The Discourse of Unity:
Constructing Peace through Education
in the Chittagong Hill Tracts

Petra Novakova

Master Thesis 2010

The Discourse of Unity: Constructing Peace through Education in the Chittagong Hill Tracts

University: Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

Faculty of Management

MSc Human Geography specialisation International Migration,

Development and Globalisation

Student: Petra Novakova

Student ID: 0853410

Contact: petulenovakova@gmail.com

Supervisor: Dr. Lothar Smith

Second Reader: Dr. Ir. Mathijs van Leeuwen

Radboud University Nijmegen

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This thesis concerns the topic of education and peace building, a topic that only recently has begun to receive attention and has become an issue on the agenda of the international development aid community. While the last editing of this thesis took place the United Nations (UN) has declared its resolution on Education in Conflict[1], which I believe is the beginning of the international society giving more attention to this aspect of development. This thesis focuses on the geography of education and examines the special patterns of education and the role it has as a factor influencing geographical patterns of social and cultural occurrences in the specific framework of post- conflict environments.

The aim of this research is to analyse the geography of education in a twofold way; Firstly, we will look into the general debate about the education programmes for development assistance in conflict/post-conflict regions. Secondly, based on the points raised during the debate and the following analyses, this research seeks to develop an argument and framework for the positive role of education in the conflict transformation and peace-building process. However, it is important to mention that this study does not aim to develop the definitive tool for assessing the impacts of educational development projects on the peace and conflict environment in which they are set, as one can be sure that the dynamics of each environment work against a rigid uniform framework. This research is rather aiming at the development of an approach to guide our assessment of the impact of educational development programmes in their complex interconnected environments.

In the first part of this thesis the existing debate on the subject of education and conflict and the suitable theories explaining and simplifying the complexity of the subject will be introduced. Furthermore a strategic guideline for the conflict and peace impact assessment will be introduced as it will serve as a basis for developing a framework for the impact analysis of education assistance in the peace-building process, which will be applied in the second part of this research.

 The second part of this thesis will focus on the field work that was conducted in the summer of 2009 in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) Bangladesh. A proper analysis of the conflict situation and

---

[1] Cf. Appendix I

the post-conflict development is a precondition for conducting the necessary impact assessment and therefore this part starts with giving an insight into the conflict in the CHT region. The region of Chittagong Hill tracts as a case study for this project has been chosen deliberately to illustrate the complex problems that might be faced in many ethnically conflicting areas. An overview is given of the institutional and policy design of the educational programme offered in Bangladesh and particularly in CHT. Moreover, in Chapter 6 are discussed the different aspects of the formal and informal educational programmes in the region and their approaches to cultural diversity. Also, this chapter identifies whether the education provided encompasses the needs of the local context. Emphasis is on the importance of the educational geographies and the implications this might have for the provision and implementation of the education programmes.

The concluding chapter then formulates the underlining arguments related to the role education has as a tool in the peace building process. The non-linearity of the post-conflict environment contributes to the complexity and multidimensionality of the peace building process which correspondingly needs to be matched with a multifaceted response. Education as defined for the purpose of this thesis is present in all the dimensions of society and thus is embedded in a broader political, economic, social and institutional context. Thus, the general framework and guideline for education as a tool that could facilitate the peace building process draws on the need for inclusiveness and illustrates its connection to other sectors of development and the state system.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
CHTDF	Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Facility
CRC	Convention on the Rights of Children
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DPE	Directorate of Primary education
EdIA	Education Impact Assessment
EFA	Education for All
EMU	Education for Mutual Understanding
FDG	Focus group discussions
HDC	Hill District Council
IP	Indigenous Population
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOCHTA	Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOPME	Ministry of Primary and Mass Education
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCIA	Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment
PEDP II	Second Primary education development Programme
PSC	Protracted Social Conflict
RC	Regional Council
UN	United Nation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDP-CHTDF	United Nations Development Programme – Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Facility
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Science and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UNPO	Unrepresented Nations and People Organization
WB	World Bank

1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   INTRODUCTION TO THE CONFLICT IN THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS

On December 2nd in 1997, a peace accord[2] was signed between the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) indigenous people and the government of Bangladesh, ending the struggle for recognition of the rights of indigenous people and their struggle for autonomy which lasted more than 25 years. However, to this date only a limited number of the agreements have been implemented, whereas the full implementation of the peace accord is seen by many as a precondition for the development of the CHT.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts is an area of approximately 13,189 sq kilometres in the southeast part of Bangladesh. The Chittagong Hill Tracts topography and cultural heritage and the region's politics and legal developments are different to the plain lands of Bangladesh. The historical background of the country shows that until 1860 the CHT had been a self-governed independent territory.

In 1860, the British rulers formally attached CHT to the province of Bengal. It was only 40 years later that the British declared the area of CHT as an exclusive area for the indigenous population (IP) and legally established this status in Regulation 1 of 1900, also known as the CHT manual, which laid down a detailed constitution for the administration of the CHT. This regulation has given legitimacy to the indigenous inhabitants and their customs and restricted the non-indigenous population from settling in this area (Ali & Tsuchiya, 2002).

The CHT remained an area exclusive to indigenous people until 1962, when the status of the area was changed into a 'tribal area' home for tribal people and its special status was abolished, meaning the native ethnic leadership lost control over the land (UNDP, 2009a)[3]. Such an adjustment to the law allowed the, at that time Pakistani, government to proceed with their development plans regarding a hydroelectric dam on the Kaptai Lake reservoir[4]. The building of the dam in the CHT region can be seen as the very first resettlement program implemented by

---

[2] Also known as the Chittagong Hill Treaty, listed in Appendix II.

[3] Important is to mention that although indigenous people lost control over land that was given them by the ' special status' for the tribal area, the 1900 regulation, after several amendments remains valid still today (UNDP, 2009a).

[4] The Kaptai dam project was initiated in the mid 1950s by the Government of Pakistan in order to meet the need for energy for industrialization and domestic consumption with the financial assistance from Canada and the World Bank (WB). The Kaptai Dam has swamped 54% of total arable land of the CHT and caused displacement of 100,000 of the local population (Roy, 2000).

the government.

Bangladesh emerged as an independent state in 1971 after the liberation war against Pakistan. In 1972, a delegation of the CHT people submitted a memorandum demanding constitutional recognition of the indigenous peoples' group living in CHT and regional autonomy for protection of their distinct ethnic and cultural identity (Ali, 1993).

However, the memorandum was refused and no special provision for the indigenous people had been included into the Bangladesh constitution. The recognition of their separate identity and their accompanying land rights, a model of minority autonomy developed under British rule, regarding the CHT area thus was refused. The insensitivity to the minority culture of the new independent Bengali government was even more striking considering their own struggle for self-determination and independence from Pakistan. As pointed out by van Schendel, "neither triumphant Bengali nationalism nor the more Islamic interpretation of the nation state that emerged from the late 1970s held much promise for those citizens of Bangladesh who did not identify as Bengali and/or Muslim" (2009, p. 211). Not only that the Indigenous people were denied their rights in the country's constitution, in addition to that armed groups of Bengalis initiated forceful land grabbing of land traditionally owned by indigenous people, which created a massive resentment among the indigenous people (UNDP, 2009a).

Discrimination developed in the events of constructing the Kaptai Dam, and the forced migration as well as the resettlement programme created pressure on land and other natural resources. This is acknowledged as one of the exacerbating factors in impoverishment and political destabilisation in the CHT (Roy, 2000). The fact that the newly independent Bangladeshi government has refused to include special provisions for the Chittagong Hill has led to strengthening the collective identity of indigenous inhabitants calling themselves collectively 'Jumma'. The specific label used with regard to the collective labelling of the indigenous people[5] varies depending on who is addressing the group: the indigenous people[5] of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are variously known as the Jumma people, the Paharis, Pahori people or the hill people (Adnan, 2004). The strengthening of the collective Jumma identity was the result of the construction of a common identity regarding the indigenous tribes based on ethnic background, as the indigenous people from CHT shared in their exclusion from the official Bangladesh government approach to the region. In this context, the Indigenous Population have formed a political party the United People's Party (known as JSS) with an armed wing of the JSS,

---

[5] In the CHT Treaty (peace accord) is referred to the indigenous population as 'tribal'.

the Shanti Bahini (van Schendel, 2009). The number of insurgencies increased after the coups in 1975 and the government, in response to subsequent insurgencies by the indigenous people in the CHT, undertook a counter strategy, the CHT became heavily militarised and the IP were grouped into 'cluster villages' around military camp. The Shanti bahini attacked army camps and Bengali settlements as a response the armed forces of the government and the armed settlers carried out revenge killings on the Jumma villages (ibid, p.212).

Additionally, in 1979, the government made a drastic change to the land law of the CHT in order to implement their development plan for the area. In the next few years the government of Bangladesh migrated 400.000 landless families from different parts of Bangladesh from the plains to the CHT area (Nasreen & Togawa, 2002). Those poor Bengali that were migrated to the CHT area under the resettlement program received from the government a piece of land, which originally belonged to the indigenous people. This resulted in conflicts regarding the issue of private ownership of land. For the indigenous people, land is a property belonging to the community or 'tribal group', and not to an individual. However, the legal framework acknowledged by the government favours the powerful group dominating the scene, in this case the Bengali (Nasreen & Togawa, 2002).

Substantial numbers of the indigenous population were expelled from their land and villages, coupled with the transmigration of tens of thousands of landless and poor Bengalese from the plains lands who were settled in plots provided by the state. The main objectives behind this were that the settlement of a large number of
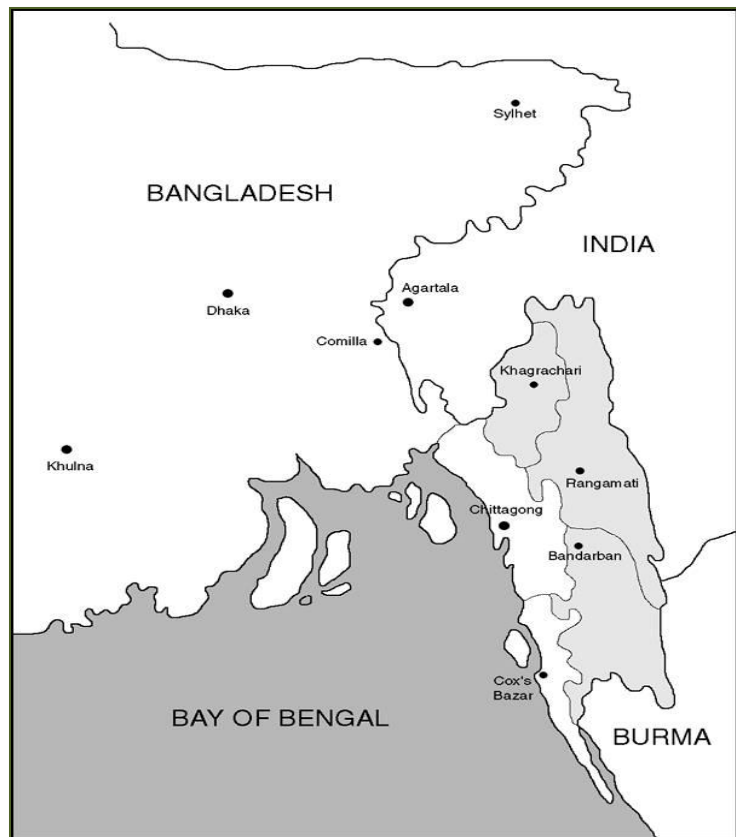
Map 1: Division of the three districts in CHT

Source: Roy, 2000

3

Bengali households in CHT[6] would enhance the size of the population loyal to the state and that these settlements would act as a counterweight to the population demanding indigenous peoples' rights and regional autonomy.

1.2   THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

One of the underlining points that this research focuses on is a proper analysis and assessment of the required development assistance before planning and implementing educational policies in post-conflict environments. Education is thereby the core focus of this thesis and it needs to be stressed that the subject is not going to be dealt with from the viewpoint of the curriculum, but rather in a broader sense that allows us to view both the manifestation of violence and its causes. The way education is being used to illustrate its role in peace-building situations goes beyond the delivery of literacy and numeracy. Thus the definition of education for this specific research regards the informal, non-formal and formal structures of learning – involving, besides literacy, the acquisition of ideas, values, beliefs and opinions outside educational institutions, whether in streets, fields, religious settings or at home.

This research aims to analyse the geography of education in a twofold way. Firstly, this research looks into the general aspects of education programmes in post conflict areas and will identify the role of education as a factor influencing the geographical patterns of other social and cultural phenomena, which are necessary while planning development assistance in the educational sector. Illustrated on the case study placed in the area of CHT Bangladesh, it will be closely looked at whether the education programmed is reflecting the local needs. Furthermore, the role of education in peace-building will be scrutinized, as education can have both a constructive and destructive impact on the peaceful coexistence within any society around the world. The setting of the analysis will be the geographical region of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh. The key research question concerns the role education plays and can play in the peace-building strategy for post-conflict regions.

The need for looking at the above mention research from the point of view of the geography of education derives from the fact that when planning educational programmes we need to take into account the dynamics of the development of geographical patterns. Despite the fact that

---

[6] Sixty two per cent of the Bengali population are living in rural CHT for less than thirty years. About twenty two per cent of the indigenous population have lost their lands: Socio-economic Baseline Survey of Chittagong Hill Tracts: Dhaka: September 2008.

there is a consensus shared worldwide regarding the positive effects education can have on individuals, communities and long-term state development, only some geographical areas offer education, in others education fails to reach children.

From the Western point of view, education is an important factor of human life, as it can improve both the lives of children and the economic growth and social welfare of nations and, as pointed out by Mary Anderson, "Education gives a child a better chance for a full, healthy and secure life" (1992, p.5). The importance of education is recognized, its implementation however is still a challenging matter. In development programmes in general there seems to be a one-size-fits-all approach, which focuses on basic education that should be delivered to all children. However, a lack of proper analysis of the local conditions offers only vague strategies, implementing what is perceived to be needed, without the possibility of proper evaluation of the effectiveness.

It is important to mention that this study does not aim to develop the definitive tool for assessing the impacts of educational development projects on the peace and conflict environment in which they are set, as one can be sure that the dynamics of each environment work against a rigid uniform framework. This research is rather aiming at the development of an approach to guide our assessment of the impact of educational development programmes in their complex interconnected environments.

1.2.1   Research objective

As mentioned above, the focus of this thesis is on the geography of education in the specific setting of a post-conflict area, Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh. The international community has committed itself to the provision of basic education worldwide by its commitment to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). It is the second of these goals, to achieve universal primary education, which is inevitably, as any other sector, affected by conflict. As also stated in the 2008 Millennium Development Report, it is mainly children affected by conflict or political unrest that are likely to be deprived of or lack the access to adequate, quality education.

Hence the objective of this thesis is:

> *To design a policy framework for the role of education in the peace building processes by identifying the shortcomings of the one-size-fits-all approach in current education programmes through a geography of education lens with regard to educational policies for the Chittagong Hill Tracts.*

In establishing this objective different methods and approaches were employed. These are described in detail in Chapter 5. The following research question and sub-questions were helpful in achieving the research objective. The research question is formulated as follow:

> *How does the education programme show the potential of education as a tool/facilitator for peace-building in the post-conflict region of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Bangladesh?*

The answer to this research question draws on the theoretical framework and on the practical policy application of the educational programmes in CHT described in the following chapters. The main research question is supported by 3 sub-questions which emphasise the different dimensions involved when looking at the education system in CHT and education systems in post-conflict environments as such. The questions are designed with the focus on one common theme and that is the geography of education in the CHT while looking at the different dimension of the state system and its societal structure and thus reaching from the grassroots level perception on education to the national level provision of education and its relevance for the region. The sub-questions are as follows:

> *How is education perceived by the local indigenous community in the Chittagong Hill Tracts?*
> *Is the national education programme meeting the diverse local needs of the CHT?*
> *What dimensions of education are relevant to the potentially conflicting local context of CHT?*

1.3   SOCIETAL RELEVANCE OF THE PROJECT

In the current debate concerning education policy development, the importance of a comprehensive management strategy is emphasized, which in many cases is missing and which in many cases has led to rather controversial effects on the development of children. One of the problems is the number of different actors involved in providing education to children. Although all the actors providing education seem to have a clear picture of what is needed for the proper development of children, as for instance sports, faith based education, language focus

etc., many times those good intentions might actually lead to the construction of cleavages within the society and intergroup exclusion. Thus, one of the goals of this project is focused on stressing the importance of sound research regarding the local realities before planning and implementing an education development programme. Without a coherent multi-actor strategy built on local realities and the needs of the people as well as a sustainable implementation plan, the projects from different actors run the risk of increasing rather than diminishing problems in the region. The second goal of this project is linked to the issues of the one-size-fits-all approach while looking into how education can be used as a tool for peace-building, illustrated by the case study of the CHT region. This research will, by examining different aspects of the educational programs in the region, identify whether the education currently provided encompasses the needs of the local context, and if and how the development programme is managing the sensitivities and conflict triggers in this post-conflict area.

Emphasis will be on the importance of the educational geographies, which should be designed suitable to the local context. The region of Chittagong Hill Tracts as a case study for this project has been chosen deliberately to illustrate the complex problems that might be faced in many ethnically conflicting areas. The case study will also serve as a grass-root level grounding for analysing the role education can play in the peace building process in general. Deriving from the analysis based on the collection of primary sources as well as personal observation, this research will contribute to the understanding of the role of education in development and mediation within societies. A general framework for education as a tool that could facilitate peace building and contribute to conflict prevention will be developed.

Besides my personal goal to conduct this research for my master thesis, this project is going to be beneficial to the initiatives active in development issues and in particular in the education area, thus delivering a framework embedding education in the process of peace building can serve as a reference approach to delivering education in post-conflict areas.

1.4   POLICY RELEVANCE OF THE PROJECT

At the World education forum at Dakar in 2000 it was for the first time officially stated that education can play a key role in preventing conflict and building peace. However, as claimed by scholars, "In many conflicts around the world, education is part of the problem, not the solution" (Bush and Saltarelli 2000, p. 33). Taking into account this quote, this research focuses

on the constructive influence and the potential solutions that education can offer in many conflicts around the world illustrated by the case study of Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Education is a factor that is embedded in societal reproduction and thereby has an enormous influence in shaping the society as such. It has an influence on the development of the society, but education itself is also influenced by the developments of the society. Education can be, on the one hand, used to marginalize minorities, and on the other hand can be directed towards stabilizing a potential conflict situation. By identifying the possibilities and situations that can lead to such a marginalization scenario, a solution to these problems can be formulated. Therefore, this thesis will attempt to design a framework which will help to take the local situation effectively into account when development policies are designed. Education plays a fundamental constructive role in promoting interpersonal cooperation and understanding and reinforcing social cohesion, and it contributes to overcoming social inequality and is a key to equal societal participation (Seitz, 2004).

Though there have been attempts to point out the link between education and conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, Tawil, 2001, UNESCO 2002, Davies, 2004, Seitz, 2004), the focus has mainly been on the negative impact of education and on the role education plays in triggering or fuelling conflict (ibid). However, the potential positive impact education can have in building peace is still scarcely analysed. Thereby, this research will attempt to look into the positive impact of education and the distinctive role it can have in the process of peace building. In order to understand the realities and the complexity of the topic, firstly the existing research on education and conflict is reviewed. This research employs the theories of ethnicity and identity construction linking them to the institutional setting of the educational systems. The findings are analysed with the help of structuration theory, which points out that every social interaction is both an interaction between individual and the reproduction of social structures. The theoretical framework is then applied to the specific geographical region the Chittagong Hill Tracts Bangladesh.

Several notions emerge when one is trying to develop a further insight in the matter of education and peace building. First of all, the one-size-fits-all approach is not a feasible plan, as it neglects local realities. Secondly, researching the local realities and designing solutions accordingly is currently lacking in development programmes. The following questions remain unanswered as of yet: Can education bridge the cultural cleavages in conflict areas? Can education be used to create a new path that would lead to peaceful co-existence? Would education be a possible solution if we have a conflict triggered by scarce land resources and the

majority of the people depend on land for making a living? Could for instance education be used for requalification and thus make people less dependent on scarce resources?

1.5   THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis comprises of 7 chapters. The introductory chapter gives a brief insight into the situation in CHT and the research problem and relevance of this study. Chapter 2 presents the conflict and complex emergencies theoretical background. Chapter 3 provides an overview on the debate on the topic of education and conflict and the necessary theoretical background for framing the complexity of the issues that this thesis deals with. In order to understand the realities and the complexity of the conflict in CHT area, the theoretical   Chapters 2 and 3 employ the theories of ethnicity and identity construction, moreover the institutional setting of the educational systems will be analysed with the help of structuration theory, which points out that every social interaction is both an interaction between individuals and the reproduction of social structures. The ways in which social structures shape the identities of individuals is of prime importance in a conflict transformation and peace-building process. The   Chapter 4 is then a concluding chapter to the theoretical part which provides the reader with practical instruments for assessing the geography of education in post-conflict areas, specifically developed during this research to serve a framework for assessment. Chapter 5 endows the reader with a detailed description of the methods and approaches used to gather and analyse the data for this research. Chapter 6 is dedicated to the empirical part of this thesis. The empirical data gathered during the field trip are analysed on two levels. Firstly, the overall picture given is based on the data from internal reports from the various institutions such as UNDP and UNICEF. Secondly, specific case of Bandarban one of the sub district of CHT, is zoomed in on.

Chapter 7 presents the conclusions based on the theoretical framework outlined throughout the thesis in relation to the situation of education as a tool for peace building in CHT and provides recommendations on possible improvements in the peace building process in CHT as well as on further studies in the area of education and conflict.

2   C ONFLICT & P EACE B UILDING

A starting point for addressing the relationship between the education and peace building process is to understand the complexity of temporary conflicts. Thus, this chapter provides an overview of the main concepts related to nowadays conflicts and the complex non-linear dimensions they are embedded in. Particular attention is given to the concept of ethnic conflict, as the nature of the region chosen for this study is analysed along ethnic cleavages in the region. Conflict transformation theory is another theoretical concept of this chapter and it illustrates the multi-dimensionality needed to be taken into account during the peace building process. The concept of transformation in this thesis draws on Galtung's conflict formation triangle to illustrate the dimensions of conflict, and by integrating structuration theory the emphasis is on the societal dynamics in which conflict exist. The last part of this chapter looks into the concept of peace building and introduces a tool for peace and conflict assessment which establishes the foundation for the discussion of the peace building process and the role of education.

2.1   C ONFLICT & C OMPLEX EMERGENCIES

Nowadays discussion of current conflicts highlights their complexity. Contemporary conflicts can be identified as protracted conflicts with increased negative humanitarian consequences, involving many people, civilians and military, directly or indirectly. There has been a shift from wars to 'complex political emergencies'[7], which from an analytical point of view do not offer one single explanatory model to describe the complex reality of conflict. These complex emergencies can be defined as conflicts without predictable and linear patterns of causes and effects (Goodhand & Hulme, 1999).

Before the potential positive effects of education on the peace building process will be illustrated and discussed and a guideline is formulated how to assure that the impact of the education cycle is not harmful, we need to look closely at what is meant by conflict and peace building and their link to development assistance.

---

[7] Complex emergencies – the term was invented by the UN to describe the major crises that have proliferated since 1989 that require a 'system-wide response' as "complex crises are not aberrations in a linear process of development but have deep roots in or are amplified by the ways in which societies are structured, issues of legitimacy and governance are addressed, and individuals and groups are affected by poverty and disparity" and education is seen as a part of this complex response (UN, Department of Humanitarian Affairs, A/51/172, 21 June 1996).

The link to development assistance is crucial and recently much debated. This relates to the difficult circumstances of operation and difficult questions related to this issue such as when we are able to say that the humanitarian aid phase regarding the country moving out of conflict is complete allowing development assistance start off, and when to start off the peace-building process. However, those topics go beyond the scope of this thesis as each of these topics would deserve a proper analysis and study by themselves. By necessity this thesis does tackle some of the issues raised by the above questions.

Returning to the starting point of this section, the terminology required for the discussion will be defined and linked to social theory of structuration and conflict transformation. A first useful definition to present here is that of conflict. In this study, a purposely broad definition is used in order to take in the role of human agency:

"In the sense of dispute, conflict is of course universal in the politics of family, community and nation. In that sense, any dynamic human system is by nature a conflictive one, encompassing the play of opposing interests. The crux lies in how such conflict is managed. So long as the social and political processes provide channels for dialogue, participation and negotiation, conflict plays a constructive role. Where such channels are blocked, and yet basic needs go unmet, then resentment and depression build up. The outcome is protest, repression and violence" (Agerback, 1991, p.152).

The above used definition of conflict is offered in a wider form than it is used by the mainstream of researchers. The term is seldom used by scholars without an adjective immediately tagged on to it, e.g 'internal conflict', 'regional conflict', or 'ethnic conflict'. Confusion is created when these labels are used interchangeably without clarification, which leads to situations where a regional conflict is wrongfully labelled as an ethnic conflict. To avoid misdirection of the reader, the conflict in the CHT is identified to be an ethnic conflict.

The ethnic conflict definition is important for two reasons; firstly the way education and conflict is looked at in this paper is from a cultural point of view, as the focus regarding education is on the acquisition of ideas, values, beliefs and opinions outside educational institutions which is set out in   Chapter 1, and is thus linked to cultural and ethnic societal interactions. Secondly the conflict in the CHT Bangladesh, which is used as a case study here, needs to be understood as an ethnic conflict because the conflict in CHT has been constructed along two ethnic groups, namely Bengali inhabitants and the Indigenous Population in CHT area. Although this ethnic construct divides the conflict into a struggle between two ethnic groups, one has to bear in mind that this emphasises but one of several possible social constructs, as the one group described as indigenous people constitutes of 13 different ethnicities. The issue of identity construction will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

2.1.1 Ethnic conflict

An ethnic conflict is defined here as "a dispute about political, economic, social, cultural or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities" (Brown, 2001, p. 221). A crucial element of ethnic conflict is ethnic identity, which itself has received a lot of attention and has been subject to much dispute among scholars[8]. Identity is a process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, that is given priority over the other sources of meaning (Castells, 2004, p6). The construction of identity uses building materials from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and from personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations (ibid., p. 6). Thus, "identity refers to a social category and those social categories are labels based on rules of membership and sets of characteristics. Social categories, their membership rules, content and valuation are the products of human action and speech, and as a result they can and do change over time"(Fearon and Laitin, 2000, p.848).

People see themselves in different ways, as for instance "a Bangladeshi Muslim is not only a Muslim but also a Bengali and a Bangladeshi, proud of the Bengali language, literature, music [other identities] connected with class, gender, politics etc" (Sen, 2005, p. 15). This plurality of identity is based on the fact that identity is a contextual concept. At the same time, these different identities all can be activated and politicized and become a singular category used to pit different groups against each other. Amartya Sen talks about the importance of pluralities of our identities, in which according to him harmony lies, and states that problems arise only when identity is constructed along singular lines (2005).

As mentioned above, ethnic conflict is defined as a dispute between two or more ethnic communities. By ethnic community we mean "a named human population with shared myths and memories occupying a historic territory or homeland, and possessing a common public culture, a single unified economy and common legal rights and duties" (Smith, 1996, p.581).

Additionally to the term ethnic community when talking about ethnic conflict it is important to define two other concepts, namely 'nation' and 'state', for reasons of understanding the geographic and political dimensions of such a conflict.

---

[8] The dispute about ethnic conflict is mainly between "primordialist", who claim that ethnic identities have a deep historical roots that change a little over time and "instrumentalist", who on the other hand say that ethnic identity is a recent construct and constructs are subject to dramatic changes over time (Brown, 2001). In this thesis we see ethnic identity as a social construct, and thereby adhere to an instrumentalist view on the matter.

A nation, as defined by Anderson, is 'an imagined political community' which is socially and culturally constructed through complex political (and historical) processes (Anderson, 1983, p.15). The notion of a state is defined as "a legal and political organization with the power to require obedience and loyalty from its citizens" (Seton-Watson, 1977, p. 1, cited in Danforth, 1995, p.14). The importance of these concepts lies in their explanatory capability helping to clarify interactions of different societal structures and the role of human agency therein. Taking all this into account we can move towards identifying the causes of ethnic conflict which can be divided along 4 clusters, in other words four different societal structures, as indicated in Table 1. The four clusters of underlying factors in Table 1, when present in a region make it more prone to violence.

Table 1: Underlying causes of ethnic conflict

Structural factors	Economic/social factors
Weak states	Economic problems
Interstate security concerns	Discriminatory economic systems
Ethnic geography	Economic development and modernization
Political factors	**Cultural/perceptual factors**
Discriminatory political institutions	Patterns of cultural discrimination
Exclusionary national ideologies	Problematic group histories
Intergroup politics	
Elite politics	

Source: Michael E. Brown, 2001

The definition of ethnic conflict and the division into four clusters of underlying causes of ethnic conflict helps us, in a simplified way, to classify which different layers of society are likely to be the cause of struggles and emphasizes that ethnicities are constructed. Constructing the identities for belonging to this or that ethnicity can be done twofold; on the one hand constructing an identity refers to either the content of social category, on the other hand identity construction can be linked to boundary rules (Fearon & Laitin, 2000, p.850).

"Ethnicity cannot be politicized unless an underlying core of memories, experience, or meaning moves people to collective action. This common foundation may include historical experiences, such as struggles against outsiders for possession of a homeland, or cultural markers, especially languages, religion, and legal institutions that set one community apart from others" (Esman,

1994, p.14). Thus one can say that ethnicity has little meaning unless a human agent mobilises the notion for whatever grievances. Then ethnicity is constructed along and embedded within the factors highlighted in Table 1. As also illustrated in Table 1, conflicts are formed from contradictions in the structure of society and they then become evident in the attitudes and behaviour of the society, but also through the societal interaction conflicts undergo a variety of transformations. In the next section, the focus will be on the conflict transformation theory, which deals with all the different layers and factors involved in conflict, underlining its multi-dimensional nature.

The factors illustrated in Table 1 can also be identified as factors contributing to the violent 'ethnic' conflict in CHT, and it needs to be noted that some of these factors are still present in CHT nowadays giving people the feeling of ongoing injustice. There are twelve ethnic communities living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, but Bengali treat them collectively as 'Pahori' (hill people), continuing a distinction that was put in place by the British rule. In this discourse, there is a simplification of identity issues, resulting in the identification of only two culturally defined groups, each with their own singular identity, Bengali and Pahori. The native tribes were continually grouped together under one single category, the 'Pahori people', implying their status as non-Bengali. This constructed identity of the 'Pahori people' has become a tool for the Bangladesh government that it uses to formulate its claims regarding the CHT area. The implications of this singular identity, according to which the 'Pahori people' are now categorized, can be seen in the current resettlement programme of the government that puts the tribal people in the position of being driven from their land, as land rights are given to Bengali but not to Pahori. This creates for Pahori a sense of belonging to a disadvantaged group, which is also stressed by the government. The government treats differently Bengali and non-Bengali inhabitants of CHT, leading to and enhancing resentment and a feeling of humiliation among the Pahori people. As Amartya Sen points out, such a feeling of injustice shared by a group of people under the same identity label makes it easier to mobilize rebellion (2005, pp.142-148).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the major amendment that was introduced was the omission of Regulation 1900 referring to the restrictions with regard to settlement in the CHT by outsiders. The outcome of the government the resettlement programme is illustrated in Figure 1, which illustrates the changes of ethnic balance in the CHT.

Figure 1: Changes of Ethnic Balance in the CHT

	1872	1901	1951	1981	1991 Year
Indigenous People	98%	93%	91%	59%	51%
Bengali	2%	7%	9%	41%	49%
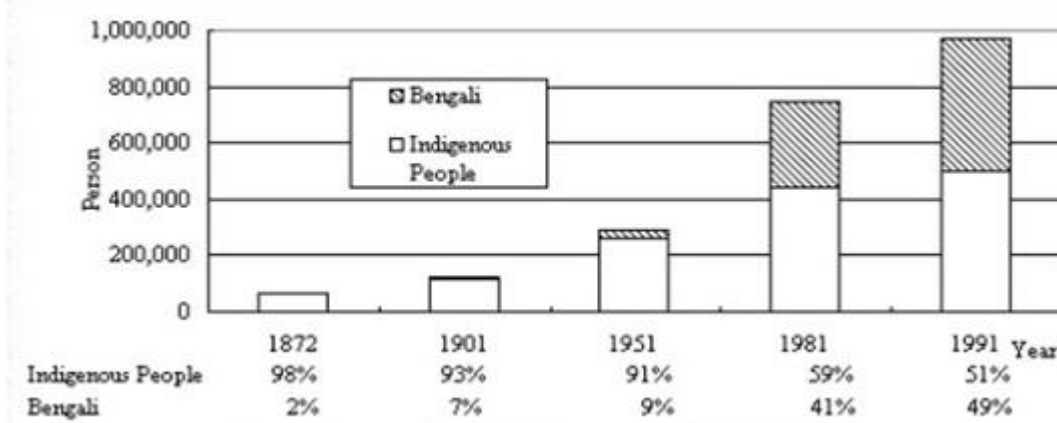
Source: Roy, 1997

The resettlement programme was implemented in three phases between 1979 and 1985 and according to Figure 1 the number of the Bengali population in the region has increased around the period of the resettlement programme from 9% in 1951 to 49% in 1991.

Taking into consideration the theory of horizontal inequalities, which draws upon the existence of severe inequalities between culturally defined groups, one can clearly see those inequalities present in the case of the CHT (Stewart, 2002). The horizontal inequality is furthermore made explicit in the case of the state policy of the dominant group (Bengali), which emphasises and legalizes their power over the ethnic minority of the tribal people in the name of development, and which, by means of development programs, attempts to wipe out the cultural identity of "Pahori" people. Horizontal inequalities are present and actively constructed by the government between Pahori and Bengali people who are involved in a clash for land. The clash is presented in the disguise of an ethnic conflict and thus obscures the economical, ideological and legal aims of the state that is focused on controlling the land and resources of the CHT area. It appears through their discourse as if the government is fighting terrorists and separatists in the name of state security, when in fact it is the state that has denied the natives the land rights that were promised to them in the peace accord.

2.2 CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION THEORY

What is actually meant with conflict transformation? An interesting approach is developed by Hugh Miall who takes into account the multi-dimensionality of this task. Miall defines conflict transformation as a process of engaging with and transforming the relationship, interests, discourses and, if necessary, the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of

16

violent conflict (2004). The theory of Miall is based on the theories from Azar about protracted social conflict and approaches applied by Galtung and Azar for conflict resolution. Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) emphasizes that sources of such conflicts lie predominantly within (and across) rather than between states (Azar, 1990).

The first analysis of Protracted Social Conflicts focuses on the identity groups, thereby noting that the core problem is the relationship between the identity group and the state and how individual interests are mediated through membership of a social group (Azar, 1990). Secondly, Azar identifies as a source of PSC the fact that there is a deprivation of human needs. The third point that Azar points out as playing a role is that of governance and therein the role of the state in satisfying the needs of individuals and the identity group (1990). The analysis of conflict as drawn on the explanation form Azar illustrates the complexity of the issue and thus, measures to a conflict resolution need to be also comprehensive and taking place on all the levels of conflict. Therefore, when talking about conflict transformation, this section of the research takes into account the theory developed by Miall, which encompasses the complexity, taking into account the dynamics of the conflict process and the fact that actors and interests/factors change over time.

In Table 1 the factors underlying ethnic conflicts have been outlined from which it is clear that conflicts are formed from contradictions in the structure of society and are influencing as well as influenced by all the different levels of society. Therefore when talking about transformation one needs to address all those layers. What makes it even more complex is the fact that conflicts undergo transformations themselves. In other words, both societal reproduction and conflicts are dynamic processes and therefore inevitably the transformation of conflicts needs to be placed in a dynamic and not a static dimension.

Figure 2 illustrates the transformers of conflict at different system levels underlying the complexity of the process. Hugh Miall's figure (2004) is founded on Galtung's triangular formulation of conflict (1996). Miall expands the conflict formulation triangle by building on the contradictions (letter 'C') the context of conflict which is includes the society level in conflict. On behaviour (letter 'B'), Miall builds the relationships which involve the interaction within society in the conflict environment. On attitudes (letter 'A') he builds memories which are part of each party's socially constructed understanding of the conflict. The whole transformation is then set into the wider state, regional and international dimensions with all the crucial influences such as culture, governance, institutions, social roles and norms and its path of development (Miall,

2004). Figure 2 shows all the different levels in a simplified diagram depicting the types and levels of transformation. It is the very structure of the state that makes such a transformation a complex process and therefore an illustration of this complex process has been developed to demonstrate not only the triggers behind the formation of the conflict but also to go beyond and illustrate the complexity of the society transformation towards peaceful coexistence. Figure 3, thereby, zooms in on Galtung's triangular formulation of conflict (1996) within the Figure 2 from Miall (2004) and elaborates on the state dimension to link it explicitly to the dynamics of society and the multidimensionality of societal transformation (from conflict towards cohesion). Next to embedding Galtung's conflict formulation triangle in a broader societal context, Miall's figure builds on the conflict formulation triangle by renaming Galtung's original societal interaction labels A, B and C into the terms context, memories and relationships. Figure 3 disregards these new labels, as they can be seen as an implicit part of the contradictions, attitudes and behaviour represented in Galtung's conflict formulation triangle.

Figure 3 represents the dynamics of the society at the state level which are linked to structuration theory. Drawing on the relationship between individuals (human agency) and the reproduction of societal structures, the figure is divided into two axes opposing the government and grass-root level, and the level of individual and collective human agency embedded within the various elements of the societal network and structure. The vertical axis represents the layers of society involved, form the grass-roots level at the bottom to the government at the top. The horizontal axis represents individual and collective human agency, since at all levels of society both individual and collective human agency shape the outcome of processes.

The triangle in the middle is embedded within this broader framework of the state and its society and represents the context in which a conflict can be formed. A, B and C are potential triggers for a conflict. The letter 'A' symbolizes Attitudes, which are social constructions based on the understanding of the environment and which are shaped by culture and learning. 'B' stands for Behaviour and is based on the whole fabric of interactions of human agencies and society structures. 'C' represents Contradictions in society, which influences A and/or B or can be the result of (the interaction between) A and B. Conflict can be the result of (the interplay of) any of the three flows between the triggers. The society dynamics are then influenced by as well as exerting an influence on the relationships between A, B and C highlighting the dynamics and transformation of society. To undergo a transformation, changes in A, B and C are necessary and determined by the collective effects of human agencies. The dynamics of society thus can lead towards peace-building or can create new tensions resulting in a new conflict.

Figure 2: Transformers and Triggers of Conflict at Different System Level

Figure 2: Expanding the Conflict Triangle:
Transformers and Triggers of Conflict at Different System Levels

global level

regional level

state/society level

context

development   governance

institutions   culture

C

A   B

memories   relationships

communities

transformers e.g. Track I, Track II, Track III initiatives

triggers e.g. arms sales diasporas overspill of regional conflicts

Source: Miall, H., 2004
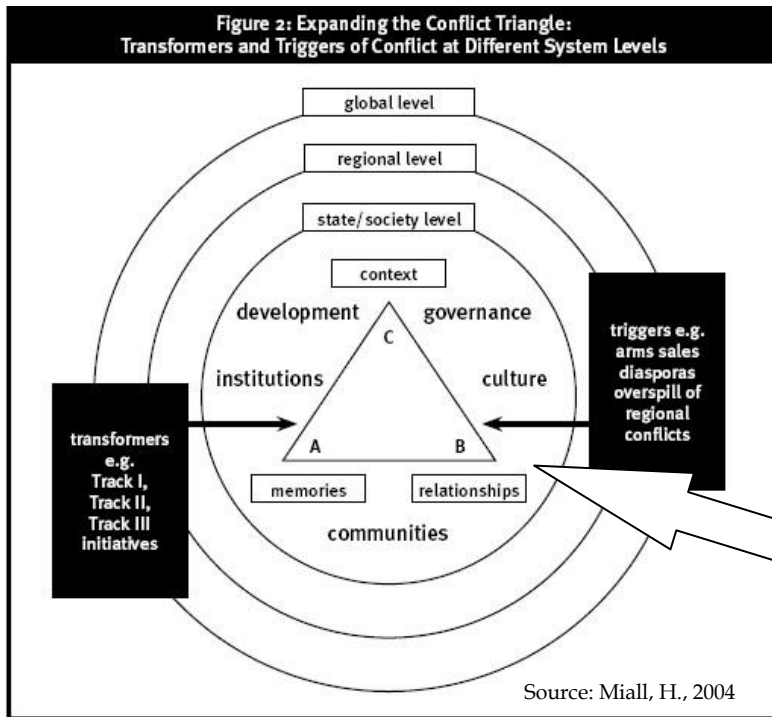
Figure 3: Multidimensionality of Conflict and Conflict Transformation

Government

Collective   Individual

Grass-root level

C = Contradictions
A = Attitudes
B = Behaviour

Government
Institutions
Security
Development initiatives

Normative values
Spatial Inequalities
Social roles

Awareness
Community relationships
Inclusiveness

Information and choice
Capabilities

Dynamics of the society

Values and Beliefs
Culture
Education

Identity

The way groups remember and construct their past is often central to the mobilization for conflict and thus is a crucial matter to address in reconciliation and cultural traditions work. If a conflict is described very generally as a state of tension which comes into being "as there are irreconcilable differences between two or more parties with respect to a certain commodity" (Pfetsch 1994, p.2 cited in Seitz, 2004, p.49), it is obvious that social change and societal development cannot result from the avoidance or suppression of conflicts (Seitz, 2004, p. 49).

With regard to the role of education in conflicts, as pointed out by Lennart Vriens, – "together with the army it (education) was the most successful instrument for the propaganda of a national identity and for the dissemination of militarism" (2003, p. 71). Additionally, as will be elaborated on in Chapter 3, culture is an inevitable part of the educational system and therefore when talking about development assistance in the education sector, a proper analysis is required of those aspects that might be the breaking point in the transformation of society in a conflict environment to a sustained peace.

2.3 PEACE BUILDING

Geographically, conflicting groups often reside in close proximity. According to Lederach, they have direct experience of violent trauma and in many cases they associate these traumas with their perceived enemies (2008). Sometime those perceptions are linked to a history of grievances and enmity which has been built up over generations. "Paradoxically, they live as neighbours and yet are locked into long-standing cycles of hostile interaction. The conflicts are characterized by deeply rooted, intense animosity, fear, and severe stereotyping" (Lederach, 2008, p.23).

In this thesis peace building is not seen as an outcome of mediation and development initiatives but as a process that involves long term efforts. Peace building is here defined as the creation and nurturing of constructive relationships – at every level of society – across ethnic, religious and racial boundaries. Peace building is therefore part of the dynamic process of societal transformation. As Lederach argues, "Peace building is more than post-accord reconstruction" (2008, p. 21). Peace building is thereby a range of relationship-building activities encompassing the entire conflict cycle and including conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution and transformation and post-conflict reconciliation (ibid).

As education is part of the complex and dynamic process of society, one can say it is strongly connected with many of the root causes of conflict to be addressed in peace-building (recognition of identity, cultural development community survival, distribution of resources,

access to political power, ideological orientation). For this research we define the peace building process as a transformation process rather than a reconstruction. Transformation encompasses physical, ideological as well as psychological components (Seitz, 2004, p.56) while reconstruction could include some of the previous structures which were part of the problems. It is important to keep in mind that conflict has an enormous influence on the whole nation, whereby none of the participants are the same, thus rather than building on existing roots we need to transform these in order to avoid a renewed building up of the same conflict. Transformation theory encompasses all levels of society and thus tries to include everybody in the transformation process. Rebuilding what has been damaged does not necessary mean that the roots that were behind the conflict are going to change. Rather than build on the existing situation it should be ensured that the whole society and its systems transform along the path of a peaceful coexistence.

As discussed in the previous section, transformation theory leans on the interaction within society where tensions are released, new norms established and refined. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the societal interactions causing conflict stem from the fact that the indigenous people were not recognised in the constitution in Bangladesh, and from the fact that after the liberation of Bangladesh the land traditionally owned by indigenous people was either taken from them by force or given to Bengali during the governments resettlement programme, which has created resentment towards the Bengali among the indigenous population. Although in this thesis two separate sections are dedicated to conflict transformation theory and peace-building the two concepts are seen as one parallel process, as both are long term processes with the aim to transform a conflict society into a peaceful coexisting one.

2.4   INTRODUCTION TO PEACE AND CONFLICT IMPACT ASSESSMENT (PCIA)

The PCIA is a means of evaluating (ex post facto) and anticipating (ex ante, as far as possible) the impacts of proposed and completed development projects. What makes the PCIA of development projects different from regular "evaluation" is its scope.

PCIA extends beyond the stated outputs, outcomes, goals and objectives of conventional development projects or programmes in order to obtain an insight into the impact of development programmes in relation to peace-building. PCIA is conceived as a means of mainstreaming analyses of peace and conflict dynamics in development interventions.

While the conventional evaluations focus more on projects or programmes in a certain sector

according to the prior specified suitable indicators within the project, the PCIA user should use additionally their own indicators (Bush, 1998, p. 20). In other words, when performing a peace and conflict impact assessment one has to go beyond the specified evaluation criteria of a project or programme as these are going to measure just the objective of the programme, but not the impact of it on peace or conflict. The development of appropriate evaluation methodologies and techniques that are able to accommodate the complex, multi-actor and highly interconnected nature of most conflict resolutions and peace building activities is also in the interest of the donors (Hoffman, 2004).

In the PCIA framework a project may fail accordingly to limited development criteria (e.g. irrigation targets, health care delivery, literacy levels) but succeed according to broader peace-building criteria.[9] This process can also take place in the reverse direction i.e. when development programmes succeed in the development criteria but fail in terms of a beneficial impact on peace. As illustrated by Bush, education projects may fail to produce students able to pass state-wide exams, but may succeed in reducing tensions between particular social groups by creating and institutionalising non-threatening and constructive environments that increases neutral contact and decreases misunderstandings by dispelling stereotypes misconceptions (1998, p.7). An example from practise would be the Government of Northern Ireland Education reform where various initiatives were made compulsory as a cross-curricular theme under the name Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) (Smith & Robinson, 1996). The EMU is about self-respect and respect for others, and the improvement of relationships between people of different cultural traditions with objective to learn the pupils; "to respect and value themselves and others; to appreciate the interdependence of people within society; to know about and understand what is shared as well as different about their cultural traditions; and to appreciate how conflict may be handled in non-violent ways"(ibid).

The space created within the PCIA by broadening the view on projects beyond the pre-specified indicators allows all the different stakeholders to be part of framing the specific set of needs to address – it is a way to discuss and explore different interpretations of impact (Bush, 1998). The flexibility in identifying indicators creates room for innovation that may be culturally and site specific (ibid). However, worldwide there is no one view on PCIA; some see PCIA as a tool for programme planning, others expect a concept for evaluation and comparative analysis (Seitz,

---

[9] PCIA has however also its limitations that need to be taken into account once this approach is used; its framework relies completely on the quality of information and analysis introduced, as well as the user's ability to ensure that the perspectives of different parties in a conflict represented in the exercise. It also relies on the ability of the user to identify opportunities for co-operation with other actors who can promote peace (FEWER, 1999).

2004). Ideally it should be used for both; before developing a policy that is to be used in the aftermath of a conflict a proper analysis is necessary in order to assure that the new policies will lead to transformation of the conflict. At the same time, when a programme is running in a conflict region, the evaluation should, additionally to the specified indicators for the programme, include indicators that would measure the impact of the programme on peace or conflict.

For the purpose of this thesis in the following chapters a number of guidelines and intervention principles based on the PCIA are developed specifically for education development assistance. Chapter 3 looks in detail into the link between education and conflict. Chapter 4 will address where education can fit within the existing PCIA framework and endeavours to formulate a set of instruments for the impact assessment of proposed education in emergencies and educational development assistance for post-conflict regions. The importance of applying the PCIA lies in its ability to establish a baseline from which the development policy planning in general should start, however as already pointed out above PCIA is not limited to this and the approach can be used as well for the evaluation of development interventions.

3 DEBATE ON EDUCATION AND CONFLICT

"Yet, even as doubts remain concerning its effectiveness, demands for education to contribute towards the solution of problems in diverse fields of global concern have multiplied. Increasingly it is realised that the consolidation of peace is inextricably linked to the process of achieving sustainable development and the eradication of poverty and the effective education is a pre-requisite for achieving these goals" (UNESCO 2000:75)

3.1 EDUCATION AND CONFLICT

Effective education is seen as a pre-requisite for achievement sustainable development. However, what do we mean by education? And how will education actually combat poverty? This is not to question the statement made by UNESCO, rather to make us think about words that are used and taken for granted. The focus of this chapter is on education and conflict, which is academically a rather under-discussed matter. There are many issues that complicate bringing these two concepts together and that is why a whole chapter is dedicated here before moving on to the analysis of the peace-building process in CHT.

First of all, it is necessary to state that the nature of conflicts is shifting. Many scholars call contemporary conflicts 'new wars', 'complex emergencies' that occur 'intra state' (cf. Kaldor 1999, Goodhand & Hulme 1999, OECD[10]) where the conflict has moved from battlefields to towns, villages and homes of ordinary people. As Miall notes, violent conflicts devastated many developing countries and shattered development efforts (2004). The tight ties between conflict and development have been also scrutinized by Paul Collier, who points out the relationship between conflict and poverty and argues that the socio-economic development and fair distribution of the development of a country is a crucial determinant of whether the country stays in the "conflict trap" or whether it moves on the path towards peaceful coexistence[11] (Collier, 2007).

---

[10] DAC/OECD (1999). Guidance for Evaluating Humanitarian Assistance in Complex Emergencies.
[11] World Bank in the report on 'The Role of the World Bank in Conflict and Development' notes that there is a two faced relationship between conflict and poverty – while pervasive poverty makes countries more vulnerable to violent conflict, conflict itself creates more poverty. " Countries facing high risk of conflict must also look at the development challenge through a different lens, paying particular attention to their vulnerability to conflict and the impact strategies and policies may have in mitigating or aggravating the risk of conflict"(WB, 2004, p. 14).

Conflict as such has a great influence on the development of countries as well as on the well being of a country's population. As already mentioned in the introductory chapter, the international community reached a consensus on addressing barriers[12] to development when the Millennium Development Goals were adopted. As also analysed in the Millennium Development Goals report from the year 2008, complex emergencies are the greatest threat to achieving those goals in general, including universal education. It is mainly children affected by conflict or political unrest that are likely to be deprived of or lack the access to adequate, quality education (UN, 2008).

This chapter deals with the core of this research, the relationship of education to conflict and the potential role of education in the peace building process. Education for conflict-affected populations should focus on constructive and positive behaviour and help children and adults to understand their responsibilities for building a peaceful future. This view on education is going to be further explained in the following section of this chapter based on the current debate on 'education and conflict', the importance of geography of education and the two faces of education. This chapter also points out the link between ethnicity, culture and education and embeds education within the broader societal interaction.

For the purpose of this thesis the concept of a 'life cycle' of education programmes was developed which includes not only the practical part of the project cycle (meaning the different phases such as programming, identification, appraisal, financing, implementation, evaluation) but also the impact of education programmes on and their interconnectedness with society dynamics and development, taking into consideration its intertwinement with other sectors. It is important to note that while applying the life cycle of educational programmes for development assistance we need a thorough understanding of the complexity of how educational programmes are embedded in society and local cultural realities to be able to utilise the constructive role education can have in peace building.

3.2   THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL DEBATE ON "EDUCATION AND CONFLICT"

---

[12] Since the Millennium Development Goals many development organizations and stakeholders involved in executing the development programmes have been pointing out the existence of conflicts and emergencies is the greatest barrier to development (Millennium Development Goals Report, 2008, p.13).

The right to education for each human being goes back to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in which laws are stated that emphasise the right of each individual to quality basic education in general, but also in situations of societal crisis, in wars and catastrophes[13].

The international society for development has accepted several programmes that are dedicated to combat the lack of access to education by developing the Education for All (EFA) framework, which is the outcome of the worldwide taken endeavour to assure that each child on the planet has access to a quality basic education. However, several obstacles in the provision of education have been experienced. One major overall short-coming is the fact that there is a lack of proper analysis of the local conditions and requirements, resulting in vague strategies and the implementation of programmes focused on what is perceived to be needed, without proper ex ante or ex post evaluation. Furthermore, looking more specifically into the conflict or post-conflict regions, one can see that the EFA aim, despite its great intention, fails to be realised.

It was for the first time officially noted at the World conference on EFA in Jomtien in 1990 that there is a connection between declining school enrolments and armed conflict.

Ten years later at the World education forum in Dakar 2000, it was introduced that EFA must take into account the needs of children and adults affected by armed conflict and that education can play a key role in preventing conflict and building peace. Additionally, from the recent work of scholars in the area of education and conflict, one can claim that there is a consensus shared worldwide regarding the positive effects education can have on individuals, communities and long term state development. Education plays a fundamental role in promoting interpersonal cooperation and understanding and reinforces social cohesion and understanding (Seits, 2004) and, as Mary Anderson claims, "Education gives a child a better chance for a full, healthy and secure life" (1992, p.5).

The fact that education is an important factor of human life that can improve both the lives of children and the economic growth and social welfare of nations and thus is important for the development of human capital is widely accepted. Unfortunately, the physical geographies of education have a limited reach and some children are simply left out. Additionally, the realisation of the full 'life cycle' of educational programmes for development assistance faces many challenges and it is an even more challenging matter in conflict-prone regions. In particular the way education impacts conflict and in which conflict has an impact on education

---

[13]International instruments concerning the right to education are listed in Annex I.

is important.

It has been proven in many cases throughout the history that education may be abused to propagate war or agitate ethnic differences, as for instance was the case in the genocide in Rwanda an ethnic division was deliberately constructed and politicised (Gourevitch, 1998). As pointed out by Klaus Seitz, "Education is, a numerous examples document, a key medium with which ethnicity is mobilised for the escalation of conflict" (2004, p.10). However, if education can be used to mobilise societies to conflict, education should also be able to mobilise people towards a positive outcome and thus facilitate the peace building process. The potential positive and negative impacts of education will be elaborated on in paragraph 3.3. As Seitz argues, "an unbiased observation of the ambivalent influences which education can have on the genesis and dynamics of violent conflicts is necessary to demystify the apparent peace-building power of education" (Seitz, 2004, p.10).

An institutional obstacle is encountered when we start to discuss education and conflict in the context of international development assistance. Education is a long-term development goal. Education needs are not an integral part of the humanitarian response in emergencies. Resulting from this structural division, from a financing point of view, educational programmes can face impossible situations. Financing instruments exist for emergencies but are restrictive in terms of availability for education. At the same time, financing available for development (and thus education programmes) does not apply to countries in emergencies.[14] This problem is pointed out by Junno and Verkoren in their edited book *Post-conflict Development: meeting new challenges,* "Humanitarian organizations rush in but are neither interested in the causes of the conflict nor in long-term development. Development organizations see these situations as an exception and may find the situation too unstable to resume their work" (Junno & Verkoren, 2009, p.5). The debate on this issue is getting more and more attention, as it is recognized that we cannot wait with the provision of education until the country has received development aid, only after humanitarian aid has seized. However, where do we establish the clear line between a situation requiring only humanitarian aid and a situation ready for development aid? And how do we assess ex ante whether an educational programme will hamper or benefit the peace building process?

---

[14] Save the Children Alliance (2006), Rewrite the Future, Education for Children in conflict-affected countries; London http://www.savethechildren.net/alliance/rewritethefuture/pdf/RewritetheFuturePolicy Report.pdf.

3.3   GEOGRAPHY OF EDUCATION

To further understand the structural framework of education within a society, we now focus on the geography of education. The geography of education is, as far as could be traced in the course of this research, not an explicit aspect mentioned in any of the educational development programmes. This very limited academic background discussion on the geography of education warrants an explanation of how the geography of education can be defined and how its implications have been dealt with implicitly and/or explicitly.

One possible approach is to focus on the general aspects that make up the geographical approach in general and then relating these aspects to the geography of education in particular. We could in this case classify the geographical spread of schooling facilities as one aspect of the geography of education. In many development programmes, such a mapping of schooling facilities in a region has been performed. However, this is not an exhaustive definition of the topic, nor is it made explicit in the development programmes that this schooling facilities assessment is conducted with the aim of establishing an approach to development aid that is related to the geography of education for the specific region. Rather, it appears that assessing the amount and spread of schooling facilities is implicitly taken to be an adequate geographical starting point for the development of assistance programmes.

Another aspect of the geography of education is to identify whether the societal framework that forms the basis for educational programmes is linked to the formal and legal boundaries (e.g. the official borderlines of the districts, sub districts and villages), or to the traditional informal cultural boundaries (e.g. the regional division along tribal group boundaries giving rise to different ethnic groups territories). Development assistance is established through the internationally accepted formal framework of the nation state. However, as the borders in such a system are artificial, they generally do not conform to traditional cultural boundaries. These artificial divides can in itself be a source of conflict. Development aid approaches along formal boundaries thus may incorporate societal structures that can give rise to conflict. An explicit dealing with the geography of education in the development of educational programmes can help to successfully address potential complications arising from the structural framework that is taken as the starting point for development aid.

To properly implement a strategy that uses education as a tool for peace building we need to assess the situation in the particular post-conflict setting. Before moving to the practical concerns of the use of education as a tool, it seems necessary to introduce what is meant by conflict and the peace building process that includes the transformation of the society to an environment of peaceful co-existence, which is the theme of the following chapter

3.4 TWO FACES OF EDUCATION

According to Bush and Saltarelli, "education initiatives can have polar opposite impacts, those involved must stop supporting peace-destroying educational initiatives, and start supporting those aimed at peace-building" (2000, p. 7) Many of the current conflicts are labelled as ethnic, "motivated by the fact of one's religion, traditions, the colour of one's skin or any other reason that is not openly ideological or economic in nature" (ibid, p.7). Bush and Saltarelli, claim that "In many conflicts around the world, education is part of the problem, not the solution" (ibid, p. 33).

However, such a view is not shared by everybody. Peter Buckland states that "education does not cause wars, nor end them; every education system has the potential either to exacerbate or to mitigate the conditions that contribute to violent conflict" (2006, p.7). One can say that the influence of education, whether exacerbating or mitigating the conditions that contribute to violent conflict, comes from the fact that education is interlinked with the dynamics of society. It is an embedded part of it and it is influencing as well as influenced by the society's dynamics. Education thus has a strong role in shaping social interaction and behavioural reproduction. Examples of the negative and positive faces of education are illustrated in the Table 2. When reading the table one needs to take into account that those listed are outcomes of using education for a certain purposes and are all set in the environment of schools decide by the individual country governments to take these measures.

Table 2: Negative and Positive Faces of Education

Negative Effects Aggravating Conflict	Positive Effects Mitigating Conflict
• Direct policies for school systems that segregate and divide as for instance in South Africa – where education was used to institutionlize apartheid -	• Creating a culture of resistance – against the negative propaganda from the media and governments • Nurturing and sustaining an ethnically

Negative Effects Aggravating Conflict	Positive Effects Mitigating Conflict
or in Rwanda – where quotas were installed by the state with regard to school participation according to ethnic background. • Uneven distribution of education as a means to create or preserve economic, social and political priviligies • Education as a threat to social cohesion through institutionalisation of the differences between local and national culture • Denial of education as a weapon of war • Education as a means of manipulating history for political purposes • Education serving to diminish self-worth and encourage hatred • Segragating education as a means of ensuring inequality, inferiority and stereotypes • The role of textbooks in impoverishing the imagination of children and thereby inhibiting them from dealing with conflict constructively.	tolerant climate • Education and the desegregation of the mind • Linguistic tolerance • Cultivation of inclusive conceptions of citizenship - Citizen education - Citizenship is supposed to provide a set of common universals • The disarming of history • Education for peace programmes • Educational practice as an explicit response to state oppression

Source: Bush and Saltarelli, 2000, p.34; Davies 2006 adopted by Novakova 2010

Sommers notes, that "Many who conduct modern wars are experts at using educational settings to indoctrinate and control children" (2002, p. 8) and thus use education for the purpose of war propaganda. Educational institutions themselves are often shaped by violence to a high degree (Vriens 2003, Davies 2004, Seitz, 2004,) and are according to Davies (2004), interlinked with the causes of violent conflict through at least three factors:

- The reproduction or production of socio-economic disparities and the aggravation of social exclusion
- The conveying of an authoritarian, " hegemonic" concept of masculinity
- The development of " essentialist" identity and nationalistic citizenship concepts, which deny the cultural plurality of society and promote intolerance towards " the other" .

Source: Davies 2004, Seitz, 2004

Undoubtedly education has an impact on the reproduction of society[15] as outlined in the previous chapter. Reproduction of society includes all the levels of society from grassroots levels to the highest institutional circles and ethnicity plays a central role since "Ethnicity has become the fundamental basis for social stratification in contemporary society" (Bush & Salterelli, 2000, p.1), and as identity and race are socially constructed, the information available to people is constructed and cultural cleavages can be politicized. Thus the next paragraph focuses on how ethnicity, culture and education interplay in conflict settings and the peace building process. In the following subsections this will be linked to the societal systems and the interaction of human agency and to the importance of the actor oriented approach and actor perspectives as a frame of reference grounded in everyday life experience, allowing us to address both the grass root level and the policy level.

3.5   ETHNICITY, CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Most of the contemporary states are ethnically heterogenic, despite the implicit claims to homogeneity of culture and identity that come with the concept of 'state'. Traditionally, education systems have played a key role in maintaining this fictive image of cultural homogeneity (Bush & Salterelli, 2000, p.6). Consequently, it is the constructive (with positive or negative impact) aspects of education that are influencing one's identity, perception of ethnicity and sense of group belonging. According to the Bush and Salterelli, "If it is true that education can have a socially constructive impact on intergroup relations, then it is equally evident that it can have a socially destructive impact" (2000, p.9).

According to Lynn Davies, "the school one has attended in a divided society is a 'cultural market'. This leads into the question of how identities are formed and reformed and how hybridisation is forgotten or resisted" (2004, p.76). The study of Bush and Salterelli understands ethnicity as a form of cultural distinctiveness, implying that an ethnic group only makes sense in the context of ethnic pluralism and that ethnic identity becomes of social or political relevance when given a social meaning and significance (2000). However, the notion of ethnic grouping does not exist on a merely abstract level but is linked to a particular time and space and concrete everyday life situations for the individual actors involved. For example in CHT, it was only in the context of the Bengali government's insensitivity to the country's minority culture that the

---

[15] Reproduction of society is seen by Giddens as a practical activity concerning the ongoing accomplishment of what needs to be done in order for social life to continue (Tucker, 1998, p. 76).

indigenous population in CHT began referring to themselves collectively as 'Jumma' –linking themselves with the hill agriculture Jhum (van Schendel, 2009) as opposed to the Bengali from the plains.

The definition of ethnicity used here can be summarized as follows: Ethnicity is the subjective, symbolic, or emblematic use by a group of people of any aspect of culture in order to create internal cohesion in the subgroup and differentiate themselves as a group separate from other groups (Brass, 1991, p.19). In general, ethnicity as such does not cause conflict, unless it is mobilised and politicized. Ethnicity and collective identity are however increasingly mobilised and politicised in current violent conflicts and education is a key medium in mobilising ethnicity to incite conflicts (Smith and Vaux, 2003 in Seitz, 2004).

Education has increasingly become a highly valued commodity and it is its unequal allocation or even restricted access that one can claim has had a negative impact on the peaceful coexistence among groups. Throughout history many cases can be identified where social groups were denied access to educational resources based on ethnicity and consequently such ethnic groups would be excluded from a full economic and social participation in the country. Such developments can be illustrated in the case of education in Rwanda where one ethnic group was favoured at the expense of the other, or in countries such as Cambodia and Tibet. Therefore, a restricted access to education should be viewed as "an indicator of deteriorating relations between groups" (Davies, 2004). Although the situation in the CHT will be described in detail in Chapter 6, a brief example of an existing indicator deteriorating the relations between groups is offered already at this point. The formal primary education in CHT offers lessons only in Bengali and not in local languages which automatically excludes a certain groups of indigenous people. Additionally, the formal education facilities remain to be difficult to reach for many of the children living in remote areas.

It is important to mention that not only the physical denial of education has an impact on the peaceful coexistence within society, but 'education is also a weapon in cultural repression' when it becomes part of "the process whereby a culturally distinct people loses its identity as a result of policies designed to erode its land and resources base, the use of its language, its own social and political institutions, as well as its traditions, art forms, religious practices and cultural values" (Stavenhagen, 1990 cited in Bush & Salterelli, 2000, p.10). An essential element of cultural identity is language. National language is important in the process of nation building.

When a dominant language displaces other tongues, thus when language policies are in the process of imposing a dominant language on ethnic groups (both inside and outside the formal school system) it is a repressive act (Stavenhagen, 1996) both in its intention and outcome.

Robert Putnam stresses the importance of taking off the western glasses and looking at the cultures of the societies involved; otherwise it will not be possible to understand how formal political institutions work (2003). By culture we understand "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1871 cited in Farb, 1969, p.18). The cultural aspects are (conveniently) left out from any development assistance, and the main reason is the complexity that comes with the cultural aspects.

As pointed out by scholars, Gerd Junne and Willemijn Verkoren, the complexity of the cultural aspects is due to at least the three following reasons:

- Cultures change slowly, while change is needed; cultural change is a long term process
- Culture is specific to a region or population which makes it hard to generalise
- "culture" is an umbrella term for different phenomena ranging from religion to language to customs and value systems.

Source: Junne&Verkoren, 2009, p.11

And yet despite the fact that involving culture creates an even more complex situation in the post-conflict environment, it is exactly those cultural differences that would force the development assistance to be tailored to local realities and thus those cultural aspects are elements that cannot be left out from education programmes in the context of development aid.

The structure of societies is not homogeneous. However, when talking about culture one needs to take the existing differences into account as each society has a different priority ladder which cannot be overlooked when giving any type of development assistance. To understand the structure of a society, Pinto argues that there are two general types of societies (Figure 4) we can distinguish according to cultural orientation. On the one hand we have the individual oriented society (representing the western hemisphere) and on the other hand we can identify group-oriented societies. Not only for understanding the political institutions (Putnam 1993), but also for understanding the role that education has in societal reproduction and the important role it plays within the society, when talking about the transformation of post-conflict society, which

some academics refer to as the reconstruction of society[16], cultural aspects need to be taken into account. In order to achieve that societies are transformed in such a way as to prevent a war, "Societies must be changed so that the past problems do not arise, as happened with development in the past: moreover, this process cannot be left to chance but requires direct and concerted action" (Duffield, 2001, p.15).

Figure 4: Types of Societies (simplified model)

Individually-oriented Societies   **Group-oriented Societies**
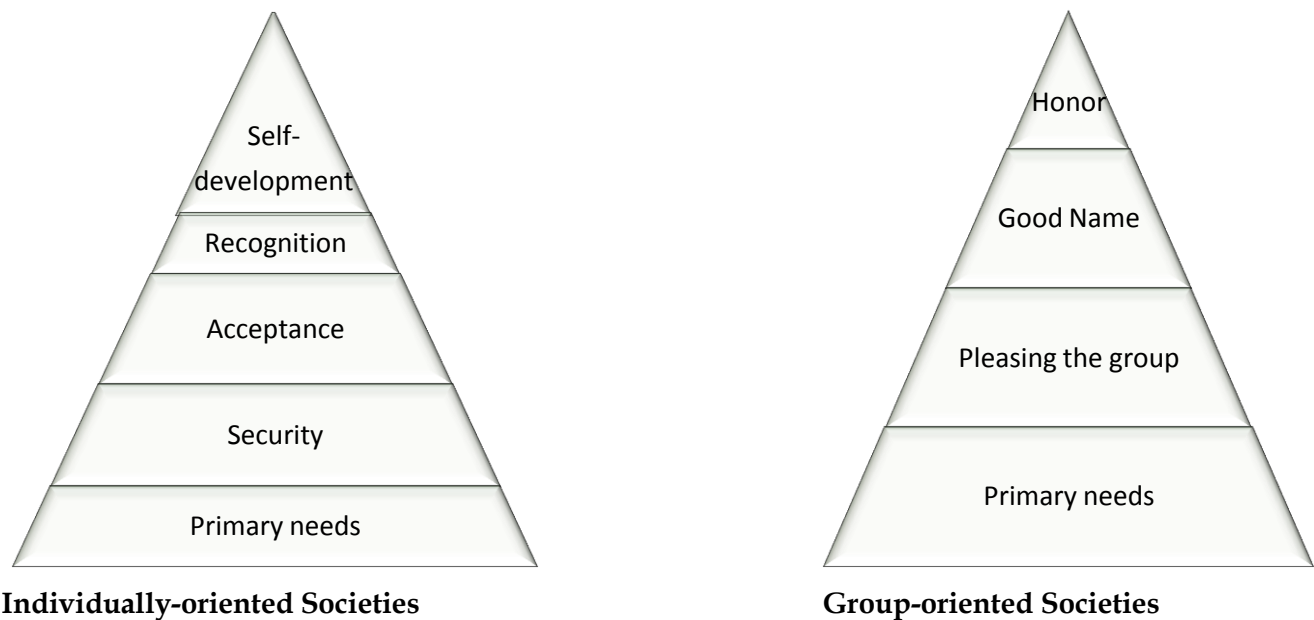
Pinto (2000) emphasises that the type of society does not under all circumstances determine individual behaviour, rather it creates a contextual influence on the individual that can affect individual behaviour. The context of the type of society in which an individual learns what life is about influences the hierarchy of priorities the individual will develop. As outlined above, education has its impact on societal development and thus one can see the impact it can have in the peace building process – not only peace education but the overall norms and values that are being introduced in human education and their development.

3.6   EMBEDDING EDUCATION IN SOCIETAL INTERACTION

---

[16] In this research it is preferred to talk about society transformation rather than a reconstruction for a simple reason – transformation is defined as a process of transmutation from one state to another and can apply to an individual or an organization or the product or service supplied by the organization. Reconstruction on the other hand, refers to the process of building or creating something again that has been damaged or destroyed.

Undoubtedly, education as a part of society is not only closely interacting with and rooted in society, but is also implicated in creating or sustaining inequality. As some argue, a structure of inequality gives rise to differential identities, posing a challenge to a unified sense of national identity. The failure of formal education in its nation building and distributive functions undermines the legitimacy of existing power structures and exacerbates political and social tensions (Heynemann and Todoric-bebic, 2000 cited in Davies, 2004).

The dynamics of society are well explained by structuration theory, according to which every social interaction is both an interaction between individuals and the reproduction of social structures. In structuration theory, social change is seen as subject to outcomes determined by the collective effects of human agency. "All societies both are social systems and at the same time constituted by the intersection of multiple social systems" (Giddens, 1986, p.164). One can also see the multiple systems as "multiple realities" and diverse practises of social practice of various actors (Norman&Long, 1992,p.5). Structuration theory does not only explain the social interaction but also puts emphasis on the actor-oriented approach, in which the actor in human agency is a social construction rather than a synonym for the individuals. Human agency is thus the core focus of the actor-oriented approach. The actor oriented analysis assumes that actors are capable of formulating decisions, acting upon them and innovating or experimenting (Long, 1992 p 25.). The concept of social systems was described in Chapter 2 in connection with transformation theory.

To conclude, education is part of the social systems and has, therefore, its role in social interaction and reproduction. However, as claimed by some, the role of education in societal reproduction must be seen as constantly constituted rather than constantly reproduced (Davies 2004). This means that education is a structural framework of society that is constantly changed by human agency rather than a statically conveyed reproduction of fixed societal values.

4 EDUCATION IMPACT ASSESSMENT IN CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT ENVIRONMENTS

"Any development project set in a conflict-prone region will inevitably have an impact on the peace and conflict environment- positive or negative, direct or indirect, intentional or unintentional."

(Bush,1998, p.8)

"Emergency education programmes as well as child related rehabilitation measures are crucial to ensure that children and young adults do not become destabilizing elements in post crisis situations."

(EC, 2001, p.15)

4.1 IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON THE PEACE BUILDING PROCESS

As outlined in the previous chapters, education can have a constructive and a destructive impact and many of the current conflicts are labelled as ethnic conflicts. Ethnic conflicts, as pointed out by some, are "motivated by the fact of one's religion, traditions, the colour of one's skin or any other reason that is not openly ideological or economic in nature" (Bush & Salterelli, 2000, p.7). These motives are social constructs and thus the claim that education can have a destructive or constructive role within society reproduction is underlined and one can claim that education has an important role in the peace- building process. In this chapter the way education contributes to either positive or negative developments is analysed. These analyses are the basis for developing an instrument which will help different groups to assess the needs and focus areas of education according to the local reality. A framework of indicators for Education Impact Assessment which is based on the PCIA (cf. Chapter 2) is developed for the impact assessment of proposed education in emergencies and educational development assistance for post-conflict regions.

This approach is developed to serve as a precondition for developing, an actual proper understanding of the positive linkages between educational development programmes and peace building. There is a need to develop and implement the appropriate means to identify and recognise the impact that the different programmes can have. We need to ask ourselves the question; Will (did) the proposed project support sustainable structures and processes which will strengthen the prospects for peaceful coexistence? For the answer to this question it is necessary to look beyond the stated parameters of most projects.

4.1.1 Difference asks for a design of development policy accordingly

Mary B. Anderson points out in her guidebook: *Do no Harm*, the necessity of understanding difference and to accordingly design the development policy (1996). She observes that in the last thirty years, development specialists have identified a categorization of people who are left out of generalized development processes and who require special programming attention. This recognition that development programming occurs in a complex and changing social context points out the need of using a so-called *disaggregation methodology* when assessing the needs and points to be included in policies or development programmes. By disaggregation methodology is meant that people who are left out of generalized development processes and who require special programming attention should be identified and categorised. Among these people left out are especially women, elderly people, children and others who are marginalised by their societies because of race, ethnicity, religion and language. Programmes should be developed on the basis of differences, however in ways that "unite rather than distinguish people's interest, and that advocate progress rather than only subgroup empowerment" (Anderson, 1996). To achieve this, understanding the local contextual realities needs to be a priority in the planning of development strategies and programmes. When planning for an educational reform, transformation theory (cf. Chapter 2) provides a framework for focusing on all the layers of society, and employing disaggregation methodology helps to divide the integrated whole of society into smaller parts, enhancing the possibilities to see and identify the possible obstacles for the peace building process in a specific region.

4.2 THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE AFTERMATH OF CONFLICT

Resulting from the fact that education can have a double face, the negative and the positive, there is a need to pay attention to this fact while reforming the system. Schools play an important socializing role as one of the key institutions for transmitting national, community values.

As Wondem Asres Degu argues, educational reform as part of post-conflict development can contribute to breaking the cycle of conflict or fuelling the old conflict or triggering a new one.

This is mainly because education is strongly connected with many of the root causes of conflict, just to name a few: construction of the cleavages along lines of one's identity, cultural development, community survival, distribution of resources, access to political power,

ideological orientation (2005).

Inequalities in educational opportunities is related to socioeconomic development (economically poor regions usually have less/ poorer educational facilities); less educational opportunity may result in poor economic development, which can eventually have political implications (Degu, 2005, p. 139). As already stated, education has its role in reproducing society and thus can be fully engaged into peace building and when done right can have a positive effect.

Gavriel Solomon advocates a context-related differentiate of peace education divided into three categories:

- Peace education in regions with intractable ongoing violent conflicts
- Peace education in regions of interethnic tensions
- Peace education in regions of experienced tranquillity

Source: Salomon and Nevo, 2002 in Seitz, 2004

The peace building approach to education takes into account historical and socio-political factors and defines education as multidimensional and necessarily linked to other subsystems (Tawil, Harley & Porteous, 2003). Thus we cannot isolate one sector from another but rather need to use a sector wide approach that helps us to foresee possible spill-over effects of educational programmes to other sectors and therefore it needs to be linked to social and political processes of reconciliation and reconstruction (ibid).

The peace building process should focus on transformation as an approach that encompasses different components from physical, ideological to psychological components. With regard to education we should more than ever reflect the complexity and the fact that it is embedded in all the levels of society – although education is directed towards children, the need for transformation is desired in the circle of parents as well, especially because children will see and learn patterns from their parents.

Lynn Davies points out that the complex emergencies need complex educational responses and in order to assure that the education system in place or the one that is being reformed has a positive influence on societal cohesion, there is a need for an impact assessment (2004).

As argued earlier, education is well embedded in the societal structure and contributes to the development of social capital[17]. If well developed and implemented, the transformation of society might contribute to a positive spill-over effect on other sectors. The same one can claim

---

[17] A social capital is commonly understood as value that human individuals contribute to the society as whole.

for development assistance.

In the following subsection the focus is on the instrument for Peace and Conflict Assessment, so far the only developed framework for measuring the impact of development assistance. However, as there is a lack of special focus on education, it will be attempted to draw on the existing PCIA and develop an Education Impact assessment (EdIA). It seems that a specific instrument for measuring the impact of the role of education the peace building process is still in its infancy.

4.3   EDUCATION IMPACT ASSESSMENT (EDIA)

In order to be able to analyse the impact that education in conflict situations has, we need to develop a manageable instrument, a tool that will serve as a baseline for education impact assessment in post-conflict areas. Although universal tools might be easier to apply, as also pointed out by some, their universality will have only limited validity as they will by their structure fail to capture the complexity of the given situation (Hoffman, 2004, p.12).

In the development policy debate it is acknowledged that supporting conflict-transformative competences of individuals and groups plays a key role in finding a peaceful solution to conflicts: "Measuring the impact of programming must begin before peace education takes place" (Seitz, 2004. p. 76). Education by its nature implies a medium to long-term process, thus to get planning right and eliminate unwelcome developments before any implementation is crucial to its success. The analyses (whether they are ex ante or ex post evaluation) need to be integrated into further policy planning of education systems in post-conflict settings before the start of the project. Therefore the conflict analysis for education has to be factored into mainstream development policy.

 "To be effective, the data, especially if the findings indicate disturbing trends, must be correlated with other political, economic and societal factors to inform sound policy and decision making, eliminate repetition and duplication of administrative and bureaucratic errors or efforts, determine lessons learned and best practices and be of best use to aid workers and governments committed to peace" (Anderson, 1996).

The indication that bad education or badly organised education, whether intended or not, can contribute to the escalation of societal conflicts, and that schools are not *per se* places of peace is demonstrated by many practical examples worldwide (Seitz, 2004, p.78). Seitz thus urges for the need of education components to be explicitly anchored in all programmes and concepts for crisis prevention and conflict management with the goal of reinforcing individual and collective

conflict-transformative competences (ibid).

4.3.1 EdIA: a 'must' in educational assistance in conflict entanglement

In the theoretical part it is clarified that any intervention in conflict situations must be grounded in a sound analysis of the pre-crisis education policy because glancing back on the pre-crisis education can help one identify how schooling was used to fuel social conflict. As pointed out by Smith and Vaux, the ability of a society to constructively deal with its inner diversity and heterogeneity is reflected in the manner with which curricula in schools and universities deal with identity issues such as language, religion and culture (Smith and Vaux 2003, in Seitz 2004, p. 55) and therefore it is important that before reformation of education policy takes place a comprehensive impact assessment of education is conducted. Both education policy leading up to the crisis and the one currently in place need to be subject of a close evaluation to identify the possible remaining factors in the policy that have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the emergence of conflict.

This study focuses on the educational structures and processes that politicize identities in ways that allow diversity and cultural difference to become the basis for conflict or create a tension among groups that might escalate in to one (again). "The transformation of education systems can only succeed if there already has been a critical and uncompromising review and analysis of the destructive potential of the prior education system, its curricula and the widespread educational practises "(Seitz, 2004, p. 58).

The education reform should consider the right of every citizen to use their native languages in education and other public arenas. To ensure access, post-conflict education policy should thus be multilingual and should be developed in concordance with tolerance to the diverse cultures and take into account the local socio-economic situation. The transformation of society is dependent on the level of interaction between the groups within the social system and schooling system is part of the structure system. As Stavenhagen argues, "Culture and social structure (organisation) are interrelated in a complex web of reciprocal relations and influences "(1996, p. 30). However, the issues encountered is that might be that many political and educational plans have failed because their authors designed them according to their personal views of reality, rather than taking into account and engaging in dialogue with the people to whom their program was ostensibly directed (Freire 1973 in Degu, 2009).

Davies strongly argues that the only hope for education making a contribution to peace is a secular education as this genuinely allows for religious differences while not privileging one over the others (2004). Tawil sees education as 'an instrument in the process of nation- building, schooling destroys the traditional social bonds of the extended family, the clan or the group and institutes a direct relationship between individuals as citizens and the nation-state. Tension between the local culture and the national culture being imposed through schooling often leads to conflict' (2001, p.3). Lynn Davies agrees, as Tawil points out, "that the increasingly competitive and contradictory values, attitudes, beliefs and world views transmitted by schools and other agents of socialisation threaten social cohesion" (2004, p. 85). However, one could also claim that schooling, rather than destroying the traditional social bonds, leads to the start of a grouping process that runs parallel to the traditional social bonds of the extended family, the clan or the group by instituting a direct relationship between individual citizens and the nation-state. Education then together with the other social bonds enhances the process of transfer of knowledge, norms, values, beliefs and myth.

A number of educational initiatives work to promote knowledge, skills, attitudes and values to bring about change contributing to the strengthening or rebuilding of social cohesion (Tawil, 2001). These changes are intended to be multidimensional, involving the intrapersonal, inter-group, national and international level. These levels by themselves are complex processes as also established by the transformation theory in Chapter 2. One crucial point to ask is; do those initiatives support sustainable structures and processes which will strengthen the prospects for peaceful coexistence?

In order to develop the framework of indicators for the use of assessment, we will draw along the established lines of the PCIA. As explained in Chapter 2, PCIA can be applied to a full range of development activities in a conflict prone region and is focused on ensuring that interventions do not aggravate violent conflict and contribute to building peace within and between communities.

Box 1: Steps towards Building Peace within and between Communities

The 5 main steps that need to be undertaken:

1. Assessing the environment. The first step is to look at the environment in which you are operating to establish whether it is conflict-prone;
2. Completing a risk and opportunity assessment. Having determined that the environment is conflict prone, the second step is to examine how the peace and conflict environment may affect a project or initiative. This acts as a screening exercise that examines the dynamics of the conflict environment and its likely impact on the proposed project.
   Four broad areas are outlined for pre-assessment that include:
   a. Location
   b. Timing
   c. Political context
   d. Other salient factors
3. Assessing potential peace and conflict impacts during project design;
4. Assessing potential peace and conflict impacts during project implementation;
5. Assessing potential peace and conflict impacts as part of post-project evaluation.

source: Monitoring and Evaluation framework for Peace-Building, 2007

As illustrated in Box 1, there are five general steps that need to be followed when applying the general framework and using the peace and conflict impact assessment in development practise. This general framework needs to be modified and tailored to reflect an assessment of peace education, a framework that would assess and give recommendations on how to build a "culture of conflict resistance" against "negative propaganda from the media and governments, against the overt presence of violence in society and against being manipulated by more powerful groups" (Fisher et al, 2000, p. 146 cited in Davies 2004, p.126).

To be effective, interventions must always be based on the recognition that societies in crisis retain their own past and are shaped by their own past through societal reproduction. The practical intervention design should draw heavily on the lessons learnt.[18] As pointed out by Davies, a Lessons Learnt Unit should be present in each school which should not be reviewing the students lessons in terms of curriculum, but "to evaluate the mistakes (and successes) made in management, teaching methods, discipline, exclusion" (2004, p. 164). The focus thus should hereby be on a long term process of reforming education for new ways of achieving peace.

The intended positive effect of education will be hampered if the environment as such is not also transforming. Education can influence society but it is also influenced by society, therefore when designing the Education Impact Assessment framework, the two are seen as parallel entwined

---

[18] Lessons learnt Unit – set up to evaluate UN actions in times of conflict. The unit has two functions: first, to examine past and current peacekeeping operations, drawing lessons to be learnt and recommending improvements and second to establish and manage a resource centre (Davies, 2004).

processes. In Table 3, indicators for the Peace and Conflict assessment of all the layers of society are listed in the left column and the ones for education in the column next. The indicators in the left column (PCIA indicators) are needed to be satisfied for laying down the fundament for any constructive development including education programme. However, this process is long term and slow, especially once the area is recovering from a conflict, therefore the parallel process of reforming education in such a way that it would facilitate the societies' transformation towards the peaceful coexistence should not be waited with but immediately should be applied once the security of the environment is assured. In Table 3 indicators based on the PCIA handbook[19] have been summarised and linked to the Education Impact Assessment indicators. The EdIA is specifically developed for assessing the education impact in post-conflict societies.

Table 3: The PCIA and EdIA Indicators Matrix

Area of impact	PCIA Indicator	EdIA
Security of the environment	- Has the violence stopped? - Has the cease-fire been followed by disarmament?(military) - Has the disarmament, weapons collection efforts, conflict prevention, reduction in arms trade taken place? (security) - Has there been an implementation of a strategy to improve the well being of the society (including everybody from former combatants to vulnerable groups)? (humanitarian) - Are there existing strategies and policies designed for the cutting of resources of war? (socioeconomic)	• Safe access to schooling facilities?

Legitimacy of the state	- Full realization of minority rights?
	- Does the community participate politically in fair elections?
	- What is the level of citizen representation?
	- Efficient, transparent and accountable public sector?
	- How strong is the judicial system?
	- Does the law protect equally and fairly?(right to a fair trial, respect for fundamental rights)
		• What does the constitution say regarding the education of all citizens
		• Are there discriminatory policies that would affect access to education for various minority groups?:
		  • Language,
		  • curriculum
		  • policies,
		  • school funding policies,
		  • gender
		• Depoliticized education system?

---

[19] PCIA Handbook v2.2, September, 2005. A CPR Network Resource
http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900sid/RURI-6MBNLK/$file/PCIA%20Handbook.pdf?openelement.

Area of impact	PCIA Indicator	EdIA
Inclusiveness	- Does state building take place at the grassroots level? - Who has access to productive resources and assets such as land, forests, water supplies, equipment, labour, capital etc. - Who has control over how these resources and assets are used - Who belongs to formal or informal groups or organisations, who gets mentored or promoted - Is there a development of local institutions that have a legal mandate? - Is there an acknowledged participation of the local organisation and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)? - Are there inequities related to particular identity groups - Are there historical legacies or issues surrounding the distribution of economic, social, or political resources?	• In multi-cultural societies, are the curricula developed in line with the plurality of the society and is bilingual education offered / introduced? • What were taboo issues and are these actively addressed (e.g. cultural discrimination, distribution of societal wealth)

To illustrate the use of Table 3, one can take an example of the legitimacy of the state and for example the full realisation of human rights, which would start with including the minorities in the country constitution and the inclusiveness of the education programme. In scenario A, both are missing which leads to conclusion that no peace building process is taking place or even if it is it will not lead to the sustainable peace. In scenario B, the minorities are included in the constitution and their rights are recognised, but no inclusiveness in the education programme is realised which might result in tension between groups.

The situation in CHT is going to be fully analysed against the indicators mentioned above in Chapter 6, however as already mentioned in the introductory chapter, the minority groups have not been included in the constitution which already by itself constitutes proof that the peace building efforts are not legitimised by the state and thus one could say occur without the support of the state. Though the state is encouraging the development initiatives in the region which do have peace building on their agenda, e.g. the UNDP programme, no formalization of peace building initiatives is undertaken.

5   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

During this research as an overarching framework crosscutting the various methods applied, an actor-oriented perspective on the discourse and situation analysis was engaged for the reason that issues of local knowledge and social practice are central to both discourse and situation analysis, and are implicit in the analysis of social differentiation and diversity (Long, 1992, p.165). The various methods applied in this research, such as desk study, semi-structured interviews, participatory observation and focus group discussions are described in detail below, including the various challenges faced during the research. The analyses and conclusions of this thesis are based on qualitative analysis and the triangulation of different methodologies, theories and data.

The choice for qualitative data lies in the aim of mapping the situation on the ground not in the form of numbers and statistics but in a broader context of actors in the societal structures. The tools for qualitative data gathering used in this research are literature review, participant's observations and in-depth semi-structured interviews which are tools used when conducting a qualitative research (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 1999). Quantitative data are used for illustrating the situation in regards to geographic coverage of education and the spread of the population in the CHT. Those data are based on the UNDP baseline survey conducted in 2009, but not by this research as such. The reason for opting for triangulation lies in the possibility to employ more than one method to gather data and more than one theoretical scheme in the interpretation of the phenomena (Denzin, 2006). Employing triangulation in ones research increases the credibility and validity of the results additionally to allowing one to map out more fully the complexity of the research. The fact that it does not limit one to the use of only one simplified framework offers a better validation of data by allowing the cross-checking of data.

5.1   THE RESEARCH METHODS

As mentioned above, various methods were employed during this research. Literature reviews were conducted throughout the whole process of research. Additionally, a mixture of participatory qualitative methods was employed. Observations and informal conversations took place during the field visits of Chittagong Hill Tracts in order to hear as well as by means of this

research give "the locals a voice". Next to that, focus group discussions were held in the field as well as afterwards with people involved and experts in the field researched. The fieldwork itself took place in July and August 2009 with the intention to collect a set of data on education and its role in the peace-building process in the post-conflict area of Bangladesh, Chittagong Hill Tracts. The data collection in the field was based on a mixture of individual and collective qualitative research methods, which include individual semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. These methods were supplemented by informal conversations with the field workers of several local NGOs and UNDP and UNICEF. Keeping the anonymity of the interviews intact was agreed on before the interviews took place, therefore the names of the key informants remain anonymous.

5.1.1   Literature review

The foundation for this research is an extensive literature review on the topics of education and conflict, conflict transformation and peace-building. The literature review has allowed for the identification of the existing gaps in the research and practice linked to peace building and education. The research led to findings about the wide recognition that education can have a negative influence on conflict; however the whole research, on particularly education and peace-building, is still in its infancy as only handful of literature on this topic has been found. Thus, one of the incentives behind researching in the area of education and conflict is to contribute to the existing research and to elaborate on the existing framework of Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment in the context of education assistance. The development of an instrument that could lead to a comprehensive assessment of the education assistance in post-conflict area is the overall objective of this research.

The finding that the amount of literature on the situation in CHT with regard to the peace-building process is limited and was one of the main incentives to conduct field work to collect data and information as well as to get impressions of the current situation in the area. During the fieldwork volumes of literature were collected consisting of literature/reports produced by policy implementers such as NGOs, UNICEF, UNDP that were collected from the local headquarters. This literature includes baseline studies, surveys, guidelines on education in the (post conflict area) of CHT, and documents on the policies implemented. Those documents have served mainly for the empirical chapter illustrating the stakeholder role and formal view on the situation which is then compared to the observations and data from the interviews in the field.

5.1.2 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used as a means of collecting in-depth qualitative information on the peace building process in CHT and the role of education in this process. The selection of the key interviewees was crucial in this research. Some represented the institutional and policy level of education systems provided in Bangladesh and some of the interviewees are implementing those policies, which gave me a first-hand view of the gap between those two levels. These interviews were recorded, transcribed, coded and analysed.

The main objective of the trip to the CHT Bangladesh, was to collect data that would lead to the analysis of the role education can have in the peace building process, through the following points for observation:

- Identify if current educational program applies to the local context
- Identify the opportunities that education offered in rural areas brings to its inhabitants and/or in what way people in rural areas are disadvantaged by not having appropriate education
- Identify how equally the education program is distributed among the inhabitants among CHT
- Identify the potential of education in peacebuilding within the local setting of CHT

Different stakeholders contributed to this research by participating in key informant interviews as well as informal conversations. Key informant interviews were conducted with representatives of the key institutions present and active in the CHT: UNICEF, UNDP, freelance educational experts, researchers and representatives of NGO's. Besides those key interviews, headmasters and teachers at the schools were visited and talked to and focus group discussions were held with UNDP and local NGOs staff and in the villages with the parents groups, mothers groups and teachers, which represented the views and wishes of the people on the receiving part of those policies. Additionally, observatory visits were made to several communities in 2 out of 3 districts.

5.1.3 Participatory observations

When does one stop collecting data during fieldwork? To collect data in a post-conflict region is limited with regard to finding legitimate tools for data gathering. Triangulation here also concerns a directive to collect personal opinions that might be politically undesired. The consequence of this was that the data were gathered formally and informally. While most of the interviewees are representing different groups participating in the implementation of the policy

in CHT (whether on the end of implementer of receiver), I have also encountered a lot of locals outside of these meetings by taking a walk within the village and by having chaa (tea) with the locals. Thanks to a translator it was possible to engage in conversations with those locals. During such informal encounters with the local inhabitants and during observatory walks another sort of data was collected. One other important aspect during talking and walking with the translator led to getting a picture of the situation from the viewpoint of an "objective" outsider. The way one sees and compares this to what one hears is another and a very valuable set of data. Those findings are reflected in the analyses of the data.

5.1.4   Focus group discussions (FGD)

Focus group discussion success depends on activeness of the respondents. The FGD were held to identify the level of consensus on the policies in place as well as to hear the different opinions on the practice. Focus group discussions were held in the villages with the parents groups, mother groups and the group of practitioners within the local environment. Different questions regarding education and the situation of the tribal people were asked. The respondents were, as far as I could observe, speaking freely about their situation and views on how and what should be improved.

5.2   GUIDELINE FOR SITUATION ANALYSIS

As already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, during this research an actor-oriented perspective on the discourse and situation analysis was engaged. The concept of discourse is helpful because it provides the analyst with an analytical lens through which he or she can understand what, in a particular social context, are modes of action and cognition constructed by actors themselves over time (Long, 1992, p.165). The key to an understanding of such constructions is to take account of the negotiation manipulations and accommodations that become part of the interaction between actors. These constructs become manifest in what Foucault calls discursive practices that take the form of cultural 'statements' expressed in language, material objects or social practice (1972, cited in Long, 1992, p. 165) and thus influence education in both formal and informal settings. Discourse analysis is of methodological significance for identifying forms of social differentiation. A situational analysis provides a method of integrating such variations, exceptions and even accidents into descriptions of regularities.

Additionally, it is important to note that development programming occurs in a complex and changing social context. Therefore during this the research the so-called *disaggregation methodology* is employed as well, which means that understanding the local contextual realities was a priority when looking into and identifying the possible obstacles for the peace building processes and the role of education in this process for all the different parties, including a crosscutting issue such as gender.

The knowledge that an actor may have about the potential use of a particular material object, for example, is constructed from the various discursive forms that actors have been actively involved in creating. Since discourse is manifest in social practice, it is crucial to focus research on the events themselves as observed. In this way discursive forms (knowledge) become a strategic resource, though we must be careful not to reify the notion of discourse; it is not some tangible or objective substance that we can measure (Long, 1992, p. 167). Interpreting discourse in this way enables us to examine how local actors use and assign meaning to their material and social world.

5.3   DATA PROCESSING

Clear and constant data processing has been in place throughout the thesis research and writing in order to assure the best possible use of the data. The qualitative analyses software Atlas ti was employed since the early stage of the research in order to organise, code and to avoid losing valuable information. An illustration of the use of the software can be seen in Annex III. Some of the data were in recorded form; those recordings were transcribed and thoroughly analysed in Atlas ti as well.

The theoretical framework established during the desk-research has been used as a base for the development of indicators for Education Impact Assessment in post-conflict societies (EdIA). The field research data which is mainly concerning the practical perspective and illustrates the situation in CHT is combined with the theoretical framework of this thesis and the EdIA indicators are then used to assess the situation in Chittagong Hill tracts.

**5.4	CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS**

The presented study has involved several challenges and limitation which might influence the result of this study. Though I had hoped that the situation on the ground would not be as restrictive as could be expected due to the government security regulations on the movement of foreigners throughout this post-conflict area, I was only able to move around the region under the supervision of an armed police force or personal security. I did not feel comfortable bringing these armed men with me to any of the villages as my accompanied presence might first of all not be welcomed and secondly because of the potential consequences this might have for the village inhabitants visited by a foreign researcher. I had to alter my plans and become creative in the ways how to move around freely to gather the data and observations without constructing extra obstacles for the villagers to talk to me. I listened to local suggestions and safety advisements which made me to move and limit my field research to only one of the three districts Bandarban, where opportunities for freer movement around arose

The second limitation concerns the data collection, in particular the data collection that was carried out by visiting the local community schools where focus group discussions were held with the parents' committee and with the mother's groups, I was accompanied by a representative of a local NGO directly involved with the community. It was also the personal of the NGO that was helping with the translation. There is a possibility that the answers given by the local community were influenced by the presence of this NGO personal.

Third limitation concerns the data collected for this thesis. As already outline earlier in this chapter, several methods for data collection were employed. The limited amount of sources available, covering the issue of education and peace building in the CHT region, were the main reason for the field visit. It is important to mention that it was not possible to visit substantial number of school facilities in CHT and therefore some of the observations are limited to my locally covered area. There are several reasons such as; restrictions from the government on the movement of foreigners without security, inaccessibility constituted by the physical landscape in which a limited infrastructure is available, time limit available for this field visit. However, the limited personal visits are compensated for by the triangulation of the data gather from which some are personal perspectives based on my own observations of local environment.

Although I faced quite a few logistical problems and constraints being a (female) foreigner in an area that is under military control, I still managed to collect relevant data that will be useful and necessary for my thesis case study of CHT. Moreover, it was a valuable experience to face the

reality of the country such as for instance Bangaldesh and the obstacles that an independent researcher faces in a post conflict area, as well as to face the constraints that one can experience conducting research at grass-roots level with regard to logistical shortcomings, unfamiliar cultures and human actions.

6   CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS ON ITS PATH TO PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

As mentioned in the introductory chapter the situation in CHT is different to the rest of Bangladesh from a topographic perspective, from the point of view of cultural heritage, but also regarding the region's political and legal development. The indigenous people differ in their languages, social organization, marriage customs, birth and death rites, food and other social customs from the people in the rest of the country. In comparison with the majority Bengali-speaking Muslim population, indigenous peoples have benefited less from economic development and the labour market, and have less access to social services such as provision of education, health and sanitation (Nasreen and Tate, 2007). Additionally, as already noted earlier in this thesis, the indigenous people are excluded from the constitution and from proper political representation.

Although the Peace Accord[20] was signed in 1997, the implementation of the accord has however been very slow and is only marginally realised to the disappointment of many. One of the major problems, according to one of the interviewees, is that the government does not show real commitment regarding the implementation of the peace accord. In his view, the military forces present in the CHT area are representing the government and the people view this as the government favouring the Bengali settlers. This does not increase security in the region, nor does it lead to sustainable peace (or peace building). The government needs to take into consideration that it is necessary to implement a post-conflict strategy designed to improve the well being of the local society according to this interviewee.

At present the area is still under heavy military supervision. The state has extended militarisation in the name of security as the clashes over the land between the indigenous people and Bengali people are continuous. As the latest report from the Unrepresented Nations and People Organization (UNPO) states, the people in the CHT area are still facing insecurity, not only regarding their land rights but also regarding their lives.[21]

---

[20] The abstract of the Peace Accord (The Chittagong Hill treaty) can be seen in Appendix II.
[21] An article from the UNPO illustrating the insecurity still at present faced by the indigenous population was retrieved from the UNPO website: http://www.unpo.org/article/10751 and can be viewed in Annex II.

Box 2: Government Action contrary to CHT Peace Accord

Bandarban, May 08 – Jyotirindra Bodhipriya Larma, popularly known as Santu Larma, has alleged that the government's actions in the hill districts are contrary to the peace accord. Santu Larma, chief of Parbatya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity (PCJSS), made the comment on Saturday noon at a meeting held at Balipara Union Parishad arena. The meeting, organised under the banner of 'local people', was presided over by UP Chairman Kyasau Marma. Santu Larma, also chairman of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council, alleged that sections of the peace accord, signed during the last tenure of the Awami League government, had not yet been implemented. "Rather the current government is acting in such a manner that the agreement will never be implemented."

The Land Dispute Settlement Commission (Land Commission) was formed without consulting the regional council and the PCJSS and so its formation contradicts with the peace accord, Santu said. The regional council chief also claimed that this would make establishment of peace in CHT difficult. PCJSS central organising secretary Shaktipada Tripura, council member KS Mang and PCJSS chairman of Thanchi upazila Chasathoai Marma spoke at the meeting among others. Earlier on Mar 31 the PCJSS, at their party council, made a number of demands including making the council effective, resolving land disputes effectively and in line with the peace accord's stipulations. They also demanded pull-out of all temporary army camps, including suspension of Operation Uttaran.

Source: Sun, May 9th, 2010 12:07 am BdST from bdnews24.com

In Box 2 the government approach to the Peace Accord is illustrated by an independent newspaper article dated May 9 2000. The withdrawal of the military forces from the CHT, with the exception of one designated military camp, is one of the points of the peace accord. However, such a movement is not welcomed by the Bengali settlers as they fear for their newly acquired land. On the other hand the presence of the military can be seen as a support that is encouraging the Bengali settlers to claim additional land from the Hill people (UNPO, 2010).

In the view of the discourse of the state action in CHT, it needs to be pointed out how the state legitimized its intervention in CHT. The military presence is there under the umbrella of "present ethnic clashes", however in the "disguise of ethnic conflict", the economical, ideological and legal power of the dominant class of the state, the Bengali-speaking Muslim population, has been made visible (Nasreen & Togawa, 2002). Additionally, the actions of the military presence are not only limited to security matters. The General Officer Commander, the senior military official responsible for the area, is also the Chairman of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board (Roy, 2000), which could be seen as a military extension into socio-economic issues and the development of the region.

The CHT, in the period immediately following the signing of the Peace Accord, has experienced a rush by government development planners, bilateral development partners of the government and the representatives of multilateral development agencies (notably Asian Development Bank, and the World Bank) to do need assessment missions, socio-economic surveys and "grassroots" opinion seeking dialogues etc. (UNDP, 2009a). As a result, the Government and the development partners have initiated many steps for expediting the development in the region. UNDP has launched one of its largest direct execution interventions in the country under the umbrella of Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Facility (CHTDF). The UNDP-CHTDF is a programme with objectives to support capacity building of the institutions in CHT with the focus on bottom-up community initiatives and aiming to empower communities to develop socio-economically. A special region-wide initiative is to promote peace-building opportunities and confidence among communities, and education was identified as one of the 32 components that serve to build peace (ibid.). Before the educational sector in CHT will be looked at, it is important to illustrate the overall administrative structure in the area in which the education sector is embedded, which is the subject of the following section.

6.1   ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE CHT

In order to understand all the layers of society involved within the framework of CHT, we need to have a picture of an administrative structure in CHT. This also helps to imagine that path of a transformation process, form grass root level to the government of Bangladesh at the top. Administratively, the CHT has semi-autonomous administrative set-up which combines "traditional, bureaucratic and elective regional authorities with separated and sometimes concurrent responsibilities" (Roy, 2004).

Under the Peace Accord the Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs (MoCHTA) is the leading agency in the CHT and has special responsibility for the area. The administrative structures in the CHT are rather complex, as both formal and traditional systems are in operation side by side. The formal CHT administration comprises of the Regional Council (RC) which together with the three Hill Districts Councils (HDCs): Bandarban, Khagrachari and Rangamati should ensure that the local government becomes more powerful and effective. The Regional Council falls under the Ministry of CHT Affairs

(MoCHTA). Each district comprises of upazilas (sub-districts), unions (smallest administrative units) mouzas (revenue units) and paras (villages). The general administration is administrated by the Deputy Commissioner (DC) who is appointed in the office by the government, who is obliged to act with the chief on all important matters, including all civil and criminal matters. The Hill District Councils comprise of 15 members and are headed by a chairperson, however, although the councils should be elected, until today they are functioning by the ad hoc appointees (UNDP, 2009a). This poses questions with regard to the existence of a clear division of roles, clear reporting lines and in general the existence of professional management.

The traditional system is divided into three circles: the Chakma Circle, Mong Circle and Bhomong Circle each having a circle chief known as Raja (king). The Rajas are represented at the mouza level by headmen and at the para level by Karbaris (UNDP, 2009a). The Rajas are entrusted with the collection of taxes and are empowered to resolve conflicts and dispense justice in tribal courts in accordance with the customary laws of the Indigenous Population which they represent. Rajas were at first in charge of administration but their administrative powers were restrained and replaced by an advisory role to the
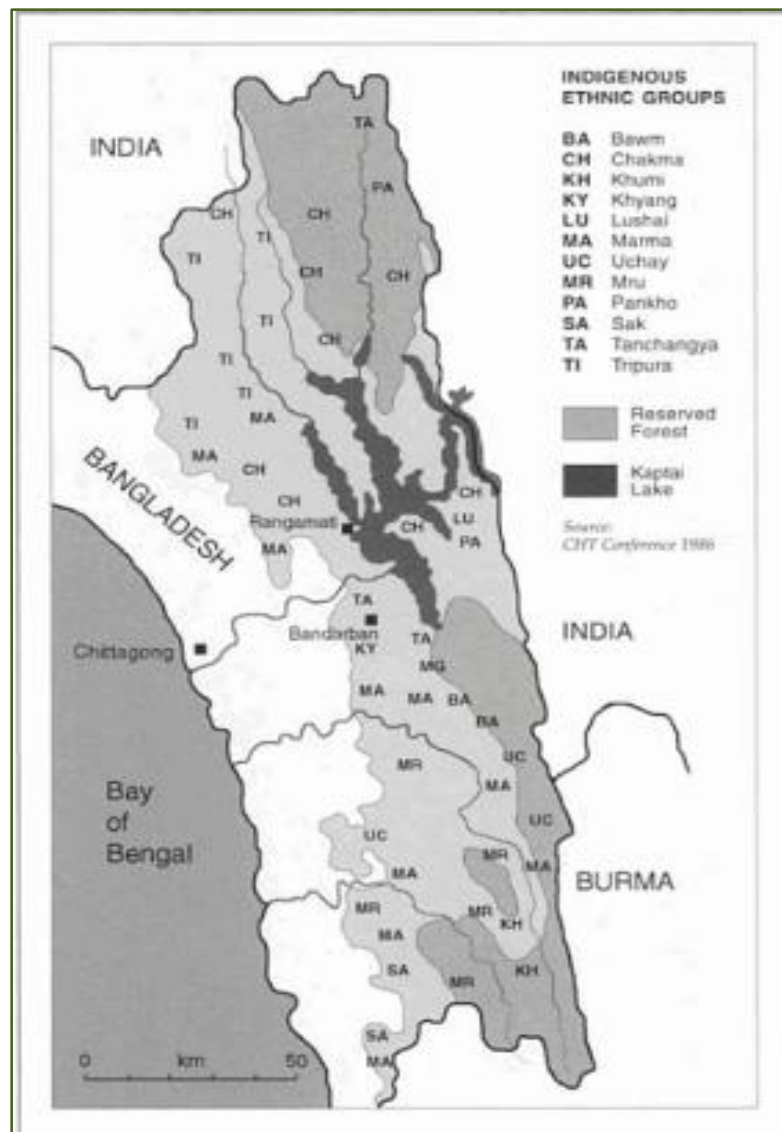
Map 2: The spread of indigenous ethnic groups in CHT

Source: Roy, 2000

58

council headed by the Deputy Commissioner (Roy, Hossain and Guhathakurta, 2007). Map 2 shows the geography of the different tribal ethnic groups. Note that the borders of the Chakma, Mong and Bhomong circles are not divided along the geographical lines of the tribal groups depicted in Map 2. Rather, different tribes are present in each circle. The responsibility of the Chakma circle is the central and northern Hill Tracts. The Mong Circle is in the south Hill Tracts area and the Bhomong in the north-western Hill Tracts. This illustrates the complexity of the local administrative infrastructure behind the simplified representation in Figure 5.

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, when transforming society in the aftermath of conflict, it is necessary to get each level of the system involved and at the same time bear in mind the dynamics of the society as set out through the intra-dynamics brought about by the various stages of transformation. Such an approach is very challenging and as can be seen in Figure 5, CHT is not an exception to this; its pluralistic system only demonstrates the challenges that such a transformation faces.

Figure 5: Scheme Illustrating the CHT Administrative System
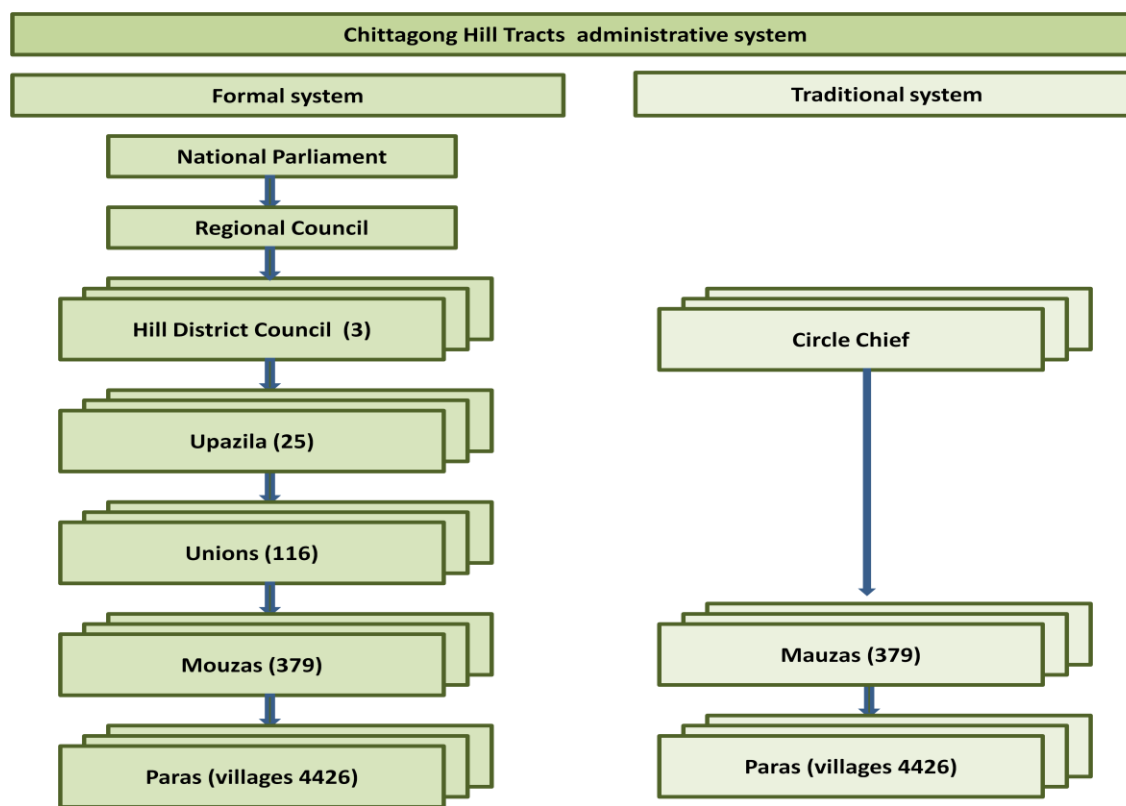
Although, as mentioned in the paragraph above, the traditional and formal system are linked together via the advisory role of the Circle Chief, the main development policy comes from the government itself. One of the peace accord points is that pro-indigenous modes of development will be implemented in the CHT. However what is really taking place in CHT is a replication of the development policy of the flatlands of Bangladesh. But is this really suitable for a region so different to the rest of country? This question is not only directed towards the geo-physical difference of the flatlands with regard to the hilly CHT but also in relation to the very different cultural background of the population represented in the region as previously illustrated by Figure 1 (p. 15).

6.2   THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN BANGLADESH

The Bangladesh government has fully committed itself to the EFA objectives and the Millennium Development Goals. Additionally, Article 17 of the Bangladesh constitution states that all children between the ages of six and ten years are to be provided basic education free of charge. The management of education in Bangladesh falls under two ministries: the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME) responsible for primary education, and the Ministry of Education (MoE) responsible for secondary, vocational and tertiary education.[22] In sum, the national programme for education development seeks to achieve the following objectives:

- Establishing a uniform, mass and nation-wide system of education
- Extending free and compulsory education to all children
- Relating education to the needs of society and producing properly trained citizens to serve those needs
- Removing illiteracy

Source: DPE, 2009

Additionally to the government involvement in the provision of formal education, more than seven hundred NGOs are involved in delivering education. However, the government committed itself to provide support to schools where the educational initiatives come from different sources such as private, NGO schools or community

---

[22]   Education   Policy   of   Ministry   of   Education   in   Bangladesh,   retrieved   from http://www.moedu.gov.bd/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=243&Itemid=265, accessed 20 July 2010.

schools if complying with requirements established by the government (DPE, 2009).

Given the scope of this research, only a brief overview of the support to pre-primary and primary education, as this stage of education lays the groundwork for follow up education, will be provided here. The primary education institutional set-up in Bangladesh is complex, although not an exception in comparison to the systems in other developing countries, with formal and non-formal school systems running parallel, each having parallel religious streams. However, the number of approximately 18 million students at the primary level makes the Bangladeshi education system one of the largest in any developing country (DPE, 2009).

The overall sector programme in the primary education falls under the Second Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP-II), having as an overall goal reduction of poverty and socio-economic development and equity through education as envisaged by the MDGs (DPE, 2009). Table 4 illustrates the formal primary education system in Bangladesh.

Table 4: Overview of the Types of School in Bangladesh

Jurisdiction of:	Types of primary schools
Ministry of Primary and Mass Education	Government primary school
	Registered non-government primary school
	Experimental schools
	Community schools
	Non-registered non-governmental primary schools
	Kindergarten
	NGO schools
Ministry of Education	Primary section of secondary schools
	Ebtedayaee madrasahs
	Primary section of dakhil, alim, fazil and kamil madrasahs

Source: DPE, 2009

Table 4 also shows that the government provides support to the schools that come from non-government sources such as NGO schools or community schools. The provision of primary education is implemented with assistance of various international donors and many of the national NGO use local NGOs for implementation of their programs.

6.3   EDUCATION IN THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS

The education system in CHT follows the national policy; however it is the only region in Bangladesh where the authority for primary education is supposed to be decentralised to district level, having the three Hill District Councils and the Regional Council in charge of a wide range of services, including education (UNDP, 2009a). The responsibility for implementation of the education programme lies with the District and Upazila Primary Education Officers, who are civil servants of the national administration and usually do not belong to the CHT. Although the Hill District Councils might have some influence over them, their reporting line is to the ministry in Dhaka (ibid.).

The situation in the CHT with regard to both literacy and years of schooling is dismal and according to one of the interviewees is the worst of the UNDP-CHTDF components affected by the conflict. Figures 6a, 6b and 6c are based on data from the UNDP baseline study (UNDP, 2009a) in CHT.

Figure 6a: The Status of Education of Household Heads in CHT
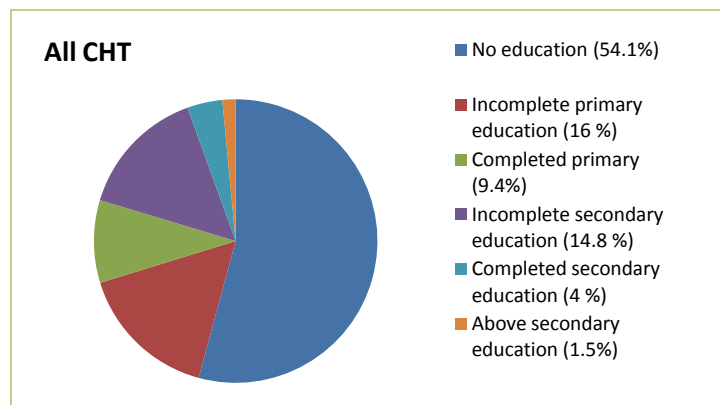
The data used illustrate the status of level of education achieved among the population of CHT where more than half of the household members age 5 years and above are illiterate and have received no education. The latest available survey on the primary education status has identified that 53.9% of indigenous peoples and 47.4% of Bengalis have had no education whatsoever, and only 7.9% of the total CHT population sampled have completed their basic primary education. The number of households with completed primary education is lower among indigenous population (7.9%) compare to Bengali (11.3%) (UNDP, 2009a).

Figure 6b: The Status of Education of Indigenous Population Household Heads in CHT

Indigenous Population (all ethnic groups)

- No education (54.5 %)
- Incomplete primary education (15.2 %)
- Completed primary education (7.9 %)
- Imcomplete secondary education (16.4%)
- Completed secondary education (4.5 %)
- Above secondary education (1.5 %)
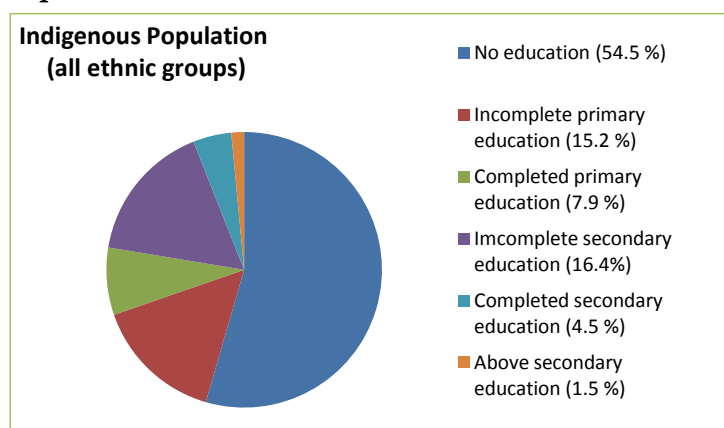
Figure 6c: The Status of Education of the Bengali Household Heads in CHT

Bengali

- No education (53.5 %)
- Incompleted primary education (17.1 %)
- Completed primary education (11.3 %)
- Incompleted secondary education (12.9 %)
- Completed secondary education (3.5 %)
- Above secondary education (1.7 %)
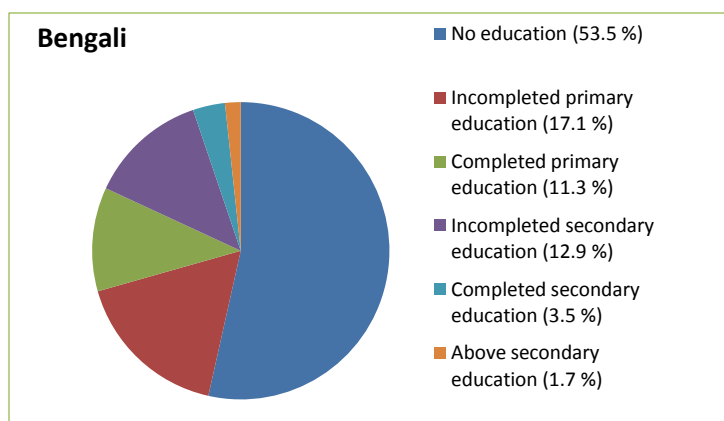
As also observed and confirmed by the interviewees, the distribution of literacy diverges not only over socio-economic categories, but also geographically and among the various ethnic groups. A pattern is that people living around the urban areas have higher literacy than people living in the remote hills. This is also linked to the geography of the education since most schools are located around the rural towns.

The types of schools providing primary education in CHT are as the ones listed in Table 4. However, not all types of schools listed in Table 4 are represented in each district of the CHT. There are several types of formal schools, including a number of community schools which are funded by the government under the Compulsory Education Programme[23] (UNDP, 2006). The provision of education in CHT is supplemented by the existence of many non-registered schools which are operated by NGOs. During the field visit, it was observed that there are several models for the provision of education among the NGOs, however the exact number and locations of all the schools in CHT is unknown as no school mapping exercise has been conducted.

The above figures illustrates the status of education in the Chittagong Hill tracts as whole, however this research was limited to only one of the districts, namely Bandarban and

---

[23] Note that although there are a substantial number of community schools in CHT, not all are financially supported by the formal system. The reasons for this are in detail described in section 6.5 of this chapter. In sum, application for the funding under the Compulsory Education Programme seemed to be an issue in this region as many community schools fail to comply with the criteria and in many cases the School Management Committee lacks the capabilities to proceed with such an application.

therefore the following section zooms in on the situation in this particular part of CHT.

6.4   EDUCATION IN THE DISTRICT BANDARBAN

The field visits of schools were constrained to the Bandarban district due to security reasons, therefore the following section represents only the situation in the Bandarban sub districts which are described and illustrated below. In section 6.1 it is clarified that Bandarban consists of 7 Upazilas (Bhan Sadar, Lama, Naikyongchari, Ruma, Alikadam, Rowangchari and Tchachi) with a total of 1,501 villages (paras). During the field research two remote villages (each took half a day of travel) were visited, namely the villages Lapagoi Para and Lemujhiri Para.

The education in the Bandarban district formally recognized by the government is described below in Table 5 where an overview of the governmental schools and registered schools is given. The amount of villages in Bandarban is 1,501 which, when a simplified calculation is applied, indicates that there is one governmental (either governmental or registered) school for on average 4,1 villages. However, the fact is that many of the schools are rather in the urban areas and not in rural remote parts of Bandarban. Based on the fact that to build a governmental school or to register a school requires having 100 students, many of the rural schools will not have access to the formal governmental education system.

Table 5: Amount of Government and Registered Non-governmental Schools in Bandarban District

Name of Upazila	Government school	Registered non-governmental school
Bandarban Sadar	46	83
Lama	45	29
Naikyongchari	39	8
Ruma	36	0
Rowangchari	24	16
Thanchi	14	2
Alikadam	14	8
Total	**218**	**146**

Source: UNDP, 2009b

The level of literacy rate in urban areas of the Bandarban district is 64.27 percent while in rural areas it is only 27.23 percent (UNDPb). During the time of this research (August 2009) two of the Upazilas were selected for the UNDP support to basic education: Rowangchari and Tchanci. Table 6 shows the literacy rate and the dropout rate in the Bandarban district.

Table 6: Literacy and Dropout Rate in the 7 Upazila of Bandarban

7 Upazila in	Support to primary education	Literacy rate	Dropout rate
Bban sadar		43.2%(7)	19%(7)
Lama		30.4%(5)	33%(5)
Naikyongchari		32.3%(6)	30%(6)
Ruma		26.7%(3)	35%(4)
Alikadam		27.2%(4)	38%(3)
Rowangchari	Rowangchari	23.8%(2)	44%(2)
Thanchi	Thanchi	15.1%(1)	58% (1)

Source: UNDP, 2009b

The selection of Upazilas Rowangchari and Thanchi by UNDP for support to primary education is based on the fact that those two Upazilas have the lowest rate of literacy and the highest rate of dropout.

The UNDP programme in Bandarban also carries out a capacity development programme, directed towards the communities and building their confidence by arranging exchange visits among communities and raising awareness about the CHT. Additionally the programme is also covering capacity building in regard to the formal structure e.g helping the communities with opening a bank account for their schools, introducing the responsibilities of the School Management Committees etc..

6.4.1 Lapagoi Para school and Lemujhiri Para in Bandarban district

Both villages (paras) visited are supported by a local NGO called Toymu, which is one of the local NGOs executing the UNDP-CHTDF programme in Bandarban. Both schools in the visited paras are community schools which were built and are supported by the communities themselves. The local NGOs play a role in selecting the teachers, providing the teacher's salary, material for the schools, and giving training to the people in capacity building and community empowerment. All the community schools visited focus on pre-

Picture 1: Pre-primary community school

primary education and are starting to build a school for primary education for which they rely on the funds from UNDP. However, the communities themselves provide housing and food for the teacher. During the visits focus group discussions were held with the parents' committee and mothers group. During those, issues such as why education is important and what is their vision on making the programme sustainable were discussed.

The communities in the villages visited during the field trip have a clear view on why education is important to them; they see education as an improvement of their lives and therefore encouraged any education project coming to their villages. The main reason given on why education is important is to secure that the children of the community have a better life. The parents themselves are in most cases illiterate and themselves expressed interest in learning how to write and read. The main reason stated behind this was that they feel they are disadvantaged when they go to the market and they are easy subjects to be cheated or ripped off. While visiting the local market it was observed that in many cases the indigenous people selling their products would be accompanied by a child that at least a little bit spoke and understood Bengali. The community school set up in the observed villages seemed to involve the teacher into the community matters, which built trust among the children and parents with regard to the provision of education. As mentioned, the members of the School Management Committee and mother's groups are

for the most part illiterate and they all expressed their will to become literate. Since the teacher is living with the community, an initiative was taken by the teacher to establish an evening school for the adults. When a question was asked about the community's solutions to make the provision of education sustainable in case the funds on education provided to them at the moment would run out, a long discussion/brainstorm took place.

Picture 2: The Lapagoi Para pre-primary school project

The community itself started to come up with possible scenarios of generating income for sustaining their school e.g. by creating a fishing pond as a source of income.

Overall there was a shared consensus on the importance of education and full support of the villages. Although I was wondering how much of this is coming from the people themselves and how much has been stimulated by the NGO's programme on capacity building and community empowerment, all the people were convinced that they want a more inclusive life for their children and that their children need to know the Bengali language. In sum they want their children to be able to overcome the challenges of being illiterate.

6.5   THE NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY MISMATCH

As illustrated in the previous part of this chapter, education in CHT faces many obstacles with regard to reaching the children in several aspects. The formal education in CHT falls under the national education policy developed according to the situation in the flatlands of Bangladesh, thus for the majority of inhabitants being the Bengali. However, when looking at the local reality of CHT, this was identified as a major problem in this district. Table 7 illustrates the national policy on education is inadequate in the CHT as it does not fit the local needs and thus is creating a major obstacle for assuring that formal education reaches all the children. The implications of this policy mismatch are in more detail described in the following section.

Table 7: Relevance of the Government Education Policy in CHT[24]

The government requirements	Relaxed rule for CHT	Comments
Registered land for the school Each community needs to have 0.33 decimals of land before being able to register the school	No	Problematic for the local people uphold the traditional land ownership
Bank account with 5,000 Taka for a general saving and 10,000 taka in a permanent account	No	Many of the member of the school management committee are illiterate, which makes it very hard to manage a bank account
A new school can be established only if there is no school within the 2 km distance from the village	No	Geographical constrains in CHT make it difficult to follow this as even 2 km can be long distance or unsafe for children in the hilly area of CHT

---

[24] Comments are based on the data collected from the key interviewees and from the Focus Group Discussions as well as on the observations of the researcher.

The government requirements	Relaxed rule for CHT	Comments
Bangla language	No	Recognized as the major obstacle for children to enter the formal education system. All formal education and most non-registered schools and all non-primary education is in Bangla
Bangla curriculum	No	The curriculum does not reflect the cultural aspects of CHT, which makes it difficult for the children to associate with the material when it does not reflect anything from their daily life
Min. 4 teachers including one science teacher and two of them must be female	This is relaxed by the government	The problem is the overall lack of teachers.
Minimum number of students 150	The minimum is 100 students	Only few communities have 100 children
School Calendar	No	The different economic and social activities should be taken into account; as pointed out by key interviewees, the children should have their holidays during the season their parents need them to help out in the fields – that is also the reason why sometimes the attendance is irregular

6.5.1   Implications of the policy mismatch for the CHT

Access to education

With regard to access to education, which is linked to the way education facilities are geographically spread, many obstacles are encountered resulting in the fact that in the CHT students have lower access to education when compared to the rest of the country. According to the previously done studies only one in five villages had a primary school, compared with two schools for three villages in the rest of the country (UNDP, 2009a). However, it is important to mention that a majority of the key interviewees referred to the fact that a school mapping exercise, which is an implicit part of the geography of education (cf. Chapter 3), has not been conducted in the area. Thus the amount of schools, the type of schools and where exactly they are located is not fully known.

The other constraint is the national policy on establishment of schools which has in its guidelines that a school should be available within a distance of two kilometres. During the visits it was obvious that this is not the case in CHT. As pointed out in Table 5, no new school can be established if there is already a school within a 2 kilometres radius. In CHT 2 kilometres is still a challenging distance for children who have to either walk over a

hilly area or use a boat to reach the school. In this regard the topographic situation is very different to the plain lands national education planning that is being applied.

The fact that many of the existing school facilities are very remote influences also the number of teachers. One of the comments on this issue was that the remote areas are not attractive and are seen as a punishment posting. This results in situations where either some schooling facilities are for most of the time closed as teachers are simply absent or the facility is grossly understaffed.

Additionally, most of the students in the ethnic communities are working to support their families, either for their own households or for others in exchange of wages. The food insecurity of many of the communities makes sending children to school simply a luxury that cannot be afforded. It is not only the amount of schools available, but the terrain is hilly and the safety or even possibility to travel to school is also dependent on the season. For instance, to reach one of the villages, a river had to be crossed which was possible during the dry season as the river was rather shallow, however in the rainy season the stream is turned into a roaring river that is dangerous to cross.

School Registration

Another obstacle is the national policy on registering the school into the formal system. One of the key interviewees has pointed out this obstacle is also related to the geographical setting of the CHT which, with is particular hilly landscape, isolates many villages from each other and the distance between some is days of walking. According to the national rule for registration, the school needs to fulfil certain rules as for example the amount of student being minimally 150. Though this rule has been relaxed for CHT to a minimum of 100 students, many of the villages have only 30 students and the geographical location does not allow for uniting the amount of students from other villages in order to fulfil this rule. In addition to this, land for school facilities needs to be registered which in case of the indigenous population and their traditional land ownership constitutes a problem with regard to specifying who will own the land.

Language of education

As already noted earlier, the national education policy applies to the CHT, which means that the education given to children is given in the national language which is Bengali, but not in any of the languages of the eleven ethnic groups living in CHT. The language

problem is a main problem and contributes to the high level of dropouts. As pointed out by one of the interviewees, it has been observed that the language constraints impose extra stress on children as it is difficult for them to follow and understand the lessons. Furthermore, the fact that the textbooks are mainly drawing on the Bengali culture makes it very hard for the children to associate with and understand the subjects that they have to cover at school.

6.5.2   Education Impact Assessment applied to CHT

As outlined in this section there is a solemn mismatch between the national educational policy and the needs of the CHT population. In Table 8, the Education Impact Assessment instrument is applied to the educational policy in the CHT.

Table 8: Education Impact Assessment (EdIA) of the Situation in CHT

EdIA	Situation in CHT
Safe access to schooling facilities?	No, conflict area largely under military supervision, local geography might also endanger children travelling to schools
What does the constitution say regarding the education of all citizens	Constitution recognizes rights of children to education and the state is committed to provision of primary education, however these constitutional rights are not (yet) put into practice
Are there discriminatory policies that would affect access to education for various minority groups? : a) language b) curriculum c) policies d) school funding policies e) gender	Policies that would draw on the diversity in the region are not developed. However the UNDP approach and NGO's initiatives are introducing a) multi-lingual education and b) text books reflecting the culture of the CHT tribes. c) Policies are not fitting the population distribution in CHT or the geographical conditions d) School funding policies are not *per se* discriminatory; however the awareness of the possibility and process to get funding is low. Additionally, the communities face problems with complying with all the requirements of the application for funding cf. Table 5 e) the policy is not discriminatory with regard to gender
Depoliticized education system?	No, education system reflects the government's approach to unity by imposing homogeneity
In multi-cultural societies, are the curricula developed in line with the plurality of the society and is bilingual education offered / introduced?	Not by the government, there are however bilingual initiatives introduced by UNDP and BRAC, and UNICEF started its pre-primary education with the first 7 month in the native language – A problem is that teachers need to be recruited from the communities themselves to assure that they know the language

EdIA	Situation in CHT
What were taboo issues and are these actively addressed (e.g. cultural discrimination, distribution of societal wealth)	As an outsider it is difficult to determine which taboo issues are considered the main taboo issues by locals. One insight gained is the issue of cultural repression via Islamitization of the country

In conclusion, the situation in CHT is that Bengali culture defines the characteristics of the state approach and this is also translated into the formal education system. There is no adaptation to the local needs of the population and with regard to the discriminatory policy no inclusion of the cultural diversity. In addition, the main actor in the region with the mandate of peace building, executed via programme consisting of 32 components, education being one of these, has no official link to the formal system of the state. Thus reflecting on the table of the education impact assessment, there are many aspects that should be included in the formal education programme for the CHT region in order to make the independent non-formal structures sustainable in the long-run.

6.6   FILLING IN THE GAPS IN THE PROVISION OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Although according to the analyses the national policy has proved to be not sufficient for the geography of education in CHT, one should not forget about the development initiatives run in the region by other actors active in the provision of education.
The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) is one of the actors that in 1985 has initiated a Non-formal Primary Education project for those that are not being reached by the existing (national) school system (Anderson, 1992). In 2001, BRAC stated with its Education for Ethnic Children (EEC) programme with the focus on overcoming the challenges the children from ethnic groups face in the mainstream education system where national language is the medium of instruction. This is, as already pointed out earlier in this chapter, one of the main obstacles and impulses causing tribal children to fall behind in school or even drop out more in comparison to Bengali children. BRAC has adapted its nation-wide programme to the needs of Ethnic Minorities by adjusting Bengali materials and developing teaching methods for ethnic children and having a teacher from the community speaking the native language explain lessons in their native language alongside Bengali. In 2008 BRAC started a pilot in the Chittagong Hill Tracts to produce educational materials for a pre-primary school in the Chakma script with the

support of the community (BRAC, 2009). The material is created in a way to reflect indigenous culture; stories and materials are collected from indigenous communities in order to support a learning environment for ethnic minorities.

The UNICEF-supported Integrated Community Development Project in the CHT has two main components: early learning opportunities for children and health, and hygiene and nutrition education and promotion for mothers and children (UNICEF, 2007). These activities take place in the established Para (village) communities that comprises from 25 to 60 families (ibid.) The pre-primary education offered in the para centres is focusing for the first 7 month on promoting the local culture by teaching the children 16 indigenous songs. After 7 months, the children are introduced to the Bengali alphabet and language. However, in many of the villages where those para centres are established, there is no possibility to follow primary education as the primary education school in many cases does not exist. Also, a concern expressed by one of the interviewees was the fact that even where a government primary school does exist there is no linkage. As shared by a representative of UNICEF, there are plans to develop primary education in most of the paras where no primary school exists, and to have a grade I by 2010 with the aim to continue with a grade II which would then be established in 2011, etc.

UNDP has launched one of its largest direct execution interventions in the country under the umbrella of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Facility (CHTDF). The CHTDF is a programme with objectives to develop the communities in the area socio-economically and to promote peace and confidence among communities. In their programme education is identified as one of the 32 components that serve to build peace (UNDP, 2009a).
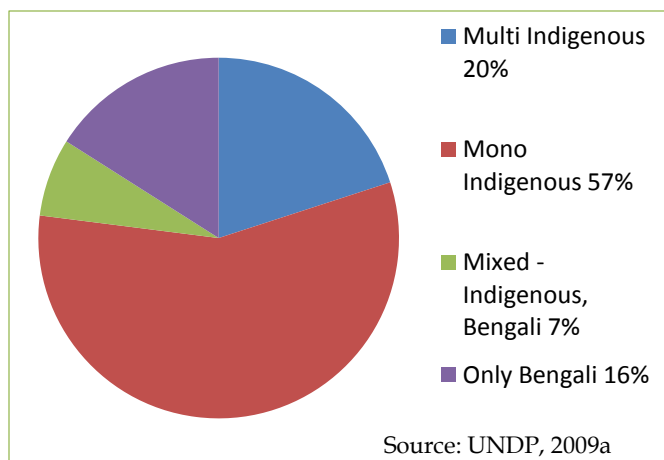The CHTDF approach to education is unique in its provision of sustainability for education through organisation and development of self-help in the targeted communities. There are also a number of programmes provided in the areas of community empowerment with gender mainstreaming and capacity building (UNDP, 2009b).

6.6.1   Missing common approach to cultural diversity in schools

Development initiatives active in providing education in the CHT come from different backgrounds be it government, an international, national or local NGOs. Although the focus of this study has not been on analysing the platform of the development initiatives, the following lines are based on my observations. UNDP – CHTDF has launched its peace building programme including education as one of the 32 components of the programme. However, the UNDP programme is implemented mainly through local indigenous NGOs, therefore the target group seems to be limited to the indigenous population, without formulating inclusiveness as an explicit aim of this programme. Looking at the situation in the area and the geographical spread and ethnic composition of the different villages in CHT, cf. Figure 7, it is understandable that the focus is on the larger groups needing support, in this case the mono-indigenous villages which constitute the local majority. BRAC operates pre-primary and primary schools nation-wide and their approach to CHT is to a certain extend tailored to the local needs by recognising and incorporating the need for the use of mother tongue in the education system. Despite these very good initiatives with regard to the language of both the UNDP and BRAC programmes, further measures to promote the peaceful coexistence of ethnic groups as for instance provided in the Northern

Figure 7: Composition of communities in the villages in CHT

Legend:
- Multi Indigenous 20%
- Mono Indigenous 57%
- Mixed - Indigenous, Bengali 7%
- Only Bengali 16%

Source: UNDP, 2009a

Ireland *Education for Mutual Understanding* programme are absent. The UNICEF initiative focuses on pre-primary education; one core shortcoming of this programme, as also pointed out by one of the key interviewees, is that in many of the villages where UNICEF's programme is present there are no follow up educational facilities that would link up the pre-primary education to the primary education. This also brings us to the following: how is then the transformation of the society through education in CHT progressing? In order to create a situation in which unification is strived for while respecting cultural diversity, explicitly aiming for education that is inclusive with regard

to all ethnic groups in the region would prepare children for adequately dealing with the diversity of cultures they will encounter in the region. A common approach to the cultural diversity present in the region needs to be established and further also formalised within the national education policy.

6.7 TRANSFORMING SOCIETY THROUGH EDUCATION IN CHT

Transformation of society in the context of multiculturalism is a challenging and complex task, requiring not only the transfer of knowledge and skills but also behaviour and actions of individuals. It remains to be seen to which extent societies can be actively constructed in general by policies and knowledge transfer, and specifically in the region of CHT where the majority of all inhabitants has no access to educational facilities. Additionally, it should be taken into account that the transformation process is closely linked to the local context and thus interacts with the local reality. Looking back at Figure 7, there are only about 7 % of villages that have a mixed indigenous and Bengali population and about 20% are multi indigenous villages. Thus, only for the population living in these villages accumulating to a total of 27 % of the villages, the daily reality is a multicultural environment.

When looking at the transformation of society through education, one has to first look at the reach of education. Figure 6a shows that over half of the population in CHT has no education (independently of their ethnic background). If the village composition is mono-cultural and therefore socio-geographically isolated, and has access to education, there is no direct pressure for inclusiveness. If the group living in a village is socio-geographically mixed and thus multi-cultural, there are drivers for inclusiveness on the ground. The latter should be stimulated towards inclusiveness and cohesion in the village groups and education can be used as tool for achieving this.

An example of transformation on a small community scale thought the education was given during one of the FGD. A village consisting of mixed inhabitants, an indigenous community and Bengali settlers have together established and are managing one common community school for all the children of their village. The access to education for their children has become a common goal and enhanced the relationships among the ethnic groups. Additionally it brought children into a multicultural environment where all had one uniting goal and that was obtaining education.

This chapter gave an insight into the situation on the ground in CHT and the obstacles that the education programme faces there. A main conclusion is that it was illustrated that the a priori Education Impact Assessment and overall mapping of the geographical presence of school is of a key importance when planning and implementing the provision of education. When looking at the EdIA applied to the CHT case, notwithstanding the initiatives by BRAC, UNICEF and UNDP described, the fundamental problem with the role of education in peace-building lies in the absence of the recognition of the constitutional rights of the indigenous children as a minority by the government.

7   CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1   CONCLUSIONS

This thesis took a holistic approach to contribute to the understudied potential role of education as a peace building tool. As pointed out throughout this thesis peace building is a very broad concept consisting of diverse tools, approaches and strategies that are meant to direct a society to the path of peace full co-existence. The complexity of the process of building peace in the aftermath of a conflict lies in the fact that it entails a non-linear system in which many processes operate in parallel over different societal layers. This research argues that any development assistance must be based on a solid analysis of the situation within the society and identifying elements that might hinder the potential path to peaceful coexistence before planning any development assistance.

The title of this thesis is: *The discourse of unity: constructing peace through education*. I start with the concept of unity. How can *unity* be achieved? Looking at the approach of the Bengali government, the fact that the constitution is based on mono-cultural, mono-religious and monolingual structure gives an insight into the course that the government is taking. National educational policy in CHT being the same as in the plain lands, despite the difference the CHT posses from so many aspects, the government initiated a way which will lead in 1 or 2 generations time to a unity in region while attaining (perhaps even the intended goal) homogeneity in the country. The concern of one of the interviewed representatives of the indigenous people is that the culture will be Bengali with all associated customs, language and way of dressing. The culture of the indigenous people will then only remain present in museums. In this thesis the importance of the disaggregation methodology was stressed, which emphasises the need for a special analysis to identify the people that were overlooked in development policy. This should, however, not be interpreted to mean that when it comes to cultural diversity this should be eliminated and the differences should be erased. As also recognized by Roy "strength or weakness of such recognition and protection depends not so much on the formal constitutional structure of the state – whether it is a unitary or a federal state – but its practice of accommodating cultural pluralism, including a spirit of tolerance towards the rights of the disadvantaged, including indigenous peoples" (2004). Thus if we apply the

concept of unity in which ethnic diversity is preserved, creating opportunities for all groups which would lead to unification and peaceful coexistence, the governmental approach needs to be adjusted.

Peace and unity can sometimes be opposing concepts, in a sense that constructing peace through transforming society into one unified, homogenised structure will only strengthen feelings of oppression in minorities. It is obvious that at this moment, the indigenous population in CHT is marginalized by the state's non-recognition of their cultural distinctiveness in a sense that the introduction of other beliefs and other languages can produce feelings of exclusion and marginalisation. Thus, the formal policies of the state directed towards creating a homogenous society seem to be refuelling the original causes of the conflict. This leads to the conclusion that no formal peace building initiatives by the government are undertaken.

The second part of the thesis title is: *constructing peace through education.* Peace building in this research is identified as a full range of activities as well as approaches and stages that take place within the transformation of society in the aftermath of conflict. Despite the fact that peace building is hard to formulate in a definition, one thing that can be agreed on is that peace building is a process (Lederach, 1997), a long term process. The role education can play in this process is a crucial one as already pointed out in the chapter on education and conflict, but again it is a tool facilitating the process and education itself is a process. The complexity of the entanglement of both the peace building process and education has been illustrated throughout this thesis. The definition of education used for the purpose of this thesis supports the view that one needs to look at education as a process rather than an end product, and thus one needs to view the life cycle of education as something that is constantly changing, transforming and influencing society and *visa versa*. Looking at education from this point of view, education should not be seen just as a development goal as outlined by the MDGs, but also as a process and as a tool that is transforming or in general develops societies.

Within the framework of the definition of education for the purpose of this thesis: *the informal, non-formal and formal structures of learning which involves besides the literacy also the acquisition of ideas, values, beliefs and opinions outside educational institutions, whether in streets, fields, religious settings or at home,* the following argument is put forward. Education in the informal traditional sense teaches explicit values and norms about how to behave in society towards the others; it is however the formal education that opens the possibility to move up in society to another level. All forms of education influence perceptions of society and define the possibilities in society, but

it is only the formal system that can be managed and therefore influence the society transformation. Thereby a formal system in place is a condition for education to be used as a tool for the peace building process.

The research focus of this thesis has been to highlight the relationship of education to peace building in order to establish a framework illustrating how education can serve as a tool for peace building. The importance of the focus on the potential role of education in peace building has been recognised by international society as issued in the UN resolution from July 27 2010[25] that notes the importance of education in all stages of humanitarian response and in Art.7 urges

"Member States to provide quality education in emergency situations that is gender-sensitive, centred on learners, rights-based, protective, adaptable, inclusive, participatory and reflective of the specific living conditions of children and youth and that pays due regard, as appropriate, to their linguistic and cultural identity, mindful that quality education can foster tolerance and mutual understanding and respect for the human rights of others" (UN, 2010).

A slight shift towards establishing a link between the positive role education can have in the aftermath of conflict was tackled already in 2000 in the UNESCO report[26] on the right to education. The findings of this thesis support such a notion, albeit that the transformation of society hinges on the existence of a formal education system, as informal education is beyond policy control. Additionally, for education to serve as a peace building tool, formal education should be actively supporting social cohesion advancement and promote inclusiveness with regard to all cultural and ethnic groups present, not only on paper but also in practice.

Drawing on the above made link between education and peace-building this thesis looks into the answers for the three sub-questions guiding this research in order to build an answer for the main research question. Thus, *How is education perceived by the local indigenous community in the Chittagong Hill Tracts?* In the context of the CHT, the formal education system is rather a recent phenomenon and from a geographic point of view is not always accessible. The traditional education system was an informal system in which the indigenous groups relied on the oral transmission of values and life skills, and since the formal education is not reaching out to everybody, the traditional system in many areas is still the only education system in place. As shared by one of the interviewees, there has been a change in the attitude of the indigenous people towards education after the independence of Bangladesh. The people began to see

---

[25] Cf. Appendix IV.
[26] (UNESCO, 2000).

education as a key instrument in their struggle for cultural autonomy: even in the remote villages education is now considered of the utmost importance.

Is the national education programme meeting the local needs of the CHT? The EdIA applied in Chapter 6 to the national education policy in the CHT pointed out that the major issue is the mismatch of the needs of the local population versus what is formulated in national policy. During the research period in the CHT it was identified that the formal structure of the government policy on education is not *per se* excluding the indigenous population, yet many obstacles have been found that lead to the conclusion that an inadequate formal educational system is in place. The major obstacles are based on the regulations regarding the number of students for each school, the establishment of schools within the radius of 2 km in the topographical setting of CHT and the language of education being only Bengali showed a mismatch of this policy to the context of the geography of education in CHT.

What dimensions of education are relevant to the local context of CHT? The geographical spread of schooling facilities is one aspect of the geography of education. Another aspect of the geography of education, as defined in this thesis, looks into the societal framework that forms the basis for educational programmes and whether it is linked to the formal and legal boundaries (e.g. the official borderlines of the districts, sub districts and villages), or to the traditional informal cultural boundaries (e.g. the regional division along tribal group boundaries giving rise to different ethnic groups territories). Defining the dimensions of education as a part of the geography of education faces several problems in the case of CHT. In Chapter 6 it is mentioned that the first requirement for establishing geography of education is unfulfilled as there has not yet been conducted any school mapping exercise in the CHT. At the same time the baseline survey from 2009 shows that about 7 % of villages have mixed indigenous and Bengali population and about 20% are multi indigenous villages, thus only for the population living in villages falling in the total of 27 %, the daily reality is a multicultural environment and thus it is desired that a multilingual education is offered here. But as the reality on the ground is unknown with regard to the existence of schooling facilities, the presence of any form of education can be questioned.

How does the case of the education programme show the potential of education as a tool/facilitator for peace-building in post-conflict region of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Bangladesh? i.e. can education bridge cultural cleavages in conflict areas? Can education be used to create a new path that

would lead to peaceful co-existence? In the theoretical part of this thesis examples were provided demonstrating the positive effect education has on society when complying with some basic rules (cf. Chapter 4). The right to education for every child (including children in conflict areas) is recognised by international conventions and becomes an integral part of development assistance. However there is no legal framework for including education into humanitarian assistance. This has resulted in situations where for years there has been no provision of education in emergency regions. Indeed the CHT is no exception to this.

This research argues for a proper analysis with the help of the EdIA instrument. It also argues that this needs to be conducted as early as possible (preferably in the humanitarian assistance phase) and be done *before* any education reform takes place in order to avoid that education development approaches are built along old formal boundaries that once again reinstate prior structures, thus giving rise to new conflicts and tensions. The construction of peace through education takes place within the societal reproduction and its dynamics.

The multidimensionality of conflict and the conflict transformation process (Figure 3, p.18) illustrates the societal dynamics and shows that the human agencies and collective effects of human agencies are the drives behind these changes. From the state level to the grass-roots level the attitudes of the different societal groups towards schisms in society direct behaviour and thus influence the peaceful coexistence within the society.

How are human agents and collective effects of human agencies organized with regard to the attitudes and behaviour of societal groups towards schisms and contradictions in society in CHT? Relating back to Figure 4 (p.33) which discussed Pinto's (2000) view on types of societies according to their cultural orientation, Pinto draws on the fact that there are societies with a different priority ladder, which creates a contextual influence on the individual that can affect individual behaviour. In the CHT area however simplifications cannot be made along the cultural lines within society, e.g. the Bengali and Indigenous groups. Rather, the observed boundaries between a group-oriented situation or an individualistically oriented one run along the local geographical set-up boundaries, the urban versus rural geographical lines. In rural villages the individuals experience drivers that lead them to be group-oriented; cooperation is necessary to survive, therefore the community framework is important. In urban areas where there is no such interdependence of individuals with regard to survival, because individuals can fulfil their needs in a much broader context, the drivers for close community cooperation are weak and thus facilitate an individual-oriented context.

With regard to structuration theory, the relations in a society are multi-complex and the individual actors monitor closely not only their own actions but also social and physical aspects of the context in which they are present. Thereby, the individuals living in the urban areas are likely to be more influenced by the mainstream than individuals living in isolated rural areas. Such a phenomenon is also observed in the context of the CHT rural and urban life. For example a simple cultural distinction that could be made is the way of dresses worn by each ethnic group in CHT. In the towns the Bengali way of dresses prevails and also the indigenous people are influenced by this and follow the mainstream, in their view the modern way of clothing. In the rural areas, the traditional dresses are still the only way to be dressed, as there is no influence of the mainstream culture.

In conclusion, with regard to education as a tool for peace building in CHT, one should not disregard the initiatives taken by many of the local NGOs to assure that these local needs are satisfied. The region is undergoing peace building and when applying a transformation theory lens on the interaction within society, new 'local reality' norms have been established and refined. The major problem identified behind the very slow path of the process is that, till date, the indigenous people were not recognised in the constitution in Bangladesh, and because of that there still exist insurgencies and a general feeling of injustice and disadvantage by the indigenous people towards the Bengali settlers. The definition of education used in this thesis was purposely developed in a broad sense and goes beyond just literacy and numeracy, involving the acquisition of ideas, values, beliefs and opinions outside educational institutions, whether in streets, fields, religious settings or at home. The definition is merging the formal, non-formal and informal education. When looking at the formal primary education provided in CHT, it follows the curriculum of the national policy. Thus lessons are in Bengali and not in local languages, which does not explicitly exclude the local indigenous population but creates a barrier that for many results in dropping out of the formal system. Additionally, the formal education facilities remain difficult to reach for many of the children living in remote areas. Nevertheless, the local initiatives carried out by the NGOs as well as UNDP are on the right path, and although the process has been slow, this should encourage practitioners to evaluate and monitor whether the present programmes contribute positively to or whether they hinder the peace building process. The example of the mixed community school in Chapter 6 is an example of how a common goal, in this case to sustain a common community school, can overcome cultural differences and unite people in working towards this common goal. It is an

example of a grass-root level peace building process, however to assure that this initiative will be sustained it needs to be incorporated into the formal structure of the state as well.

7.2   RECOMMENDATIONS

To properly implement a policy strategy that uses education as a tool for peace building we need to assess the situation in the particular post-conflict setting. Thus it is highly encouraged that before planning an educational programme in a post-conflict setting, a proper impact assessment has to be conducted.

One of the major issues in educational systems, especially the ones in conflict/post-conflict areas, is that they should take into consideration the corresponding regional framework conditions and organize their dealing with the diversity accordingly. Therefore it is highly recommended that we go beyond the implicitly necessary school mapping exercise and look closely on all the levels of geographies of education. A clear analysis of the geography of education in the development of educational programmes can help to successfully address potential complications arising from the structural framework that is taken as the starting point for development aid.

A few local initiatives with regard to education in CHT, cf. Chapter 6, illustrate the good practices of inclusiveness; however the initiatives can be characterised as fragmented in their approach. Integration of the various non-formal education programmes within the formal framework is recommended.

 Ensuring that by 2015 children (boys and girls alike) everywhere will be able to complete a full course of primary education is the second of the Millennium Development Goals. The latest number based on the enrolment rates gives the impression that the goal will be achieved. However as pointed out throughout this thesis education is a process not necessarily an end goal and it cannot be simply measured only by enrolment rates. Considering the number of conflict and post conflict areas worldwide, there is still a large number of children that are not reached by education and thus the number of not enrolled children is actually unknown. This has also been demonstrated in this thesis where as even the actual number of schooling facilities are not known. Therefore it is recommended to focus first on the actual reach and quality of education rather than focusing directly on the enrolment rate to measure the achievement of the second MDG.

A brief recommendation for future research is based on the current fragmented approach in providing education in the region. A comparative study of these initiatives and identification of common goals might show that there is more in common than one would perhaps think. This could be an incentive to enhance the development cooperation in the region. Such a study deserves more attention and is recommended as a further research on the topic of geography of education.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adnan, S. (2004). *Migration, Land Alienation and Ethnic Conflict. Causes of Poverty in Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh.* Dhaka: Research & Advisory Services.

Agerback, L. (1991). Breaking the cycle of violence: doing development in situations of conflict. *Development in Practice Vol.1, No. 3* , 151-158.

Ali, M. S. (1993). *The Fearful State: Power, People and INternal War in South Asia.* London: Zed Books.

Anacleti, O. (1996). Research into local culture: implications for participatory development. In E. D., *Development in Practice Readers: Development and Social Diversity* (pp. 69-72). Oxford: Oxfam Publications.

Anderson, M. B. (1999). *Do No Harm: how Aid Can Support Peace or War.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Anderson, M. B. (1992). *Education for All: What are we waiting for?* New York: United Nations Children's Fund Programme Publications.

Anderson, M. B. (1992). *Education for All; What are we waiting for?* New York: UNICEF.

Anderson, M. B. (1996). Understanding difference and building solidarity: a challenge to a developpment initiatives. In E. D., *In Development in Practice Readers: Development and Social Diversity* (pp. 7-15). Oxford: Oxfam Publications.

Arens, J., & Chakma, K. N. (2002). *Conflict Prevention.* Retrieved April 7, 2009, from http://www.conflict-prevention.net/page.php?id=40&formid=73&action=show&surveyid=14#author

BRAC. (2009). *BRAC Annual Report 2009.* Dhaka: BRAC.

Brass, P. (1991). *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison.* New Delhi: Sage.

Brown, M. E. (2001). Ethnic and International Conflict: Causes and Implications. In C. A. Crocker, F. O. Hampson, & P. Aall, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (pp. 209-226). Washington, D. C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Buckland, P. (2006, July 1). Post-conflict education: time for a reality Check? *Forced Migration Review* , pp. 7-8.

Bush, K. (1998). *A Measure of Peace: Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) of Development Projects in Conflict Zones.* Ottawa: International Development Research Council.

Bush, K. D., & Saltarelli, D. (2000). *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children.* Florence: Innocenti Research Centre, United Nations Children's Fund.

Children, S. t. (2006). *Rewrite the future, Education for Children in conflcit-affected countries.* Retrieved May 15, 2010, from Save the Children: http://www.savethechildren.org/publications/reports/RewritetheFuture-PolicyReport-1.pdf

Collier, P. (2007). *The Bottom Billion: Why Poorest Countries are Falling and What Can Be Done About It.* Oxford: Oxford University press.

Commission, C. (1997, December 2). *Chittagong Hill Tracts Treaty 1997.* Retrieved May 14, 2010, from UNHCR Refworld: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4c20e0fb2.html

Commission, T. H. (2000). *Life is not Ours: Land and Human Rights in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.* Bangladesh: The Hill Tracts Commission.

Danforth, L. M. (1995). Ethnic Nationalism: The Construction of National Identities and Cultures. In L. M. Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict: ethnic nationalism in a transnational world* (pp. 11-27). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Davies, L. (2004). *Education and Conflict; Complexity and Chaos.* London and New York: Routledge London and New York.

DPE. (2009). *Bangladesh Primary Education Annual Sector Performance Report 2009.* Dhaka: Directorate of Primary Education.

Duffield, m. (2001). *Global Governance anf the New Wars: The MErging of Development and Security.* London: Zed.

EC. (2001). *Communication from the Commission on Conflict Prevention.* Brussels: European Commission.

Emran, A. M., & Tsuchiya. (2002). Land Rights of Indigenous People of Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh. *Fourth World Journal* , 63-79.

Esman, M. J. (1994). *Ethnic Politics.* New York: Cornell University Press.

Fearon, J. D., & Laitin, D. D. (2000). Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity. *International Organizationi , 54* (4), 845-877.

FEWER. (1999). *Conflcit and peace analysis and response manual.* London: FEWER Secretariat.

FEWER. (1999). *Conflict and Peace Analysis: response manual.* London: FEWER Secretariat.

Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by peaceful means: peace and conflict, development and civilization.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Giddens, A. (1986). *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of struturation.* California: University of California Press.

Goodhand, J., & Hulme, D. (1999). From Wars to Complex Political Emergencies: Understanding Conflict and Peacebuilding in the New World Disorder. *Third World Quaterly , 20* (1), 13-26.

Gourevitch, P. (1998). *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families: stories from Rwanda.* New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Govt action contrary to CHT accord. (2010, May 9). Retrieved May 9, 2010, from bdnews24.com: http://www.bdnews24.com/details.php?id=160611&cid=2

Hoffman, M. (2004). Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment Methodology. *Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management* , 2-18.

Jamil, I., & Panday, P. K. (2008). The Elusive Peace Accord in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh and. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* , *46* (4), 464 — 489.

June, G., & Verkoren, W. (2005). *Postconflict Development; Meeting New Challenges.* Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Kaldor, M. (1999). *New and Old Wars: organized violence in a global era.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Lederach, P. J. (2008). *Building Peace: sustainable reconsiliation in divided societies* (8th Edition ed.). Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace.

Long, N. (1992). rom Paradigm lost to paradigm regained? The case for an actor-oriented. In N. Long, & A. Long, *Battlefields of Knowledge: Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Developmen.* London & New York: Routledge.

MDG. (2008). *The Millennium Development Goals Report.* New York: United Nations.

Miall, H. (2004). Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task. In A. Austin, M. Fischer, & N. Ropers, *Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict.The Berghof Handbook* (pp. 67-90). Berlin: VS Verlag Für Sozialwissenschaften.

Nasreen, M., & Tate, S. (2007). *Social Inclusion: Gender and Equity in Education SWAPs in South Asia: Bangladesh case Study.* Kathmandu, Nepal: UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia (ROSA).

Nasreen, Z., & Togawa, M. (2002). Politics of Development: 'Pahari-Bengali' Discourse in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. *Journal of International Development and Cooperation* , *9* (1), 97-112.

Pinto, D. (2000). *Een Nieuw perspectief. Herziening van beleid, onderwijs, communicatie, maslowpiramide dringng nodig.* Amsterdam: Vossiuspers AUP.

Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Ramasubramanian, R. (2005). *Elusive Peace in the Chittagong Hill Tracts: A Background, Paper no. 1540.* Retrieved March 29, 2010, from South Asia Analysis Group: http://www.saag.org/papers16/

Roy, D. (2004). Challenges for Juridical Pluralism and Customary Laws of Indigenous Peopples: The Case of the CHittagong Hill Tracts, bangladesh. *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law , 21* (1), 113-182.

Roy, D. R. (1997). The Population Transfer Programme of 1980s and the Land Rights of the Indigenous Peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In S. Bhaumik, *Living on the Edge: Essays from the Chittagong Hill Tracts., South Asia Forum for Human Rights, Katmandu.* Kathmandu: South East Forum for Human rights.

Roy, D., Hossain, S., & Guhathakurta, M. (2007). *Case Study: Access to Justice for Indigenous Peoples in Bangladesh.* Bangkok: UNDP Regional Centre in Bangkok.

Roy, R. C. (2000). *Land rights of the indigenous peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, .* Copenhagen: Centraltrykkeriet Skive A/S Skive.

Sagar, T., & Poulson, N. (2003). *Education for indigenous children: The BRAC model.*

Salomon, & Nevo. (2002).

Seitz, K. (2004). *Education and Conflict.* Berlin: GTZ Division 43 Health, Education and Social Protection.

Sen, A. (2006). *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny.* London: Penguin Group.

Smith, A. D. (1996). The Resurgence of Nationalism? Myth and Memory in the Renewal of Nations. *The British Journal of Sociology , 47* (4), 575-598.

Smith, A., & Robinson, A. (1996). *Education for Mutual Understanding: The Initial Statutory.* Coleraine: University of Ulster.

Smith, A., & Robinson, A. (1996). *Education for Mutual Understanding: The Initial Statutory Years.* Coleraine: University of Ulster.

Sommers, M. (2002). *Youth: Care & Protection of Children in Emergencies: A field Guide.* Washington, DC: Save the Children US.

Stavenhagen, R. (1996). *Ethnic conflicts and the nation state.* MACMILLAN PRESS LTD: London.

Stewart, F. (2002). *Horizontal Inequalities: a Neglected Dimension of Development.* Oxford: University of Oxford.

Tawil, S. (2001). Exploring Humanitarian law: Armed confllict and education for social cohesion. *IBE: Prospects , XXXI* (3), 1-17.

Tawil, S., Harley, A., & Porteous, L. (2003). *Curriculum chagne and social cohesion in conflict effected societies.* UNESCO, International Bereau of Education. Geneva: IBE (UNESCO).

Tucker, K. H. (1998). *Anthony Giddens and Modern Social Theory.* London: AGE Publications Ltd.

UN. (2008). *Millenium Development Goals Report.* New York: United Nations.

UN. (2008). *MIllenium Development Goals Report.* New York: United Nations.

UN. (2010). *Resolution adopted by the General Assembly 64/290. The right to education in emergency situations.* New York: United Nations.

UN. (1996). *Strengthening of the coordination of emergency humanitarian assistance of the United Nations.* Department of Humanitarian Affairs. NY: DESA.

UNDP. (2009b). *Sharing session of support to basic Education in CHT.* Bandarban: UNDP Bandarban presentation.

UNDP. (2009a). *Socio-economic Baseline Survey of Chittagong Hill Tracts.* Dhaka: UNDP.

UNDP. (2006). *Suppor to Primary Education: Technical Analysis.* Dhaka: UNDP.

UNESCO. (2000). *World education Report: The Right to Education.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNICEF. (2005).

UNICEF. (2007). *Evaluation of the UNICEF Integrated Community Development Project in the Chittagong Hill Tracts Bangladesh.* Dhaka: UNICEF.

UNPO. (2008, August 15). *UN Rapporteur reports on land seizure in Bangladesh.* Retrieved March 27, 2010, from Unrepresented nations And Peoples Organizations: http://www.unpo.org/content/view/8888/236

Verschuren, P., & Doorewaard, H. (1999). *Designing a research project.* Utrecht: LEMMA.

Vriens, L. (2003). Responsibility for the Future: The Key to Peace Education. In W. Wintersteiner, V. Spajic-Vrkas, & R. Teutsch, *Peace Education in Europe: Visions and experiences* (pp. 71-84). New York: Waxmann Publishing Co.

WB. (2004). *The Role of World Bank in Conflict and Development.* World Bank.

ANNEXES/ APPENDICES

ANNEX I OVERVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK REGARDING EDUCATION

Box 3: Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

Universal declaration of Human Rights (1948)

Art. 26

1   Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2   Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3   Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Source: Universal Declaration of Human Rights Adopted and
Proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, 10 December 1948

Box 4: Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960)

Art 1.

1. For the purposes of this Convention, the term `discrimination' includes any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education and in particular:

(a) Of depriving any person or group of persons of access to education of any type or at any level;
(b) Of limiting any person or group of persons to education of an inferior standard;
Subject to the provisions of Article 2 of this
(c) Convention, of establishing or maintaining separate educational systems or institutions for persons or groups of persons; or
(d) Of inflicting on any person or group of persons conditions which are in-compatible with the dignity of man.

2. For the purposes of this Convention, the term `education' refers to all types and levels of education, and includes access to education, the standard and quality of education, and the conditions under which it is given.

Art. 2

When permitted in a State, the following situations shall not be deemed to constitute discrimination, within the meaning of Article 1 of this Convention:

The establishment or maintenance of separate educational systems or in-stitutions for pupils of the two sexes, if these systems or institutions offer equivalent access to education, provide a teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard as well as school premises and equipment of the same quality, and afford the opportunity to take the same or equivalent courses of study;

The establishment or maintenance, for religious or linguistic reasons, of separate educational systems or institutions offering an education which is in keeping with the wishes of the pupil's parents or legal guardians, if participation in such systems or attendance at such institutions is optional and if the

Art. 5

1.The States Parties to this Convention agree that:

(a) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; it shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace;

(b) It is essential to respect the liberty of parents and, where applicable, of legal guardians, firstly to choose for their children institutions other than those maintained by the public authorities but conforming to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the competent authorities and, secondly, to ensure in a manner consistent with the procedures followed in the State for the application of its legislation, the religious and moral education of the 'children in conformity with their own convictions; and no person or group of persons should be compelled to receive religious instruction inconsistent with his or their convictions;

(c) It is essential to recognize the right of members of national minorities to carry on their own educational activities,, including the maintenance of schools and, depending on the educational policy of each State, the use or the teaching of their own language, provided however:

(i) That this right is not exercised in a manner which prevents the members of these minorities from understanding the culture and language of the community as a whole and from participating in its activities, or which prejudices national sovereignty;

(ii) That the standard of education is not lower than the general standard laid down or approved by the competent authorities; and

(iii) That attendance at such schools is optional.

2. The States Parties to this Convention undertake to take all necessary measures to ensure the application of the principles enunciated in

education provided conforms to such standards as may be laid down or approved by the competent authorities, in particular for education of the same level ;

The establishment or maintenance of private educational institutions, if the object of the institutions is not to secure the exclusion of any group but to provide educational facilities in addition to those provided by the public authorities, if the institutions are conducted in accordance with that object, and if the education provided conforms with such standards as may be laid down or approved by the competent authorities, in particular for education of the same level.

Article 3

In order to eliminate and prevent discrimination within the meaning of this Convention, the States Parties thereto undertake:

(a) To abrogate any statutory provisions and any administrative instructions and to discontinue any administrative practices which involve discrimination in education;

(b) To, ensure, by legislation where necessary, that there is no discrimination in the admission of pupils to educational institutions;

(c) Not to allow any differences of treatment by the public authorities between nationals, except on the basis of merit or need, in the matter of school fees and the grant of scholarships or other forms of assistance to pupils and necessary permits and facilities for the pursuit of studies in foreign countries ;

(d) Not to allow, in any form of assistance granted by the public authorities to educational institutions, any restrictions or preference based solely on the ground that pupils belong to a particular group;

(e) To give foreign nationals resident within their territory the same access to education as that given to their own nationals.

paragraph 1 of this Article.

Source: Convention against Discrimination in Education, Adopted by the General Conference at its Eleventh Session, 14 December 1960

Box 5: The right to Education: Articles 13 and 14 (specifies the rights to education) and Article 27 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural

Art. 13	1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They further agree that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

2. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize that, with a view to achieving the full realization of this right:
(a) Primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all;
(b) Secondary education in its different forms, including technical and vocational secondary education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education;
(c) Higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education;
(d) Fundamental education shall be encouraged or intensified as far as possible for those persons who have not received or completed the whole period of their primary education;
(e) The development of a system of schools at all levels shall be actively pursued, an adequate fellowship system shall be established, and the material conditions of teaching staff shall be continuously improved.

3. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

4. No part of this article shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principles set forth in paragraph 1 of this article and to the requirement that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.

Art. 14	Each State Party to the present Covenant which, at the time of becoming a Party, has not been able to secure in its metropolitan territory or other territories under its jurisdiction compulsory primary education, free of charge, undertakes, within two years, to work out and adopt a detailed plan of action for the progressive implementation, within a reasonable number of years, to be fixed in the plan, of the principle of compulsory education free of charge for all.
Art. 27	Ban on discrimination and the right of all ethnic, religious and language minorities to participate in cultural life

Box 6: Convention on the Rights of the Child[27]

Art. 28	1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular: (a) Make primary education compulsory and available free to all; (b) Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need; (c) Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means; (d) Make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children; (e) Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates. 2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention. 3. States Parties shall promote and encourage international co-operation in matters relating to education, in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.
Art. 29	1. States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to: (a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential; (b) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations; (c) The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own; (d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin; (e) The development of respect for the natural environment. 2. No part of the present article or article 28 shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principles set forth in paragraph 1 of the present article and to the requirements that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.

Source: Convention on the Rights of the Child, New York, United Nations, 1989. (A/RES/44/25.)

---

[27] It is the first legally binding international instrument to incorporate full range of human rights – civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights. It is a universally agreed set of non-negotiable standards and obligations, with these rights are obligation on both governments and individuals. The convention was ratified by all nations but Somalia and United States.

Chittagong Hill Tracts: Massive Communal Attack on Jumma Villages
(February 22. 2010) retrieved February 22, 2010 from the world wide web:
http://www.unpo.org/article/10751

On 19-20 February 2010 massive communal attack on Jumma villages was made by military forces and Bengali settlers at Baghaihat area of Sajek union under Baghaichari upazila in Rangamati district. It is reported that at 8 Jumma villagers including a woman were killed and 25 Jumma villagers wounded in this attack. It is learnt that around 200 houses of Jumma villagers including Buddhist temple and church were completely burnt into ashes.

On 19 February 2010 afternoon a group Bengali settlers went to the Gangaran Duar area and put pillars on the land of indigenous Jumma villagers for construction of house there. At that time, the Jumma villagers protested and opposed the Bengali settlers.

Again at night around 8.30 pm hundreds of Bengali settlers led by leaders of so-called Sama Odhikar Andolon under full protection by a group of army from Baghaihat zone of 8 Bir Bengal gathered at Gangaram Duar area and started to set fire on the houses of Jumma villages. At that time, at least 35 houses including 7 shops, a church and a UNDP-run village centre, in three Jumma villages of Gangaram Duar, Chaminichara and Baluchara were burnt down. Jumma villagers alleged that Bengali settlers also looted the valuables while they were burning the houses. The villagers fled into the jungle when the attack took place.

After the first attack, the villagers returned to their villages the next morning and gathered in Gangaram to protest it. The Bengali settlers returned in the morning on 20 February 2010 equipped with sharp weapons, machetes and sticks.

Further, at around 10.00 am on 20 February 2010 tension mounted throughout the area while the army and Bengali settlers ordered the Jumma villagers to leave the area, but they refused to comply. At around 10.00 am the army started to beat the Jumma indiscriminately. One Jumma villager chopped an army named Sergeant Rezaul Karim while beating him brutally and then the army fired leaving him spot dead. Following this, the army opened fire into the Jumma villagers indiscriminately without any sort of provocation, leaving at least 6 dead and 25 wounded. They army also arrested three persons from there. Since the start of firing, Bengali settlers with the help of army set fire on Jumma houses at Hajachara, Guchchha Gram, Balughat, Simanachhara, Baipaichhara, Suranganala, Kerekkaba Retkaba, Jarulchhari, Dane Bhaibachhara, Bame Bhaibachhara, MSF Para and Purbapara villages. It is reported that at least another 160 houses were torched at that time. Bengali settlers also burnt Banani Bana Vihar, a Buddhist temple. The monk of the vihara Ven. Purnabas Bhikkhu, fled the temple without taking meal. One statue of Buddha was looted and another one which was given by Thai government was looted. As they continued the arson attacks, the indigenous community began resisting them. During this resistance, six indigenous persons were injured.

It is still not clear how many Jumma villagers were killed in the attacks. However, five of the

dead were identified. They are:

1) Ms. Buddhabati Chakma (34) w/o Uttam Chakma of Baghaihat Gucchagram;
2) Mr. Laxmi Bijoy Chakma (30) s/o unknown of Golakmachara;
3) Mr. Liton Chakma (35) s/o Karunamoy Chakma of Baibachara;4)
Mr. Bana Shanti Chakma (28) s/o unknown of Gangaram Duar and
5) Mr. Nutunjoy Chakma (28) s/o unknown of Golakmachara.

Some of the injured are:
1) Shanta Shil Chakma, s/o Dhanaram Chakma of Chaminichara;
2) Mrittunjoy Chakma, s/o unknown of Jarulchari;
3) Sushil Jibon Chakma (32), s/o Kinamani Chakma of Chaminichara;
4) Amar Jiban Chakma (30), s/o Majiban Chakma of B-Block of Bangaltali;
5) Mr. Nibesh Chakma (35), s/o unknown of Chaminichara;
6) Mr. Dari Chakma (40) s/o unknown of Nangalmara;
7) Jitendra Chakma (35), s/o unknown of Chaminichara8) Mr. Prem Lal Chakma (26) s/o unknown of Chaminichara

It is learnt that the dead body of Buddhabati Chakma was brought at Baghaichari police station for postmortem. But dead bodies of other deceased are yet to be recovered, as the entire area is now under the control of the settlers and army vigilance. On 20 February 2010 afternoon the army imposed section 144 in the area to prevent Jumma villagers from taking out protest demonstrations.

Bangladesh military forces undertook plan to settle down the infiltrated Bengali families along the roadsides of Sajek road from Baghaichari to Gangaram Mukh in 2005. It is also mentionable that thousands of indigenous Jumma families have been living in this area for decades long. Hence, Jumma villagers of these areas have been protesting against this illegal settlement programme. Despite the protesting, in 2008 Bengali settlers illegally constructed some houses at Gangaram area on the land owned by Jumma villagers. At a stage on 20 April 2008 the Bengali settlers with the direct support of army of Baghaihat zone attacked on the 7 villages of indigenous Jumma peoples and at least 76 houses of indigenous villagers were completely burnt to ashes.

Again, since starting of January 2010, Bengali settlers with the support of Baghaihat army zone resumed expansion of their settlement in Sajek area under Baghaichari upazila in Rangamati district. A number of houses have already been erected by the Bengali settlers occupying Jumma villagers' land.

The villagers, under the banner of Sajek Bhumi Rakkha Committee, submitted a memorandum to the Baghaichhari UNO on 10 January 2010 with an ultimatum of 16 January 2010 to return them their lands. As the deadline expired without any fruitful result on 16 January, Jumma villagers started their agitation and started to boycott Baghaihat market from 18 January 2010. On the other, on 25 January 2010 the PCJSS sent a letter to the Home Minister with copy to State Minister of CHT Affairs Ministry and other concerned government authorities demanding to stop settlement prgramme and to withdraw Bengali settlers from Baghaihat area. However, government did not take any measure in this regard.

It is learnt that Bengali settlers and army staged mocks to conceal real situation of the attack and to divert the incident to other direction. As part of this mock, Bengali settlers set fire on their few houses which were almost abandoned. Even, army also played a gunfight mock. At a press

conference at Rangamati Reporters Unity, the Parbatya Bangalee Chatra Parishad also protested the incident and blamed indigenous people for it. They declared the Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission unwanted in CHT and blamed it for working in favour of the indigenous people.

It is reported that most of news media both electronic and press primarily reported fabricated news. They reported that tribal miscreants fired first, clash started since tribal ablaze settlers' houses, tribal villagers attached Bengali settlers etc. For example, the Daily Star in its internet edition on 20 February mentioned the headline of news as "Criminal killed in gunfight with security forces in Rangamati". However, it replaced later with "2 indigenous men killed as troops open fire in Rangamati". The Prothom Alo stated it as firing between Paharis and Bangalis. Most of the electronic media aired news in favour of Bengali settlers. Most of the media reflected statement of military authority as well as administration that went against the Jumma peoples.

Processions have been brought in Rangamati, Khagrachari and Dhaka protesting against the attack. At 11.00 am on 20 February 2010 PCJSS brought out procession in Rangamati. PCJSS claimed that Bengali settlers led by so-called Sama Odhikar Andolon (a fanatic organisation of Bengali settlers) and Parbatya Bangali Chhatra Parishad torched the houses of the tribal people in a pre-planned way. PCJSS demanded judicial investigation of the incident, immediate arrest of the people responsible for the incident and compensation for the victims and warned of tougher agitation programmes if their demand is not met.

On the other, Pahari Chatra Parishad (Hill Students Council) also brought out procession at Dhaka University campus in Dhaka

Today (on 21 February 2010) State Minister of Ministry of CHT Affairs Dipankar Talukdar visited the Baghaihat area where at least 10 Jumma villages were burnt to ashes. The Jumma villagers resisted the state minister at Bangaltali village putting barricade on the road around 10.00 am. The agitated Jumma villagers encircled the State Minister alleging that local administration did not take any action against Bengali settlers who burnt down the Jumma's houses. At a stage, the agitated Jumma villagers damaged the jeep of Upazila Executive Officer of Baghaichari upazila A H M Humayun Kabir in Ansar Camp area. However, the UNO was not inside the vehicle.

Dipankar Talukdar assured the indigenous people that action would be taken against those responsible for this incident within the next seven days. However, he, without indicating the persons responsible to this heinous attack, said that there are some criminals in both the indigenous and Bangali people, who practice ill politics involving people from the groups. He added that the criminals benefit from the practice but the general people suffer.

State Minister was accompanied by Chairman of Task Force on Rehabilitation of Returnee Refugee and IDPs Mr. Jotindra Lal Tripura and Police Super of Rangamati district Masud-ul-Hassan.

In Bangaltali village, Jumma villagers brought one dead body of indigenous people, who was killed in army firing on Saturday's attack, before the minister and placed their demands, including withdrawal of section 144 from the area. It is mentionable that section 144 is still going in Baghaihat area. Hence the Jumma villagers cannot move and cannot trace out dead body of the deceased. Jumma villagers claimed that they heard that army gathered 7 dead bodies of indigenous villagers. More dead bodies might also be concealed by the army.

So far no relief from government side or non-government has been provided. Most of the indigenous villagers took shelter into the deep forest fearing further attack. Victims of the indigenous families became totally ruined. Most of them were passing days without food. They were staying on open sky.

Urgent Action Needed:
Tension is going on at Baghaihat area of Sajek union and upazila headquarters under Baghaichari upazila. With this circumstance, please write letter to the government of Bangladesh demanding the following issues:

1. To conduct judicial investigation of the incident and to send a parliamentary team to enquiry the incident;
2. To immediate arrest the Bengali settlers and military personnel responsible for the incident and to provide compensation for the victims of Jumma peoples;
3. To stop expansion of Bengali settlement and to close Bengali settlers from Baghaihat areas and return back land and homesteads occupied by Bengali settlers to Jumma villagers;
4. To close Baghaihat zone soon and to withdraw all temporary camps including de facto military rule 'Operation Uttoran' as per CHT Accord;
5. To implement the CHT Accord and to declare roadmap with timeframe for speedy and proper implementation of CHT Accord.

United Nations   A/RES/64/290
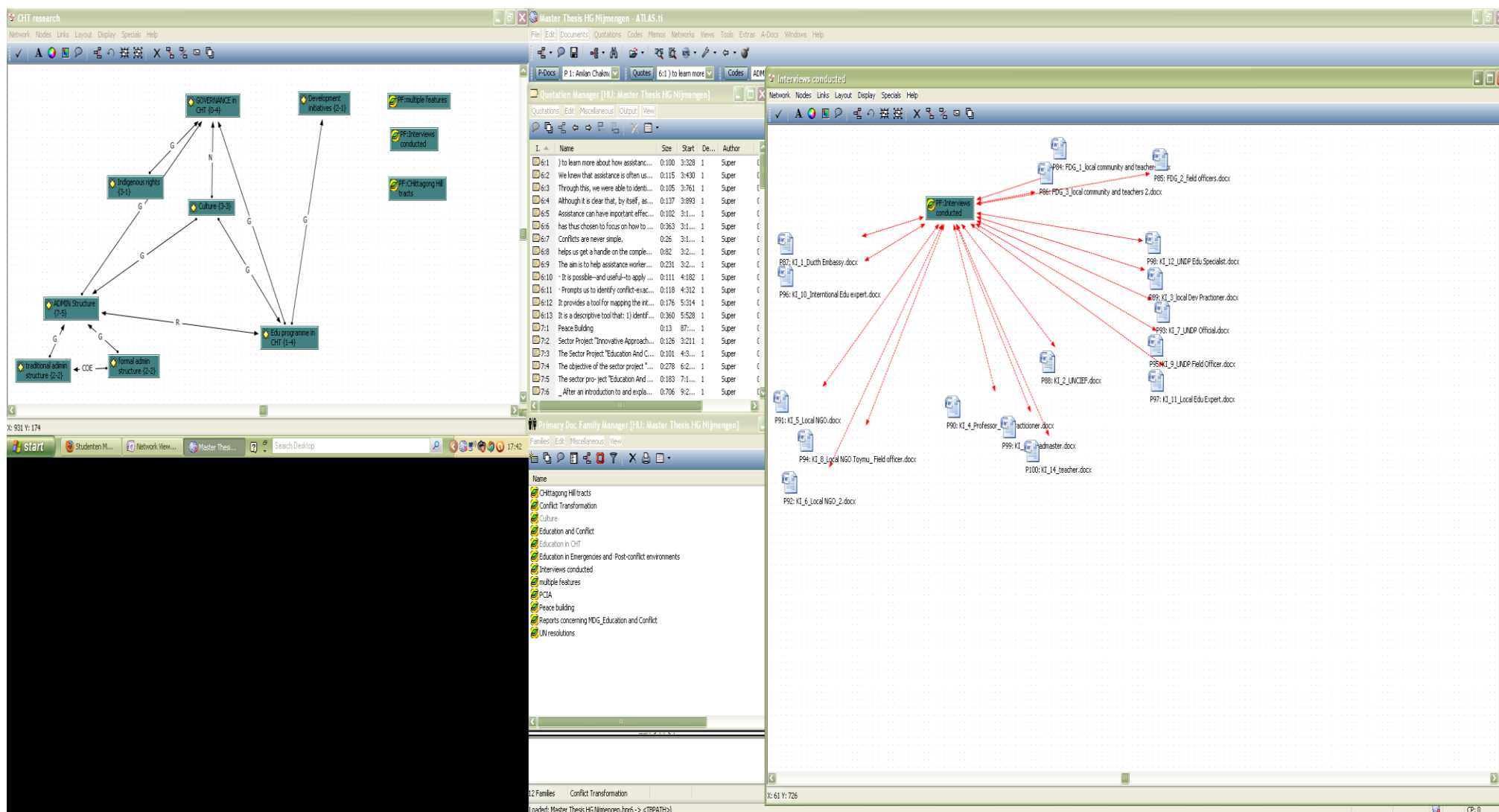
General Assembly   Distr.: General
                                                                 27 July 2010

Sixty-fourth session
Agenda item 114

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly

[*without reference to a Main Committee (A/64/L.58 and Add.1)*]

64/290. The right to education in emergency situations

The General Assembly,

Reaffirming that everyone shall enjoy the human right to education, and recalling in that regard the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,[1] the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights,[2] the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees,[3] the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949,[4] the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women,[5] the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination,[6] the Convention on the Rights of the Child[7] and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities,[8]

Recalling all relevant United Nations resolutions related to the right to education in emergency situations,[9]

Recalling also that, in the United Nations Millennium Declaration,[10] it was resolved that children everywhere, boys and girls alike, would be able to complete a full course of primary schooling and that girls and boys would have equal access to all levels of education by 2015,

---

[1] Resolution 217 A (III).

[2] See resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex.

[3] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 189, No. 2545.

[4] Ibid., vol. 75, No. 973.

[5] Ibid., vol. 1249, No. 20378.

[6] Ibid., vol. 660, No. 9464.

[7] Ibid., vol. 1577, No. 27531.

[8] Resolution 61/106, annex I.

[9] Resolutions 46/182, 59/113 A and B, 63/241, 64/145, 64/146 and other General Assembly resolutions on the rights of the child, the strengthening of the coordination of emergency humanitarian assistance and international cooperation on humanitarian assistance in the field of natural disasters; Security Council resolutions 1325 (2000), 1612 (2005), 1674 (2006), 1882 (2009), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009) and 1894 (2009); and Human Rights Council resolutions 8/4 and 11/6.

[10] See resolution 55/2.

09-47923   Please recycle ♻

Recognizing that a large proportion of the world's children out of school live in conflict-affected areas and in natural-disaster-stricken regions, and that this is a serious challenge to the fulfilment of the international education goals, including millennium development goal 2,

Underscoring the fact that the Convention on the Rights of the Child must constitute the standard in the promotion and protection of the rights of the child and that the requirements for the realization of the right to education, pertinent also to emergency situations, are set out in articles 28 and 29 of that Convention,

Deeply concerned that, despite the progress made in recent years towards achieving the goals of the Education for All initiative agreed upon at the World Education Forum, held in Dakar in April 2000,[11] the level of funding for international education goals is inadequate,

Deeply concerned also that, in the humanitarian consolidated and flash appeals launched in 2009, the education sector was one of the most underfunded with respect to meeting the original requirements,

Recognizing that ensuring the right to education in emergency situations requires specifically designed, flexible and inclusive approaches consistent with protection needs, conflict mitigation initiatives and disaster risk reduction considerations,

Condemning the targeting of civilians as such in situations of armed conflict, including schoolchildren, students and teachers, as well as attacks on civilian objects such as educational institutions, as prohibited under international law, recognizing that such acts may constitute grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 1949[12] and, for States parties, war crimes under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court,[13] and reminding all parties to armed conflict of their obligations under international law to refrain from the use of civilian objects, including educational institutions, for military purposes and child recruitment,

Acknowledging that protecting schools and providing education in emergencies should remain a key priority for the international community and Member States,

Recognizing the important role that education can play in supporting efforts in emergency situations to halt and prevent abuses committed against affected populations, in particular efforts to prevent all forms of violence, including rape and other acts of sexual violence, exploitation, trafficking in persons and the worst forms of child labour,

Emphasizing the importance of the promotion of human rights education and learning at all levels, including through the implementation of the World Programme for Human Rights Education,[14] as appropriate, and encouraging all States to develop initiatives in that regard,

Considering that quality education can mitigate the psychosocial impact of armed conflicts and natural disasters by providing a sense of normalcy, stability, structure and hope for the future,

---

[11] See United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Final Report of the World Education Forum, Dakar, Senegal, 26–28 April 2000* (Paris, 2000).

[12] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, Nos. 970–973.

[13] Ibid., vol. 2187, No. 38544.

[14] See resolutions 59/113 A and B.

Considering also that, in situations of displacement, education, among other factors, can play a significant role in contributing towards preparing for and promoting durable solutions for the affected population,

1.   *Welcomes* the work of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, and takes note of his report on the right to education in emergency situations;[15]

2.   *Welcomes* the work carried out by the Committee on the Rights of the Child through the holding on 19 September 2008 of a day of general discussion on the right of the child to education in emergency situations;

3.   *Notes with appreciation* the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict on violations and abuses committed against children in armed conflict, and notes the importance of her continuing work, within her existing mandate, on the adverse impact of armed conflict on the education of children;

4.   *Welcomes* the global advocacy initiative, the "One million safe schools and hospitals" campaign, launched on 8 April 2010 in Manila, aimed at making schools and hospitals safer from disasters, as part of the "Making Cities Resilient" global campaign of the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction for 2010 and 2011;

5.   *Recognizes* the establishment of the Education Cluster by the United Nations Inter-Agency Standing Committee and other initiatives as measures to address, in a coordinated manner, educational needs in emergency situations, including through partnerships for the implementation of the "Minimum standards for education: preparedness, response, recovery" handbook of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies,[16] calls upon donors to support the work of the Cluster, and emphasizes that those measures should continue to be taken in close coordination with relevant authorities;

6.   *Recalls* its thematic debate of 18 March 2009 on access to education in emergency, post-crisis and transition situations caused by man-made conflicts or natural disasters;

Education in all stages of humanitarian response

7.   *Urges* Member States to implement strategies and policies to ensure and support the realization of the right to education as an integral element of humanitarian assistance and humanitarian response, to the maximum of their available resources, with the support of the international community, the United Nations system, donors, multilateral agencies, the private sector, civil society and non-governmental organizations;

8.   *Requests* Member States to ensure that the best possible systems of education are in place, including through the allocation of sufficient resources, the appropriate adaptation of curricula and training of teachers, the implementation of risk assessments, disaster preparedness programmes in schools, the legal framework for protection, and health and basic social services, so as to withstand emergencies;

_____

[15] A/HRC/8/10.

[16] Available from www.ineesite.org.

3

Safe and protective educational environment

9. *Recommends* that Member States ensure access to education in emergency situations to all affected populations, in accordance with their obligations under international law and without discrimination of any kind;

10. *Urges* all parties to armed conflict to fulfil their obligations under international law, in particular their applicable obligations under international humanitarian law and international human rights law, including to respect civilians, including students and educational personnel, to respect civilian objects such as educational institutions and to refrain from the recruitment of children into armed forces or groups, urges Member States to fulfil their applicable obligations under international law, including international humanitarian law, related to the protection of and respect for civilians and civilian objects, and urges them, in order to prevent and combat impunity, to criminalize under their domestic law attacks on educational buildings, and stresses that such attacks may constitute grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions[12] and, for States parties, war crimes under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;[13]

11. *Urges* Member States to ensure that disaster risk and safety considerations are factored into all phases of the planning, design, construction and reconstruction of educational facilities, through the consideration, inter alia, of the recommendations contained in the "Minimum standards for education: preparedness, response, recovery" handbook of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies and its "Guidance notes on safer school construction";[16]

12. *Also urges* Member States, in their support for education, to specifically address the gender-specific needs of girls in emergency contexts, including their increased vulnerability to gender-based violence;

13. *Invites* relevant United Nations entities and partners to allocate sufficient technical expertise to enhance, in close consultation with concerned Member States and relevant authorities, data collection on and documentation of the impact of emergencies on the access of children and young people to quality education, disaggregated by age and gender, and on attacks on educational institutions, students and educators, with due consideration given to information provided by concerned States and relevant authorities;

14. *Urges* Member States to implement gender-sensitive policies and programme interventions, in order to ensure that populations affected by emergency situations have equal access to safe, quality and relevant education;

Reconstruction and post-emergency situations

15. *Also urges* Member States to provide quality education in emergency situations that is gender-sensitive, centred on learners, rights-based, protective, adaptable, inclusive, participatory and reflective of the specific living conditions of children and youth, and that pays due regard, as appropriate, to their linguistic and cultural identity, mindful that quality education can foster tolerance and mutual understanding and respect for the human rights of others;

16. *Calls upon* all parties concerned to ensure that all peace processes and agreements and post-conflict recovery, peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts, as well as reconstruction planning, are sensitive to the special and specific needs of women, children and youth and include specific measures for the protection of civilians, including the facilitation of early access to education, learning and

4

training, and to ensure the participation of women, children and young persons in those processes;

17.   *Calls upon* States and other relevant actors to ensure the facilitation of early access to education and training for children and adults in secure and friendly environments in the aftermath of emergencies, including through the implementation of specific related measures in early recovery initiatives, peacemaking and peacebuilding processes, capacity-building strategies, the participation of children and youth and the mobilization and prioritization of human, technical and financial resources;

The importance of political will and financing

18.   *Reaffirms its commitment* to supporting the efforts of developing countries to ensure that all children have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality, to eliminating gender inequality and imbalances and renewing efforts to improve the education of girls, and to continuing to support the efforts of developing countries in the implementation of the Education for All initiative, including with enhanced resources of all types through the Education for All fast-track initiative in support of country-led national education plans, and urges donors to honour their pledged contributions;

19.   *Calls upon* States, as primary duty-bearers, to ensure the realization of the right to education in all phases of emergency situations, in a manner that meets the essential needs of the affected populations, recognizing the role of the donor community and humanitarian agencies in assisting those efforts;

20.   *Calls upon* all Member States, including donors, and invites the private sector and all concerned individuals and institutions to continue to support diverse humanitarian funding channels and to consider increasing their contributions to education programmes defined in humanitarian appeals, including humanitarian consolidated and flash appeals, based on and in proportion to assessed needs, as a means of ensuring adequate, timely, predictable, flexible and needs-based resources;

Follow-up

21.   *Requests* the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, in close cooperation with all relevant stakeholders, including Governments, United Nations agencies and programmes, civil society and other relevant United Nations mandate holders, to include in his next interim report to the General Assembly at its sixty-sixth session an update to his report on the right to education in emergencies, in order to identify gaps and remaining challenges in ensuring the right to education in emergency situations.

106th plenary meeting
9 July 2010

5

The Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord of 1997

Under the framework of the Constitution of Bangladesh and keeping full and firm confidence in the sovereignty and integrity of Bangladesh, to uphold the political, social, cultural, educational and economic rights of all the people of Chittagong Hill Tracts region and to expedite socio-economic development process and to preserve and respect the rights of all the citizens of Bangladesh and their development, the National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts, on behalf of the government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, and Parbatya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity, on behalf of the inhabitants of Chittagong Hill Tracts, have reached the following agreement in four parts (A, B, C, D):

A) (Ka) GENERAL

1. Both the sides have recognised the need for protecting the characteristics and attaining overall development of the region considering Chittagong Hill Tracts as a tribal inhabited region.

2. Both the parties have decided to formulate, change, amend and incorporate concerned acts, rules and regulations as soon as possible according to the consensus and responsibility expressed in different sections of the agreement.

3. An Implementation Committee shall be formed to monitor the implementation process of the agreement with the following members:
a) A member nominated by the Prime Minister: Convenor
b) Chairman of the Task Force formed under the purview of the agreement: Member
c) President of Parbatya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samiti: Member

4. The agreement shall come into effect from the date of the signing and execution by both the sides. This agreement shall remain valid from the date of its effect until all the steps are executed as per the agreement.

B) (Kha) CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCIL/ HILL DISTRICT COUNCIL

Both sides have reached agreement with regard to changing, amending, incorporating and omitting the Hill District Local Government Council Acts 1989 (Rangamati Hill District Local Government Council Act 1989, Bandarban Hill District Local Government Council Act 1989, Khagrachhari Hill District Local Government Council Act 1989) and its different sections which were in existence before this agreement came into being, as below:

1. The word "tribal" used in different sections of the Council Acts shall stay.

2. The name "Hill District Local Government Council" shall be amended and the name of council shall be "Hill District Council."

3. "Non-tribal permanent residents" shall mean a person who is not a tribal but has legal land in the hill district and generally lives in the hill district at a specific address.

4. a) There shall be 3 (three) seats for women in each of the Hill District Councils. One third (1/3) of these seats shall be for non-tribals.

b) Sub-sections 1,2,3 and 4 of section 4 shall remain in force as per the original act.

c) The words "deputy commissioner" and "deputy commissioner's" in the second line of sub-section (5) of section 5 shall be replaced by "circle chief" and "circle chief's".

d) Following sub-section shall be added in section 4:
Whether a person is a non-tribal shall be determined, along with the identity of non-tribal community to which he belongs, by the concerned Circle Chief on the provision of submission of certificate from concerned Headman/Pourasabha chairman/Union Parishad chairman and no person can be a candidate for the office of the non-tribal member without a certificate from the concerned Circle Chief in this regard.

5. It is narrated in section 7 that a person elected chairman or member shall make an oath or announcement before the Divisional Commissioner of Chittagong. By amendment of it there shall be incorporated that the members shall make oath or announcement before " a Justice of High Court Division" instead of "Divisional Commissioner of Chittagong".

6. The words "to Divisional Commissioner of Chittagong" will be replaced by "as per election rules" in the fourth line of section 8.

7. The words "three years" shall be replaced by "five years" in the second line of section 10.

8. There shall be a provision in section 14 that if the office of the Chairman falls vacant or in absence of the Chairman, a tribal member elected by other members of the Council shall preside and perform other responsibilities.

9. The existing section 17 shall be replaced with the sentences as mentioned below:
A person shall, under the law, be eligible to be enrolled in the electoral roll, if
(1) he is a citizen of Bangladesh;
(2) he age is not less than 18 years;
(3) he is not declared mentally unsound by any competent court;
(4) he is a permanent resident of Hill District.

10. The words "determination of electoral constituency" shall be added in the sub-section (2) of section 20.

11. There shall be a provision in sub-section (2) of section 25 stating that the chairman and in his absence a tribal member elected by other members shall preside over all the meetings of the council.

12. As the entire region of Khagrachhari district is not included in the Maung circle, the words "Khagrachhari Maung Chief" in section number 26 of Khagrachhari Hill District Council Act shall be replaced by the words "Maung Circle Chief and Chakma Circle

Chief." Similarly, there shall be scope for the presence of Bomang Chief in the meeting of Rangamati Hill District Council. In the same way, there shall be provision that the Bomang Circle Chief can attend the meetings of Bandarban Hill District Council meetings if he wishes or is invited to join.

13. In sub-section (1) and sub-section (2) of section 31 there shall be a provision that a chief executive officer equivalent to the status of a deputy secretary shall be the secretary in the Council and there shall be provision that the tribal officials would be given priority for this post.

14. a) There shall be a provision in sub-section (1) of section 32 that for the proper conduct of its affairs the Council may, with the approval of the government, create posts of various categories of officers and employees.

b) Sub-section (2) of section 32 shall, by amendment, be made as follows:
The Council can, in accordance with regulations, appoint class three and class four employees, and can transfer, suspend, dismiss, remove or can impose any other punitive action on them. But provided that the priority of the tribal inhabitants must be maintained in case of the said appintments.

c) There shall be provision in the sub-section (3) of section 32 stating that:
The government can, in consultation with the Council, appoint other officers as per regulation and can transfer, suspend, dismiss, remove or can impose any other punitive action on them.

15. In sub-section (3) of section 33 "as per regulation" shall be mentioned.

16. The words "or any other way determined by the government" placed in the third line sub-section (1) of section 36 shall be omitted.

17. a) The original law shall be in force in the fourth paragraph of sub-section (1) of section 37.

b) "As per rules" will be included in Sub-section (2), sub-sub-section (d), of section 37.

18. Sub-section (3) of section 38 shall be repealed and by amendment, the sub-section (4) shall be framed as follows:
At any time before the expiry of the financial year, if deemed necessary, budget may be formulated and sanctioned.

19. In section 42 the following sub-section shall be added:
The Council with the fund received from the government shall formulate, initiate and implement development projects on the subjects transferred and all the development works initiated at the national level shall be implemented by the concerned ministry/department through the Council.

20. The word "government" placed in the second line of sub-section (2) of section 45 shall the replaced with the word "Council"

21. By repealing the sections 50, 51 and 52, the following section shall be made:

The government, if deemed necessary, may advice or order the Council, in order to ensure conformity with the purpose of this Act. If the government is satisfied with definite proof that anything done or intended to be done by the Council, or on behalf of the Council, is not in conformity with law, or contrary to public interest, the government may seek information and clarification and give advice or instruction to the Council on the concerned matters in writing.

22. In sub-section (3) of section 53, the words "if the period of super session is completed" shall be repealed and "within ninety days of super session" shall be incorporated before the words "this Act".

23. The words "of the government" in the third and fourth lines of section 61 shall be replaced with the words "of the ministry"

24. a) By amendment, sub-section (1) of section 62 shall be made as follows: Notwithstanding anything contained in any Act for the time being in force, all members of the rank of Sub-Inspector and below of Hill District Police shall be appointed by the Council in manner laid down by regulations, and the Council may transfer and take disciplinary action against them as per procedure laid down by regulations; provided that in the manner of such appointment tribals shall be given priority.

b) The words "subject to the provision of all other laws for the time being in force" placed in the second line of sub-section (3) of section 62 shall be repealed and substituted by the words "as per rules and regulation".

25. The words "providing assistance" will remain in third line in section 63.

26. Section 64 shall be amended as follows:

a) Notwithstanding anything contained in any law for the time being in force, no land, including those land suitable for giving settlement, within the boundaries of Hill District shall be given in settlement including giving lease, purchased, sold and transferred without prior approval of the Council; provided that this provision shall not be applicable in case of areas within the reserved forests, Kaptai Hydroelectricity Project, Bethbunia Earth Satellite Station, State-owned industries and factories and lands recorded in the name of government.

b) Notwithstanding anything contained in any law for the being in force, no lands, hills and forests within the control and jurisdiction of the Hill District Council shall be acquired or transferred by the government without consultation and consent of the Hill District Council.

c) The council can supervise and control functions of Headman, Chainman, Amin, Surveyor, Kanungo and Assistant Commissioner (land).

d) Fringe land in Kaptai Lake shall be given settlement on priority basis to original owners.

27. Section 65 shall be amended as follows:

Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law of for the time being in force, responsibility of collecting land development tax shall be entrusted in the Council and the said tax collected in the District shall remain in the account of the Council.

28. By amendment of section 67 it shall be made as follows:
If deemed necessary for coordination of activities between the Council and government authorities, government or the Council shall put specific proposal on certain matter(s) and functions may be coordinated by mutual correspondence between the Council and the government.

29. By amendment of sub-section (1) it shall be made as follows:
The government in consultation with the Council can, by notification in the official gazette, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act and even after the rules had been made, the Council shall have special right to file petition for reconsideration of the rules.

30. a) In the first and second paragraphs of sub-section (1) of Section 69, the words "prior approval of the government" shall be omitted and the following part shall be added after the words "can do" in the third Para:
"Provided that if the government differs with any part of the regulation made by the Hill District Council then the government can give advice or instruction for amendment of the said regulation".

b) The words "transfer of power of Chairman to any officer" mentioned in the (h) of sub-section (2) of section 69 shall be omitted.

31. Section 70 shall be omitted.

32. Section 79 shall be amended as follows:
If in the opinion of the Council any law applicable to Hill District, passed by the national parliament or any other authority, is found to be hurtful to the district or objectionable to the tribal people, the Council may file petition in writing, for the purpose of amendment or relaxation of its application, to the government stating the reasons for which the law is being hurtful or objectionable and the government shall in the light of the petition, adopt necessary remedial measures.

33. a) The word "supervision" shall be added after the word "order" in the No. 1 of the functions of the Council in the First Schedule.

b) The following subjects shall be added in the No. 3 of the functions of the Council:
        Vocational training;
        Primary education in mother tongue;
        Secondary education.

c) The words "or reserved" placed in sub-section 6(b) of the function of the Council in the First Schedule shall be omitted.

34. The following subjects shall be added in the functions and responsibilities of the Hill District Council:
        a) Land and land management
        b) Police (local)

c) Tribal law and social justice
d) Youth Welfare
e) Environment preservation and development
f) Local tourism
g) Improvement trust and other local government institutions except Pourasabha and Union Councils
h) Licensing for local trade and business
i) Proper utilization of water resources of rivulets, canals, ponds and irrigation except Kaptai lake
j) Preservation of death and birth and other statistics
k) Money lending and trade
l) Jhum Cultivation.

35. The following sectors and sources shall be included in the taxes, rates, tolls and fees to be imposed by the Council as stated in the second schedule:
a) Registration fee from non-mechanical transports
b) Tax on sale and purchase of goods
c) Holding tax from land and buildings
d) Tax on sale of domestic animals
e) Fees from cases of social justice
f) Holding tax on government and non-government industries
g) Part of royalty from forest resources
h) Supplementary tax from cinema, theatre and circus, etc.
i) Part of royalty from license or lease given by the government for exploration and extraction of mineral resources
j) Tax from business
k) Tax from lottery
l) Tax from fishing

C) (Ga) THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. A Regional Council shall be formed in coordination with the 3 Hill District Local Government Councils provided that various sections of the Hill District Local Government Council Act 1989 (Act No. 19,20 and 21 of 1989) shall be amended with an aim to make the three Hill District Local Government Councils more powerful and effective.

2. Chairman of this Council shall be elected indirectly by the elected members of the Hill District Councils, his status shall be equivalent to that of a State Minister and he must be a tribal.

3. The Council shall be formed with 22(twenty-two) members including the Chairman. Two-thirds of the members shall be elected from among the tribals. The Council shall determine its procedure of functioning.

Composition of the Council shall be as follows:

Chairman	1
Members Tribal	12
Members Tribal (women)	2

| Members non-tribal | 6 |
| Members non-tribal(women) | 1 |

Among the tribal members 5 persons shall be elected from the Chakma tribe, 3 persons from the Marma tribe, 2 persons from the Tripura tribe, 1 person from the Murung and Tanchangya tribes and 1 person from the Lusai, Bawm, Pankho, Khumi, Chak and Khiyang tribes

Among the non-tribal members 2 persons shall be elected from each district. Among the tribal women members 1 woman shall be elected from the Chakma tribe and 1 woman from other tribes.

4. Three seats shall be reserved for women in the Council, one-third of which will be non-tribal.

5. The members of the Council shall be elected indirectly by the elected members of the Hill District Councils. Chairman of three Hill District Councils shall be ex-officio members of the Council and they shall have voting rights.

Eligibility and non-eligibility of the members of the Council shall be similar to that of the Hill District Councils.

6. The tenure of the council shall be five years. Budget preparation and its approval, dissolution of council, formulation of council's regulation, appointment of and control over officers and employees and matters related to concerned subjects and procedures shall be similar to the subjects and procedures given in favour of and applicable for the Hill District Council.

7. A chief executive officer equivalent to the rank of a Joint Secretary of the government shall be appointed in the council and tribal candidates would be given priority in the appointment for the post.

8. a) If the office of the Chairman of the Councils falls vacant then a member from among the tribal members would be indirectly elected as Chairman by the members of Hill District Councils for an interim period.

b) If any office of a member of the Council falls vacant for any reason then that shall be filled through by-election.

9. a) The Council, including coordination of all development activities conducted under the three Hill District Councils, shall supervise and coordinate the subjects vested upon the Hill District Councils. Besides these, if any lack of coordination and inconsistency is found among the Hill District Councils in discharging their responsibilities the decision of the Regional Council shall be taken as final.

b) The Council shall supervise and coordinate local councils including the municipalities.

c) Regional Council can coordinate and supervise in the matters of general administration, law and order and development of the three Hill Districts.

d) The Council can conduct programmes related to disaster management and relief, and also coordinate the activities of the NGOs.

e) Tribal laws and social justice shall be under the jurisdiction of the Council.

f) The Council can issue license for heavy industry.

10. The Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board shall discharge its responsibilities under general and overall supervision of the Council. In case of appointment of Chairman of the Development Board, the government shall give priority to competent tribal candidates.

11. If the Regional Council finds any rule of the 1900 CHT Regulations and other related laws, rules and ordinances as contradictory to the 1989 Hill District Council Acts, then the government shall remove that inconsistency in law according to recommendation of and in consultation with the Regional Council.

12. Until Regional Council is constituted through direct and indirect election the government may, by constituting an interim Regional Council, entrust the responsibilities of the Council on it.

13. If the government wants to formulate any law regarding CHT, it shall do so in consultation with and according to the recommendation of the Regional Council. If there arises the necessity to amend any law that may be harmful for development of the three Hill Districts or for the welfare of the tribals, or to make any new law, the Councils may file a petition or put recommendation before the government.

14. The fund of the Council shall be created from the following sources:
   a) Fund received from the Hill District Councils' fund;
   b) Money or profits from all properties vested in and managed by the Regional Council;
   c) Grant and loan from the government or any other authority;
   d) Grant from any institution or individual;
   e) Profit accruing from investment by Regional Council;
   f) Any other moneys received by the Regional Council;
   g) Money received from such sources of incomes as the government may direct to be placed at the disposal of the Regional Council.

D) (Gha) REHABILITATION, GENERAL AMNESTY AND OTHER MATTERS

Both sides have reached the following position and agreement to take programmes for restoring normal situation in Chittagong Hill Tracts area and to this end on the matters of rehabilitation, general amnesty and others related issues and activities:

1. An agreement has been signed between the government and he refugee leaders on March 9, 1997 with an aim to take back the tribal refugees from India's Tripura State based on the 20-point Facilities Package. In accordance with the said agreement repatriation of the refugees started since March 28, 1997. This process shall continue

and with this in view, the Jana Sanghati Samiti shall provide all kinds of possible cooperation. The Task Force shall, after determination, rehabilitate the internally displaced tribal people of three districts.

2. After signing and implementation of the agreement between the government and the Jana Sanghati Samiti, and after rehabilitation of the tribal refugees and internally displaced tribal people, the government, in consultation with the Regional Council to be formed as per this agreement, shall start cadastral survey in CHT as soon as possible and after finalization of land ownership of tribal people by settlement of land dispute through proper verification, shall record their land and ensure their land rights.

3. The government, to ensure the land rights of the tribal families which are landless or possess less than 2 acres of land, shall provide two acres of land to each such family, provided that lands are available in the locality. If requisite lands are not available then grove land shall be provided.

4. A commission (Land Commission) headed by a retired justice shall be formed for settling land disputes. This commission, in addition to settling disputes of lands of the rehabilitated tribal refugees, shall have full power for cancellation of ownership of those lands and hills which have been so far illegally settled and occupied. No appeal can be made against the judgement of this commission and decision of this commission shall be final. This shall also be applicable in case of fringe land.

5. This commission shall be set up with the following members:
    Retired justice;
    Circle chief (concerned);
    Chairman of Regional Council/representative;
    Divisional Commissioner/Additional Commissioner
    Hill District Council Chairman (concerned)

6. a) The term of the commission shall be three years. But its term can be extended in consultation with the Regional Council.

b) The Commission shall settle disputes according to the existing rules, customs and practices of Chittagong Hill Tracts.

7. The tribal refugees who received loans from the government but could not utilize them properly due to conflicting situation shall be exempted from repayment of loans and interests.

8. Allotment of lands for rubber plantation and other purposes: Settlement of land, of those non-tribals and non-locals who were given settlement of lands for rubber plantation and other purposes but had not undertake project within the past 10 years or had not utilized their lands properly, shall be cancelled.

9. The government shall allot additional funds on priority basis for implementation of increased number of projects in CHT. New projects formulated with an aim to make necessary infrastructures for facilitating development in the area shall be implemented on priority basis and the government shall provide funds for these purposes. The government shall, considering the state of environment in the region, encourage developing tourism for tourists from within the country and abroad.

10. Quota reservation and scholarships: Until development equals that of other regions of the country the government shall continue reservation of quota system in government services and educational institutions for the tribals. For this purpose, the government shall grant more scholarships for the tribal students in the educational institutions. The government shall provide necessary scholarships for research works and higher education abroad.

11. The government and the elected representatives shall be active to preserve the distinctiveness of the tribal culture and heritage. The government in order to develop the tribal cultural activities at the national level shall provide necessary patronization and assistance.

12. The Jana Samhati Samiti shall submit to the government the lists of all its members including the armed ones and the arms and ammunition under its possession and control within 45 days of signing this agreement.

13. The government and the Jana Samhati Samiti shall jointly determine the date and place for depositing arms within the 45 days of signing this agreement. After determination of date and place for depositing arms by the members included in the list of the Jana Samhati Samiti the government shall ensure security for return of JSS members and their family members to normal life.

14. The government shall declare amnesty for the members who shall deposit their arms and ammunition on the scheduled date. The government shall withdraw the cases against whom cases have been lodged.

15. If anyone fails to deposit arms on the scheduled date the government shall take lawful measures against him.

16. After the return of all JSS members to normal life general amnesty shall be given to them and to the permanent residents who were involved in the activities of the Jana Sanghati Samiti.

a) In order to provide rehabilitation to all returnee JSS members a lump sum of Taka 50,000/- shall be given to each family.

b) All cases, warrants of arrest, held against any armed member or general member of the Jana Sanghati Samiti shall be withdrawn and punishment given after trial in absentia shall be exempted after surrender of arms and coming back to normal life as soon as possible. Any member of the Jana Sanghati Samiti in jail shall be released.

c) Similarly, after surrendering arms and coming back to normal life, no case can be filed or no punishment can be given to any person for merely being a member of the Jana Sanghati Samiti.

d) The loans obtained by the members of the Jana Sanghati Samity from different government banks or other agencies but could not be utilised owing to conflicting situation would be exempted with interest.

e) Those members of the PCJSS who were employed in various government jobs shall be absorbed in their respective posts and the eligible members of their family shall be given jobs as per their qualifications. In such cases, the government principles regarding relaxation of age would be followed.

f) Bank loans of soft terms shall be given to the members of the PCJSS for cottage industry and horticulture and other such self-employment generating activities.

g) Educational facilities shall be provided for the children of the Jana Sanghati Samity members and the certificates obtained from foreign board and educational institutions shall be considered as valid.

17. a) After signing of the agreement between the government and the Jana Sanghati Samiti and immediately after the return of the JSS members to normal life, all the temporary camps of military, Ansar and Village Defence Party shall be taken back to permanent installations except the border security force (BDR) and permanent cantonments (three at the three District Headquarters and Alikadam, Ruma and Dighinala) by phases and with this in view, the time limit shall be determined. In case of deterioration of the law and order situation, natural calamity and such other works the army can be deployed under the civil administration like all other parts of the country as per relevant laws and rules. In this case, the Regional Council may, according to the necessity or time, request the proper authority for the purpose of getting assistance.

b) The lands of camps and cantonments to be abandoned by military or para-military forces shall be either returned to the original owners or to the Hill District Councils.

18. The permanent residents of Chittagong Hill Tracts with priority to the tribals shall be given appointment to all categories of officers and employees of all government, semi-government, councils and autonomous bodies of Chittagong Hill Tracts. In case of non-availability of eligible persons from among the permanent residents of Chittagong Hill Tracts for a particular post, the government may give appointment on lien or for a definite period to such posts.

19. A ministry on Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs shall be established by appointing a Minister from among the tribals. An Advisory Council shall be formed to assist this ministry with the persons stated below:
a)   Minister on CHT Affairs
b)   Chairman/representative, Regional Council;
c)   Chairman/representative, Rangamati Hill District Council;
d)   Chairman/representative, Bandarban Hill District Council;
e)   Chairman/representative, Khagrachari Hill District Council;
f)   Member of Parliament, Rangamati;
g)   Member of Parliament, Bandarban;
h)   Member of Parliament, Khagrachari;
i)   Chakma Raja;
j)   Bohmang Raja;
k)   Mong Raja;
l)   Three members from non-tribal permanent residents of hilly areas nominated by the government from three Hill Districts.

This agreement is framed as above in Bengali language and is done and signed in Dhaka on the date of 02 December, 1997 A.D., 18 Agrahayan 1404 Bengali year.

On behalf of the inhabitants of
Chittagong Hill Tracts

On behalf of the government of the
Peoples Republic of Bangladesh

SD/-
(Jyotirindra Bodhipriya Larma)
President
Parbattya Chattagram Jana
Sanghati Samiti

SD/-
(Abul Hasanat Abdullah)
Convenor
National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs,
Government of Bangladesh