse. People can recover from the

damage caused by false information and change their perceptions as they learn from, understand, and care for the Other. Through the process of self-discovery and reflection, mediators of meaning can play a significant role in helping communities become more empowered to work against the divisions and injustices present in their respective societies.

Conclusion

One of the key challenges that post-conflict and fragile societies face is a lack of a more nuanced, holistic, and integrative approach that would enable an exploration of the dynamical nature of individual responses to historical accounts, and the impact of history on communal relationships. The narratives about the collective past, heroism, victories, tradition, and victimhood promoted through educational systems are centripetal and monochromatic (Bakhtin 1982; Gergen 2009). However, the official narratives are adopted and altered by individuals at the receiving end who are embedded in a certain relational context. An example of this is the study I conducted in segregated and integrated schools in Croatia in 2012, which found that students' narratives about the recent war were influenced by the current and difficult conditions in which they lived and that students did not simply replicate the official accounts of the past (Manojlovic 2013). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, narratives about the collective past and identity presented in textbooks and taught to students in schools often reveal current underlying problems affecting their community, such as economic uncertainty, unemployment, dissonance between expectations and reality, exclusion, nationalism, and structural violence. Different contextual and relational circumstances shape individual narratives and create complexity. Such complexity at the individual level is often invisible or disregarded. However, by paying attention to these multiple experiences and voices we can actually trace solutions for the problems that currently exist in many fragile and conflict-ridden societies.

Official historical scripts serve to promote certain social rules that control human behavior, ensuring the continuity of states and their structures. The presence of official historical scripts is particularly relevant when it comes to the topic of war. War is enabled by structures that promote discourses that legitimize militarization (Jabri 1996). War is often legitimized

and promoted within society because the structure has prioritized and continues to prioritize military action over peaceful action. In the case of the Balkans and many other post-conflict societies, it is nationalist and exclusive narratives that legitimize and feed into negative peace, which prevents society from moving towards positive peace. Nationalist narratives delegitimize forms of action tilted toward positive peace and "seek to conceal dissent, individuality, and non-conformity" (Jabri 1996, p. 160). By delegitimizing and alienating other forms of action among people on the ground, the nationalist and/or patriotic narrative and subsequent social practices will continue to promote violent actions and war.

Violent actions are not necessarily a product of *evil* intentions, but they are perpetrated by people who think that they are protecting and preserving their identity, values, and national interests. However, this logic is delusional for two reasons. First of all, people on the ground do not necessarily "buy" into those narratives and often resist them. Second, identity, values, and national interests are not well served by the promotion of nationalist narratives of the past. Nationalist narratives are often dysfunctional, conflict-generating tools that may gain traction in moments of state failure, a collapsing economy, and other destabilizing factors. They may also be a tool of opportunistic elites to sway the polity in a particular direction. The bottom line is that such narratives usually bring about more harm, longstanding grievances, and traumas that modern societies really cannot afford.

The importance of historical narratives is not diminished by the argument that we can never know true history because it is determined by the present and the speaker's position and embeddedness in a certain context. Decision- and policy-making that is, at any point in time and context, devoid of any historical reasoning often leads to disaster. The inability of humans, particularly in leadership positions, to situate themselves and their nations along a historical continuum, thereby implying their interconnectedness with the time and people of the past and the present, can have devastating consequences. Indeed, history can help us make informed decisions and become better people only if we are open to learning from the past by doing so analytically, critically, and curiously.

As emphasized earlier in this chapter, history has become an important subject to students who do not have an actual memory of conflict themselves, but are socialized by their parents, teachers, and religious, educational, and other institutions into certain culturally accepted frameworks of thinking and acting that are fundamentally prejudicial, biased, and

close-minded. Therefore, it is crucial to identify points of divergence from these learned attitudes and behaviors that can provide insights into approaches that would help to introduce change. There seems to be a lack of experimentation, and of dialogic processes that include all relevant stakeholders in a respectful manner and safe setting to work for change in educational systems. Through joint and participatory exploration efforts, and networking with different actors, numerous feedback loops and new possibilities can emerge. As Bartoli et al. argue, "peace is in the movement" (Bartoli et al. 2010) in that peace is a process that puts forward the possibility of positive outcomes despite the fact that many variables may be unknown.

Through its discussion on mediators of meaning, this chapter demonstrated that agents of change can only come forward through the creation of opportunities for engagement, facilitated encounters among students and other stakeholders, and a modeling of values that emerge from within in a participatory process. The complexity theory seems to suggest that the creation of a space in which people can engage in open, safe, and honest inquiry may be crucial (Axelrod 1997; Manson 2001; Renesch and Chawla 2006). It is important to note that such spaces do not necessarily have to be joint classrooms. For instance, in the case of Eastern Slavonia, its minority students' desire to have separate classes in their own language and cultural discourse should be respected. The following chapter will address this in relation to multiculturalism, exploring the problem that, in certain post-conflict situations, imposing integration and/or joint classrooms may be counterproductive where certain groups of people perceive that their identities are being threatened by assimilation, exclusion, and other oppressive practices. However, spaces that attract students, parents, teachers, and other members of the wider community and which can be seen as common, free, and inclusive, are very much needed in divided societies, whether they come about through sports events, artistic workshops, or other extracurricular activities.

The problem of how and what to teach in schools in fragile and post-conflict societies needs to be given immediate attention, and multiple voices at the individual and interpersonal levels must be properly recognized. Examining how people on the ground deal with a contentious past that affects their present can illuminate the local and contingent solutions that must be considered in order to incorporate local experiences into approaches to peace and conflict resolution. Memory not only helps us to pay due respect to the past, but also plays a role in building groups,

identities, and allegiances. Memory, thus, is a tool through which the transformation of relationships and views of the Other becomes a possibility. The connection to the past becomes a lifeline through which values, beliefs, and dispositions are transmitted to future generations. These values and beliefs are not necessarily constructive ones, but they are certainly not immutable and fixed. Indeed, they can be changed as the context and actors change over time.

NOTES

1. The supplement to the history textbooks resulted from the Erdut Agreement of 1995, which set out the guidelines for the peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia and Baranja (previously known as the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina) into Croatia.

2. While the atrocities committed against Armenians by the Turks were recognized as genocide by the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), the Association of Genocide Scholars and the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Turkey has constantly disputed that the genocide happened. Turkish scholars, such as Ismet Binark have even presented some documentation about the genocide of Turks by Armenians. See transcript of David Tolbert for more information on Turkey's stance on the Armenian genocide (2015): "The Armenian Genocide: 100 Years of Denial (and Why It's in Turkey's Interest to End It)." *ICTJ*. Available at: https://www.ictj.org/news/armenian-genocide-100-years-denial (February 20, 2017). See transcript of Ismet Binark's documentation of genocide (2002), "Archive Documents about the Atrocities and Genocide Inflicted upon Turks by Armenians." Available at: http://www.virtualkarabakh.az/uploads/pdf/Ismet%20Binark,%20Archive%20Documents%20about%20the%20Atrocities%20and%20Genocide%20inflicted%20Upon%20Turks%20by%20Armenians.pdf (February 20, 2017).

3. See the list of the names of the victims of Jasenovac. "List of Individual Victims of Jasenovac Concentration Camp." *JUSP Jasenovac*. Available at: http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6711 (February 20, 2017). It is noted on the website that the list of individual victims of the Jasenovac concentration camp is the result of the work so far carried out by experts from the Jasenovac Memorial Site, and it is not complete. By April 18, 2010 a list of dates, names, and details of 80,914 victims had been collected, and it has been an ongoing effort since then.

4. See more information on these inconsistencies by Martina Grahek (2005), "Bleiburg i Križni put u hrvatskim udžbenicima povijesti," in Hans-Georg Fleck and Igor Graovac (ur.), *Dijalog povjesničara-istoričara 9*, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Zagreb, pp. 641–663.

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Impeding Access to Quality Education: Culture, Gender, and Funding

Introduction

It is not education, but rather access to a quality education that is the right of every child globally. This view was first confirmed and formalized in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948 (United Nations General Assembly 1948). Article 26 of the UDHR further states that quality education implies the promotion of respect, human rights, and tolerance, while discrimination in education based on race, sex, color, religion, or language is a violation of these basic human rights. Quality education goes beyond providing good books and curricula with relevant content and having skilled teachers who engage in effective teaching and learning methods. Access to a quality education also encompasses the presence of nurturing and safe environments that have the potential to support the growth of healthy students and promote connectivity with local communities supportive of educational processes and outcomes. Therefore, quality education cannot only be seen as a prerogative of the government, but it should be viewed as a complex system embedded in a cultural, political, and economic context whose success depends on many interconnected factors.

In conflict-stricken, post-conflict, and fragile societies, providing quality education has often fallen victim to other priorities such as infrastructure rebuilding or the implementation of a peace agreement. The lack of emphasis that is placed on quality education possibly lies in the fact that educational outcomes and their social impact cannot immediately be seen,

which can be discouraging in settings that have just recently achieved negative peace. The long-term impacts of educational initiatives lead to a shift in the priorities of decision-makers towards supporting initiatives that are palpable, measurable, and expeditious, such as rebuilding infrastructure or establishing functional law enforcement. This is counterproductive given that the precondition for achieving sustainable peace is a quality education that can contribute to addressing major causes of conflict and challenges to that peace; these challenges are grouped around the cultural, gender, and funding issues.

The previous chapter in this book was focused on the politics of memory, which creates rifts within communities and serves as a barrier to education. This chapter zooms in on cultural practices, gender issues, and funding mechanisms as some of the major factors that impact access to education in post-conflict and fragile societies. Attending to those factors may be the key for transforming a dynamic of social instability and upheaval into one that promotes cooperation and an openness to learning. Innovative tools and strategies, a topic which will be addressed in Chapter 5, focusing on these three factors can break reinforcing cycles of violent behavior, leading to a readjustment of the whole system toward sustainable peace dynamics.

The connection between access to quality education and cultural, gender, and funding issues is most evident in the midst of war. During wartime, education is clearly affected by combat activities and open violence, which impede school attendance. Of the 72 million primary-school children estimated to be out of school globally, over 25 million are found in conflict-affected countries (UNESCO 2010). In post-conflict and fragile states, poverty, displacement, and a lack of infrastructure are commonly cited as obstacles to quality education. However, cultural practices which can also be viewed in parallel to the gender issues that exist in conflict and post-conflict societies are often disregarded. Oppressive and inequitable relationships that perpetuate contention can be traced to cultural practices that people are socialized into accepting on the issues of gender, social status, caste, race, and religion, and which place children in a disadvantaged position. From war-torn northern Uganda, in which women with disabilities face a terrible stigma and sexual violence, to the Rohingya, a Muslim minority in Burma, cultural constructs on gender, ethnicity and religion have posed major impediments to certain groups' access to education as well as free movement, health care, and employment (Human Rights Watch 2013).

This chapter attempts to illuminate such practices through several case studies on impediments to access to education that are rooted in cultural constructs of gender, religion, and social status. Aspects of culture and tradition need to be critically assessed as to whether or not they contribute to discriminatory and oppressive practices. This chapter first explores cultural practices related to gender, particularly by focusing on the inclusion of women in peace processes and how such inclusion is connected with women's access to education. It also examines existing initiatives that counteract such exclusionary practices at the communal level through citing examples of innovation and resilience. The last section is dedicated to the issue of funding as a key factor to examining the main determinants of educational access. It examines how a lack of funding to ensure access to quality education perpetuates social inequities that feed into identity, racial, and ethnic contestation and harm communities that are recovering from violence.

The argument is that oppressive cultural practices need to be observed in connection with access to resources. Oppressive cultural practices can impede the emergence of quality education, which in turn can contribute to poverty and impact access to employment, health care, and other basic services that serve as the foundation for the effective functioning of a society.

CULTURAL PRACTICES AS IMPEDIMENTS TO EDUCATION

Cultural traditions that are exclusionary and centered around issues of gender, social status, ethnicity, and religious denomination, and which are practiced by parents and communities in some of the most volatile regions of the world, can serve as impediments towards access to quality education. On a larger societal level, the impediments to education that may emerge as a result of cultural traditions can lead to higher incidences of HIV/AIDS, early marriage, teen pregnancies, and child labor.[1] Given the social significance of cultural traditions, the liberal, social-scientific paradigm often relegates discussions of cultural practices as mere explanations for why things are the way that they are and places an emphasis on the diversity of communities worldwide. Such approach neglects to take into account how some religious and cultural practices can become obsolete, and more ominously, impede social progress and create conflict. Therefore, cultural practices need to be scrutinized and analyzed like any other social phenomenon, especially if they are leading to unjust, inequitable, and harmful outcomes that contribute to fragility and conflict.

India, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), Pakistan, Afghanistan, Liberia, Rwanda, and South Africa will be discussed. It is important to clarify that although the choice of these case studies may suggest that cultural issues impeding access to education are prevalent in the developing world, it is not so. Similar problems exist in the developed world too. However, the focus of this book is on fragile societies with a high risk of widespread direct violence, and not first-world countries where conflicts tend to be latent or take on the form of predominantly peaceful protest.

The following two sections will examine how cultural assumptions in relation to the caste system in India and the policies around multiculturalism in BiH pose challenges to the existence of quality education. In India, the caste system is found to impede access to quality education as a result of the strict social divisions that it creates. The divisions that exist impact the type of schools that families can send their children to and this impacts their ability to participate in public life and the job market. The case study on BiH will shed light on the dissonance between promoting multiculturalism and preserving local cultures and identities within a post-conflict education system. It will show that the liberal, Western concept of multiculturalism may not be the most effective approach to education in divided post-conflict settings.

The Caste System in India

India is a unique case study in examining the issue of access to quality education, especially within the context of its culturally ingrained caste system, which creates strict and rigid boundaries between people. The caste system in India is based on a Hindu cultural belief that the position of a person in their current life is dependent upon the sins of their past life and one's caste is set by one's birth into a family of a particular caste (Buchanan 2014). Apart from being known for its caste system, India has gained a reputation of being an emerging power with one of the largest student populations in the world, with 50 percent of its population being under the age of 25 (NYT Editorial Board 2014). Its burgeoning economy has deepened the rift between the rich elites who attend private schools and the lower castes that attend overcrowded and underfunded public schools. The Dalits or the "untouchables" are ranked at the lowest position in the caste system and they have serious issues in accessing

quality education. According to a recent independent, government-funded study, India's caste system has manifested itself in the education system by making the Dalits subject to daily abuse by teachers, who ignore them in class, and by higher-caste students, who refuse to speak or make any physical contact with them (Wax 2008a). As a result, many students, particularly those belonging to India's lower castes, are dropping out of classes, contributing to one of the highest dropout rates in the world.

Although the Indian government in 1950 officially abolished untouchability in the country, the caste system is perpetuated as a cultural norm in daily practices and is very much alive in state institutions and public life, especially, as was referenced before, in the realm of education. This demonstrates a disconnect between the government and societal narratives on the caste system. Discrimination based on caste membership is quite prevalent, since the underprivileged castes, including Dalits, Muslims, and other groups, make up almost 70 percent of India's population of 1.1 billion people (Wax 2008b). The problem of education provision for the lower castes continues to be very challenging as it allows for a major section of India's population to fall behind and makes it impossible to break away from an unending cycle of poverty and discrimination.

Despite the Civil Rights Act of 1955 and the Scheduled Castes and Tribes Act of 1989, which have both created job and education quotas for lower castes, Dalits are still confronted with discrimination within the education system and other public venues (Buchanan 2014). Although enrollment in primary school is now almost universal in the country, reaching a level of 98 percent, prejudice and harassment permeates institutions of higher education and subsequently, the job market (Barr et al. 2007). While higher caste students attend private schools, many of the poorer areas do not even have access to school facilities, which leads to a migration of members of India's lower castes to its increasingly overcrowded and polluted cities. At the same time, India's countryside has fallen deeper into poverty due to the lack of educated young people.

As the discussion on India's caste system has demonstrated so far, ignorance and segregation rooted in religious and cultural practices are key for understanding the problem of impeded access to education, which can lead further unjust practices and potentially provide fertile ground for grievances, extremism, and violence. For instance, addressing violence

between Hindus and Muslims needs to go beyond treating the conflict as a matter of religious differences. It needs to take into consideration the impact of the caste and class system that exists in India and how the discrimination that these systems promote has permeated public institutions and contributed to an uneven access to resources. The lower-class Ajlaf and the untouchable Dalit caste consist of Hindus who converted to Islam precisely because they hoped to escape the discrimination they faced in the Hindu caste system. But cultural practices and beliefs have been so powerful that Muslims in India adopted the Hindu caste system, contrary to the Islamic principle of equality (Quora 2017). Despite efforts to overcome their underprivileged status under the caste system, the situation of both groups of people and their status remained the same. As stated by Asif Shaikh of the NGO Jan Sahas, which is dedicated to ending garbage-picking, a job allocated to the Dalits, and discrimination against the Dalits:

> Garbage pickers already live in hell from the day they're born. It's not their fault they're born into a lower caste. All of this gets dumped on them. If you're born into a lower caste you suffer the worst type of slavery. Converting to another religion doesn't change anything and this includes Islam. (Al Jazeera 2017)

As this quote demonstrates, the caste system hinders any potential for advancement in society for the Dalit caste, but access to quality education may be the necessary ingredient that could challenge such obsolete and unjust cultural practices.

Access to education for the lower castes has been a significant challenge in India for quite some time. Dalits have faced terrible oppression and their access to education and other social services has been obstructed. If a chance for quality and dignified education is offered to the children of Dalits and other underprivileged segments of population, they may become better integrated into society, which would lead to increased stability and a reduction in the gap between the rich and the poor. This has been proven through efforts being made by the organization Children on the Edge in partnership with the Navjeevan Educational and Social Welfare Society (NESWS) and Parivartan (PK) whose work is dedicated to ending the discrimination that the Dalits endure through the promotion of education. With its partners, Children on the Edge have established 25

community and education centers. Children on the Edge describes its community and school centers as:

> ... child friendly environments that provide an education to a high standard, enabling the children to become proficient in maths, science and language. Our partners then work with local schools to encourage integration for the children into the mainstream education system. Here they can obtain education up to grade 10, which will give them better chance of employment in the future. (Children on the Edge 2017)

The curriculum in the community and school centers addresses caste discrimination and also educates children on the rights that they have as human beings under both Indian and international human rights law. The community and education centers also engage the wider Dalit community. An example of this has been the creation of women's groups. NESWS and PK inform such groups of their rights and "support them to realize these rights and to bring change within their communities through the creation of dialogue and the use of non-violent action" (Children on the Edge 2017). Hence, access to quality education could be the key to alleviating the divisions between the rich and poor in India.

Multicultural Education and Preserving Cultural Identity in BIH

Another case study on culture and its impact on access to quality education is that of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BIH) where the idea of multiculturalism became a point of contention.

The introduction of multiculturalism into schools in BiH was examined by Azra Hromadžić's study on the Mostar Gymnasium in the aftermath of BiH's war. Her research provides some interesting insights into how cultural and identity factors shape the composition of classrooms, which can lead to and perpetuate communal divisions. It also uncovers the incompatibility between the international community's concept of multiculturalism and the local ethnonationalist need for separate schooling in post-conflict BiH. The assumption of the local communities that they can achieve the protection of their community, culture, and language through segregation in education, collides with the assumptions of the international community,

which advocates the idea of integrated schools. In relation to the debate on multiculturalism in BiH's educational system, Hromadžić claims that "the exercise of the right to cultural autonomy led to the shrinking of public places that nurture interaction, exchange, and exercise of democracy across ethnic groups" (Hromadžić 2008, p. 561). Acceptable discourses in schools have been framed through the lens of the dominant culture. In post-conflict BIH, it is the cultural practices and thought patterns of the "ethnic majority" that colonize the public space and dictate what should be taught in particular schools resulting in educational inequality and bias towards students coming from "ethnic minority" cultures or cultures different than the mainstream one. In this type of learning atmosphere, while students may share the same school premises, they each go to their part of the town after school; they do not associate with each other, not because they are not given the opportunity for interaction, but because they themselves form part of the social structures, which are permeated by divisions, segregation, and ethnic hatred.

Education programs and initiatives based on promotion of multiculturalism, integration and consensus, as advocated in Western traditions, are not neccessarily successful in post-conflict and fragile contexts because social divisons permeate their education systems. Education as the locus of such tensions only mirrors the dynamics operative within the communities. Accepting the reality that BiH is a deeply divided multiethnic state and not imposing multiculturalism is a first step in promoting appropriate policies that could bring about much-needed stability and facilitate the coexistence of different groups. Educational polices in BiH should take into account the root causes of conflict, which need to be addressed through schooling models, curricula, and communal initiatives as means of promoting sustainable peace.

Overall, the BiH case study demonstrates that multiculturalism as a liberal Western idea has failed to be accepted and the idea of multiculturalism may not be the most appropriate strategy for providing access to quality education. While multiculturalism suggests that people of different races, religions, and cultures should be treated as equal to one another, in reality there is a continuing clash of different cultural values as groups do not accord equality and respect to the values of the Other. As will be covered in Chapter 4, for example, immigrants and refugees driven out by conflict and/or economic reasons bring their own values to their new societies and may not necessarily want to integrate. Groups that have been on the losing side of a conflict cling to their cultural values as a means of preserving their own existence and identity.

Gender and the Problem of Access

Cultural practices that promote gender discrimination also impede access to quality education. According to the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF), there are 59.3 million children out of school around the world, and 36 percent of them live in countries scarred by war and violence (UNICEF 2015). What is striking about these numbers is that the majority of these children are girls. The cultural roles that girls and boys are socialized into, starting from a very young age, are taken for granted, but in reality they contribute to girls' impeded access to quality education and subsequently to their lack of participation in public life, and above all their prospects for such participation in the future. In many fragile states boys' education is traditionally seen as more important, leading girls to start school at a later age than boys, as there is the perception in some societies that girls should remain at home with their families and provide domestic help. The enrollment of girls, in many developing countries, has been very low and schools have often been venues where they are sexually harassed and bullied. The official response has been to build new schools, employ more female teachers, lower the cost of education, and improve infrastructure in areas where enrollment of girls is low. Many new schools have been built in poor areas, but obstacles such as overcrowded classes and a shortage of space and teachers remain.

Even though it has been recognized that the majority of children that are out of school are girls and that there is a tendency for lower enrollment rates of girls in schools in fragile societies, getting to the root of this problem requires going beyond developing infrastructure and providing skilled teachers. The solution lies in understanding how gendered socialization processes impact access to quality education and how they contribute to cycles of conflict. It is important to grasp how traditional relationships and cultural values pertaining to gender that are set within the home spill over to other social venues, causing serious issues in societies that are trying to overcome voilent past. The situation on the ground in countries such as Pakistan and Afghanistan is dire as certain traditions continue to impede girls' education to this day. Given the presence of traditional gendered values within the family and their reinforcement by the presence of many jihadist groups that view girls' education as anti-Islamic, there is a need for engagement from different actors to counteract such views, including religious leaders, civil society, and youth. The problems with girls' access to quality education are not only rooted in the misplaced religious beliefs of extremist and violent groups, but are also derived from social expectations

that girls marry at an early age, as well as the social practices, such as teasing and shaming, that are imposed on girls attending school. Sending girls to regular public schools has not been the safest option in some regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan, which has led many parents to send their daughters to boarding schools (Dryden-Peterson 2009). Of course, these schools are much more expensive and girls from poorer families are not able to attend, which creates a vicious circle of poverty and illiteracy; this was also seen in the case study on India earlier, in which there was a gap between the education of the rich elite and the lower cast Dalits. Another consequence of girls' impeded access to education is the lack of female instructors in public schools. For example, in Afghanistan there are no female teachers in more than 200 of the 364 districts and many traditional families do not allow their daughters to be taught by a male teacher (Masood 2011). Overall, extremist groups physically prevent girls from attending school, while cultural values do not allow for the emergence of skilled female teachers who can educate the upcoming generation of women. This ultimately leads to a never-ending cycle of an uneducated female population.

The most publicized example of how the presence of traditional cultural values on gender are reinforced by the presence of extremist groups is that of Malala Yousafzai, who has become a symbol of Pakistani women's struggle for equal access to education. She was shot by a Taliban extremist on a school bus, survived, and became the youngest-ever Nobel Prize laureate in 2014 (Associated Press 2014). Malala was from Swat Valley, where the Taliban had imposed a ban on girls attending schools, threw acid at girls' faces on the way to school, bombed girls' schools, and forced girls to wear burqas covering them from head to toe. In response to the situation that girls were confronted with under the Taliban's rule, Malala had written a blog, under a pseudonym, that criticized the Taliban and advocated girls' education. After she recovered from her injuries, Malala received support from all over the world and went on to start the Malala Fund, whose mission was to empower girls and advocate for more educational resources and safe schools (Peer 2012). What makes Malala's narrative unique is that it presents an alternative to the extremists' narrative on the education of girls, in that she uses " the Muslim faith as a framework to argue for the importance of education rather than making Islam a justification for oppression" (Hafiz 2013). She argues that "Islam says that it is not only each child's right to get education, rather it is their duty and responsibility" (ibid.). In connection with the role of the family and cultural values, it is important to note that Malala's father, Ziauddin Yousafzai, has also been

a strong advocate for the education of girls and supported Malala's work: "A schoolteacher and outspoken critic of the Taliban, he sent Malala to school at a young age and urged her to talk about politics and topics often reserved for boys" (Pesta 2016). The example of Malala demonstrates that when egalitarianism is promoted within the family, it can bring about shifts in the attitudes and values that persist in society as a whole, and a method of undermining the influence of extremist groups on the education of girls: "There are many Malalas in Pakistan. But what Pakistan really needs right now is more men like Ziauddin Yousafzai. Without men like Ziauddin, there will be no women like Malala" (Mohsin 2013).

The oppressive cultural practices are not only supported by extremist and violent groups, but are also reinforced by collapsed economy and authoritarian policies. Afghanistan is a poor country of close to 31 million people, with one of the highest proportions of young people in the world. The median age of the population is 15.6 years old and the median age of marriage is 18.[2] There are 10.5 million children attending 16,000 schools across the country. Due to this *youth bulge*, or increase in the youth population, resulting from the reduced infant mortality and a high fertility rate (Lin 2012), large numbers of young people seek jobs in a market that cannot absorb them. As a result of their frustration with the economic situation in their country, these young people often turn to violence and extremism.

Faced with a large percentage of unemployed and disaffected young people, elites are more willing to back an authoritarian regime for the sake of maintaining stability. However, oppressive and authoritarian regimes lead to more social unrest, contention, and extremism, giving rise to a vicious cycle of sociopolitical fragility. The case of Afghanistan shows, that a quality education is impeded by the lack of access to protective and safe environments that allow youth to grow as individuals and contribute economically, politically, and socially to their communities. Pervasive unemployment in combination with authoritarian rule have perpetuated gender inequality and the exclusion of girls by reinforcing oppressive cultural and traditional values that limit women to the domestic sphere.

Even though some authoritarian regimes, such as the Taliban, have been ousted from power, conservative customs have endured and continue to prevent women and girls from getting jobs and obtaining a quality education. Studies have shown that when women are educated and given a choice about bearing children, they tend to have fewer children (Bongaarts 2009). In Afghanistan, studies find strong correlations between higher educational attainment and lower fertility rates. There are 5.3 children per woman with

no education and 3.6 children per woman with secondary education.[3] Educating girls about their choice over childbirth may lead to a decrease in youth bulge, and it may be one of the key factors for sustaining Afghanistan's fragile peace. This is indicative of how addressing the role of gender in conflict and post-conflict societies, in combination with the issue of access to quality education, can create the conditions necessary for sustenance of peace.

Women's access to quality education is necessary for social progress, public health, and poverty reduction. But the question that needs to be asked is *how do women in fragile and contentious societies overcome the cultural, political, and social structures, based on patriarchal values of male domination, that impede this access?* The remainder of this section of the chapter will aim to answer this question by addressing the inclusion of women in peace processes and how such inclusion is connected with women's access to education.

The participation of women in peace processes can be seen as one of the necessary ingredients that facilitate not only women's access to quality education, but also progressive social and cultural shifts. In post-conflict and conflict-prone societies, involvement in peace processes means participating in the delicate creation of a new social fabric that may lead to either sustainable peace or the renewal of violence. Peace processes are not limited to establishing ceasefire and power-sharing agreements, which are typically associated with a negative or fragile peace scenario. Peace processes also include economic, social, and institutional reforms that promote thriving conflict-resilient communities. Women have historically been excluded from formal peace processes since they have not been generally considered combatants, and peace processes have commonly been seen as pathways to disarming warring factions. While women have felt the brutality of conflict throughout history, it was not until the passing of Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000 that gender-sensitive initiatives were mainstreamed and incorporated into the practice of peacemaking.[4]

Women as Peacemakers

Academic and political analyses have portrayed conflicts one-dimensionally using statistics such as the number of battle deaths to measure the expansiveness of violence (Reynolds 2005; Cederman 2003; Dincecco and Prado 2012; Goldstein 2011). These one-dimensional analyses of war have often neglected how women are specifically targeted and made victims in wartime

on the basis of their gender. By ignoring the use of rape and other forms of violence against women as a tactic of war, these "gender-blind" studies have not assessed the full impact of conflict in a way that effectively informs post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation. Advocates for greater female representation argue that women are essential for sustainable peace processes because they can bring a more comprehensive peace plan to the negotiating table by addressing societal needs rather than solely focusing on the warring parties' demands.

One of the key challenges that obstructs women's participation in peace processes is that the complex identities that women have as human beings are often reduced to just their gender identity. When women are a part of a peace process, they are usually asked to contribute on issues that are stereotypically thought of as women's issues, such as gender equality and childcare, rather than on major and divisive issues of the conflict such as demobilization, disarmament, or transitional justice. This type of positioning of women has led to "engendered" peace processes and made post-conflict reconstruction more strenuous.

In formal, top or Track 1 peace processes around the world, only 4 percent of peacemakers have been women[5] and even in those cases, they have often been seen as actors playing a supporting role. There may be few female Track 1 mediators, but their ties to the communities and to people on the ground in conflict zones have proven to be indispensable for the success of peace processes. Women, although deprived of formal top leadership positions in peace processes, have created their own sphere of influence and niche at the community level which has proved to be very effective. Notably, these women have significantly contributed to conflict resilience within their communities and promoted the involvement of women in the political systems of their countries.

Leymah Gbowee, a Liberian peace activist and Nobel Peace Prize-winner, serves as an excellent example of how women leaders at the communal level can play key roles in peace processes. She was not included in an official peace negotiation process, but led a grassroots women's peace movement, Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace, that obtained a promise from President Charles Taylor to attend peace talks in Ghana. This concession subsequently led to the signing of the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the end, in 2003, of the Second Liberian Civil War and the period of civil turmoil that spanned 14 years (Rashed 2013). The methods of women's peace movement in Liberia included praying and singing in a fish market, and working across religious and ethnic lines, with

Christian and Muslim women protesting side by side, as well as more dras-
tic methods such as a sex strike and threatening to strip off their clothes
(Tavaana 2017) which is considered a curse in Liberia, especially when it
is done by "older women." Leymah has used her fame to establish the
Gbowee Peace Foundation, which focuses on programs for education,
empowerment, and women's and youth leadership.[6]

The prominent peace activism of women in Liberia has set the stage for
a woman, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, to ascend to a top leadership position.
Leymah's comrade, Sirleaf, won the elections in 2005 and became not only
the first female president of Liberia but also the first elected female head of
state in Africa (Tavaana 2017; Rashed 2013; Nobel Women's Initiative
2017). Sirleaf established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, intro-
duced economic reforms, and reduced national debt, but her mandate was
marred by corruption and political scandals. Liberia's infrastructure was in
a shambles, the electricity grid was non-existent and roads, schools, and
medical facilities were barely functioning.[7] She made education one of her
top priorities in a country where 80 percent of the existing schools had
been destroyed by war, and she signed the Education Reform Act of 2011
into law which decentralized the Education Ministry through placing
authority in the hands of community members (Executive Mansion 2011).

As the example of Liberia has shown, if women are able to seize the
opportunity to actively participate in peace processes, then the conditions
necessary for a cultural shift towards a society that is not only open and
inclusive towards women, but also towards underprivileged, oppressed,
and silenced segments of a population, will come into existence. Women's
participation in the peace processes in other countries such as Burundi, El
Salvador, and Rwanda, as well as Liberia, led not only to a rise in women's
representation in political life, but also to the rise of civic initiatives focus-
ing on victims and their families, the protection of minorities, human
rights, and education, all of which were key in to the post-conflict recon-
ciliation process.[8]

Many developing states have taken steps towards increasing women's
political participation as a way to prevent conflict and foster constructive
intercommunal dialogue. For instance, the ruling parties in South Africa
(ANC), Mozambique (Frelimo), Namibia (Swapo), and Burundi estab-
lished women's quotas on their electoral candidate lists. In Rwanda,
where women comprise over 70 percent of the post-genocide population,
they held 49 percent of parliamentary seats after the 2003 elections
(Bennet 2014). Rwanda continues to have the largest female parliamentary

representation worldwide. In Burundi, women managed to include a provision in the peace agreement that would secure the gender quota of 30 percent in the legislative body, which has since increased to almost 45 percent.[9] Interestingly, female representation in national parliaments on the whole is far greater today in developing countries.[10]

In the Central African Republic, Rashida Mamba serves as an example of how the presence of female leadership at the communal level in peace processes is valuable in promoting sustainable peace. She is an exemplary women's activist and a peacebuilder who works for the Interfaith Peace Platform, which won an international UN peace award for its efforts in reconciling Muslims and Christians (Kalhar 2015). She has been working on social cohesion, trauma healing, and educational training for peace actors with various local communities' female leaders. Mamba points out the important role of women as guardians of cultural and social values:

> In the days of our grandparents, it was the women who were the main actors in bringing back peace to the communities. In tribal conflicts, if a woman comes out in a customary manner, grabs a leafy tree branch and shakes it between the two adversaries, the hatchet is buried. So women are the wardens of cultural values which are very important for peacebuilding, to put an end to conflict and to disagreements between communities. (Kalhar 2015)

Overall, the cases of Liberia and the Central African Republic were analyzed in response to the question posed earlier on the topic of access to quality education: *How do women in fragile and post-conflict societies overcome the cultural, political, and social structures, based on patriarchal values of male domination, that impede this access?* The argument presented was that the participation of women in peace processes is one of the necessary ingredients that facilitates both women's access to quality education and progressive social shifts. Studies have often cited gender equality as important for peace and social progress, and equal access to education has been associated with the better inclusion of women in all spheres of social life (Stacey and Thorne 1985; Kabeer 2000; Walby 2005).

All of the above-mentioned cases show that women tend to influence peace processes mostly as communal and civil society activists. They also show, especially in the case of Liberia, how the activists' efforts have helped to pave the way for women's participation in the political sphere.

Despite the increase in women in politics in countries such as South Africa, Rwanda, Mozambique, Namibia, and Burundi, there are still difficulties evident regarding women's participation in formal negotiations and

post-conflict political life. The root of these difficulties are cultural and religious practices that from childhood socialize people into specific gender roles which contribute to their lack of access to quality education. In many societies, despite the transformation of social and cultural norms guiding women's and men's lifestyles, electoral success has continued to evade women. However, as was exemplified by the activism of Leymah Gbowee and Rashida Mamba, and the leadership of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, when women get the opportunity to serve in a leadership position, their priorities often include educational initiatives and reforms that improve access to quality education for all groups, and especially for girls and minorities.

The Importance of Funding for Education

As mentioned earlier, funding is one of the key factors in examining determinants of access to quality education. For example, if we look at the budget spending of the richest country in the world, the United States (Sherman 2015), we can clearly see the degree of importance allocated to education. According to the National Priorities Project's assessment of the US federal budget for 2017, a discretionary spending of $622.6 billion, or 54 percent, of the budget is dedicated to military spending in 2017, while only 2 percent, $85 billion, will be spent on education (Tucker and Koshgarian 2016). Although the US may have some of the best universities in the world, post-secondary education is accessible only to those who can afford to pay around $24,061 for an academic year at an in-state public college, which was the average cost of attendance for the 2015–2016 academic year according to the College Board (Collegedata 2016). Meanwhile, the World Bank's data reveals that countries such as Afghanistan and Benin spent about 18 to 22 percent of their public expenditure on education from 2011 to 2015 (World Bank 2016). Although the USA spends more per student on education than any other country, most of the money comes from parents or student loans. The personal savings of the working middle class and a credit-based economy sustain this system.

To improve access to quality education in the impoverished and conflict-stricken regions of the world, international donors and organizations have invested in building schools and training teachers. UNICEF in particular has been very active in supporting and implementing education-related projects in fragile societies; these projects provide basic reading, writing, and numeracy training, as well as vital information on health, nutrition, hygiene, and sanitation. This organization has built cost-effective schools

in rural and urban areas, improving access to education for thousands of children. UNICEF has also developed Community-Based Schools (CBS) and Accelerated Learning Centres (ALC) to serve schoolchildren, especially girls and children from marginalized communities (UNICEF 2011).

Despite aid and significant portions of public funding dedicated to education, post-conflict and developing countries face many obstacles that obstruct access to quality education. For example, in Tanzania, poverty and a lack of funding have been major impediments to such access. To put this into context, the country is ranked 204 out of 230 nations in the world for GDP per capita (The School of St Jude 2017) and one-third of the country's population is below the poverty line (African Health Observatory 2010). Due to lack of resources, the government school system cannot provide efficient education as it struggles with a shortage of facilities, trained staff, and teachers.

In Tanzania, effective English-language instruction is in high demand, especially as students begin to reach higher levels of schooling. While Kiswahili is the language of instruction in primary schools, English is a compulsory subject. In secondary schools, English is the language of instruction, even though neither students nor their teachers have sufficient competence in the language. Families with money have the option of sending their children to private, primary schools that use English as the medium of instruction, automatically opening the door for wealthy children to obtain well-paying jobs in the future and participate in public life. At the same time, children that are educated in public schools fall behind and do not have the same opportunities in the job market and public life. Therefore, in Tanzania a lack of funding for education is contributing to the gap between the rich and the poor and to a never-ending cycle of inequality. There are some schools that defy the common practices. One of them is the School of St Jude which has made efforts to overcome the barriers by providing education in the English language to 150 students every year (they are limited to this amount due to funding) who come from families that live on less than $1.25 per day.

Rwanda faces a distinct set of impediments to education. In the aftermath of its genocide, more than two-thirds of the teachers in primary or secondary schools had either been killed or had fled the country (Johnson and Maclean 2008, p. 141). Children were left to run households, which prevented them from attending school. Education policies in post-genocide Rwanda have been promoting national unity and reconciliation based on the concept of a common national identity, emphasizing Rwandan

citizenship rather than ethnic belonging. However, the history of the Rwandan genocide has not yet been incorporated into the educational curriculum. Although positive steps and significant funding have been directed towards education reform, Rwandans are simply not ready to make revisions to their curriculum. On a positive note and more recently, public funding has especially targeted poor and rural communities, and joint governmental and communal efforts have led to primary and secondary enrollment increases (Obura 2013). As budgetary allocations for education have increased, the financial burden on communities and parents has been reduced. Unlike the case of Tanzania, it seems that through funding Rwanda has made an effort to eliminate the potential for the schooling system to contribute to gaps between the rich and poor in the job market and public life.

Post-apartheid South Africa is an interesting case of a developing country which has employed education as a foundational mechanism for social change. Its government has made it a priority to provide funding for an educational system that introduces the new ideas of equality and unity to upcoming generations. In apartheid South Africa, "schools serving white students had more than ten times the funding per pupil than the schools serving African students" (Ladd and Fiske 2004), which meant that the post-apartheid government had to redistribute funding in a more inclusive and egalitarian manner. A new constitution built on the concept of a common citizenship and a bill of rights was drafted and new policies of equality were implemented. However, South Africa's "social fabric" was fractured and hard feelings and tensions between the white minority and black majority could not just go away overnight. There was a need for past wrongs and grievances to be recognized through education as well as social programs for all segments of society to cooperate in a new fashion. Education has been seen as a major platform for nation-building and reconciliation. Therefore, major funding in South Africa has been invested to that end.

Despite these efforts, South Africa's education system has been faced with additional complex challenges. When apartheid was still in force, the system attempted not only to control the majority of the population politically and economically, but also in terms of subjectivity and knowledge (Nkomo 2015, p. 252). Thus, the black majority was positioned as inferior and irrational, and therefore unfit for self-government and undeserving of equal rights. To counteract this ideology, post-apartheid educational goals have sought to build a common national narrative for blacks and

whites. However, the new narrative has been plagued by simplifications, essentialism, and homo/xenophobia, while failing to address the fundamental social and economic problems of the nation (ibid., p. 253). This self-perpetuating dysfunctional system needed a major shift at the ideological level and its reformation took place through the introduction of a culture of peace (Iram and Wahrman 2006; Rivera 2004), and more specifically the Ubuntu concept. The Ubuntu concept highlights the interconnectedness of human society, with the implication that people should treat others as part of an extended human family (Eliastam 2015). A new set of values, attitudes, modes of behavior, and ways of life that reject violence, stress dialogue, and encourage an acceptance of differences was introduced into the school practices and curriculum in South Africa. Such changes led to the creation of a new ideology upon which education rests and a rupture in the self-perpetuating system of contention.

This section of the chapter has shown that funding plays a key role in enabling access to quality education. International donors and organizations, especially UNICEF, have recognized the need to invest in and fund education-related projects globally. The case studies of Tanzania, Rwanda, and South Africa reinforce the argument that funding is one of the key elements in ensuring that people have access to quality education. In Tanzania, poverty and a lack of funding impeded access to quality education in that only the wealthy had access to private schools that offered instruction in the English language. In Rwanda, investments have been made in the education system to promote reconciliation and a common national identity. However, the funding that has been allocated to education policies has not been directed towards incorporating the history of its genocide into the school curriculum. Lastly, South Africa's post-apartheid government has redistributed funding as a means of promoting equality between its white and black populations in accordance with the Ubuntu concept.

Conclusion

The factors impeding access to education in post-conflict and fragile societies, embedded in culture, gender, and funding-related issues, have been discussed in this chapter. Although the focus of this book is post-conflict and fragile societies, it is important to mention that cultural practices as well as gender and funding-related issues also cause problems in developed countries. In Ireland, cultural practices related to admissions criteria based on faith continue to negatively impact education, and there is a civil movement

that advocates abolishing the legislation that allows Irish schools to implement these admissions criteria. This legislation is particularly worrisome as more than 90 percent of state schools are run by the Catholic Church and the children of parents belonging to either other faiths or no faith are at the bottom of their admissions lists. The remaining 10 percent of the schools are run by other denominations, but all schools are required to follow a standard curriculum with 30 minutes a day dedicated to religious instruction (Sherwood 2015). Schools run by religious organizations receive the majority of public money, and a sanctioned system of preference exists in which students of a particular religion will receive their acceptance to a school before students of other faiths (due to the perception that they do not share the ethos of the school), in the event that the school's quota has already been reached. Children of atheist parents do not have much of a choice, except, for example, the Educate Together schools, which offer inter-denominational schooling and guarantee equality of access to children irrespective of their social, cultural, or religious background.[11] There are 77 primary schools and several secondary schools established and run by Educate Together across Ireland. The demand for the establishment of schools that are not run by faith institutions is driven by a high level of demand from parents and pupils.

As women's access to education has featured prominently in this chapter, it should also be mentioned that in many countries around the world, it is boys whose access to education has been impeded. In around 51 countries, particularly in Latin America, girls are enrolled at higher rates than boys (Winthrop and McGivney 2016). This trend is ascribed to male students being more attracted to gangs, which leads them to drop out of school at higher rates. Among African Americans in the USA, women have overtaken men in both high-school and university graduation rates. Male students tend to have lower test scores and grades than their female counterparts (Banks and Banks 2009). Moreover, the decrease in social mobility among African Americans may be explained by the stratified educational system, lack of funding, and poverty.

In recent years in the United Kingdom, there has also been concern and debates over women outperforming men at the university level (and in university entrance exams) and a higher rate of women securing places in universities (Cassidy 2015). This coincided with the fact that, in England, the cap that many universities had on the amount of students they admitted was lifted in 2015. Some might view this as a method of attempting to increase the enrollment of men in universities. There was some controversy

about this change, and the Higher Education Policy Institute (HEPI) presented a report on the issue which the National Union of Students (NUS) was critical of and described as framing the issue as a "battle of the sexes" (Weale 2016). The HEPI report explained that in 2015, the gender gap was 9.2 percent with women, at that point in time, being 35 percent more likely to attend university while white males from disadvantaged backgrounds were the least likely group overall to attend university (8.9 percent were found to continue their education). From the standpoint of Sorana Vieru of the NUS, treating this issue as a matter of the battle of the sexes "obscures the socio-economic issues that impact young working class men's progression after school into education and employment" (ibid.). Her approach to this has been to focus on the financial pressures that lead marginalized groups, especially disadvantaged white men, towards under-achieving and dropping out of university.

Despite the fact that access to quality education is an issue that exists globally, problems related to access to education in fragile and post-conflict states are amplified by the presence of conflict. The quality of education decreases when there is a lack of facilities and trained staff. Schools often become dangerous breeding grounds for the recruitment of rebels and extremists. Immediately after a conflict, a state's priorities usually are rebuilding its infrastructure and political system rather than educational reform. However, in the aftermath of conflict, there is a unique opportunity to repair educational institutions in an integrated fashion.

Rebuilding is typically undertaken piecemeal, but educators should seize the opportunity to develop, revise, and improve educational components in a holistic manner, as they may be starting from scratch. Looking at the issues that impede access to education, it seems that secular trends empowered by globalization and modernization will eventually allow for the increased enrollment of both women and men in the education system. Cultural shifts in attitudes and reforms towards such a goal will contribute to the gender equality and stability of conflict-stricken regions of the world.

Notes

1. See: http://www.cfr.org/education/case-universal-basic-education-worlds-poorest-boys-girls/p9739.
2. See the transcript and video of the event entitled "Afghanistan beyond the Headlines: Women, Youth, and War" (2013), *Wilson Center*. Available at:

https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/afghanistan-beyond-the-headlines-women-youth-and-war (accessed February 16, 2017).

3. See more in-depth information on Afghanistan's population (Bongaarts 2009, pp. 2985–2990).

4. See more information on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), "Landmark Resolution on Women, Peace and Security." *Office of the Special Advisor in Gender Issues and Advancement of Women*. Available at: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/ (accessed February 16, 2017).

5. See in-depth report by Pablo Castillo Diaz and Simon Tordjman (2012), "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence." *UN Women*. Available at: http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/03AWomenPeaceNeg.pdf (accessed February 16, 2017).

6. See more information on the Gbowee Peace Foundation (2015), "Gbowee Peace Foundation Africa—The Foundation." *Gbowee Peace Foundation*. Available at: http://www.gboweepeaceafrica.org/index/page/id/2 (accessed February 16, 2017).

7. See: http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/10/20111012 7284188210.html.

8. See in-depth report by Pablo Castillo Diaz and Simon Tordjman (2012), "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence." *UN Women*. Available at: http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/03AWomenPeaceNeg.pdf (accessed February 16, 2017).

9. See more information on Burundi in a report by Borislava Manojlovic (2015), "Culture, Gender and Mediation: Challenges and Lessons Learned." BRICS Policy Center. Available at: http://bricspolicycenter.org/homolog/uploads/trabalhos/6825/doc/125114350.pdf (accessed February 16, 2017).

10. See the rankings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union of women's representation on parliaments worldwide (2017), "Women in Parliaments: World Classification." *Inter-Parliamentary Union*. Available at: http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm (accessed February 16, 2017).

11. See more information about Educate Together, an independent NGO that runs schools that guarantee equality of access and esteem to children "irrespective of their social, cultural or religious background" (2017), "What is Educate Together?" *Educate Together*. Available at: http://www.educatetogether.ie/about/what-is-educate-together (accessed February 16, 2017).

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Education at the Heart of Extremism

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the relationship between extremism and education, with a particular focus on Islamic and anti-immigration extremism as the most compelling and widespread phenomena today. While there do exist other forms of extremism, such as white supremacism, Christian and Buddhist fundamentalism, right-wing nationalism, and leftist totalitarianism, Islamic and anti-immigration extremism were chosen for analysis based on the fact that this chapter is concerned with volatile post-conflict and conflict-stricken societies, primarily in the Middle East and Africa, in which Islamic extremism is actively obstructing education, educational practices, and actors. Simultaneously, the wave of new migrants and refugees escaping from these post-conflict and conflict-stricken societies has swept throughout Europe and caused a major backlash amongst host populations. The liberal West is seeing the rise of neo-conservative, radical, and anti-immigrant attitudes pivoting towards isolationism and right-wing nationalism, revealing that conflicts rooted in extremist ideologies have created a ripple effect globally. It is only through educating the public and countering misinformation, whether in the West or the East, that extremist ideologies can be counteracted and contained so that they do not lead to more violence and conflict.

Extremism, Radicalization, and Drivers of Extremism

Before understanding how education and countering of misinformation can be used to thwart and contain extremist ideologies, it is essential to examine what the concept of extremism entails. The term "violent extremism" is a recent concept which has become widespread after the emergence of terrorist plots and attacks in the West that have been carried out under the name of Islam (Sedgwick 2010; Borum 2011; Federal Bureau of Investigation 2017; Beinart 2015; Husain 2013). The concept of "Countering Violent Extremism" (CVE)[1] gained major traction and was incorporated into political jargon in 2015 with the CVE Summit chaired by President Barack Obama at the White House, which was attended by ministers from almost 70 countries (The White House 2015). During that same year, another high-level meeting at the United Nations (UN) followed on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly with the UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon announcing a "UN Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism"[2] to come out in 2016 (UN General Assembly 2016). Bourgeoning studies, programs, and initiatives on violent extremism in recent decades have been indicative of the perceived threat that violent extremism presents worldwide (Borum 2011; Kruglanski et al. 2014; Christmann 2012; Gambetta and Hertog 2016).

Analytical models have been created in order to comprehend what attracts individuals towards extremist ideologies. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has come up with a "push-pull" model categorizing the drivers of extremism as structural and socio-psychological. According to USAID's model, structural factors are described as "push factors"; this refers to outside contexts that enable conditions for radicalization such as ongoing open conflict, governance failure, social, political, and cultural marginalization of certain groups, economic factors, poverty, and so on (Denoeux and Carter 2009). The socio-psychological drivers, or "pull factors," are based on the individual's need for recognition, belonging, and respect for their identity (ibid.). The lack of recognition as well as the marginalization and exclusion of certain individuals and groups based on their ethnicity, religion, or color pulls these individuals towards extremist groups who offer them promises of care and security and a sense of meaning and recognition. Appeals to identity are crucial in motivating involvement in violent extremist groups, especially when it comes to indoctrinating extremist ideologies and educating members on how their activities and goals are legitimate and purposeful. The issue with this model is that it attempts to explain the

attractiveness of extremism in a very hands-on, simplified, and practical way without delving into its complexity and/or interaction between structures and individuals.

To gain an in-depth understanding of the attractiveness of extremism as it relates to the interaction between structures and individuals, it is essential to address the process of radicalization. It is through radicalization that an individual becomes an extremist. Radicalization is defined as a social process in which identities, particularly ethnic and religious ones, are used to recruit youth to become involved in violent movements. For radicalization to occur and be accepted, the new members go through a process of initiation, socialization, and the creation of hard-to-break ties with the other members of the organization. While appeals to their ethnic and religious identities may contribute to youth joining extremist groups, research cannot confirm that any of these are singular drivers of violent extremism. It seems that a combination of various factors, which may differ depending on the specific context, lead to a propensity towards violent extremism.

This chapter aims to unpack how different constellations of factors lead to the creation of positive attractors that incite violence, through the case studies of Boko Haram, as an example of an extremist organization targeting education, and the European right-wing nationalism and anti-immigrant extremism that has emerged as a result of an influx of migrants in Europe. The first case study showcases how a distorted Islamic religious ideology feeds into an extremist attitude towards education. The second case study demonstrates how anti-immigrant discourses have led to the shrinking of public spaces and how misinformation and a lack of educated dialogue enables the rise of right-wing ideologies and violence towards immigrants. The cases are seemingly different, but at the heart of both are control and the exertion of power. Knowledge and information can be considered as some of the most valuable commodities in the modern world. When they are dispersed through the ideological vehicles of Islamic religiosity and quasi-conservative nationalism, we can see how they are being misrepresented, skewed, and distorted so that they become digestible to the populace.

Interconnections: Education and Extremism

While many scholarly studies posit that there is no visible correlation between education and extremism, apart from certain instances where religious schools can become a potential breeding ground for extremism

(Sanderson 2016; Ignatius 2014; Singer 2001; Campos 2014; Leung 2005; Looney 2003), we will be looking at this relationship more broadly, in terms of the power and ideology through which new members are pulled into extremist beliefs. Education[3] can be a strategy with which to enlighten people and broaden their minds through the transmission of new ideas and knowledge. Knowledge at its best is about having access to information that promotes progress. However, education can also be abused for the purposes of perpetuating ignorance and disempowering and controlling people through the dispersal of an ideology. It can serve as a doctrine circulated via the media, religious teachings and/or figures and cultural norms that has been set in motion to protect the interests of powerful elites. Extremist ideologues use exclusive and contentious rhetoric that employs the simplistic dichotomy of "Us versus Them," leading to tensions and escalation of violence. The tension and violence that emerge are rooted in the fear that this dichotomy triggers; the fear combined with ignorance about the "Other," caused by a lack of information or deliberate misinformation, becomes a combustible mix.

Interestingly, individuals involved in extremist behavior have different literacy levels and come from a variety of occupations and socioeconomic backgrounds (Lee 2011; Kharroub 2015; Krueger 2008; The Psychlopaedia Team 2016). One would expect that a low literacy level would certainly contribute to the lack of ability to think critically about extremist ideologies (Nwafor and Nwogu 2015; Allan et al. 2015). However, educated individuals can very well be radicalized and most Western recruits are "from middle class families with secular upbringing, and with high school education" (Nwafor and Nwogu 2015). Sageman's study shows that the leadership of radicalized groups consists of well-educated middle-class individuals, out of which more than 88 percent had finished college and 20 percent possessed doctorate degrees (Sageman 2004).

On the other hand, some studies have argued that education, particularly religious one, can lead to the indoctrination of children with radical ideology (Osborne 2016; Behn 2016). For example, in some religious schools—madrasas—radical beliefs are transferred to young children by authority figures such as imams or religious teachers. Children indoctrinated with radical ideology from an early age then become easy targets for terrorist recruiters. In Afghanistan and Pakistan, there is a worrying trend of children under 18 years of age that are being recruited by militants and their sympathizers through indoctrination rooted in distorted Islamic

teachings. The number of suicide bombers between 12 and 18 years old in Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey has been on the rise (Lakhani 2010; Markey 2016). In 2016, a suicide bomber, who had been recruited by ISIS and was responsible for the deaths of 53 people after a Kurdish wedding blast, was believed to have been between 12 and 14 years old (Hume et al. 2016). Recently in Medan, Indonesia, an 18-year-old with explosives in his backpack tried and failed to detonate a suicide bomb in the middle of a packed Sunday Mass, while 15-year-old Abu al-Bara'a al-Ansari succeeded in carrying out a bombing attack in Kirkuk that left three wounded just hours before another child bomber was foiled in the same city (Rosenbaum 2016).

The travesty is that children are seen and used as weapons of war by extremist groups such as ISIS and Boko Haram, whose aim is to raise the next generation of jihadists. The recruitment of children by ISIS is distinct from the recruitment of child soldiers by other groups. Child soldiers in Liberia and Uganda are usually kidnapped or captured and then indoctrinated to fight, whereas with ISIS there are a significant number of parents ready to sacrifice their sons for the cause (Human Rights Watch 2008; Shapiro 2016; McLaughlin 2016). Distorted religious doctrine in both religious schools and homes, based on the "Us versus Them" dichotomy, infuses children with a radical ideology from an early age. While not all religious schools are radical, most of them are focused on religious teachings rather than the sciences or other subjects that tend to promote analytical skills. In many of the said religious schools, students are also not allowed to watch television or read any materials not prescribed to them by their school, which limits their knowledge base and the information that they have access to. This feeds into the notion of control that extremist groups seek to gain over their recruits. Parents in regions stricken with poverty may choose such a school system because their children are provided with a free education as well as room and board, in contrast to public schools which tend to be overcrowded and lacking in resources, teachers, and staff.

It is important to note that exposure to math, sciences, and other subjects that foster critical and rational thinking does not necessarily preclude children and youth from believing in fanatical religious ideas. This is especially important to take into consideration because their indoctrination and exposure to such ideas at a young age can impact them as they

get older, especially in the case of those who go on to attend institutions of higher education. For instance, research shows an increasing number of post-secondary science graduates and engineers in Islamist organizations, which may suggest that technical disciplines can also contribute to reductive styles of thinking, or that religious beliefs and scientific thinking can be separated and compartmentalized within the same individual (Gambetta and Hertog 2009). In contrast to children and youth recruited by ISIS, as was revealed in the cases of Pakistan and Afghanistan, the youths recruited by Boko Haram and Al Shabaab in Nigeria and Somalia are mostly unskilled or uneducated. They do stress the lack of opportunities and employment as the factors that made them join those groups (Onuoha 2014).

While there has been an emphasis on education in the form of schooling, one final point to emphasize is that extremist ideas adopted by youth do not necessarily have to come from madrasas but could also come from peers, parents, and other influential figures in the community (Davies 2014, p. 451). Moreover, the ideas that children hear in school need to be confirmed and reinforced in other venues and with key mediators of meaning such as parents and peers before they are internalized. It is through the affirmation of the worldviews that they are exposed to in school within different contexts by these influential figures that leads to the occurrence of youth extremism both inside and outside of school settings. Indoctrination becomes functional with the authority figure, which can range from the cleric to teacher, parent, or a senior peer.

Taking into consideration all of the studies that have been examined, further research is needed to analyze the relationship not only between levels of education and violent extremism, but also types of education, taking into consideration ideological indoctrination and the allure of extremism.

CASE STUDY #1: BOKO HARAM

Boko Haram roughly translates from the region's language Hausa as "Western education is forbidden" (Human Rights Watch 2016). It promotes a version of Islam which makes it "haram," or forbidden, for Muslims to take part in any political or social activity associated with Western society, rendering secular and/or Western education their main

targets of attack. Boko Haram was officially founded in 2002 by Mohammed Yusuf with the objectives of opposing Western education and creating an Islamic state in Nigeria (Genocide Watch 2014). While it was not originally intended to be violent in nature, in 2009 a large number of its members had been arrested, which in turn led to clashes with the Nigerian military (ibid.). After that, Boko Haram resorted to robbing banks, extortion and kidnappings to fund its operations. Most recently, Boko Haram has declared allegiance to ISIS, and has begun to mimic the brutality with which ISIS acts. This is incredibly worrying given that Boko Haram controls up to six times the amount of territory of ISIS (Genocide Watch 2014) and that the Global Terrorism Index's 2016 report has stated that in 2015 both Boko Haram and ISIS were among the four groups listed for being responsible for 74 percent of all deaths from terrorism (The Global Terrorism Index 2016). As stated by Christina Lamb in the article "Boko Haram's Schoolgirl Captives: Where Are They all?," "in its ever more violent quest to create an Islamic caliphate in northern Nigeria, the group has killed more than 15,000 people, razed villages and forced more than 2 million people to flee their homes over the past seven years" (Lamb 2016b).

Boko Haram is an interesting case study in many ways. Its extremist positions are based on radical religious beliefs, but the extreme ideology and distorted religious beliefs that propel groups to violence are not a new occurrence in Nigeria. Islamic extremism as a motivating ideology behind Boko Haram's action has gained traction under special circumstances. Some of these circumstances are marginalization, particularly of youth, as well as unemployment, impunity, corruption, and precarious social conditions. However, if we are to understand the roots of extremist behavior and the attractiveness of Boko Haram's fanatical ideology we need to dig deeper and examine the power and control that are at the center of extremist allure.

The questions that need to be asked to understand the rise of extremism exemplified in Boko Haram are connected with understanding the Nigerian government's slow response, or lack thereof, in the wake of the Chibok girls' kidnappings. Nigerian authorities knew about the imminent attack but their responses were slow or nonexistent. Can this be attributed to a lack of capacity, lack of political will, or something else? Let us take a closer look at Boko Haram.

Boko Haram has attacked more than 1200 schools in northeast Nigeria and has specialized in killing hundreds of teachers and pupils, abducting children, and blowing up educational facilities (Winsor 2015). The killings and abductions of schoolchildren, suicide attacks, and the internal displacement of millions of people have been so devastating that the public has lost track of the fact that the education system has been seriously impeded. According to the Nigerian Union of Teachers, between 2009 and 2015, Boko Haram have murdered more than 600 teachers in northern Nigeria and 19,000 teachers have fled their posts because of the violence (IRIN 2015). As a result of the fear campaign led by Boko Haram, a devastating figure of only 5 percent of northern Nigerian girls make it to secondary school (ibid). The school attendance and literacy levels in the northeastern part of Nigeria are a reflection of the fear that teachers, students, and parents live in. Furthermore, more than 1100 schools have been closed or destroyed since the start of 2015 across the Lake Chad Basin region, which also encompasses parts of neighboring Niger, Cameroon, and Chad (Al Jazeera 2015; UNICEF 2016). The attack on education has already impacted Nigeria's social fabric, affecting the economy and the future workforce, which is less skilled and less educated. Additionally, Boko Haram's attacks have displaced 1.4 million children across the region, many of whom have been abducted and used as child soldiers and suicide bombers (UNICEF 2016). Given the disastrous impact that Boko Haram has had on Nigeria and its neighboring countries, the UN estimates that billions of dollars are needed to help victims of Boko Haram, branding the conflict as "the largest crisis in Africa" (AFP 2016).

Boko Haram's most notable attack on education and the one which led it to gain the world's attention was its kidnapping of 276 schoolgirls from a secondary school in Chibok in 2014 (Human Rights Watch 2016). Posing as guards of the school, Boko Haram members broke into the school grounds, and abducted the girls in trucks, taking them into the Kadunga portion of the Sambisa forest where Boko Haram was believed to have fortified compounds. Many of the girls were taken to the neighboring countries of Chad and Cameroon. The girls that were kidnapped were between the ages of 16 and 18 and only a few managed to escape by jumping out of the trucks. Fifty-seven of the schoolgirls managed to escape over the next few months and 21 girls were freed in October 2016

(Lee 2016). After their return, the girls have often been marginalized by certain sections of their communities as a result of the belief that they are still affiliated with Boko Haram.

The Chibok incident was not the first but one in a series of abductions of thousands of girls which had gone almost unreported, as had a massacre at a boys' boarding school in Buni Yadi, in which 59 boys were shot dead or had their throats slit (Lamb 2016a). The Nigerian government's response was sluggish at best and international players' response was not overly energetic. The USA and the UK did send a few dozen military and intelligence personnel to search for the girls, especially after this incident became well known because of the global campaign Bring Back Our Girls started by Ibrahim M. Abdullahi, a lawyer from Abuja, and his hashtag #BringBackOurGirls (kunbitinuoye 2014). The hashtag began to trend globally on Twitter and the story spread internationally, becoming for a time Twitter's most tweeted hashtag. By 2016, it had been retweeted 6.1 million times (Lamb 2016a). This campaign has put some pressure on the Nigerian government to act against Boko Haram, but it has only been partially successful.

What Can Be Done?

Certainly the fastest way to deal with extremist groups, such as Boko Haram, is through coercive power and force. The recent advancement of the Nigerian army in Sambisa Forest, where Boko Haram is believed to have compounds, has become important for President Muhammadu Buhari, whose government is challenged by recession, social discontent, and pervasive corruption (AFP 2016). However, for counter-extremist measures to work, they have to go hand in hand with addressing the root causes of discontent and grievances whether these are unemployment, marginalization, or prejudice. A more sustainable and durable approach for dealing with extremism would be to understand and counteract its system of ideas, or its ideology, and this is where education, writ large, can play a decisive role.

Power and control are exerted not only through material resources such as military or economic power, but also through power over knowledge and information. How we name things becomes of utmost importance, as it shapes the discourse and legitimizes positions, which ultimately means that those who have power over knowledge and information

have control over the discourse. Education, therefore, is an alternative perceived as a threat by those that aim to use knowledge and information to misinform and manipulate the public in the hope of keeping it ignorant and in the dark. Hence, education in broader terms means seeking enlightenment and truth, especially at a time of shrinking public discourses and quenching of alternative voices. In other words, education is not just limited to schools as a source of knowledge and information. Education encompasses a wide variety of voices including the media and/or alternative media, authors, artists, dissidents, whistleblowers, and activists, among others. This approach to dealing with extremist groups gets at the idea that wars are often not won on the battlefield but in virtual spaces.

Given the importance of power over knowledge and information and its impact over shaping the discourse on extremism, attention needs to be given to the language and naming of groups, individuals, events, and behaviors. Nigerian Nobel Peace Prize winner Wole Soyinka calls for attentiveness to language by calling on journalists, academics, and other public figures to be mindful of "language as part of the armory of human resistance." For instance, the public discourse in which Daesh is called the Islamic State only reaffirms and legitimizes its claims. There is a responsibility in calling things what they are. In this case, Islamic State is not Islamic and it is not a state; it's more like an "Anti-Islamic Murder Incorporated," according to Soyinka (Friedman 2016). Extending the logic behind the naming of groups and the legitimization of their claims, it seems that in Boko Haram's case a deep-seated grievance that is an integral part of the name of the organization has been misunderstood, especially in the West.

In light of the importance of language, the name "Boko Haram" is a subject of some dispute and learning the background of the name will illuminate the roots and origins of its claims and grievance. While *haram* clearly comes from the Arabic word for "forbidden," *boko* comes from a Hausa word which in the vernacular translates into "Western education." However, the Hausa expert Paul Newman says *boko* is derived from a Hausa word with meanings such as "fraud," "fake," or "inauthentic," and these meanings date back to British colonial government (Newman 2013). When the British colonized Nigeria, they replaced the traditional Islamic and Arabic-script-based educational system with a Western educational system which was perceived as a "fraudulent deception being imposed upon the Hausa by a conquering European force" (Magazine Monitor 2014). This resulted in a long-standing grievance among Muslims in what

is now northern Nigeria, Niger, and southern Cameroon. Boko is a shortened version of *ilimin boko* which is a Hausa phrase for education introduced by colonialists. *Ilimi* means "education" and *ilimin boko* means "fake education." It is good to know the history behind the name and nature of the grievance because such knowledge in turn can influence responses and policies.

As the example of Boko Haram demonstrates, a key strategy for countering violent extremism through education, apart from educating the public about the nature of grievance and extremist ideology, is empowering communities and victims of terrorism. Educators from civil society, school systems, authors, artists, and activists all have a role to play by engaging with marginalized populations and building greater trust at the community level. One of the successful initiatives focusing on communities affected by Boko Haram was implemented through the Mandela Washington Fellowship and the International Coalition for the Eradication of Hunger and Abuse (ICEHA). The artist and community leader Olakunle Joel Adewale developed a project that focused on empowering young victims of Boko Haram. Adewale has worked with over 3000 survivors of Boko Haram to rebuild trust and enable healing though the development of narratives that enable them to make sense of their lives and future after trauma (Tangirala 2016). The participants in the program used theater, painting, and dance to cultivate a community of young ambassadors who promote peace and tolerance by sharing their stories. Young people also used visual art to express the trauma they have endured as a result of the conflict and through artistic expression they managed to engage their peers who were at risk of dropping out of school altogether and were seen as potential recruits for Boko Haram (ibid.).

Overall, the Boko Haram case study shows how education has been used as the main ideological block to inspire extremism. The ideology of Boko Haram, which attracted many of its followers, has historical roots in resistance to Western colonialism and its exertion of dominance through education. The Nigerian government's lack of response to issues impacting youth such as recession, social discontent, and corruption allowed Boko Haram to get away with attacks on educational institutions, teachers, and children over an extended period. An important takeaway point from the Boko Haram case study is that the use of specific language, naming, and ideologies is key in motivating youth to join extremist groups. By placing its main ideological grievance in the very name of the organization, Boko Haram became a recognized entity on the international stage.

To counteract extremism, it is essential to understand the nature of the grievances on which it feeds, and ideology that attracts its members. Only then is it possible to respond appropriately. As initiatives such as the Global Classroom Initiative (GCI) of the ICEHA (ICEHA 2014), have demonstrated, educating the public and countering misinformation are crucial in counteracting and containing the extremist ideologies professed by groups like Boko Haram. Lastly, the Boko Haram case study revealed that the education of youth to counter extremism should not just be limited to schools and should include a variety of actors including, artists, authors, and activists who advocate for enlightenment, truth, and an expansion of public discourses.

Case Study #2: Education, Anti-immigrant Discourses, and Radicalization in Europe

While the previous case study addressed Boko Haram in Nigeria, this section of the chapter will proceed to examine the allure of extremist ideology in Europe today, particularly focusing on anti-immigrant discourses, the rise of right-wingers, and the role of education. One of the main issues and points of contention in both the developed and developing world today is the influx of refugees from volatile areas of Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and so on. The world is interconnected not only through economic, financial, political, and technological systems, but also through the transnational migration of people. The ongoing conflicts and refugee crises in several Asian and African countries increased the total number of forcibly displaced people worldwide at the end of 2014 to almost 60 million, the highest level since World War II (UNHCR 2015). According to a Pew Research Center analysis of data from Eurostat, in 2015 around 1.3 million migrants applied for asylum in the 28 member states of the European Union (EU), Norway, and Switzerland—nearly double the previous high-water mark of roughly 700,000 that was set in 1992 after the end of the Cold War (Connor 2016). Eastern European countries like Kosovo and Albania also contribute to the overall flow of asylum seekers into the EU, Norway, and Switzerland, but about half of the refugees in 2015 traced their origins to countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq (ibid.). Frontex, the EU's external border force, states that more than 1,800,000 migrants have arrived in Europe in 2015.[4] The International Organization for Migration (IOM) reports that 328,225 migrants and refugees entered

Europe by sea in 2016 through October 23, arriving mostly in Greece and Italy.[5] Most of them have since been relocated to Germany, France, and Spain, respectively. Europe cannot look at Syria as a distant conflict any more, but must see it as a burning issue that affects the everyday life of its own citizens.

The influx of refugees and migrants in combination with interventionism, neocolonialist attitudes, downright open involvement in the very same conflict zones from which the refugees and migrants are arriving, and the proxy wars of some Western countries have made their societies vulnerable to turmoil at home. Recent events, including Brexit, the election of Donald Trump in the United States, and the rise of the European far right, are signs of a revolt against neoliberal policies. Within this context, the behavior of states has been marred by lies, demagoguery, interventionism, and disregard for the poor and the working class. The contention in the developed world manifests itself most vividly in its anti-immigration narratives as well as the rise of the radical right. We live in an age when it is almost impossible to hear the truth in a public space colonized by an elitist corporate media and by right-wingers' discourse, which depicts refugees and migrants as the root cause of the struggles that the poor and working class are confronted with.

The anti-immigrant and hate-mongering rhetoric that has become a popular tactic among politicians to garner support from the disaffected masses has led to the dominance of discourses in public spheres that are exclusive, one-sided, and uniform, and has also led to the repression of progressive and inclusive voices. Under these circumstances, educating the public about what is truly going on and overcoming this contention in the realm of public discourse becomes very challenging. Truth-telling has become a hostage of politics especially on topics such as economic inequity, environmental degradation, and cyberwar, let alone partisan reporting on the bloody conflicts in Syria, Ukraine, Yemen, and in general, the Middle East.

The perpetual contention in the realm of discourses is reflected in attitudes, behaviors, and interactions between immigrants and the host societies. As a result of the "Us versus Them" dichotomy, a so-called "Othering" and the view that refugees are "dirty" and/or dangerous, has captured the public discourse in both Europe and the USA. Through the process of "Othering," the refugee is seen as a criminal and possibly a terrorist. Many European host countries have been working to "integrate"

refugees into their host societies, hoping, through integration to ensure the continuation of the host culture. However, even as immigrants integrate into their host countries, the "Us versus Them" narrative still persists, leading to the development and dominance of radicalized narratives.

Radicalized narratives and totalitarianism are intertwined in that the state's expulsion and/or elimination of "Others" (in this case refugees and migrants) depends on stories about who the expelled are, and why they must be (legally or physically) annihilated (Cobb 2013). Having control over the use of language as well as a monopoly over knowledge and information are crucial factors in the creation and presence of destructive narratives in the public space. It is through education that encompasses alternative voices, the voices of those who have been miraculously able to preserve some professional ethics as well as dedication to unbiased research and truth, that radicalized narratives can be destabilized and counteracted. As was the case with Boko Haram, addressed earlier, alternative voices can come from different places ranging from activists and journalists to scholars, whistleblowers, and dissident writers. Such alternative voices are what education in the broader sense is all about—fighting for truth and decency as well as exposing hidden scripts and behaviors in the sea of demagoguery and lies about the "Other." Amy Goodman from Democracy Now, Noam Chomsky, Slavoj Žižek, and Julian Assange are examples of educators of the new age who are capable of illuminating, for those willing to listen, the causes and effects of human (mis)behavior in this world, in which truth is crushed by the noise and spinning of the corporate media.

Going back to the issue of migrants and radicalization, it is important to be attentive to what the hidden scripts and narratives are telling us and how we can educate the public about them. Radicalized anti-immigrant narratives assign blame for the negative events in one society to the refugees or immigrants. This often leads to the objectification of refugees and migrants and serves as the justification for their expulsion. The recent rise of populism within EU member states is troublingly linked with their deteriorating economies and the influx of refugees from Syria, and generally the Middle East. The populism trend is clearly reflected in the rise of nationalist anti-immigrant movements and political parties such as Golden Dawn in Greece, the National Front in France, Movimiento Social Español in Spain, and the British National Party in the UK. France, the Netherlands, and Germany have also seen the rise of nationalist and

right-wing movements directed against so-called "Others"—immigrants, Muslims, women, LGBTQ, and so on. Such movements are feeding on economic instability, and the frustration of the poor and working class with their economic situation, by using the "Other" as a scapegoat. The radicalized narratives professed by these movements and political parties are aimed at destroying the public sphere by reducing the possibility of reflective judgments, harnessing divisive language, and promoting the emergence of totalitarianism. The hate speech used by these movements and political parties is often based on falsehoods, misinformation, and selectivity of information.

Within this context, it is not strange that nationalist and conservative figures such as Mr. Trump and Ms. Theresa May appear as the representatives of the impassioned masses. The dynamical systems theory clarifies the emergence of these figures very eloquently through attractors. The dynamics of the body politic centers around "attractors," which are in our case nationalist ideologies personified by conservative leaders, who become the voice of the angst of the downtrodden working and lower-middle classes through the use of strong rhetoric and pompous attitudes that pull the social system towards uniformity and simplicity. The radical anti-immigrant narrative is a perfect example of such simplicity, which is easily digestible, socially accepted, and normalized. The underlying hidden script of the radical anti-immigrant story unveils the dark side of such a simplified narrative, which serves to legitimize violence against newcomers and minorities. As the radical discourse becomes ever more central, and singular, it reduces the possibility that alternative and dissenting meanings and voices can be heard, which then authorizes the leaders to continue with their conservative policies.

EDUCATION TO DISPEL MISINFORMATION

For a long time, immigration has been considered a transient occurrence and immigrants were considered people who came to work for a limited period of time and would eventually make their way back to their families and homelands. However, contrary to that long-held perception, some immigrants eventually create their families, buy property, and claim their right to settle down in their host countries. Immigrant children start attending schools and their parents' lack of integration becomes one of the challenges in ensuring the children are fully integrated in schools and adopt the curriculum of the host country.

One of the biggest challenges to the integration of newcomers, known as the *unitary trap*, is the simplistic portrayal of them as a group, whereby all of their complex individual identities are clustered into one or few identities, which are applied to the whole group (Demmers 2012). Such classifications lead to misperceptions, faulty policies, and divisions. In connection with the influx of refugees and migrants in Europe, if a whole group of people is portrayed as dirty, criminal, and dangerous, this can capture the public discourse and sway it in a particular direction. Currently, with the arrival of refugees and immigrants from conflict zones in the Middle East, the public discourse is full of warnings that immigrant youths are not only dangerous actors who may contribute to local crime, but this group could also be composed of terrorists.

While this is largely false, these fears and negative perceptions of the migrants and refugees have unfortunately been confirmed by several incidents ranging from the assaults on women during the 2015/2016 New Year celebration in Cologne (Noak 2016) to the recent incident involving Jaber al-Bakr, a 22-year-old asylum seeker, who investigators believe may have links to the Islamic State and was planning to detonate a bomb at one of Berlin's airports. Jaber al-Bakr was on the run for nearly two days until his capture—by fellow Syrian refugees (Hjelmgaard 2016; CBS/AP 2016). As al-Bakr's case demonstrates, the situation is not black and white; we need to be careful not to place our criticisms of the failure to publicly address problems linked to immigration under the banner of racism or anti-immigration, and the concerns of the host societies should be taken into very serious consideration.

The prevalence of anti-immigrant, nationalist, and right-wing narratives and ideologies reveals that there is a grave issue of misinformation and a failure on the part of the media to educate citizens on what is actually happening. Europeans have not been happy with how the EU has handled the influx of refugees, as was indicated in a 2016 Pew Research Center survey conducted across 10 EU member states, which revealed that the majority of people disapproved of how the EU was dealing with the refugee issue (Poushter 2016). The negativity that Europeans have towards the refugees can be attributed to the lack of communication and misinformation about the situation, which has served to create divisions in European societies and promote anti-immigrant sentiment, radicalization, and xenophobia. This was particularly evident in the countries that accepted the most refugees and asylum seekers, such as Greece and Sweden

where about 90 percent of the population did not approve of their countries' accepting the refugees. The citizens of Germany, France, the UK, and the Netherlands also showed major disapproval. The concerns of the host populations in these countries were the increased likelihood of terrorists infiltrating among the incoming refugees as well as the economic burden that the newcomers may present in taking away jobs and social benefits from locals.

International, regional, and national institutions, such as the UN, the Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE), ministries of education, and civil society can be important agents and sources of education in promoting factual information, cohesion, and tolerance and addressing the issues underlying the divisive public discourses on migration in Europe. National and regional organizations have already played a vital role in supporting initiatives that enable education of the public and promote open inquiry, transparency, and verifiable data so that the facts that inform policy can be established. Ultimately, having the right data and conducting unbiased research will ensure access to verifiable information that can dispel rumors about the "Other" and counteract the misinformation that feeds into the narrative of dangerous immigrants and refugees who are placed into one basket. For example, the OSCE PA's General Committee on Democracy, Human Rights, and Humanitarian Questions has been focusing on the said issues, as has the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). The ODIHR has organized fact-finding workshops, such as the one in Warsaw on December 11, 2015, which focused on gaining insights into how different member states are dealing with the challenges of migration and identifying some good practices (OSCE 2015).

Apart from national, regional, and international organizations, civil society can also play the role of an educator and dispeller of rumors. The Hoaxmap project, an initiative designed to track and dispel rumors and misinformation about refugees, has proven itself to be successful and has already been implemented in Germany (Mantzarlis 2016). It has collected 358 rumors since 2013 which have provided some insight into the perceptions and fears of the host society towards immigrants. Of the rumors collected, almost two-thirds can be categorized around two types of crimes; either consisting of some kind of theft or attempted theft, or some type of sexual assault or attempted sexual assault. While there were legitimate reports, the initiative has also shown that almost 76 rumors

concerning rape and sexual violence occurred in the two months following reports of the Cologne attacks mentioned earlier. The fact that the rumors proliferated after the attacks is a representation of how the fears of the host society were being engendered.

Initiatives dedicated to dispelling rumors and counteracting misinformation through verifiable data and facts are especially important in that there has been an emergence of stereotyping, segregation, and a lack of intercommunal interaction between host and migrant communities in Europe; this has perpetuated the divide between the two groups, particularly in the housing and education markets. These markets are shared spaces in which both host and immigrant communities participate and often compete with each other. For example, the United Kingdom's (UK) *Daily Mail* article stated that half of social housing in England goes to people born abroad (Peev 2012). After verifying the data, it was uncovered that 9 percent of housing went to immigrants and around 91 percent of social housing is occupied by UK-born citizens (Sá 2015). Research has also helped debunk the idea that immigration raises housing prices in the UK, showing that an increase of immigrants equal to one percent of the initial local population leads to a 1.7 percent reduction in house prices, based on immigration data from the Labour Force Survey (ibid.). It is correct that first-generation immigrants tend to live in fewer households, renting privately and with extended families, but the longer they stay, the more their households look like the indigenous households. Hence, misinformation goes hand in hand with the dismissive language in the public arena that marks the immigrant for exclusion ("illegal," "criminal", "grabbing what's ours") and feeds into the narrative of a dangerous immigrant that needs to be contained, excluded, and kicked out. Overall, the contrast between perceptions and the reality of the situation in the housing market is indicative of how transparency and verifiable data obtained through objective and ethical research are necessary to dispel misinformation and counteract the escalating anti-immigrant rhetoric.

Locating and placing immigrants in separate housing areas also plays physically into the radical narrative of the dangerous "Other" and reinforces divisions and tensions that have been affirmed through the dissemination of misinformation and rumors. Historically, immigrants that came in the 1960s and 1970s were settled in specially designated suburbs in many European countries, which can be viewed as having contributed to the separation between the host and immigrant communities. Today, this

sense of belonging to the host society, and other factors including segregation and socioeconomic disadvantage, have led to a series of riots all over Europe.[6,7]

The Othering process has manifested itself in residential segregation (immigrant suburbs), which has produced a significant challenge for the host society, and it is also reflected in education, where there is a disproportionate concentration of disadvantaged students in some schools, making it an important area in which to concentrate efforts to use education to dispel misinformation. Paying attention to migrant housing arrangements and education is crucial for European peace and stability, especially now when Europe is faced with the largest refugee crisis since World War II and the presence of more than 1 million asylum seekers, who have flooded into Europe as of 2015/16. Education is a necessary precondition for integration and gaining a certain social status. However, it also has potential to enable the reproduction of social inequalities, since children with a favorable family background, in contrast to those from migrant or refugee backgrounds, are more likely to gain access to higher levels of education and be successfully able to complete them. Given the link between education and social inequality, it can be argued that education, if taken seriously, can be an important approach for integrating not only immigrant children but also their parents and communities into the host society. Therefore, special attention should be paid to the trend of underprivileged, overcrowded immigrant schools, and additional resources should be invested in providing career incentives for qualified and motivated teachers and remedial courses for immigrant youth.

In connection with the use of education to dispel misinformation about immigrants, a few Western European countries have already invested in schools in order to overcome the educational gaps between students of immigrant and native origin. It should be noted that the EU Commission and ODIHR have been active in supporting civic-orientation and language-learning programs that help to facilitate migrant integration. In 2015, the European Commission provided over 72 percent of its annual humanitarian aid budget (over €1 billion) to projects helping refugees and internally displaced persons (European Commission 2016). The ODIHR has also been instrumental in identifying anti-discrimination measures and combating intolerance and hate crimes.[8] Such initiatives are imperative, and their mainstreaming across Europe may be highly beneficial for addressing the challenges with regards to migration.

EDUCATION AND COUNTER-EXTREMISM STRATEGIES

Similar to the argument presented earlier in the discussion on Boko Haram, coercive responses and hard counterterrorism measures may temporarily contain extremism, but they do not provide a long-lasting and durable solution to the problem. To address the problem, its roots need to be addressed—extremist ideology and thinking that does not allow for questioning and debate within communities. Education that places an emphasis on understanding different social groups can contribute to critical thinking, awareness, respect for others, and the creation of cultures of peace and resistance to extremism. Totalitarian extremist ideologies can only be challenged by allowing space for critical thinking, problem-solving, and debate; this needs to start at the primary-school level and within communities themselves. If children, who are the future generation of their countries, are not exposed to the discourses, texts, and media of other cultures and if they are prevented from watching TV, certain channels, or using the Internet, this can only reinforce and perpetuate stereotypes that they have been hearing from the mainstream (whatever the mainstream is in a given situation) media and news outlets. In many volatile contexts, religious schools have resources but they sometimes do not allow access to technology and translated texts; meanwhile public schools lack resources, so students' access is again impeded. Religious schools may be contributing to radicalization, but poorly resourced or managed public schools may equally represent a fertile ground for extremist recruitment.

Diversity and access to different sources of education alone is not sufficient to prevent violent extremism. Youth can be exposed to diverse cultural and social outlooks in schools, but this exposure can be counteracted at home and in informal settings. Authority figures within communities, from clerics to peers and parents, can inspire new recruits towards extremism. Across the board there is an agreement that vulnerable communities in which the rise of radicalization occurs need to be supported to address the roots of the problem. The communal approach to combating extremism consists of resilience-building and working with moderate forces on the ground to strengthen cohesion, support networks, and promote dialogue. The space for interaction between students and prominent communal figures such as teachers, artists, writers, and musicians may lead to students becoming engaged in innovative and creative activities that could counteract extremism. Legitimate authority figures need to work with youth in order to serve as substitutes for extremist authorities in communities. These figures can be anything from moderate clerics and previous fighters

who have denounced violence, to local artists and communal leaders. Overall, the presence of legitimate authority figures is instrumental in combating extremism because they are alternative voices that can be used to promote the diversity and expansion of public discourses.

The programs implemented inside and outside of schools need to be inclusive of all members of school communities including students, parents, teachers, civil society, and governmental representatives. Community members need to participate in curriculum development while simultaneously paying attention to the interests and needs of young people. Safety inside and outside of schools as well as the need to set up an infrastructure for collaboration among students, families, and communities should be well thought out so that lessons learned in schools can be transferred into the wider communal context. Initiatives and programs supporting extracurricular activities such as sports, art, theater, or community service can be a way to create resilience within communities. Involving the broader community in activities such as vocational training, internships, or town hall meetings requires the support of the private sector and municipalities.

Building partnerships between educational institutions and the greater community, including business people and municipal authorities, may help to develop opportunities for students to engage in activities in their communities which can in turn foster a sense of shared responsibility for their safety and development. Within the primary- and secondary-school systems, building effective partnerships with religious and cultural community leaders, law enforcement officers, and topical experts is vital in addressing issues such as faith, culture, and radical political thought. Through the development of effective partnerships, educational institutions can also play a role in facilitating community dialogue and strengthening the relationship between institutions and their communities. All in all, building effective partnerships is important in developing resilience to the divisive narratives expounded by extremist groups.

Lastly, and in connection with the earlier discussion on the housing market and residential segregation, policy-makers need to pay special attention to the trend of underprivileged, overcrowded immigrant schools. Additional resources should be invested in the career incentives for qualified and motivated teachers and in remedial courses for youth, and so on. France and the UK are among the few Western European countries that have invested in schools in order to overcome the educational gaps between students of immigrant and native origin. By improving the equality of public education, this gap can be reduced.

Some Initiatives and Challenges

It is important to look at some existing programs that different actors in Europe are implementing to counter extremism and radicalization. One of the programs was the CONTEST program, started in the UK in early 2003 and revised in 2006 as a response to the London suicide bombings. According to a report published in 2011 by the British government, the CONTEST program was designed to "reduce the risk to the UK and its interests overseas from terrorism, so that people can go about their lives freely and with confidence."[9] It was founded on four basic principles: (1) *Pursue*: to stop terrorist attacks; (2) *Prevent*: to stop people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism; (3) *Protect*: to strengthen our protection against a terrorist attack; and (4) *Prepare*: to mitigate the impact of a terrorist attack.

The *Prevent* aspect of the program was meant to use education as a means to deter youth from becoming radicalized, counter terrorist ideology and challenge those who promote it. Additionally, it was also intended as a means to support those who are especially vulnerable to becoming radicalized, in sectors where the risk of radicalization was assessed to be high. According to *The Economist*, in order to deradicalize youths, the police of the UK would work concurrently with more liberal Muslim mentors.[10]

As well-intentioned and theoretically viable as this idea may seem, it has been highly criticized and called an unsuccessful model. One of its many shortcomings is that it constructed a discourse that framed an entire Muslim community as being at risk and suspect, essentially marginalizing and ostracizing the very same community it was meant to assist.[11] It was also criticized for its failure to realize that the tools of societal change did not rest solely with the government but with the community and civil society at large.

After the attacks in the early 2000s in the UK, the Netherlands also developed new CVE approaches. Among them was the Slotevaart Action Plan (Institute for Strategic Dialogue 2014) which encouraged the development of relations with local mosques and associated organizations. The Netherlands views the problem of radicalization as the offspring of social and political exclusion rather than of religion. Additionally, the central government has taken responsibility for its role in some of the macro-issues leading to radicalization such as discrimination, social exclusion, unemployment, housing, and so forth. The Netherlands' approach[12] has

three central aspects (the first of which deals with education): (1) in the first track, *Prevention, signaling, and intervention*, the emphasis is on early intervention with those in the process of being radicalized, encouraging debates on television programs and websites funded by the government, organizing public gatherings to discuss differing opinions, offering support to those excluded or marginalized at school, and trying to facilitate their entry into the labor market; (2) the second track refers to specific policies at the national level in support of local counter-radicalization policy; (3) the third strand concerns the international level, focusing on the intersections of radicalization, polarization, and foreign policy, in terms of the Dutch government and its partners inside the EU and beyond.

In Spain, the government has begun funding Islamic cultural, education, and social programs through its Foundation for Pluralism and Coexistence: this has included the creation and printing of the first Spanish textbook on Islam for use by first-grade students. Efforts to seek and promote homegrown imams and to register the many "garage mosques" in Spain (and garner information on the nature of their teachings) have been met with significant resistance from the Muslim community since the programs began in 2005.

Sweden has funded several grassroots groups, such as the "Fryshuset" project and "Swedish Muslims for Peace and Justice," which are attempting to provide counter-narratives to those that might draw vulnerable individuals into violent extremism and provide support to individuals trying to leave extremist organizations. The Swedish model has been implemented before, with a mentorship program that has been used to work with criminal gangs, skinheads and neo-Nazis, and marginalized youths. Swedish educational programs highlight the importance of knowledge, encouragement, confidence-building, and the acceptance of responsibility in countering radicalization and extremism.

Sweden's emphasis, and that of its educational programs and classes, on the role of knowledge is especially evident with its focus on refugee and migrant children, given that of the roughly 163,000 migrants who applied for asylum in Sweden in 2015, more than 70,000 of them were children.[13] Furthermore, half of those children arrived in the country alone. Swedish law stipulates that refugee children should be offered a school placement within a month of arriving—so far just 4 percent of schools have taken a third of the newly arrived pupils (Delin 2015). Roger Tillberg and Aida Zayat run classes for these students at the Falkbergsskolan state-run school, and teach subjects in both Swedish and Arabic, so pupils develop academic knowledge and language skills at the same time (Rothschild 2016).

The effects of this approach have been positive and they are hopeful that through better integration of refugee children into the school system, new migrants will be able to contribute and integrate into the society on the whole.

Europe can expect more migrants from Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq in the near future. Many of the migrants coming to Europe will be granted refugee status and stay, which requires swift and thoughtful action to ensure sustainable and healthier relationships between immigrants and host communities. Welcoming, respectful, and open educational programs have proven to be successful in integrating not only children but also parents into their new societies.

Overall, the case study on anti-immigration extremism set out to examine the allure of extremist ideology in Europe, with a focus on anti-immigrant discourses, the rise of right-wingers, and the role of education. As it currently stands, the dominance of an elitist corporate discourse that disseminates an "Us versus Them" dichotomy, depicting refugees as the dangerous "Other," and the use of exclusive rhetoric by politicians, has led to the objectification of refugees and migrants and their use as scapegoats. While the main conflict stems from increasing disparity between the rich and the poor, and the working class's struggle for survival, having control over the use of knowledge and information is a crucial factor in the dominance of destructive narratives that place the blame on the dangerous "Other" in the public space. It is through the presence of alternative voices, of those with professional ethics and a dedication to unbiased research and truth, that radicalized voices can be counteracted and contained. These alternative voices have a role to play in schools, initiatives, and community- and/or partnership-building efforts promoted by governments, organizations, and civil-society groups. Education may be the key to overcoming radical and extremist anti-immigrant narratives, as well as exposing the hidden scripts and rumors underlying them. It can also serve as an antidote to the rise of the right-wingers who have permeated Europe as a reaction to the influx of refugees and migrants from volatile conflict-stricken and post-conflict societies of the Middle East and Africa.

CONCLUSION

As the case studies on Boko Haram and anti-immigrant extremism in Europe revealed, tensions and conflicts today cannot be properly understood and resolved unless the underlying ideologies as well as political and economic factors animating them are adequately addressed. Individual states and

regions are constantly trying to adapt to the swift processes of social change, be they the rise of extremist ideologies, terrorist activities, or the arrival of refugees. An awareness on the part of different actors of the emergent reality and responsibility to act is key for successful policy implementation. There has to be a commitment to legality and human rights as the basis for agency and policy implementation, especially when dealing with extremism. It is only through educating the public and countering misinformation that this can be accomplished. In countering extremism worldwide, a particular emphasis needs to be placed on youth education and initiatives that include community development, human rights, the environment, tolerance, and gender education as well as support for minorities in education.

While the case studies on Boko Haram and anti-immigrant extremism were focused on different geographical contexts, in reality the issues underlying both were actually quite similar to one another. As stated earlier, at the heart of both are control and exertion of power. Knowledge and information are the primary and most valuable commodities in the modern world. When they are dispersed through the ideological vehicles of thwarted Islamic religiosity and quasi-conservative nationalism, truth suffers and issues are misrepresented, skewed, and distorted so that they become digestible to the ignorant or uninterested masses. The case study on Boko Haram demonstrated how a lack of understanding of its deep-rooted grievance towards Western education and colonialism, in combination with the Nigerian government's lack of response to societal issues such as recession and corruption, has allowed Boko Haram to continue with their attacks on educational institutions, teachers, and students and attract people to their extremist ideology. Furthermore, it illustrates how a key strategy for countering violent extremism through education, apart from educating the public about the nature of their grievance and extremist ideology, is empowering communities and victims of terrorism. The case study on anti-immigrant extremism in Europe demonstrated how the Othering process that has been promoted through the elitist corporate media and politicians has led to the dominance of destructive and exclusive narratives that place immigrants and refugees at the root of the problems impacting the poor and working classes of the host countries. In the wake of Brexit, polarization within Europe, and increased terrorist activities, the case study on anti-immigrant extremism in Europe revealed that there is a need for learning and the creation of a more unified and coherent narrative to provide a blueprint for policy and action. Such a narrative should include lessons from the past and recognition of current challenges in the spirit of the Old Continent's legacy of openness, cooperation, and peace.

NOTES

1. See the transcript of the White House's Office of the Press Secretary's fact sheet on the summit. It defines CVE as "the preventative aspects of counterterrorism as well as interventions to undermine the attraction of extremist movements and ideologies that seek to promote violence. CVE efforts address the root causes of extremism through community engagement, including the following: Building awareness—including briefings on the drivers and indicators of radicalization and recruitment to violence; Countering extremist narratives—directly addressing and countering violent extremist recruitment narratives, such as encouraging civil society-led counter narratives online; and Emphasizing Community Led Intervention— empowering community efforts to disrupt the radicalization process before an individual engages in criminal activity." The White House. 2015. "Fact Sheet: The White House Summit on Countering Violent Extremism." *Office of the Press Secretary*. Available at: https://obamawhitehouse. archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/02/18/fact-sheet-white-house-summit-countering-violent-extremism. (February 26, 2017).

2. See the transcript of the UN General Assembly's approach to violent extremism. The plan of actions, similar to the strategy that the UN adopted on countering terrorism, can be broken down into four components: (1) tackling conditions conducive to violent extremism; (2) preventing and combating violent extremism; (3) building countries' capacity to combat violent extremism and strengthening the UN system in that regard; and (4) ensuring respect for human rights for all and the rule of law while countering violent extremism. UN General Assembly. 2016. "Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism." *UN General Assembly*. Available at: https://undg.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/SG-Plan-of-Action-to-Prevent-Violent-Extremism-1.pdf. (February 26, 2017).

3. In this chapter education will be treated in a broad, comprehensive, and integrative manner. Educators will encompass schoolteachers, the media and alternative media representatives, authors, dissidents, whistleblowers, and activists.

4. See charts of BBC. 2016. "Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in Seven Charts." *BBC News: Europe*. Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911. (January 2, 2017).

5. See statistics of the IOM. 2016. "Mediterranean Migrant Arrivals Reach 328,225; Deaths at Sea: 3,671." *International Organization for Migration: The UN Migration Agency*. Available at: http://www.iom.int/news/mediterranean-migrant-arrivals-reach-328225-deaths-sea-3671. (January 2, 2017).

6. See transcript in BBC. 2005. "Riot erupts in French city centre." *BBC News: Europe*. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4430540.stm. (January 2, 2017).

7. See transcript in AFP. 2013. "Sweden Riots Stockholm 'Back to Normal,' Say Police." *The World Post*. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/05/28/sweden-riots-stockholm-back-to-normal_n_3344543.html. (January 2, 2017).

8. See transcript in OSCE. 2016. "OSCE/ODIHR's regional expert workshop discusses good practices in migrant integration." *Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe*. Available at: http://www.osce.org/odihr/228971. (January 2, 2017).

9. See the United Kingdom's counter terrorism strategy, The UK Government. 2011. "CONTEST: The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering Terrorism." Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97994/contest-summary.pdf. (January 2, 2017).

10. See transcript in *The Economist*. 2016. "A Disarming Approach." *The Economist Newspaper*. Available at: http://www.economist.com/news/international/21695876-can-beliefs-feed-terrorism-be-changed-disarming-approach. (January 2, 2017).

11. See transcript in Georges. 2015. "Countering Violent Extremism and Education: Gaps and Recommendations." *TRENDS*. Available at: http://trendsinstitution.org/?p=1637. (January 2, 2017).

12. For more information on the Netherland's approach, read its action plan for 2007 to 2011, produced by the Dutch Ministry of Interior and the Kingdom Relations. 2011. "Polarisation and Radicalisation Action Plan 2007–2011." *Counterextremism.org*. Available at: https://www.counter-extremism.org/resources/details/id/39/polarisation-and-radicalisation-action-plan-2007. (February 26, 2017).

13. See the statistics in Migrationsverket (The Swedish Migration Board). 2015. "Statistik 2015" ("Statistics 2015"). *Migrationsverket*. Available at: http://www.migrationsverket.se/Om-Migrationsverket/Statistik/Oversikter-och-statistik-fran-tidigare-ar/2015.html. (January 2, 2017).

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The Role of Innovation in Education for Sustainable Peace

Introduction

Education based on scientific and humanistic thought has been fundamental for changing attitudes towards society, technology, environment, and politics throughout history. This is due to the emphasis it places on innovation and open, data-driven inquiry, which have been instrumental in fostering social progress. This book posits that societies can become more peaceful if the traditional education programs, textbooks, and curricula are implemented in conjunction with other learning initiatives that genuinely engage all members of community. The argument is that innovation should be an integral part of the educational framework for sustainable peace. Innovation is one of the key tools for the creation of the baseline shared values of trust, recognition, and respect. These essential values can in turn lead to uninhibited, collaborative knowledge creation, and learning about and with the Other (Enemy). Engaging communities in innovative learning processes, both inside and outside of classrooms, encourages the free exchange of opinions, building relationships, and the promotion of peace and humanism.

Resilient communities have been able to preserve their resilience to conflict through innovation and creativity. Innovative and artistic educational approaches such as intercommunal painting workshops, experiential learning exercises, reflective practices, photography, poetry, improvisational theater, dance, and music both influence people's experience of conflict and reveal new and unique ways of addressing the challenges presented by that conflict. Art encourages people to gain fresh perspective on conflict: to

confront pain and loss and transform them through movement, creative expression, and embodied experience. Artistic approaches seek to increase awareness of nonverbal communication, generate fresh perspectives, and enact behavioral change in the midst of conflict, chaos, uncertainty, and rapid change. Art enables the creation of "sacred spaces" that disrupt the patterns of domination, common social roles, and communication patterns within communities.

Alongside artistic approaches, technology also has a role to play in the promotion of sustainable peace. Advances in information and communication technologies have dramatically increased the ability of learners to securely access and share information over the web and gain access to specialized and even restricted information. The emergence of new technology is essential when it comes to the creation of physical and virtual libraries, which store information relevant to disparate issues of specific conflicts as a part of an effort to indigenize and institutionalize knowledge resources and enable communication. Virtual repositories of knowledge enable communities to access oral histories, data, articles, and case studies that can provide useful insights into the conflict and peace processes. Online tools and various applications have increasingly been used to analyze and organize vast amounts of information generated in peace processes.

The overarching goal of this chapter is to examine the role of innovation in education for sustainable peace. In order to elaborate on innovation, the chapter looks at the Montessori method of education, which places an emphasis on promoting the humanistic values of free inquiry, trust-building, and an awareness of oneself, others, and the environment. Afterwards, the chapter will proceed to discuss art, study-abroad programs, and virtual and/ or online platforms as innovative strategies for promoting sustainable peace.

Innovation, Safe Place, and Shared Values

When humans are engaged in conflict, they are constrained in both action and thought. In order to overcome the narrow-mindedness that emerges within the context of conflicts, the key goal of education should be to stimulate innovation, creativity, and curiosity. It should encourage and empower the conflicting parties to remain curious about each other's perspectives as a means of deepening an understanding of the conflict itself. It is through this process that insights can be generated, solutions can be suggested, and conflicts can ultimately be addressed in a manner

that satisfies the needs of the concerned parties. Changing the rules of engagement and providing a space for free and safe inquiry can pave the way for peace to emerge.

The creation of spaces at the community level that enable innovation, free inquiry, and curiosity does not necessarily mean discarding traditional approaches and values. It actually builds on them by engaging in a dialogue between the past and present that is not intimidating, dismissive, and hegemonic, but rather open to verification and curiosity. In order to deepen the concept of innovation and enable the emergence of trust and recognition as common values, we go back to the discussion of the Montessori Method and its implications for education for sustainable peace. Montessori famously said that what we teach does not matter, it is rather how we teach:

> The task of teaching becomes easy, since we do not need to choose what we shall teach, but should place all before him for the satisfaction of his mental appetite. He must have absolute freedom of choice, and then he requires nothing but repeated experiences which will become increasingly marked by interest and serious attention, during his acquisition of some desired knowledge. (Montessori 2015, p. 5)

Being attentive to teaching methods when it comes to difficult topics such as conflict is as important as establishing a safe space where learners can come up with their own conclusions through free inquiry, trust-building, and collaboration. Trust is a precondition for positive sum thinking and the belief that compromise can be reached, and all sides can gain.

Apart from teaching methods, education for sustainable peace should focus on children's emergence as autonomous spiritual beings, as beings capable of innovation and critical thinking, qualities which can make them agents for peace and progress. According to Montessori, children need to learn and understand the roots of conflicts, which are often located in the traditional forms of education (Bogen 2017). She calls those traditional forms control-model education: "The child who has never learned to act alone, to direct his own actions, to govern his own will, grows into an adult who is easily led and must always lean upon others" (Montessori 1943, p. 23). Montessori suggests that blind obedience leads to everything that is wrong and evil in our society. It enables ignorance and uninformed responses allowing demagogues to seduce people to follow them blindly without questioning their words and actions.

Montessori's emphasis on freedom and her belief in human goodness as preconditions for peace made her a radical. What is most radical about Montessori's method is her open challenge to control, imposed rules, and preconceived frameworks. Education becomes a dangerous concept, because it seeks the truth in contrast to obedience, and seeks freedom as a means to challenge power and the status quo. Although it is critical and radical, such a concept of education is profoundly humanistic and it can be an extremely powerful tool in enabling progress toward a more peaceful world.

The humanistic tradition in education has its origins in the work of the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) who urged his followers to "know themselves" (Bertland 2017). Humanistic education was then adopted by thinkers such as Paulo Freire, John Dewey, and Alfred North Whitehead, who put human dignity and freedom at its core. This approach to education was further developed and expanded upon by humanistic psychologists, including Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers. It is important to note that Maslow's theory of needs was a source of inspiration for John Burton, one of the fathers of the conflict-resolution field, who applied Maslow's categorization of needs to analyzing the roots of conflict. The humanistic approach is centered around the individual, and the aim of education, for humanists, is to learn how to know and respect oneself, others, and the environment. According to the humanistic approach to education, the teacher takes on the role of a facilitator who enables the emergence of empathy and trust. Furthermore, the humanistic teacher cares about students by engaging their reasoning, social capacities, and artistic and practical skills as well as feelings, all of which are important for the development of children's self-esteem and self-actualization.

Montessori's approach to education demonstrates that when education becomes creative and innovative, it can contribute to societal progress from the culture of conflict to the culture of peace through questioning the status quo, adhering to truth, and transferring humanistic values to the new generation. Figuring out the best approach and strategy to enable the emergence of trust, self-esteem, and other humanistic values, as well as responsible citizens, becomes a key question in the quest for sustainable peace. Let us examine some existing creative initiatives, such as art-based projects, study-abroad programs, and virtual and/or online programs and platforms, which could potentially accelerate the movement of conflict-ridden societies towards sustainable peace.

Art as an Educational Strategy

Art is a powerful method of promoting peace and collaborative learning. Through the use of symbolism, storytelling, film, role-playing, acting, dancing, and painting, art has the potential to send a strong message of peace.

Art is an education tool that addresses sociopolitical issues through symbols and metaphors which speak to our collective consciousness. The work of art does not control a social situation in an instrumental and strategic way in order to achieve a specific end. Rather, art can be seen as communicative action, a type of social action geared towards communication and understanding between individuals and which can have a lasting effect on the spheres of politics and culture as a true emancipatory force (Habermas 1985). Furthermore, art can be used to promote democratic and humanistic values in societies shattered by conflict by disrupting and reconfiguring roles, places, and patterns of communications within a community (McDonnell 2014). When art does this in a way that disrupts and displaces a distribution based on a "natural" logic of inequality, it shares a common logic and purpose with democracy, and when taken up by politics, art can contribute to democracy being enacted (ibid., 51).

Given that individuals in conflict are constrained by their thoughts and actions, which can lead to a breakdown in communication, the role of emotions should be taken into account in education for peace. Advancing peace in deeply divided societies cannot be achieved through rational processes alone (Cohen 2005). The arts and expressive culture have the unique capability to invite us into aesthetic experiences that link our cognitive, sensory, and emotional faculties together, opening us up to envisioning new possibilities for the future in post-conflict periods precisely when there is a strong desire for affiliation and the survival of the group in unconscious realms of the human mind. The arts can re-humanize the Self and the Other; facilitate the listening to and telling of stories, and the creation of more nuanced narratives and understanding of identity; help mourn losses; strengthen empathy for the suffering of others; help acknowledge and address injustice; support the process of overcoming bitterness; and help envision a better future of social reconstruction (ibid.).

Art can evoke strong emotions and is often utilized to demonstrate anti-war sentiments. From Picasso's *Guernica* to documentaries such as *ANPO:*

Art X War, the message sent to society is that of human suffering and a cry against war and violence in general. In *ANPO: Art X War*, artists expressed public outrage against the passing of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (in Japanese *anpo joyaku*, or simply ANPO), which allowed US military bases to remain on Japanese soil, resulting in massive protests. Within this context, protest received a symbolic and universal value through the work of painters, photographers, and filmmakers. Oppression and occupation was thus counteracted by symbolic nonviolent action that shouted just as loudly as the protestors in the streets. Its gravitas was based on its universality and ability to transcend time, preserving the strength of its antiwar message.

Theater has also proven to be a useful tool in the promotion of collaborative learning as it has been one of the few spaces for discussion, dissent, the criticism of public policies, and promotion of empathy with victims. For instance, Palihapitiya (2011) talks about the culture of silence in Sri Lanka at the height of Sinhalese-Tamil conflict and how speaking against the government could have led to sanctions and imprisonment. At that time, antigovernment performances in theaters attracted large audiences every night. Yet, the performers were not attacked. At the National Art Gallery in Colombo, a drama called *Ravanesan* played out a legend of the Rama–Ravana war. According to legend, Ravana was a king of Sri Lanka who kidnapped Queen Sitha from India. Rama, a powerful deity in Hinduism, came with his armies in search of Ravana to rescue Sitha. *Ravanesan* highlights the struggles of ordinary men and women trapped in the brutality of war. It reflected the current situation, in which both Tamil and Sinhalese people were trapped in an ongoing conflict, by exposing the futility of violence and showing the stories and traditions of both sides in a respectful way. There was a sense of freedom and empowerment in the theater, which contributed to the emergence of trust-building at the communal level.

Theater has also been a unique setting in that it has allowed communities to reflect, mourn, and empathize with the "Other." When the war started in Yugoslavia in 1991, the members of the DAH Theatre in Belgrade became very cognizant of the power of theater as a space for reflection, mourning, and empathy. The theater group decided to halt their work on the performance *Gifts of Our Ancestors* to begin and concentrate their efforts on a new piece named *This Babylonian Confusion* which was an antiwar performance (Dah Teatar 2017). They decided to

juxtapose the destruction around them with creativity in order to draw the public's attention to the futility and senselessness of war. Their future work would be focused on difficult themes of victimhood, missing persons, justice, and the pain of loss in times of war. These themes provided an educational platform in a society whose social fabric was deeply shattered by conflict.

Sarajevo has been known for its efforts to promote multiethnic coexistence within the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). In Sarajevo alone, more than 800 theatrical-musical and religious performances were held as communitarian culminations of shared values (ibid.). Countless performances in orphanages, art exhibitions on war and rebuilding, and international participation were amongst the attempts to bridge the divides in Bosnian society. One of the most notable examples of how the arts have been used as a means of promoting collaborative learning and integration is evident in the work of Father Ivo Markovic, a Bosnian friar, who founded Pontanima, an interreligious choir based in Sarajevo. The choir and its founder received the Search for Common Ground Reconciliation Through the Arts Award in 2004 and the Tanenbaum Peacemakers in Action Award in 1998 (United States Institute of Peace 2017). The choir represents BiH's diverse and multicultural background and not only contributes to the country's cultural life but also to bringing people together. I had an opportunity to attend the choir's rehearsal session and listen to their amazing performance of songs. It was a unique experience not only because the choir performed songs representing the different ethnicities of BiH, but also because the members of the choir belonged to all those ethnicities and were unified in their performance of the songs. The choir and their music enabled the creation of "a sacred space" where open and uninhibited discussion could ensue.

The arts have had a strong track record in addressing key issues like victimhood, pain, politics, and the hierarchical paradigms which reinforce prejudice and stereotyping. The arts encourage reflexive processes and critical engagement with plurality and difference. Diverse learners are enabled to reflect on their own and others' experiences in an inclusive and cohesive manner. Promoting awareness of universal interdependence is key to fostering wider understanding amongst young people whose everyday experiences may be of a parochial and monocultural nature, enabling them to critically examine their own values and attitudes, and value diversity.

Artistic approaches in education can be an important tool in fostering social cohesion, respect, trust, openness and stability. Art can provide a wide canvas that can be used to convey a universal message and help learners to develop the values of social justice, cosmopolitanism, interconnectivity, and development.

Sacred Spaces and Healing

Sacred spaces, restorative circles, or circles of trust where communities can come together and talk about difficult problems are present in many conflict areas, ranging from the indigenous communities of Canada and the rural areas of Mexico to the inner cities of the United States. They are there not only to restore the community's unity and stability, but also to build the community's capacity to prevent future conflicts. Religious figures, village leaders, doctors, and housewives have led creative and powerful projects that helped prevent and heal violence through the creation of circles of trust. In the Middle East, for example, young people do this work through Seeds of Peace and other community programs. Parents Circle—Families Forum (PCFF) provides a sacred space for families in Israel and Palestine to come together to mourn the loss of their children, listen with open hearts, and forge bonds that help set a foundation for personal as well as ethnic reconciliation ("The Parents Circle Families Forum—Home" 2017). By bringing both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict together in a sacred space, collaborative learning and the promotion of the humanistic values allow the parties to understand the "Other" on a personal level. The sacred space enables them to overcome the boundaries that were set by the conflict and build the trust that is necessary to address the roots of that conflict and move towards a sustainable peace.

The use of restorative and integrative circles as a method of promoting sustainable peace through collaborative learning techniques is not just limited to the Israel-Palestinian conflict, but also in the post-conflict setting of Northern Ireland. Despite the cessation of hostilities in 1998 in Northern Ireland, bitter resentment between its Catholic and Protestant communities remained (Aufrechter 2013). In the midst of this negative peace context, various centers of learning throughout Northern Ireland were tasked with not only integrating people of the two backgrounds, but also with recognizing each group's narrative while simultaneously fostering

trust and dialogue between them. The case study in Northern Ireland that we examine is labeled "School 1" and it is interesting because of its unique approach to integrative education through the use of a "secret (not sacred) place."

We are drawing from a study by Queen's University's Claire McGlynn on integrative education projects in Northern Ireland (McGlynn 2008). As depicted in McGlynn's study, School 1 is a small primary school with an integrative education approach, for its Catholic and Protestant pupils. The School's program has focused on interactive and integrative education projects that fostered an awareness and recognition of others' culture, religion, and empathy, while celebrating the historical differences of the people of Northern Ireland.

The approach used in School 1 is "the secret space," which is perhaps the Irish equivalent of the more commonly known "safe space." The objective of the "secret space," which acknowledged the main difference in School 1 to be rooted in religious background, was to encourage children from all faiths to bring an item of personal significance to a central table in the classroom and place it there for all to see. Many of the pupils brought items that signified their religious background. Some students brought rosary beads while others brought Bibles. Similar to the role that teachers play in promoting shared values and trust-building under the Montessori approach to education, the teacher later led a discussion on how each of the items meant something special to each of the pupils, and how all of the students and their religious backgrounds belonged in Northern Ireland. Understanding each other's perspectives and developing empathy for others was key to fostering a sense of shared uniqueness and trust among the students.

Establishing trust can be a tricky task when people with historical grievances interact with one another. To that end, School 1 incorporated a creative and innovative activity called "circle time," whereby all students physically formed a circle of trust, and nothing spoken in the circle was to be discussed outside of the circle. Students were encouraged to open up to their classmates about their feelings and discuss thoughts or worries, or even trivial things that were on their minds. The objective of the activity was centered around establishing trust and empathy between the students as well as the teacher, and uniting with one another under the concept that they were all each other's secret keeper. Overall, McGlynn's study on integrative education in Northern Ireland, as portrayed by School 1,

demonstrates the effectiveness of integrative learning in the promotion of sustainable peace. In this case, the formation of the circle of trust was representative of the communal need for reconciliation that needed to take place beyond this particular classroom in Northern Ireland.

Although deemed a success, the unity projects in School 1 may or may not wield as seamless an outcome in other societies where the cultural or religious traditions are more divergent, or perhaps more complex in nature; where, for example, one religious or ethnic group is a minority to a much higher degree. Furthermore, in areas where interstate war is active between members of groups, integrative education must be completely flexible. In these latter examples, trust of members of another group may range from low to non-existent, and thus, the secret space initiatives may contribute to more conflict or feelings of alienation. It is important for policy-makers in the field of education to set boundaries regarding which and to what extent parties from outside of the community, zone of conflict, or ethnoreligious spheres of the conflict groups dictate or advise on integrative educational approaches lest they proscribe policy or activities that hinder, confuse, or otherwise do not work. In researching ways to overcome contention through education, Tomlinson and Benefield identify potential concerns with these gaps, stating that "in some cases, war's impact on these countries' education system has been so extensive … that approaching some of these (Efa) targets seems nearly impossible" (Tomlinson and Benefield 2005). Clarity in defining objectives, and the relevance of practice within the scope of the specific conflict, are key to lasting integrative educational initiatives.

As societies work towards post-conflict reconstruction, the responses of the innovative and creative individuals allow orientation towards peace-building and the initiation of a sociopolitical change to take place. Change comes to fruition in the coming-together of diverse individuals and groups seeking transition towards coexistence and cooperation. Joint ventures through creative approaches can alleviate tensions so that all parties to the conflict can explore and appreciate cultural exceptionality on broader, harmonic, and more humanitarian scales. Some may think that School 1 in Northern Ireland was a success because the conflict in Northern Ireland was not as bloody or violent as those that occurred in the former Yugoslavia for example. However, it should be noted that regardless of the level of intensity, postwar situations can greatly benefit from educational integration at the primary-school level. The integrated approach reinforced by the innovative use of circles showed promise because the children were

not yet adolescents, and thus had not begun to form rigid identifiers or internalize differences, fear, or prejudice that occur during and after adolescence. In other words, integrative, creative, and artistic approaches to education are valuable at the primary-school level because at this point in life students are still in the process of formulating their worldviews. Integrative approaches must work to remain relevant to the culture and divergent groups, and they must resist outside influence, or rigid integrative checklists when these are not contextually appropriate. Creation of sacred spaces such as circles promotes collaboration and integration of diverse communities by emphasizing shared humanistic values and free inquiry between one another.

STUDY-ABROAD PROGRAMS

Study-abroad programs play an important role in the promotion of peace as they enhance students' global learning and development, as well as the development of cultural empathy and increased understanding of the world issues and relations (Stebleton et al. 2013). Traveling to a conflict or post-conflict area can be extremely meaningful for students of international relations and conflict studies. Students experience emotional and intellectual challenge as a result of direct cultural encounters, and guided reflection upon their experiences encourages engagement with their peers, educators, and selves (Engle and Engle 2004). Study-abroad programs are creative and innovative as they constantly adapt to different experiences, views, and changing contexts. After facing the complexities of the conflict experienced by people who live on the ground, the students are able to reflect critically on it. Given the cultural exchanges that such programs bring about, linkages and partnerships with local universities in fragile societies should be thoroughly developed and thought through, so they are mutually beneficial and can contribute to the development of capacities and human capital in local contexts. Study-abroad programs should not just be seen as programs that are specifically designed for privileged students in the West, who will hopefully use the knowledge they acquire from their experiences in their future or current jobs. Educational experience can be an innovative endeavor through which travelers and hosts can work hand in hand and develop new initiatives together. For example, MEJDI tours have turned travel into a multinarrative experience to promote alternative and complex view of Palestinian-Israeli conflict.[1] The model brings together divergent local communities to provide travelers

with different religious, political, and cultural perspectives, with the goal of promoting intercultural understanding, social transformation, and positive engagement with local communities.

The role of study-abroad programs in the promotion of peace and collaborative learning is especially important because there is a wide gap between scholarly theories and the work practitioners engage in. The coursework in peace and conflict tend to be too theoretical and often disconnected from what is happening on the ground. There is a need to address this disconnect because one of the main goals of educating for sustainable peace is to provoke personal transformations, reflection, and empathy in everyone involved. Researchers, scholars, and practitioners in the field of peace and conflict studies cannot distance themselves from the topics they cover, but they need to constantly keep in touch with the local communities from which they can learn, before they attempt to analyze, understand, and address the issues (Avruch and Black 1993; Lederach 1995, 1997). Experiential programs are necessary for a discipline such as international relations, as experience constantly feeds into practice and theory. Learning in the field is indispensable in that it can almost be considered an intervention. While study-abroad programs serve as important practice for students interested in working in international affairs, the questions that arise pertain to the programs' effect on the local communities, and how those communities benefit from them.

As an educator, I have led several study abroad programs to the Balkans and the Basque Country, Spain. There are a few observations that I would like to discuss based on my own personal experiences. The first observation is related to the interaction between students coming from the "visiting" culture (primarily the West) and the local "host" culture. One of the requirements of the study-abroad programs that I lead is that students write a journal about their everyday experiences, learning, and insights. The students' journals were not only entertaining to read but they also provided insights into the transformations, shifts in views, and "aha" moments that occurred when they were confronted with an experience that contradicted their previous beliefs. These occasions of cognitive dissonance (Lee et al. 2012) sometimes lead to changes in the worldviews of students from the "visiting" culture, which ultimately results in transformative learning. On the other hand, the local interlocutors in societies that have experienced conflict in the past find that telling their often emotional stories about conflict and their role in peacebuilding is very rewarding because they can relate their experience to students who are very active and open listeners.

This may lead to some sort of catharsis, but more often the local interlocutors see the interaction as an appreciation and recognition of their work and their experiences.

One of the study-abroad trips that I led in the Balkans was a 10-day program in Bosnia with graduate students, which was dedicated to studying the role of history and memory after mass atrocities. The program focused on the impact of the war in Bosnia and different interventions in its aftermath. It included lectures and debriefing sessions with the instructor, meetings with various NGO officials and conflict experts, field trips to memorials, and some sightseeing. Students visited three ethnic communities to learn about the different narratives of the war that exist in Bosnia and met with people from organizations such as Youth Initiative for Human Rights, the Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE), and the Nansen Dialog Center amongst others. Through all of these experiences students had the opportunity to meet with actors working for peace and human rights at various levels and in multiple sectors of society.

Although the structured lectures and discussions with local stakeholders played an important role in the promotion of collaborative learning and deepening of the experience, the students' unstructured interactions and conversations outside of the classroom proved to be just as valuable and insightful. Many powerful experiences occurred informally and during free time in the evenings. Interesting conversations did not happen only in classrooms or the organizations visited, but in informal spaces where people spoke more openly and freely expressed their own views rather than those of their organizations.

Free time enabled students to explore and learn on their own. The conversations that students had with local people in informal settings allowed them to understand people's attitudes in a deeper, more nuanced, way. Reflections, through daily journaling and debriefings, were strongly encouraged throughout the time spent abroad and also upon return, when students had some time to settle and rest. Reflection is an important ingredient of experiential learning, as it helps connect people's personal experiences with the theoretical knowledge that they possess allowing them to understand their role as future peacebuilders (Dewey 1933; Kolb 1984; Brown et al. 2014). The world we live in is becoming more dynamic and complex as we speak, and navigating multiple issues and identities through reflection in diverse cultural contexts is becoming increasingly relevant.

Study-abroad programs are beneficial because participants often create connections with local organizations and return to the "host" country for

internships, job opportunities, and research projects, continuing their collaboration via their organizations. As was demonstrated through my own study-abroad program experiences, the added value of such programs are the interactions, and potential for future collaborations, with local people in the conflict context. Given the benefits that participants in study-abroad programs gain, more work should be done to ensure that such benefits are mutual. In other words, attention should be given to potential advantages of such programs, not only for participants, but also for the local community. Study-abroad programs need to be flexible and adaptive to be successful and to overcome challenges. Within the context of such programs, educators are innovators and facilitators of reflective practices in the changing situations which are essential for learning to take place. Feedback from the local interlocutors as well as course participants is extremely important for the experience to be truly meaningful and transformative.

Through a continued analysis and assessment of field-based courses in post-conflict zones, educators can improve the design of their offerings by focusing not only on the participants, but on all stakeholders. It is important to mention that interactions with local interlocutors enable intercultural learning, while community involvement experiences offer realistic and in-depth exposure to the daily life of people in the local community. Apart from facilitating professional and personal growth, these courses impact the participants' self-confidence, promote greater adaptability in conflict contexts, and generate the acquisition of new and different teaching methods, ideas, and philosophies among students and educators alike.

Overall, this section has demonstrated how study-abroad programs facilitate innovation and collaborative learning, which allow for the processes of free inquiry and an exchange of values between the visiting and host societies. Study abroad programs enable an understanding of a wide variety of perspectives on conflict and conflict-resolution practices. They can also be seen as an opportunity to expand upon and engage in existing peacebuilding practices and initiatives.

GAMES, TECHNOLOGY, AND DIGITAL STORYTELLING

Technology and virtual space are becoming indispensable in educating for peace, as they can empower a large number of people to engage in different peacebuilding practices at their own pace and time. They provide numerous tools and platforms that collect a wide variety of information

and enable communication with others in ways that promote sustainable relationships. Furthermore, technological tools, communication, gaming, and networking can affect behaviors that pertain to patterns of violence and peace through deliberative and collaborative processes. Lastly, technology is a tool with which communities can build new innovative participatory processes, foster deeper collaboration and trust, and assume ownership in promoting peace.

Because relationships are at the very core of peacemaking, learning how to develop collaborative and supportive relationships enables people to practice peacemaking more effectively. Games are an ideal tool that can be used to develop trust and relationships because their cooperative features model the behavior of participants towards acquiring the skills of problem-solving, communication, empathy, and collaboration in an interactive, fun, and engaging way.

Many computer and board games address the social and civic issues that are at the root of conflicts today. Organizations such as *Games for Peace* and *Games for Change* have put together a whole virtual community that creates and shares online games as a new approach to bridging the gap between people living in conflict zones (Games for Peace 2017; Games for Change 2017). Through games, youth are educated on the existing stereotypes and value of collaboration across different and adversarial communities. Values of trust, collaborative learning, and creativity are supported among youth in the Middle East, Africa, and other places stricken by conflict, via the shared affirmative experience of game-playing.

Gaming initiatives have proven to be effective in promoting trust and collaborative processes. PeaceApp is a global initiative promoting game applications and peace initiatives as venues for intercultural dialogue (UNAOC 2017). It organizes PeaceApp competitions for games built as platforms for cultural dialogue and conflict management. Another initiative, the Toolbox for Education and Social Action (TESA) works with organizations and groups to create inspiring projects that support building democratic education and collective processes through games (TESA 2017). Rise Up, one of their cooperative board games, is about building people power and taking on oppressive systems to create change.

Organizations such as Seeds for Peace and Peace Games have also played a role in promoting games as a way of moving towards sustainable peace. They came together to build the knowledge, skills, and relationships

among young people to contribute to peaceful transformations in their communities (The Olive Branch Teacher's Guide 2008). Peace Games not only organized festivals and workshops that brought together children from different schools and communities to create and play games with each other, but they also made sure to form long-term partnerships with local schools, teachers, and students. They helped them co-create the curriculum, staff and volunteer workshops, support and materials, family newsletters, and events that introduced the change towards collaboration in the divided communities.

Apart from games, online courses have been used as a means to promote sustainable relationships that can move societies gradually towards positive peace. Online courses are offered by different educational institutions and are accessible to users around the world if they have the Internet and can afford it. Some of the biggest platforms offering online courses are the United States Institute for Peace (USIP), Global Campus ("USIP Global Campus" 2017) and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR). UNITAR offers courses that run throughout the year and are free of charge and open to the public (UNITAR 2014). The Khan Academy, another institution well known for its online courses, has produced over 2600 videos on different K-12 subjects, making it a fantastic virtual space where children are given easy and accessible tools to learn by themselves (Khan Academy 2017).

The online courses provided by institutions such as the USIP Global Campus, UNITAR, and Khan Academy are aimed towards students who are interested in acquiring the knowledge and skills necessary to prevent and transform violent conflict. Although online courses are often free or cheaper than regular courses they are still inaccessible to the people who may need them the most; those who live in conflict and post-conflict areas that lack the infrastructure.

In order to provide access to education in areas with no Internet and a lack of infrastructure, different nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are using some innovative and hands-on strategies. An NGO called Room to Read builds libraries in the rural areas of Nepal, Vietnam, Cambodia, India, and Zambia, using locally hired labor. By doing this Room to Read promotes access to knowledge while empowering local workers. Room to Read also supports literacy and education by training teachers in both the Tamil and Sinhala languages in one of the most impoverished areas of Sri Lanka, the Uva Province's Badulla District. Training teachers in both languages is an effective tool with which to develop trust and to foster

collaborative and deliberative processes and sustainable relationships between the different members of the Badulla District. The New Futures Organization based in Cambodia runs an orphanage which cares for over 50 children and young people, and is developing a network of free schools in remote villages. This prevents children from being deprived of the opportunity to engage in collaborative and deliberative learning processes. One Laptop per Child is an organization which has built a basic type of laptop for children who could not otherwise afford them. The XO Laptop is a low-cost, low-power, cheap computer designed for constant connectivity (One Laptop per Child 2017). All of these NGOs have touched the lives of many marginalized children by means of technology and infrastructural initiatives promoting literacy.

In addition to games, online courses, and NGO-led initiatives that focus on communities lacking in Internet and technological infrastructure, digital stories are powerful and innovative tools for building conflict-resilient communities. Their condensed format is conducive to sharing the story with others and allows for them to be easily uploaded to the Internet, opening up numerous possibilities for file-sharing, repeated viewings, and audience distribution. Digital storytelling is a method of using storytelling, group work, and modern technology to facilitate the creation of two- to three-minute multimedia video clips that convey personal or community stories (Lal et al. 2015, p. 54). The impactful experiences that are sometimes evoked in people when viewing the digital stories of others can possibly be attributed to the integration of different art forms into one product. Combining multimedia adds layers of depth and increases the potential for an emotional and sensorial experience for the audience. By adhering to the limited duration of the story, the storyteller is required to get to the heart of the matter in an efficient and quick manner and it is in this way that the format is effective in capturing life's defining moments or turning points (Lambert 2013). It is important to remember that although multimedia (for example, photos and music) are important contributors to the impact of the digital story, they serve mainly as tools for the storyteller (ibid.).

Digital stories deal with relevant topics in a concise manner, so that wider audiences, and especially youth, can learn about the perspectives of different actors within a very short time period. Digital stories are powerful vehicles through which to create and share knowledge. The power of the digital story remains in the content of the story and/or conflict being conveyed and how it is expressed, and there is less preoccupation with the

actual visuals, lighting, background, and sound effects. Examples of topics that have been expressed in digital stories include, "hope, place, community, equity, education, housing, social justice, help-seeking, identity, experience of health and human services, important people in an individual's life, violence, poverty, and isolation" (ibid., 56).

Technological and digital forums provide platforms enabling the collaborative and deliberative learning processes that are conducive to establishing trust and shared humanistic values. Games, online courses, and digital stories are increasingly used as a mechanism to promote peace in conflict and post-conflict settings. The benefit of a technological and digital-based approach to peace is its efficiency, because it allows people of diverse backgrounds to develop peacebuilding skills at their own pace. Although there is the issue of people lacking access to the Internet or to the technological infrastructure, NGOs have taken a hands-on approach to overcoming these challenges by developing their own initiatives to promote literacy and provide people with access to technology. Overall, both educators and practitioners should build on the initiatives that have already incorporated technology into their peacebuilding activities.

Conclusion

This chapter sets out with the overarching goal of examining the role of innovation in education for sustainable peace. The resulting discussion and analysis centers around the Montessori method of education; this method elevates the importance of humanistic values, which can emerge within safe spaces that allow for free inquiry and interaction. Changes in the conflict system can be introduced through creative approaches that foster the values of humility, trust, and empathy, and help participants to view their own identity as being as equally valued and relevant as that of any other group or individual. Such humanistic values can gain traction and be fostered relationally, as we saw in our earlier discussions on initiatives that utilize art, study-abroad and experiential programs, technological and digital platforms.

Education can play a positive role in post-conflict contexts only if innovation and trust inside and outside of classrooms are allowed. Trust becomes an important value for equal treatment and joint exploration of different historical narratives of conflict. It is through the very process of free and open inquiry that students will learn about trust, tolerance, respect, civic values, and freedom of choice.

Such processes require extensive dedication and work as the people on the ground are still facing tensions and acute divisions. Ideas of diversity and multiculturalism are difficult to promote in divided communities and post-conflict settings due to the fact that linguistic, ethnic and religious differences have been used to separate groups for a long time. Changing these exclusive and discriminatory behaviors cannot be induced by a single government regulation or by policies from above. What is needed is creativity and vision at the communal level.

Introducing change into a post-conflict society is a long-term process, and it takes a while to see the effect of education in communities. Everyone wants rapid change and quick results, but education takes time. The implementation of knowledge and adapting to the effect of that implementation are long-term commitments but they are aimed at systemic deep-rooted change, which is worth waiting for. As people's understanding that change is possible and attainable increases, they will be more equipped to improve themselves and their community.

Note

1. http://www.mejditours.com/

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Learning from Practice: Peacemakers as Educators

Conflicts cannot be understood if we only focus on people's potential to do evil, to be aggressive, and to be violent (Megargee and Hokanson 1970; Niehoff 1999; Baumeister and Beck 1999; Bernstein 2002); we cannot understand them only by searching for causes of conflict in human innate competitiveness (Elliott and Kiel 2002), historical traumas (Volkan 1998; Antze and Lambek 1996; Brouneus 2010; Goboda-Madikizeal 2008), economic disparities (Ballentine and Sherman 2003; Collier 2007) or ancient grievances (Majstorovic 1997; Berdal and Malone 2000; Gagnon 2004). To understand conflict, we need to analyze the motivations and practices of people or groups who decided to act for peace despite danger and risk to themselves. The aim of this chapter is to examine examples of the human capacity to work for peace despite a violent setting or legacy, by analyzing real-life cases of peacemakers at the communal level.

The question to be explored is how we can learn practices that support peaceful and stable societies and unlearn practices that lead to conflict. An important role in such a process is that of peacemakers, who can serve as educators by teaching from experience and by example. Growing literature on zones of peace, infrastructures for peace, and other communal initiatives show that peace agency at the communal level is possible, and there have been numerous studies of communities around the world that are engaging in peace initiatives, from Colombia and South Africa

to the Philippines, Bosnia and Northern Ireland (Lederach 1998, 2010; van Tongeren 2010; Hancock and Mitchell 2007). Cases of peace agency at the individual level, including the work of nonviolent peace activists, religious leaders, civil society representatives, and rescuers, have been less examined. However, they provide an insight into a wealth of innovative strategies and solutions to making and building peace during violent conflicts as well as in their aftermath. Examples of people who are acting for peace even in the worst situations of violence are key to understanding the processes that lead towards sustainable peace.

Peace and Responsibility

Before delving deeper into peacemakers' motivation and agency, it is important to define peace, and responsibility for peace, in a way that enables us to imagine their less explored aspects and the practices that contribute to them. Adam Curle (1990, 1995), whose thinking and writing was particularly influential throughout the Western Balkans in the aftermath of the 1990s conflict, rejects the notion that peace is simply an absence of violence. Similarly to Galtung's (1969) seminal formulation of positive peace, which implies the restoration of relationships and creation of socially just structures, Curle (1971) argues that peace must have a "positive" definition as "harmonious and constructive collaboration." The collaboration as such implies a relationship with and recognition of the Other. The idea that peace must be about a constructive collaboration and relationship between former belligerents brings us to the concept of responsibility as a relational category, which will be used in this chapter as the key concept for illuminating why some people choose peace in the most constraining circumstances of conflict. Responsibility, in this sense, is very close to Levinas' (1987) concept of responsibility, which emphasizes relationality, care, and connectedness to the Other.

According to Emmanuel Levinas (1987), we can uncover our ethics and values through our relationship with the Other. In other words, our potential to become better human beings can be realized through opening up to the others, and accepting the difference of the Other and her or his infinite Otherness, which cannot be reduced to our horizons of knowing. By stressing relationality, Levinas (1987) departs from the liberal idea of a self-sufficient individual pursuing his or her self-interest as the natural human condition. The interdependence of the Self and the Other is key for the constitution of an individual, and, moreover,

humans cannot become fully human on their own, but relationally. To act responsibly means to act respectfully towards the Other: to act responsibly means to learn and explore why the Other, or Others, sometimes do not positively reciprocate our actions. The Other cannot be reduced to objective knowledge—the Other is a mystery that is revealed through our relationship with him or her, the relationship that requires openness to learning and self-correction.

In the age of drones, cyberwar, and increasingly sophisticated modern technologies, people have become more alienated and desensitized. Wars led from the air, using technology like that of many video games, have enhanced and facilitated our human capacity to do harm in faraway places, removing the sense that those doing the attacking and their immediate social networks carry responsibility or accountability for such remote attacks (Rosén 2013; Aslam 2013). The absence of a sense of responsibility for doing harm or for having failed to prevent harm done to the Other can be attributed to the lack of not only legal or political, but also ethical frameworks, embedded in value-belief systems that situate these actions within a widely accepted cause-and-effect, reciprocal understanding of responsibility (Moody-Adams 1994; Brett et al. 1998; Bivins 2006).

The dominant reciprocal concept of responsibility implies that responsibility is externally imposed through laws, traditions, rules, and regulations. It suggests causality and linking an agent to an outcome of his/her action (Honoré 2010; Bivins 2006). An obvious case is convicting a perpetrator for a crime, with his or her guilt proven in a trial supported by evidence, witnesses, and so on. Such a view of responsibility is based on the notion of the reciprocity of moral rights that all individuals have towards each other (Christman 1991; Singer and Singer 1997). Responsibility underpins social relationships and implies acceptance of legal, religious, or traditional expectations and rules of behavior within institutional, social, and cultural frameworks. It suggests that individuals are held responsible for their choices and actions by other individuals. For example, trial in a court of law or the practice of confession come into play when our individual responsibility to the Other, and acceptance of regulations that protect the rights of Self and Other, are somehow broken. To uphold responsible behavior and ensure reciprocity, human agency is regulated by a certain set of rules within different institutional frameworks and structures in which causes and effects of particular action can be established.

There are several issues with this type of responsibility. First, although structures are produced by the individual actions of many, we often, and particularly in widespread conflicts, cannot connect specific agents or

specific actions to particular outcomes. This is partly because structures are imbued with power that is distributed unequally, whether we are talking about an organization, a state, or an international system (Foucault 1995; Borch 2005). Imbalance of power leads to failure (intentional and unintentional) to recognize the rights and values of the less powerful. The powerful often privilege the interests and rights of the Self, while the ethical and physical status of those that exist outside the power circle is uncertain and dire (Agamben 1998). Such tendencies can be attributed to exclusionary responsibility, which is one of the key ingredients of racism, nationalism, neocolonialism, war, mass killing, and genocide, and it is a consequence of lack of care for the Other (Chrisg 2013).

One could ask why we should care for the Other and why it is our responsibility to care. The simplest reasoning behind the notion of care for the Other is that all humans are connected in a network that makes up a system, ranging from the family, to the community, region, state, and finally global society (Adam and Groves 2011). Responsibility as proposed in this chapter is seen as an expression of care for both the Other and the Self, which should not be seen as a duty coming from divine or juridical sources, but as a necessity; the Self needs to be with the Other and empathizing with the Other's distress, acknowledging and caring for her/his pain and offering a hand.

Such responsibility offers an alternative perspective that suggests we should shift from either individual or structure-centered ontologies to a relational one (Gergen 2011; Picard and Melchin 2007). Relationship-centered ontology advocates a human condition in which individuals and groups begin to appreciate the fact that their relationships with the Others have a constitutive and existential value for them (Whiteley 1987). Desensitization and detachment from the Other leads to disempowerment, as actions that one does or fails to do may have immediate and far-reaching consequences for others, the environment, and ourselves. If we do not understand the gravity of violence and abuse, then we may fall victim to it. Because of the interconnectedness of humanity, responsibility for the Self and our well-being cannot be sustainable without recognizing our responsibility for the Other.

Every human being, group, or state is responsible for peace. Any individual has a responsibility to work on herself/himself and develop her or his capacities for peace. We can take responsibility for peace at any time and in any place, in our families, workplace, and community, by promoting creative, cooperative relationships. Education based on lessons learned

from peacemakers could be an important strategy to teach future genera-
tions about the responsibility to care and to help them understand how
their choices matter and how they can influence different outcomes.

Peacemakers from the Balkans and the Basque Country

The following section focuses on the conflicts in the Balkans and the Basque
Country, Spain, as well as lessons learned based on interviews with peace-
makers from those two areas. The case studies have been chosen based on
the author's research projects in the two regions and connections with
peacemakers on the ground.

By giving voice to the peacemakers and gaining insight into their
knowledge, this chapter offers some insight into how current and future
violent conflicts could be handled more constructively and how practice,
theory, and research in the field of conflict analysis and resolution have to
work hand in hand to make this happen. Acting for peace and rejecting
violence is a deeply individual act; it suggests a choice, which is an expres-
sion of freedom and an opening for a new set of relationships. Such a
choice also implies a particular view of responsibility that needs to be fur-
ther examined theoretically, so that it can be used to inform education for
sustainable peace.

Background: Former Yugoslavia and the Basque Country

The first case study focuses on peacemakers in Serbia and Croatia during
and after the 1990s wars in the former Yugoslavia. Specifically, peace activ-
ists from Canvas,[1] an organization founded by a few members of the Otpor
("Resistance"), movement active from 1998 to 2000, and Women in
Black,[2] which was formed in 1991, were the focus of exploration. Otpor
was created when a group of students from Belgrade University decided
that they needed to do something about changing the unbearable inertia
and apathy in Serbia, a country that had been engulfed in a decade of wars,
economic crisis, and sociocultural degradation under President Milosevic's
regime. Only two years later, Otpor had 70,000 supporters and Milosevic
had been driven out of office after massive demonstrations and acts of dis-
obedience inspired and led by Otpor members (Sorensen 2008). Milosevic
lost in the 2000 elections and the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS),
the broad reform coalition, came into power restoring democracy. During

and after the decade of wars in former Yugoslavia, the Women in Black group opposed the war and demanded that those responsible for war crimes be held to account. Women in Black in Serbia was inspired by earlier movements of women around the world, using the same name, who had demonstrated in public spaces and voiced their calls for peace and justice.

Peace activism in Croatia started in the midst of war in 1991. Yugoslavia's disintegration took a bloody turn as the representatives of the six Yugoslav republics were not able to agree on the future of the state. Franjo Tudjman won the elections in Croatia on April 22, 1990, and a new constitution was ratified that proclaimed Croatia a nation of the Croatian people, thereby degrading the status of Serbs from a nation into a minority. The Serb population refused to participate in the elections and held a referendum about their future in the areas that would later become SAO Krajina (the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina). The Croatian government tried to stop the referendum by sending their police forces into those areas, but the Serbs blocked the roads with wooden logs. This incident was named the Balvan Revolucija or the Log Revolution, which marked the beginning of the formation of SAO Krajina and the escalation of the conflict. Many people on both sides were killed or had to leave their homes, either because they were directly threatened or from fear of being persecuted, which resulted in the arrival of numerous internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees in the surrounding regions and countries. In Croatia, our case study focuses on peace activists from the Center for Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights[3] and the PRONI Center for Social Education[4] in Osijek. Their members actively protested against war, held vigils to protect citizens of different nationalities, and sought justice for the victims of violence.

Peacemakers in the Basque Country such as Gorka Landaburu,[5] Jonan Fernandez,[6] and Julen Mendoza[7] have been active in the period from 1970 until the present time. The Basque Country, a region in northern Spain, found itself in a turmoil spurred by the oppressive practices of Franco's dictatorship, terrorist attacks by the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) and activities of clandestine paramilitary groups, such as GAL (Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberacion). ETA's key aim was independence for the Basque Country from Spain and their methods to achieve this goal involved assassinations, kidnappings, and shootings of prominent government officials. Similar to the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the group

believed that political violence was necessary to achieve the goal of independence. Although the conflict ended when ETA proclaimed a unilateral ceasefire in 2011, the Basque Country is currently in a state of post-conflict reconstruction and transitional justice processes are ongoing.

Lessons Learned from Peacemakers

Although the examples of peacemakers in the Balkans and the Basque Country do not feature prominently in the public space, media or education systems, their ideas of non-violent and peaceful action have served as examples of how change can be introduced in the most constraining circumstances of conflicts.

Changing Patterns of Interaction

While demonstrating in the streets of Serbian cities, Otpor constantly tried to alter their community's usual patterns of interaction with the police (the Other) by using nonviolent tactics. Peace activists transformed their relationship with the police by sharing food and water with them, giving them flowers, and through humor. Peace activists gained support by employing and educating people in nonviolent tactics as well as by using innovative approaches to change aggressive and violent practices. According to Gordana, a peace activist and a member of the NGO Women in Black, which has advocated peace and civil disobedience in Serbia since the 1990s: "It has been the insistence on truth, protest against war and nonviolent resistance that paved the way for a more peaceful future. We learned a lot from Gandhi and Martin Luther King."[8] Creative and nonviolent activities helped the peace activists to open up and transform the relationship with the Other, in this case the police, because such actions did not provoke negative or violent responses: "Instead of throwing stones and Molotov cocktails, we worked on establishing a more humane relationship with the police by talking to them, by giving them flowers and food, and police eventually refused to act against us."[9]

Similarly, in the Basque Country, peace activists realized that true transformation can only come about through peaceful means and by changing methods of interaction. Protests against violence were organized, and despite attacks by the proponents of violent tactics, they continued

demonstrating. Gorka Landaburu, a journalist and peace activist working with the organization Gesture for Peace, was targeted by ETA. He lost his fingers and eyesight in one of his eyes as a consequence of a letter bomb sent to him by ETA. The attack did not prevent him from continuing his work. He stressed that the most important technique for changing one's patterns of interaction with one's opponents is to speak up and never give up on the truth.

In Croatia, a peace activist and a founding member of the Center for Peace, Katarina Kruhonja in Osijek, is a good example of how a single person can play a significant role in changing contentious patterns of interaction through openness and caring about the Other. She was one of the initiators of the peace movement in the midst of conflict of 1990s in Osijek, Croatia. The movement began to grow into a group, independent of, but affiliated with the Anti-War Campaign, calling itself the Center for Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights; it later became a nongovernmental organization. As a medical doctor, Katarina tended the wounded and killed that were brought to her hospital, and she could not sit still. She recounted: "I started asking question and talking to my colleagues and friends about how we can change the unbearable situation and stop the violence."[10] A small group of friends grew into a movement that conducted vigils to protect citizens of different nationality from being killed and organized encounters between people from different sides of the conflict.

By keeping lines of communication open, and by caring about the Others and taking action to ensure their safety, peace activists were able to create safe spaces that enabled them to imagine and act on peace. As intercommunal patterns of behavior started to cohere around differentiation, hatred, and revenge pulling the whole system towards violence, the majority of people responded with paralysis and inertia. Peacemakers rejected such differentiation and called for justice, humanism, and decency, thus becoming alternative voices that challenged and changed the contentious patterns of behavior.

Creativity and Learning

As they realized that it was not enough to protest in the streets and that they needed wider support, peace activists in both the Balkans and the Basque Country had to think of creative ways to garner public support. Through constant self-correction and learning, Otpor members discovered that by doing public service, they could change citizens' views about

themselves. However, Milan Raskovic from Canvas points out that the group had to change these patterns of thinking about the Other among its own membership: "In the midst of tensions, we were open to learning and innovation—we were willing to listen to the ordinary people and our membership was multiethnic. It is through inclusion of other groups and diversity that the new ideas and strategies for our struggle were born."[11]

Otpor members also started doing public service for citizens, such as collecting garbage and cleaning the streets, showing that they should be taken seriously as responsible agents of change. As the ideas of peaceful action, resistance, and non-cooperation started gaining traction and support among the wider population, Otpor became the collective voice of the disillusioned nation and an expression of its readiness to support peaceful change, which resulted in the overthrow of the regime. Srdja Popovic, the leader of the Otpor movement, later succinctly explained its success: "We won because we loved life." It can be argued that they won because they showed dedication and responsibility to choose a better option for and on behalf of the people and the country they loved.

Members of the Center for Human Rights in Osijek, Croatia opted for peace and strove toward peace even when the war was still going on. Care and concern for the Other led them to take a stand against violations of humanitarian law and human rights made by their own community against their neighbors of different ethnicity. Katarina Kruhonja from the Center from Human Rights states: "We needed to know what was happening with people in our communities regardless of their nationality. Our goal was to help the needy ones, particularly the victims whose dignity had to be protected. We saw victims on all sides as very much part of solution and peace in the future."[12] Rejecting the patterns of conflict behavior that rest on a clear delineation between Self and Other made it possible for those activists to embark on a journey of self-correction, inquiry, and learning.

The Basque town of Renteria (Gipuzkoa), once seen as one of the most violent municipalities of Euskadi and one of the strongholds of ETA, has become an example of coexistence and peace. The mayor of Renteria, Julen Mendoza, organized dialogues with victims so that they were given a voice, and recognition for their pain and suffering: "I wanted the community to come together. What better place for giving voice to victims than Renteria."[13]

In Croatia, the members of the PRONI Center organized meetings between people from different ethnic groups who had not seen each other for years due to the war. Diana Lupsic from PRONI recalls: "We organized

meetings and dialogues in Hungary with Croats and Serbs who did not see each other for years during the war. Opening channels of communication was a first step towards peace."[14] Opening these channels counteracted communal divisions, and members of different communities were able to bond around principles of ethnic inclusion, interdependence, and cooperation, rather than distrust of the Other. This proved to be an unstoppable impetus for change.

Gorka Landaburu emphasizes another lesson, which is the importance of remembering. He says: "It is very important to educate the new generations about what happened. You should never forget what happened in the past so you don't relive it … the worst thing is forgetting."[15] The clear role of education in post-conflict societies should be in telling the stories of people's choices in conflict, of their ability to forgive and reconcile. One of the most powerful ways to do that is through the testimonies of peacemakers.

Peace Is Everyone's Responsibility

Peace cannot become a reality if we do not have a space where nurturing thinking and talking about peace is made possible. In both the Basque Country and the Balkans, such space was largely provided by civil society. The stories of peacemakers show that it is through taking responsibility by acknowledging the existence of Other and establishing a relationship with that Other that creativity and innovation of action comes about, action that is rooted in care. This kind of responsibility is generative, relational, and inclusive. Diana Lupsic from PRONI states: "Peace is the responsibility of all of us. We cannot live disconnected from others."[16] Katarina adds that "peace should be developed based on one's own capacities and not at the expense of others … therefore, peace can only emerge when relationships of solidarity, cooperation and care are established."[17] If we focus only on fulfillment of our own aspirations and claims without regard for the Other, this implies some kind of aggression and taking away something from the Other, be it land, resources, political access, or freedom. Although such actions may lead to a victory, the consequences of victory over the Other are, more often than not, detrimental for both the Self and the Other in the long run. They leave a long trail of destruction, grievances, and wrongs that tend to perpetuate conflict and feed further violence. The problem with such behavior is its inability to capture the wider picture; by excluding the Other, it also excludes opportunities for the Self to fully actualize, grow, and live a productive life in a truly peaceful society.

The stories of peacemakers suggest that our responsibility to act for peace requires us to cultivate inclusion and a relationship to the Other, the Enemy. Constant learning, innovation, and nonviolent strategies helped these peace activists to open up to the Other. Rejecting the patterns of conflict behavior that rest on a clear delineation between Self and Other made it possible for them to embark on a journey of inquiry and learning. Responsibility should not be understood, as Derrida (1989) puts it, as sacrificing one duty over the other, but as choosing a *better response* that can benefit both Self and Other. Such a response is based on care, inclusiveness, and cooperation.

Peacemakers' Motivation and Agency

There are few theoretical frameworks that have contributed to our understanding of agency and motivation. Social agency theory suggests that those who believe that peaceful actions will have a positive impact will be more likely to understand and pursue such actions despite the risks (Bandura 1989). People's beliefs about their capabilities to exercise control over events that affect their lives can be seen as key mechanisms of their agency (Bandura 1989, p. 1175). Realists would argue that individual interests and needs such as protection of one's family, country, and community are likely motivators (Meyer and Jepperson 2000). On the other hand, interactionists argue it is the relationships and roles that exist within communities, such as the roles of leadership, resisters, followers, and outliers, that need to be further explored, in order to understand the interactive and dynamic collective processes that allow for peace agency to emerge (De Jaegher and Froese 2009).

The testimonies of peacemakers in this chapter emphasize certain transformational experiences which have led them to take action, but for that action to be meaningful, they needed support of others. Otpor, the Center for Human Rights, and Gesture for Peace were all started by individuals who could not accept the descent to violence and human rights abuse perpetrated by their own communities. They grew from small groups of friends into movements that gained the support of the citizenry. All these peacemakers emphasize that their action was not special and that they just tried to do what they thought was right. As they persisted, they became more convinced that they had to continue and that they had a responsibility to do so.

The lessons learned from Balkan and Basque peacemakers about their peace agency can add a small contribution to improving our understanding

of the sources and nature of the peace agency. However, more research is needed to analyze how and why certain individuals become peacemakers and under what circumstances they choose a particular strategy. Exploration needs to take into account the roles of individuals within groups, structural factors, and interactive and relational as well as internal drivers of behavior, whether they are values, beliefs, or experiences.

It is evident that peacemakers are rare and they represent a departure from common patterns of violent and conflict behaviors. Peacemaking can introduce a variety of transformational processes contributing to peace in conflict situations. It can also plant the seeds for different types of relationships and reconciliation in the future.

RESCUERS: THE CASE OF CAR

Individuals working on peace have had a particularly prominent role in the Central African Republic (CAR) conflict and we will examine a few examples of people who may be said to have practiced peacemaking by rescuing the Others. The conflict in CAR is often described as a religious conflict between Muslims and Christians due to relentless religious cleansing on a massive scale that has been going on for some time, and which has displaced more than 20 percent of the population. The Central African Republic was engulfed in conflict after the Muslim rebel group Seleka, which targeted Christians, overthrew the government in March 2013. In response to this violence, Christian militias, known as the Anti-Balaka, started to persecute Muslim populations in retribution for Seleka's actions. Thousands of Muslims have been murdered by the Anti-Balaka and hundreds of thousands forced to flee the country.

The CAR conflict has not been widely publicized by the Western media and not much would have been known about it if there had not been for two religious leaders—the Imam, Oumar Kobine Layama, President of the Central African Islamic Community, and Archbishop Dieudonne Nzapalainga, head of the Catholic Church in CAR, both of whom have been struggling to draw attention to the conflict. They have worked for peace and reconciliation together and they are often referred to as "The Inseparables" or "The Twins." Their joint journey started after the Imam received death threats from the anti-Muslim militia. He asked for refuge at the residence of the Archbishop, where he was welcomed wholeheartedly (Gall 2013). Both men have emphasized that the conflict was not about religion and that the proof was their friendship (BBC News 2014). Further proof is provided by

the fact that relationships, friendships, and intermarriages between Christians and Muslims existed before and during the conflict. Religion is only utilized to mobilize people, to capitalize on their fear and use their fragility and misinformation to incite conflict. The point is that religion, ethnicity, gender, and race, as identity and cultural markers, can be used for both good and bad, for inciting and preventing conflicts. However, it is individuals who have the capacity to choose.

Father Xavier-Arnauld Fagba is another example of a communal and religious leader who practices peace in the midst of conflict. As the leader of a Catholic congregation in the Central African Republic town of Boali, Father Fagba has had plenty of opportunities to decide whether to encourage peace or revenge. As the Anti-Balaka group began to commit atrocities and ethnic cleansing of Boali's Muslim population, Father Fagba went house to house, drawing out Muslims to seek shelter in the relative safety of his church (Njike 2014). His efforts protected 650 Muslims from the village. This example shows that the basic human capacity to choose between good and evil, between being a bystander or a follower, or someone who intentionally chooses to take the responsibility to make peace, is a reality. It was through embracing the Other, even the Enemy, that the priest exercised relational responsibility. Such cases are rare and they represent a departure from common patterns of violent and conflict behaviors. However, they are important because they can lead to a variety of transformational outcomes contributing to peace. If there were no examples of people who had done something to counter violence and support peace during a conflict, it would be very difficult to talk about a peace that could unite former adversaries in the aftermath of conflict.

By recognizing the rescuers' stories, we recognize the existence of better options by making them visible and accessible to all. Peace is possible and needed in the worst situations and many people have worked towards it in the most difficult circumstances. However, choosing peace in the midst of conflict can be a dangerous. The stories of the Archbishop and Imam in CAR as well as the story of Father Fagba reveal that they were threatened, shunned by their own community for protecting the Other, "the Enemy." The conflict storyline may suggest that in order to live in peace, we need to get rid of all the members of the other group. Such storylines are not characteristic only of the CAR conflict, but pertain to many other conflicts around the world. In some extreme cases, they manifest themselves in the form of ethnic/religious cleansing, mass atrocities, and genocide.

True sustainable peace comes about when someone in the system is able to imagine a way to create discontinuity in the vicious cycles of revenge and violence and act upon it. This is a choice that an individual, a group, or a state makes by adapting to the new situation and learning from past experiences and mistakes. The stories of the Imam, the Archbishop and the priest have shown that to act responsibly means to act respectfully towards the Other; to act responsibly means to learn and explore why the Other or Others sometimes do not positively reciprocate our actions. Responsibility cannot be seen only as external to human beings, residing in laws, judicial and international policies, mechanisms, traditions, religion and rules, but rather also as internal. It is revealed to us through our individual responses to the Other in particular situations.

Through their rescuing of the Other, through acts rooted in a sense of responsibility, those who served as examples experienced a certain agency or power to influence the setting and people around them. Even contributions on a smaller scale, such as helping and offering a hand to those in need in one's community, show that the potential to reconcile and the power to act lies in every single individual. The source of this power can be found in our responsibility to uncover, reveal, and understand our own and Other's humanity.

Conclusion

Stories of peacemakers and rescuers need to be an integral part of education in fragile and post-conflict societies. Chapter 2 of this book talks about history textbooks and curricula, which are part of the problem when they serve as tools of the elites to perpetuate the divisions and stereotypes. Teaching history can inadvertently promote violence and divisions among students through ethnic identification, segregated classes, violent forms of punishment and discriminatory policies in the education system, all of which provide fertile ground for conflict. Learning about peacemakers, rescuers, and their agency as counterexamples to conflict behavior is key in educating future generations.

There needs to be a certain paradigm shift in education, a move away from nation-building projects based an Us versus Them ideology to a more humane approach that enables us to embrace and care for the Other, even the Enemy. Such an approach implies policies and arguments that are respectful and inclusive, and particularly respectful of the humanity and dignity of the Other within a framework of doing good for all. It would be underpinned by an understanding that we do have the power to choose

better and it is our responsibility to choose an "option" that would work better for us, the Other, and the context we share.

There should be a change in thinking about individuals as passive and marginal. By identifying individual actions that have contributed to change in the system, we are actually *repoliticizing* the individual by uncovering her or his agency. Based on our analysis of peacemakers and rescuers in the Balkans, the Basque Country, and CAR, we can posit that agency and capacity to introduce and generate change does exist at the individual level. Individual actions are, in a way, a response to the structural and institutional inability to address the needs and frustrations of the people in a time of conflict. The resistance of certain individuals and groups against complying and interacting with the conflict structure and its rules and practices is an indication of hope. However, responsible acts of interrupting and rejecting violence often go unrecognized. Responsible action is in that sense an independent and nonreciprocal action that comes from our sense of responsibility for the Self and the Other.

Peacemakers' testimonies are an example of the new ontology and values based on relationality and interconnectivity. They offer knowledge through which future generations will be able to uncover and understand the way of being rooted in care and responsibility, inextricably connected to the Other. Caring, or *Sorge*, in Heidegger's terms, is the "totality of being in the world" (Heidegger 1967, p. 182). It is the mode of existence which suggests concern, both emotional and cognitive, for possibilities through which the meaning of things is revealed to us (Adam and Groves 2011). Caring for the relationship with the Other shapes our individual action; such action is linked to our responsibility to ourselves, to others, and the environment. Responsibility becomes relevant and visible with an awareness that emerges not only from the face-to-face relationship with the Other, but through imagining an interconnected world in which our actions can intentionally or unintentionally cause harm or prevent harm to the distant Other and eventually, the Self.

Notes

1. The Center for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies (CANVAS) is a nonprofit, nongovernmental educational institution that promotes nonviolent strategies around the world. It was founded in 2004 by Srđa Popović and Slobodan Đinović, who were both former members of the Serbian youth resistance movement Otpor. It holds lectures, workshops, training sessions, and courses to educate pro-democracy activists around the world about the

principles for success in nonviolent struggle. The CANVAS member Milan Raskovic was interviewed for this study. See: http://www.canvasopedia.org

2. Women in Black was inspired by earlier women's movements who had demonstrated on the streets, making a public space in which women could be heard—particularly Black Sash, in South Africa, and the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, seeking the "disappeared" in the political repression in Argentina. During the sequence of wars that began in 1992, in Croatia and Bosnia, Women in Black groups sprang up in many more countries, supporting Zene u Crnom Belgrade in their opposition to war. See: http://zeneucrnom.org/index.php?lang=en

3. The Centre for Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights is a civil association founded in 1992. It focuses on peacebuilding, the protection and promotion of human rights and freedoms, and the promotion of creative methods of conflict resolution at the individual, group, and political level. The peace activists interviewed were Tatjana Škrbić and Katarina Kruhonja. See: http://www.centar-za-mir.hr/en/

4. The PRONI Center for Social Education strives to encourage cooperation and understanding between people. The PRONI Center seeks to enable young people to take responsibility for themselves and for the development of the society they are part of, with the aim of turning that society into one in which their needs are recognized and responded to at all levels. The interviewed peacemaker from PRONI was Diana Lupsic. http://www.proni.hr/index.php/en/

5. Gorka Landaburu is a peace activist, ETA attack victim and journalist who is a member of Gesto por la Paz (Gesture for Peace), an organization that works for reconciliation and against violence in the Basque Country.

6. Jonan Fernandez is the current Secretary-General for Peace and Coexistence appointed by the Basque Government. He has been a peace activist for a few decades, and was previously a member of Elkarri.

7. Julen Mendoza is Mayor of Renteria (Gipuzkoa), which, in the 1970s and 1980s was one of Euskadi's most violent municipalities. He organizes dialogues and workshops with victims to promote coexistence and tolerance in his town and beyond.

8. Interview conducted in person in May 2013.

9. Ibid.

10. Interview conducted via Skype in June 2013.

11. Interview conducted in person in June 2013.

12. Interview conducted via Skype in June 2013.

13. Interview conducted in person in June 2015.

14. Interview conducted in person in June 2013.

15. Interview conducted in person in June 2015.

16. Interview conducted in person in May 2013.

17. Interview conducted via Skype in June 2013.

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Collaborative Learning, Relational Responsibility, and Resilient Communities

Introduction

A true transformation from conflict to peace comes from education which empowers people to exercise their will and contribute to the well-being and resilience of their communities. *Collaborative learning* and *relational responsibility* are key principles of such education, which fosters innovation and curiosity in one's own pursuit of knowledge. With these two central ideas, which serve as vehicles for interaction between different actors and sectors in the complex educational system, the final chapter will discuss the key findings for a new approach to education, implications for research and practice, and a vision for the education of conflict-resilient communities. This chapter will also address the significance of sustainable peace and the role of education in the conflict-resolution field. On the one hand, this chapter can be seen as a canvas in which I delineate the trajectory and completion of the first cycle in my nomadic quest for peace. On the other hand, it signifies the beginning of a new cycle as I put forward an invitation to the reader to engage in a constructive dialogue through which we can seek solutions to the world's most pressing challenges together.

Educational systems should be constructed in ways that reduce conflicts and promote sustainable peace. The interdependent relationship between the fields of education and conflict studies require revisiting the gap between what exists in theory and what actually happens in practice. Peacebuilding practices that focus on educational systems in post-violent-conflict societies are constantly in need of insights and recommendations based on the analysis

of real-life cases and conceptual frameworks. As was revealed through the chapters presented earlier, this book draws from a theoretical review on education in post-conflict and fragile societies to give suggestions and offer tangible recommendations for the reform of educational systems to promote sustainable, positive peace.

In order to arrive at tangible recommendations and solutions, it is necessary to welcome questions and invite people to engage in free and collaborative inquiry. However, getting people to participate in such processes is also a matter of changing discourses and ethos, which seems to be inhibited in educational systems in post-conflict and fragile societies. The idea of creating spaces at the community level that would enable questioning, free inquiry, and curiosity about the contentious past is particularly relevant as an approach to learning the history of conflict. As was addressed in Chapter 5, the presence of a safe space promotes a dialogue between the present and the past. The creation of safe spaces, whether they be inside or outside of classrooms, for an open dialogue about the past and present can actually provide insight into how we became who we are and where we are going.

Paying close attention to the schooling models that are implemented in post-conflict and fragile societies is essential in striving for sustainable, positive peace and for building conflict-resilient communities. From a theoretical standpoint, integrated models of schooling in post-conflict and fragile societies are viewed as having the potential to bring about the emergence of educational spaces that allow for the exchange of ideas and the development of critical thinking; integrated models are often seen as the best way to bring communities together through contact and interaction. As was discussed in Chapter 3, this was the international community's mentality towards attempting to promote multiculturalism in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina's (BiH) schools. However, this may not necessarily happen in practice, as was the case in BiH, due to communal divisions and power imbalance as well as lack of safe space for minority students to voice their concerns and preserve their sense of identity within a post-conflict educational setting. This is why the role of teachers and parents is crucial in establishing and implementing the rules of engagement as well as balancing power. To move a conflict system from a fragile, negative peace to a sustainable, positive peace that will remain resilient to the threat of the reemergence of conflict, there needs to be a change in "patterns of interaction" among parties (Coleman 2003). The teachers

and parents who promote interactions that foster creativity, curiosity, collaboration, responsibility, and imagination at school and at home are actually planting seeds of change within their communities. Such a change can occur in certain spaces and at certain times when individuals or groups are enabled to use the resources of the past, their relationships and the space of the present to orient themselves towards a more peaceful future for their community.

The whole idea of observing educational systems and communities as complex, dynamic, and adaptive systems (Davies 2003) is important for envisioning a possibility of change that is not linear and cannot be explained as a consequence of only one or a few simple causes. A complex and systemic approach considers multiple causes and events dynamically influencing each other to produce change. Change takes place when certain apparently *random* events lead to certain outcomes. As those events are only seemingly random, they often occur as a consequence of a particular way of engaging with the system.

As was stated in Chapter 5, looking at education through the adaptive complex system lens helps us to think of the intricate networks of interactive individuals who are considered to be part of "social capital" (Ropers 2008) and "a resource used to facilitate human action toward productive outcomes, obtained through the relationships of individuals in a social system" (Price-Mitchell 2009, p. 17). The findings of this book emphasize that in order to build conflict-resilient communities, there needs to be promotion of social ties, collaboration, and relational responsibility that can function within or despite the structures that they are embedded in. They can become the isles of sustainable peace in the system that is affected by violence, and they are actualized by relying on their own set of rules, engagement patterns, and shared values.

Students, teachers, parents, school administrators, and many other members of a resilient community share a common purpose in educating new generations—new generations that will hopefully not be confronted with violent conflict in the future. Traditional history-education programs, textbooks, and curricula are less likely to be sustainable and effective unless they work in conjunction with other learning initiatives that genuinely engage all members of a school community, including educators, administrators, students, and members of the outside and wider community. Through such an engagement, trust and respect for each other's experiences and unique gifts may ensue and lead to an uninhibited and collaborative

exploration of possibilities for change and innovation. Participating in learning communities should be seen as an invitation to bring about positive change by implementing collaborative learning and relational responsibility as baseline values.

Principles of Collaborative Learning

Reflection and Creation of Learning Communities

An important component of collaborative learning practices is the process of reflecting on both issues and processes, which can help to create truly integrated communities in which parents, teachers, and students can be equal partners in their quest for sustainable peace. Their responsibility for implementing and reflecting upon their activities and practices should be a shared and joint venture. All of the members of integrated communities should have a voice and participate equally in practices which would eventually lead to the creation of *resilient communities of learning.* Such resilient communities must be open to research and inquiry as the mode of engagement, and I foresee trainings and workshops through which people are given an opportunity to adjust and change through inquiry and dialogue.[1]

Equality and Safety

Processes of free inquiry can be implemented and open discussion can occur only if all participants feel safe. In post-conflict and fragile societies, there needs to be recognition that it may take some time and effort to create a space in which sensitive issues can eventually be dealt with in a collaborative, constructive, and efficient manner. Therefore, the initial stage of a collaborative learning process should focus discussion on setting the rules of engagement agreed upon by all participants which will serve as a foundation for open discussion. Facilitators—teachers, students, parents, or another relevant party—should monitor the process and provide students with opportunities to openly discuss their concerns. This process demands that everyone is considered equal and as operating on an even playing field, which would counteract the usual teacher–student power asymmetry. Each participant's opinion must be respected and the continuation of the process will depend on the participation of all stakeholders. With an emphasis on the importance of equality and the presence of a safe

space, internal relational responsibility will emerge from within and from participants' respect for each other and the process, rather than from an outside authority.

Language of Peace

Language can be used constructively, but also destructively. As Deutsch (1973) noted in his classic work on competitive (confrontational) conflict, competitive processes tend to produce "unreliable and impoverished communication that reinforces the pre-existing orientations and expectations toward the Other" (p. 353). Language represents an invaluable source of knowledge about the level or magnitude of deprivation in a given society (Kriesberg 2007). Language itself can be used as a tool to escalate conflicts because of its salience for individual and group identity. In educational settings, and as was demonstrated in Chapter 2, historical narratives and the very use of language can provoke a reaction or a series of reactions that can move the system toward contention. Learning how to communicate peacefully and nonviolently with each other as well as learning how to avoid harming or hurting others communicatively can be very important in the move towards sustainable, positive peace and the development of conflict-resilient communities.

This is especially important when it comes to addressing the relationship between minority and majority populations in post-conflict and fragile societies. Providing minorities with the right to use their language in educational and other public settings may defuse tensions, but true transformation can only take place through free and open interaction between the minority and majority. In many post-conflict contexts, groups can perfectly understand each other, but there are certain words and phrases that mark the differences in languages. The collaborative learning process aims at overcoming such differences through the mutual recognition and fostering of relational responsibility.

Creation of Shared Reality

Moving the system from a negative peace to a positive peace requires changing the ways in which we learn. The resistance of certain groups or individuals to complying and interacting with the structure, and its rules and practices—be it the educational system, curriculum, or particular classes—is an indication of a serious dysfunction within the system and

presents on obstacle to the development of conflict-resilient communities. However, based on the findings and case studies presented in this book, we can claim that the possibility for creating a shared reality already exists on the ground, and merely needs to be tapped into. The development of common values through collaborative learning can serve as a framework for the creation of a space that can introduce a bottom-up momentum for change. For example, determining the truthfulness of sources of historical knowledge is not as important as finding proper approaches towards analyzing and appropriating historical knowledge. Broom (2009) argues that shifting the focus onto procedures that enable creative processes could be key for creating relational empathy, which in turn could lead to a change in patterns of interaction towards openness, learning, and creativity.

Involvement of Various Community Members

As was addressed in Chapter 2, the role of primary mediators of meaning, such as parents and teachers, can be vital for students' engagement in the analysis of various sources of knowledge as well as for the quality engagement and development of critical consciousness. Various stakeholders, including parents, teachers, students, and administrators, need to be engaged in the process of free, open inquiry and collaborative learning in which they will be given an opportunity not only to assess the accuracy of the information being presented, but also to experience how the process of learning together can be enabled, keeping in mind values of tolerance, respect, civility, and freedom of choice.

The Role of the Third Party

The third-party role in facilitating collaborative learning processes comes with certain challenges. Striking a balance between enabling local communities to take ownership of the process and navigating those processes to generate positive change may be a daunting task. To what extent should the third party be involved? On the one hand, educators and conflict-resolution practitioners should be aware that their role in the collaborative learning process is not only that of an advisor or facilitator, but also that of an agent of change. On the other hand, the third party cannot do much if the seeds of change do not already exist in communities. As Kriesberg (2007) suggested, it is important for the third party to have an open mind and to examine each conflict

situation with a fresh perspective rather than "assuming it is just like another struggle" (p. 381). Given that learning is not a mono-directional process, the third party should be humble enough to have an open mind and learn from the other participants and the process itself.

Engaging the key stakeholders within communities in the processes of collaborative learning, both inside and outside of classrooms, will encourage the free exchange of opinions, relationship-building, and the promotion of peace and resilience. The collaborative learning model reconsiders how we learn (Bruffee 1999; Hiltz 1998; Goodsell 1992). It emphasizes the interaction of two or more people, encourages an awareness of this interaction and challenges the existing education model in that it sees students not as passive learners, but rather agents of change that author each other's learning in non-linear and interactive ways (Polat 2011; van Schaik et al. 2011).

For members of post-conflict and fragile communities to genuinely engage in processes of collaborative learning and develop resilience to conflicts, they must share and value the voices and experiences of one another and engage with various stakeholders at different societal levels. Therefore, by establishing spaces for meaningful interaction we can enhance learning, build trust, and open up the lines of communication inside the classroom and the larger community. Through meaningful interaction, post-conflict and fragile communities can become resilient.

It is important to note that spaces for collaborative learning should be created from within the local community and not be imposed by outside third parties. They can start with a small group of enthusiastic individuals, whether they be students, parents, teachers, or other individuals concerned with the current state of affairs, whose ownership of and dedication to the collaborative learning process would allow for the organic development and growth of such initiatives.

Relational Responsibility and Education

We use the concept of relational responsibility as a principle that in combination with collaborative learning is manifested in creative responses to unique historical conditions in the aftermath of conflict. It is exemplified in groups and individuals that have been able to rebuild relationships and cooperate with other groups or someone who has caused them harm.

Relational responsibility can be recognized in the actions of those who have managed to rescue people in the face of genocide or formed structures and institutions that were resilient enough to hold the delicate social fabric together in the aftermath of destructive conflicts. All of these responses have been extremely creative, and creativity and innovation come into being through a renewed sense of relationship with the Other in the midst of emerging challenges. The concepts of relationality and responsibility have been a focus of attention for many scholars (Gergen 2011; Bishop 2011; Bourriaud et al. 2002; Dachler and Hosking 1995; Gergen 2009; Fogel et al. 2001; Hopper and Drummond 1990; Broome 2009; Hoskins et al. 2011; Jabri 1998; Levinas 1987, 1998). In addition to the interest that it has sparked among scholars, the relational dimension of responsibility has historically been a part of indigenous teachings and has also been connected to the expression of human creativity in its care and respect for cultural norms, traditions, earth, and humanity.

Relational responsibility is significant in the development of resilience in post-conflict and fragile communities because it taps into the emotions which allow us to humanize the Other. Most importantly, through relational responsibility, we may imagine and actualize the greatest form of power—love—which enables people to care for and reconcile with others, who are parts of their extended selves and humanity as a whole. Caring for the Other demands a reevaluation and deep examination of the consequences of our actions. This is especially relevant to the concept of war which, as was stated in Chapter 2, is often legitimized and promoted in society because the structure that exists prioritizes military action over peaceful action when it comes to conflict resolution. Relational responsibility's constructivist approach to conflict ultimately aims to overcome this type of mentality through its emphasis on our humanity and emotions, rather than on resources and power. For instance, if we consider war as a social phenomenon, we can claim that it may be seen by some as a responsible act, an act of duty to protect and defend one's country and family. However, this type of responsibility is exclusionary when its implementation disregards the Other, only affirming aspirations and claims of Self. It provides a justification for violence and aggression towards the Other, which may lead to a fulfillment of the immediate needs of Self in case of winning, but the long-term consequences are certainly detrimental to both the Self and Other. They are detrimental because aggression and violence in pursuing one's own goals at the expense of the Other often leaves a long trail of destruction, grievances, and wrongs that tend to perpetuate conflict

and feed further violence. The key issue with exclusionary responsibility is in its inability to capture the bigger picture; exclusionary responsibility fails to recognize that by oppressing, killing, and injuring the Other, we are actually destroying multiple opportunities for the Self to fully actualize in a peaceful society.

Within the context of the educational system of post-conflict and fragile communities, there needs to be close attention paid to exclusionary and relational responsibility given that educational practices can also be exclusionary. In the aftermath of conflict, when connections and relationships among former adversaries are broken, school systems often find themselves contributing to the disconnect through segregation, curriculum divide, and teaching that replicates contentious historical narratives. There is no "one size fits all" formula that could be applied to all conflict situations, but the concept of relational responsibility can illuminate the basis for more humanistic and peaceful educational systems that may contribute to reconciliation, societal healing, and sustainable peace.

Taking into account the differences between exclusionary and relational responsibility as they relate to the educational system in post-conflict and fragile communities, the new approach to education in conflict-stricken societies is based on responsibility rooted in care for the Other as a way of being, which is not affiliated with the fear of punishment, legal norms, tradition, or religious beliefs. In other words, it is not given or imposed from the outside and it is not necessarily reciprocal. Furthermore, responsibility should be understood as choosing a *better response* that can benefit all—both "Us" and "Them." Human beings cannot exist in isolation; it is the Other, often the *Enemy,* that we need to share our land and lives with. It is not a matter of choice, but a way of being. Relational responsibility becomes relevant and visible, with awareness emerging not only from the face-to-face relationship with the Other, but through imagining an interconnected world in which our actions can intentionally or unintentionally cause or prevent harm. This type of mentality is a response to the fluidity of life as opposed to the rigid application of individual approaches, norms, and procedures.

The new approach to education, rooted in relational responsibility and collaborative learning, enables us to embrace and care for the Other, even the Enemy. It is underpinned by an understanding that we do have the power to choose better and it is our responsibility to choose an "option" that would work better for us, the Other, and the context we share. It is

through an educational environment that promotes inclusiveness, empathy, and caring for the Other that upcoming generations will move away from the principles of exclusionary responsibility and towards embracing values that are necessary for sustaining positive peace and resilience against conflict.

Promoting relational responsibility and resilience is important because it should not be forgotten that it is the Other, the Enemy, with whom we must continue to live. This has been the case in countries such as Rwanda, BiH, Croatia, South Africa, and many other places that have experienced conflict. Simply put, war does not work. It creates a temporary sense of victory for the winners, but it also leaves a long trail of grievances, injustices, memories, and traumas that will not go away and will continue to be transmitted to future generations unless we deal with them appropriately and in a way that will contribute to the prevention of future violence. We need to recognize that we do have the responsibility to choose an "option" that will work best for both the Self and Other. Responsible action in the educational system shows that peace is a work in progress that demands dedicated efforts both during and after conflict as well as in peaceful times.

The new approach to education proposed in this book combines the concepts of collaborative learning and relational responsibility. The interactive aspect of collaborative learning and the empathetic and emotional aspects of relational responsibility make for a comprehensive strategy to education that encompasses values that can trickle into the wider society. We cannot know the Other unless we are curious, open, and ready to learn and interact with one another. The Other cannot be reduced to objective knowledge or limited to our horizons of knowing. The Other is a mystery that is revealed through a relationship that suggests inquiry, self-correction, and adaptability. Through the process of expanding ourselves through others, we create a relational and collaborative space in which everyone can experience reconciliation and sustainable peace, one which implies open and liberating relationships. Relational responsibility demands empathy as a way to break the ties that bind us to the Other's violence, to our neighbor's aggression, enmity, or envy. It illuminates the fact that current conflicts cannot be addressed through violent means, but through sustainable and legitimate mechanisms that promote dialogue, learning, and inquiry with the Other at interpersonal, national, and global levels. In this new approach, the "Others" are to be considered as constitutive for our own lives, and their well-being as closely tied to our own well-being and happiness. This is the key to the development of resilience in post-conflict and fragile societies worldwide.

Implications for Practice

One of the key implications for practice based on the findings of this book is that the objective within the realm of the educational systems, should be altering *patterns of interaction* rather than creating common discourses and consensus. This book recommends that collaborative learning and open inquiry be introduced as communal practices in order to help local populations to search for ways to address contentious issues as a means of developing resilience to conflict. By transforming engagement patterns, the possibility of hearing and recognizing each other's interpretations of conflict becomes more palpable.

Another important point is that conflict-resolution practitioners working on educational issues in post-conflict contexts must pay attention to and design their interventions based on local knowledge. As Sandole (2011) aptly argues, the outsider's "explanation" should be matched by an insider-driven "understanding" (p. 82). Contentious issues cannot be tackled unless the people on the ground take ownership and responsibility for such processes. Therefore, for the sake of sustainability, it is crucial to work together with locals in order to empower their communities to create a relational space and develop the capacity to spearhead the momentum for change through participation, and respectful and open patterns of engagement.

A constant challenge for scholars and practitioners in the conflict-resolution field is in finding modalities to change certain persistent and recurring types of conflict behaviors and dynamics in order to prevent the contentious past from repeating itself. They should be aware of the unstable and shifting relationship of the conflicting parties and the fact that these parties can cause damage by adhering to the belief of the primacy of a single factor or good intentions that do not allow them to see beyond the immediate circumstances (Sandole 2011, p. 159). In the conflict-resolution field, there is a need for new frameworks or paradigm shifts to account for anomalies or unexpected outcomes, which occur as a result of faulty analyses, approaches, and interventions. Conflict-resolution practitioners and educators also have to be aware that by embedding themselves in a particular paradigm, they will be limited in their worldview, thereby undermining their approaches and interventions. Similarly, parties to the conflict cannot move forward until they start to listen and recognize the point of view of the Other.

Going back to the individual, and his or her capacity to act and think as an agent of positive change, requires a change in thinking about the usual treatment of local communities as passive and marginal. By identifying initiatives for peace at the communal level, we are actually *repoliticizing* the grassroots—the local—by uncovering their agency. Unveiling common ideas that exist across ethnic and religious divides presents the potential for generating a movement at the local level. Repoliticizing the grassroots through the use of initiatives for peace is, in a way, a response to the state structures' inability to address the needs and frustrations at the local level. Such initiatives also signal to the local institutions working with communities for peace that spaces for collaborative learning have yet to be established. For example, learning history in post-violent-conflict educational contexts requires the involvement of the communities, that will supplement the state-promoted curricula and programs by learning how to interact with the Other.

For collaborative learning to be truly effective, it requires the involvement of actors from various social levels and structures ranging from students, parents, and teachers to ministry officials, civil society, international actors, and so on. For example, regional actors, such as the Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Union (EU), who are already involved in educational reforms in Bosnia and Serbia (OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina 2017; OSCE Mission to Serbia 2017; Duda et al. 2013), may play an important role in suggesting proper modalities of decentralized history-learning. However, top-down approaches and policies can hardly work if the communities that have actually been directly impacted by the conflict do not take ownership of those approaches. Providing spaces for collaborative learning that place an emphasis on the concept of relational responsibility between different groups may be an appropriate way to address such a disconnect.

Implications for Research

An important implication for research is that the complex problems of today cannot be resolved without integrating knowledge and the "hybridity" of approaches and ideas. This book aims to contribute to the shift in discourses and research paradigms away from the dominance of realpolitik towards the egalitarianism and cosmopolitanism of "idealpolitik" as an ideology that underpins the theory and practice of education for peace.

Realpolitik assumes that human beings are innately competitive and that they struggle for dominance by trying to promote or defend their interests, while idealpolitik takes the opposite approach and suggests that human beings are innately cooperative and tend to use cooperative approaches to resolve conflicts (Sandole 2013). Hence, idealpolitik is in line with the values underpinning collaborative learning and relational responsibility. There is a need for "discourses without domination and a methodology towards an everyday ontology of peace that is empathetic, bottom-up, emancipatory, and capable of responding to changes in contexts" (Richmond 2012, p. 14).

Research being conducted on complex education initiatives in conflict situations must include local knowledge and be informed by insights from the local population, including the marginalized and/or the minority. It is by taking into account the perspectives and knowledge of both the minority and majority groups in a conflict-affected society that barriers to the promotion of resilience and sustainable peace can be overcome. Richmond (2012) proposes an interdisciplinary research agenda, based on everyday life and the involvement of coalitions of scholars, policy-makers, politicians, and indigenous people to develop multiple concepts reflecting an understanding of education for peace that is context-specific. These propositions resonate very clearly with the idea of collaborative learning processes as one of the grassroots' modalities for inducing the shift from realpolitik to idealpolitik. The collaborative learning model proposed in this book presupposes interconnectivity with other societal levels, openness to learning, and the adoption of a variety of different theoretical and practical approaches.

Implications for Policy

This study proposes enabling the participation of various stakeholders in the development of education policies, curricula, and textbooks in post-conflict and fragile societies. Educational policy-makers should be ready to listen to voices from the communities where such policies are being implemented.

In order to create sustainable positive peace within the structure, an alternative approach to education that is able to challenge nationalist and exclusionist narratives and practices needs to be promoted. As the findings of this book have suggested, a route to peace will emerge through changes in language, perceptions, and behavioral patterns, and the conditions for such changes already exist within communities. For sustainable positive peace to occur and for communities to develop resilience against future

conflict, people must understand what peace really means and which kinds of institutions can replace exclusionary or oppressive ones. This can happen only if people engage in interactive and collaborative processes of learning about each other, and the structures in which they are embedded.

If we engage in collaborative learning processes, especially in the education system, change becomes a possibility, but in certain situations, only some options will be open to particular agents and the corresponding change will not necessarily be what those agents had envisioned. However, the practical aspect of the field of conflict analysis and resolution would be in crisis if we believed that the only change that agents can produce is of the unintended variety. Therefore, social change does not have to be massive; the introduction of communal small-scale interventions will usually not result in large structural transformations. However, they can certainly contribute to increased knowledge and an understanding of the "unacknowledged conditions of action" (Giddens 1984, p. 5), such as repoliticizing the voices and agency of the communities, which can, through shared networks, influence wider narratives and the polity itself.

In situations where the views and stories promoted in school and at home are contentious, it is necessary to engage with multiple narratives in formal and informal settings in order to learn about how those stories can be utilized to support positive peace. What comes to mind is Gandhi's belief that, in every fight, there is an underlying struggle between views that are both right to some degree and that illuminate the same truth. Satyagraha embodies Gandhi's approach to conflict resolution and is defined as "grasping onto principles," or "truth force" (Juergensmeyer 2002, p. 3). Satyagraha's aim is to redirect the focus of a fight from people to principles. According to the concept of satyagraha, by considering one's adversary as a potential ally and engaging him or her in a responsible collaborative learning process, we invite the Other to participate in a process in which both sides can resolve conflict together.

It should be noted that this process requires navigating through different dimensions of truth and the many versions of that "truth" that are likely to be expressed in post-violent-conflict societies, especially when it comes to their educational systems. It is also important to emphasize that the aim of such a process would not be to find a common truth or joint narrative about what happened. Instead, the aim would be to develop common principles of learning together, accepting that the different communities can agree to disagree, and encouraging people to accept the existence of contrasting narratives.

Building trust and relationships within communities and with youth should involve multilevel stakeholders. Adults, for example, may still remember the bonds that existed in the former peaceful society, but the youth have grown in separate societies and their attitudes have been learned under different societal conditions (*structures*). Interactive programs, encounters, and exchanges as well as study-abroad programs, similar to those addressed in Chapter 5, may inspire young people to create new bonds with the Other in their own communities. It is through the interaction of different stakeholders, relational responsibility, and collaborative initiatives that sustainable positive peace can be achieved and that conflict-resilient communities can be built.

Conclusion

Educational structures may impose certain patterns of relations, rules and codes through discourses of discipline be they in the form of official historical narratives or some other modality. This leads to the internalization of disciplinary individuality, and the creation of the "docile body" or compliant individuals who are less likely to break the rules. As those discourses, knowledge, and technology evolve, control over people becomes more refined and more dangerous. Mind or "soul" control, as Foucault calls it, becomes the primary locus of power struggle. As this control progresses and becomes more sophisticated, humans are more and more stripped of their willingness to resist and bring about change, which was a theme discussed with regard to extremism in Chapter 4. Moreover, war is enabled by societal structures that promote the institution of war and discourses that legitimize it (Jabri 1996). War, in Jabri's view, is legitimized and promoted within society because the structure has prioritized and continues to prioritize military action before peaceful action. Not only do nationalist and exclusive discourses serve to justify going to war, but they also legitimize and feed negative peace in post-conflict and fragile societies. They delegitimize forms of action tilted toward positive peace and "seek to conceal dissent, individuality, and non-conformity" (Jabri 1996, p. 160). By delegitimizing and alienating non-conformist forms of action among people on the ground, the nationalist and/or patriotic discourses promoted through the traditional education system and subsequent social practices will continue to endorse violence and war.

This book argues that education systems in conflict-plagued societies need to be based on the concepts of collaborative learning and relational responsibility, which not only illuminate the inside workings of peace processes, but also revisit the dialectic of human ethical maturation. Such dialectic implies a progression from orienting one's agency according to external responses and incentives, towards ethical principles that are more internal and based in good practices. At a time when conflicts and environmental issues such as pollution, scarce resources, and climate change have devastating impact on humankind, it is imperative to reflect on the far-reaching and long-term consequences of our actions. As suggested by Clarkson, Morrissette, and Régallet, "we cannot simply think of our survival; each new generation is responsible to ensure the survival of the seventh generation" (1992, p. 3). The education system should serve as a platform through which communities can engage in the processes of collaborative learning and develop a new set of values rooted in non-reciprocated care for the Other, the Self, and the World we share.

Peace

I dedicate my final section to the concept of peace. Peace is much more than a condition or a circumstance—peace is a universal value. It is a value that transcends time, history, memory, and everyday struggles and pain. Peace is missed the most by those who, at some point, knew it and lost it. Therefore, I do not want to define peace as the absence of violence or by the degree of violence, or as something that can be structurally defined or measured, but rather, look into the meaning of peace as something personal, intimate, and broadly human.

Peace is both internal and external—it is equally as important for our microcosm as it is for our collective being. Peace is a process, and a state of harmony that we are all constantly seeking, but are unable to fully reach. Peace partly depends on the system and structure of a particular society, but the question of the humanistic value of peace has yet to be addressed. At the present time, we can see individual initiatives for peace taking off and becoming global, such as Tel Aviv graphic designer Ronny Edry's Facebook message from Israel to Iran: "Iranians, we will never bomb your country. We love you."[2] Just this one sentence, carrying the simple message of love and recognition to the supposed enemy, received enormous feedback and attention despite official rhetoric. This speaks to the value

and the strength of narratives of resistance. Animosity shatters in the face of peace, just as injustice withdraws when faced with justice, and the lie when faced by truth. It is incumbent upon each and every one of us to extend her or his hand towards the perceived enemy. At least, we can try.

This book is a small contribution to the efforts of many who are working on expanding the message of positive peace across different societies. By adding knowledge and ideas to the peace constituencies around the world, I hope to contribute to the increasing recognition that violence is an unacceptable and impractical form of conflict resolution. I believe that, as a matter of faith, if we can learn together about nonviolent and constructive options of engagement and if we can educate ourselves to become comfortable about plunging into the "chaos of the unknown," we can generate a momentum for positive peace, integrity, and forgiveness. It is within the reach of each and every one of us to shift the tendencies to destruction in that "critical region of the edge of chaos" towards love and cooperation, with faith in human goodness as a key ingredient that informs our actions and enhances prospects for the sustainability of our lives and common environment.

NOTES

1. I was intrigued by the view of inquiry presented by Harvard psychologists Robert Kegan and Lisa Lahey Kegan in their book, *Immunity to Change: How to Overcome it and Unlock the Potential in Yourself and Your Organization* (2009). The authors argue that inquiry unfolds as we try to overcome our immunity to change. They posit that the "deepest human hunger is to experience the continuing unfolding of our capacities to see more deeply (inwardly and outwardly) and to act more effectively and with greater range" (p. 316). By offering a methodology aimed at the development of a more complex mental framework (the "self-transforming mind"), individuals will be better equipped to recognize the limitations of their own paradigms. This recognition will allow individuals to begin to negate the effects of an internally imposed immunity to change.

2. See the article by Ruth Margalit for the complete story (2012), "Israel Loves Iran (On Facebook)." *The New Yorker.* Available at: http://www. newyorker.com/online/blogs/culture/2012/03/israel-loves-iran-on-facebook.html (accessed February 25, 2017).

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