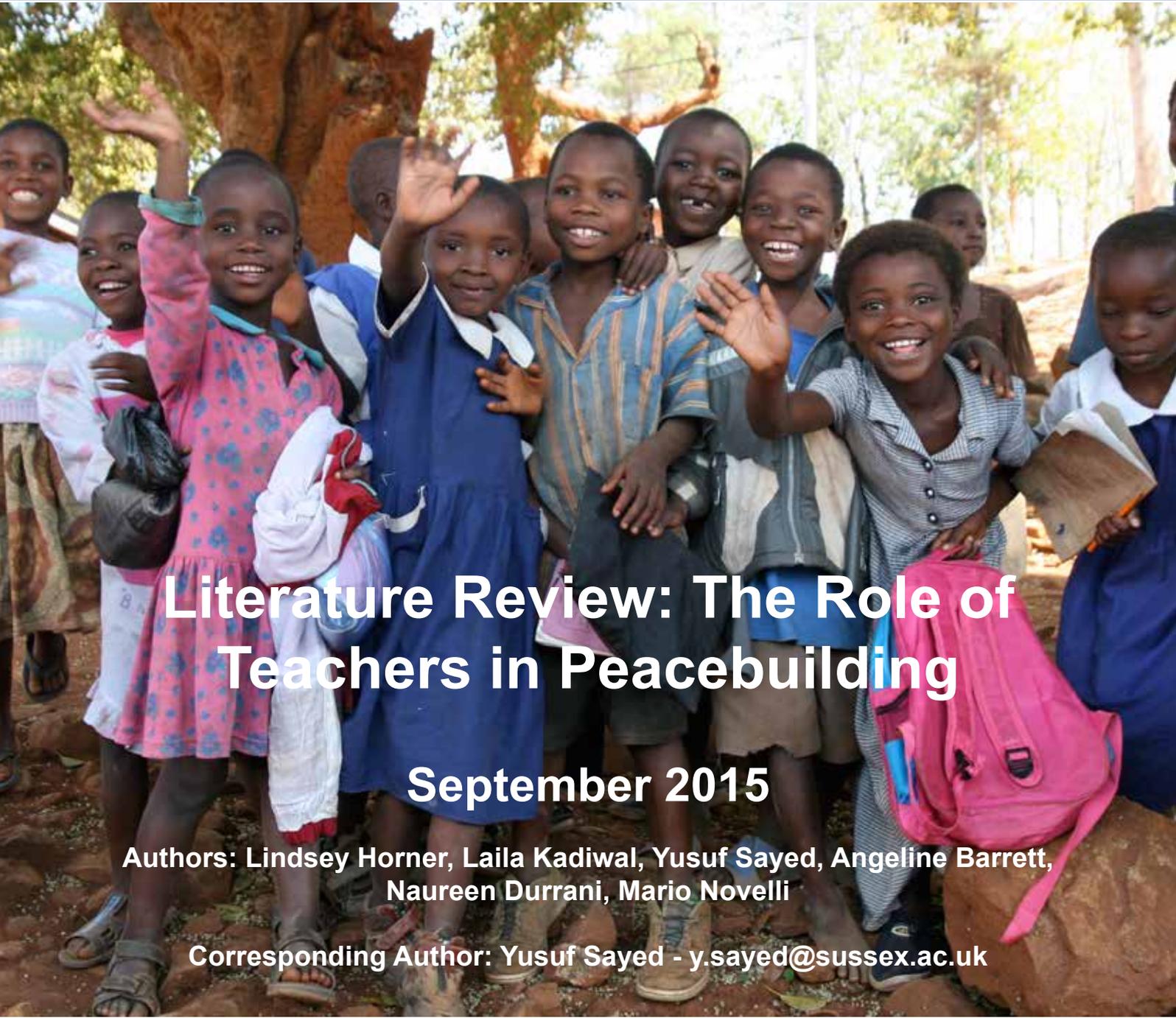


Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding



Literature Review: The Role of Teachers in Peacebuilding

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The Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding

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

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Acronyms

CfBT	Centre for British Teachers
CFS	Child Friendly Schools
CoC	Code of Conduct
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
DfID	Department for International Development
ERA	Education Resilience Approaches
EFA	Education For All
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GAD	Gender and Development
GCPEA	Global Coalition for the Protection of Education from Attack
LoI	Language of Instruction
IBE	International Bureau for Education (UNESCO)
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IEA	The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
ILO	International Labor Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Foundation
INEE	Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
INSET	In-Service Training
IRC	International Rescue Committee
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NORRAG	Network for International Policies and Cooperation in Education and Training
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PBEA	Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy (UNICEF)
PFDP	Palestinian Faculty Development Program
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association
PTUZ	Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe
SABER	Systems approach for better educational results
SMC	School Management Committees
TALIS	Teaching and Learning International Surveys
TESSA	Teacher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VSO	Voluntary Services Overseas
WHO	World Health Organisation
WID	Women in Development
WiT	Women into Teaching

Executive Summary

In the context of debates around teachers' role in educational outcomes, accountability and management, this literature review explores their potential to be active agents of peacebuilding. This review specifically aims to explore their role in promoting peace, reconciliation, social cohesion and violence mitigation recognising that literature specifically relating to teachers and peacebuilding was limited. The review is based on a framework (Naylor and Sayed, 2014) which conceives teachers as active agents located in particular global, national and local policy contexts and structures.

The review begins by acknowledging the broad and varied conceptualisation of teachers revealed in the literature. While it was recognised, in general, that teachers underpin the success of any education system, exactly what role teacher's play, and how they play it, varies across the different bodies of literature. From the perspectives of different actors, teachers are derided to admired and positioned on a range of continuums from being considered: part of the problem to part of the solution; skilful to ineffectual; victims (of conflict) or perpetrators; or technocrats to transformative agents - and variations and

hybrids of all of these conceptualisations. As transformative agents this review discusses how teachers may use their agency to resist change as well as facilitate change, to promote peacebuilding and to stoke conflict - the double-sided nature of teacher agency was apparent across their peacebuilding roles.

Following a discussion of conceptions of teachers, the review turns its attention to the interaction between teachers and violence. Teachers are sometimes positioned as perpetrators of violence, including political violence and found engaged with armed groups, and in acts of Gender Based Violence (GBV) on their students. However teachers are also victims of violence, including the direct targeting of teachers for political attacks, driven by multiple dynamics including attempts to control or block what and who gets educated, to restrict trade union activity and academic freedom, and for different military rationales. The recognition of the teacher themselves as agents who both experience and affect conflict and peace highlights the need for understanding the dual role of teachers in post conflict contexts.

Teacher governance is an important component of

the review interrogating efforts to ensure teacher supply and deployment in post-conflict contexts. In the initial stages of rebuilding an education system there may be a tension between attracting the most qualified candidates to bridge this gap and the need for a representative teaching body, including the recruitment of women. Attracting the numbers or variety of candidates might require lower entry qualifications but the effect might be to diminish teacher status. Concerning deployment, the literature indicated that the distribution of teachers was uneven with remote and hard-to-place schools operating with fewer teachers with less experience. Ensuring the redistribution of educational opportunities for a peaceful future is a significant consideration and solutions ranged from incentives such as: hardship grants; the employment of personnel from the remote communities who are provided with school-based training; scholarships for women who commit on completion to teach in remote schools where girls face barriers to enrolment and the appointment of teachers from representative historically marginalised groups. However this also poses dilemmas for peacebuilding if unintended consequences are not to lead to the infringement of teachers' rights or the consolidation of

historically marginalised or ethnic enclaves that can produce a culture of separatist thinking. The role of contract teachers is reviewed as a possible approach to teacher shortages, though its limitations are apparent. Teacher payroll and conditions of service of all teachers including contract teachers is shown to play an important role in their motivation, status, and ability to teach effectively. What emerges from this discussion is a nuanced picture of the motivations and experiences of teachers, requiring a response which draws on a "holistic understanding of the interplay between teacher's remuneration needs, professional and pedagogic support needs and their relationship to wider society" (VSO 2002: 5).

Across the literature, teacher professional development is considered vital in supporting teachers in order to ensure equity, peace and social cohesion. The literature has many examples of teacher professional development, illustrating its potential in developing teacher agency for peacebuilding, including the development of individual competencies to deliver both the skills for employment and social cohesion. Important characteristics of teacher professional development include the inclusion of

teachers in their own learning to develop reflexive practitioners and their own identity but responsive to their contextual situation and capable of participating in the adoption of interventions in their communities. Routes to this aspiration include school-based teacher education including school clustering and teacher mentoring or higher education pre-service professional development. However, in practice quality teacher professional development may not be realised if the capacity of teacher education institutions are not enhanced and teacher are not supported at the school level.

Teachers, as key agents in education systems, are assigned the role of agents of social cohesion whereby they address the legacy of civil conflicts in contexts where ethnicity, race or religion have militated against the promotion of social cohesion. A significant vehicle for teacher agency as proponents of or against social cohesion is the curriculum. UNESCO has produced significant international standard-setting instruments, recommendations and declarations relevant to textbooks in conflict and post-conflict contexts in relation to war, peace, human rights, democracy, gender equality and the elimination of forms of discrimination. INEE and others have also developed curriculum guidelines on these issues.

Textbooks as key mechanisms for the curriculum are not used in isolation, and their content is mediated by teachers and students to create meaning in specific social contexts and in classrooms. The degree of agreement or discrepancy between textbook content and a teacher's own positionality and experiences will result in a degree of negotiation between the teacher and the textbook. This dynamic relationship can be expressed in five ways: agreement, submission, defiance, resistance and selection. A teacher's ethnicity, geographical location, personal beliefs, political leanings, and perception of the desirability of relationships with the 'other' will impact on how they use their agency to negotiate the text ranging on a continuum from upholding its narratives or subverting them. While teachers demonstrate varied relationships with official textbooks, in practice, a teacher will rarely fall neatly into one or the other, but on a continuum between the positions.

The review also explores how in recent years, the way teachers use pedagogical practices to foster understanding to promote social cohesion, peace and gender equity has developed. The driving assumption is that teachers are important actors

in the implementation and success (or obstruction) of peace-related curriculum and instructional interventions. A key message in the literature is that the way that teachers teach is as important as what they teach in facilitating the knowledge, skills and attitudes that facilitate or obscure peaceful futures. The review considers multiple and diverse pedagogical practices to promote a pedagogy of hope and social cohesion.

Teachers are part of both the school community and the wider community where the school is situated. Within the school community the teacher will be accountable to the school administration, which may include parent run school management groups. Within the wider community the teacher, as a public servant, may take on extra social roles, for example they may be asked as in the Philippines, to act as election monitors (GCPEA 2014a). Regarding the formal school community, codes of conduct play an important role in accountability, and increasingly the role of parents and the wider community to be involved in the construction of teacher codes of conduct is advocated.

The use of decentralization and community run School Management Committees are also considered mechanisms for accountability. The latter brings both the school community and wider community together, and can be considered a mechanism for increasing stakeholder involvement in the management of the school and making teachers more accountable to them. However policies of decentralisation and school based participation may obstruct the aspirations of authentic participation if the sphere of participation is limited, if participation is reduced to tokenism, and if the poorest communities are not capacitated to participate meaningfully.

The review concludes by drawing out the dilemmas and tensions in the literature and considering them from the perspective of our '4 R' approach to sustainable peacebuilding (Novelli et al 2015), exploring how teachers may become active agents of peace or impact on them.

1. Introduction

This report is a literature review on the role of teachers in peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts. The report seeks to map the existing literature on teachers and peacebuilding to provide relevant insights on the global, national and local roles and identities of teachers in conflict-affected contexts gathered from a review of the academic and agency literature on teachers as peacebuilders in conflict-affected contexts.

1.1. Definitions

1.1.1. Teachers

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

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

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

1.1.2. Peacebuilding

The conceptualisation of teachers as “peacebuilders” is rooted in Galtung’s (1975) distinction between peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. While, the former two are the immediate responses to conflict, peacebuilding is about building a sustainable peaceful future. It does not stop with the notion of ‘negative peace’ (as the absence of war) but entails the cultivation of ‘positive peace’ by promoting harmony between people, including respect, justice and inclusiveness (Gills and Niens 2014). Peacebuilding is, thus, seen as a transformative process that seeks to establish ‘sustainable peace’ by addressing the root causes of violent conflict. It proposes a holistic process of peacebuilding that concerns entire societies and the individuals within them (Lederach and Maise 2009). In this process of transformation, teachers are seen as peacebuilders that teach children how to live together in peace by overcoming prejudice within and between individuals and communities. The research consortium has developed the idea of sustainable peacebuilding through a framework based on Fraser’s (2005) theorisation of social justice, which focuses on redistribution, recognition and representation, together with the addition of issues related to reconciliation (Hamber 2007). This ‘4Rs framework’ provides the analytical framework for the research as it can explore the key post-conflict transformations necessary for promoting a just and sustainable peace and for a deeper reflection on education’s supporting role therein (Novelli et al, 2015).

1.1.3. Teacher Agency

Integral to teachers’ role as peacebuilders is their “agency” in peacebuilding. A pervasive dualism within social sciences is structure and agency. For Emile Durkheim (e.g. 1912) structure took priority over agency meaning that social life is largely determined by social systems and conditions that regulate individual behaviour, whereas, in Weberian sociology this order is reversed. In this view, “social life is largely determined by those

individuals “agents” without whom there would be no social structures” (Bullock and Trombley 2000: 835). Later, sociologists have sought to synthesise this binary by seeing social systems as the result of interaction between individuals (agency), who are aware of the ‘rules’ (structure) that influence their actions but who are also capable of bringing about structural change by influencing the ‘rules’ that govern social action. Teacher agency as peacebuilders is understood in relation to their capacity to influence their conflict-driven surroundings. It is their ability to think, feel and act in order to foster “values and attitudes that offer a basis for transforming conflict itself” (Novelli and Smith 2011: 7). Teachers’ agency as peacebuilders can be seen as static, fixed and essentialised or as multidimensional, situated and dynamic. Teachers act as both the agents of change, for example, by promoting harmony between pupils including respect, justice and inclusiveness and the agents of conflict, for example, in the way teachers use pedagogy and curricula to perpetuate inequity and conflict between opposing ethnic, religious or socio-economic groups. The lines between the two are not always clear and the same teacher may play out both roles simultaneously in different moments and contexts. This is because teachers’ do not exercise their peacebuilding agency in isolation from their surroundings and their agency both influences their surrounding and is influenced by it (O’Sullivan 2002; Vongalis-Macrow, 2007; Weldon 2010; Welmond 2002). Teachers are selective, strategic and pragmatic actors in an often politically-charged context (Lopes Cardozo, 2011; Lopes Cardozo and May 2009).

peacebuilding, these were not considered in this review.

1.2. Scope

This review is limited to teachers, schooling and peacebuilding. While the range of areas covered is broad, extending over five dimensions, the focus is narrowly on teachers. So, for example, while curriculum is addressed in this review, it is only considered in terms of how the teacher interacts with and negotiates the curriculum and teacher participation (or absence) in curriculum development. However, isolating the role of ‘teacher’ from the generic literature on education proved to be challenging. Where teachers and teaching were not specifically addressed but implied, the authors were tasked with the interpretive undertaking of reading into the literature the impact of/on teachers. The review is also concerned only with schooling. While it is acknowledged that education is a much broader activity than schooling, and that alternatives to schooling have important potential for

2. Methodology

2.1. Searching the Literature

Academic literature was searched initially using the SCOPUS database. The review employed both a broad search to capture the interdisciplinary nature of peacebuilding and wide range of the field, and a very specific and focused search to capture the five dimensions and specific themes such as gender violence/peace, access and inclusion, and ethnic, religious and socio-economic issues. The broad search used a combination of word threads relating to conflict, teaching and peacebuilding in the social sciences and arts category and

retrieved 2,197 articles (see appendix 1 for the broad search terms). However due to the very broad scope of this search many of the articles were not relevant for this review and from this initial list articles were screened from titles only to remove literature that was obviously not relevant, for example those relating to interpersonal conflict; nursing and nurse training, social work etc. This left 140 articles from this search. The specific and focused search used key words related to specific themes for this review such as gender, access, inclusion etc., for example terms included: refugee, community, poverty, remote (see appendix 2 for a full list of these specific terms). These focused terms were combined with words relating to conflict/peacebuilding and teaching and yielded altogether 125 journal articles. In addition to academic literature the databases of key development agencies were searched according to the systems on their websites. Using key words as described in the academic searches was not often possible on these systems, so themes were searched for relevant titles according to the scope and objective of the review. The websites searched were:

- DfID
- World Bank
- USAid
- Save the Children
- INEE
- UNICEF
- UNESCO

From this search 95 agency reports, guidelines, web bulletins, and summaries were retrieved (71 from INEE alone).

In addition to these searches, opportunistic sampling was also conducted. This included screening 320 articles already gathered by colleagues in the department on peacebuilding and teachers; snowball sampling from references; and following up suggestions from colleagues and experts in the field. Searching also continued after the initial SCOPUS and agency website searches and sampling described here in an attempt to locate literature where gaps appeared in our retrievals. This included Ad hoc Google searches, which were often most successful at retrieving agency literature.

2.2. Sampling of Literature

While the initial yield of literature was large, much of the literature was rejected during the sampling phase. According to the scope of the literature review literature was assessed on meeting all of

the following criteria:

- A focus on teachers;
- A focus on formal schooling

or

Alternatives where they were the main provision in a given context;

- A focus on primary, lower-secondary and upper-secondary education

or

Higher education only when it related to teacher education;

- A focus on conflict-affected contexts
- A focus on peacebuilding

The initial intention of sampling literature on teachers specifically related to conflict and post-conflict contexts was reconsidered in light of the very limited literature. It was also recognised that many of the approaches for good teacher governance, training, pedagogy etc, in developing contexts in general were similar for conflict affected and post-conflict contexts. This may be explained because good teacher practices are also good for peacebuilding as they are context sensitive, inclusive and encourage professional reflection. This recognition was explicitly acknowledged by the World Bank, stating in their study *Teacher Policy and Management in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Situations* that, *“trends emerging from this study suggest that the policy issues facing education systems in fragile contexts are similar to those in most less-developed or low-income countries. However, in fragile situations the focus tends to be on more basic and foundational issues present at the higher end of the fragility continuum, even in systems that have been dealing with fragility for many years.”* (World Bank 2010: 14).

Some judgement was also used by the authors, for example an article may not have directly related to what would be traditionally considered a conflict-affected context yet covered a topic considered relevant to a socially just concept of peace, e.g. democratising education, it may be included. This was employed where there were large gaps in the literature and therefore an argument to increase the scope was valid, although it was not practiced often. Furthermore, with particular relevance to the dimension on the conceptualisation of teachers, ad hoc searches were used to supplement the literature and the criteria broadened beyond literature specifically related to peacebuilding/conflict where coverage was particularly weak. This is indicated in the relevant sections.

This criteria was assessed initially against titles, and where this was unclear article abstracts where they were available, reducing the list of academic articles to 109. From the titles of academic articles these were ranked strong, medium and weak against our selection criteria, resulting in 42 that had a strong match to our selection criteria. A further iteration of sampling occurred during writing as some literature was rejected after reading the articles and on-going opportunistic sampling continued throughout the writing-up phase.

2.3. Overview of Literature Sample

The literature retrieved is not evenly distributed across the 5 dimensions (see table 2.3.), with the curriculum particularly well represented in the literature and teacher conceptualisation the most under-represented. Where the literature was thin the scope was broadened to include literature either on education in general (the authors would read interpretively for how this related to teachers) or on the related dimension in general, as opposed to just conflict-affected or peacebuilding specific literature (the authors would read interpretively for how this related to peacebuilding).

In general, the literature specifically relating to teachers and peacebuilding was limited. This not only reflects the relative lack of consideration of teachers as agents of peacebuilding, but also the underdevelopment of holistic explorations that combine teacher issues and peacebuilding together. ‘Education’ can be a black box and it is difficult to isolate literature on teachers, who are usually implied rather than addressed specifically, while ‘conflict’/‘peacebuilding’ issues are often limited to advocating the importance of rebuilding and protecting schools but do little to develop understanding beyond admirable assumptions that education is important in post-conflict (and conflict) contexts to return the country to a state of ‘normalcy’ and to achieve the MDGs and EFA. While one would not argue with these aspirations which are used as rationales for increased teacher education, deployment etc, they position education, with some exceptions, more as an outcome of peace, a peace ‘dividend’, than as having something to contribute to peacebuilding and rarely develop an account of exactly how and in what ways teachers relate to peacebuilding. The exception to this was, again, literature around curriculum which relatively speaking considered the teacher’s role in negotiating curriculum content and pedagogies conducive to peace and/or conflict. However it should be noted that

the literature was able to offer more empirical evidence of the negative impacts of teachers in regard to conflict than their role in peace building.

The following tables reveal an overview of the quantitative characteristics of the selected literature:

Table 1: Indicative Selection of Studies Under Review by Publication Type

Publication type	Number of studies
Book chapter	7
Book	18
Journal article	54
Report	33
Thesis	1
Standards, frameworks, manuals, guides etc.	7
Total	120

Table 2: Indicative Selection of Studies Under Review by Geographic Focus

Geographic focus	Countries	Total number of studies
East Asia and Pacific		0
Latin America	Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, Nicaragua	7
South Asia	Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sri Lanka	8
Europe and Central Asia	Albania, Northern Ireland, Ukraine, Nepal	5
Middle East and North Africa	Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Isreal	9
Sub-Saharan Africa	Gambia, Ghana, Malawi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda	21
Non-specific or multiple foci		70
Total		120

Table 3: Indicative Selection of Studies Under Review by Dimension Focus

Teacher-dimension	Number of studies
Governance	15
Teacher professional development	11
Pedagogy and practice	38
Trust and accountability	16
Multiple dimensions	32
Other	8
Total	120

3. Orientating the Review

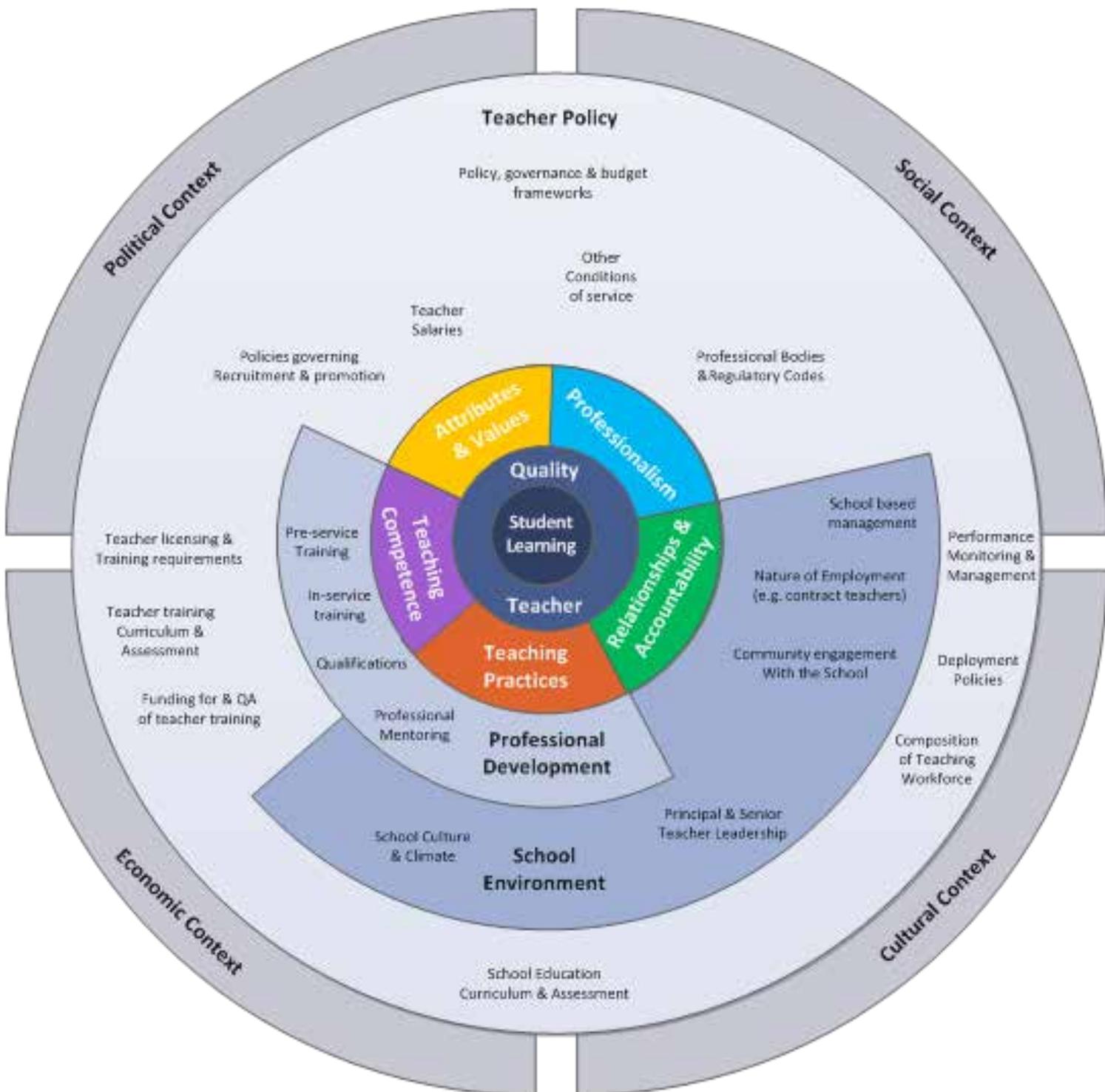
In general, there appears to be a consensus that teachers underpin the success of any education system, which is summed up by Barber and Mourshed's assertion that "*The quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers*" (2007: 19). Various international studies highlight the fact that effective schools are those that have good quality teachers. According to a review by the World Bank (2012: 1) "*a number of studies have found that teacher effectiveness is one of the most important school-based predictors of student learning and that several years of teaching by outstanding teachers can offset the learning deficits of disadvantaged students*". A range of studies that explore what makes school systems effective have looked for common characteristics in the top performing education systems in international achievement tests, with a view to identifying features that account for success (see review by Naylor and Sayed, 2014).

While there has been discussion about what makes for quality teachers, less attention has been paid to teachers' role in debates about education quality that reference their roles in relation to promoting peace, reconciliation, social cohesion and violence mitigation. In what follows the review examines different roles within which teachers as active agents are framed and the roles they are expected to play in peacebuilding. However, the pool of resources to draw on to analyse teachers' agency specifically in mitigating the key drivers of conflict and inequity as an analytical category is not extensive. There is little information on how teachers are actively confronting the issue and bringing about change. This review considers some of the literature in light of the conceptual framework below which sees teachers agency in relation to peacebuilding at several levels, beginning with how their agency is conceptualised, the policy context (global and national) within which they operate and some of the more specific aspects that impinge on their work, including their professional development. It focuses on the key question - to what extent do education and peacebuilding interventions promote teacher agency and capacity to build peace and reduce inequalities? Specifically the review considers:

1. how teacher agency is conceptualised;
2. teachers and violence
3. teachers, the curriculum and textbooks;
4. teacher governance;
5. teacher Continuing Professional Development (CPD); and
6. teacher trust and accountability

In each of these dimensions the relationship between teachers and peacebuilding, with particular attention to teachers as agents of peacebuilding, is considered.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework - Teacher Quality and the Factors That Influence it (from Taylor and Sayed 2014: 22)



Through focusing on the teacher, both as an agent and subject of peacebuilding, the review explores how existing literature considers teachers' (potential) contribution to peacebuilding, and how peacebuilding activities and approaches impact on them. Closely related to the idea of peacebuilding is conflict, which characterises many of the contexts where peacebuilding initiatives operate, and consequently the review also considers how the conflict-affected contexts where teachers work impact their agency to be peacebuilders. The broad and multifaceted role of teachers and the complex and nuanced social conditions where they operate make this objective wide-ranging. Consequently, while the orientating objective of exploring the relationship between teachers and peacebuilding is focused (on the teacher) the field of exploration encompasses a wide range of dimensions relevant to teaching. The conceptual approach to peacebuilding is outlined above, and in taking into account positive peace and addressing structural violence this review's consideration on peacebuilding is wide in scope, drawing upon the concepts of recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation. Consequently, among others, important themes include how teachers and interventions involving teachers mitigate gender, ethnic, religious and socio-economic inequities.

4. Conceptions of Teachers

The literature highlights diverse ways in which teachers' roles are understood, from being part of the problem to part of the solution, from being skilful to ineffectual. Teacher agency is always present, however it is represented as requiring facilitation or restraint to varying degrees by the structures and contexts in which it is embedded depending on how the teacher is perceived. This review identifies several

ways in which teacher agency is conceptualised as discussed below. These are not discrete and reference each other, but they have been identified and given these titles in an attempt to explore the different emphases that can be found regarding teacher agency and not in any attempt to reify them. However, these are more indicative than distinct and it is also worth remembering that there will be exceptions to these generalisations.

4.1. Teacher as technocrat

The idea of a teacher as technocrat is prevalent in the literature whereby the teacher is charged with the responsibility of achieving educational performance in indicators such as *“enrolment, completion, and student learning”* (SABER Website, FAQs), which correspond to economic and social progress. The teacher as technocrat perception of teachers frame them as important to successful educational outcomes, acknowledging that *“recent studies have shown teacher effectiveness is a key predictor of student learning”* (World Bank 2013: 5).

The focus on performance, and the limited agency afforded to teachers points towards a narrow understanding of professional autonomy that focuses on performativity, which correlates with the neo-liberal creation of a “New Professionalism” where *“performability replaces critical reflection and professional judgment”* (Codd 2005, 24, cited in Berkovich 2014: 432). As scholars such as Furlong (2005 cited in Berkovich) and Tatto (2007, cited in Berkovich) have illustrated, this “New Professionalism” offers a veneer of autonomy and professional judgement while reserving most of the curricular and pedagogical decisions for policy makers, in fact resigning teachers to technocrats.

Under this logic a McKinsey report identifies one of the six interventions common across all school journeys of improvement as *“Building technical skills of teachers and principals, often through group or cascaded training”* (Mourshed et al 2010: 28), while “prescriptive teaching materials for each lesson” (ibid: 29) was advocated for schools along the poor to fair journey and, across all journeys, *“a teacher’s promotion carrying with it not just the recognition of their knowledge but of their compliance with the right pedagogical values”* (ibid: 74).

This conceptualisation of teachers is largely silent in relation to the role of teachers in peacebuilding. The literature does make reference to social wellbeing, for example the SABER framework acknowledges that *“Student achievement has*

been found to correlate with economic and social progress" (World Bank 2013: 5) while the McKinsey report states *"that better education is the key to societal and global productivity and personal and social well-being"* (Mourshed et al 2010:6).

Not only does the literature on teachers not appear to focus on their potential as peacebuilders, the literature on education and conflict does not significantly feature teachers. The Education Resilience Programme (ERP) of the World Bank which complements SABER, focuses on education in times of adversity, including conflict. The focus on resilience rather than peacebuilding is not specifically related to this review, however there is crossover and resilience is an important component of peacebuilding in that it seeks to protect learners and facilitate meaningful participation in school. In the ERP/SABER Framework paper Reyes (2013) discusses the importance of rebuilding schools to provide learners with protective environments and build resilience through learner-centred classrooms. However, throughout the 30 page main-body of the framework (excluding the annexes) teachers were rarely mentioned, and when they were it was usually to list them as members of the 'education community', on a par with students and parents. The framework identified teachers' own need to build their resilience, and while this acknowledges their own identity, experiences and needs, what is missing from much of this body of literature is a discussion on teachers' role in supporting and developing resilience in their students (Reyes 2013: 24).

4.2. Teacher as Reflexive Professional

Teachers as reflexive professionals charges teachers with the responsibility of delivering *"education that is relevant, effective, efficient, comprehensive in scope and participatory in delivery"* (INEE 2010a: 3), which on the surface is similar to the teacher as technocrat conceptualisation. Within this framework influential literature on teachers in general is emerging from VSO (2002) and their partnership with CfBT (Mpokosa and Ndaruhuste 2008). In addition to this literature that specifically discusses teachers in relation to peacebuilding includes Save the Children (2006, 2012) and INEE (e.g. 2010a/b, 2013). The idea of the teacher professional as a reflexive practitioner that reasons, makes judgments and arrives at decisions is captured in this framing, and is contrasted to the "New Professionalism" of the teacher as technocrat. At

times the conceptualisation of the teacher as a reflexive professional not only offers an alternative conceptualisation but actively reacts to a neo-liberal approach to teachers arguing that *"while in rhetoric they [teachers] are often idealistically portrayed as bringers of enlightenment to the poor, in reality, the combination of Northern-Inspired education models and neo-liberal economics has reduced them to little more than factors of production"* (VSO 2002: 17).

In this family of literature, the teacher plays a central role in educational solutions, including peacebuilding. The potential for teachers to participate in decision making at all levels of the education system was reflected in the report by VSO, What Makes Teachers Tick? (2002) where: *... the researchers found that teachers were eager to communicate their perspectives on their own situation, and their views on wider education policy and practice. It also revealed that they rarely, if ever, felt that these views were actively sought or welcomed. ... Teachers were aware that much is expected of them, particularly in light of the fact that they are responsible for delivering education reform* (VSO 2002: 37).

The conceptualisation of teacher reflexivity is also valued in their position as role models, where *"as teachers model peaceful resolution to conflicts, so too will children learn how to manage the conflicts around them at interpersonal, classroom and community levels"* (IRC 2006: 6).

The pivotal role of the teacher as reflexive professional is not to portray an overly romantic view of teachers either. It is also recognised that teacher absenteeism can be a problem, motivation can be low and that non-progressive methods of instruction still persist. Just as teachers hold the potential to transform the education system their unrealised potential also blocks it. Related to conflict this dual-sided influence is also recognised, where teacher agency can be used to promote peace or engender conflict:

"Teaching content can be co-opted to serve a political function, with teachers imposing biased views on language, religion or history. Stereotyping and scapegoating of different groups in textbooks can contribute to social tension by justifying inequalities, and the curriculum can be used to perpetuate intolerant ideologies. Poor, inappropriate teaching and inadequate school environments lead to low academic achievements, absenteeism, and drop out – which can in turn lead to antisocial and violent behaviour" (Save the

Children 2006: 7).

The propensity of a teacher to be an agent of change or an agent of the state also interacts with the strategic context in which they are embedded which includes their ability to act collectively and levels of trust (Lopes Cardozo 2009).

Within this family of literature the teacher is often framed as capable of, when given the right support, developing their professional capacity for reflexivity, reason and judgement to build the professional teaching body that is pivotal to educational outcomes. This emphasis on the autonomous professional is advocated in the literature, where *“teacher training programmes should include opportunities for teachers to reflect on their own teaching practice, helping them to develop self-evaluation skills and competencies”* (INEE: 2010a: 23). One example of this is the Colectivo pedagogico in Cuba where a group of subject teachers meet *“frequently for mutual learning and joint development of curricula, methods and materials”* (UNESCO 2005: 51 cited in Mpokosa and Ndaruhutse 2008: 54).

4.3. Teachers as Transformative Agents

This approach is found in literature that comes from an academic perspective with a critical theory stance, and is also found in the literature on popular education, trade union literature and more critical/radical NGOs. This family of literature includes aspects of the Education International and teacher trade unions more generally, in that they recognise the multiple and nuanced identities that interact in the role of the teacher as public servant, competent professional, ‘worker’ and their own gender/class/ethnicity. In this aspect, they see the teachers as a political actor. This work notes that teachers have historically been in the forefront of national liberation movements, and over recent years, in opposing processes of neoliberal educational reform (austerity measures, privatisation, decentralization), which have become globalised via multilateral institutions, particularly the World Bank (Robertson et al 2007).

This contradictory role of teachers is reflected in debates over teachers being seen (both by themselves and others) as ‘workers’ or ‘professionals’ (Loyo 2001). As professionals, tasked with socializing the next generation, it has been argued that they should not form trade unions, should not strike, and should not be subjected to national collective union

organization that would hamper their professional ‘autonomy’. However, as civil servants and workers they are often faced with low status and low financial compensation, which forces them to act collectively to defend their interests (Torres et al 2006). While these issues apply to teachers globally, there also appear to be differences between teachers and teachers’ unions in the North and South. Vongalis-Macrow (2004) notes a more confrontational attitude of teachers unions in the ‘South’ towards challenging neoliberal educational reform and also of the social role and responsibility of teachers to socialize children into challenging the highly unequal status-quo. This perhaps reflects the fact that neoliberal reforms, while a global phenomenon, have effected North and South in different ways and to different extremes, increasing inequality both within countries, but also between North and South. This also might reflect differences in the histories of ‘Northern’ trade unions and their ‘Southern’ counterparts, particularly in relation to the Cold war and national independence struggles when the international trade union movement was sharply divided (Herod, 1998; 2001).

Education trade unions, along with other public sector workers, as representatives of members largely within the state sector, also have a built in tendency to clash with the state and thus to be subject to state responses. Educators, as (overwhelmingly) state employees are driven both to defend their members’ interests (salary and conditions), but also towards some notion of ‘public education’, which in the current climate of neoliberal reform often forces them into conflict with the state. These twin phenomena of, on the one hand, the drive of public service unions to express the interests of the ‘general public’ as well as their specific ‘workplace’ demands tends to politicise the work of education trade unions, which in conflict affected contexts can have powerful and violent repercussions. Furthermore, in terms of an organized body of trade unionised workers teachers are unique in that their workplaces: schools, are located throughout the entire country from the biggest industrial conurbation to the smallest hamlet. This provides education sector trade union organizations with a tremendous geographical reach and potentially an enormous amount of power and influence (Novelli 2009).

In this conceptualisation, in addition to their collective agency teachers also negotiate individual agency as reflective practitioners critically engaging in educational issues

themselves. This literature is critical of how performativity discourses work to diminish and depoliticise democracy, so that “*words like ‘education’, ‘democracy, and ‘citizenship’ are steeped in a technocratic rationality which considers education primarily in instrumental terms and interprets democracy as a system of political management rather than a distinctive form of social and moral life*” (Sultana 1995: 141, cited in Schweisfurth 2002: 19). Here, the teacher as technocrat is seen as not only contributing little to peacebuilding, but actually working to undermine it and diminish notions of justice and democracy. Vongalis-Macrow (2006) offers an example in her exploration of education ‘rebuilding’ in Iraq, where she claims a theatrical policy arena produced symbolic gestures “*which pay lip service to values such as democracy*” (102). Through the side-lining of teachers in the rebuilding process, which relies on other agents such as INGOs, “*educators are key actors in the symbolic theatre of policy but that real educational change is left in the hands of others*” (107).

In the conceptualisation of teacher as transformative agents several agential roles for teachers are identified in the literature as discussed below.

4.3.1. Teachers as agents of democratisation

Teachers, and more accurately education systems, may also be assigned the role of agents of democratisation, although again this is not a given and they can equally act to reproduce elitism and authoritarian structures. The contexts are typically pluralistic societies that seek to uphold cultures of peace through respecting the diversity and identities of their citizens while co-existing in equitable societies.

The teacher in the role of an agent of democracy is charged with exercising learners’ critical faculties through an approach to knowledge as contestable. Accordingly, multiple, contested positions in society co-exist and learners are facilitated to make informed judgments and decisions on them. This aspiration can be distant from “*the common situation now where pupils learn preferences and predispositions towards certain political values and attitudes rather than others*” (Harber 1997: 37). This highlights the issue of competing understandings of education for democratisation that teachers might have. For instance, some teachers see citizenship education as pupils acquiring knowledge about

political institutions and civic rules and others see it as fostering values such as participation and engagement (Schulz et al. 2010). Some teachers teach citizenship as a cognitive exercise and others focus on the development of attitudes. In the international discourse Citizenship and History curricula have increasingly acquired the notions of cultivating democratic skills, shared values, the notions of human rights, respect for diversity and civic responsibilities (Davies 2004a). Teachers are expected to use these subject textbooks to teach young people how to participate in peaceful questioning, critiquing injustice and arriving at peaceful solutions (Davies 2011). Teachers are expected to facilitate ‘deliberative’ democratic processes in the classroom (Davies, 2004a; 2011).

An important element of this role of the teacher in facilitating peace is the permeation of participatory principles across the education system as a whole, where democratic deliberation is not only taught but reinforced and modelled in the entire education structure. Kerr (2004, cited in Torney-Purta et al, 2001), appealing to empirical evidence from analysis of IEA ‘Civic Education Study’ data sets, argue that schools that model democratic practice are the most effective in promoting civic engagement, and if children trust that they can improve their school it may influence their sense of political efficacy and future political participation.

4.3.2. Teacher as Agents of Healing

Teachers as agents of healing and addressing psychosocial trauma play a significant part in peacebuilding. This conceptualisation is prevalent across the INGO literature including: The International Rescue Committee’s (IRC) Healing Classrooms Initiative (e.g. IRC 2006); Save the Children; INEE; UNICEF’s Child Friendly Schools (CFS); Plan International and others. This conceptualisation is prevalent in emergency and crisis situations and is consequently linked with humanitarian situations; however there is also recognition that schools can be places of violence in more traditional development contexts too (Harber 2004).

Within this role teachers are perceived as the most important care-givers outside of the child’s home, and they have the potential to help children recover from the traumas of conflict through, primarily, the return to normalcy provided through the opening of schools. Through the managed classroom environment teachers can provide learners with a safe place where they are listened

to, can share and play. It is also in this setting where learners requiring additional support may become apparent, and the teacher is in a position to “screen students who may need additional care” (INEE, undated), in which case processes of referral will need to be implemented. In addition to providing a calming and safe space *“teachers model peaceful resolution to conflicts, so too will children learn how to manage the conflicts around them at interpersonal, classroom and community levels.”* (IRC 2006: 6).

It is also recognised within this role that teachers themselves may be in need of psychosocial support, and the impact of the conflict may impinge on their capacity as healers. Therefore teachers need to be offered support in a holistic way that meets their own personal needs and also increases their understanding of child development coupled with a variety of related and appropriate pedagogies. From this conceptualisation *“the teacher-pupil relationship is the most important resource in this process”* (IRC 2006: 5). This conceptualisation also resonates with the literature on resilience, which advocates a “return to classroom ‘normalcy’ ” which is *“seen as a crucial way of creating stability, improving morale, healing emotional wounds and starting a reconciliation process”* (Reyes 2013: 49)

4.3.3. Teacher as Agents of Peace

As agents of peace teachers are expected to model interpersonal relationships and teach/impart values which uphold peace including tolerance, recognition and respect and a range of skills such as critical thinking, compromise, mediation and collaboration. Teachers are not always considered positively in terms of peacebuilding, if anything the evidence illustrating their role in stoking conflict or preventing ‘progressive’ reform appears to be more plentiful than the literature advocating their positive contributions to peacebuilding. For example the literature contains examples of teachers manipulating nation building aspects of the curriculum such as History or Geography to represent their own biases and views of history, constructing allies and enemies from their own perspective and re/producing national narratives (e.g. Korostelina 2013); of teachers reproducing and normalising unequal gender relations (Leach and Humphreys 2007); and of schools as the sites of physical violence (sexual exploitation and corporal punishment) (Harber 2004). Considering Bush and Salterelli’s two faces of education this role considers teachers’ participation in the destructive face of education (Bush and Salterelli 2000).

4.3.4. Teacher as Agent of Resistance to Inequity

According to Mazawi (1994) teachers may assume the role of an Institutionalised Oppositionist. He considers this the case in his work on teachers in public schools in the Jordanian (later Israeli) occupied West Bank and in the Egyptian (later Israeli) occupied Gaza Strip. In these contexts the authority of the day appoints teachers while textbooks work to contradict Palestinian social and political aspirations. Teachers in these official schools are aware of the contradictions in the institutional conditions within which the teaching learning occurs, however they are under constant surveillance by the authorities and alienation and distrust characterises teacher-system relations. In another example Mazawi illustrates how teachers oppose Zionism in refugee camps in Lebanon and in educational institutions run by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and other Palestinian resistance groups in Lebanon, Kuwait and elsewhere. Here teachers see education as politically empowering and linked to the pupils’ Palestinian Arab identity, the anti-Zionist struggle and the political dimension of the Israeli-Arab conflict. In this role, teachers serve as an agent of political socialisation, instilling a militant national consciousness in pupils.

5. Teachers and Violence

This section explores teachers' roles and relationships in relation to the issue of violence. Specifically, it considers gender based violence, teacher on student and student on teacher violence, finally exploring political violence.

5.1. Role of Teachers in Relation to Gender Violence

The pool of resources to draw on to analyse teachers' agency specifically in gender violence as an analytical category is not extensive. Gender violence in school is a relatively new area of research and most work has focused on identifying and understanding the nature and scope of gender violence (Leach and Mitchell

2006). This section reviews some of the debates as they apply to teachers' role in promoting or hindering gender peace.

5.1.1. Teachers as "Perpetrators" of Gender Violence

It has been argued that schools inflict more harm than good as the policies, processes and pedagogical practices in school serve to sustain inequity (Harber 2004). Leach and Humphreys (2007) note that the gendered nature of violence in schools originates in unequal and antagonistic gender relations, which are 'normalised' by everyday school structures and processes. For instance, in sub-Saharan Africa informal processes such as allocating higher status public tasks to boys and more domestic private tasks to girls and allowing boys to dominate the physical and verbal space in class serve as an unjust hidden curriculum (Dunne et al. 2005; Leach and Humphreys 2007). Similarly, authoritarian teaching practices, and competitive assessment procedures promote aggressive masculinities and compliant femininities and actively suppress other ways of "performing gender" (Butler 2009). In addition, dictatorial punishment and discipline systems and curricular biases promote racist or gendered biases and exclusions and disadvantage certain groups of students (Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997; Mirembe and Davis 2001; Rojas Arangoitia 2011). These are some of the ways inequitable gendered practices are "performed" by schools through policies, pedagogies and curriculum and through everyday relationships between students and teachers, establishing a 'gender regime' in schools (Connell 2002; Dunne et al. 2005).

A 2007 case study by Dunne, 'Gender, Sexuality and Schooling: Everyday life in junior secondary schools in Botswana and Ghana', exemplifies many of the above issues. Based on the micro-analysis of daily school practices, the study casts teachers and students as active agents in the production of gender/sexual identities and hierarchies in heteronormative ways. For example, teachers' let the boys control the seating arrangements and take over the verbal space and teacher time. Class participation was used to marginalise, embarrass or degrade the girls by male students. Teachers also used negative comparison to motivate boys by saying that "even the girls can do it better than that" (Dunne 2007: 508). Dunne observes:

With limited teacher intervention, these conditions constituted the informal, hidden learning in a context of identity formation and affirmation that

offered little or no challenge to the dominant social patterns and clearly constrained the educational opportunities and future aspirations of all the students” (Dunne 2007: 243)

Thus, within schools, gender inequity was considered as a “natural” aspect of human behaviour. It was attributed to biology and the consequent socialisation process. Girls’ complaints about sexual harassment and verbal abuse were largely ignored or trivialised as “teasing” or “playfulness” by boys and as “a necessary part of growing up”. Teachers considered the gendered school environment as unproblematic and not requiring intervention. Government policies concerning corporal punishment, sexual harassment, sexual abuse and the re-admission of schoolgirl mothers and other drop-outs were not only weakly implemented but also often actively resisted by teachers and communities.

In many African countries research indicates a prevalence of sexual abuse between teachers and students (Burton 2005). It remains unclear if incidents are higher in African countries, or if it is a case that the literature follows perceptions. Since at present such incidents go largely unreported, the true scale of such abuse is unknown. For instance, a survey in Malawi (Burton 2005) revealed that children reported knowing about “loving relationships” between students and teachers, and suggested that such practices were commonplace. Despite this the survey of teachers suggests that the least spoken subject in the school was sex and sexuality. Almost one fifth (18.4%) of teachers reported that they never speak to their children about this. It was seen as an awkward subject to talk about between students and teachers. Around one fifth (19.8%) of teachers reported being aware of teachers who groomed students into “love relationships”. In South Africa, 40.1% of all sexual offences involved children under 18 between 2011 and 2012 (Bhana 2014), male teachers in particular have been found to be perpetrating rape against school girls (Human Rights Watch, 2001). The report Sexual Violence by Educators in South African Schools: Gaps in Accountability (Avon Global Center for Women and Justice 2014) observes that many male teachers do not face charges.

5.1.2. Teachers as “Victims” of Gender Violence

Studies suggest that teachers’ themselves suffer within the wider structure that they are located in. For example, A PhD by Atinga (2004) explores trainee teachers’ perceptions and experiences of sexual harassment in teacher education institutions in Ghana. Based on a random sample of 40 participants from two teacher-training institutions in the country, the study found that institutional practices fostered the environment for sexual harassment and assaults. There was a blatant disregard of the safety concerns of female trainee teachers. People in positions of authority regularly exposed female student teachers to a range of sexually motivated abuses within the learning environment in which tutors, professors, administrative staff and senior students participated. The perpetrators of sexual harassment against female students were not held accountable for their acts.

Studies suggest that teachers’ agency is curtailed in a broader socio-cultural and economic context. Bhana’s (2014) paper explores teachers’ role in the protection of young girls from sexual violence in a school in KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa. The study is a part of a larger research project Stop the Violence: Boys and Girls in and Around Schools. Based on two individual and two focus group interviews of 90 minute duration with primary teachers the study found that teachers showed an acute sense of girls’ suffering and material struggles that made them prone to sexual exploitation, but turbulent social conditions, chronic poverty and a lack of parental support limited the teachers’ potential to safeguard the needs of girls, resulting in their silence. Care involved making tough decisions about reporting it to the police. Teachers felt “scared”, “frightened” and “fear” at the thought of reporting. They understood that it was unfair to the child not to report the incidents but they also feared for their lives. They were caught up in a system characterised by poor policing and poor social services in a highly violent social setting. A majority of female teachers felt vulnerable to victimization in their area. The violent masculinity in the society not only predisposed girls’ to sexual violence in the township but also to adult female teachers. The fear of violent consequences for teachers and their families for reporting sexual violence discouraged them from taking action. Often, where family members of children were involved in violence against their own children it was even more difficult to address the problem

as parents silenced their children for the fear of stigma or they had to make a choice between giving in to breadwinner aggression in the face of extreme poverty, or, seeking justice.

Evidence suggests that in highly gendered environments, teachers' caring becomes gendered (Bhana 2014). In a study on the South African rural school, women teachers approached their role as mothers and male teachers often acted as providers and bought their students books and school uniforms with their own money. Their response to girls' vulnerability shows how the ways in which teachers negotiate care in school settings is linked to their socially constituted roles that were underpinned by gender inequalities. The way they cared for their students emphasised the dominant notions of masculinity and femininity further perpetuating inequitable gender relations (Bhana 2014).

In contrast to a "girl-as-victim" perspective that pervades much of the literature, a relatively unexplored area of research is female agency in gender violence. A small number of studies show girls entering "transactional" sexual relationships, with their teachers, other students, or between teachers (Kinsman et al 2000; Luke and Kurz 2002). Leach and Humphreys (2007) contend that it is important to pay attention to female agency, even if their "choices" are governed by the wider gender-biased structures. The girl-on-girl and girl-on-boy violence also originate in structural gender inequalities. While there is a need to extend our understanding of gender violence from "girl-as-victim" perspective to other forms, studies show that a high number of girls are victims (Pinheiro 2006) and conflict affects female participation in schools much more than male students. Women are also excluded from discussions and interventions on conflict and peace (Moser and Clark 2001).

5.1.3. Teachers as Agents of Gender Justice

However teachers also serve as agents of gender peace. Although resources to draw on to analyse the strategies and pedagogies teachers' use to promote gender equity is not extensive, as Leach and Mitchell (2006: 4-5) note "*the act of identifying an issue can in itself constitute an intervention*". Teacher's own gendered experiences are seen as a resource to facilitate students to think critically about and challenge the gender stereotypes (Eurydice 2010, cited in Plan 2013). The same pedagogical approaches that are endorsed to

critically interrogate normative discourses around ethnicity, religion, class etc. can be applied to question and subvert dominant narratives that discriminate on the basis of gender.

Several studies argue that changes in textbooks and teacher training makes teachers' agents of gender justice. For example, the curriculum developed for the Gender Equity Movement in Schools project in Mumbai, India, included content on gender roles, violence, and sexual and reproductive health for Standard 6 and 7 girls and boys. The evaluation of the project showed positive changes in the participants' attitude towards gender. They tended to oppose early marriage and domestic violence and supported girls' higher education (Achyut et al. 2011). Similarly, in Honduras, the interdisciplinary curriculum questioned dominant power structures and gender stereotypes through a learner-centred and inquiry-based pedagogy and dialogue. The results showed that it enhanced the participants' ability to identify problems and conceive solutions on gender issues. They also felt empowered (Murphy-Graham 2008). Likewise, a small project at Kenyatta University, Kenya, advocated that teachers must first confront their own gendered experiences so as to help others (Chege 2006). Twenty male and female volunteer student teachers were asked to keep a diary over a five-month period in which they wrote experiences of violence in their lives, which they then shared at regular group meetings. Violence by teachers emerged as the key theme and led the trainees to experience therapeutic effects and motivated them to ensure a violent-free environment for children in their care.

5.2. Teacher on Student and Student on Teacher Violence

Violence, both physical and psychological, enacted in and by schools has become increasingly recognised. Although arguably it is still under-represented in the academic literature, Harber's (2004) book *Schooling as Violence* has helped to raise it as an important issue while Global initiatives such as UNICEF's Child Friendly Schools place safe learning environments (among others) as an important educational priority.

In her work on harm against children Miller (1987, cited in Harber 2004) identifies what she calls a 'poisonous pedagogy' where teachers, with the support of parents, impart traditional myths about behaviour through their languages and authoritarian practices, outlined as:

- Children are underserving of respect because they are children
- Obedience makes a child strong
- A high degree of self-esteem is harmful
- A low degree of self-esteem makes a person altruistic
- Tenderness is harmful
- Severity and coldness (including corporal punishment) are a good preparation for life (Miller 1987: 59-60, cited in Harber 2004)

The violence enacted against children through these attitudes inform an authoritarian view of the classroom, where the teacher can administer punishment in their right to maintain order and for the benefit of the child, while the child's right to protection from all forms of physical violence (according to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child) is ignored. Punishment in a wide range of countries includes physical punishment, with the World Health Organisation reporting in 2002 that the *"Corporal punishment of children - in the form of hitting, punching, kicking or beating - is socially and legally accepted in most countries. In many, it is a significant phenomenon in schools and other institutions and in penal systems for young offenders"* (WHO 2002: 64). Harber (2004) goes on to note that even where it is illegal it may still be persistently practiced in schools. According to Dunne (2007) corporal punishment can be unfair and excessive, and has the consequence of deterring learners for school and increasing truancy rates, particularly young men who tend to be the recipients of punishment. The persistence of corporal punishment is of concern because *"Corporal punishment is dangerous for children. In the short term, it kills thousands of children each year and injures and handicaps many more. In the longer term, a large body of research has shown it to be a significant factor in the development of violent behaviour, and it is associated with other problems in childhood and later life"* (Dunne 2007, cited in WHO 2002: 64).

Save the Children have worked with teachers in Afghanistan, Angola, Nepal and South Sudan as part of their Rewrite the Future programme to raise awareness of the negative consequences of corporal punishment, and changing attitudes is considered a key step in reducing its practice. Teachers can facilitate this through discussion and inclusion of the community in drawing up codes of conduct that address punishment and discipline (Save the Children 2012: xi). However parents and teachers need support if attitudes are going to change and legal reform is vital if advances in teacher education and classroom-community

actions are not to be undermined by state authorised violence against children. Teacher initiated sexual abuse and sexual harassment continues to be perpetrated worldwide, on both girls and boys. There is no geographical limit to sexual abuse by staff on students, examples are documented in Ireland, Canada, Britain and France as well as across developing contexts. In sub-Saharan Africa, the issue has been widely documented, for example a survey by Africa Rights found teachers offering grades in exchange for sex in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Nigeria, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe (WHO 2002: 155); DfID research evidencing inappropriate sexual behaviour and unsolicited advances by teachers in Ghana, Malawi and Zimbabwe (cited in Harber 2004); and Shumba's (2001) study of teacher perpetrated child abuse in Zimbabwe (cited in Harber 2004). The prevalence of sexual violence has led Nomusa Cembali of the South African Democratic Teachers Union to state that the trade union condemns sexual abuse by teachers and calls for perpetrators to be held accountable (SABC May 2014). To understand sexual abuse by teachers in sub-Saharan Africa, Professor Amina Mama offers a wider context of gender violence:

It is no exaggeration to state that violence and its particular gender-based manifestations has become an integral feature of Africa's post-colonial societies. This is true, not just in the war zones of Somalia, Rwanda and Liberia but also supposedly peaceful contexts, where the daily torture and abuse of women is not even included in discussions of the continent's crisis. Worse still, there is growing evidence that Africa's newest democracies, South Africa and Nigeria are particularly dangerous places for women. In both these cases, gender based violence appears to be accepted as a normal aspect of daily life... Gender-based violence is an integral aspect of modern African life, and invidious social ill that forestalls development, nullifying all the talk about women's rights and human rights and shooting democracy in the foot" (Amina Mama 2000: 1-2, cited in Harber 2004: 100).

However, while teacher on student violence is a particularly charged issue because they are trusted with the care of children, teachers are also the recipients of violence. As the above quote reveals, teachers practice in situations where violence may be normative, even if they are not 'war zones'. A recent study by NORRAG, Educational Strategies for Dealing with Urban

Violence: Learning from Brazil (2014), explores urban violence and educational strategies available to foster safe and sustainable cities. The report notes (citing UNICEF 2012) that the fragmentation of cities and consequent socio-economic inequalities mean that many of its occupants are disenfranchised despite proximity to the perceived benefits of urban life. This inability to attain many urban benefits includes educational advantage. The report highlights the level of urban violence in many countries, describing the situation in Latin America where death rates attributed to urban violence in many of its countries exceed intra-state conflicts (Rodgers 2010, cited in NORRAG 2014). To contextualise this, in Brazil alone from 2004-2009 an estimated 48,800 people died violently each year which compares to deaths in contexts of armed conflict around the world of 55,000 each year during the same period (GBAV 2011: 52, cited in NORRAG 2014). To address these concerns the report describes a number of initiatives in Brazil, informed by NORRAG's Conflict Violence, Education and Training (CV-ET) programme which aims to map educational strategies, which address urban violence. In Brazil this has been achieved in collaboration with the Igarapé Insitute. Taking the example of Rio de Janeiro, a variety of actors including public, private and third sector organisations offer a wide range of interventions which may complement formal schooling or provide non-formal educational opportunities. Focusing on formal education programmes, in keeping with the scope of this review, 'Abrindo Espaços Humanitários' (Creating Humanitarian Spaces) is a collaborative programme between the State Secretariat of Education and the ICRC run in state secondary schools to promote dialogue and humanitarian principles. The collaboration also runs 'Comportamento Mais Seguro' (Safe Behaviour), a series of workshops that help teachers and learners to design and realise security plans appropriate for their own school. In addition to these programmes the Oi Futuro Foundation has opened an Art and Technology School called Oi Kabum!. Oi Kabum! is open to students and graduates from public schools from low-income backgrounds for courses related to information communication technology such as graphics, photography, and web design.

In his paper *We Live in a State of Siege: Violence, Crime, and Gangs in Post-Conflict Urban Nicaragua*, Rodgers (2002) points out that the perceived resolutions of [armed] conflict in the signing of formal peace accords do not represent a distinctive break from the violence of the past,

where new forms of violence, such as criminal violence may replace civil war:

Although it is important not to underestimate the continuities between past and present forms of violence – crime and delinquency are not new features, political violence is by no means extinct, and the boundaries between the two phenomena are not always clear-cut – it is clear that in contrast to the generally organised nature of the political and ideological violence of the past, the new forms of violence which overshadow contemporary Central America are more diffuse and disordered (Rodgers 2002: 2).

It is important to note that in relation to gang violence it is young people and adolescents that bear the brunt of this violence and who almost everywhere are the predominant victims and perpetrators (WHO 2002: 25). However, while not as significant, gang violence does spill over into schools and cultures of violence affect teachers. WHO cite that in Cape Town, South Africa, 9.8% of males and 1.3% of females in secondary schools reported carrying knives to school during the previous 4 week period (WHO 2002: 29).

Teachers may experience verbal abuse, threats and intimidation, to actual physical violence by students, and incidents of student on teacher attacks are frequently reported in the media. However the issue is underrepresented in studies with much of the information coming from journalistic sources. Walker (2013), a journalist writing for the National Education Association (US), claims that by 2013 internationally only 14 studies have looked at this issue. In South Africa the South African Democratic Teachers Union has claimed an increase in both physical and verbal attacks on teachers from their students in the Western Cape, asserting that incidents go unreported as teachers are too embarrassed to report them (SABC Oct 2013), while in Jamaica according to Gardner et al. (2003, cited in USAID 2013) 21% of students have attacked either teachers or staff. It should be noted that while student attacks on teachers are prominent in societies with significant and prolonged inequality or post-conflict situations, it is a global issue with reports of a rise in "primary pupil suspensions for attacks on staff" in England (Barker 2014) and Student Attacks on Teachers in the US reported to be up by 34.5% in 2011-12 (Brown 2014).

5.3. The Role of Teachers in Relation to Political Violence

Over the last decade thousands of members of the education community have been direct targets of political attacks. The effect of such attacks goes beyond their impact on the victims themselves and has serious repercussions on other teachers, students and trade unionists. Despite a decade of advocacy and commitment by UNESCO, Human Rights Watch (HRW), The Global Coalition to Protect Education From Attack (GCPEA) and other networks, data and research on attacks on education still suffer from critical gaps and deficiencies and attacks on education continue to expand.

Work in this area explores the cost (both in terms of human lives and of infrastructure) that war and conflict can inflict on educational opportunities, actors and institutions. The two UNESCO reports *Education under Attack* (2007, 2010a) and third report by GCPEA (2014a) were the first to systematically and comprehensively address the issue of attacks on education in conflict-affected areas. This work demonstrates the variety of ways that education opportunities, actors and institutions can be negatively affected by conflict – for example, attacks on schools, students and teachers; forced recruitment of teachers and children; and the occupation of school buildings by warring factions. Recent developments have included the creation of the GCPEA, which brings together a range of development and human rights organisations working on research and advocacy on this issue. This has led to increased research on the motivations and effects of attacks on education systems.

While the work on attacks on education does not often single out teachers specifically for analysis, teachers are often mentioned as victims of attacks. Exceptions are the work of Human Rights Watch on Thailand (HRW 2010), and the work of Novelli (2009) on attacks on Colombian teacher trade unionists. Recent events have also highlighted the targeting of teachers, with reports of 43 trainee teachers in Mexico being murdered by a criminal gang after being round up and handed over by police after a demonstration over the quality of teacher training (Reuters 2014).

As a reflection of the multiple conceptualisation and roles of teachers, attacks on teachers appear to be similarly driven by multiple dynamics. In Colombia, according to Novelli (2009) it appears to be driven by teacher unionists' role as obstacles

to neoliberal reforms and attacks are carried out by paramilitary organisations with close connections to the state. In Somalia, Pakistan and other places, attacks on teachers appear to be linked to religious extremist organisations which see western education, and by default teachers, as its mediators, spreading western education and modernity, which they deem as non-Islamic (GCPEA, 2014a). In Turkey, attacks on education and teachers during the 1980s were led by Kurdish nationalist organisations that saw the education system and teachers as imposing an alien language and culture on Kurdish communities. Similar motivations have been noted for attacks on teachers in Muslim regions of Thailand and the Philippines (HRW 2011, GCPEA 2014a). The common tactic to attack teachers and schools during armed conflict can thus be motivated by a range of different context-specific reasons, and the following list provides some of the rationales that frame the attacker's perception of teachers. Education may be attacked in order to:

- destroy symbols of government control or demonstrate control over an area by the anti-government element;
 - seize school or university buildings for use as barracks, bases or firing positions, or attack them because they are being used for these purposes by opposing forces;
 - block the education of girls;
 - block education that is perceived to impose alien religious or cultural values;
 - react against curricula that are perceived to meet the preferences of the elite or the majority group, or that portray certain identity groups in an inferior or hostile way;
 - prevent schools from teaching a language, religion, culture or history alien to the particular identity group;
 - restrict teacher trade union activity and academic freedom;
 - threaten a particular ethnic group;
 - abduct children for use as combatants, sex slaves or logistical support for military operations; or
 - raise money by extortion or ransom.
- (GCPEA 2014b: 47)

While the contextual motivation of each conflict varies, the trend of targeting teachers underscores the political, ideological and social roles that teachers occupy in their communities and wider-society and education as “*one of the more visible institutions in the civil society*” (Poirier 2012: 342, cited in GCPEA 2014b: 5).

In war affected settings the lines of responsibility are often blurred; depending on the context, attackers may include state armed forces, state police, state security forces, militants mobilized by state or non-state forces, armed militias, criminal gangs, paramilitaries. Also depending on the context, targets may be specific scholars, academics, trade unionists, students, higher education buildings and facilities or, indeed, all of them.

What emerges from the literature is that the types, number and magnitude of attacks vary among different contexts, but attacks usually involve a combination of tactics: in Thailand, the main tactics included targeted assassination of teachers and targeted bombing of buses carrying teachers; in Iraq, one finds plenty of evidence of large-scale bombing through remote detonated devices targeting schools and universities, followed by kidnappings, shootings, threats and attempted assassination; while in Colombia where part of the conflict has been a clash between left- and right-wing groups, state forces, and state-linked irregular forces have targeted teachers and educational trade unionists through threats, violent attacks, arbitrary detention, disappearance and torture (GCPEA 2014a, Novelli, 2009; UNESCO 2010a).

Regardless of the tactics employed, the (un)intended effects of attacks typically result in widespread fear and disruption of educational access and provision, affecting qualitatively and quantitatively education institutions and the society in the short and longer term. The effects of attacks, even in situations in which teachers, educators and students are not made the object of direct attacks, are devastating, because they often trigger retreat, fear and silence a whole educational community that fears similar threats. All types of attacks, especially if widespread and systematic, trigger brain drain (GCPEA 2014a).

Key Messages: Conceptualising Teachers as Agents of Peace

- From different actors and perspectives teachers are derided to admired and positioned on a range of continuums: between being considered part of the problem to part of the solution; from being skilful to ineffectual; as victims (of conflict) or perpetrators; or as technocrats to competent reflexive professionals - and variations and hybrids of all of these framings.
- Teachers are conceptualised from different perspectives into broad and porous categories as: teachers as technocrats; teachers as reflexive professionals; teachers as transformative agents.
- The role of teacher participation in decision-making in the education system is contested. A view of teachers prevails which seeks to curtail teacher autonomy and their right to organise, while approached from a more reflexive or transformative perspective teacher representation through associations and unions in national decision making is important for both the development of the teaching fraternity and issues relating to peacebuilding.
- Teachers can be either perpetrators or victims of violence, for example they may perform acts of corporal punishment or GBV. They may also be on the receiving end of GBV and gang violence.
- Teachers are themselves direct targets of political attacks, driven by multiple dynamics including attempts to control or block what and who gets educated, to restrict trade union activity and academic freedom, and for different military logistics.

6. School Focused Peacebuilding Interventions

School-wide peacebuilding interventions are plentiful in the literature and include a range of international donors and agencies providing approaches and guidance on how to, for example, build resilience, social cohesion and human security through strengthened policies and practices in education.

6.1. Education Policies and Programming

It is widely recognised that education policies are not neutral and can reinforce discrimination and militarism. Conflict-sensitive education seeks to promote good governance, inclusion, social cohesion, access and quality of education, language policies and teacher recruitment so as to reduce conflict. The INEE Reflection Tool for Designing and Implementing Conflict Sensitive Education Programmes in Conflict-Affected and Fragile Contexts provides tools and checklists for assessment, design, implementation, management, monitoring and evaluation. These are tools for developing and implementing conflict sensitive education programmes and policies in conflict-affected and fragile contexts. Several conflict-affected settings such as Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia and Liberia have received inputs from conflict-sensitive education to address the relationship between education and fragility (IIEP 2011).

6.2. Child-Friendly Schools (CFS)

UNICEF describes CFS as a “framework for rights-based, child-friendly educational systems and schools” (UNICEF website). The UNICEF Child-Friendly Schools (CFS) are informed by the rights laid out in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). It underpins ‘the best interests of the child’ as its core principle. It is essentially a child rights-based school, which uses ‘child-centred’ pedagogy. It promotes a notion of the ‘whole child’ to include their multidimensional needs such as psychosocial well-being, cognitive development, and socio-affective and physical potential (UNICEF website). It is also a ‘child-seeking’ school meaning that it actively seeks out children not in school, enrolls them and tries to retain them. There is also an emphasis on engagement with the community. Its inclusive ethos seeks to avoid excluding, discriminating or stereotyping social groups and celebrates diversity, providing free, compulsory education to learners from all background. In fragile conflict-affected contexts, it also seeks to create a culture

of non-violence.

6.3. Healing Classroom Initiative (HCI)

International Rescue Committee has specifically designed HCI to cater to the needs of conflict contexts where war or disaster have put children, teachers and educational personnel at risk of harm and abuse and have displaced them. This approach was developed drawing on the experience of working in conflict countries in 2004. It builds on UNICEF's CFS and adapts them to conflict contexts to support culturally appropriate and gender sensitive methods, to ensure rural involvement in education planning, and to build capacity. It specifically targets education authorities, teacher education colleges, community groups, teachers and students. The HCI addresses teachers' role in contributing to peace by providing models for teacher development that promote student well-being. HCI is being piloted in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Guinea and Sierra Leone. It is also being applied in earthquake affected and other areas of Pakistan. IRC internal investigations in 2005 found that the integration of Healing Classrooms through trained teachers in Afghanistan considerably increased "efforts to create more child-centred learning environments" (IRC undated: 3) In a further assessment in 2007 "Teachers reported an increase in attendance ... and even took it upon themselves to do onward trainings of other teachers using this model. Children in the program reported feeling safe and happy in school" (ibid).

6.4. Peace Education

An important element of teachers as agents of peace is the instruction of peace education which is primarily concerned with "the educational policy, planning, pedagogy, and practice that develops awareness, skills, and values toward peace" (Bajaj and Chiu 2009: 442). This approach may also be alluded to in a collection of terminology such as life skills, values education, civic education and (global) citizenship and is captured in the Delors report, Learning: The Treasure Within, which tasks the teacher with "creating a new spirit which, guided by recognition of our growing interdependence and a common analysis of the risks and challenges of the future, would induce people to implement common projects or to manage the inevitable conflict in an intelligent and peaceful

way" (Delors 1996: 19).

Peace education derives from peace studies, and consequently its foundational concepts of positive and negative peace are evident in peace education programmes and curricular, making it particularly relevant to the creation of a just peace. There is no specific definition for Peace Education, however UNICEF's definition is widely accepted:

The process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level (Fountain 1999: 1).

This definition combined with the Delors report highlights that peace education is not age restricted or limited to schooling; is concerned with overt and structural violence; addresses violence at all levels; and is relevant for all societies at all times.

Educating for peace is concerned with both content and pedagogy, with pedagogy recognised to be central to peace education. Content would include knowledge, skills and attitudes. For example knowledge would include knowledge about the conflict, human rights treaties, other religious beliefs etc.; skills would include collaboration, critical thinking, mediation etc; while attitudes would incorporate justice, equity, fairness, care etc. All of these attributes need to be taught using methods that reflect them, so authoritarian pedagogies that suppress critical thinking are replaced with participatory pedagogies, skills such as collaboration and mediation are honed through group work and justice and fairness are reflected in the inclusion of all learners in an equitable classroom and relevant lesson content.

Overall, donor and agency educational global policy and programmatic developments in conflict contexts relating to educating for peace embody two assumptions: i) "Peace...can be learned" by individuals (Obura 2002: 2-3) and, ii) peace can be achieved by addressing the structural causes of conflict. It is believed that teachers can transform the society through textbooks and pedagogy by aiming at:

- Cultivating attitudes for democratic participation
- Developing an understanding of and respect for human rights
- Generating conflict-sensitivity and management (by teaching about conflict and its consequences, the issue of inclusion and exclusion and bias, prejudice and discrimination)
- Inculcating character traits for peace such as trust, empathy, co-operation, interdependence, active listening, negotiation, mediation and assertiveness
- Promoting equity (gender, historically marginalised groups, access policies etc.)

This approach, captured in the notion of a ‘culture of peace’ is not however without its critics. The assumption that peace can be taught, captured in the UNESCO banner quote “building peace in the minds of men and women” and the UNESCO constitution preamble “wars begin in the minds of men”, has been critiqued for its focus of analysis on the level of the individual and consequent restriction to social cohesion (Bajaj 2008, drawing on Haavelsrud 1996). The first assumption that peace can be learned arguably undermines the second assumption to address issues of structural violence, which is more difficult and arguably marginalised in many programmes, leaving peace education critiqued for being reliant “on making people be nicer to each other” (Fisher et al 2000, cited in Davies 2004b: 216).

7. Governance

Teacher governance is concerned with teacher supply, deployment, and management and career structures, and is strongly linked with teacher education and CPD. In what follows, the review considers the different aspects of teacher governance and discusses how they are portrayed in relation to peacebuilding in the available literature on both teacher governance in general and teacher governance specifically relating to conflict-affected contexts, discussing global trends and applying research at national levels as appropriate.

7.1. Teacher Supply

Global discourses concerning the supply of student teacher candidates into the profession is concerned with both the number of candidates required to meet the staffing demands of schools and the selection criteria for candidates. These two considerations interact as ideally one is looking for the adequate provision (numbers) of suitable candidates (selectivity), however where there is no easy supply of candidates these aspects may be in tension with each other.

7.1.1. Student Teacher Numbers

The demand for larger teaching bodies in developing contexts has emerged as countries commit to EFA and free universal primary school education. The increased enrolment of primary aged children has put a large demand on teacher training institutes to provide the extra primary school teachers needed, but also to plan ahead for the impact that increased graduation from primary education may have on demand for secondary education. Teacher education colleges and institutions therefore have an important role, in conjunction with Education Ministries, in planning and managing the size of the teacher workforce to meet the needs of the national education system.

The pressures to train enough teachers for an expanding education sector are well documented in developing country contexts, however the impact of conflict on teacher supply exacerbates an already difficult situation. Post-conflict contexts suffer from an acute shortage of teachers as qualified teachers and education personnel are displaced, killed or have left the country as a direct result of armed conflict. In Rwanda, for example, 75% of the country's qualified teachers were killed or imprisoned due to the 1994 genocide (Cole and Barsalou 2006).

Where it is difficult to meet the demands for teachers the use of contract teachers is considered a useful solution by the World Bank *"to address a teacher shortage in a post crisis situation or where financial constraints or security conditions make it difficult to fill teacher posts"* (World Bank 2010: 10). Contract teachers, sometimes referred to as para-teachers, are not on the teacher payroll and work on short-term contracts and with insecure working terms often at considerably less remuneration, providing

governments with flexibility. Although the World Bank endorses contract teachers, it also acknowledges the challenges associated with them and warns that they “*are not part of a longer term teaching service strategy*” (World Bank 2010: 12). There is usually an expectation among both teachers and private employers that contract teachers are a temporary fix to fill a gap and will eventually be absorbed into the teacher payroll.

The use of contract teachers is not without its controversies. Advocates such as Kingdon et al (2014) point to a consistent and strong evidence that in the short term “*the use of contract teachers can improve accountability, resulting in higher teacher effort, which produces equal or better student learning outcomes than for regular teachers*” (Kingdon et al 2014: 27). However the evidence is mixed, and Kingdon et al acknowledge that in these studies “*learning was assessed on a very narrow basis*” (ibid). Save the Children (2012) found a similar effect in contract teachers in South Sudan where, contrary to their expectations, “*teachers not receiving a government salary were more willing to go to lessons than teachers who were on the payroll. There was also a positive correlation between the proportion of non-payroll teachers and learning outcomes of students*” (Save the Children 2012: x). However, hypothesising that they were motivated to ‘prove themselves’ in order to join the teacher pay role and by community accountability, this was not understood as evidence that pay does not matter, but more that incentives and motivation are more nuanced and complex than simply pay alone. To underscore the importance of pay and recognition of teacher status (being on the teacher payroll) the report goes on to reveal that “*The disappointment of finding out that full teacher status did not deliver expected rewards may have played a role in damaging motivation*” (ibid). If contract teachers are motivated by the potential to join secure state education systems then the introduction of customary fixed-term contracts would serve to erode this positive effect. Research by Bold et al. (2013, cited in Kingdon et al 2014) appears to support Kingdon et al’s assertions, describing how a “*randomised trial study in Kenya showed that contract teachers significantly raised pupil test scores when tests were implemented by an NGO but not when implemented by the bureaucratic structures of the Kenyan government, because of teacher union opposition*” (Kingdon et al 2014: 16). This citation however also introduces us to the opposition of the use of contract teachers. Critique of the extended use of contract teachers argues that stability is an important element of providing

quality education and that the use of contract teachers undermines the professional status of teachers, and that contract teachers are subject to discriminatory employment terms and conditions. In the example of Kenya, which Kingdon evokes, the Kenyan National Union of Teachers (KNUT) successfully fought the customary use of contract teachers (as opposed to as a stop-gap) which they considered to be undermining the expansion of a qualified and unionised teaching fraternity, which under “reckless neglect” actually declined between 2003 -2011, despite the introduction of Free Basic Education (Education International 2012). The Kenyan government was held accountable by the union to its “*national constitution which does not allow for fully trained and professional teachers to be employed under discriminatory terms... KNUT wanted these teachers employed under permanent and pensionable terms*” (ibid). Striking the middle ground Duthilleul (2005), when discussing the situation of para-teachers in India, recognises the reputation of permanent teachers’ tendency towards absenteeism and poor motivation, but argues for identifying the solution by locating the problem. While teacher absenteeism and poor motivation “*are probably more the result of a lack of adequate accountability and incentive systems, the government has preferred to address them by replacing regular public teachers with para-teachers rather than reforming the system*” (Duthilleul 2005: 42). Drawing on his exploration of contract teachers in Cambodia, India, Nicaragua and West African Countries (and policy reform in England and Sweden) Duthilleul questions the location of teacher performance in their types of contract:

[W]hat seems to be most detrimental to the teaching profession is not the stability usually associated with a teaching position, but rather the lack of appropriate incentives and opportunities for career development. This, together with the fact that most financial rewards are given on the basis of seniority and not performance have not contributed to creating and sustaining a stimulating professional environment (Duthilleul 2005: 28)

7.2. Teacher Recruitment and Selection for Training

Within the literature the quality of student teacher candidates was an important consideration, connected to selection criteria. SABER was able to point to “*a relationship between the level of selectivity of entry into the teaching profession*

(or entry into teacher initial education programs) and the quality of the teaching force” (World Bank 2013: 26) in the case for this argument. In order to attract the most able candidates incentives such as competitive rates of pay and good working conditions were also advocated, citing examples where “systems recruit top-performing students into the teaching profession, and so aim to provide competitive remuneration relative to other professions” (Mourshed et al 2010: 56). However, as ActionAid (2007) point out, these aspirations are simultaneously frustrated with IMF caps on teachers’ pay.

The selectivity of entry into the profession referred to in the SABER document relates to the concept of teacher standards. In the World Bank Report, Teacher Policy and Management in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Situations: A Review of Issues, Policies and Experience (World Bank 2010), the difficulties in developing teacher standards in conflict-affected contexts was acknowledged. In their survey of 65 World Bank financed projects and 36 Education Sector Plans only five of the ‘fragile’ contexts had developed teacher standards which ranged from “the establishment of minimum qualifications” to “more comprehensive competency standards for teachers” (World Bank 2010: 13). The disruption to teacher supply and low institutional capacity caused by conflict made the development of teacher standards difficult, as teachers with basic education are rarely found in conflict affected contexts.

The importance of attracting the most qualified candidates is tempered with a need for a representative teaching body, including the recruitment of women. The role of a representative teaching body in recognising diversity is particularly important in post-conflict contexts where inequality in educational representation, access and outcomes is a potential catalyst for conflict. Much of the literature focuses on the under-representation of female teachers. The need to attract women to teaching, and in this case the importance of female role models in schools where they are under-represented (usually remote schools) was considered in securing a suitable supply of teachers, with governments urged to “consider setting national goals for hiring women and being flexible with age and education requirements for female teachers (while still providing adequate in-service training)” (World Bank, 2006c, cited in Mpokosa and Ndaruhutse: 46). The presence of women in the teaching profession was considered as essential for promoting girls education and a

gender-just peace, particularly in rural schools. Kirk (2004) points to research in sub-Saharan Africa and Afghanistan, as well as initiatives in South Sudan, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Ethiopia, to evidence that “As a means of increasing gender equality in enrolment, increasing the numbers of women teachers has proved to be an effective strategy” (2004: 51). The general agreement of the need for gender-equality as a foundation to a peaceful society, or as Kirk puts it “a recognition of women teachers potential to act as agents of change for a gender-just peace” (Kirk 2004: 50) has led to the INEE including the availability of training opportunities to both men and women in their guidance notes on conflict sensitive education (INEE 2013). Equality is not only confined to gender issues, Mpokosa and Ndaruhutse (2008) have also included teachers with disabilities and from marginalised groups as an important part of any teaching body, “to ensure that there are a representative number of positive role models for girls, boys, children with disabilities and those from other excluded groups; so that teachers enjoy equal pay and conditions; and so that girls and so called ‘hard to reach’ children have a better chance of improved learning outcomes” (Mpokosa and Ndaruhutse 2008: 11). In conflict and post-conflict contexts this is particularly relevant as women’s rights can be particularly undermined by armed violence, disability will be high as child soldiers return to school, and representation of marginalised groups will be important in rebuilding an inclusive society.

INEE has produced minimum standards for the recruitment and selection of teachers in emergency situations:

Figure 2: INEE Guidance Notes on Teacher Recruitment in Emergency Situations

INEE has suggested that the objective in emergency situations should be: “A sufficient number of appropriately qualified teachers and other education personnel are recruited through a participatory and transparent process, based on selection criteria reflecting diversity and equity.” Guidance notes to realize this objective recommend the following:

- Job descriptions are equitable and non-discriminatory and include roles and responsibilities, clear reporting lines and a code of conduct;
- Experience and qualifications: Teachers are qualified and have appropriate credentials and skills to provide psychosocial support to learners and teach learners with disabilities.

Where possible, teachers should speak the mother tongue of learners. Where candidates no longer have their certificates and professional documentation due to the emergency, their teaching skills should be assessed;

- Selection criteria should include: academic background, teaching experience, including teaching children with disabilities, sensitivity to psychosocial needs of learners, trade or other technical skills, relevant language ability;
- Diversity criteria should reflect those of the community, taking into account underlying social tensions and longstanding inequalities which may have an effect on the recruitment process;
- Other qualifications: teachers should be able to interact with and be accepted by the community; where possible they should be selected primarily from the affected community because of their understanding of the social, economic and political context.
- References: where possible these should be checked to ensure learners are not put at risk.
- Class size: sufficient teachers should be recruited to set locally defined, realistic limits on class size.

Source: INEE. 2010b: 95-97

However where pre-conflict education systems may have exacerbated inequalities, resulting in a limited resource of representative teachers, a tension emerges between selection criteria. While it is acknowledged that attracting capable candidates is important, it is also recognised that *“efforts to enhance the quality of teachers may have adverse effects on the recruitment of women teachers”* (Save the Children 2012: x) who have themselves not enjoyed equal opportunities in education. Furthermore, teachers killed or displaced by conflict places extra pressure to fill empty teacher vacancies where *“during conflict it can be difficult to identify teachers with higher qualifications”* (ibid). To attract teachers during a shortfall of candidates, low entry qualification can attract candidates who might be unable to get a place on other courses and produce the effect of reducing teacher status (Mulkeen 2010). The need to maintain standards and the status of the teaching profession needs to be balanced with the need for an inclusive, representative and equitable education system. These two goals need not be in tension if flexibility and innovation is practiced in how teachers are selected, including considering less qualified candidates and providing extra support in the way of in-service teacher education

and credentials or through providing extra support and education targeted at disadvantaged groups to help them achieve the academic credentials necessary to enter teacher education, such as the Women into Teaching (WiT) programme facilitated by Save the Children. This residential course allows trainees to bring their babies and carers (Save the Children 2012). Similarly INEE advocate that conflict sensitive education should *“make teacher training opportunities available to males and females and without discrimination against any group, including refugee and displaced teachers”* (INEE 2013: 30).

7.3. Deployment

Deploying teachers to rural schools and conflict-affected locations is often problematic. Within the literature there is a general recognition of the need to create an equitable education system and reduce staffing disparities between regions, which is of increasing importance in decentralised systems where institutional capacity and political will to address these issues may vary at local and regional levels. As Mpokosa and Ndaruhutse (2008) (drawing on Education International 2007: 13) point out there are *“disparities in teacher distribution between rural and urban schools. These are significant in many countries, with teacher shortages in remote rural areas reported to be especially high”* (28). In Lesotho, Sierra Leone and Malawi, a DFID study found that there was an acute shortage of qualified teachers in rural areas and it was very difficult to recruit staff for rural postings (Bennell and Akyeampong 2007). The issue of distribution between rural and urban areas is not only reflected in total numbers, with rural schools often operating on a deficit of teachers and high student-teacher ratios, but also female teachers and experienced teachers are unevenly distributed.

Concerning the issues of deployment, and the problem of appointing teachers to hard-to-reach schools and remote or rural areas, the literature can be considered in relation to a continuum between voluntary appointments and compulsory deployment. At one end teachers apply for positions voluntarily and are incentivised to consider hard-to-reach schools. Working on the assumption that *“Schools that have poor working conditions may have a harder time attracting and retaining able candidates”* (World Bank 2013: 27), improving teacher conditions is an important part of incentivising teachers to work in hard-to-place school. This may include hardship funds or extended CPD opportunities, or fast-track career pathways. At the other end of the continuum the

teacher is appointed to schools where, as civil servants, they are obliged to teach. An increasing trend to decentralisation makes compulsory appointments more difficult, and while teachers are mandated to teach in rural or hard-to-place schools in some systems (e.g. Bolivia, Indonesia) global trends identify incentives as an important solution to this dilemma.

7.3.1. Incentives

While the SABER literature considers monetary and other incentives key to encouraging teachers to work in hard-to-staff schools, it also recognises the significance of the design of the incentive programmes, and acknowledges that even once teachers were deployed some initiatives still *“have failed or have had a limited impact on student learning”* (World Bank 2013: 29).

The World Bank report *Teacher Policy and Management in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Situations* (2010) explores teacher deployment with specific reference to conflict or crisis affected contexts, and incentives are mentioned as in the SABER literature. Citing the example of Cambodia the report lists incentives such as *“adequate housing facilities, hardship allowances and opportunities for professional development”* (World Bank 2010: 16) which have been successful in attracting teachers to rural areas without de-motivating them. The cost of enforced deployment to less favoured areas is seen to have a de-motivating effect on the teacher and the cost of attrition makes the added motivational effect of incentives appealing. The report also acknowledges that while the use of incentives has a positive reputation, the research is inconclusive about exactly what type of incentives work best, *“some evidence suggests that cash incentives need to be quite substantial (up to one third of gross pay) to be effective in attracting teachers to remote posts (Bennell, Buckland & Mulkeen, 2009). Beyond cash incentives, strategies to provide professional development and limit isolation of teachers have proven critical to attracting and retaining teachers to positions in remote areas”* (World Bank 2010: 16).

The issue of deployment also links to teacher education, which may not adequately prepare teachers for work in rural areas. This may deter them from accepting rural postings. Residential teacher education in urban institutions in some contexts results in limited teaching experience in rural contexts and training in skills for multi-grade teaching. In the context of Bolivia, Lopes Cardozo

(2009) points out that while prospective teachers are trained differently in urban and rural teacher training centres, upon graduation all teachers are required to teach in the province for at least two years, *“Considering that the first few years of teaching are the hardest, these two years in a rural school must be a huge challenge for students trained in an urban context”* (423). The joining-up of teacher education to the deployment needs of candidates would help to address this, while interventions utilising school based mechanisms of teacher education such as distance learning, action research and school clusters mean that teachers in rural schools receive in-service training relevant and contextualised to their own contexts. The combination of *“systems for the training, recruitment and deployment of teachers”* and *“the provision of appropriate incentives for teachers working in hardship posts”* (Mpokosa and Nadaruhutse 2008: 12) can address uneven deployment. The issue of deployment is also linked to teacher attrition, as inequitable teacher deployment systems are linked to low teacher morale and consequently attrition.

7.3.2. Compulsion

Systems that employ compulsion as a measure to address deployment do not necessarily have even distributions of teachers. Indonesia, like many developing countries has an uneven deployment of teachers where there are *“acute shortages of staff in the majority of remote schools, with 93% claiming that they had a deficit”* (World Bank 2009: 2). The report located the problem in the inconsistent implementation of policy which required *“teachers, as civil servants, to serve where they are posted”* (ibid). World Bank recommendations to tackle uneven deployment included the introduction of a system-wide staffing entitlement based on students per teacher which aims to improve efficiency across the system and the deployment of teachers based on the needs of the school which aims to improve equity. These are combined with the already existing policy to require teachers to serve in remote areas which can be enforced through the application of sanctions on teachers who do not meet their obligations.

7.3.3. Deployment of Female and Historically Marginalised Candidates

The disparities in teacher gender representation among teachers in rural areas is also discussed in relation to deployment: *“The shortage or complete absence of female teachers in rural schools, in many countries, is alarming, as it has*

been proven to have negative consequences on the improvement of gender equity and parity in schools. According to UNESCO, 'girls' enrolment rises relative to boys' as the proportion of female teachers rises from low levels' (UNESCO, 2003/4: 60)" (Mpokosa and Ndaruhutse 2008: 28). The solution to the need for female teachers in rural areas has often been sought in the supply of teachers, with the already discussed lowering on enrolment criteria for women or accelerated education programmes to bring them up to the required levels. However the solution also needs to be sought through deployment policies rather than to assume that once qualified a female or ethnic minority candidate from a rural province will want to return there to teach. For many female individuals teaching is a route out of relative poverty (Lopes Cardozo 2009). For some female teachers escape from their rural provinces may be the objective of becoming a teacher. Policies that do address deployment as well as supply connect the two through offering female candidates from rural areas scholarships to train as teachers in exchange for their commitment to return to their communities on completion. However, while this addresses an important issue, it itself is not without issue. Obligations put onto female and minority teachers to teach in remote locations, if they are not applied to men or the majority, arguably result in an inequality in freedom to sell one's labour. If the only opportunities for female and ethnic minority citizens to gain qualifications, employment and regular employment is through tied labour this itself produces inequality.

Another policy solution is to let rural schools recruit non-qualified teachers (para or contract teachers) from their own communities to create a diverse and representative teacher body, and then to support them through school-based teacher education and accreditation, as teachers recruited from within the community are more likely to stay there. This strategy addresses the under-representation of marginalised groups as well as female teachers. This strategy appears to be successful in some contexts, with Duthilleul (2005) reporting that Cambodia appears to be achieving some success in training teachers from remote areas in their home towns, particularly among female candidates, who are more likely to stay in their communities after qualification. There is the further advantage that teachers from the local community can be more effective than regular teachers in communicating with parents speaking minority languages. However, this solution is not without its dilemmas, as ensuring appropriate representation of marginalised groups in their

community's schools places a tension on the movement of labour and creation of local diversity. If schools in marginalised communities are staffed only by teachers from those communities, and if teachers from marginalised groups only work in those communities, this separation obstructs social cross-over and learning about other groups and cultures which can produce separatist thinking in a society.

7.4. Career Progression

Career progression is usually linked to teacher qualifications. An initial qualification provides teachers with entry into the lower rungs of a career path. Once appointed, the McKinsey report revealed that in the best improving schools teachers were offered "*in-service training programs; their completion accelerated the teacher's progress in their career track*" (Mourshed et al 2010: 65). This approach links CPD to performance management and appraisal where teachers are evaluated in order to provide developmental feedback and identify areas for improvement. The outcome of the appraisals can be used to improve teaching and learning and provide the appropriate support and CPD. Here teacher development is closely linked with performance appraisal and performance management, thus linking teacher education and its successful outcome of increased performativity to career development.

Likewise, the SABER working paper on teacher policy advocates linking career opportunities to teachers' performance (World Bank 2013). Attractive career opportunities also link to motivation and are "*important to attract talented individuals into teaching and provide incentives for them to stay in the profession*" (World Bank 2013: 27). The above principles are captured in the World Bank report on the management of teachers in Indonesia in the following recommendations:

- provision for increased promotion opportunities, to be linked to performance on agreed competencies;
- ongoing professional development post-certification;
- fostering the development of professional associations among teachers; and
- greater involvement of accredited institutions for both pre and in service training.

(World Bank 2009: 34)

As well as training being a route to career progression, responsibility to mentor and train peers is expected as teachers progress in their

careers, so that *“a teacher’s promotion carrying with it not just the recognition of their knowledge but of their compliance with the right pedagogical values – as well as the responsibility for sharing this expertise with others”* (Mourshed et al 2010: 74).

While CPD can offer professional development, there is recognition that this may be achieved in different ways. The McKinsey report mentions that while *“some systems mandated a new teacher certification system... and implemented assessment of teaching practice; [some] mandated the requirement that teachers should complete a certain number of professional development hours [some] opted to make professional development completely voluntary”* (Mourshed et al 2010: 63).

These approaches seemed relevant to conflict affected countries as *“policy issues facing education systems in fragile contexts are similar to those in most less-developed or low-income countries”* (World Bank 2010: 14). However, there is limited institutional capacity of education systems recovering from conflict and the inheritance of *“cohorts of teachers who have been appointed during and in the aftermath of crisis without any standardized credentials criteria and at widely different salary levels”* (World Bank 2010: 12). Solutions suggested include *“the development of mentoring partnerships between experienced and volunteer teachers”* (24) and the *“in- service support to these teachers”* followed by the priority to develop *“the frameworks and strategies necessary for the system to deliver a better balance of skills and competencies”* (World Bank 2010: 25).

The support of teachers to develop into competent professionals was also linked to teacher pay; *“Teachers need regular salaries, they need a professional career path built on professional qualifications”* (Save the children 2012: 21). Similarly motivation and teacher aspiration are important themes where the literature reports that *“Appraisal discussions should cover such issues as career development, yet VSO’s experience has shown that this is missing in many developing countries where teachers do not have any space within their formal system to discuss their career aspirations.”* (Mpokosa and Ndaruhutse 2008: 28).

Key Messages: Teacher Governance

- Post-conflict contexts suffer from an acute shortage of teachers as qualified teachers and education personnel may have been killed or fled during the conflict or are in exile.
- Contract teachers can be an important solution to teacher shortages, however with the expectation that they will eventually be absorbed into the teacher payroll.
- There is a tension between attracting the most qualified candidates and the need for a representative teaching body, including the recruitment of women. Attracting the numbers or variety of candidates might require lower entry qualifications but the pay-off might be to diminish teacher status.
- Teachers’ salaries and conditions of service play an important role in their motivation, status, and ability to do the job. Teaching is a demanding job, and it is unfair to expect teachers to bear the extensive roles and responsibilities of peacebuilders without a dignified and regular salary. The absence of fair pay and resulting need for second jobs diminishes teacher capacity.
- The deployment of teachers to hard-to-reach schools and remote or rural areas can be considered in relation to a continuum between voluntary appointments and compulsory deployment. Trends are toward incentivised voluntary recruitment to hard-to-place schools.
- The deployment of female and minority teachers to targeted districts poses a dilemma in relation to peacebuilding in that while it address inequalities for learners it restricts the movement of these teachers. In the case of ethnic minority teachers this restriction may actually inadvertently erode diversity across the education system as a whole and affirm separatist thinking.
- Structures of career progression, recruitment and pay scales need to take account of returning teachers, candidates with volunteer experience and training in refugee camps and contract teachers.

8. Teachers, Curriculum and Textbooks

Teachers, as key agents in education systems, are assigned the role of agents of social cohesion whereby they address the legacy of civil conflicts where ethnicity, race or religion have been divisive factors in the promotion of social cohesion. However the double sided nature of their role is also evident here where they can act as agents of nationalism or social cohesion. While there are many theories and approaches to social cohesion, for the purposes of this literature review which focuses on peacebuilding education social cohesion is concerned with “*processes and structures of group cohesion*” that create “*a sense of unity that cross-cuts individual identity*” (Darby, 1991) (Bush and Saltarelli 2000: 1). This conceptualisation is apparent for example in Burundi, Guatemala, Mozambique, Northern Ireland, South Africa and Sri Lanka.

A significant vehicle for education for social cohesion is the curriculum and therefore curriculum development requires a process of dialogue where all stakeholders participate in the negotiation of its content: “*National curriculum guidelines and frameworks may therefore be seen as social contracts resulting from processes of social dialogue, bargaining, negotiating, and reaching consensus*” (Tawil and Harley 2004: 19). A teachers’ limited agency to act on curriculum development and educational reform limits their role here and in the strategically selective contexts of education reform in post-conflict settings teacher agency is compromised. This can be seen in the case-study of Sri Lanka, where Lopes Cardozo and Heeks (2014) reveal that while the ideal is of large numbers of teacher representatives engaging in curriculum and policy decisions a “*somewhat top-down reform, as well as unfavourable working conditions, leaves teachers little opportunity to develop successful peace education strategies*” (2014: 10).

Over several decades UNESCO has produced major international standard-setting instruments, recommendations and declarations relevant to textbooks in conflict or post-conflict contexts. Since 1946, UNESCO and its partners have led numerous reviews of textbooks with a view toward de-glorifying violence and creating narratives that would encourage the inculcation of shared values. Initially, in the policy discourse mainly History, Geography and Civics textbooks were seen as crucial to post-conflict peace. Later policies recommend that all subject areas need to be informed by the notions of human rights, democracy, gender equality and elimination of

forms of discrimination (Bernard 2012). The INEE Minimum Standards (2010b) also recommend that textbook review panels must include representatives of different ethnic and other vulnerable groups so as to avoid perpetuating bias and contribute to peace between different communities. The policy expects that messages that incite tensions or give divisive messages must be removed, not only eliminating bias but reinforcing equity so that *'Programmes can go beyond talking about tolerance and begin to change attitudes and behaviours'* (INEE 2010b: 81). There is a clear policy guideline that curricula, textbooks and supplementary materials must be sensitive to the history, culture, language traditions, and religion of different social groups and that teaching and learning materials must provide an equitable coverage of all geographic locations and social groups.

8.1. Teachers interaction with textbooks

Textbooks are not used in isolation, but their content is interpreted by teachers and students to create meaning in a social site of construction. The content of textbooks cannot be isolated or abstracted from the larger cultural and political contexts in which they are developed and used, and they play an important part in promoting social cohesion or nationalism. The issue of textbook (and curriculum) content is inextricably tied with ideas around what counts as 'true', with the textbook providing the national official and sanctioned answer. In this way textbooks privilege widely accepted or dominant social narratives. These dominant narratives may promote social cohesion, for example the notion of the rainbow nation in South Africa and dominant ideas around human rights are widely accepted dominant narratives and are rarely challenged as a barrier to peace by the international donor and agency community. However other dominant narratives may serve in consolidating social divisions and demonizing the Other – religious, ethnic or gendered. For example: an analysis of history textbooks from Rwanda from 1962-1994 suggests the teaching of a version of history that consolidated colonial stereo-types of elite Tutsi outsiders and oppressed Hutu peasantry (Gasnabo 2004, cited in McLeanHilker 2011). However, while literature on textbooks in conflict setting and/or for peacebuilding is relatively well represented, the role of teachers specifically is under-represented. Teachers potentially have a great deal of agency over how they use textbooks and even in a teacher as technocrat

conceptualisation, which affords the least autonomy to teachers, their influence in classroom instruction is upheld. As members of society teachers are influenced by their socialization in the dominant exclusivist paradigm that pervades the school curriculum in conflict settings, however they may also be the beneficiaries of the international interventions in their conflict settings or victims of marginalization.

The degree of agreement or discrepancy between textbook content and a teacher's own position/ experiences will result in some kind of negotiation between the teacher and the textbook. This dynamic relationship can be expressed in five ways: agreement, submission, defiance, resistance and selection. A teacher's ethnicity, geographical location, personal beliefs, political leanings, and perception of the desirability of relationship with the 'other' will impact on how they use their agency in relation to the text - to uphold its narratives or to subvert them.

Figure 3: Teacher Engagement with Textbooks

Agreement:	Teacher and text are in agreement when a teacher has full faith in the text and teaches it in order to fulfil its aims. The authority of the text is upheld over any other opinions. A teacher's role is to socialise students in beliefs, ideas and opinions expressed in the text. Thus, the teacher reinforces and reproduces the worldview contained in the textbook.
Submission:	In this stance the teacher submits to the text irrespective of whether he or she agrees with it or not. This may be for many reasons from, for example: a Kantian sense of duty; or a fear of reprisal. The teacher may be critical of text but chooses to silence their personal beliefs resulting in them reinforcing and reproducing the worldview contained in the text.
Selection:	Here the teacher demonstrates a strategic attitude, sometimes agreeing, sometimes disagreeing and at other times submitting to the text depending on the context, personal interest and/or the interest of the pupils.

Defiance:	The teacher defies the textbook when they are sceptical of the text and teaches values, opinions and ideas contrary to the aims of the text either verbally or non-verbally (or both).
Resistance:	The teacher resists a text when they use critical pedagogy in favour of social justice and equity and this is contrary to the narratives within the textbook. Defiance is different from resistance in that while defiance does not necessarily have emancipatory motives, resistance does.

These relationships between teacher and text can be illustrated using Korostelina's (2013) analysis of how Ukrainian teachers interact with textbook content in the context of contested historical narratives. The study identified three dominant historical narratives in the Ukraine: i) a pro-ethnic Ukrainian view of historical events; ii) a pro-ethnic Russian narrative; and, iii) a multicultural narrative. At the time of the research the 'official' narrative was pro-Ethnic Russian. The study found that the official narrative found in the textbook did not necessarily relate to the narrative taught. Around 15% teachers participating in the study in Kiev and 65% of teachers participating in the study in Crimea upheld the official pro-Russian narrative and acted in agreement to the text, however 50% of teachers participating in the study in Kiev, 25% of teachers participating in the study in Crimea, and 5% of teachers participating in the study in Western Ukraine taught a multicultural view of history and acted in resistance to the text while 95% of teachers participating in the study in Western Ukraine and 35% of teachers participating in the study in Kiev taught a pro-Ukrainian narrative acted in defiance of the text. In this example one can see that factors such as ethnicity/geography, personal experiences and political beliefs matter in determining the nature of relationship between teacher and text.

While the Ukrainian study shows teachers' as active agents in negotiating the History textbook according to their political beliefs in a conflict-affected context literature from another conflict-affected setting, that of Israel shows that teachers

may equally avoid politically sensitive issues, choosing silence over controversy. Baratz and Reingold (2010) examine whether Jewish and Palestinian teachers are willing to teach texts not formally included in the curriculum that are replete with values and politics and if teachers are willing to introduce their ideological beliefs even if the teaching unit is incompatible with their ideological worldview. They found that the teachers experienced an ideological dilemma. Baratz and Reingold (2010) conclude, "*Categorically, the teachers attempted to silence any discussion that spilled over into political matters. The ideological dilemma made the teachers voice a hidden voice*" (2). Quaynor's (2012) literature review on citizenship education in post-conflict countries also identifies a common tendency amongst teachers to avoid politically controversial issues and critical discourse about inequalities in politically highly charged contexts. Like Citizenship, History is also a highly politicised subject. It is seen as core to consolidating national and communal identities (Cole and Barsalou 2006). Its significance has been recognized since the post second world war as having a potential for reconciliation as well as a subject that drives conflict and sectarian attitudes (Barton and McCully 2012). Studies suggest that many conflict-affected communities and countries heavily and selectively reinforce historical episodes, events and references so as to provide legitimacy, justification and inspiration for war (Barton and McCully 2012).

While teachers demonstrate these varied relationships with the 'official' textbooks, in practice a teacher will rarely fall neatly into one or the other, but fall on a continuum between the positions, a teacher may change his or her stance over different issues or over a period of time, or in different settings, or may position themselves somewhere in-between holding a text tentatively.

8.2. Teachers, Curriculum, Textbooks and Religion and Ethnicity

While not the only pressures on social cohesion, two potential lines of division that threaten social cohesion are ethnicity and religion, although it should be noted that this is not an inevitability. Bush and Saltarelli (2000) highlight the recognition that social stratification includes the impact of ethnic stratification alongside traditional dimensions of stratification such as gender and class, the re-emergence of ethnicity as a key locus of public debate, and the intensification of ethnic conflict, making the consideration of ethnicity and religion vital to social cohesion/

peacebuilding. Ethnicity from a constructivist perspective considers the process of classification of group relationships as social and historical and, consequently needs to be understood in its contextualized space of production. In many contexts this space of construction will be influenced by culture and religion, creating an interplay between ethnicity and religion which are both distinct, yet related.

In the absence of sufficient attention to religious inclusion, affirmative action can fail to achieve results, as illustrated in South Africa where a shift to an inclusive approach to religious education fell short of resources and space in the curriculum (Chidester 2008). In 2003 a new educational policy established the teaching of religious diversity in the subject area Life Orientation, in order to reduce prejudice and promote religious tolerance. The textbooks on Life Orientation also included learning about human rights, democratic participation, diversity, and community. However in practice teacher education was limited, resulting in little progress in enabling teachers to achieve the aims of Life Orientation in the classroom (Chidester 2008). The neglect of classroom instruction and development of classroom ethos in teacher education is also apparent in Sri Lanka where the teaching of peacebuilding competencies is envisaged in a policy which encourages an approach to build civics/citizenship into the curriculum as well as to integrate civics values across subjects and levels. However the poor implementation of this strategy and omission of clear pre-service and in-service teacher education, arguably undermined by a focus “*on peace through economic development*” (Lopes Cardozo and Heeks 2014: 8), has failed to fulfil the capacity of teachers to act on their agency to facilitate social cohesion.

9. Teachers Professional Development

Again, concerning this theme the literature searches retrieved very little on teacher education specifically in relation to peacebuilding, however it was better represented relative to the literature focusing on teacher conceptualisation in relation to peacebuilding. Furthermore, the limited literature on teacher education which specifically discussed it in reference to peacebuilding and/or conflict rarely contributed knowledge or understanding that went beyond what was already considered in the more general literature about teacher education, with a few exceptions such as INEE. This may be explained because good training practices are also good for peacebuilding as they are context sensitive, inclusive and encourage professional reflection¹.

¹ this section combines an exploration of the general

There is general agreement across the literature that teacher education² is vital in supporting teachers in order to improve education outputs, and where the literature specifically addresses peacebuilding or education in conflict-affected contexts this support includes contributions to peacebuilding as captured in the quotes below:

Curriculum and teacher training includes elements of peace-building, reconciliation, care and developing empathic relationships (valuing and respecting diversity, conflict resolution, etc.) (Reyes 2013: 31).

In a conflict-affected context, teacher training, professional development and support is an opportunity to impact, at scale, the transformation to a more peaceful, respectful, civically-minded population" (INEE 2013: 30).

If [Child Friendly] school reform is to succeed, it will be critical to establish well-designed training and mentoring programmes that build competencies, strengthen capacity and improve the morale of teachers. This will include high quality pre-service and in-service training for teachers" (UNICEF 2009: Chapter 6, section 6).

9.1 Initial Teacher Education

This section will discuss these trends in relation to initial teacher education (ITE), with specific reference to: 1. teacher knowledge, competences and dispositions; 2. modalities of ITE; and 3. institutional capacity.

literature to reflect this (e.g. SABER, VSO 2002, Westbrook et al 2013), and literature that specifically considers teacher education in terms of peacebuilding/conflict (e.g. INEE, Save the Children 2012, Shinn 2012, Yogev and Michaeli 2001, and Hardman et al 2011).

² Before discussing teacher education it is worth considering the language used to talk about this. Within the literature language oscillates between teacher training and teacher education. A distinction between education and training is illuminating here, where education is traditionally a learning process which requires the synthesis of knowledge, understanding principles and values while training is the about practice and acquiring techniques and skills, usually applied to standards and criteria. While there is a great deal of overlap between the two and teachers require both technical skills and procedures (e.g. reading and writing) and knowledge and insight (e.g. appreciation of the beauty and understanding of the meaning of the poem they are skilfully reading) the choice of language can arguable reflect the emphasis framing the teacher. This review will use 'teacher education' and only refer to 'training' in quotes from other sources.

9.1.1. Developing Teacher Knowledge, Competences and Dispositions for Peace

INEE's (2013) long list of content for teacher education reveals a range of competencies that cut across the development of a teacher's pedagogical confidence (participatory methodologies, multi-grade instruction), subject knowledge (human rights, conflict dynamics and transformation, historical memory) and social skills (identity issues, reconciliation, non-violent alternatives). These constituent areas were also identified in INEE's mapping of tertiary peace education training which found that while content varied there were three main focal points:

- a range of skills related to conflict-transformation and peacebuilding, i.e. conflict analysis and conflict resolution;
- a range of knowledge on conflict and peace issues, i.e. multi-ethnic and religious understanding and women's participation in peacebuilding and;
- specific pedagogical competencies, i.e. planning of education in emergencies and the development of educational programs and materials that contribute to conflict-transformation.

(List taken from INEE 2012: 10)

The remainder of this section discusses the different areas of teacher education specifically, that of pedagogy, skills and knowledge.

9.1.2. Pedagogy

Developing a teacher's pedagogical competency is an important part of teacher education. In the general teacher literature, which does not specifically relate to conflict, pedagogy is an important theme. For example in SABER a change in 'pedagogy' is considered to be key to securing a significant impact on learning outcomes and educational interventions for teachers are encouraged *"as long as they focus on changing pedagogy and not merely providing additional materials for teachers"* (World Bank 2013: 33). This section will not attempt to discuss pedagogy and curriculum in depth, but instead focus on how pedagogy can be developed through teacher education.

Two approaches can be considered in relation to developing a teacher's pedagogical confidence, one which focuses on the promotion of best practices to be learnt by the teacher, and another which emphasises the extended role of the

reflexive teacher where they are encouraged to experience pedagogies which can be critiqued and evaluated in order to develop their own pedagogy. The best practice approach to classroom instruction is captured in this quote from SABER: *"Evidence suggests that when professional development activities expose teachers to best practices in instruction and show teachers how to implement these practices, teachers are more likely to adopt them in their classrooms"* (World Bank 2013: 33). The reflexive approach is captured in Westbrook et al's literature review where they conclude that *"Studies suggesting improvements in ITE argue that teacher educators need relevant school experience, need to develop their own pedagogy for teacher preparation and need to use the interactive methods and group work promoted in school curriculum"* (Westbrook et al 2013: 29). Of course, these idealised approaches interact and combine according to need and situation to offer hybrid approaches to developing pedagogy.

In post-conflict contexts the promotion of a participatory pedagogy is underlined in much of the literature. However the dissemination and embedding of a participatory pedagogy as 'best practice' needs to be balanced with the development of reflexive professionals. As the next sub-section on skills will discuss, critical thinking, reflexivity and self-awareness in teachers are particularly important in post-conflict contexts. While specific pedagogies have been identified as peacebuilding or conflict sensitive practices the role of the teacher in evaluating and modifying them to their context is important, and teacher education can develop these skills in how it approaches the teaching of pedagogy. This approach is supported by Hardman et al (2011) who posit that *"teacher reform needs to combine the culturally or nationally unique with what is universal in classroom pedagogy if internationally driven reforms to teacher education are to be embedded in the classroom reforms"* (670). This sentiment is also apparent in the SABER literature which refers to contextualisation. Hardman et al go on to warn that *"the importance of local cultural and educational circumstances is also necessary if we are to avoid the simplistic polarization of pedagogy into 'teacher-centred' versus 'student-centred' that has characterized much of the educational discourse in the international donor community"* (ibid). In relation to teacher education in conflict-affected areas knowledge of the local cultural and educational circumstances would include the conflict analysis INEE endorse in teacher education for conflict

sensitive education, which would include the teachers' understanding of their own biases (INEE 2013).

Furthermore, conflict analysis becomes an important part of teacher education as not only are candidates required to understand their own experiences in relation to the conflict, they are expected to be aware of multiple perspectives and develop context sensitive and learner appropriate classrooms and pedagogies. In their survey of tertiary peace education training, INEE found that *"Conflict-analysis is the skill most often selected as a focal area in programs"* (INEE 2012: 10).

9.1.3. Skills

Within the literature that specifically addresses peacebuilding education the need to develop engaged, reflexive and critical teachers is especially relevant, where increased self-awareness is required as candidates need to *"demonstrate an understanding of the conflict dynamics and personal biases"* (INEE 2013: 31). The individual and personal identity of the candidate is strongly recognised in the INEE literature, with education that should provide *"relevant and structured training accords to needs and circumstances"* of teachers (INEE 2013: 29). Not only are teachers asked to explore their own biases but their own experiences of the conflict are also recognised, that *"many teachers in conflict-affected contexts have experienced first-hand violence and need psychosocial support. To address this need, establish peer support structures amongst teachers to increase conflict-coping skills, share good practices, and reduce psychosocial stress."* (INEE 2013: 30). In their guidance notes on Conflict Sensitive Education INEE stress the importance of pre- (and in-) service teacher education including their list of conflict competencies, requiring a high level of self-reflexivity, reflection, critical thinking and context sensitivity. Out of the seven competencies listed two are knowledges and five could be described as skills or characteristics:

- Understands the conflict, root causes and dynamics and the need for conflict transformation
- Knows education for all is a human right
- Self-awareness of own biases and of how their own actions in/around learning environment may be perceived by different groups in different contexts
- Possesses good inter-cultural sensitivity and understanding of learners and families
- Able to have a conversation with learners

about conflict

- Able to see the link between equal access to quality education and prevention and mitigation of conflicts
- Able to gather and analyse information in various ways and challenge assumptions (List taken from INEE 2013: 35)

To develop the engaged, reflexive and self-aware practitioners that possess these skills teacher education must prepare teachers to critique underlying assumptions through encouraging discussion and debate; drawing on their own experiences; and actively participating in their own education/professional development. There is recognition of the need for teacher education to be participatory and to encourage candidates to engage with the field and develop a professional identity, however this is tempered with regret that traditional methods still persist where *"Teacher educators continue to use lectures, question and answer, and basic group work rather than the pedagogic approaches promoted in schools"* (Westbrook et al 2013: 29).

Another skill set reflected in some of the literature, particularly from a critical theory perspective, is related to activism. Here teachers are encouraged to become activists in the community, and training offers prospective teachers the opportunity to reflect on their profession and its connections to wider issues and experiences to facilitate the development of critical practitioners. Critical of the dominant trend to reduce teacher education to mere functionality targets (Ravitch, 2010, cited in Yogev and Michaeli 2011) omitting wider political and social considerations, from a critical perspective teacher education should assist teachers into developing a collective and individual identity as an activist and the skills and culture of social activism (Yogev and Michaeli 2011).

9.1.4. Knowledge

The knowledge content of teacher education is concerned usually with a teacher's subject knowledge. In the literature in conflict sensitive education and education in conflict affected societies this includes the introduction of new bodies of knowledge, which might include knowledge on human rights, knowledge of the conflict, or knowledge of the culture of historically marginalised groups. These new bodies of knowledge underpin the content of new curriculum subjects such as peace education, citizenship education or values education. However, in their review Westbrook et al found that while

the importance of new curriculum content in areas of peace education were recognised the implementation in existing general pre-service education was more difficult and within their research into initial teacher education “a number of studies cite the omission of newer curriculum subjects, such as health, environment and peace education” (Westbrook et al 2013: 29).

In addition to subject knowledge, the implied nature of knowledge disseminated through teacher education programmes has an impact on peacebuilding and conflict. As discussed already in considering the teacher as an agent of democratisation, the rationale for developing a learner’s critical faculties relies on an understanding of knowledge as contestable. The approach to knowledge instilled through teacher education programmes is therefore strongly linked to pedagogy. Where knowledge is fixed and objective, and handed down from subject experts, this requires the learners to listen and ‘bank’ (Freire 1970) their imported wisdom. Through challenging a universalist positivist epistemology of uncontested knowledge alternative approaches to teaching and learning are explored. For example employing a ‘constructivist’ or ‘social constructivist’ approach to knowledge informs the notion of teacher as co-inquirer. Discussing teacher education in Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, and Trinidad and Tobago, Lewin and Stuart (2003) illustrate how “in recent years new primary school curricula have been developed in such countries, which are labelled as learner-centred and interactive, and which seem to derive from a broadly constructivist perspective” (63). However the introduction of new curricular does not automatically equate to its implementation, with Lewin and Stuart observing that “*Classroom observations did not confirm the apparent trends towards more learner-centred pedagogy, and it may be an example of learning a discourse rather than a fundamental shift in belief*” (2003: 112).

9.2. Modalities of Initial Teacher Education

Approaches to teacher education can be conceptualised on a continuum between school-based teacher education and institution-based education, such as in university education faculties and teacher education colleges. The approach taken may depend on the type of teacher education, for example CPD is more likely to be school-based, while initial teacher education may be either, or a combination of approaches. It is also important to note that global discourses

advocate the role of teaching practice, or practicum, which “*should be at the heart of a professional training since it provides an arena for the development and demonstration of teaching skills and professional knowledge*” (Lewin and Stuart 2003: 173). This makes the provision of completely institution-based teacher education less likely, with the provision of school-based experiences inserted into traditional institution-based programmes.

9.2.1. University Based Teacher Education

The aspiration to raise the status of teachers, usually goes hand in hand with calls to ‘professionalise’ teaching and attract the most qualified candidates, leads to a tendency for some to understand pre-service teacher education as university-based. University-based teacher education is considered to provide disciplinary expertise coupled with research-led knowledge and trends (Shinn 2012). This trend is discernible in Palestine, where different international donors have invested in university education as a vehicle of ITE. The World Bank has allocated funding in support of university pre-service teacher education in its Tertiary Education Project launched in 2005. Twelve Palestinian universities were awarded grants in order to: improve their curricular, enhance learner-centred approaches across the faculty; adopt new educational technologies; and strengthen school based placements for student teachers. Part of the implementation of these improvements was the institutional partnership of universities and the involvement of a foreign university partner to offer technical expertise and assist in capacity building (Shinn 2012). In addition to this USAID launched the Palestinian Faculty Development Program (PFDP) with the objectives of the revival of the social sciences and humanities, professional development among promising academics in these faculties, and the promotion of a culture of teaching and learning (AMIDEAST 2011b, cited in Shinn 2012).

Another global trend is the development of closer campus-school partnerships which use placements and mentors to complement the institution based- education. Yogev and Michaeli (2011) explore an ITE programme with a strong emphasis on placements, which extends the student teacher practical experiences beyond traditional schooling contexts to wider community educational spaces. This example also features aspects of teacher education discussed elsewhere

such as teacher activism and the development of critical thinking skills and reflexivity.

9.2.2. School-Based Teacher Education

School-based models of ITE offer teachers the chance to learn on the job in a similar way to an apprenticeship, which may also be supported with distance learning materials. School-based ITE offer unique advantages where their on-the-job training can fill the gap for teacher shortages, including the teacher education of contract and para teachers. Through school-based education the large number of unaccredited volunteer teachers that were appointed to meet the teacher supply needs during, and post, conflict are potential assets that can be absorbed into the teaching force. Shelpler and Routh (2012) provide insightful exploration of the potential role for volunteer teachers trained in refugee camps by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) in West Africa. Many of the former refugee teachers are female, have valuable experience in classrooms from their time in refugee schools and have received training and certification from IRC, offering potential to meet the supply demands for female teachers. Tracing their repatriation back to Sierra Leone and Liberia the study found that among the female teachers around two thirds had remained in teaching, however they experienced gender-based barriers to employment in the form of sexual harassment and discrimination and found it difficult to keep to their jobs. Many of the teachers that stayed in the profession “not only describe the low pay and poor conditions of service, but also complain about the difficulty of getting onto the teaching payrolls, even with the right certification and in the face of supposed teacher shortages” (Shelpler and Routh 2012: 5). The remaining teachers chose to leave the profession to return to their families, and many went on to work for NGOs where they found better paying work and working conditions and opportunities or onto further education. This points to a need for career paths in post-conflict situations to recognise and facilitate multiple types of training and experience and develop payroll systems and teacher education that reflect this.

In conflict-affected contexts school-based teacher education has further advantages in terms of developing the skills of female teachers and in the issue of deployment to hard-to-place schools. The use of school-based teacher education is beneficial for attracting female teachers who may

not be able or willing to travel to urban centres for long institution-based training.

However, school-based training does require an infrastructure of experienced mentors with the time and resources to support teacher candidates, which may be limited in many developing countries, especially in remote areas (Perraton 2000, cited in Lewin and Stuart 2003). In conflict affected contexts resources and experienced teachers can expect to be in even less supply.

9.2.3. Teacher Educators and Teacher Education Institutions Capacity

Another theme that emerged was the need to support and increase the capacity of teacher education institutes and the recognition that teacher educators themselves also needed support. For example Shinn (2012: 619) reported on the limited research activity in the education faculties in Palestine, describing how USAID’s 7 year PFDP programme of “strategic engagement of faculty across disciplines, often with active engagement of international faculty, has introduced innovation in teaching and curriculum development”. However, he observes that the outcome remains limited and has not impacted the development of faculty “at scale due primarily to the costs associated with its design” (ibid). Similarly, Hardman et al (2011) notes that in Uganda co-ordinator centre tutors who are responsible for delivering school based CPD workshops and lesson observations do not have much training themselves and little time has been officially provided to “develop their own technical knowledge and understanding of various primary teaching approaches, and to develop their own skills in training teachers and head teachers to implement new initiatives in teaching and management strategies” (2011: 678). The development of pre-service teacher education requires not only consideration of teacher education curriculum content and pedagogy, but also the development of the capacity of training institutions, which is negatively impacted by budget constraints and weak management systems (Mpokosa and Ndaruhutse 2008).

9.3. Continued Professional Development

This section will discuss these trends in relation to Continued Professional Development (CPD) with specific reference to: teacher knowledge,

competences and dispositions and modalities of CPD.

9.3.1. The Development of Knowledge, Competences and Dispositions in CPD for Peace

The joining-up of pre-service and in-service training is an important component of CPD, with INEE advocating that in addition to pre-service conflict sensitive training “*topics should be reinforced by continuous and standardized follow-up (e.g. peer tutoring, supervisor support, refresher trainings, and material distribution)*” (INEE 2013: 30). Here the role of CPD is to consolidate knowledge, competencies and dispositions already discussed in ITE, and to develop them beyond initial basic levels. Similarly, Save the Children recognised that pre-service training needed to be co-ordinated with other measures. Regarding implementing changes to the use of corporal punishment and the development of non-violent classroom practices and disciplinary procedures, Save the Children (2012: xi) “*found that training alone was not sufficient to change corporal punishment practices*”. Instead “*Participation in drawing up codes of conduct – with discussion and internalisation of the concepts (including by the community) – seemed to be the key*” (ibid). Codes of conduct are explored further in the literature review below, however, it is important to note here that the teacher expectations in relation to this are included in teacher education.

9.3.2. Modalities of CPD

Methods of CPD are increasingly school-based, such as school clustering, peer mentoring and coaching, and cascade processes. To achieve the objective of teacher education, the literature emphasises “*methods known to have a higher impact on instructional practice, such as those incorporating teacher collaboration, mentoring, and coaching*” (World Bank 2014: 2). School-based collaboration and mentoring, with the implementation of school clusters to aid the development of professional reflexive communities of teachers, can support teachers to develop their own pedagogies in their particular contexts. These put teachers at the centre in their own professional development and “*school at the heart of the professional development process*” (Hardman et al 2011: 676). These models of CPD have the potential to position the teaching fraternity as contributors to their own professional development through their participation in training and active learning, while negotiating and modifying practices according to their experiences and contexts.

Regarding CPD, Westbrook et al (2013) point to a “*shift towards school-based teacher development*”, citing the example of Teacher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa (TESSA), “*where teachers access self-study units adapted to the local context at school level*” (30). Save the Children reports that “*The Zonas de Influência Pedagógica (ZIPS) in Angola – the clusters of schools where teachers and directors come together for reflection and planning – were found to work well and to increase understanding*” (2012: 27). The Child Friendly Schools programme recognises a “*key factor that affects teachers’ commitment to change is the extent to which their professionalism is recognized and utilized in the process of building capacity for reform*” (UNICEF 2009: Chp 6, p. 11). Here a teacher’s professional development in terms of reflection, judgment, expertise and experience can be an important element of CPD, in addition to their functionality and technique. In addition to school clusters, mentoring and coaching, action research provides another form of school-based CPD. Westbrook et al’s review identified “*the positive use of action research to support an inquiry-based approach to teacher development, particularly in rural areas*” (Westbrook et al 2013: 30).

However, these models may also be applied from the perspective of teacher as technocrat, for example a cascade system may strive to disseminate centrally mandated and prescriptive practices. Furthermore, the implementation of school-based teacher education does not automatically lead to their success. For example, Hardman et al (2011) found that in Kenya the cascading model of CPD education was not very effective as follow-up visits showed that many of the teachers simply continued to implement their traditional pedagogies after training when they were not supported or given time or space to develop and reflect when teaching in difficult conditions.

Effective CPD also offers the additional potential to disseminate new teaching tools, methods and supplies quickly. While there is a time lag between the introduction of new teaching initiatives and the filtering through of teachers gaining their initial teacher education, in-service education offers the opportunity to disseminate new educational reforms relatively quickly. This is particularly important in conflict affected contexts where new initiatives abound and can be a useful tool for introducing teachers to the new curriculums and pedagogies found in initiatives and interventions such as IRC’s Healing Classroom

initiatives; UNICEF's Child Friendly Schools; and INEE's Conflict Sensitive education. There is also recognition of mentoring and clustering professional development as a solution to teacher deployment and attrition in rural schools as they limit isolation of teachers (World Bank 2010).

Key Messages: Teacher Professional Development

- Teacher professional development can play a decisive role in engaging teachers in their own learning to develop reflexive practitioners engaged in the education systems they work in. However this potential is too often restricted through technical approaches to teacher education, the uniform promotion of 'best practice' and limited capacity in teacher education institutions.
- School-based ITE offers an accessible solution for teachers from marginalised and minority groups and female teachers, who may not otherwise be able to access urban-based training institutions.
- Programmes of CPD which employ clustering, mentoring and action research offer the potential to respond to their contextual situations and develop confident and reflexive teachers, extending their agency as peacebuilders.
- School-based CPD is seen a solution to teacher deployment and attrition in rural schools, which no longer mean professional isolation and career stagnation. This has important implications for redistribution of educational opportunities.

10. Pedagogy and Practice

The way students are taught not only impacts the meaning making of the knowledge, where facts are portrayed as either contested and nuanced or natural and universal, but can also reinforce a range of approaches to knowledge such as meaning making through collaboration and critical thinking or passive acceptance and transference. This highlights the centrality of pedagogy to reform efforts in post-conflict contexts pedagogy. *“Approaches that emphasize students’ critical thinking skills and expose them to multiple historical narratives can reinforce democratic and peaceful tendencies in transitional societies emerging from violent conflict”* (Cole and Barsalou 2006: 1)

The significance of pedagogy in conflict-affected contexts is also related to the realities of education systems devastated by war, where there is a lack of textbooks and not enough time and resources to produce them quickly. *“In such situations, the immediate focus should be on helping teachers gain the necessary skills and confidence to help their students address the past through open inquiry and critical thinking, even without new textbooks”* (Cole and Barsalou 2006: 10). Moreover, teachers confident in critical pedagogies will be able to use old texts to help students understand how the portrayal of history in texts incited violent conflict, directly or indirectly.

In peace-oriented educational interventions, like global discourses on education quality, pedagogy is an important theme. The way that teachers teach is viewed as important as what they teach in fostering the knowledge, skills and attitudes that facilitate or obscure peaceful futures. On the one hand authoritarian teaching styles associated with a ‘banking’ style (Freire) of teaching are related to fostering obedience/conformity to elites and sidelining notions of participation and democracy which do little to aid learners to question dominant discriminatory narratives. On the other hand participatory and learner-led teaching methods are related to developing a learner’s critical and independent thought, which Montessori (1974) considered made young people less likely to blindly follow tyrannical dictators during times of war.

The literature points to a range of ‘peace-oriented’ pedagogies, with a growing number of terms to describe teacher classroom practices, for example, participatory, learner-centered, dialogic and/or critical, all of which perform three main functions: i). to develop the skills and attitudes related to peacebuilding and social cohesion; ii) to explore the nature of knowledge (and power); and iii) to ensure inclusion and foster equality.

10.1. Development of Skills and Attitudes

Teachers are expected to practice in a way that fosters a culture of peace in their classroom not only in specific ‘peace education’ classes (or values/citizenship classes, if they exist) but across the curriculum. The literature identifies a number of different practices that can reinforce the attitudes and skills that may potentially contribute to peaceful societies. While these practices fall under different terminologies such as dialogic, democratic, collaborative or participatory an

overarching aim is to facilitate the development and consolidation of skills such as negotiation, problem solving, collaboration, debate and critical thinking, and attitudes such as inclusion, empathy, tolerance and compassion.

10.1.1 Participatory Pedagogy

Participatory pedagogy, dialogic pedagogy and learner-centred pedagogy are employed to counter authoritarian cultures. Montessori was an important advocate of this type of teaching practice, where in war time Europe she opposed authoritarian pedagogies reasoning that individuals who question authoritarian teachers will also question war mongering tyrannical leaders (Duckworth 2008). This assumes that young people who are used to being 'led' by their teachers are more likely to be led by other authoritarian leaders, while participating in one's own learning/construction of knowledge makes one less prone to being blindly led and instead helps the learner to think independently. These pedagogies which broadly utilise participation and dialogue are seen as crucial elements for peacebuilding education. Dialogue is seen as necessary for deliberation and negotiation about civic differences and a basis for shaping uncoerced consensus (Burbules 2000), while John Dewey and Benjamin Barber (cited in Burbules 2000) see dialogue as imperative for democracy. Teachers are expected to facilitate 'deliberative' democratic processes in the classroom (Davies, 2004a; 2011) and studies suggest that democratic approaches to teaching provide a model for participatory skills and the values of operating democratically. The literature portrays positive outcomes from participatory interventions. It is claimed that classrooms which make greater use of discussion and participatory methods foster greater political interest, political knowledge and a greater sense of political efficacy (Ehman 1980). Servas' (2012) evaluation of curriculum delivery through participatory learning and interactive teaching, including radio programmes and student-led theatre, highlighted several improvements in relationships among pupils and between teachers and pupils. Trained teachers abandoned corporal punishment, pupils were consulted over school rules, issues such as sexual violence and corruption were more freely discussed, and pupils acted as mediators in the resolution of minor conflicts at school and in the community (Servas 2012).

However, dialogic teaching methods should not be considered a panacea for all issues. Burbules (2000) argues that the relative

positions of individuals in asymmetric power and privilege dynamics places constraints on "*who can speak, who can be heard, and who has a stake in maintaining a particular dialogue, or in challenging it*" (ibid: 263). The prescriptive model of dialogue assumes that everyone can participate in the dialogue without consideration of "*what might have transpired before or may transpire after the dialogue at hand*" (ibid). The dialogic method has also been criticised by poststructural feminist theorists for whom "difference" is a lived experience of marginalization. Certain groups may find themselves closed out of dialogue, or compelled to join in at the cost of self-expression and only through acceptable channels of communication. Therefore, dialogic methods need to be critical of silences and omissions that its format produces (Burbules 2000).

10.1.2. Critical Pedagogy

Closely linked to the notion of participatory pedagogy is the development of critical thinking, where students participate in their own meaning making through what Freire terms as 'problem-posing education' which counters the banking method of teaching associated with rote learning by foregrounding dialogue and critique which is regarded as the foundation of emancipatory and transformative education (Freire 1970, 1992). With a stronger emphasis on critiques of structural violence and consciousness raising, the term critical pedagogy may be used to signify this approach as a more politically and ideological aware type of participatory – or action-orientated – practice. Critical pedagogy is one of the main pillars of critical peace education, which "*focus [es] on transforming relationships and structures that perpetuate differentials in power, access, and meaningful participation in decision making*" (Brantmeier 2010: 48). Bajaj (2008) considers the role of critical peace education as cultivating critical consciousness that goes at the roots of violence and, at the same time, creates optimism and hope. Critical peace education has roots in critical theory, Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed and Dewey's theory of democratic education. Apple, Au, and Gandin (2009) observe that central to critical education is resistance to unequal power relationships and re-thinking what, how and why we teach and learn. Drawing on the work of Freire and Giroux, critical peace education is committed to a participatory method where learners engage in learning about themselves and their position in the world through critical dialogue and through action-orientated education that builds capacity and produces transformative agency.

10.1.3. Collaborative and Co-operative Practice

Collaboration and group work have become important pillars of participatory education, and in addition to fostering dialogue, debate and critique also embed the ideas and skills needed to work together, including negotiation, listening, mediating, empathy and compromising. These skills and attitudes are broadly considered vital for harmony and social cohesion within the agency literature. Cooperative teaching methods are attributed with reductions in interethnic conflict and promotion of cross-cultural friendship (Lynch 1992). According to Andersson, Hinge, and Messina (2011), dialogue, listening, asking questions and collaborative inquiry are crucial for developing critical thinking and for transforming one's understanding. Teachers are expected to provide pupils with opportunities for cooperative learning, offer a space for self-reflection and encourage democratic participation in the classroom by ensuring just representation through classroom practices. Other investigators have found that cooperative learning activities increased student motivation and self-esteem (Slavin 1985) and helped students to develop empathy (Aronson 2002). Burundi integrates communication and conflict mediation skills in their citizenship classes, which has resulted in decreased instances of teachers' using corporal punishment, and engaging in sexual abuse and corruption and improving teacher-student, student-student and teacher-teacher relationships (Servas 2012). Bartolome (1994) has even proposed the term 'humanising pedagogy' to sum up some of these approaches and sees them as necessary in post-conflict peacebuilding.

Collaboration may also include working collaboratively across different groups, which can be considered to facilitate empathy and friendship while challenging stereotypes about the 'Other' - also referred to as the contact hypothesis (Allport 1954). According to Banks (2008), since 1970, a group of investigators building on work by Allport have produced a rich body of research on the effects of cooperative learning groups and activities on students' racial attitudes, friendship choices, and achievement (e.g. Aronson 2002; Cohen 1972, 1984, 1994; Cohen & Lotan 1995; Slavin 1979). This body of research strongly supports the notion that cooperative interracial contact situations in schools - if the right conditions are present, have positive effects on both student interracial behavior and student interactions (Slavin 1979, 1983). These studies

indicate that the use of multicultural textbooks and cooperative teaching strategies can enable students from different racial and ethnic groups to develop democratic attitudes and to interact in equal-status situations.

However contact hypothesis approaches have their critics. One concern is that if practiced in isolation it does nothing to address structural violence, and therefore merely performs the task of making people nicer to each other. To address this issue many champions of inter-group collaboration stress that it must be done in conjunction with other work, be it working together on an intellectual project or in some type of activism, and in certain enabling conditions which Pettigrew (1998, cited in Salamon 2007) identifies as: i) equal status between the groups; ii) sustained interaction between participants; iii) interdependence in carrying out a common task; iv) support from authorities; and, v) potential for the development of friendships. However, critics point out that in reality these conditions are very hard to meet. Furthermore, there is a question mark over the effectiveness of inter-group collaboration on attitudes beyond the immediate group and outside of the safe environments where the collaborations usually occur, with mixed evidence for this.

10.2. Understanding the Nature of Knowledge

How one views the nature of knowledge will inform one's approach to teaching, and this approach will itself confirm a particular perspective about the nature of knowledge. In this sense pedagogy is underpinned by implicit understandings of the nature of knowledge, while simultaneously disseminating a particular understanding of knowledge. Lewin and Stuart (2003) adapt Avalos' ideas (Avalos 1991, cited in Lewin and Stuart 2003) to discern three broad perspectives underpinning educational programmes: "*the 'behaviourist', the 'constructivist' and the 'social constructivist'*" (ibid: 62). In the behaviourist approach teaching is emphasised and is associated with authoritarian teaching styles, while constructivist and social constructivist approaches forefront the learner and the interaction with the social environment and are thus associated with learner-centred and participatory approaches. Within the literature on education and teachers in general, not specifically related to conflict affected contexts, trends in curricular development are "*learner-centred and interactive, and which seem to derive from a broadly constructivist*

perspective" (Lewin and Stuart 2003: 63). Within the literature on education in conflict contexts and for peacebuilding this constructivist view of knowledge is further developed, for example considering the History curriculum it is recommended that History must recognize diversity within a common historical narrative (Wills and Mehan 1996). A multiperspective history pedagogy is suggested to include historical experiences of the diverse groups in the nation. This way all children have the space to understand their own personal story, know their own place in a larger history as well as appreciate different stories and critically evaluate the causes of their difference. There is increasingly a shift from teaching history as arbitrary to incorporating critical historiographic skills in international policy discourse. It is desired that histories are taught as constructed rather than given. It is also recommended that history should help children and young people explore the effects of war on themselves, their families and their communities (Bush and Saltarelli 2000). Dual narratives, shared narrative or multiperspectival narratives have been proposed as a pedagogical approach to history education in post-conflict societies so as to develop an ability to empathize with the perspective of the other (Borer 2006).

Participatory pedagogies are important to peacebuilding not only because of the skills and attitudes they develop, but also because of what they teach about the nature of knowledge. The development of critical thinking is facilitated through the contestability of knowledge where learners are facilitated to interrogate and make informed judgments and decisions on disputed narratives and claims. Participatory pedagogy forefronts Freire's constructivist view of knowledge and is central to problem-posing education where learners develop their critical skills through exploring how reality/knowledge is shaped by power and interests and consequently is an ideological construction, and also develop their transformative agency through action to transform a reality that is not 'natural' or universal or inevitable. From a critical theory perspective pedagogies which underscore the construction of knowledge as opposed to its inevitability are vital in critically addressing structural violence.

Teacher practices which are authoritarian in nature disseminate an understanding of knowledge as 'correct', singular and inevitable, one which learners must simply accept as true, and such rigid understandings of reality diminish the potential to critique and transform existing

structures. On the other hand, participatory teaching practices frame the knowledge as something co-constructed, positioning learners as active agents in co-constructing the notions of, for example, Citizenship, History, Geography, Economics etc. with their fellow students and teachers, and taking action within their contexts. A third perspective, less frequently cited, can be loosely described as postmodern, in which pedagogies foster the questioning of meta-narratives around the nation, state, citizenship, gender, ethnicity, religion, etc. so that individuals create their own personal and subjective narratives of identity. It is common to see the agency and academic literature discussing the first two perspectives, in which the second perspective emerges as the winner which is portrayed as contributing to transformation and a 'positive peace' through social justice. The postmodern perspective is marginalised in the agency discourse where, while it is recognised that the *"most successful truth commissions and history education programs underscore the complexity of truth telling"*, they stop short of *"straying into moral relativity"* (Cole and Barsalou 2006: 4). Thus, inclusivity has its own exclusions, often for pragmatic or ideological reasons.

Considering values education, where the skills, attitudes and values that the children learn in school need to be reinforced by adults within their own community (Baxter and Ikobwa 2005) the promotion of peace is confronted with particular challenges when societies are currently experiencing violent conflict. For example Halstead and Affouneh (2006) argue in the context of Palestine, where children are exposed to violence and hatred, fear, anger and hopelessness, it is difficult to teach harmony. Similarly Shuayb (2007) notes a discord between civic education and the society in Lebanon where the civics curriculum teaches students about democratic practice and critical dialogue, and yet in their everyday life there is no *"chance to experience and live within a democratic environment in school"* (Shuayb 2007: 182). Furthermore, in these contexts teachers may also find it difficult to model values of tolerance and forgiveness where they have suffered personal loss. Cole and Barsalou (2006) cite evidence from Northern Ireland that *"shows that teachers are not comfortable being leading agents of social change, and they doubt that anything they teach can counter what the history students learn at home"* (2006: 4). Baxter and Ikobwa (ibid) highlight that many programmes rely on the teacher being able to internalise the skills

and attitudes required without a support structure to do this. Unlike technical subjects, where it is enough to transmit the content, values education programmes require the teacher to truly internalise the values and attitudes associated with peace. Furthermore, *“in highly charged political contexts where adopting new teaching approaches or texts may lead to threats to teachers’ physical safety, they will be especially likely to shy away from innovation”* (Cole and Barsalou 2006: 11).

10.3. Language of Instruction

One of the central dilemmas for addressing inequity through education has been which language should teachers and textbooks use. INEE (2010b) notes that in conflict-affected countries the language of instruction (LOI) can be a divisive issue where multilingual communities exist. Language policies have been used in ways that have been repressive (Bush and Saltarelli 2000), marginalizing the native language, traditions and customs of the people which creates a barrier for indigenous peoples, consequently alienating them and disadvantaging them within the classroom. For example in Guatemala, Spanish as the primary medium of instruction had long created resentment among indigenous people and the commitment to *“eradicate all forms of discrimination and... strengthen the cultural identity of the indigenous people... by promoting the indigenous languages, and by expanding intercultural bilingual education”* (Poppema 2009: 396) was an important part of the AIRIP peace accord. Furthermore, teachers from historically marginalised backgrounds have been the victims of repressive language policies as the ‘official’ language is also imposed on them which they may not speak fluently themselves. The Kurdish minority teachers in eastern Turkey, for example, were not allowed to use their home language Kurdish in schools and were dismissed for permitting Kurdish in classrooms. They were also expected to hand out punishments to students who broke the language policy. Kurdish children and teachers even today find themselves discriminated against in schools, and often Kurdish children arbitrarily are given poor grades/ results. The textbooks are not made available in Kurdish and academics have even been banned and imprisoned for researching on Kurdish issues (Graham-Brown, 1994 cited in Bush and Saltarelli, 2000).

However the existence of a national language does not have to contribute to violence in multilingual communities and has sometimes eased inter-ethnic relations. For example, in the

case of Senegal and Tanzania a shared single language proved a unifying factor. This depended on the way other languages were acknowledged as important part of collective identity. In Senegal there are 15 different linguistic groups and Islamic and Christian populations have long co-existed peacefully (Bush and Saltarelli 2000). Senegal made French the national official language while also recognizing Diola, Malinke, Pular, Serer, Soninke and Wolof as the national languages. These languages are part of the curriculum and they are widely used in popular media and literacy campaigns. This approach can be contrasted to states that have carried out assimilationist policies through coercion against the consent of an ethnic group, such as in, for example, Kosovo, which has provoked dissent. What appears therefore key in the use of language in multilingual contexts is the sensitive handling of linguistic issues, which acknowledges diverse languages, which can contribute to social cohesion (Bush and Saltarelli 2000).

Language of instruction is not only a political issue (inclusion/recognition) but also an issue of access and participation. The significance of mother-tongue instruction in the early years of schooling is recognized and learning in an appropriate language is seen as important to reducing learning disparities (Pinnock 2009). Studies show that at least six to eight years of mother-tongue instruction is required in less well-resourced conditions to sustain improved learning and reduce learning gaps. At secondary level, for the majority of students in sub-Saharan Africa, the language of instruction and examination is not their native language. This is why INEE (2010a) advocates that learning content, materials and instruction should be provided in the language(s) of the learners. It is recommended that the states must decide on a language policy based on conflict analysis and the needs of diverse learners. It suggests using mother-tongue instruction, multilingual instruction for displaced/ host communities, and new language instruction for youth entering an economic market of another language.

The international policies have promoted the use of first language in schools as an inclusive policy. INEE recommends a widespread consultation among the community to determine the language of instruction. It is seen as a way to represent different languages, cultures and histories as integral parts of the education process. For example, the rights based education recommended by Child Friendly Schools suggests

that the medium of instructions must be the home language of the child. Similarly, the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (UN 1966) also advocate that the ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right to use their own language. The ILO Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (ILO 1989) recommends that that measures must be in place to ensure that these peoples have the opportunity to attain fluency in at least one of the official languages of the country in addition to their home language. In Myanmar, Northern Ireland and other conflict-affected contexts, there have been conscious efforts to recognize the languages of the minorities (Bush and Saltarelli 2000).

However, while many experts recommend indigenous LoI in the early years this is not always in concert with local communities as many parents, educators and politicians believe strongly that children need to learn official (national) and international languages to succeed in life. There is often powerful motivation to give children access to international languages such as English for improving the country's chance of competing in international markets, competing in the international knowledge economy, and for giving minority ethnic or indigenous children ability to take up economic opportunities (Middleborg 2005 cited in Pinnock 2009: 15)

Bilingual teaching has generated controversies. Often, it has not been practicable for State education to offer teaching and learning in all languages of the country and even where there has been the possibility to incorporate bilingual teaching many states opt for early transition to the official language rather than offering bilingual teaching as recommended by the international guidelines. Other practical issues include the presence of more than one language group in the same classroom and teachers not being proficient in the local languages. Teachers also need training to teach in two languages and gain better understanding of the needs of second-language learners. There are also costs involved. While, some countries find that developing learning materials and training teachers in bilingual education approaches is not 'cost-effective', Bush and Saltarelli (2000) argue that in conflict-prone areas, linguistic marginalization of the minority has proved much more costly.

11. Teacher Trust and Accountability

This section reviews a number of programmatic interventions that have emerged to ensure teacher's trust and accountability to the school community in recent years focusing on Teachers' Codes of Conduct (variously known as Standards for Teachers, Codes of Professional Conduct, Codes of Practice, etc.).

11.1. Teachers' Codes of Conduct (CoC)

Teachers' CoC are written documents that “*set out principles of actions, standards of behaviour, or how the members of the group will work*” (Van Nuland, 2009: 20), and thus it guides professional judgment and practice (Teaching Council of Ireland, 2012). International agencies, such as UNESCO, ILO, Education International and INEE, strongly emphasise CoC for ensuring teachers' accountability, as troubling reports of teachers' (mis)conduct have emerged from several parts of the world. Campbell (2000) notices that the purpose of a code is to be a resource for teachers to resolve ethical issues in their daily lives and to ensure public accountability with discipline and sanctions for teachers. Thus CoC's are both guiding as well as accountability documents, defining for educators their relationship with the profession, students, colleagues, parents, union and state.

The codes are reciprocal in nature, for instance, they define how teachers must relate to other teachers and by implication it defines how other teachers must treat them. Some schools may have CoC and Codes of Ethic as two separate documents or both encapsulated into one document. The Codes of Ethics are aspirational in nature (Van Nuland 2009), providing a moral framework to teachers. Ethics such as truth, justice, honesty, and fairness are often highlighted as desired values in teachers. Authors differ on the issue of moral grounding to the codes. It is difficult to clearly mark where teachers' accountability to the community ends. A clear bifurcation in terms of personal and professional lives in the teaching profession is difficult to achieve as the codes cannot operate in isolation to wider society (Steward 2003). What teachers do outside the school can affect their role as teachers. Therefore, the scope of the codes goes beyond the classroom or school. Any behaviour that adversely affects the prestige of the profession, whether inside the school or outside, is considered a breach of trust to the community. For example, what teachers say in newspapers, social

media or the relationships that they must pursue with students outside the school affects their role in school. This effect is what Steward (2003: 353) calls 'teacher as a teacher 24/7'.

11.1.1. Defining Standards

The seeming simplicity of a document to define the standards core to the practice of teaching portrayed by advocates of CoC ignores the discursive work it does in the conceptualisation of teachers and the contested process of negotiating what makes up core standards, which is an inherently ideological and political development. While most practitioners, donors and agencies would agree with a code that protects the reputation and status of the teaching profession while promoting a conduct that is intolerant of GBV, this shared focus hides variations in exactly how the formation and content of the codes impacts teacher agency and their potential as peacebuilders.

As Barrett (2005) describes, teacher codes of conduct range from viewing teachers in need of being watched over on one hand, to considering teachers as potential beneficiaries from some support on the other. There is an overlap between a top-down code of conduct which is used as teacher surveillance and promotes an accountability and performativity culture and the discourses of new professionalism and teacher as technocrat. Conversely a supportive code shows synergy with the teacher as a reflexive professional. These differences may be represented in teachers' responses to CoC which are mixed (Van Nuland 2009) as sceptical, agnostic, or supportive. Those sceptical about the codes are worried about their potential to control their personal lives, violation of basic human rights and the potential abuse of the codes.

The process of the development and enforcement of CoC is related to teacher professionalism. A top-down enforced CoC that watches over teachers, while legitimised as a means of protecting a teacher's professional status, arguably diminishes it. Here the discursive work of the term 'professional' works to discipline the workforce, and is used as a means of ensuring conformity to regulation rather than autonomy (Fournier 1999). Conversely, traditionally professions have been defined, in part, by their autonomy and self-governance where they are active in developing their own standards and codes. The participation in the development of CoC advocated by a reflexive practitioner conceptualisation of teaching would, therefore,

be more effective at developing and supporting the teaching community's professional reflexivity and judgment. The agency literature supports this model, where schools develop CoC in partnership with teachers and the community. Of course, this reflects two poles of an argument, in reality there is usually a more nuanced negotiation between these approaches.

This very foundational difference between how CoC should be developed and enforced, and consequently if they are mechanisms of regulation or autonomy, is captured in the debate on the extent to which teacher unions should have a say in teacher CoC. While the Unions provide representation for the teaching body, and in some contexts may be their sole representative organisation, their role in the development of CoC is contested. Arguments against the involvement of unions include fear that they might uphold teachers' interests over that of the children (Campbell 2004, cited in van Nuland 2009) and suspicion that their loyalty to their fellow teachers might prevent them from reporting their colleague's misconduct. These fears and suspicions are themselves indicative of how teachers are framed – as part of the problem – and may be based more on ideological anti-union partialities than fact. The empirical data provides a mixed picture, with some evidence of teacher unions obstructing educational reforms and prioritising their own bread and butter issues from the United States (Moe 2006, cited in Kingdon et al 2014), Mexico (Santibáñez and Rabling 2006) and India (Kingdon and Muzammil 2003, cited in Kingdon et al 2014), and examples of unions protecting incumbent teachers from new entrants (Hoxby 1996). However there is also evidence that teacher unions are concerned not only with their so-called bread and butter issues, but also wider educational reforms and their impact on their students, particularly teacher unions in the Global South that have been active in challenging neoliberal educational reform and the highly unequal status-quo (Vongalis-Macrow 2004). While the evidence on the role of unions is inconclusive, the argument that teachers will uphold their interests over those of their students also works to separate the interest of the learners from their teachers, which arguably are intertwined. A reliably and adequately paid, motivated and engaged teacher is an effective teacher and good for learners and the profession alike.

11.1.2. Code of Conduct Content

Two themes have received special attention from the international agencies in teachers' CoC: gender issues and violence. International agencies explicitly include definitions of GBV and violence in the codes outlining the professional conduct expected from teachers in terms of GBV and violence and clarifying disciplinary sanctions resulting from failure to abide by them. There are also measures suggested for the prevention of corporal punishment, verbal abuse, and the assigning of children the personal work of school staff. The report, *Are Schools Safe Havens for Children?* (Management Systems International 2008) outlines recommendations which explicitly prohibit GBV, define how violations will be seriously dealt with, and promote awareness of these measures among teachers, parents and wider community. Teacher education institutes are expected to train teachers to become protectors of safe learning environments and teacher expectations in relation to this should be included in their education.

However, often the codes fail to address the issue of violence in school. Regarding some forms of violence, such as women's harassment, even if it is recognised the codes may not outline mechanisms for reporting, monitoring and dealing with incidents of violence. Although accountability is the aim of the CoC, often clear lines of responsibilities are not established, disciplinary actions are not determined and professional development is not provided. Furthermore, weak leadership can lead to weak accountability and therefore it is recommended that CoC must establish clear lines of responsibility, consequences and opportunity for professional development. To address these issues Raiborn and Payne (1990) suggest three principles to apply to the content of CoC: clarity, comprehensibility and enforceability. Clarity deals with ambiguity and vagueness, comprehensiveness ensures that the codes cover all dimensions of teachers' behaviour and enforceability makes sure that it is implemented.

11.1.3. The Implementation of Codes of Conduct

There are obstacles to implementing CoC. There are internal (one's beliefs) and external factors (socio-political and economic structures) affecting the implementation of the codes (Leach 2008, cited in Van Nuland 2009). External factors such as poverty, gender norms and inequalities, conflict, and discriminatory practices against

historically marginalised groups can affect the school culture and implementation of CoC. Several measures have been recommended for successful implementation of the CoC. Mos Curtis (2006, cited in van Nuland 2009) recommends raising 'collective consciousness' by explaining it to multiple stakeholders so that the CoC is not merely a written document but is owned and understood amongst teachers and community. Thus, INEE recommends that CoC be developed collectively, involving teachers, historically marginalised and non-power groups, women, teachers' unions, educational institutions and administration and be made available in local languages. Moreover, it is recommended that teacher's CoC must promote ethos that teachers' professionalism is tied to serving the community in which the school is located (Essuman and Akyeampong 2011).

Poverty, deployment, remuneration, living conditions (UNESCO 2009), and corruption at various levels of the education system also affect teachers' ability to live up to the ideals outlined in the codes. For instance, in the absence of sufficient remuneration, often in poorer areas, teachers need to take up a second job, which can lead to absenteeism and competing demands on their time and energy to perform their role effectively. In order to address this, it has been recommended that better incentives must be offered for rural teachers, conditions of service and salaries must be improved and teachers must be offered attractive career structures and upgrading opportunities (UNESCO 2009).

11.2. School Management Committee and Parent-Teacher Association

School Management Committee (SMC) and Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) are the spaces for the community to participate in the school. SMC is a school-level decision-making body, usually legislatively established, comprising parents-elected representatives, the school head, members of non-teaching staff and teachers and, in the case of secondary schools, students. The SMC's responsibilities include roles such as appointing and evaluating the head teacher; hiring and renewal of teachers; negotiating agreements with non-governmental and governmental organisations; forming sub-committees and coordinating them; making decisions on academic, sports and extracurricular activity, physical construction, forming procedures for educational, financial and personnel management of the school, etc. (Khanal 2013). The SMCs may be

called by different terminologies, for example: governing boards, boards of trustees, or school councils. PTAs provide a formal avenue that facilitates dialogue between parents and teachers on concerns regarding children's learning (Kim 2004; Khong and Ng 2005). PTAs exist in various forms such as parent support groups or class councils.

In current debates on school reforms, community participation in the governance of school systems has emerged as a move towards decentralisation of education (see e.g. Abu-Duhou 1999; McGinn and Welsh 1999; Bray 2000; Rose 2003; Pryor 2005) and the democratization of educational decision-making (Khanal 2013). Especially in conflict-affected contexts, where people have experienced either decades of centralised authoritarian governance or unequal opportunities to represent themselves, decentralisation can give local communities a better chance of representing themselves. In South Africa, Sayed and Ahmed (2009) observe that the formation of parent, teachers and students associations and the National Education Coordination Committee was situated in the context of:

“a state which was oppressive and where the state itself was the primary apparatus of oppression. Thus, grassroots, community control was the anti-thesis of state control. Power to the people as opposed to that of the state” (Sayed and Ahmed 2009: 7).

It is argued that community participation allows for more efficient delivery of services and ensures greater transparency at the local level (World Bank 2003). A community's active role in education is considered significant to quality education (Sayed and Soudien 2005). The World Bank (2003) and reports such as De Grauwe et al (2005) make a case for bottom-up approaches by involving the local community for improving accountability, especially to the poor (World Bank 2001). Through this people from marginalised and rural areas can represent their voices and to ensure their needs are met (World Bank 2003).

11.2.1. The Politics of Decentralisation

Participation and decentralisation are not neutral terms, and can be applied by different actors from different motivations, in different ways, with different outcomes. The two terms have been adopted as solutions by both the right and the left, by both neo-liberal economists

and critical theorists. How these mechanisms are applied and to what effect is therefore important in understanding the work they perform and their implications for teacher agency and peacebuilding.

Leal (2007) argues that participation has now become a buzzword for neo-liberalism and the plethora of World Bank references to participation in the above section would appear to support this claim. Leal (2007: 542) convincingly argues that the World Bank has succeeded in co-opting the term, which has now become *“a populist justification for the removal of the state from the economy and its substitution by the market”*. Far from advocating radical transformation, the World Bank is employing civil society to drive efficiency and an ideological project to reduce the role of the state.

When considering the role that decentralisation and participation can play in contributing to a just peace in conflict-affected states, it is worth considering exactly what has been decentralised. Making decisions on sports clubs, organising sub-communities about the maintenance of the school building and creating financial and management procedures may not add up to meaningful participation, while the responsibility and autonomy to deliberate on school projects, curriculum, and values, as in the example of the Citizen School in Porto Alegre (Gandin and Apple 2002) may offer more potential for the development of a representative, just peace. Studies suggest that in many African countries, SMCs and PTAs do not hold 'real' decision-making powers (Therkildsen 2000; Rose 2003). The critical areas, which determine quality outcomes are beyond the influence of PTAs and SMCs. For example, in Ghana, the district authority determines how the capitation grants must be utilised. In many areas top-down decision-making continues to persist and SMCs and PTAs potential is restricted to certain areas of decision-making. The study by Essuman and Akyeampong (2011) looked at the minutes of the SMC meetings and surveyed the kinds of decisions made in the last three years. It was found that 53% of decisions were financial, 38% were administrative, and 9% were instructional and curricular. Most of the financial decisions were about fund-raising, construction, purchasing and payment. Staff made the instructional and curricular decisions. This shows the potential of school community participation limited to only certain aspects of insubstantial matters of school governance. Poppema's (2009: 395) work in Guatemala on the

World Bank PRONADE programme reveals just this type of “an obedient and technocratic form of participation, keeping parents busy while retaining them in a subordinate position”.

Beyond the sphere of influence one has decisions over, is the issue of how genuine that influence is. Adapting from Rose (2003) and Sanoff (2000) a distinction can be drawn between ‘genuine’ and ‘pseudo’ representation. A ‘genuine’ representation is one in which parents exert ‘real’ power in decision-making, whereas representation is ‘pseudo’ when SMC and PTA are used to inform them about decisions and manipulate their opinions (Wang, 2001). Between pseudo and real participation lie various activities ranging from use of service, contribution of resources, attendance at meetings, consultation on issues, involvement in delivery, delegated power and decision-making, to ‘real’ power and decision-making (Bray 2000). Many schools see the PTAs merely as a policy requirement.

Critics also argue that the emphasis on community participation might provide the state with an excuse to push its responsibilities on to communities (Botchway 2001), which may actually disadvantage the poorest communities, as they possess limited capacity to participate in the process of democratization (Filmer and Pritchett 1999). In order to balance the local and national participant in education, it is recommended that education must be seen as a shared responsibility. Cooke and Kothari (2001) similarly identifies how discourses around participation can produce absences of alternatives, including the roles and expertise of specialists and professionals, while embedding an anaemic concept of ‘empowerment’ which is individual and depoliticised.

Apart from problematising the reality of participation as a mode of empowerment and accountability, critics also point out its sometimes negative consequences. Participation cannot be considered a panacea for teacher misconduct and the creation of just peace and can work to create or obstruct peacebuilding. The literature shares examples of how some practices of participation not only maintain local power differentials but may also may be co-opted by local powerful actors and elites as a means of legitimising and furthering their own interests. Lewis and Naidoo’s (2004) research on school governance in South Africa found that consultation processes were managed by a few powerful members and the school principals in their interest, while Essuman’s and Akyeampong’s (2011) research in Ghana revealed

how community governing bodies did not make decisions based on consensus, but instead those with power determined the agenda. Likewise, Khanal’s (2013) study on community participation in Nepal reveals that practice in decision-making is restricted to a small number of political elites where the majority of SMC and PTA members are upper caste males, with majority of parents in public schools being middle and low caste ethnic groups.

11.2.2. Implementation

The difference between policy intention and practice reveals that much of the guidelines on community participation are aspirational in nature. The authentic ambition to enhance school accountability to the local community is obstructed in the reality of conflict-affected contexts where power dynamics operating between different groups can adversely affect accountability and trust.

Literature from African and South Asian contexts point out that the community’s capacity to support PTAs and SMCs is greatly influenced by their access to socio-economic resources, the level of education and urban or rural location (PROBE 1999; Bush and Heystek 2003; Rose 2003). Watt (2001) observes that while parents in a highly educated or socio-economically advantaged community would be able to offer teaching support and contribute resources for school infrastructure development, poor and rural communities may struggle in providing such support, resulting in disparity in school governance in affluent communities versus poor rural communities. Furthermore, the poverty of the parents from rural communities may render them more vulnerable to corruption, as Poppema (2009: 393) observed in Guatemala *“some Coeduca ask for money for considering the teachers job applications or demand some pay-off when paying out the salaries”*.

Another issue concerning the implementation of increased accountability to the community is differences in the way teachers and parents/community may interpret their roles and responsibilities, which may create tensions and breakdown in relationship between teachers and community, leading to a lack of mutual trust and accountability. This is illustrated by Essuman and Akyeampong’s (2011) research that explores the different meanings community participation had for school community stakeholders in Ghana. SMCs interpreted their role as inspection and attempted to supervise teacher attendance and their

everyday activities. Teachers saw this as infringing on their professional autonomy and agency and felt that the SMC lacked the professional credentials to understand and monitor their work. Some SMC members felt that since they were mobilizing funds for the school they had the right to see what was going on in the school, while teachers felt that they were accountable to the headteacher or their supervisor and saw SMCs as outside the school bureaucracy. PTAs, in contrast to the SMCs, viewed their role as educating other parents of their parental responsibilities in the education of their children and mainly addressed issues that teachers brought to their attention.

12. Conclusion

This review reveals a complex relationship between teacher agency and peacebuilding which is both multi-levelled (school, community, district, national, international) and cuts across a variety of areas (classroom practice, governance, infrastructure, policy etc.). When considered against the framework of sustainable peacebuilding, a mixed picture emerges where teachers' agency can be both facilitated or restricted and used to build

peace or obstruct peace, although in reality the lines between when one contributes to peace or conflict are not always clear and the same teacher may play out different roles simultaneously depending on the complex and nuanced contexts they practice in.

This review concludes by attempting to draw together lessons from across the different dimensions under the headings of the 4 Rs: redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation. It is important to note however, that these four components of sustainable peacebuilding do not act in isolation and are interdependent. For example, the representation of minorities in educational institutions (historically marginalised teachers entering the profession) requires their recognition (that they have equal status with other candidates) and the redistribution of resources to enable access (scholarships, support and education), while their representation simultaneously enables their recognition (the contextualisation of practices, voice in consultation/school governance). The division of these components is therefore meant as an analytical device, and does not intend to sever the symbiotic relationships between them. Furthermore, before concluding with an exploration of each 'R' some key messages need to be highlighted which cut across each component:

- The complexity of the issues and the contexts where teachers operate can result in unintended consequences from well-meaning interventions with diminishing effects on peacebuilding, creating dilemmas for teachers, policy makers and donors;
- The literature is aspirational and intentional in nature - it is important to note the implementation of guidelines and interventions are not straight forward resulting in a gap between aims and reality and in some settings rhetoric, raising the question in what conditions and with what means do aspirations become reality?;
- The education system is a whole that requires joined-up thinking, there is a symbiotic relationship between all dimensions and levels of the education system, requiring a systematic and systemic approach to peacebuilding in education;
- Context matters.

9.1. Representation

Representation is concerned with the presence (or absence) of a transformative politics of conceptualisation at multiple scales (global, national, local), and leading to this the (un)equal participation in decision-making or claim-making processes of all citizens (Fraser 2005). Under this 'R' the review considers therefore the notion of participation.

The issues of representation emerged in several dimensions of the literature review, from teacher participation in decision making in all levels of the education system, to learners' participation in their own meaning making and knowledge construction, to parent and community participation in the governance of schools.

Consistent across all of these areas was the idea that interventions, regardless of their heritage or intentions, can be implemented on a continuum between technical and reflexive, where technical approaches are characterised as a prescriptive methodology and knowledge disseminated through 'best practice' models and reflexive approaches allow for reflection and negotiation incorporating experiences and context for the development of praxis – the symbiotic relationship between reflection and practice.

From the exploration of participation across the review it becomes apparent that the creation of skills for and processes of participation are complex and nuanced, and replete with dilemmas. As such it is important to ask how participation is conceptualised, exercised and realised in particular situations, and to what effect.

9.2. Redistribution

Redistribution provides a range of 'remedies' to social injustices caused by unequal distribution of resources, exclusive systems of participation in economic structures and a lack of equal (educational, health, employment etc.) opportunities.

The redistribution of educational opportunities is an important theme emerging from this review and is concerned not only with the opportunities for quality education afforded to all learners, but also on access to teacher education for candidates from under-represented backgrounds. These two issues are interrelated, for example, literature identifies the role of access to teacher education for female candidates and their eventual deployment in the increased access of girls to

education in rural areas. Redistribution is not only concerned with access, but also quality, as the redistribution of qualified and experienced teachers is as important as teacher numbers. The main educational resource in developing countries and conflict-affected countries are teachers, and they also are credited as the most effective educational resource. This creates a tension between the interests of teachers with human rights and the use of teachers as resources. Where interventions aimed at a fair distribution of teachers across education systems adopt approaches on a continuum between voluntary or compulsory deployment. Compulsory deployment may be designed to address access issues within the education system, however come at the cost of teacher autonomy, while voluntary deployment gives teachers a greater say over how and where they sell their labour, but may result in disadvantage to school districts, typically in rural and hard-to-place areas.

The strategic deployment of teachers to specific hard to reach areas is not only confined to female teachers. Interventions also seek to address the assignment of historically marginalised teachers into appropriate schools where they are considered to be more effective in minority languages and community engagement. However, like the deployment of women teachers this solution can create unintentional consequences that undermine peacebuilding, for example local teachers may not be the most experienced, thus reducing the learners' access to the benefits of a range of experienced teachers, or if teachers from marginalised groups only work in those communities this may create a separation that obstructs social cross-over and learning about other groups and cultures which can produce separatist thinking. Furthermore teachers from historically marginalised groups are denied the opportunity to work in different districts where they have the opportunity to experience different approaches, schools and teaching cultures in order to reflexively develop their own pedagogy and professional identity. This dilemma requires a balance between ensuring an appropriate representation of marginalised groups in schools with school diversity and the movement of labour.

9.3. Recognition

Recognition entails possible solutions to injustices that have to do with status inequalities, that prevent some people from equal or full interaction in institutionalised cultural hierarchies, often related to little acceptance or space for cultural, ethnic, linguistic, racial, gender, age

or other diversities. While all of the 4Rs have a symbiotic relationship, recognition is particularly implicit in representation, as without recognition, representation is impossible and, conversely, representation is concerned with the equality of participation, thus recognising everyone's status to engage.

As one might expect recognition is a strong theme when discussing textbooks, the curriculum and teacher practice, where the recognition of cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity is advocated as an important element of peacebuilding. However it is also apparent across the literature review, for example:

- in the potential for teacher education to instil into teachers good inter-cultural sensitivity and understanding of learners and families (INEE);
- for school-based CPD and autonomous teachers to facilitate the contextualisation of teaching practices and subjects;
- in the role of participatory pedagogies where meaning-making is practised in a collaborative and contextualised spaces of production which can address issues of cognitive justice; and
- in the recognition of teachers' experiences and professional judgement and their valid contributions to educational debate and policy formation.

The recognition of diverse and multiple identities requires inclusive textbooks and curricula which represent and respect a society's diversity. Guidance on the development of textbooks recommends that their development incorporate a democratic process where all stakeholders are involved in the development of narratives and consequently represented in textbooks and curricula. Particular groups recognised in the literature were girls, where their status can be undermined through gender-discriminating narratives contained in both text and images, and ethnic and religious minority groups, which also includes language of instruction debates. While lists of 'protected' groups generally include disability and sexuality, or sometimes these groups are captured in the category 'minority groups', detailed discussion tends to focus on gender and ethnic/religious minorities. The focus on gender issues, which is usually about girls and women, arguably clouds the recognition of other groups, and while recognition of equal status for all is advocated, ironically the literature on recognition recognises some protected groups more frequently and presents little recognition to others.

However, the inclusion of historically marginalised group status in text books and curricula does not adequately answer the dilemma of recognition, as teacher practices and their fostering of inclusive or exclusive classrooms is fundamental to the issue. Here teacher agency is used to either celebrate or suppress diversity in the text and curriculum and teaching practices serve to counteract or affirm stereotyping. Teacher education therefore becomes an important mechanism for recognition, where teacher candidates can learn about other cultures.

9.4. Reconciliation

Reconciliation is a process which is crucial for (post-) conflict societies to prevent a relapse into conflict and incorporates education's role in dealing with the past and historical memory, truth and reparations, transitional justice processes, issues related to bringing communities together, processes of forgiving and healing and the broader processes of social and psycho-social healing (see Hamber 2007).

Reconciliation is not as explicit in the literature on teachers as other Rs, however it is implicit in much of the dimensions and dilemmas covered as representation and the related and interconnected activities that contribute to redistribution and recognition combine to address historical and contemporary political and cultural injustices, which builds a foundation for reconciliation.

Within the literature teachers are charged with the role of reconciliation in their potential to address psychosocial issues where the emotional well-being and psychosocial development of learners is an important foundation in rebuilding relations of trust and collaboration so are important components of reconciliation.

Reconciliation, however, is not solely achieved through the provision of nurturing and supportive classrooms which help to heal the nation, but through processes of transitional justice that address the past in order to build new relationships and through tackling structural and cultural violence that underpin past conflict and contemporary injustices. Arguably the promotion of forgiveness without justice can be considered a type of violence in its own right, although forgiveness itself must be unconditional and any strings attached serve to undermine the forgiveness project, which presents itself as a dilemma with no solution. Here teachers also play an important role, and are required to promote understanding and engagement with

differences, nurture the ideas of human rights, address collective/historical memories and emphasise humanistic values in their lessons and actions. This task requires governance structures and teacher education processes that support teachers to reflect and make judgements about how to respond to the needs of their class in order to challenge violent perceptions in an appropriate and caring way which develops trusting relations. Pedagogy is also relevant to reconciliation, with collaborative practices building the skills and attitudes required to overcome differences and work together. Cross-over collaborations that build on contact-hypothesis are particularly popular in the literature, however they are not without their critics who point out that contact alone is not sufficient. The exploration of what types of contact and under what conditions promote long-lasting and far-reaching reconciliation is therefore important.

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Appendix 1

(conflict AND teach*); (conflict AND “professional Development”); (conflict AND classroom); (conflict AND instruct*); (conflict AND “teacher training”); (“conflict management” AND school*); (“conflict management” AND teach*); (“conflict management” AND instruct*); (post-conflict AND teach*); (post-conflict AND school*); (post-conflict AND school); (post-conflict AND services); (“educat* services” AND teach*); (educat* AND service) AND (teach*); (peacebuilding AND teach*); (peacebuilding AND school*); (peacebuilding AND pedagogy); (peacemaking AND teach*); (peacebuilding AND educat*); (“social cohesion” AND curricul*); (“social cohesion” AND teach*); (“social cohesion” AND school*); (“social cohesion” AND educat*); (“social cohesion” AND classroom); (conflict AND pedagogy); (conflict AND school*); (conflict AND textbooks); (conflict AND services) AND (school*); (conflict AND curricul*); (conflict AND curriculum); (conflict AND services) AND (educat*); (conflict AND services) AND (education); (“social cohesion” AND services*); (“peace building” AND curricul); (“peace building” AND school*); (“peace building” AND educat*); (“peace building” AND education); (“peace building” AND services); (“educat* services” AND conflict); (“peace building” AND curricul*); (“peace building” AND school*); (“peace building” AND educat*); (“peace building” AND services); (“educat* services” AND conflict).

Appendix 2

Sr. No.	Search Dimension	Dimensional Terms
1.	Teacher Training and Teacher Education	in-service/pre service/training/development/preparation/education
2.	Teacher Governance	deployment/recruitment/professional development/management/placement/remote village/rural/accountability/appraisal/ ‘code of conduct’/professional practice
3.	Teacher - Student Interaction/Relationships	classroom/student/children/classroom management
4.	Teacher-Textbook, Pedagogy, Curriculum	Pedagogy/instruction/textbooks/curriculum/course/module/learning material/assessment
5.	Teacher - Community Dynamic	Community/local/people/tribe/group/consultation/participatory
6	Teacher Equity	Gender/religion/ethnicity/tribe/social status/renumeration/pay/economy/refugee/poverty/recognition/resilience/representation/redistribution/identity/voice/rights/agency/human rights
7	Teacher-Social Reconstruction	peace*/social cohesion/harmony/pluralism/diversity/interfaith/dialogue/democracy/rule of law/multicultur*/citizen*/civic/living together/nation building

