

Military Conflicts and Education

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(Received 28 / 6 / 2021. Accepted 19 / 9 / 2021)

□ ABSTRACT □

Education in general is facing many problems, let alone adding conflict and terrorism to the situation to make the process more complicated for both teachers and students. In order for teaching to be effective, the classroom has to be a safe place for sharing experiences and finding healing during times of risk, conflict, and controversy. This research aims at synthesizing knowledge about education in countries with military conflicts. It focuses on exploring the empirical and professional literature to reveal what we know about education during times of military conflict. The intention is to examine how these programs have been studied.

Keywords: Armed conflict; military conflicts; political violence; military violence; education; teaching during times of conflict; teachers in war zones; students in conflict regions; school performance.

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الصراعات العسكرية والتعليم

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(تاريخ الإيداع 28 / 6 / 2021. قبل للنشر في 19 / 9 / 2021)

□ ملخص □

يواجه التعليم بشكل عام العديد من المشكلات، ناهيك عن إضافة الصراع والإرهاب إلى الوضع لجعل العملية التعليمية أكثر تعقيداً لكل من المعلمين والطلاب. ولكي يكون التدريس فعالاً، يجب أن يكون الصف مكاناً آمناً لتبادل الخبرات وإيجاد الحلول في أوقات المخاطر والصراع. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف الأدبيات التجريبية والمهنية حول التعليم في البلدان التي تشهد صراعات عسكرية. حيث ركّز البحث على كشف ما تم توثيقه عن التعليم في أوقات الصراع العسكري. الهدف من ذلك هو البحث في الطرائق التي تمت دراسة هذه البرامج التعليمية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الصراع المسلح؛ صراعات عسكرية؛ عنف عسكري؛ التعليم؛ التدريس في أوقات الصراع؛ المعلمون في مناطق الحرب؛ الطلاب في مناطق الصراع؛ الأداء المدرسي

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Introduction

Education in general is facing many problems, let alone adding conflict and terrorism to the situation to make the process more complicated for both teachers and students. In order for teaching to be effective, the classroom has to be a safe place for sharing experiences and finding healing during times of risk, conflict, and controversy. The research paper aims at synthesizing knowledge about education in countries with military conflicts. It focuses on exploring the empirical and professional literature to reveal what we know about education during times of military conflict. The intention is to examine how these programs have been studied.

War is the number one human-made catastrophe. It is destructive in many dimensions for both human and physical capital. Not only does it displace populations, but it also creates health and famine crises, which, in turn, lead to loss of human capital in both the short and long runs. However, all of these factors, individually or combined, lead to devastating consequences in the field of education. There are multiple ways in which war may affect education. These include destruction of schools and reduced physical access to them. By reducing the role of school inputs, war impacts both the quantity and quality of education.

Military conflicts and violence can deplete the teaching force, due to teachers being intimidated, injured, abducted, killed, or forced to flee the conflict zones or even the entire country. The repercussions in the long term can increase teacher shortages, disrupt education and employment cycles, and impact the recovery and development of post-conflict countries.

This research offers a comprehensive literature review by triangulating theoretical and empirical academic publications, policy documents, case studies, reports, and evaluations that deal with the subject of military conflicts and their consequences on education. The premise for this triangulation is to assure the validity of this research that explores literature with different types and methods of data collection. In addition to that, the analysis of a broad range of articles aims at highlighting the devastating impact of violence against educators.

Sixty-two articles were chosen. The articles included empirical research, qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods, case studies, comparative analysis and policy documents and reports.

Coding Procedures

The articles were coded using an Excel sheet. The first level of coding focused on filling out the sheet in regards of the following information: Author, title, year, journal, country, subject, research method for data collection, research method for data analysis, research question and findings.

The second level of coding was creating visual charts of the data using Excel.

The third level of coding was finding similarities and differences between the structures and the processes that went into reporting, examining and researching the empirical and professional literature to reveal what has been addressed in regard to education during times of military conflict. The intention is to examine how these programs have been studied.

Results:

Countries by Region

In Figure 1, the countries were recorded based on the articles they appeared in. Some articles focused in their research on several countries. The number of countries that were highlighted in the articles combined is about forty.

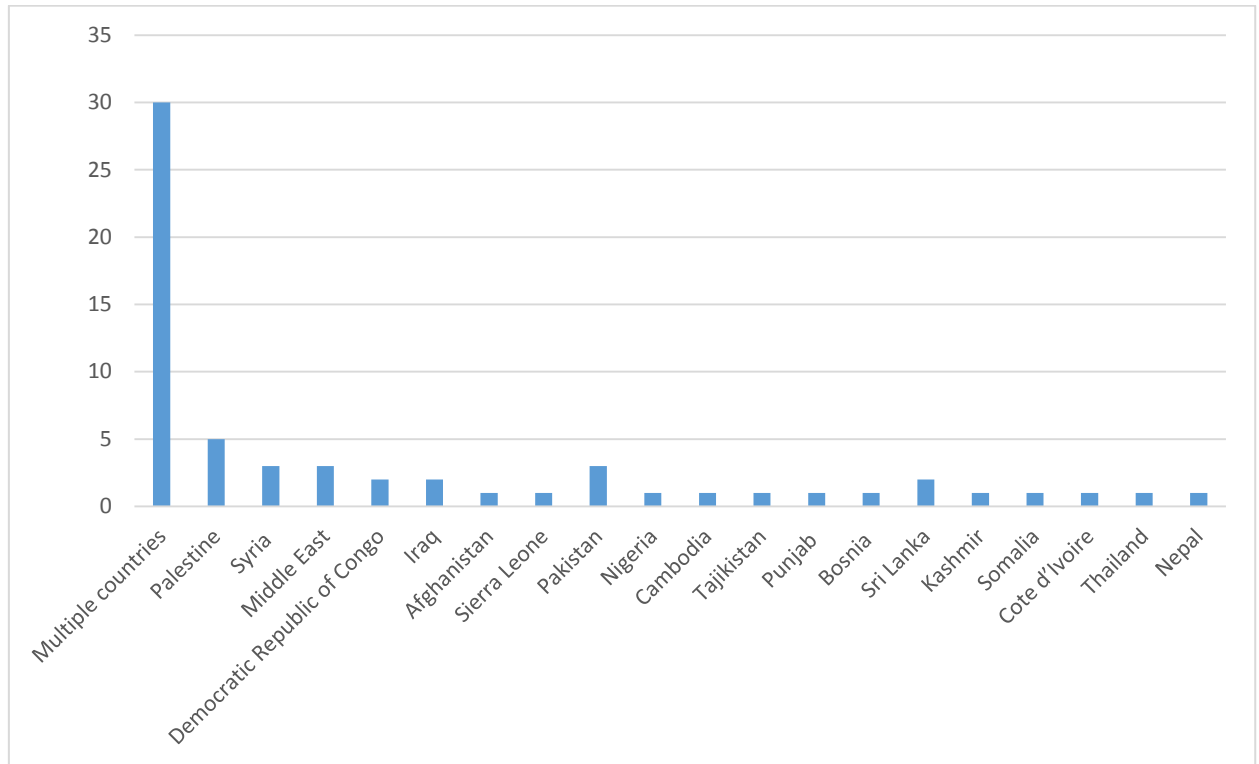


Figure 1. Countries with military conflicts discussed in the articles

Data Collection

Six different methods for data collection were observed (see figure 2). They were: Mixed methods, quantitative, qualitative, case study and comparative and policy documents. Many of the studies applied quantitative and mix methods. This would be suitable to quantify data while simultaneously enriching the research with individuals' experiences through qualitative approaches. The majority of the studies applied one methodology in data collection based on the topic they were focusing on and the sample population they had access to.

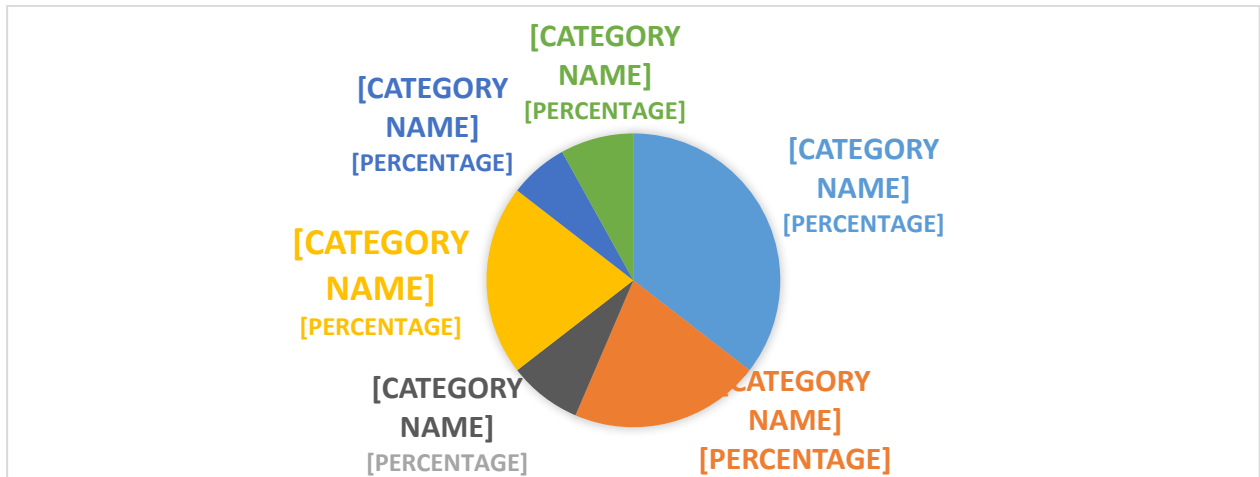


Figure 2. Types of research articles

Effects on Education during Military Conflicts

Based on cross-referencing the sixty-two articles, I was able to accumulate 16 effects on education during military conflicts. I classified these effects into two categories (Figures 3 & 4). The first group, figure 4, highlights the direct effects that occur in countries burdened by military conflicts. The second set, figure 5, focuses on the indirect effects that when occurring, can negatively slow down or bring education to a standstill.

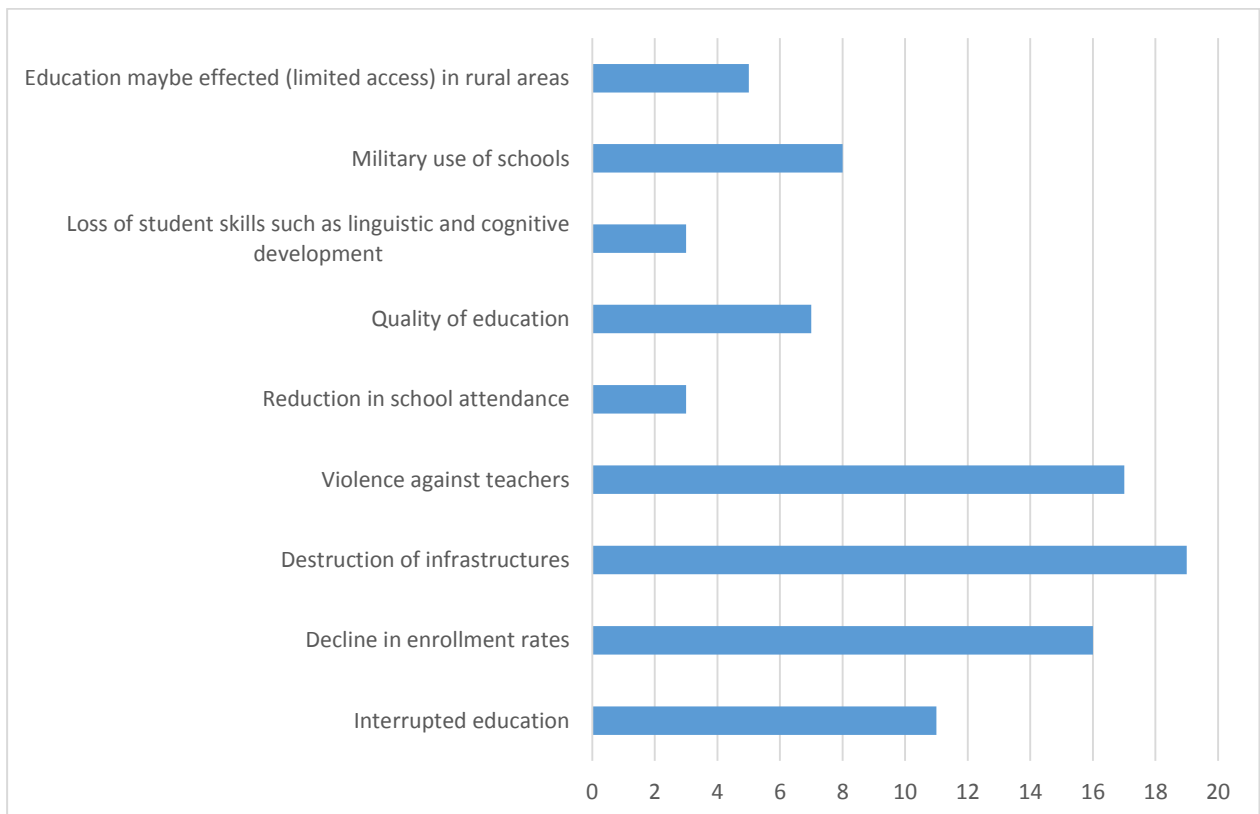


Figure 3. Direct Effects of Military Conflicts on education

higher education must be equally accessible on the basis of capacity. (ESCR Committee, 1998, para. 54).

Since 2000, conflicts, whether military or political, started to spread around the world. Many of these conflicts have been proven to be catastrophic for the citizens of those countries resulting in large scale numbers of casualties. According to EFA Global Monitoring Report (2013), 40 countries are listed to have witnessed some type of conflict. However, the list does not list Tunisia or Egypt which had short term political unrests nor does it include the Kingdom of Bahrain, the Bahraini uprising since 2011 is a series of anti-government protests: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Georgia, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Myanmar, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Philippines, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Serbia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Turkey, Uganda, and Yemen (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2013, p. 10)

Civil society agencies, whether related to the United Nations, governments or independent, have been mobilized to research, document and report occurrences and trends in regard to attacks on education, students and teachers. UNESCO, in 2007, printed the first edition of *Education under Attack*, which is published every four years. This was followed by the founding of the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (GCPEA) in 2010. There are representatives from "UNESCO, UNICEF, UNHCR, Human Rights Watch, Save the Children, and the Institute for International Education Scholar Rescue Fund, and Protect Education in Insecurity and Conflict (PEIC). The aim was to provide a common platform for research and advocacy on the issue of education in conflict zones." (ICRC, 2018, p. 10)

Most of the literature organizes the impact of military conflict into several effects. However, I have assigned the categories into two major divisions: direct effects and indirect effects. Within these two divisions there are subdivisions which have been oriented by the literature. The first division is the immediate impact of military conflicts on education. The reason I categorized the second division as indirect effects is due to them being general consequences of military conflicts that can result in repercussions on education. In other words, it is an excruciating circle where violence is correlated with most undesirable effects in society in general and on education in particular.

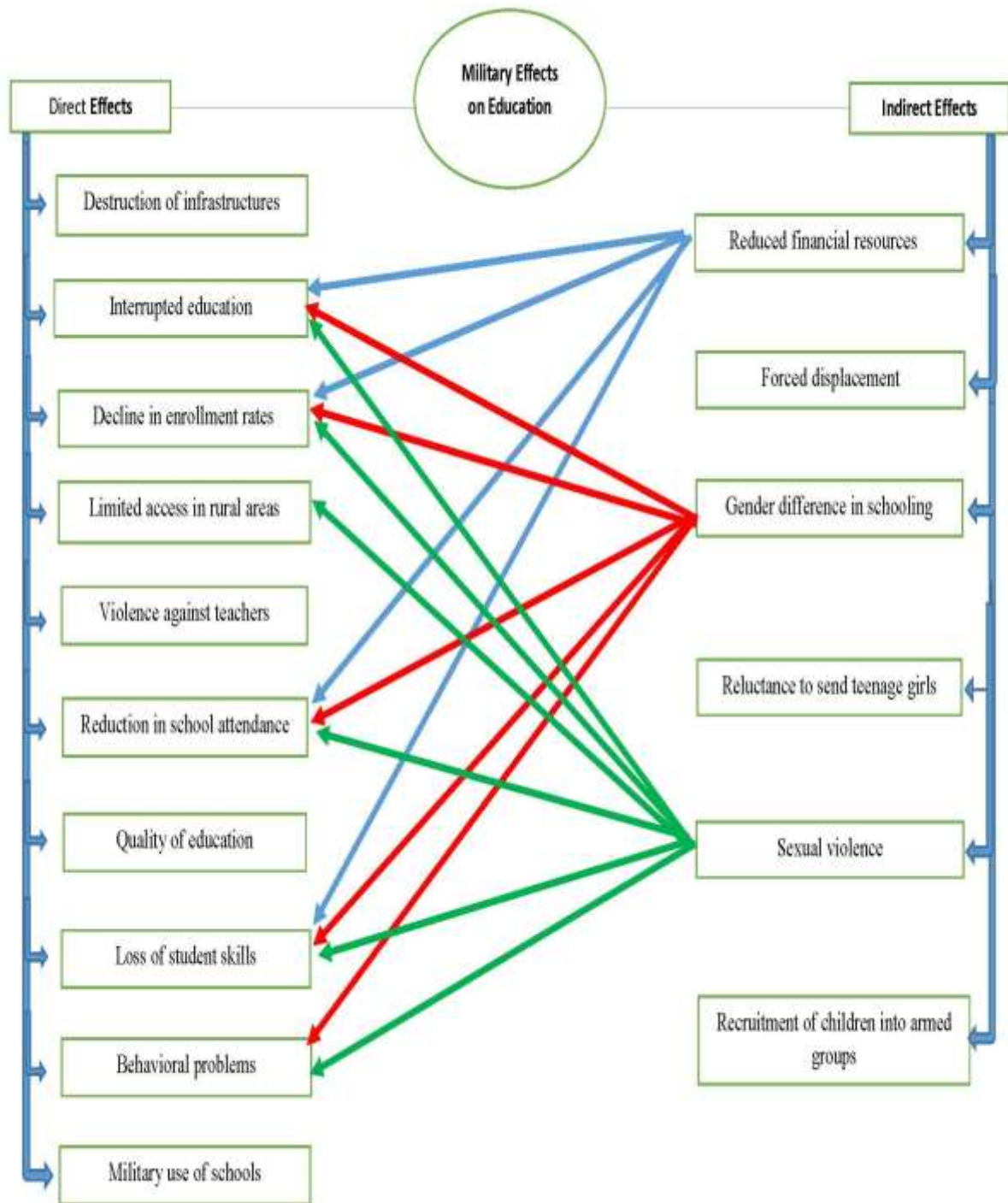


Figure 5. How indirect effects correlate with direct effects

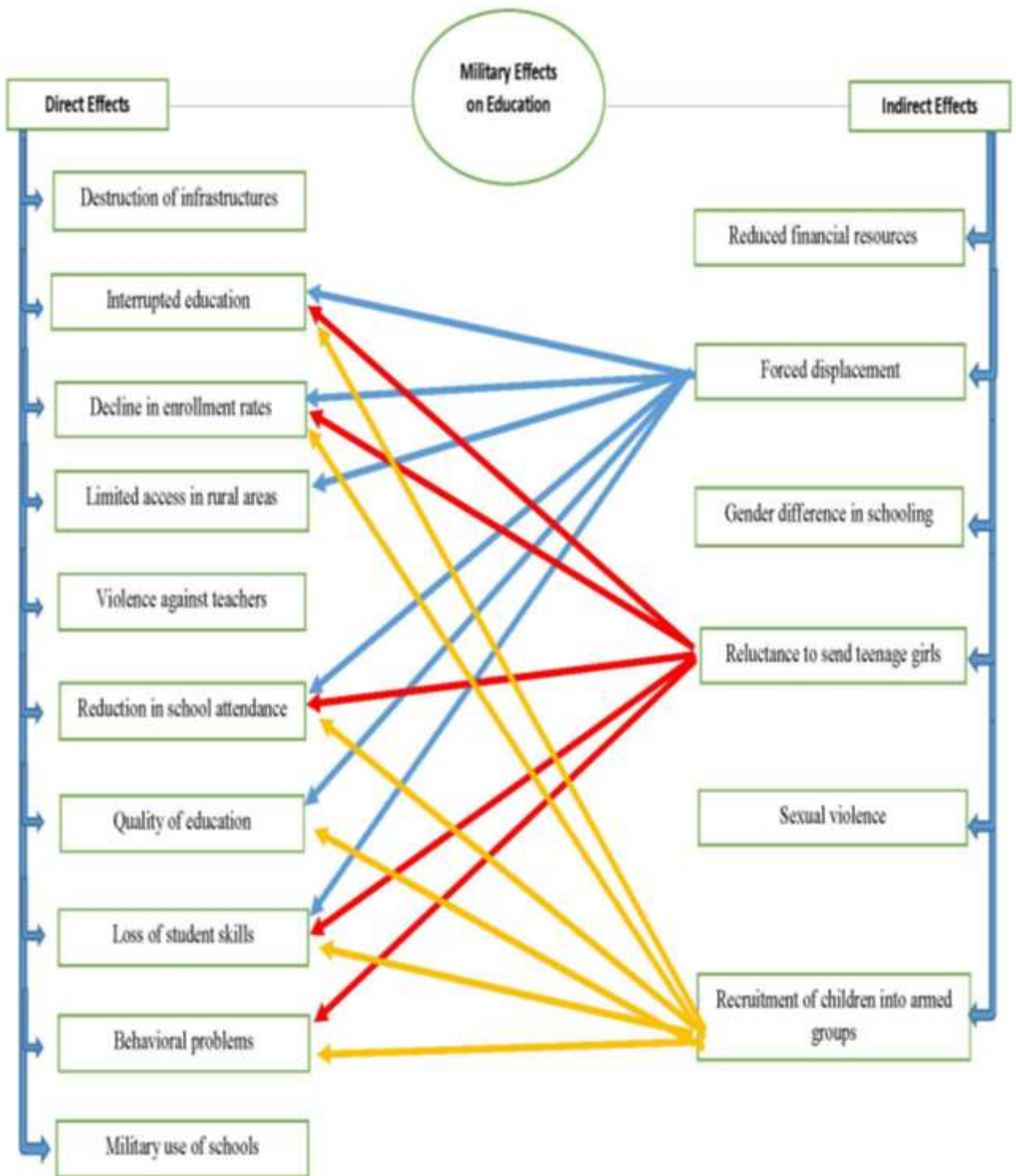


Figure 5 continued. How indirect effects correlate with direct effects

Direct Effects of Military Conflicts on Education:

Destruction of Infrastructures: Schools are considered soft targets. They do not have security measures. Considering the mentality that compels entities or groups to target schools, only one explanation surfaces: ideological beliefs of vilifying the other. Balta (2015); Cervantes-Duarte & Fernández-Cano (2016); Grover (2011); Merrouche (2011); Miller-Grandvaux (2009); Sheppard & Kizuka (2011) demonstrate that schools, for militants, represent government establishments. For extremist religious militants, schools are considered a representation of secular society and vice versa if these schools have been captured by militants. Thus, they target schools in an attempt to terrorize the families to pull their children out of school and to force teachers to abandon their jobs in fear of being killed. Moreover, Cervantes-Duarte & Fernández-Cano (2016) confirm that the main reason for attacking schools is that “the ideological confrontation between the opposing factions incites them to attack those places where the population may be indoctrinated, either as a means of recruiting followers or attacking and hurting the enemy” (p. 8). The outcome of the repeated attacks on schools resulted in their partial or complete destruction (Jones & Naylor, 2014a; Jones & Naylor, 2014c; Jones & Naylor, 2014d).

The partial or complete destruction, in addition to the continuous attacks lead to the closure of schools due to constant dangers on students and teachers (Dabalen & Paul, 2014; UNESCO, 2010; UNESCO, 2011). The number of schools that were destroyed or deemed unsafe structure-wise, throughout the past two decades, exceeds fifteen thousand schools. In Syria alone, according to the Syrian Ministry of Education, more than 4000 schools were damaged between 2011 and 2017.

Attacks on schools and educational infrastructure are on the rise. They decline in some countries based on how violent the conflict is. Since 2013 there have been more than 17000 attacks (Downing, et al., 2018; ICRC, 2018; Justino, 2016). The immediate, short-term, and long-term implications of these attacks are the depletion of physical structural resources needed to maintain functionality of the education systems in these countries.

Interrupted Education: As conflicts grow, their effects are amplified. These consequences are even worse when they become repeated unilateral enforcements imposed upon the educational sector and the people living in the conflict zone. In their research, Alzaroo and Hunt (2003); Brown, (2003); Bush & Saltarelli, (2000); Nicolai (2007); Sfeir & Bertoni (2003) outline the Israeli occupation aggressions on the Palestinian educational system not only to interrupt this process but to prevent the empowerment of the Palestinian identity. This was carried out by forced closure of educational institutions whether schools or universities ranging from several months up to four years.

This interruption can manifest itself in various ways. The most significant is the reverse effect it can have on the progress that was achieved before the breakout of conflicts. Some countries may have achieved near-universal primary education such as Syria and Iraq. However, this status can no longer be maintained due to the loss of control in certain geographical areas. The conflicts set educational systems back several decades (Brooks & Sungtong, 2016; Cervantes-Duarte & Fernández-Cano, 2016; Diwakar, 2015; ICRC, 2018; Jones & Naylor, 2014d; Mizunoya & West. 2015; Shemyakina, 2011; UNESCO, 2011).

Another significant consequence of interrupted education is the loss of education that could have been acquired by the students. This factor cannot be made up for especially when the loss accumulates up to years. This can have devastating impacts on the recovery period after the conflict is over. The economic growth would be much slower making it more difficult to reduce poverty levels. It also translates in having less academic professionals in

the various sectors such as higher education and health. According to a UNESCO (2011) study, the numbers are staggering. The following is a modification of the original table on p. 136:

Table 1.

Schooling: country and years	Years of Schooling lost
Afghanistan (1978–2001)	5.5 years
Burundi (1994–2006)	3.4 years
Cambodia (1967–1978)	2.3 years
Iraq (1990–1996)	1.4 years
Mozambique (1977–1992)	5.3 years
Rwanda (1990–1994)	1.2 years
Somalia (1986–199)	2.3 years

In other countries, reports among children in areas of conflict reveal the same decline in school attainment: Peru 0.21–0.5 years (Leo'n, 2010), Guatemala 0.47–0.71 years (Chamarbagwala & Moran, 2011), Kashmir 3.5 years (Parlow, 2012) and Colombia 1 year (Rodriguez & Sanchez, 2012), Cote d'Ivoire 0.2–0.9 years (Dabalen & Saunik, 2014).

Decline in Enrollment Rates: Due to the instability and poverty that overshadow conflict areas, people become reluctant to enroll their children in schools. Families fearing for the safety of their children become more unenthusiastic to pursue their children's learning. Some might choose to have their children acquire some vocational skill to support the family's deteriorating financial status. In addition to that, displacement plays a major role in keeping children out of schools. As the families are forced to move from one troubled area to a safer zone, this applies to their children who will have to leave school. Many of the temporary resettlements or refugee camps that these families reside in do not offer schooling (Dabalen & Paul, 2014; Jones & Naylor, 2014a; Jones & Naylor, 2014b; Jones & Naylor, 2014c; Jones & Naylor, 2014d; Mizunoya & West, 2015; Shemyakina, 2011; Talbot, 2013; UNESCO, 2010). Another direct factor for decreased student enrollment in schools is the unavailability of schools to go to whether due to forced shut down or destruction such as the case in occupied Palestinian territories where 25000 students were not enrolled in schools in 2012 due to the Israeli military aggression on Gaza Strip. (Case Studies on Protecting the Right to Education, 2014, p. 3). Total enrollment figures in most of the conflict areas show severe decline in the number of students attending schools (Cervantes-Duarte & Fernández-Cano, 2016; Diwakar, 2015; Ferrelli, 2015; Hoenig, 2018; Justino, 2016; Mizunoya & West, 2015; Shields & Paulson, 2015; Singh & Shemyakina, 2015). According to a report by UNICEF (2014) on conflicts worldwide, the estimation is that "approximately 57 million children of primary school age did not attend school in 2011" (p. 18). Mizunoya & West (2015) stated in their research that "K-G12 education in Syria fell by 2.3 million (from 5.5 to 3.2 million) from 2010/11 to 2014/15.57 In this period, most of the loss occurred in basic education" (p. 63).

Reduction in School Attendance: This effect is associated with the previous two; however, it is different in the sense that students are in school and are facing certain obstacles that are discouraging for them to attend on a regular basis. Dryden-Peterson (2009); Justino (2016); Nicolai (2007) observe certain factors that can be demotivating for students. Dryden-Peterson (2009) argues that "policies and practices within education systems and within individual schools can act as barriers to children accessing primary education" (p. 19). Some of the barriers observed are related to gender, age, displacement,

and disability; and in some countries, such as, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Thailand, Sudan, Kashmir, Kosovo, Punjab and Democratic Republic of Congo they can extend to barriers of ethnicity, language and region (Dryden-Peterson, 2009; Jones & Naylor, 2014a; Jones & Naylor, 2014b; Nicolai, 2007; Singh & Shemyakina, 2016). When students experience these on a daily basis, they are discouraged to attend regularly. The school no longer represents a safe haven for them. In addition to the horror of the conflicts they have witnessed, they are subjected to these various forms of discriminations that might become intimidating throughout the school day.

Education Affected (limited access) in Rural Areas: Due to their distant location from the center, rural areas tend to have less security forces or government army presence. Thus, they become soft targets for militias and armed groups to take over these locations. The impact tends to be more evident in villages and affecting the female students more than male students (Singh & Shemyakina, 2015). One of the aims is to deprive students of education in those areas in order for the armed groups to exploit them for recruiting (Davies & Talbot, 2008; Jones & Naylor, 2014a; Martinez, 2013; UNESCO, 2010). Schools are destroyed and, as Martinez (2013) points out that it becomes difficult to persuade teachers to stay or to recruit new ones to teach in those areas (p. 3).

Violence against Teachers: UNESCO (2010) reports that since 2007, “there have been thousands of reported cases of students, teachers, professors, academics and other members of the educational community being taken prisoner, held in captivity, beaten, tortured, burnt alive, shot by rebels, armies and repressive regimes; imprisoned or raped by armed groups or forces in school or on their way to school” (p. 14). Many of the studies have focused on teachers being the target of many attacks in order to discourage them from fulfilling their educational duties, which in turn, would deprive the schools and students of their staff and role models (Downing, et al., 2018; Grover, 2011; Martinez, 2013;). With the lack of trained teachers, it becomes more difficult to sustain the quality education during times of conflict and even more challenging to have the educational system ready for recovery after the conflict is over (Talbot, 2013; UNESCO, 2011). Another reason for such harsh treatment of teachers is due to the symbolic value they represent. They are “perceived as leaders in their communities” (Justino, 2016, p. 79); others are killed for ethnic or religious purposes depending on the ideology of the militias and armed groups, such as, in Iraq, Punjab, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cambodia, Cote d’Ivoire, Southern Thailand, Myanmar. (Balta, 2015; Brooks & Merrouche, 2011; Dabalen & Paul, 2014; Jones & Naylor, 2014a; Sungtong, 2016; UNESCO, 2010). With shortage of skilled teachers, it become more difficult to meet the needs of the students (Cervantes-Duarte & Fernández-Cano, 2016; Miller-Grandvaux, 2009; Mizunoya & West, 2015; UNESCO, 2010). In Ferrelli’s (2015) research, he states that since 2013 over 50000 teachers were out of school (p. 346). This only proves the dangers that teachers are facing in conflict areas not being able to protect themselves, their schools or their students.

Quality of Education: Due to all the former effects, the type of education students receive during conflicts does not compare to what they had received before the conflict erupted. The quality of education should not be measured only through tests but rather based on skills learnt, the personality traits being nurtured towards being future productive individuals in the society. Unfortunately, with fighting breaking out and people being in constant danger, quality of education disintegrates especially when militias and armed groups control the curricula.

In conflict-stricken regions, there has been under-investment in infrastructure, teacher training and compensation and a focus on restoring “normality” rather than nurturing learning (Davies & Talbot, 2008, p. 513). Dryden-Peterson (2009) refer to the case of Afghanistan where “children made a clear link between the poor quality of teaching and non-enrollment” (p. 11). These children are discouraged to attend school due to the lack of skilled teachers (Cervantes-Duarte & Fernández-Cano, 2016) or for not having a sense of learning on behalf of the students. The teachers do not receive training as educational budgets are decreased. Miller-Grandvaux (2009) emphasizes that during times of conflict “teacher training institutions are dysfunctional, lacking appropriate teachers’ curriculum; and learning and teaching materials are not available and probably never were” (p. 11).

The gravity of the quality of education is seriously disrupted when militias and armed groups control schools and force teachers to include in their instruction “hatred and intolerance and radical ideologies” (Miller-Grandvaux, 2009, p. 11). They have opposed education for females and they considered government schools and teachers as a symbol of the corrupt power they want to destroy. This has been the case in certain parts of Syria which were under the control of Islamist factions ISIS and al-Qaida’s affiliate al-Nusra Front (Aubrey, et al., 2016). These two terrorist organizations banned the Syrian curriculum and replaced it with a Saudi version that is based on religion. They eliminated science, math, history, literature, languages, music, and art. Only Arabic was taught as a language since it was the language of the Quran. These Islamist factions placed a major emphasis on Islamic education and Sharia (or Islamic) law taken from the Saudi curriculum. These types of education programs can effectively become an instrument to strengthen the power of the factions that are in control.

Alzaroo and Hunt (2003) emphasize how the Palestinian quality of education degraded due to the hegemony of the Israeli occupation on what to include and exclude. “The Israeli authority excluded or changed any text or words related to the land, history, geography, people and literature of Palestine and the Palestinians. Classroom maps were required to show Israel instead of Palestine.” (p. 170). In addition to that, “Quranic verses, poetry and history on the struggle against the aggressor were deleted. Even texts or sentences mentioning Arab unity or the struggle against imperialism were deleted” (p. 170).

Loss of Student Skills such as Linguistic and Cognitive Development: Contradictory to adults who through experience have learnt how to deal with inner tension resulting from military conflicts, children are vulnerable. While adults can attempt to rationalize what is occurring or can move to safer areas, children do not have these luxuries. Due the violence, occurring during military conflicts, that students witness in their environments, studies have shown that trauma can negatively influence their ability to learn and impact their aptitude to enhance their academic skills (Cervantes-Duarte & Fernández-Cano, 2016). Elbert, et al., (2009) in their study on the trauma and cognitive performance of children who have lived through military conflicts in Sir Lanka asserted that their memory performance declined and consequently “traumatized children perform less well in language skills” (p. 244). Students do not usually score high grades in their test. They also have problems in the ability to memorize new information especially if it is in another language. Students with PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder) “demonstrated significant impairment of cognitive development” (Elbert, et al., 2009, p. 244). Unfortunately, the literature reveals that many teachers, in areas of conflict, are not trained to identify students with PTSD. (Cervantes-Duarte & Fernández-Cano, 2016; Elbert, et al., 2009; UNESCO,

2010). This results in teachers placing extra pressure on students for not acquiring the information and to put more effort.

Military Use of Schools: The literature has documented the transformation of schools during conflicts into barracks and camps, operational bases, sniper postings, and detention facilities by the various fractions in control (Alzaroo & Hunt, 2003; Nicolai, 2007). According to Downing, et al., (2018) between 2013 and 2017 the use of schools for military objectives was reported in 29 countries: “Afghanistan, Burundi, Central African Republic, Cameroon, Colombia, Côte d’Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Israel/Palestine, Kenya, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Myanmar, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, Turkey, Ukraine, Yemen, and Zimbabwe” (p. 38).

This has hindered the educational process since it deprives students of their schools. Moreover, schools become military targets that result in their partial or complete destruction which renders them unsafe to use (Balta, 2015; Ferrelli, 2015; Jones & Naylor, 2014c; Sheppard & Kizuka, 2011). Transforming schools for military use creates challenges for fractions at war when they attempt to identify targets to attack. The task, to differentiate between schools used for military objectives and those that are not, entail placing students, teachers, and staff at the risk of injury or death (Grover, 2011).

The consequences are devastating; the number of students, teachers and staff who are affected is large, not to forget that these individuals have families which are affected as well. The ripple effect starts with the loss of a school and has repercussions on those directly associated with the school and those indirectly associated with the school members. Those are the effects in the short term; the effects in the long term are even worse. Students face interrupted education that can accumulate to years, as discussed in a previous section; these lost years cannot be made up for. The reconstruction and rehabilitation of school structures require a large budget and as discussed previously, governments during conflicts tend to reduce spending on education.

Indirect Effects of Military Conflicts on Education:

Behavioral Problems: The environment where conflict is escalating has a combination of traumatizing events (Cervantes-Duarte & Fernández-Cano, 2016). These events can be audible or graphic in the form of shootings, grenade explosions, landmines, shelling, deaths, injury, and destruction. The frequency of these events is based on the severity of the fighting and the location of the area. Some of these behavioral characteristics include depression, irritability, aggression, isolation, symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder, and nervousness (Dimitry, 2012; Taylora & Sidhub, 2012). Elbert, et al., (2009) trace how continuous exposure to conflict and trauma can lead to problems in performance. They assert that for children witnessing traumatic incidents, such as those mentioned earlier, “the resulting symptoms would interfere with their life through social withdrawal, difficulties leading a normal family life, and problems in school performance.” (p. 241)

Reduced Financial Resources: This has two sides; one that is related to governments; the other related to families. When conflicts erupt, the economy is usually slowed down or brought to a standstill. Hoenig (2018) explains that there is a “clear negative link between conflict and economic performance and direct cost estimations” (p. 1). This leads to budget cuts. Education spending is reduced as schools are destroyed; teachers and students killed or forced to be displaced; text-book printing becomes more expensive (Dryden-Peterson, 2009; Jones & Naylor, 2014d; Taylora & Sidhub, 2012; UNESCO, 2011).

The second aspect is the financial effect on the family. The slowing economy has a negative impact on the household's financial resources. The effects of loss of jobs, home, and family-owned businesses result in a decrease in income. This undermines the education of children in these households. (Dabalen & Paul, 2014; Shemyakina, 2011). Similar to government's cutback of expenditure on education, so do many households. Providing for school uniforms, books and other school supplies and transportation all become burdening for the families especially if they have been displaced. Education takes second place when compared with the need to stay alive. Singh and Shemyakina (2015) confirm in their study on Punjab insurgency a decrease in years of schooling to be a result of reduced expenditures by households during that period.

Forced Displacement: This includes students and teachers. Forced displacement occurs when there is heavy fighting or areas are taken over by militias (Dabalen & Paul, 2014) that tend to incarcerate or execute individuals based on ethnic, religious, ideological or political beliefs. Such a situation, especially for children, requires a new adaption to the environment. They need time to acclimatize (Cervantes-Duarte & Fernández-Cano, 2016). The speed in which the children can become familiar to their new surrounding depends on their age, trauma they have been through and amount of interrupted education they have experienced.

According to UNICEF (2010), due to displacement of Iraqis after the US invasion and occupation of Iraq, the number of students receiving elementary education declined by over 88,000 between 2004 and 2007. Most of the research emphasizes the negativity of displacement of student-achievement; this clearly demonstrates how displacement can result in less stable education (Diwakar, 2015; Hoenig, 2018; ICRC, 2018; Jones & Naylor, 2014a; Jones & Naylor, 2014c; Jones & Naylor, 2014d; Mizunoya & West, 2015; Shemyakina, 2011; Taylora & Sidhub, 2012).

In regard to the education staff, assassinations, abduction and torture of teachers on the way to and from school (Mizunoya & West, 2015) have forced them to leave their homes to safer environments. Depending on the country of conflict, some were relocated to other schools in safer areas, such as the case in Syria. In other countries with weak economies, teachers ended up unemployed. Some teachers had to leave everything behind, such as degrees, certificates, and other work-related documents (Hoenig, 2018; Mizunoya & West, 2015).

This disruption in place has led to a disruption in education. This exodus led public education systems to be overburdened and under-resourced. Two principal elements of education: students and staff have been uprooted and relocated. With this, a vacuum has occurred in the original area for those who do not have the ability to leave resulting in loss of teachers; therefore, the education is brought to a standstill. In the areas chosen for resettlement, education systems are incapable of accommodating this influx of incoming students and educators creating overcrowded classrooms with poor education quality (Mizunoya & West, 2015).

Gender Difference in Schooling and Sexual Violence: Based on the literature, gender-related issues within conflict have been damaging for both boys and girls; however, education wise the negativity is higher for girls (Dryden-Peterson, 2009; EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2013; Jones & Naylor, 2014c; Justino, 2016; Martinez, 2013; Miller-Grandvaux, 2009; Poirier, 2012; Shemyakina, 2011; UNESCO, 2010; Singh & Shemyakina, 2015). Poirier's (2012) cross-sectional data on 43 African nations asserts that conflict has a strong negative effect on education enrollment, particularly for girls. When

families were forced to choose who was to be enrolled in school, due to insufficient income or safety issue, boys came first. Shemyakina's (2011) research affirms the existence of a negative correlation between girls' enrollment in schools and military conflict.

Most of the literature identifies two main reasons for this gender inequality. The first is due to the household's reduced financial resources, which was discussed earlier. Therefore, parents have to make a decision. In their belief, that by sending the boys to school, this is a type of investment for the future. It is usually "a common pattern in behavior in less developed countries" (Singh & Shemyakina, 2015. p. 107). Justino (2016) explains that for boys "there is less perceived risk of violence, harassment or abduction, and more employment opportunities" (p. 78).

The second main reason for decline of female education is that they are often victims of rape and other sexual violence that accompanies armed conflicts (Downing, et al., 2018; EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2013; ICRC, 2018; Martinez, 2013; Shemyakina, 2011; Singh & Shemyakina, 2015; UNESCO, 2010; UNESCO, 2011). Most of the literature has documented increased sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), including rape (Martinez, 2013) committed by militants based on the females' ethnicity, religion, or ideology. Another reason was to restrain female participation in education (Singh & Shemyakina, 2015) and to undermine their status in society in which could have a long-term human development and impede the process of rebuilding the society when the conflict is over. The results of Singh & Shemyakina's (2015) study confirmed "that women who were of school age during the insurgency and who lived in districts that experienced a greater number of terrorist incidents and killings attained less schooling than men of similar age" (p. 202).

Forced Recruitment of Children into Terrorist Groups: As mentioned in the previous section, parents, suffering of reduced financial resources, favored enrolling their sons in schools more than their daughters believing boys are less threatened than girls during military conflicts. Unfortunately, the outcome was devastating in many conflict countries especially Asian and African nations, such as Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Kenya, Mali, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Somalia, South Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey and Yemen. Many times boys were abducted on their way to school or from their classrooms and forced into becoming child soldiers.

Recruiting children into militias forcefully has been considered a serious obstacle to education. Children are kept out of school, undergo threatening situations, experience long-lasting trauma and have "problems of reintegration". (UNESCO, 2011, p. 145)

Child recruitment (Downing, et al., 2018; Jones & Naylor, 2014d; Kohrt, et al., 2008; UNESCO, 2011) manifested itself when non-state militias recruited boys "under the age of 18 to act as fighters, spies, or intelligence sources; for domestic work; to transport weapons or other materials; or for any other purpose associated with the armed group" (Downing, et al., 2018, p. 19). Those who refused to be recruited by the armed groups were executed. Jones & Naylor, (2014d) give the example of the extremist Nigerian militia Boko Haram that was infamous in its attacks on education. Its attacks have "intensified and become more deadly since the start of 2012; most of the students who have been killed are males" (p. 9).

The recruited boys, who survived the conflicts, suffered from different types of trauma, such as, distraction, hostility, emotional instability, sorrow, withdrawal, sleeping difficulty, nightmares, and suspicion (Kohrt, et al., 2008).

Conclusion:

Learning is life and non-learning is death. Education is the cornerstone of any society and the major source of immunity especially during times of military conflict and turmoil. The school is survival. No wonder, it is the major target of all enemies of civilization.

During military conflicts, education is disrupted. School infrastructure is destroyed, teachers flee the conflict areas, schools are attacked, and education facilities are used for military purposes. Cities, towns and villages that are controlled by armed militias or extremist factions, attempting to overtake the country, barely have any education. Even if they have, the extremists will take them back to the Stone Age. In the areas when schools are open, which is mostly government-controlled areas, sporadic violence, such as suicide bombers, roadside explosive devices, booby-trapped cars, or missile attacks, creates very challenging conditions for both students and teachers.

On the one hand, if the aim is for education to be ineffective, any combination of the effects, whether direct or indirect, discussed previously can abruptly bring education to a standstill. On the other hand, for education to be effective, the elements of regularity, duration, and safety have to co-exist. In other words, in order for learning to occur properly with no “restriction of grade progression” (Justino, 2016, p. 77), students must have accessibility to education on a daily basis for an extended period of time which in most countries is about twelve years.

Education represents a combination of different strategies and methodologies. The function of these strategies is to cultivate learning and develop students’ skills in a manner that allows integration with the society these individuals live in. The degree of learning that takes place and how much knowledge the students accumulate can be a healthy sign of the functionality of the educational system. Another healthy sign is assisting students in exploring their creativity and orienting it towards participation in the development of the society. The aim of education is creating change in the learners’ behavior, way of thinking and interacting with others. According to Delores (1996), the four pillars of education are: “learning to know; learning to do; learning to live with others; and learning to be” (p. 37). For these reasons, education must be given the upmost attention during times of conflict and for the same reasons, education is targeted in conflicts. If education collapses, it will require a prolonged period to rebuild any sector of that society and reintegrate all individuals as functioning actors in civil life.

In short, the real conflict is between education and radicalization. The choice is clear: Either the teacher or the terrorist, the student or the suicide bomber, the book or the bomb, the school or slaughter. If radicalization thrives on de-education, then re-education is the only way for de-radicalization.

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