
Addressing Perception in the Delivery of Education in Conflict and Crisis

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Equitable access to a quality education is a fundamental human right. It is also the foundation upon which true sustainable development must be built. Education at its best gives individuals essential tools for survival and advancement, including but not limited to: literacy and numeracy, critical thinking skills that help people challenge and evolve their existing knowledge base, non-cognitive social skills for co-existence, and the seeds of intellectual curiosity that will stimulate a person's desire to seek out a plurality of information sources to significantly increase the ability to protect one's health, well-being, and means of livelihood. As such, "Education for All" (EFA) as a priority in conflict and crisis has become an increasingly popular focus of donors, practitioners, and researchers along the relief-to-development continuum.¹ The main priorities of EFA commit the international community to early childhood education, ensuring access to quality primary education, providing equitable access to learning and life-skills programs, improving adult literacy, and achieving gender equality. Despite the popularity of the EFA movement, prioritizing and addressing what "equitable," "access," and "quality" mean for education reform can be extremely problematic. Indeed, the complications oftentimes rest within the historical meaning that education has held within these communities and the role education has played in emboldening certain power dynamics, undermining culture and language, and exacerbating marginalization and division.

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The key elements of quality education include safe learning environments, teacher training and support, standards-based assessment practices, quality material resources, and both formal and non-formal education opportunities that help individuals secure their livelihoods.² Many believe that equitable access to quality education is necessary for long-term well-being and stability. Thought leaders such as Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum emphasize the need to address “capabilities” and not “commodities” in development and that, as such, promoting education as a priority and a basic need is necessary.³ Likewise, practitioners such as Gerald

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Martone, Director of Humanitarian Affairs at the International Rescue Committee, are advocating heavily for education as a priority in emergencies. Martone states, “despite the folklore of our work, crises are more often *not* life-or-death situations... We must shift our obsession from how people are dying to how people are living.”⁴ Finding effective and durable ways to address the delivery of education in conflict- and crisis-affected countries as part of a

continuum is integral to this shift. Relief and development efforts have a strong chance of endurance if they create equitable access and deliver quality education and training that is hatred-free, unbiased, and demilitarized. However, attention must be paid to recognizing and breaking old patterns, as well as reforming systems that have previously made education vulnerable to manipulation or neglect. Indeed, it is not just the practical security and resource deficiencies that conflict- and crisis-affected countries face, but injustice and grievances within the society in which education is being addressed that must be considered for effective reform to occur and endure.

EDUCATION AS A RIGHT

Law governing the rights to education can be found in numerous international conventions, including Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Convention on the Rights of the Child also addresses formal and non-formal education as rights for children—and in some cases, for their adult caregivers as well—in eight of its fifty-four articles.⁵ In Articles 28 and 29, equitable opportunities are underscored along with the

right for children to achieve education progressively.⁶ In addition, Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights recognizes education as directly linked to the full development of an individual's personality, one's sense of dignity, and an overarching respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Article 13 specifies that "... education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic, or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."⁷

International law connects education to the development and sense of dignity of a child, but also to the stability and peace of the community in which the child lives. These commitments are important when thinking about the role of education in peacebuilding and peacekeeping, as societies transition from conflict to post-conflict contexts. Understanding why and how previously excluded or marginalized groups were prohibited from accessing the same educational opportunities as those in power will be essential. Taking that critical analysis and awareness and using it to develop key marketing and communication strategies to win buy-in from local leaders and their communities over time will begin to address the distrust and perceptions that are often key impediments to development and the achievement of both the right to education, specifically, as well as human rights more broadly. This process will provide more solid ground on which practitioners work with and guide countries and communities—especially the most marginalized and disenfranchised individuals within them—through the construction of new frameworks for making education more inclusive and equitable as part of ongoing relief efforts, peace agreements, new constitutions, legal reform efforts, and updated policy frameworks.

EDUCATION AS A PRIORITY

While education may be regarded as a right, education should also be seen as an integral part of rebuilding societies in a stable and peaceful way. Thus, for education to aid the rebuilding of societies, the key drivers of conflict must be removed, perceptions must be addressed, and everyone must be able to access the same rights, responsibilities, and opportunities that directly lead to the development of critical thinking, creativity, and productivity. Equitable access to quality education is the foundation for the achievement of the wider Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of nutrition, child survival, maternal health, environmental sustainability, and poverty reduction. On the road to 2015—the date set for the achievement

of the EFA priorities—donors and practitioners alike must acknowledge gaps in the fundamentals of basic education delivery in conflict-, crisis-affected, and low-income countries. Literacy, numeracy, and vocational and non-formal skills training are not meeting the MDGs and can greatly impact other development outcomes.⁸ In fact, while a quality, equitable education system is not the only element needed to build a strong and peaceful society, one can argue that *without* an education system designed to build and maintain peace, all other development efforts such as eradicating poverty and hunger, achieving gender equality, decreasing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability, and the like will fail.

Resource networks such as the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) and country-level efforts between international and national non-governmental organizations such as by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Education Cluster⁹ have emerged in the last decade to improve coordination and exchange good practices and lessons learned. These networks also share tools and resources for increasing access to, and the implementation of, quality education interventions. INEE's work to institute minimum standards for education in emergencies underscores the priority of basic education for everyone, everywhere—regardless of the ethnic, linguistic, racial, national, religious, gender, age, or urban/rural differences.¹⁰ INEE maintains that protecting this fundamental human right has a positive ripple effect on other universal rights which are also reinforced in INEE's work.

While there is certainly greater emphasis on prioritizing education among practitioners, a mixed message is emanating from bilateral donor agencies. The education strategies and business opportunity frameworks available on each of the three largest bilateral donor websites—the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID), and the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID)—all demonstrate attentiveness to programming for education in conflict- and crisis-affected countries. Yet, there has been a significant decrease in bilateral aid funding for education since 2010. The UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) reports that “some key donors are not only reducing their overall aid budgets but may also be making education a lower priority, which would result in education aid falling faster than overall aid levels.”¹¹

Yet, even if practitioners view and prioritize education as a fundamental element of sustainable development, there will be unfavorable

consequences without long-term funding for this priority. Already, much of the evidence around the MDGs with respect to formal and non-formal education is grim. According to a recent EFA report, out-of-school numbers have increased in sub-Saharan Africa by 1.6 million, twenty-four percent of young women from 119 countries admit to not knowing how to prevent the transmission of HIV, and wealth disparities are increasingly aggravated by unmitigated gender disparities.¹² The report also cites stark inequities and gender disparities, a slowdown in progress towards the MDGs, stalling on universal primary education, greater numbers of young people without foundational skills, and adult literacy as an elusive target.¹³ These findings are disconcerting given that high dropout rates, increasing illiteracy rates (despite data that shows increased access to schools), ongoing transmission of HIV among young women, and lack of access to credit, loans, or other forms of income contribute to instability in communities—communities where youth grow up or have their own children and cannot protect their health, their well-being, or their livelihoods because they continue to lack the cognitive and non-cognitive skills or training to do so. Furthermore, unchecked hatred, bias, and discrimination are often embedded in national education systems of conflict-affected countries and require systemic reforms and a long-term investment and commitment to reverse long-standing societal divides. One example is the history lessons and curriculum taught in Northern Ireland for which the European Union committed more than fifteen years of funding to reform. Other examples can be found in the textbooks and curriculum from Bosnia and Herzegovina and the curriculum from apartheid South Africa.¹⁴ And, in Afghanistan, girls have been and continue to be denied equitable access to education and school texts and curriculum continue to fall prey to political agendas and ideology. The math exercises created by the Mujahideen “with examples of how to divide ammunition to maximize Soviet fatalities” may have been replaced in some schools, but USAID funded projects have continued to use Mujahideen curriculum and texts that contain unchecked violence and bias.¹⁵

EDUCATION AS AN ENEMY

If education is a right but fluctuates as a priority, we must ask ourselves if this could be why the efforts and resources of the last two decades around EFA have not resulted in greater gains. While many factors contribute to this lack in greater gains, we must first ask how the interventions and the resources have been *received*, *perceived*, and *owned and used* by even the most

marginalized groups within the supposed beneficiary communities. Who is learning and where the learning is taking place can be just as significant in conflict- and crisis-affected countries as what is being taught and through what means.

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It is essential for practitioners to not dismiss the role and impact of perception. Education in local communities—its meaning, relevance, and past delivery—can be an extremely complicated basic right to guarantee when considering those who have never had access to a school, demilitarized textbooks in their mother tongue, or unbiased teachers who embrace poetry lessons rather than propaganda. History illustrates the misuse of education for political, economic, and social gain; education is often a means of securing leverage by those who engage in a long-term game of creating or reinforcing structures that favor one group over another. An important study conducted by Bush and Saltarelli first highlighted the two faces of education in conflict: the constructive kind and the destructive kind.¹⁶ There may even be a third face to consider, if we take into account Graham Hancock's case study of how public trust and international aid can create a status quo between developed countries and developing countries. In his analysis, the consequences of donor aid create durable *conditions* rather than durable *solutions* for a world consisting of "lords and vassals."¹⁷ Indeed the destructive and mismanaged face of education must be confronted in the strategic design and development of education services if international efforts are intended to find genuine acceptance, relevance, and ownership, and be protected as a sustainable public good. And, practitioners must understand and address local community perceptions before building systems, developing content, providing resources, and establishing standards.

Conflict analysis, as a practice that strategically assesses and maps the political, economic, social, and security context of a local community assists donors and practitioners in the design of conflict sensitive programming. This analysis and mapping should not only include qualitative and quantitative factors, growth trends, and gaps analyses, but should also evaluate and document perceptions, beliefs, and community stories around education and the delivery of education. According to Novelli and Smith's report, *The Role of Education in Peacebuilding*, elitist, geographically

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unequal public education systems, and weak infrastructure and service delivery provided a catalyst for the eruption of conflict in Sierra Leone.¹⁸ A highly segregated education system based on sectarian divides exacerbated communal tensions, exclusion, and discrimination in Lebanon. In Nepal, education was used as a tool to nationalize a diverse society and reinforce an unequal status quo, where the insiders only included those loyal to the monarchy.¹⁹ Even in post-conflict Nepal, there has been little change to texts and curriculum.²⁰ Furthermore, the literature on genocide in Cambodia points to a wave of killing that first targeted the education system and those associated with it, because education among many locals was assumed to be the enemy of a more “equitable” distribution of land and the protection of livelihoods.²¹ While this was the perception fueled by those labeled “extremists” whose interests were to return the country to a federation of collective farms, it points to the critical role perception played in fostering dissent and mistrust towards education, as well as targeting those who would support it. While the role of perception can affect the sustainability of education reform, it can also provide critical information on how education will be used as a weapon of war or targeted in the midst of ongoing or protracted conflict.

In 2001, while conducting research in the refugee camps in western Tanzania, I spoke with a number of Rwandan, Burundian, and Congolese refugees who expressed that conflict would continue in the Great Lakes Region of Africa unless the West focused on—as they defined it—the “intellectual genocide” taking place. In interview after interview, men, women, and young people told me time and again that they could live for days without food, yet the real unmet need was a lack of access to a process of education delivery that would teach them to read, provide them with the tools to seek out multiple substantive information sources, and give them skills that could help them earn an income. The gatekeepers of education in their countries had corrupted the education system with hatred and bias, historically pitting one group against others. The challenges they experienced to access secondary education opportunities and vocational skills training within a relief context reinforced a belief that the denial of learning opportunities was a blatant political strategy linked directly to the conflict.

EDUCATION AS A POSITIVE GOOD

While there are many complexities involved in ensuring equitable access to quality education in conflict and crisis, one critical challenge is a clear understanding of, and a process for, assessing patterns of inequity

and aggression as well as education's historical function against this backdrop in a given community. Within this process, determining realistic and relevant context-based strategies to market and communicate education's role as a positive and valuable asset will be critical to how education service delivery is accepted, integrated, and owned by local communities. When practitioners first understand why education may be perceived as a tool of the enemy or the elite within a specific context, then the design of content, curriculum, and education delivery systems will be more effective and sensitive to addressing embedded hatred or bias. In turn, strong marketing and communication strategies are not just effective tools of the private sector; they are integral to the design and implementation of education interventions and if built on evidence and analysis of local patterns, should strengthen the intervention. Furthermore, such a marketing and communication strategy should be rolled out through local networks, using relevant information, communication tools, and appropriate messaging. Messaging, constructed from active listening and feedback that addresses local perceptions and underscores how education will serve the public good, will create stronger buy-in from communities and may be the difference between whether or not there is any significant long-term shift in education gains.

Awareness and Buy-in

Development practitioners know that without access to education—the ability to read and write, learn new languages (including the language of trade and commerce), understand and apply math skills, and acquire new vocational skills—children and youth may never lay down their weapons or become gainfully employed. What practitioners struggle with, however, is that access and quality alone are not guarantors of effective interventions. Indeed, the adults who mentor, influence, and guide children and young people will not support education reform if they themselves do not believe that it serves their ultimate cause. Thus, establishing equitable access to quality schools is more than the structures or tools provided; it is also about understanding local histories and addressing the ways in which schools have been violated, teachers have promoted bias and discrimination, and content has been used to undermine community cohesion and respect for individual rights. Thus, the design of education service delivery and the introduction of these structures and tools to local communities must be based on an awareness and understanding of the past. As well, there should be accountability of local communities to evidence short-term and long-term benefits and demonstrate results that show how education has

created more equality and less disparity, contributed to peace not conflict, and included previously excluded groups whose learning can be measured and quantified. This will be paramount to transparent, local ownership of and long-term support for these interventions, especially in contexts where education has had a destructive history.

The first step toward establishing education in the positive role of strengthening, reconstructing, and safeguarding a community is to seek out the most disenfranchised and marginalized, and to build dialogue around past perceptions of education's use and misuse in local communities. In the process of building awareness and buy-in, it is critical to ensure the engagement of a broader base of stakeholders prior to the design and implementation of education interventions. Far too often, the assessments and conversations that lead to the design of programs in these fractured communities consist of engaging feedback from the same political elites and easily accessible community leaders for whom the education system has always worked. Learning about the established patterns of exclusion from those within the community itself will help education practitioners create pathways to market and communicate the value of education as a positive good. Feedback from focus groups, semi-structured interviews, survey tools, and additional mapping exercises can help identify the historical patterns of misuse and abuse of education in a given community and the perceptions resulting from this legacy. Furthermore, this more inclusive process can create a more holistic and realistic framework for understanding existing perceptions within and among communities and how to design more effective programs and services for a given community.

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Marketing and Communication

Education practitioners often overlook the importance of marketing and communication as an integral component of programming when designing and implementing development interventions. Such an oversight may have direct consequences on the participation of the most marginalized. The disenfranchised will not accept, and may even actively work against,

education interventions and systems that have not provided ample assurances or evidence as to how the status quo will be permanently altered. If one group is perceived to be favored over another as part of an intervention, tensions and resentments may emerge that can quickly mutate into resistance and, quite possibly, conflict. Building schools, training teachers, and developing content will not make a difference if negative perceptions around education persist. To address this, it is essential to create robust, strategic marketing and communication plans that respond not just to supply and demand but also to the greatest needs and most contentious perceptions.

The key in developing these strategic marketing and communication tools will be an understanding of local networks, establishing legitimacy with trusted leaders within the networks, and the ability to use relevant and multiple information and communication tools for that specific context. Local networks that intersect with the learning environment are important to examine. One may not think, for example, that a local farmer's association is key to effective marketing of a strategic education intervention. If you are working in Northern Uganda, however, and the farmer's association is a network of roughly 27,000 individuals working across a swath of conflict-affected communities, it may be relevant to consider how to leverage such a network for critical messaging and communications about education. Such an association will be made up of parents and leaders whose lives and authority may intersect with a number of education interests. If existing perceptions around education are to be mitigated and challenged, targeting long-standing organizations and associations or community groups as channels through which convincing arguments will be made is key, even if the association or group is not made up of the usual education stakeholder suspects.

Finally, there has been much written on the use of information and communication technologies. These are essential tools for marketing and communication. The rollout of strategic marketing and communication via messaging to address perceptions, build awareness, and increase knowledge requires a thorough analysis of the supporting infrastructure and mediums used to send and receive critical pieces of information in a community. In addition, the effectiveness of strategic messaging is about more than identifying the channels through which one needs to communicate a message. It is also determined by the way people assess the trustworthiness of the information, including the legitimacy of the channels through which the message is communicated. For some, this is about community-wide information sessions; for others, this may be about radio spots or programming. In some cases, the use of text messaging will be more effective; in others,

television broadcasting or door-to-door canvassing. Still other communication tools have included publically displayed posters, newspapers, flyers and broadcasted advertisements, and even bicycle journalists with megaphones that circulate within and between communities. The USAID Primary Education Project in Macedonia from 2006-2011 illustrates one of the best examples in international development, and education reform specifically. Donors and practitioners alike reached out to consult a broad base of stakeholders that included janitors, students, teachers, school directors, mayors, municipal leaders, government policymakers and national education advisors from both ethnic Macedonian and ethnic Albanian communities for the design, development, and implementation of education programming. Throughout the implementation of the project, both USAID and field practitioners communicated everything about the project in both ethnic languages and used multiple methods of communicating, such as, but not limited to: traveling weekends and off-hours to villages to regularly speak to both community leaders and ordinary citizens; assembling public gatherings and media events to launch competitions, announce contracts, and discuss progress; using television, brochures, flyers and public posters to spread messages; linking teachers and school communities through Facebook; and establishing youth competitions as spaces to express, share and exchange information. As a result of the project's understanding of ethnic and language divides, and its emphasis on marketing and communications as an integral component of development efforts, corruption was reduced, legitimacy was increased, and trust was built, meaning that both ethnic Macedonians and Albanians believed the education reforms provided equal opportunity for everyone.²² Certainly, it is important to use the most effective local channels and technologies for marketing and communicating education as a positive good, as well as for disseminating critical data. Results collected over time to illustrate how education interventions are proof of this.

In the end, buy-in from and mobilization of those for whom education has brought harm will not be immediate or easy. EFA will only be achieved if people believe that it is a positive good for their lives and the lives of their children—that it is as equal a right for them as it is for those

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who kept it from them and that it will protect their interests and their advancement in society. If equitable access to, and the delivery of, quality education is to be the equalizer, locally informed, strategically designed, and well-implemented marketing and communication techniques must be embedded into education interventions. The evidence practitioners can effectively demonstrate and communicate to local communities, and that challenges past perceptions and mistrust of education, will be as essential as the processes and systems we aim to build. ■

ENDNOTES

- 1 The Education for All (EFA) movement began in 1990 at the World Conference on EFA and was a global commitment to provide quality basic education for children, youth, and adults. This movement was led by UNESCO and supported by UNICEF, UNDP, UNFPA and the World Bank. The main priorities in 1990 centered on universal primary education and a massive reduction in illiteracy by 2000. When the international community met again in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000, with so many countries not having reached the goals of EFA, a wider group of international actors committed to achieving six goals by 2015 that covered: (1) expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood education; (2) ensuring access to free and comprehensive quality primary education, especially for girls; (3) providing equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programs; (4) achieving fifty percent improvement in adult literacy levels, especially for women; (5) achieving gender equality in education (full and equal access for girls); and (6) ensuring quality and access, as well as measurable learning outcomes especially in literacy, numeracy, and essential life skills. For more on EFA, please visit <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-all/>.
- 2 The term 'formal' is meant to describe education that takes place inside or associated with a school system and that follows a curriculum endorsed by a national Ministry of Education. 'Non-formal' education is defined by UNESCO as "any organized or sustained educational activities that do not correspond exactly to the definition of formal education." Non-formal education may therefore take place both within and outside educational institutions and cater to persons of all ages. Depending on country contexts, it may cover educational programs to impart adult literacy, basic education for out-of-school children, life-skills, work-skills, and general culture. Non-formal education programs do not necessarily follow the 'ladder' system, may have differing durations, and may or may not confer certification of the learning achieved," as cited in UNESCO (1997), *International standard classification of education*. In addition, 'informal education' is sometimes used, but more to describe the 'teachings' passed down through generations. See: J. Kleis, L. Lang, J.R. Mietus, & F.T.S. Tiapula, *Toward a Contextual Definition of Nonformal Education*, Nonformal Education Discussion Papers, Michigan State University, (1973).
- 3 Jan Garrett, "Martha Nassbaum on Capabilities and Human Rights," April 29, 2008, <http://people.wku.edu/jan.garrett/ethics/nussbaum.htm>.
- 4 Gerald Martone, *Educating Children in Emergency Settings: An Unexpected Lifeline*, International Rescue Committee, p.1, <http://www.rescue.org/sites/default/files/migrated/resources/irc-education-in-emergencies-martone-august-2007.pdf>.
- 5 Committee on the Rights of the Child, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, Articles 19, 23, 24, 28, 29, 32, 33, & 40, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/pdf/crc.pdf>.

- 6 One might interpret that to mean over time, in general, as well as for each child within a context where primary, secondary, and vocational access and opportunities are protected as the child moves through the system. This same article addresses recognition by state parties of the need to reduce dropout rates (Ibid.).
- 7 OHCHR Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, art. 13, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cescr.htm>.
- 8 UNESCO, *Youth and Skills: Putting Education to Work*, EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2012, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002180/218003e.pdf>.
- 9 The IASC Education Cluster is part of the UN Humanitarian Reform Agenda and co-led by UNICEF and Save the Children Alliance.
- 10 The INEE was conceived in 2000 during the World Education Forum's Strategy Session on Education in Emergencies in Dakar, during which the idea was proposed to develop a process that would improve inter-agency communication and collaboration within the context of education in emergencies. At a follow-up Inter-Agency Consultation held in Geneva in November 2000, INEE was officially founded to build upon and consolidate existing networks. The INEE boasts upwards of 5,700 practitioners, students, teachers, staff from UN agencies, non-governmental organizations, donors, governments and universities among its members. Selected accomplishments of the Network include the production of valuable field tools in multiple languages such as: *INEE Minimum Standards for Education: Preparedness, Response and Recovery*, *INEE Pocket Guide to Gender*, *INEE Guidance Notes on Teaching and Learning*, *INEE Reference Guide on External Education Financing*, and *the INEE Pocket Guide to Supporting Learners with Disabilities*. In addition, more than 800 vetted field-friendly tools are in circulation for humanitarian and development workers to use when addressing education in emergencies in a multiplicity of contexts.
- 11 UNESCO, *Youth and Skills: Putting Education to Work*.
- 12 Ibid. According to EdStats, which has become the collective database for educational information including indicators and statistics used by the World Bank, UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), and other donors, "out-of-school" refers to "primary (or secondary) school age children who are not enrolled in any level of education (pre-primary, primary, post-primary, secondary, etc.) expressed as a percentage of the official school-age population corresponding to the primary (or secondary) level in a given school-year." This group is often referred to as "youth-at-risk." See: siteresources.worldbank.org/.../3445908-1171296598448/definition.doc.
- 13 UNESCO, *Youth and Skills: Putting Education to Work*.
- 14 Lynn Davies, *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education*, UNESCO Thinkpiece on Education and Conflict for EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2011. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001907/190778e.pdf>.
- 15 Please see: Jeaniene Spink, *Education, Reconstruction and Peace Building in Afghanistan*, FMR Education Supplement, http://www.cfr.org/content/thinktank/cue/fmr_Afghanistan%20article.pdf; and Lynn Davies, *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education*, UNESCO Thinkpiece on Education and Conflict for EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2011. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001907/190778e.pdf>.
- 16 Kenneth D. Bush and Diana Saltarelli, eds., *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children* (New York: UNICEF, 2000).
- 17 Graham Hancock. *The Lords of Poverty: The Power, Prestige and Corruption of the International Aid Business*, 1994.
- 18 Mario Novelli and Alan Smith, *The Role of Education in Peacebuilding: A Synthesis Report of Findings from Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone* (New York: UNICEF, 2011).

19 Ibid.

20 Robin Shields and Jeremy Rappleye, *Differentiation, Development, (Dis)Integration: Education in Nepal's 'People's War'*, *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 3(1), 91-102 (2008). http://www.worldwords.co.uk/pdf/validate.asp?j=rcie&vol=3&issue=1&year=2008&article=8_Shields_RCIE_3_1_web.

21 Please see the documentation of the Kleinmann Family Foundation on the Cambodian genocide at: <http://kffeducation.org/joomla/kleinmann-family-foundation.html>.

22 From a collection of interviews author conducted in December 2011 throughout Macedonia as part of the "success story" book produced by the USAID/Macedonia Primary Education Project entitled, *Investing in Quality Learning Environments: The People and Partnerships Behind Primary Education Reform in Macedonia*. (FHI Development 360, 2011).