Nikueleze Amani

children's understanding of peace and conflict in a Congolese refugee camp in Tanzania

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and the peace of God that surpasses all understanding
will guard your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus
(Philippians 4:7)
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When I was a second-year university student in educational studies, I took a course on peace education as an extra-curricular activity. By that time, I had no idea that the decision to follow the course would bring me to Tanzania to study peace education in a Congolese refugee camp some years later...Along the way of doing this research, there have been several people I would like to thank.

This whole endeavour of studying peace education started with one thought-provoking course about peace education by Gavriel Salomon who was Cleveringa professor in Leiden in 2003. I only remembered the course when I was discussing the subject of my Master-research with my supervisor four years after I had taken that course. Gerti Hesseling encouraged me to continue with the subject, she herself being Koningsberger professor in Utrecht, occupying a chair for peace building comparable to the Cleveringa chair in Leiden. After some months, Gerti could not continue supervising me and unfortunately she was not given the chance to read the end product of what she had provoked the day she convinced me to 'do something with peace'.

Two others took over the task of supervision. Both Mayke Kaag of the African Studies Centre and Linda Hererra of the Institute of Social Studies spend many hours discussing my writings with me. Through this inspiring supervision, which I would rather describe as cooperation, I was kept enthusiastic until the day I finished this thesis. In addition, teachers and co-students in Leiden challenged me so many times during discussions about the subject of my research. In one way or another, they have caused me to think critically about the subject of peace education and I believe that their comments have helped me get a more balanced view on it.

For my fieldwork in Tanzania, I was accepted by World Vision Tanzania to volunteer in one of the refugee camps they supervise. WVT took good care of me, and I especially miss all the hours I spend in the kitchen re-learning the Swahili language and talking about life and cooking. It took some months before I was granted an entry permit for Nyarugusu. During those first months, I also spend some weeks in Uvinza where I was offered the chance to talk to several children in preparation of the real research in the camp. From the day I entered Nyarugusu camp and started meeting the Congolese refugees, the research I had prepared could finally come alive. I met special, very hospitable, people who inspired me and influenced my way of thinking about peace in a way they themselves probably do not even realize.

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1. Introduction

What is the relation between Bora, a 12-year old Congolese girl living in a refugee camp in Tanzania, and Ban Ki-moon, a 65-year old Korean man being the secretary general of United Nations in New York City, United States of America? The answer is simple: Both know the work that the UN is doing for refugees (through UNHCR), and for children (through UNICEF). But they know it for different reasons since they are found on the two far ends of the threads that are between them. Education is one of the threads that is thought to connect a refugee with people in different places of the world. Through education, people are connected although they may have appeared at first sight very distant and different from each other both ideologically and geographically. There are those who develop the curriculum and think about the contents, there are teachers who are working in schools funded by outside sources and children being subject to what others want to teach them. It can be questioned to what extent these people really relate to each other and what they know about the others' lives. Taking the example of peace education, one can question whether the different people that are involved in the field all speak the same language when they talk about peace, i.e., do they really relate to each other? Does the work of an organisation such as UN connect different groups of people? Is there a thread that links them together or are there only small pieces of a thread that is broken at certain places?

Talking, thinking and teaching about peace has known a long history and definitions of the concept have changed over time and are subject to cultural differences. People's own understanding of peace and conflict has been studied before implementing programmes addressing it. Obviously, the understanding of peace has not always been connected to educational interventions since people develop their own ideas on peace and conflict without being directly educated about the subject. Nevertheless, not long after formal peace education had been introduced, people also started to study how the understanding of peace develops in children. Whereas one will define peace as love and friendship, another will stress the absence of quarrels, mutual understanding, improvement of living circumstances or the resolution of all conflicts. Children develop their understanding of the concept of peace which becomes more complex as they grow older. They negotiate, combine and search for ways to give meaning to the reality in which they grow up. The outcome of this process, which is not similar for every person, will inform their understanding of the present reality and also how they react upon it. By getting an insight in how the concept develops with age, educational programmes could be adapted to the level of understanding of the people it addresses. Studying first what people or children know or are able to understand, one can use that knowledge to build upon it and further the understanding in order to make people think and behave in the right way.

What is right, is of course heavily dependent on culturally constructed beliefs. For peace education, these beliefs are informed by what is thought to threaten peace. Is it bombs? Then, we teach
about disarmament. Is it oppression? Then, we teach about human rights. Is it a tribal conflict? Then, we teach conflict resolution. Many examples can be given, but realizing that peace education is based upon what is happening in the world and how people interpret that, it must be acknowledged that peace is never a neutral concept but subject to personal or societal beliefs. Even these days, teaching about peace is a fashionable subject in development-thinking because it is considered to contribute to peaceful developments in regions where there is conflict. Questions may come up considering the developers of a programme and those who put it into practice, e.g., do the former know the situation in which the latter are working? Is the programme sensitive to culture and student's own understanding?

With the former questions, we arrive at the title of this study, i.e., *Nikueleze amani*. This Swahili phrase means *let me explain peace to you* and refers to the different actors in the field of peace education. These people are explaining peace to others, and through the present study, they were explaining their understanding of peace to me. The actors to be distinguished can be spread over separate layers. Firstly, there are the developers of a programme. These people have their own ideas what peace is and what they want to teach others through the curriculum they have developed. Secondly, when the curriculum is implemented, teachers start working with it. These teachers, too, will already have an understanding what is meant by peace. This understanding will influence the way they deal with the programme for peace education. In addition, characteristics of the education also contribute to the messages transferred through education which can either be reinforced or tempered. Thirdly, those who are addressed by the programme do not come in blank. They will already have developed an understanding of the concept. This understanding is also informed by the context in which they are living. Since the understanding of peace is considered to be part of the more general understanding of society, the latter will also affect one's understanding. For children, it should be noted that their understanding of the world develops as they grow up and interact with their environment.

The present study is an attempt to link the different layers that can be discovered in the field of peace education. At the same time, it wants to study the understanding of peace in a context which is not yet well documented. Therefore, this study addresses the understanding of peace in policy, education and as part of children's developing knowledge of the community they belong to in the context of Congolese living in a refugee camp in Tanzania. It gives a description of the understanding of peace and conflict of Congolese children living in Nyarugusu refugee camp in Tanzania. These students learn about the meaning of peace inside and outside the classroom. Peace education programmes for refugees are developed by UNICEF-employees to teach children in the camp. Teachers use these programmes in their classrooms. Researchers investigate and evaluate peace education programmes. Many people are involved in the field of peace education and they are all present in refugee camps, visibly or not. The present study questions what happens with the policy and theory of peace education when it is implemented in primary schools in a Congolese refugee camp in Tanzania, e.g., what is possible in reality, how do the students think about peace and conflict and how do their ideas relate to the intentions of the developers of the peace education programme, of the teachers using it and to the context in which they are living?

Since the present study attempts to connect developers of the peace education manual with
teachers and students who are confronted with peace education in the primary schools of Nyarugusu refugee camp, several separate sources of data are consulted. The main instruments used to collect data, were observations through participation in the camp in general and in two schools in particular. Also, short written interviews with 25 primary-school teachers were executed. For the understanding of children, a semi-structured oral questionnaire was used to talk about peace and related topics with 80 children aged 7 to 15 who are enrolled in primary education in the camp. For a better understanding of the results found through these interviews, the method used to come to these findings, including categorization and statistical analysis are also outlined. Developers of policy and peace education programmes were mainly consulted through written texts they have published. Especially the manual for peace education in primary school in refugee camps in Tanzania was analysed for this purpose.

The interesting element in studying the understanding of peace in the context of a refugee camp, is the interaction between local and global influences on the lives of the people living in the camp. The children in the present study are Congolese who are living a refugee camp in Tanzania and who are following the Congolese curriculum that is enriched with a peace education programme developed by UNICEF. The community these children belong to, including their teachers, has known a recent history of war which was so threatening that it caused them to flee and seek refuge outside the own country. Most of the children found in the present study, may have heard of this history of conflict and encounter its consequences in daily life but they have themselves been born in peace in the refugee camp. The history of war and living in a refugee camp are considered local influences on people's understanding of war. In addition, there is also a link in understanding peace that connects on a more global scale. Many programmes developed to teach refugees about peace are based on values, practices and experiences from other parts of the world, often referred to as the Western world. This part of the world is considered to be more developed and its people were not affected by war like refugees in Africa.

The present study contributes to debates concerning to what extent programmes for children who are living in a violent-prone region of Africa, are adjusted to the environment these youths grow up in and how they understand peace. The educational situation in the camp and teachers in particular, is seen as a vital link between developers of a programme on the one side and students as the recipients of the programme on the other side. Their opinions on the subject and the practice of teaching in the classroom can therefore not be ignored. Finally, this thesis also gives students a chance to make their ideas about peace and conflict heard. Findings, found in this study can help organisations to develop effective policy for peace education programmes which address the understanding and context of those it is intended for.

The results for the different layers of understanding peace in the context of peace education for refugees as explained above, come back in more detail in the subsequent chapters. Before going to the results, some other chapters are included to give a thorough background to the study. In chapter 2, an overview of previous studies about peoples understanding of peace and peace education is given. This is to outline how the academic field of research about peace (education)
has developed and what the main discussions have been. The third chapter gives a clarification how the present study is embedded in these theoretical and policy debates and it further explains how concepts of peace, peace education and children are defined in this research. Also, words are devoted to methodology and how the field shaped the outlook of this research and its results. In chapter 4, which is a description of the physical field of research, a historical background of Congolese refugees living in Tanzania is included in addition to an account on their current lives and organisations that surround them. In the chapters 5 through 7, the results of the this research are presented. Developers of peace education programmes were mainly consulted through written texts they have published. The analysis of the manual and a extensive background piece on motives for teaching refugees about peace, is found in chapter 5. How teachers think about this peace education and what the effects may be for their students is part of the content of chapter 6. This chapter about the practice of teaching peace is further completed by the inclusion of a section that describes observations of peace education in the camp. The seventh chapter is a combination of a description and an analysis of children's answers to questions about peace and conflict. Chapter 8 is a reflection on the findings of the aforementioned chapters connected to the aims described in this introduction. It gives a summary of children's understanding of peace, war and ways to attain peace and discusses the results. Suggestions for future research in relation to the results found in the present study will be presented. In addition, practical suggestions for development of policy for refugees is included in this last chapter.

In the end, this thesis deals with the concepts of war and peace in an African context. Writings on the subject often give the impression that war is the only thing that you can find on the continent. We see poor people with fear in their eyes and hunger in their stomachs. These pictures are often devastating. For that matter, it is good to look further to find a more balanced impression of Africa. Obviously, one can find beautiful pictures both in flora as in fauna. But also, most people are optimistically working for a good future for their children. Both the pictures that I took during my time in Tanzania, as the picture that I hope to give through this thesis, are full with many smiling children who are happy to go to school every day and typify their lives as peaceful.
part 1
field of research
background to this study
2. Peace in Theory

since wars begin in the minds of men
it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed
(preamble to the constitution of the UNESCO, 1945)

Children often have very creative ways of understanding the world and their imagination about the future seems to be unrestricted. It is a mixture of dreams and reality and how they internalize what they learn and hear around them. Nevertheless, as they become older and learn more about the ideas of others about peace, their own ideas develop further and with this change, their actions transform too. To avoid that these ideas and actions become violent or destructive towards others, people can teach them what is right and peaceful. Thinking and teaching about peace knows a long history and today it is still practised and studied. The mainstream peace education field has cultivated assumptions about people's understanding that are grounded in the Western, developed world, its experience with peace and its values about what peace was, is and should be. At the same time, peace education that is based on these assumptions is also implemented in places where it can be questioned whether the same experiences and beliefs are shared. Before further questions about this perceived over-generalisation of the understanding of peace can be answered, an overview of previous studies on both people's understanding of peace and peace education is presented. The following overview is meant to outline what is known through former research and experience about the understanding of peace and how this relates to conflict. The second part describes how the field of research about peace education has developed and what the main discussions have been.

2.1 Conceptualizations of Peace

There is no agreement about the definition of peace and there will never be. Its understanding is dependent on both societal and personal characteristics. Societies and persons influence one another causing the conceptualization of peace to change over time. Every society has its historical background that has influenced the values shared by its people. Contemporary and future events will continue this process. At the same time, every individual matures as it grows older. Children's ideas develop under the influence of a maturing cognition and the interaction with others. The first part of this section discusses how there has been thought about the concept of peace and concludes with current debates. The second part is focused on the development of the understanding of peace in young persons. It does not only discuss findings of former research but also the methods used to come to these results.

2.1.1 Historical overview of understanding peace

Theories about the definition of peace have been informed by adults' worries about what is threatening peace. Not surprisingly, peace has long been defined as a situation where war is
absent. This definition is also known as *negative peace* because it negates, i.e., it states what peace is not. Negative peace is defined by Galtung (1964) as *the absence of physical and direct violence between groups or nations*. Following this definition, we would only be able to say that there can either be a situation of war or peace and thus, that peace and war are exclusive opposites. The end of the Second World War was the starting point of a changing definition of peace adding new insights to the original definition. After the war, initiatives arose to avoid future wars by providing financial aid for those in need and political cooperation between nations. The founding of Bretton-Woods institutions and the United Nations in 1944 and 1945 respectively, are the best-known examples of attempts to structural improvement in favour of lasting world-wide peace. In the following decades, more attention for the notion of peace came up both from practitioners as well as from academics. Galtung (1964), in his editorial of the first edition of *the Journal of Peace Research*, added to his definition of negative peace as it was described above, also a definition of positive peace. This is characterized by cooperation patterns aiming at the integration of or collaboration between groups or nations. He added a positive expression of peace by stating what it is, rather than what it is not. In a later definition of peace, Galtung (1969) includes societal structures and states that peace can only exist when there is social justice and human rights are recognized.

A new step in the development of the definition of peace could be recognized another twenty years later. It had become clear that peace does not only find its articulation on a global scale but that it should also be noticed on a personal level. Reardon (1988) combined the negative and positive definition of peace and named it *comprehensive peace*. Her definition is more than the sum of the negative and positive definitions mentioned above, it encompasses quality of life for every person, elimination of poverty and an equitable global development and international order. In conclusion, the number of threats to peace that have been distinguished, have expanded especially in the last sixty-five years since the end of World War II. This expansion may be more theoretical than practical since most of the threats have been present in all times but were just not yet recognized in theory-formation on the subject. Nevertheless, it resulted in the definition of peace also to become more all-encompassing.

In contrast with the aforementioned, what has been written in academic journals about the definition of peace does not necessarily reflect how other people in society think about it. Theories are most often a summarized picture of the multiple interpretations that exist in reality. Studies have been carried out to research how people think about peace. It has been found that differences or changes in societies, relate to different or changed definitions for peace (Salomon, 2002; Vriens, 1999). The understanding of peace has changed, as societies have changed. Reardon (1988) showed that the definition of peace has had consequently a focus on the prevention of a nuclear war, disarmament, conflict management and resolution skills and more recently on values and human-rights. For example, research in the 1980s found that people’s ideas
about peace were informed by their fear of a nuclear disaster which was omnipresent during that time. The nuclear threat that informed their understanding of peace, was addressed through the promotion of nuclear disarmament in order to create peace (Vriens, 1999, p. 36). This shows that peace (or its absence) is an integral part of the wider social world and that an individual's understanding of the concept of peace is related to one's social knowledge and look on society (Hakvoort & Oppenheimer, 1998, p. 357). Therefore, when the understanding of peace is studied, a study of the current and historical context of the society cannot be absent because the results of the former are related to results from the latter. In addition, it should be noted that the definition of peace is not a fixed or unchangeable notion and that one should be cautious making generalisations about the understanding of peace. In general, most research that has been carried out was located in countries in the Western world, e.g. Australia, Canada, Finland, Holland, Israel, Portugal, Northern Ireland, Sweden and the United States (Raviv, Oppenheimer & Bar-Tal, 1999). The results of these studies inform peace education programmes worldwide, assuming the universality without much extra research up till now. This critique is further discussed in the section about peace education below.

2.1.2 Children's understanding of peace

Over the last 60 years, we have seen studies being carried out to research people's understanding of peace. Why would one want to study how people understand peace, except for personal curiosity? Results for peace research can be used to determine whether intervention is needed. Unexpected or unwanted understandings of peace may have to be changed through a campaign or educational program. Determining what is unwanted, makes the interpretation of results very subjective. The following section discusses this subjectivity to be found in peace interventions developed for both adults and children. Research that was carried out until the 1980s saw the younger generation primarily as a 'tool' for creating future peace. Generally speaking, the following three types of research can be identified: research on children in a situation of violence and political conflict, research on the influence of nuclear threat on children, and research on children's conceptions of war and peace (Vriens, 1999, p. 31). As discussed before, the fear of a nuclear disaster in the 1980s was used as an argument to support the peace movement and promote disarmament among a young, new generation. Implementation of peace interventions was done without including the child's own world and the problems of peace within the child's world (ibid, p. 29). Due to critical notes, assessment procedures of children's understanding of peace changed in the 1980s and results became less biased by researchers' aims and own understanding of the situation.

Although there are many differences between studies in terms of both methodology and theory, some general conclusions for children's understanding of peace can be drawn. Before discussing the results, it should be noted that generalizations about children should be handled
with care. Defining children may perhaps even be more difficult than peace. Age is often used as a
solution for the definition. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) defines a child as any
person between the age of 0-18 years old. It is not very convincing to state that all persons of this
age are children just because they happen to be under eighteen years old. Many other
characteristics may differentiate one from the other. An example of this is the discussion related to
children's vulnerability. Whereas mainstream discourses agree on the vulnerability of children and
the need to protect them, we can also discover another discourse depicting them as active
participants in the construction and determination of their own lives, the lives of those around them
and of the societies in which they live (James & Prout, 1997). Age plays a role in this, as do life
experiences and circumstances. Whereas children younger than the age of 6 are expected to be
mainly vulnerable and dependent on others, older children develop their own agency and develop
ways to survive even under difficult circumstances. There are, of course limits to this agency, e.g.,
in a situation of war where armed forces decide what is to be done or not. In such situations it is
hard to speak of children's agency. In a different context, children will be able to
develop a sense of
agency as they grow older. Education is considered to be a facilitating actor for the development of
agency in people.

What can be concluded for agency, is also appropriate for the way children understand
peace. Both inform how a person will and can react to conflict and both are dependent on the
context. Following this line of argumentation, children's understanding of peace can only be
studied in its context i.e., factors in their lives that may be influential needed to be taken into
account. Recent studies about children's understanding of the peace have shown the role age
plays and also confirmed the role that gender and cultural diversity play in understanding peace
(Hagglund, 1996 in Vriens, 1999, p. 45). It was found that children's answers, and therefore also
their understanding of peace, develops as they become older. While growing up, a person does not
only increases age and cognitive abilities but is also formed by the society it belongs to. Both are
related to the understanding of peace. Researchers have constructed a framework to explain how
children's understanding of peace develops as they grow up. This theoretical framework combines
Piaget's theory on social-cognitive development with socialization theory (Hakvoort &
Oppenheimer, 1998). The combination results in a focus on the maturing individual, the influence
of its social environment and the interaction between the two. By taking the children's context into
account, we can explain better the differences between children. The combination also allows for
admitting that children are at the same time constructing knowledge themselves, and are being
socialized by others in order to adapt to society (Hatano & Takahashi, 2005). Taking both the
internal cognitive development and an external context into consideration may help to come up
with a more nuanced explanation how the understanding of peace is constructed.

Piaget's theory explains how children constantly interact with inputs from their environment
and that they use the information they get and find to integrate and assimilate in their already-
existing cognitive and social knowledge-structures. If this is not possible, the existing knowledge structure has to be reorganized or accommodated to adapt to the new information (Piaget, 1952 in Oppenheimer, Bar-Tal & Raviv, 1999). Children's understanding of the world around them develops as they grow older, when they get a better understanding of inter-personal relations, become more emphatic and become able to reason more abstractly. From the age of approximately 12 years onwards, most children start giving meaning and understanding concepts in more abstract ways than before. At the same time they are able to learn more about the world outside the place where they are living themselves. Most of them become sensitive for the way others see them and they become interested in the ways others are living and what is happening in other places. Nevertheless, no two children are the same, nor do they develop along exactly the same path. It is problematic to categorise all children according to the Piagetian stages of development. Piaget's theory assumes that all children develop by following the same sequence of stages (Crain, 2000, p. 112). More recent research have shown that some children reach a certain stage earlier than others, some go from stage 3 to 5, whereas others encounter fall backs (Barrett & Buchanan-Barrow, 2005, pp. 3-4). To understand these deviations, looking at the child only will not suffice.

Looking at the context in which children grow up, can provide explanations for the way in which they make sense of the wider world and react to it. Socialization theory looks at the influence of the social environment (Valsiner, 2000, p.36). Socialization is a developmental process whereby knowledge, skills, beliefs, values, attitudes, and dispositions are acquired which enable a child to function as a member of society. Family, peers, school and media are perceived as cornerstones for the transfer to children and continuity and maintenance of such culture-specific ideologies (Hagglund & Oppenheimer, 1995, p. 7, in Hakvoort, 1996, p. 2). Another socialization agent may be a religious movement in the person of a church leader (Barrett & Buchanan-Barrow, 2005, p. 5) Concerning the understanding of peace, children hear their parents talk about peace and war or they get confronted with these concepts while watching television, reading books or magazines, playing with friends or going to church. Children's perception of peace will of course also be coloured by society's past and present experiences with peace and conflict and by education about these concepts.

In their discussion of peace research undertaken over the last fifty years, Hakvoort and Oppenheimer (1998, p. 386) give an overview of all variables expected to affect children's understanding of peace and war, naming age, gender, ability to understand interpersonal relations, social institutions and socializing agents and the history of a country in terms of war. If not otherwise stated, the following sections summarizes the overview by Hakvoort and Oppenheimer (ibid). This overview confirms that developmental and societal factors both influence children's understanding of peace. It can be derived from this overview that in all early and in most contemporary studies, age and gender are the major explanatory variables for the observed variations. The influence of other variables such as social institutions and socialization agents on
the development of this understanding appears to be primarily theoretically discussed, but rarely empirically supported (Hakvoort and Oppenheimer, 1998, p. 384). The majority of research showed that knowledge about war precedes that of peace. Whether it is boys or girls who develop an understanding of the concepts earlier have not been found unanimously in former studies. For the understanding of peace, younger children, especially girls, refer to their direct surroundings, e.g., friendships. Youths above the age of 10 also look at the wider world and its problems, e.g., disarmament, nature/pollution, sharing, tolerance and respect. Care for universal rights has not been found in children before the age of 12 years (Hakvoort, 1996). From that age on, children tend to focus both on positive peace and negative peace. The former is not replaced by the latter but also adds up to the initially existing understanding.

For the definition of war, younger children refer mostly to concrete aspects of war. Weapons and soldiers are more often found for boys than girls whereas the latter focus more often on the negative consequences of war. Both boys and girls have referred to concrete war activities. Some older children over the age of 15, have also shown a concern for ideologies and values related to war but this group remains small. Covell, Rose-Krasnor, and Fletcher, (1994) have argued that the absence of abstract understanding is due to infrequent occurrence of instances of peace in society. When ideologies are found, they may come along with strong emotions about what is right or wrong (Barrett & Buchanan-Barrow, 2005, p. 4). This shows that the understanding of peace as the negation of war and the understanding of war itself is connected to ideologies. For this matter, talking about peace and war in peace education, is politically biased, especially in places where people with conflicting interests are living together closely (Fountain, 1999, p. 25). More about peace education and ideologies connected to peace and war follow in the next section.

2.2 Peace Education

It has already been explained that people's understanding of peace is often studied as a basis for intervention. Results are translated into aims for change. Peace education is an example of an intervention in people's understanding of peace. There are several sorts of peace education but it is often a much contested subject. Critiques on its assumptions are outlined and discussed below. In the second part, outcomes and the evaluation of programs are found in relation with some more critical notes.

2.2.1 Content of programmes

Peace education teaches peace to people. It has already been stressed above that peace does not mean the same to everyone but depends on the context. In addition, children have not yet a full understanding of peace but develop this as they grow older. Of course, children learn most of what they know unintentionally and/or informally. Nevertheless, certain subjects are thought to be that important that they are taught intentionally through formal education. Peace, taught through peace
education is one example of this. The introduction of formal education of a certain subject does not mean that informal teaching is replaced by the former but only that it is added. Formal education can supplement what is learned through other sources but it can also contrast with other messages. In many cases, peace education programmes for children have long made use of adults ideas of peace ignoring, unintentionally or not, children’s own ideas (Vriens, 1999). These adults’ ideas about the approach chosen and the kind of peace taught are defined by what is happening at the time, i.e. the Zeitgeist (Salomon, 2002). In the 1990s, voices arose to redefine the aims of peace education and to interpret its task neither primarily in terms of creating peace nor through an overoptimistic view of the possibilities of the next generation to shape a peaceful future. Following the new, more balanced concept of peace education, young children should be made conscious of their own responsibility for peace and realize it in a creative way in their own lives. Therefore it was argued that children’s present everyday life should be taken into account (Vriens, 1999) and that peace educators should attempt to adapt the aims of peace education to that same context. Discourses in society that explain how one should behave and can refer to others, also inform the aims of peace education. For example, recent discourses on Africa have depicted the continent as un-peaceful due to risks that exist on the continent and the vulnerability of its people, (peace) interventions on the continent seem therefore to be legitimized (Bankoff, 2004, p. 33). The majority of peace education programmes found in Africa these days, focuses on either one of the following two subjects. First, teaching alternatives to violence ranging from the interpersonal to the international level. Second, empowering people by teaching them about human rights and democracy. A more thorough discussion of discourses can be found in chapter 5.

Salomon (2002) states that not all peace education programmes are created equal since they serve different goals and deal with different levels of conflict. Like peace, the meaning of education about this concept remains vague and multi-interpretable as long as it is not defined carefully. In addition, there exist a vast spectrum of programmes that all bear the name of *peace education*. Programmes that focus on adults, outside the formal educational system, differ from those that are implemented in primary education but both are called *peace education*. It is even more confusing since the name *peace education* is also often used for programmes that in fact are dealing with conflict resolution. Significant differences between the two emerge at the operational level. Whereas peace education is intended to prevent conflict, conflict resolution merely addresses specific context-based issues about conflicts that already exist. In the case of the former, teachers present overarching peace related themes to a wide range of students, e.g. children, adults, in both formal and non-formal settings. Conflict resolution mainly involves adults as the primary target audience (Sommers, 2001, p. 166). At the same time, there is also an overlap between the two since both are teaching about peace in order to cultivate peaceful societies (ibid, p. 167). Some programmes mainly teach communication skills, e.g. active listening, understanding emotions, cooperation, problem solving, prejudice reduction, negotiation and mediation, as an
alternative to violence. These programmes base themselves on the premise that conflict is always present. Galtung (1996, p. 256, in Sommers, 2001, p. 169) stated that peace cannot be achieved by attempting to eradicate conflict. Peace education should therefore not attempt to do that anyway, but turn conflict into a non-violent activity, low on structural and cultural violence. Programmes teaching alternatives to violence, can both be a peace education and a conflict resolution programme. A typical example of conflict resolution is a workshop organized to bring opponents together and make them cooperate on a neutral mission, focussing on what ties them together in stead of what tears them apart. Peace talks on a more political level are also part of the spectrum of conflict resolution programmes. Other programmes are teaching about human rights, citizenship and good governance (Salomon, 2002; Sinclair, 2001). Baxter (2000 in Sinclair, 2001, p. 11) states that peace education for refugees does not produce peace but it is an enabling factor, it transforms the way in which many refugees see their situation and their plans for the future. He shows that dealing with refugees is not an easy task and special attention for the kind of peace education offered may be requested. Teaching peace in both a situation of war and post-war is a very difficult task. Whereas people may look normal from the outside, they often need counseling that ensures a restoration of a normal life. This may be done through psychological techniques such as speaking out loud feelings of anger and learning to give violence a place in one's life that is not self-destructive.

Although it was not always clear in former research which kind of peace education exactly was studied, researchers have made an attempt to explain the mechanisms of peace education, i.e. how it works. Peace education is based on the assumption that people's understanding of the world and the way they conceptualize this is both socially constructed and it informs people's actions (Van Dijk, 1995; Wenden & Schäffner, 1995), or as the preamble of UNESCO states: Since wars begin in the minds of people, it is in the minds of people that the defences of peace have to be built (Ter Steeg, 1969, in Vriens, 1999, p. 28). It is argued that by changing actors' word use, teaching to approach conflict in another way, and empowering people by informing them on universal rights, one can change war speech into peace speech, war thoughts into peace thoughts an/or empower people with the skills needed to interpret and react on the violence directed at them peacefully (Bugarski, 2000; Wenden, 1995b). This mechanisms mainly work with the communicative part of alternatives to violence. Miles (1995), in his introduction to Language and Peace also states that Language cannot carry the whole burden of making peace (p. X). Also Salomon (2002) states that both political-economical and psychosocial components need to be addressed to end conflicts and realise peace. Vriens (1999, pp. 29-30) claims that peace education can only work indirectly, i.e. by making people conscious of their own possibilities and responsibility for peace and making them accept and realize it in their own lives. This responsibility is closely linked to the teaching of norms and values, something that can best be started as early in life as possible. Therefore, primary education is a good means of transferring this knowledge and
skills (Wenden, 19995).

2.2.2 Outcomes of programmes

The quote by Baxter above about how peace education works for refugees, shows that peace education, or whatever name it is given, may not always bring forth the results as they were anticipated, but nevertheless can have a positive impact. This example shows that peace education programmes have turned out to be very difficult to evaluate in terms of aims, practice and results. Difficulties in evaluating a peace education programme is only one explanation given by Nevo and Brem (2002) for the small number of evaluation studies. They mention in addition the low level of awareness regarding the importance and usefulness of the evaluation phase, budgetary considerations, and avoidance caused by fear of critics. Irrespective of the number of evaluation studies done, critics will always be found. Many doubt the impact that peace education can have whereas more optimistic followers continue developing the existing programmes or come up with new ones. In relation with this, Sommers (2001, p. 173), notes cynically that peace education will work, depending on what you want it to do.

Salomon (2002) states that not all programmes are created equal because they serve different goals and deal with different levels of conflict. At lower levels, it may be easier to change the situation and find positive evaluations of the aims but even at the highest level of intractable conflicts, Biton and Salomon (2006) have shown that peace education can serve as a barrier against the deterioration of perceptions and feelings. Their participants', i.e secondary school students, both Israeli and Palestinian', perceptions of peace were differentially coloured by the collective narratives of the groups they belong to and also by more immediate experiences of current events. Before participation in the peace programme, Israeli students stressed the negative aspects of peace, i.e. absence of violence, and Palestinians stressed its structural aspects, i.e. independence and equality. In contrast to those who did not participate in the programme, youths of both sides came to stress more the positive aspects of peace, i.e. cooperation and harmony, afterwards. Also, whereas the control group came to increasingly suggest war as a means to attain peace, possibly as a function of the ongoing mutual hostilities (intifada), no such change took place among programme participants. Palestinian controls also manifested greater hatred towards Jews, but no change took place among programme participants. Though this research may be convincing about the effectiveness of peace education in this situation, it should also be noticed that effectiveness heavily relies on the implementation of the programme, its instructors and facilities. The effectiveness of a peace education programme may be affected by the educational situation, limited by tight budgets and/or biased or unskilled teachers, as it may exist in an African refugee camp (McLoyd, n.d.; Sommers, 2001). Ideological differences between programme developers and recipients may also affect the results of a programme. Nevertheless, nothing is certain as long as decent evaluation of effectiveness of programmes is lacking (Nevo & Brem, 2002).
2.3 Conclusion

There is still a lot of work to be done in the field of peace research and peace education. Whereas the former often lacks clear definitions of the concept of peace that is meant, the latter are plagued with a shortage in evaluations of programmes. It has turned out that it is as difficult to define peace as it is to evaluate the effectiveness of a programme. Nevertheless, attempts to implement effective peace education programmes are made and successes found. It was shown, that the understanding of peace and war and the effectiveness of programmes addressing these notions, depends on the context in which it is studied. What is effective for one place, will not have the expected results in another place or time. Lessons learned through former studies point at the need for cross-cultural research to test the universality of peace and peace education programmes. The study of people's understanding of peace needs to be related to what is thought in society about the concept and the possibilities to affect it in practice. By doing this, peace can change from a word that people theorize and dream about into a word that people encounter in their daily lives.
3. Methodology

Peace education is a fashionable subject in the world of development and aid. This is in contrast with the belief that peace is nothing more than an utopian idea found in dusty old philosophy books and bibles. It has become clear in the preceding chapter that peace-research has often been a vague and unclear field of research. Concepts are not well-defined and studies are often insensitive to cultural differences in values. In addition, peace education programmes that are the outcomes of these studies are often also insensitive to practical limitations in the context. Moreover, peace education is still an understudied subject in terms of results and evaluations and most research that has been carried out was located in countries in the Western world. The results of these studies are applied worldwide, assuming the universality without much extra research up till now. Results, for example, are used to justify the efforts of international organizations to implement programmes for the protection of children's rights world wide. Both children's own agency and the diversity of contexts in different parts of the world is thereby ignored and children's vulnerability overstated and/or generalized. How does the present study fit into these critiques and debates? This chapter outlines how the present study is embedded in former research, both in terms of theories and methods and explains where it follows and where it contrasts with it. In short, the current study hopes to contribute to the discussion about the universal applicability of peace education, offer an insight into the policy-making and practice of it and discuss refugee's conceptions of peace. A separate section of this chapter gives a clarification of how the concepts of peace, children and peace education are defined for this study. The chapter ends with a practical outline about the construction of the interviews and about the methods used to become familiar with the field and collect and interpret the data.

3.1 Present Study Embedded in Theory

Many critiques on research about the understanding of peace and especially the practice of peace education have been outlined in the preceding chapter. It has become clear that both peace and peace education can only be studied in a context and not in empty space. The context consists of cultural beliefs that are informed by the historical background of a society as much as by the current situation in which its members are living. The present study is an attempt to answer to the critique referring the diversity of contexts by looking at a society that knows a recent history of war. Though many countries where research have been carried out, know a history of conflict, most of them have been relatively peaceful for the past five or six decades. Thus the children of these countries that were researched recently for their understanding of peace and conflict, nor their parents, have experienced conflict in their own lives. Israel and Northern Ireland are perhaps the two most deviant but still, they are both considered to be developed countries. Tanzania, the country in which I have carried out my research about children's understanding of peace, has not
yet developed to the same degree and most of the people living in the refugee camp there have experienced conflict recently. This study may therefore provide an example how children's understanding of peace may be coloured by living-circumstances and their experiences with war and conflict. At the same time, this study looks into the gap between the ideal of peace and the reality of educating about the concept. Many people are wondering whether peace may only be an utopia. In reaction to these doubts, I suggest another approach by studying the understanding of peace: what is a realistic definition of peace? It may be good to listen and look closer at what Africans themselves find appropriate ways of preventing conflict and let them tell us, Westerners, how they think about peace and inspire us to work in a more co-operative way. This is not an attempt to jump to the very opposite side of what we still often see in development circles, i.e., knowing what is best for others. Nor is it an attempt to idealize the 'traditional' practice of Africans. This study hopes to offer a insight in the need for cultural relativism, and also a call for recognizing the agency of people. The notion of peace may not be understood in the same way by all people around the world but will find local expressions for different contexts. Listening to locals, also children, and their ideas about peace can help to make peace education programmes connect better to the reality of values and practices that exist in that locality and give people a say in the course of their lives.

3.2 Key Issues

Five concepts are central to this study and therefore need special attention by explaining clearly how they are used. Three concepts are explained in this section whereas the other two, refugee and their agency, are integrated in a separate chapter about refugee life and the Congolese historical background (see chapter 4). The other three concepts are peace, children and peace education. All three are multi-interpretable. While reading through documentation about one subject, one will soon notice that it is often assumed that all readers will understand the concept in the same way. This is often not the case and leads to confusion. At the same time, when writers want to avoid this and start an attempt to come up with a clear definition, they get stuck themselves, as happened to me. What is a child, what is peace education and what is peace? I had to define this before I started my research but found out that I needed to redefine it while writing my thesis. The main obstacle I experienced was on the one hand wanting to be brief and to the point, and on the other hand wanting to avoid making to many generalizations. Following from the definitions below, peace is inspired by former research and debates as described in the preceding chapter and the very notion itself inspired the questionnaire I have used, the definition of children is mainly a reflection of my young informants in the field and the description of peace education follows the material provided by educators and educational institutions working in the camp.
3.2.1 Peace
It has been explained that peace (or its absence) is an integral part of the social world. Therefore, the understanding of the concept of peace is defined by one's social knowledge and look on society. When changes in this knowledge and/or a society occur, definitions will also change. The definition of peace is therefore not fixed or unchangeable. The mainstream definition of peace in current peace education programmes is inspired by one of the most influential peace education programmes which is developed by UNICEF. Peace has become a compromise, connecting as many voices in the field as possible. It encompasses positive and negative definitions, it includes both material and ideological aspects, and whereas it seems to focus mainly on the individual and personal level, higher levels of interaction can be identified in the phrasing about human rights and differences between people. Peace, as it is defined by the developers of the UNICEF peace education programme (Fountain, 1999) and how I have used it in this thesis, is to live and work in dignity and participate in development, including also the promotion of human (and children's) rights, elimination of violence and acceptance of differences between people (p.1).

3.2.2 Children
A picture that comes easily to one's mind is that of enthusiastic black children smiling and showing their white teeth and waving to you and calling you by the local name for a white person. Is this the African child? Another picture: A small boy carrying a gun walking bare feet through the deserted streets of a destroyed town. Is this the African child? It is impossible to make generalizations about children, even when it is only the African child. Age may be a solution. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) defines a child as any person between the age of 0-18 years old. Nevertheless, can we call a child soldier from Congo a child, like we call a toddler from the Netherlands a child? Can we compare school children from Amsterdam with those in a refugee camp in Tanzania? In addition, discussions about the definition of children also relate to their vulnerability and agency. Whereas mainstream discourses agree on the vulnerability of children and the need to protect them, we can also discover another discourse depicting them as active participants in the construction and determination of their own lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live (James & Prout, 1997). There are, of course limits to agency but it can neither be denied that children develop a sense of agency as they grow older. Education may be a facilitating actor for this development.

The children in the current research are all between the age of 7-15 years old and therefore qualify as children according to the CRC. This, nevertheless, does not mean that the findings can be easily compared to other's findings in the field of peace research. Nor does it want to pretend that the informants represent the African child. They represent what they are and what they are is defined by the context in which these children grow up. The context is important because it defines children's childhood, i.e. chances and restrictions, rights and obligations. As will be explained more thoroughly in the next chapter, refugees in general do not form a homogeneous group, nor does
the group of informants of this research. Migration as a reaction to war or (sexual) violence are factors influencing some children's lives and most of their parents' lives. They are now all living in a refugee camp outside their country of origin, their lives are influenced by UNHCR's and its implementing partners' policies on food, health care, education and more recently repatriation. But at the same time, some are boys, others are girls. Children and/or their parents have differing ethnic and social-economic backgrounds. Some children are bright and others not. Some used to be fighters themselves, forced or not. Some are living with both their parents whereas others do not, taking care of themselves and sometimes helped by neighbours. Some have caring parents, others miss that. Some have become parents themselves already. Some go to school, whereas others drop out. And one child will not be the same every day. Some days are good, mother has already fetched the water, they feel happy to play with friends, the chicken has produced eggs, it is a day on which you think you can do anything you want. Other days are disappointing, a family member died, it is raining, a low grade at school, a lot of work to do at home, father feels depressed, not enough food. In short, 'the child' does not exist and we can only look at 'a child' in his/her context. It is important to pay attention to the circumstances of children's lives and the context they grow up in because it influences the results of this research.

3.2.3 Peace education

Peace education teaches peace to people. It has already been stressed before that peace does not mean the same to everyone and children have not yet a full understanding of it but develop this as they grow older. Also peace education differs from one situation to the other. Moreover, the strategies and aims of teaching peace differ from one programme to the other, depending on audience, time and place. The definition of peace is closely related to what is happening in society. Peace educators attempt to adapt the intentions of peace education to that same situation. How this situation or context was shaped in the case of the current study will further be explained in chapter 4 and 5. This thesis focuses on peace education for children as it was found in primary schools in Nyarugusu refugee camp. This type of peace education will be explained shortly. Nevertheless, it can be expected that many more different programmes exist. Programmes that focus on adults, outside the formal educational system, differ from those that are implemented in primary education but both are called peace education. It is even more confusing since the name peace education is also often used for programmes that in fact are dealing with conflict resolution. Baxter (2000 in Sinclair, 2001, p. 11) states that peace education for refugees does not produce peace but it is an enabling factor, it transforms the way in which many refugees see their situation and their plans for the future. This shows that peace education, or whatever name it is given, may not always bring forth the results as it was anticipated, but nevertheless can have a positive impact. Due to this and several other factors, it has turned out to be very difficult to evaluate programmes in terms of goals and intentions and the number of evaluation studies is limited (Nevo and Brem, 2002). Sommers (2001, p. 173), in contrast, notes cynically that peace education will
work, depending on what you want it to do.

The definition of peace education in this paper is a combination of former definitions derived from a couple of policy papers. Susan Fountain's (1999, p. 1) working paper about UNICEF's peace education programmes, states that these programmes are an integral part of the UNICEF vision of quality basic education. The 1990 World Declaration on Education for All (the Jomtien Declaration) clearly states that basic learning-needs comprise not only essential tools such as literacy and numeracy, but also the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values required to live and work in dignity and to participate in development. It further states that the satisfaction of those needs implies a responsibility to promote social justice, acceptance of differences, and peace (Inter-Agency Commission WCEFA, in Fountain, 1990, p. 1). Peace education is also grounded on the articles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF, 1990), which aim to eliminate all forms of violence against children, both overt and structural, and to promote an environment of rights in which peace can flourish. UNHCRS's Revised Guidelines for Educational Assistance to Refugees state that Education for peace, cooperation, conflict, resolution and reconciliation are all prerequisites for the durable solution of voluntary repatriation and reconstruction whose promotion can avoid repetition of conflict by a new generation' (1995, p. 53 in Sommers, 2001, p. 165). To summarize, peace education in this thesis is defined as the educational programme for primary-schoolers to teach and train them skills, attitudes, values and knowledge needed to provide all people the opportunity to live in dignity and develop to the fullest avoiding violent conflict.

3.3 Elaboration of Research Design

I finish this chapter with a section about the main question of the present study and its subdivision into sub questions. Like the title Nikueleze Amani (swahili for let me explain peace to you) already showed, this studies deals with explaining peace to others. Several actors explain peace in the following chapters. These chapters are structured by taking into consideration the three layers of peace education for refugees which I have distinguished in the introduction (i.e., the policy level, the educational level and the personal level of understanding peace) and were researched in the context of a refugee camp. The main question guiding the present study is:

How do Congolese children that are living in a refugee camp in Tanzania understand peace, war and ways to attain peace?

To find the answer to this question, several sub questions were formulated in addition to it. Obviously, the first question was How do children understand peace, war and ways to attain peace? To research the other two layers distinguished, sub question 2 asked What is the educational situation in relation to peace education in the camp? and sub question 3 asked What does the peace education programme for refugees intend to teach? To address the context in which the present study took place, sub question 4 asked What is the (every day) reality children encounter in the refugee camp and what may be factors influencing their answers to my questions? Finally, in order to link the three layers together and connect them to the context, sub question 5 asked Does the content of the programme
(both in policy and in practice) correspond with children’s experiences with and understanding of peace, war and ways to attain peace?

The following separate parts consequently deal with my planning and research design, and a more elaborate discussion of the sub questions in relation to instruments and methods used to answer these questions. Especially the questionnaire used to assess children’s understanding of peace, war and ways to attain peace is extensively discussed in combination with the way the data was prepared for data analysis.

3.3.1 Planning of the research

I left the Netherlands on the 29th July 2008 to go to Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania, planning to use the first month there to organize permits at department for refugees at the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) and then travel to Kigoma-region and start reading and analysing manuals. Everything turned out to be going to take a lot more time. It was only at the end of October, after almost three months, that I received permits to enter the refugee camp and volunteer for World Vision Tanzania in order to do my research with them. While waiting those three months, I met many people who were working in the region and could tell me about refugee matters. At the same time, World Vision Tanzania was cautious to let me interfere with too many people without having the permission of the Ministry to work. Three months of waiting is a very long time when you are so eager to start. I was lucky to get the opportunity to help at a primary school in the region and spent my time there to do try-outs interviewing children with the questionnaire I had prepared. This helped me to adapt the questionnaire by translating it into Kiswahili and making clusters of often-heard answers.

When I first went to the refugee camp late October, I knew that my time was limited. Although I planned to do observations and analyse the manual as the exploratory part of my fieldwork, time constraints forced me to do it differently. Whereas I analysed the manual in my free hours in the weekends, observations were mainly planned on hours when children were not available for questioning and after I had finished all the interviews. The qualitative data collected through participant observation and interviewing some teachers informally could supplement, validate, explain, illuminate, and/or help me reinterpret the quantitative data (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003, p. 37). Through participant observation and chats with the people, I could also introduce myself and get to know the people and the world they live in. By showing interest in their lives and work and sharing part of my life and work with them, I was able to construct a basis for asking them more personal questions about their life. In this way, observation was also a way to familiarize myself with the situation I wanted to study and I needed that because it was the first time I was doing research in a refugee camp.

The organisation with which I was connected, World Vision Tanzania, helped me to get in touch with the right people working in the camp who in turn introduced me to the school directors. I was able to make good arrangements with them and other school teachers about observations and doing the interviews. I tried to take my time to get to know the children, teachers and organisation better but was
mostly very busy with interviewing all the children I selected to participate in my study. I interviewed more than double the amount of children I anticipated but I was not able to find a group of children that had not yet been exposed to peace education. In addition, I decided to limit the informants to only those that attend primary school since the group consisted of all ages that I had planned to study. Educational circumstances were not allowing for organized group discussions or do drawing assessments. Since children were preparing for exams, their availability was limited. In addition, space was a problem. At the schools where I did my research I was appointed the directors 'office', a small room where I could sit with not much more than one extra person but always some interested children outside who were peeking through the wholes in the wall (windows) and discussing what was going on inside. Other informants included teachers parents and social workers in the camp. The former turned out to be very interested in my intentions and plans and they were also eager to tell me about their lives and therefore formed a good addition to other sources I consulted. I also had the chance to teach in the schools myself. This gave me a feeling how it is to teach under the circumstances defined by the context of a refugee camp. In short, I could do most of what I had planned although it required some adaptation of my former plans.

3.3.2 Studying the context of this study
I started my time in the refugee camp by doing observations in two randomly chosen schools. During breaks, most of the children came to see me, try to touch and talk with me. We sang songs or played games together. It was a big surprise to hear that I could speak their own language. Soon after, I started getting invitations to meet parents, brothers, sisters, etc. Visiting children, talking with them when we met along the road, gave me an insight in extra-educational settings and informed me on events that had taken place in refugees lives before and after arriving in Tanzania. Though most of the children were born in the camp, some of these children and most of their older family members had lived through times of extreme difficulty and many were still encountering hardships. Nevertheless, I didn't have to wait long before people started talking about these delicate subjects. They may have thought that I could help them change their lives for the better. Group discussions with children, also gave me a deeper insight in their daily thoughts and activities. Questions that guided me were linked to the nature of the relation between children and their friends, classmates, family, teachers, NGO-workers. How do these people interact, in what kind of role do the children see them (what kind of role model are they)? How do these people deal with conflicts? What do they tell them about peace?

3.3.3 Studying policy for refugees
To explore the policy level of this research, I started with reading about and observing the practice of peace education programmes in Nyarugusu. There are several levels to be distinguished when looking at an educational programme. The first is the textual level, i.e., what is written? To explore this level, I analysed manuals designed to teach peace. I searched for definitions of peace, and in what kind of terms the concept was explained. Guiding questions were: Is it positive and/or
negative peace? Is the focus on the interpersonal, regional, national and/or international level? Is there attention for the material and/or ideological parts of peace? Does the programme also discuss war? Does the programme take into account differences due to age and/or gender? In order to understand my findings better, I have tried to relate them to more general ideas on the function of education for refugees. As already discussed before, peace education programmes designed by UNICEF and its partners are linked to the Convention of the Rights of the Child, the Jomtien-conference that resulted in the agreement on Education For All and other international rules and agreements. These documents state what the world's leaders have agreed about concerning the intentions of education in general. Knowing more about the intentions, helps me to understand what I find in the prescribed curriculum in the manual for peace education. Findings for these questions are found in chapter 5.

3.3.4 Studying the educational situation in relation to peace education
The second level at which one can look at an educational programme, is the behavioural level. I observed the children's teacher's behaviour to find out what they were teaching the children. What are the ideologies that are taught by these teachers? We can divide this some further into what is said and what is done. In order to differentiate between the two I listened to what they say and read what they were writing while also observing what they were doing. What people say or write about what they are doing, is different from their actual behaviour. Therefore, I needed to keep in mind that the intentions as reported by developers of the programme and the teachers using it do not always correspond with what teachers are really teaching in the class room and beyond its doorstep. All teachers were living inside the camp and their function as a role model did not stop when they left the class room. Although it was too difficult to observe teachers when they were off duty, interviewing them brought some clarification. Nevertheless, the division between words and deeds still holds. I used the categories for analysing children's answers also to to analyse the textual level as described just above and the situation in the class room. Questions that guided this analysis were the same as for the manual. In addition, some questions were added: How do teachers interact with their pupils? How do they relate themselves to the children? How do they react to quarrels or fights in the classroom or on the playground? How do they treat children when they make mistakes? Do they listen to children? Do they react differently to boys and girls or to children of different ages? How were they trained? What is their relation to other organisations active in the camp?

3.3.5 Studying children's understanding of peace, war and ways to attain peace
The research design chosen to be able to say something about the developing nature of children's understanding of peace, can be typified as a cross-sectional design. Schaffer (1996, p. 37) discusses this design stating that it is less time-consuming and cheaper than a longitudinal study but provides a comparable look into the understanding of the concept at different ages. Another advantage is that one
can avoid losing half of the sample over the years. The disadvantage of a cross-sectional design is the occurrence of more variance between the different age groups selected. By selecting equal numbers of boys and girls who had had equal years of education, I could control for some variance. The 80 children that participated in this research were between the age of 7 and 15 years old. This range was not chosen by accident but based on empirical findings and theoretical considerations of earlier studies (Cooper, 1965; Hakvoort & Oppenheimer, 1993 in Hakvoort, 1996). As was already explained earlier, these studies found that most children demonstrate a first understanding of both peace and war at the age of 6 and their ideas become more differentiated at the age of 8. Between the age of 10 and 13 youths develop their role-taking skills which enable them to understand the concepts from different perspectives and reason more abstractly. Their emphatic skills grow over the years that follow, as does their ability to think more abstractly. It has been shown that children appear to go through developmental stages. But these findings are based on research with children which may not be comparable with the participants in the present research. I have used the developmental stages nevertheless when I selected the children and that was mainly to put some limits to the age range of my informants. In the present study, my findings can be used to see to what extent former conclusions can be held to be true for children that are growing up under different circumstances. These differences in circumstances are mainly defined by the historical background of a recent war, living in exile and being dependent on others for a large extent, next to a lower level living standard that counts for most people in Africa. The present study is not an attempt to explain differences in children's answers in terms of the aforementioned but mainly to show differences and relate them to differences in the context.

As discussed earlier in this paper, especially the following variables appear to affect children's understanding of peace and war: gender, age, the teaching of peace by various actors in children's environment and years of formal education. To control for sex-related bias, I took equal amounts of boys and girls from every class. Children were equally divided over four classes (standard 3-6) at two schools which makes up for eight times five boys and five girls. Guarding the educational factor in combination with age was more difficult. Education in Africa is often not as organised as in Western countries, resulting in older children who have just started class 1 or adolescents who have found themselves stuck in primary school. Controlling for this factor was difficult and all that could be done was determine the prescribed age for a class and take children with this average age. Since students start in the first standard at the age of 6, the majority of the children in class 3 should be of the age of 9, 10 in class 4, 11 in class 5 and 12 in class 6. Going through the alphabetically-ordered student administration, the first five boys and girls with the predetermined age for a certain standard were selected. Although this seemed to be a good solution, it appeared that the administration made some errors while selecting the children with me. This resulted in the participation of somewhat younger and older children in the study. In the end, the average age for every class was 8.85; 9.95; 11.15; 13.25 respectively. It should be noted that
especially the children of the highest class were older on average than expected beforehand. The impediment found may influence the results and needs therefore to be taken into consideration. As will be explained with the results, age groups independent of class were created in addition in an attempt to control this. Most of the children had 'only' experienced war indirectly because they were born in the refugee camp. Some of the older children were born in DR Congo but had been very young at the time of fleeing. The difference is not considered to effect a difference between these children's answers and those of the younger children. Preferably, I wanted to compare two groups, the first having been involved in a formal peace education programme already and the second group still lacking that education. Since all children were enrolled in peace education programmes in the camp, the respondents were all the same in this matter.

Answers to the question about how children understand peace were found using both a quantitative method and some qualitative methods. In the past, children's understanding of peace has been studied through the use of several different kinds of methods. Interviews were often used to assess younger children, whereas older children were mostly given pen and paper assignments (Hakvoort & Oppenheimer, 1998). Unfortunately, pen and paper assignments do not permit for a lot of probing which enlarges the chances that participants will give socially desirable answers or talk in stereotypes mainly. Some researchers made use of creative methods, such as drawings, to avoid this (Ålvik, 1968). Since drawing can be used for almost all age groups, findings are easier to compare. Photo-communication was used to avoid problems of language translation and to show that one can only ask questions about the meaning of a concept when it is put into context (Dinklage & Ziller, 1989). The variety of assessment procedures and questions used in the past made it difficult to compare findings (Hakvoort & Oppenheimer, 1998, pp. 354-55).

Despite that, one tool that was developed in the early 1960s (Cooper, 1965) was still used as a basis for a lot of peace research in the 1990s. The original questionnaire mainly focused on the understanding of the concept of (nuclear) war. Over time, the questionnaire had been adapted based on what was learned through newer studies. For her study of Dutch children's and adolescent's understanding of peace, Hakvoort (1996) also reshaped the questionnaire, mainly based on her assumption that children's developing understanding of peace is an illustration of their developing role-taking abilities. The questionnaire turned out to be a helpful instrument to talk with children and adolescents about their understanding of peace and it enabled her to show that in contrast with the findings in earlier studies, clear developmental changes with regard to the concept of peace could be demonstrated. Hakvoort (1996) assumed that this was the result of the elaborate assessment procedure that she had used. Former pen-and-paper procedures had not been able to show the same clear results. Moreover, written questionnaires had lacked the opportunities to fully assess youth's understanding of the complexity and multidimensionality of the concept of peace since probing was not possible. By adding and differentiating some questions to the original questionnaire of Cooper (1965) and using it in her oral interviews, Hakvoort showed
that different questions can appeal to levels of understanding which had not become apparent before. Children responded differently to questions depending on the role they were assigned, i.e., boss of the world, older brother/sister or a classmate.

The quantitative method of the present study consisted of a semi-structured oral questionnaire/interview based on the questionnaire, developed by Cooper (1965), and reshaped and adapted by Hakvoort (1996). The full questionnaire, both in English and in Kiswahili, that was used in the present study can be found in the appendices. An oral questionnaire was chosen because pen-and-paper procedures formerly used had not been able to show the same clear results as in the study by Hakvoort (1996). Moreover, written questionnaires lacked the opportunities to fully assess children's understanding of the complexity and multidimensionality of the concept of peace because probing was not possible. The fixed order that was found in the questionnaire of Hakvoort was maintained in the present study. The interview started with the notion of peace and only later discussed war. This was done to see whether their conception of peace is perhaps not related to that of war and avoid that children would begin linking their conception of peace to that of war immediately. The questionnaire consisted of six parts ordered in a way that started with general ideas about the concept, and ending with questioning the concepts in more details. At the same time, the first questions were more related to the daily lives of the children, whereas questions and dilemmas later posed also went into national and international matters. The elaborate assessment procedure did not question the definition of the concepts of peace and war only but also included conflict dilemmas at different interpersonal and global levels and factual knowledge about history and contemporary wars. The questionnaire addressed peace, for example, in relation to family matters, friendships with peers, national and international politics. The order of the questions was used to ensure that children who have only some simple, general ideas would be able to react to at least the questions that deal with daily life dilemmas. At the same time, children were provided the opportunity to show that they understand that peace can mean different things to different people and to show that people can have differing ideas about how to attain peace in differing situations.

In comparison with the questionnaire which was used by Hakvoort (1996), some changes were made for the present questionnaire. Several changes to the questionnaire were already made before going to Tanzania. To avoid asking what would you tell him/her and getting gender-sensitive answers, I made the classmate plural to be able to question what would you tell them? Nevertheless, the question in the singular form, about a boy or girl in English, becomes gender-neutral when translated in Swahili. In the first question what comes to mind when you hear the word food, the last word was replaced by book. This question was meant to provide an example and make the child feel at ease before starting the actual questionnaire. Food was expected to trigger emotional reactions about not having enough to eat and was thus considered not to be a good start for an interview. I therefore chose to ask about the word book which sounds more
neutral. Obviously, the major difference was the language used. Whereas Hakvoort published the questionnaire in English but most probably used it in Dutch for the Dutch children she interviewed, the interviews in the present study were conducted in Swahili. While being in the field, I translated the questionnaire and adapted it to the situation that was encountered. During the translation, problems were encountered due to a wish to be simple and precise at the same time. Choices had to be made between using the exact translation, which often included difficult grammatical constructions that may not have been understood by the younger children or using a more simple but less precise translation.

Question 3 deals with making peace but the translation of kuleta amani comes closer to bringing peace as if it was something already fully finished in stead of something that can only come step by step. The alternative kupatanisha (to reconcile) no longer included the word amani (peace) for which a definition was sought and was too strongly focused on one answer, i.e., reconciliation after war. For question five, the phrase about who should make peace was not understood well by the respondents who in contrast considered this phrase to be the same as the one about who is making peace. For obvious reasons, I changed questions about the current situation in the Netherlands into questions about the situation in the country where these children are currently living, Tanzania. In some cases I found it interesting to include the same questions for the refugee camp as a separate entity and the children's homeland, DR Congo. This was done for the questions whether there is peace and who is responsible for peace in the aforementioned places. The question about the history of one's country was only posed for DR Congo since the children follow the Congolese curriculum and were expected to know more about this country than Tanzania or any other country. The third part of the fourth dilemma when the boy Riki is older was slightly changed. While testing the questionnaire in Tanzania, hearing about an older Riki was often related to the fact that time must have passed and the situation had changed and/or improved. Replacing an older Riki by his brother who is already 20 years old but have found himself in the same situation at the same time as his younger brother, was the solution to make this question better understood. In the last dilemma, the phrase countries at war was replaced by two groups of people at war, since it was thought to reflect the current reality better. For the same reason, the phrase countries which are at war with each other in question six was changed into countries where there is war.

All interviews started with an introduction to tell the child that I had prepared some questions which we were going to talk about. The child was also told that it was not possible to give wrong answers and that every answer would be fine. Referring to their age and the level of education they had already reached, the children were comforted and told that they would probably be very good in giving answers. Nevertheless, when they were not able to come up with an answer, they could say that and we would continue with the next question. Circumstances under which the interviews were being held were not optimal. At one school, I was given the head-
teacher's office. But this generous gesture turned out to have a big open window, through which children were always gazing at those inside and sometimes they were heard discussing the questions together. Although these children outside did not participate in the present study, the situation was not ideal. At the other school, I was given a table and two chairs in the room adjacent to the head-teacher's office. The same problems occurred as the light could only come through when the door was opened. Another big, open window was created. Guards of both schools tried to help by chasing away the children when they were found at the windows... All questions were presented orally and children were asked to reply orally too. Every child was presented with all questions irrespective of whether they had been able to answer the preceding ones. They were given the chance to think about their answers when needed and when answers appeared to be incomplete, probing was used. The oral questionnaire that was used, including its introduction took 45 minutes on average to finish fully.

Children's responses varied widely and certain answers could not be considered relevant. All answers were codified in order to analyse them statistically afterwards. The full procedure of creating categories and codifying the responses is described shortly below. To make sure that all answers could be coded, a category “other,......” was added initially but later replaced by several categories with more appropriate tags. The categories that were added are later are discussed in combination with the results. The different categories for coding children's responses were also used to analyse the concepts of peace and conflict in the manuals, the situation in the classroom and the reactions of the teachers. This was done to be able to compare the findings for the different layers in the general discussion. A complete overview with the nominal categories to codify the responses of the present study found can be found in the annexes.

In order to codify all children's responses, the answers were classified following certain response categories. Since the questionnaire was based on an already-existing questionnaire, categories for the responses had also been defined already. Nevertheless, the children's own answers were used as the guiding principle for constructing the nominal categories in the present study (inductive coding). Only in addition, theoretical considerations and the formerly-defined coding system informed the construction of the categories. This meant in practice that children's responses were checked and used to elaborate former schemes. The categories were further detailed and completed by means of translating key words into Swahili. Categories were made as rigid and exhaustive as possible. An overview of all categories is included in the annex. In many cases, children gave long answers and several categories could be discovered in one response. Therefore, response categories were not exclusive in most of the cases. The category 0, I do not know was the only exception to this and was excluded other answers. For all other categories, it was decided that every category would be coded only once for a response. All categories were treated as separate variables and not as values of one variable. Thus, for a question with 8 response-categories, 8 scores were assigned (either 0, i.e. category is not present in response or
Questions were clustered according to themes. This was done in such a way that the same categories could be used to codify all responses for questions in the same theme. The first theme was the concept of peace and strategies to attain peace. Categories in this cluster were formed on the basis of children's responses. Following theoretical considerations, a distinction was made between responses that are based upon the concrete and the materialistic as opposing the abstract and the norm-related conceptions. Another division was constructed for positive peace as distinguished from negative peace and peace on an individual level as different from peace on a more national or global level. Different from the original coding scheme, responses referring to calmness and quietness were codified in a separate category and not where it originally was, i.e. negation of war on a global war. The material-related category was divided into two subcategories. The first was focussed on a materialistic improvement of one's own life, e.g. having a good job, getting presents. The second category stressed the materialistic improvement of somebody else's life, e.g. give or share food, money, clothing. An extra category was added to codify responses that referred to developmental issues in terms of future focussed provisions for all people. Responses to be codified were good education, education about peace, boost the economy, improve health care and sheltering. For the four questions about strategies to attain peace in or after a situation of war, another additional category needed to be added, i.e. go into hiding/flee. This category was considered different from negation of war, since fleeing was mentioned in these responses as a solution without referring to the negation of violence or war. The negation of conflict or war-related activities was not so much stressed in this category but merely the idea that one can better avoid living in a situation of war.

The second cluster of questions was themed interpersonal conflict dilemmas. In addition to the children's own responses which mainly referred to the help of an authority or use another non-violent approach, a distinction was made between concrete and abstract responses. For the third theme, national conflict dilemmas, the responses of the children informed the construction of themes. A distinction was made between a direct approach and an evaluative approach, between concrete actions and abstract thoughts and between joining the army or not. For the international conflict dilemma, the categories earlier constructed could be maintained. These categories followed an increased insight in the complexity of a conflict and the roles of different stakeholders. One extra category was added to the original five in order to codify those responses that stress the impossibility to solve this conflict.

Within the cluster with questions about peace in the country/region, answers were straightforwardly yes or no but a combination of the two or saying that there was only a little bit of peace, was also found in the answers of the children and therefore included in a separate
category. For the cluster about people involved in creating peace and war in the region, the content of children's responses was used to construct categories. These categories were divided into those that relate to persons in the child's direct environment and those further away such as politicians and the police. In addition there was a division between executive and controlling authorities. Two subcategories were added under six. One was related to courts and judges and one was only created for the question about the situation in Nyarugusu. Another category was transformed in order to include answers that were not right but were nevertheless showing an understanding of the roles certain authorities have.

Categories for the concept of war, reflected the responses of the children and were in addition structured according to the divisions that also informed the categories for the conception of peace, i.e. concrete – abstract, individual – global. A category for a evaluative emotional orientation was included. The last categories were constructed to codify the responses in the theme reasons to make war or be involved in it. Categories were formed in accordance with the categories for the conceptions of war. In addition, two sets of knowledge categories were created in order to codify questions in the cluster about historical knowledge and knowledge about contemporary conflicts. Categories were formed in such a way that they included all contents of the responses.

3.3.6 Studying the relation between actors in the field of peace education

Taking the results of the former four sub-questions, together the answer to the last sub-question would be the conclusion. Children's experiences in the context in which they are growing up and their understanding of peace, war, and ways to attain peace are linked together and also to policy and educational practices. Guiding questions were Is the programme sensitive to children's everyday experiences? Does it reflect the answers given by the children? How do teachers deal with children's understanding of the world, and do their words correspond with their actions? Since I divided the children over several groups, I also reflected on that division: Are there differences between boys and girls? Or differences between the age-groups? And if so, do programmes and/or teachers take these differences into account? The general conclusion shows the results for these questions and gives both theoretical suggestions for further research and practical suggestions for policy makers.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the present study is embedded in the theory that has been formed through former research about the understanding of peace and the practice of peace education. It is an attempt to respond to the call for cultural relativism in the field of peace research. This is done by distinguishing between several layers of peace education and studying the context in addition. Some key issues for the present study were explained based on the reality in which they were found and on related to definitions mentioned in earlier studies. The remaining chapters in this
thesis follow an order that was explained through the different sub questions. After an introduction to the field which describes the context of this study, three chapters are devoted to the three layers that were differentiated for peace education. The results will be summarized and discussed in the general discussion.
4. Study in Context: Congolese Refugees

I had to leave my house and was running when I heard the bombs falling now I am here in Tanzania and my wife died and life is difficult here there is still no peace in Congo but I want to go back and see it (headteacher in Nyarugusu, 2008)

Nyarugusu refugee camp in western Tanzania is like a small piece of Congo outside its national boundaries. The majority of the people who live here are Congolese, they speak French or a tribal language from the south-eastern part of Congo and their children follow the Congolese curriculum taught by Congolese teachers. Most people came here in the late 1990s and still have no idea when they will be able to go back. Nevertheless, these people are considered guests by the Tanzanians and will have to leave this place eventually, a place that is ruled by Tanzanian and international institutions, and a place where the majority of the refugees is not allowed to do any kind of work but depend on aid provided by others. I was in Nyarugusu for almost three months and even longer outside the camp in western Tanzania. What did I learn about the people who live here, work here, struggle here, grow up here? This chapter is intended to give an insight in both the history and contemporary situation of the region, the camp and the lives of the people. There will be attention for the Tanzanian as well as the Congolese side of the situation. In short, this Introduction to the Field is meant to picture the history of Congo which knows many conflicts that caused people to flee their own land. The second part of the chapter pictures the contemporary context of the people in the present study. It explains how refugees live in the camp and the role that rules and regulations play in how they can direct their own lives. Some critical notes will be added to nuance what can be seen as main-stream thinking about refugees. Having discussed the past and the present, the future cannot lack. It is discussed in this chapter as an introduction only to subsequent chapters where it is explained in more detail.

4.1 Historical Background of Congolese in Tanzania

Tanzania has been a host for many refugees for a long time. Those coming from Burundi and Rwanda to Tanzania in the 1970s were given large plots of land and placed in settlements to start a new life in this new country. Over the last thirty years, these refugees have basically become self-sufficient and integrated into Tanzanian society. Other refugees came to Tanzania in the 1990s as a result of renewed conflict in Rwanda and Burundi and their numbers reached over half a million people. Many of the new-comers have lived in camps in Tanzania. The newest camps came into being after the large 1994-influx of Rwandan, Burundian and more than two years later also Congolese people. These camps are a temporary solution until the refugees can be repatriated. People are only given plots for housing and formal employment is restricted, if not prohibited. At its maximum in 2002, Tanzania hosted 519,373 refugees in the country. By then, most of them were originating from neighbouring Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DR Congo). In 2006, some 290,000 refugees were still residing in Tanzania and by that time the number of camps
had dropped from 11 to 8. Repatriation of refugees was due to political improvements in countries of origin, mainly Burundi and Rwanda (Number of refugees, 2007). In March 2008, there were only 200,000 people left, half of which are from Congolese origin and most of these Congolese are residing in either Lugufu or Nyarugusu refugee camp in western Tanzania (Wolfcarius, 2008; Luchtmeijer, 2008; see also map 1). Nyarugusu's population was around 48,000 at the end of 2008.

Before sketching the current situation of refugees living in Nyarugusu camp in Tanzania, a historical background will be given. Obviously, the history of Congolese refugees does not start upon arrival in Tanzania but dates back much further both historically and geographically. Refugees take their history with them as they enter the camp and they remember what has happened in the past. Their memory will be coloured by what they as a group or as individuals, have experienced, learned and heard from others (McLoyd, n.d.). This is a first reason why it is difficult to come up with the history of Congolese. It is a history that is different for every person both in personal as much as in societal terms. The history that is given mainly focuses on

Map 1: UNHCR Settlements and Camps in Great Lakes Region
Congolese since they are the subjects of this study. Secondly, since the history of the Congolese is part of the history of the wider region, known as the Great Lakes region, it is not confined to nation-states only but crosses national borders to Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania in particular. The Congolese history does not stand on its own. It is connected to other events that happened in the Great Lakes region in Eastern Africa both recently and longer ago. In relation to this, the third reason points to the many but relatively small-scale fights and a large amount of combating groups which make it difficult to come up with the complete history of the Congolese people. It would be beyond the scope of this study to discuss all this in detail but will, in stead, give an outline and focus particularly on factors related to the current situation.

The Democratic Republic of Congo is named after the 12th century Kongo Empire which was centred in modern Angola and included extreme western Congo and territories around lakes Kisale and Upemba in central Katanga (now Shaba). The Kongo king traded with the Portuguese, British, Dutch, French and Belgians. The last made it into their colony which was headed by the Belgian king Leopold II in the late 19th century. Millions of Congolese are said to have been killed or worked to death during Leopold's control of the territory. Since 1959, Belgium began to lose control over events in the Congo following serious nationalist riots in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa). A year later, the colony became independent with Patrice Lumumba as prime minister and Joseph Kasavubu as president. Within a month Moise Tshombe declared Katanga province independent. As a reaction, conflicts erupted and Belgian troops were sent to protect Belgian citizens. The UN Security Counsel also sent some troops to establish order but could not do much in internal affairs (BBC, 2009). Some five years later in 1965, Joseph Mobutu succeeded in a coup d'etat. He renamed the country Zaire and himself Mobutu Sese Seko, Katanga became Shaba and the river Congo the river Zaire. Mobutu stayed in office for several decades. Following riots in Kinshasa in 1991 by unpaid soldiers, Mobutu agreed to a coalition government with opposition leaders, but retained control of the security apparatus and important ministries. While he was abroad for medical treatment in 1996, Tutsi rebels captured much of eastern Zaire and a year later they succeeded to capture the capital Kinshasa, aided by Rwanda. This is called the beginning of the first Congolese war. After more than 25 years, Zaire was renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo and Laurent-Desire Kabila was installed as president. The Tutsi rebels who attempted this coup, consider themselves natives of the country. These so-called Banyamulenge and more Kinyarwanda speaking people became Congolese just after the Berlin Conference when new borders among countries were put up and a great part of Rwanda became Congolese land giving former Rwandan a new 'home' (Rutagengwa, 2005). Ever since, there has been struggles between the different groups. The Banyamulenge, residing mainly in Eastern Congo, are not accepted as Congolese by many others, amongst which is the Congolese government, who are calling them the 'Pure Rwandan-Tutsi-Community' instead.

As a result of the first Congolese war, Congolese refugees began arriving in Western
Tanzania from the Eastern part of the DRC in late 1996 and early 1997. When the country seemed to stabilize in mid 1997, many returned only to flee again a year later when the second Congolese war started. This conflict is also known by the name *African World War* or *Great African War* because so many countries were involved. A year after Tutsi rebels had captured the eastern part of DR Congo, it came to fights between rebels, backed by Uganda and Rwanda, and government troops, backed by Zimbabwean, Namibian and Angolan troops. The rebels were able to take control of much of the east of DR Congo. Internal troubles among rebels caused that they started fighting each other, one group supported by Uganda and the other one by Rwanda. In July 1999, six African countries involved in the war agreed to sign a ceasefire accord in Lusaka. The following month the two rebel groups also signed the accord. Within some months, the UN Security Council authorised a 5,500-strong UN force to monitor the ceasefire but the fighting continued between rebels and government forces, and between Rwandan and Ugandan forces. Since 2000, the U.N. has spent billions on its peacekeeping mission in Congo, which is known by its French acronym, MONUC, and it is at the moment the largest U.N. force anywhere in the world (Robinson, 2006). When President Laurent Kabila was shot dead by a bodyguard in early 2000, Joseph Kabila succeeded his father. After one year, Rwanda, Uganda and the rebels agreed to a UN pull-out plan. Uganda and Rwanda began indeed pulling troops back from the front line. The US refugee agency said in 2001 that the war had already killed 2.5 million people, directly or indirectly, since August 1998 (BBC, 2009). Later, a UN panel said that the warring parties are deliberately prolonging the conflict to plunder gold, diamonds, timber and coltan, used in the making of mobile phones (BBC 2009). This shows that the enormous presence of natural resources in DR Congo, especially in the eastern region, is another cause of the conflict both as a reason for keeping the situation in the region unstable so that it is difficult to control and easier to exclude people from their share in the benefits. While the conflict continued, the peace talks survived and continued too. The government in Kinshasa was able to sign a deal with the rebels backed by Uganda. But those supported by Rwanda reject the power-sharing deal, saying that DR Congo is still hiding Hutu’s, known as the Interahamwe, who are blamed for killing Tutsi’s during the Rwandan genocide in 1994. While an interim government was inaugurated in 2003, the preparations for new elections started which would be held in two years time from that moment. Many refugees outside DR Congo applied for repatriation in order to be able to vote (Number of refugees, 2007). This was the official end of the Great War which, including its aftermath, had killed 5.4 million people dying mostly from disease and starvation (Bavier, 2008).

Within a year after the interim government was installed, another coup was attempted. By 2006 elections were held, a new constitution came into force and a new national flag was adopted. Congo showed the world that it wanted to start over while it at the same time wanted to deal with its past. Warlord Thomas Lubanga became the first war-crimes suspect to face charges at the International Criminal Court in The Hague. He was accused of forcing children into active combat.
When Joseph Kabila won the presidential election, he left his opposition candidate Jean-Pierre Bemba behind him. At the same time, conflicts were not yet over in the north-eastern part of the country where thousands were displaced as the army and UN peacekeepers stepped up their drive to disarm irregular forces ahead of the elections. In Kinshasa it came to fightings too. Here, it was between government troops and forces loyal to the opposition leader Bemba. The major outbreak of the deadly Ebola virus in September 2007 made all thing worse but in January 2008 another peace pact was signed between the government and rebel militia, including Nkunda.

Still, Congo's conflictual history has not come to an end. Especially in the eastern part, unrest continues between army troops and Rwandan militias led by Laurent Nkunda, leaving thousands of people displaced (McCrummen, 2007). The eastern province North-Kivu with its capital Goma was on the front pages in the second half of 2008 when Nkunda's troops were fighting the army and forced some 50,000 people to flee again. The UN reports that the prevalence and intensity of sexual violence against women in eastern Congo are 'almost unimaginable' and that gang-rape is still used as a 'weapon of terror' (McCrummen, 2007). In early 2009 Congolese and Rwandan troops began a joint operation against Hutu rebels in eastern DR Congo. The Congolese Tutsi rebel leader Laurent Nkunda was arrested in January 2009 after crossing into Rwanda to escape a government offensive against his group. Joint military efforts by the UN peacekeeping force in the DR Congo and the country's army (FARDC) to neutralize Rwandan Hutu-led militias started to be criticized in the spring of 2009 because of the worsening humanitarian crisis in the eastern provinces (IRIN, 2009). DR Congo's long history of people on the run for conflict and violence has still not ended.

4.2 Life in Nyarugusu

'Maisha magumu' - Life is difficult here. Every refugee in Nyarugusu will tell you about difficulties of life. What I have seen, heard and experienced in Nyarugusu camp showed that life is indeed not easy there. Firstly, living conditions are poor. Houses are simple, food is scarce and services and movement of people are limited. At the same time, I have realized that refugees are not much worse off than those living in surrounding villages. Circumstances are similar for refugee and local communities. And although locals are more free in their movements, refugees have the advance of receiving food biweekly and free education for their children. Health services in the camp are also open for the local community. Compared to the situation which most of the refugees have fled, people can consider themselves lucky to be living relatively peaceful lives now.

A second reason why life is perceived as being difficult, is because of all the rules and regulations refugees need to obey. These limit refugees' freedom of movement and chances to generate extra income. But many refugees have shown to be very creative in bending rules to their benefit and are not purely victims but also the ones who are able to use all options available to their limits. As will become more clear below, I see refugees as active actors in the field and not as
passive beneficiaries of the aid provided. In addition, people are free to return to their own countries. Since many places are considered safe enough to return to and are being rebuilt at the time of writing, repatriation has become a viable alternative to a difficult life in a Tanzanian refugee camp. Both obstructing and facilitating factors found in a Nyarugusu camp, which are often one and the same, will be explained in separate subsections further below. In addition, I will give some background information how and why regulations came into being.

4.2.1 Organisation of Camps and People’s Lives
Many of the 100,000 Congolese refugees residing in Tanzania in March 2008, were living in either Lugufu or Nyarugusu refugee camp. The two main ethnic groups represented in these two camps are Bembe and Fulero who come from an essentially urban environment around Uvira at the Congolese side of Lake Tanganyika. This south-eastern part of Congo is less violent than the north-eastern part of Congo but a fear heard from refugees is that the unrest in the northern part will spread to the southern part again. The minority ethnic groups represented (Rega, Shi and Kasai) are mainly from rural, fishing communities in South Kivu and Katanga regions, also South-east Congo. The lingua franca of the camps is Swahili though several other tribal languages are also spoken. Those who are educated have learned to speak French and some know English. Other Congolese living in Tanzania are from different parts of the republic and are residing in camps more northwards, in Kagera region. Both Lugufu and Nyarugusu are situated in remote areas in the western region Kigoma. The former can be found close to Uvinza, in south-east direction from Kigoma. The latter is located approximately 80 kilometres north of Kasulu town. Other refugee camps, mostly Burundian, are also found in the region but they are diminishing due to forced repatriation (Wolfcarius, 2008; Luchtmeijer, 2008; see also map 1). Many Congolese too applied for repatriation during 2008. Nevertheless, Lugufu was not yet closed at the end of the year, as had been planned. Nyarugusu's population was around 48,000 at the end of 2008. For a developing country struggling to meet the socio-economic needs of its own nationals, the task of accommodating so many refugees is understandably a challenge. Thus the government of Tanzanian (GOT) has called upon UNHCR to bear the cost of assisting refugees. The Tanzanian legislation is in the first place meant to protect the country and its citizens and only secondly to protect and help those who seek refuge from outside. That is the reason that most refugees are now confined to camps where it is easier to keep an eye on them, provide them protection and basic needs (McLean, 1999: 8). UNHCR works together with implementing partners in a tripartite agreement with the Tanzanian government to assist refugees. Refugee matters are the responsibility of the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) of Tanzania and in each camp, a MHA representative acts as camp commandant and presides over matters of concern to the government. Camps and further refugee relief is coordinated by UNHCR and implementing partners like the following: CARE (environmental protection, monitoring of tree-cutting and enabling access to health care), Tanzanian Red Cross Society (TRCS; health services, including HIV testing.
Unlike the universal picture of a refugee camp, i.e. skinny people living in white-tented camps surrounded by a dry dessert, Nyarugusu is bushy green with roads made of red dirt and people live in self-made houses for which the same red dirt is used. These houses are much like those in surrounding villages, although the set-up of villages in the camp is more organised. Approximately 52 square kilometres, the camp is divided into seven zones, fifty villages and 550 clusters. Each cluster is comprised of a varying number of plots that are each 10 by 25 metres in size, and one plot is allocated per refugee family. Every family has built its own house and latrine on that plot. Materials for construction were provided by UNHCR. Houses are built with mud bricks and straw roofs conditioned with plastic sheeting provided by UNHCR to isolate the dwelling from rain. Houses are mostly one room with a dirt floor. Some houses are built adding mud over a cane structure. However, in order to protect trees, efforts have been made to encourage building practices that do not require large amounts of wood. Initially more refugees cut trees to build their houses with wooden pole supports covered in mud but refugees are now encouraged to build with sun-baked mud bricks only. Although this type of structure is more vulnerable to being washed away when the rains come, the problem has been remedied to a great extent by encouraging refugees to dig drainage trenches around their houses. All refugees living in Nyarugusu are entitled to receive food rations, which are distributed every two weeks. However, food rations are generally not 100 percent sufficient to meet food needs, and the non-food items refugees require are not provided. At the moment, the food rations are providing for a maximum of two meals a day. As a result, refugees look for alternative ways to supplement what is provided by agencies. One strategy for obtaining cash is the trading or sale of already minimal food rations. Some of the refugees also have small gardens on their plots, but soil conditions are not good and small plot sizes limit the benefits of gardening. Although it is prohibited, refugee tend to seek plots surrounding the camp and do some agriculture there. When asked, most children told me that their parents do not work. Nevertheless, they admitted that parents and older siblings were involved in agriculture, not considering that real work. Older children themselves often helped too.

Because it is illegal, it is difficult to determine how many people do avail themselves of non-formal wage labour opportunities, to what extent they benefit and how family economics really look like. Incomes within refugee communities are stratified and the majority of the refugees are considered poor to very poor. A WFP and UNHCR joint assessment of ‘Household Food Economy’ in Lugufu conducted in 2000 (in Dick, 2002) categorised 2-6 percent of the refugee population as ‘better-off’, earning more than 30,000 Tanzania shillings (this is 20 euros) per month. A ‘middle-level’ wealth group made up approximately 8-12 percent of the population. Most of the refugees were classified as ‘poor’ (44-50 percent of the camp population), and they earn between 6,000 and
16,000 shillings per month. Refugees classified as ‘very poor’ make up 30-40 percent of the population. They fall into UNHCR-defined categories of vulnerability such as the chronically ill, the mentally disabled, the physically disabled, unaccompanied elders, unaccompanied minors, etc. In short, 74-90 of refugees is poor or very poor. That is by far the majority. As stated above, it is difficult to say where people do generate income. Some refugees engage in non-formal wage labour on nearby Tanzanian farms, though it is officially prohibited by the GOT. In general, the Congolese refugees have a stronger orientation towards trade than towards agriculture (Dick, 2002, p. 9). Many supplement their food rations by engaging in petty trade within the camp and at the bi-weekly market shared with local Tanzanians. In addition, a variety of shops and small businesses exist in the camp. Salons, tailors, radio repair, shoe repair, and video businesses are ubiquitous in the centre of the camp providing valuable services to other refugees. Some refugees came from the Congo with significant assets, which they have invested in these businesses while others have been assisted by NGOs in setting up income-generating projects. The other primary way to access cash is through employment with NGOs working in the camp, which pay ‘incentives.’ Incentives are not the same as salaries and are kept quite low, but still they account for significant flow of cash into the camp.

4.2.2 Youth provisions

Young refugees are learning through formal and informal education. Sinclair (2001, p.27) argues for a quick continuation of education after the arrival of refugees because it is important for children not to be deprived of education for a long time. Also after repatriation, education should restart as quickly as possible. Next to that, in an emergency situation where people have fled from a country, it may help to give extra attention to special needs of the population, such as promoting peaceful approaches and teaching values- or rights-based lessons for the rebuilding of war-torn communities. A field director of CARITAS stated that they were are able to maintain the camps so well and so peacefully because of education in the camp schools. Managing 41.000 students in Nepalese camps had greatly contributed to the peaceful atmosphere of the seven camps (in Brown, 2001, p. 137). All refugees' children in Nyarugusu are provided primary and secondary education free of payment. The curriculum is the same as the one used in the DR Congo itself. Educational matters are organised by World Vision Tanzania in co-operation with 'employees' from the refugee community. A separate chapter in this thesis is devoted to the subject of education. More about schools, teachers and formal educational institutions can therefore be found in chapter 6. Next to formal education, many informal programmes are organised. The messages spread there, come from both the Congolese community as much as from international organisations funding the programmes. There are youth clubs where young people (8-23 years) can learn skills for income-generating activities such as carpentry and tailoring. In other places, they can do sports or make music together and perform on stage. Some of these programmes are installed to help young people deal with emotional or psychological problems. Others focus on empowering youth
by informing them on issues such as health, sexuality and reproduction or abuse. The promotion of children’s rights has become a focal point, largely because UNHCR Community Service Officers had prioritised this initiative and have provided training to community workers on the issue. Unfortunately, the last time was in 2002 and this training has not been repeated lately. In Nyarugusu there are children’s rights groups active. These groups help to raise awareness about children’s rights by facilitating meetings, seminars, trainings and video shows. Children are performing dramas and songs and also quoting the Geneva Convention on the Rights of the Child, showing that they are very well-schooled. Donor support for groups and activities related to children’s rights has encouraged the community to take up the issue. UNHCR appears to be more willing to talk to children about their rights because this is rather non-threatening, but does not talk about the rights of refugees which may be more controversial (Dick, 2002, p. 18). Sports are very popular in the camps, especially football, although acrobatics, basketball, netball and other games are also played. UNHCR has been quite supportive of refugee sports. Throughout the year, there are competitions with football teams in other camps and in nearby Tanzanian towns giving refugees the opportunity to interact with people outside the camp. In addition, girls, too, are encouraged to play football.

With regard to sexual and gender issues, there is a challenge in reconciling differences between a Congolese cultural view of women and a concern for the rights of women as defined by the international community. To begin with the former, not all Congolese families have yet been convinced of the importance of educating girls as much as boys. A recent research showed that refugees compared with locals, and males in both settings compared with females, had higher education (secondary school and above for both genders: 52% in camp vs. 7% in villages; in the camp: secondary school and above 81% for males vs. 27% for females; in the villages: 11% for males vs. 5% for females) (Rowley, Spiegel, Tunze, Mbaruku, Schilperoord & Njogu, 2008, p. 9). The number of girls attending secondary school at the camp is significantly less than the number of boys, and it is difficult to convince families that this should change. An additional reason given for low girls’ attendance is lack of uniforms. While an adolescent boy can sit in school with a torn shirt, an adolescent girl cannot. Providing more uniforms could potentially positively affect girls’ attendance in school. A second challenge concerns issues of domestic violence and rape. In a recent research (Rowley et al., 2008) 10 percent of people living in Lugufu refugee camp indicated that they had ever experienced forced sex. Both domestic violence and rape are very highly-sensitive issues especially since UNHCR and NGOs have sought to handle these cases in a very different way than the Congolese. In Congolese society, the way a man treats his wife is considered his own business, and thus wife beating is not uncommon. However, this is not acceptable to international organisations because it is a violation of human rights. In addition, in instances of rape among the Congolese, it is the role of traditional leaders to solve the case either by requiring the perpetrator to marry the victim or by negotiating the exchange of a chicken or goat.
between families for a first time offence. Social workers have responded to this sensitive issue by introducing a programme called Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) to raise awareness in the community about domestic violence and to provide a place where women can come to receive counselling from staff trained in these matters. Traditional leaders have been consulted and included in discussions about these issues, but there is still resistance within the community to utilise the services of SGBV. A contributing factor to this reluctance is that according to Tanzanian law, those convicted of rape are sentenced to thirty years in prison. As a result, families are resistant to report rape cases to the SGBV staff preferring to settle things the traditional way. The net result is that victims of rape may suffer injury and exposure to HIV, yet families refrain from seeking medical attention for the girl. The Tanzanian Red Cross Society provides HIV testing and counselling. HIV prevalence in the camp is estimated to be around 2% whereas in the same area outside the camp the prevalence is 7% (Rowley et al., 2008). Other health services in the camp include a hospital ran by the Tanzanian Red Cross Society and a Community Based Rehabilitation Centre (CBR), supervised by WVT staff. Handicapped people come here for counselling and practical needs such as wheelchairs or crutches. Most of this aid provided comes from within the camp and is not much dependent on outside sources.

4.2.3 General regulations for refugees
As described above, the refugees who came to Tanzania earlier were granted more freedom than those who came relatively recently. A first constraint for the new-comers is that they are confined to camps where they must live and remain within a four-kilometre radius of the camp unless they have a permit allowing them to leave. The GoT has put these restrictions on movement into place as mechanisms to maintain national security. The Great Lakes region has been shaken by wars that have spilled across borders, and Tanzanian government does not want this to happen in its own country. In addition, the government has limited all refugee movement in order to address the problem of armed banditry, often attributed to refugees. The MHA camp commandant gives out permits to refugees on a limited basis prioritizing those in need of medical treatment outside the camp and those involved in activities related to NGOs. Select business people can obtain permits to travel out to surrounding towns for business purposes, but usually permits are only given for three days at a time. If a refugee is caught outside the camp area without a permit, the penalty is six months in jail. Since the GoT would like to see refugees leave the country, they have become more strict on allowing movements outside the camp. Although there is considerable state control over integration of refugees into the Tanzanian community, some risk the fine and sneak out of the camp once and while to go to the market to trade, find casual work or meet other people and some even marry Tanzanians (Berckmoes, 2006, pp. 66-67). Other illegal activities too are encouraged by the insufficient food rates and restricted movements allowed to refugees. These activities include recycling – leaving a camp, returning and re-registering for assistance-, splitting households into smaller groups or keeping children deliberately undernourished so they qualify for
special feeding programmes (Crisp, 2005: 38). This shows that the structure that exists in a refugee camp is not only constraining but also enabling (Loyal, 2003: 73 in Berckmoes, 2006: 16).

A second constrain is that refugees cannot own land. This restriction is one way to ensure that refugees view their stay in Tanzania as temporary. The GoT has made it clear that local integration is not a durable solution. Although the 1970s-refugees were given land and have stayed indefinitely, newer refugees are expected to return home without a prolonged stay. Past experience has shown that even seemingly integrated refugees who have stayed in Tanzania for years continue to view their former country as home, to the detriment of Tanzania in some cases. Such as when Tutsi refugees returned to Rwanda in 1997 after the Tutsi government regained power. These refugees owned homes, were educated, and held prominent positions, all in Tanzania. Nevertheless, when they left, they took their assets with them and many Tanzanians felt betrayed. A sense of distrust lingers, and Tanzania, while willing to be a generous host is no longer willing to grant refugees the rights of citizens.

Thirdly, refugees cannot cut down trees and the harvesting of firewood is strictly monitored. These restrictions are also a result of lessons learned in the past. In the Ngara camp, refugees from Rwanda came in large numbers, and the land was quickly deforested to accommodate their need for building materials and firewood. To prevent this from happening again the GoT restricts the cutting of trees which means obtaining firewood is very difficult in some camps, though in Nyarugusu this problem is not as acute as in other camps.

Finally, refugees do not have the legal right to work, which means they cannot sign contracts or earn a salary. These restrictions ensure that employment opportunities are secured for Tanzanian nationals. Some refugees do work through employment with NGOs working in the camp. They are paid ‘incentives.’ Incentives are not the same as salaries and are kept quite low. The matter of refugee incentives is a very sensitive one. UNHCR decides what refugee incentives should be. From the perspective of UNHCR and the GoT, refugees are not paid salaries, but instead incentives are viewed as a small token of appreciation for the work that they do. However, from the refugees’ perspective, an incentive is actually a low and exploitative wage. They view the fact that they do not sign official contracts as negligence although this policy just stems from the Tanzanian government’s restrictions on refugees’ right to be employed.

4.2.4 Dependency of refugees
Having talked to many people in Nyarugusu, the following question slipped into my head over and over again; are refugees subjects or objects in the camp? In the Congo, before they became refugees, people were self-reliant or better stated, ‘family-reliant.’ Communities fed themselves and looked after their children, their elderly, and the sick. People were clearly subjects, i.e. the ones doing the work and organising their own life. While self-reliance is not something new, dependency is. Resources on which refugees depend in the camp are limited, but many refugees assume that UNHCR has near-unlimited resources available to assist them if only their voice is heard by the
right people and therefore they ask for more. Aid workers are often heard stating that refugees are dependent and need to be taught how to become self-reliant. At the same time, under UNHCR’s current system, refugees have to be dependent in order to continue benefiting from the system in place. If their lives would not be regulated by by the GoT and UNHCR as it was described above, refugees would probably be more free to start new lives and become independent of the GoT and UNHCR as they were used to do before fleeing. An example of this is the occurrence of refugees applying for repatriation. Money is needed to return home but income sources are scarce which both makes it difficult for people to return, becoming even more frustrated and this situation keeps most of them dependent on aid agencies longer than needed if they would have been given more freedom.

The same mechanism of unnecessarily being made dependent, holds for the notion of leadership. In the Congo, traditional leaders inherited their positions with jurisdiction over land distribution and cultural matters. From the time of the Belgians, the government paid these leaders in a system of indirect rule. However, when refugees left the Congo, several different ethnic groups with different customs and traditions became all mixed together making it difficult to recreate old systems of leadership. As a result, while traditional leaders are still respected in the community, they no longer have any real authority. Instead, MHA, UNHCR and various implementing partners have devised an administrative structure for refugee leadership at the camp. In Nyarugusu, refugees vote for two leaders in their cluster. The leaders of the clusters then vote for two village leaders. The cluster leaders and village leaders, in turn, vote for two zone leaders. Throughout this process, in every case one elected leader must be male and one female in order to ensure gender balance and equal representation of the sexes. Finally, the cluster, village and zone leaders vote for a camp president who can be either male or female. Currently, the camp president is a man. The lower-level leaders also vote for two vice presidents, again adhering to the requirement of one male and one female. Originally, elected leaders served for one year, but now they serve for a year and a half.

Concluding the observations described above, a refugee stated in a workshop organised by CORD (Dick, 2002, p. 28) *When we see the UNHCR emblem, it shows a man without legs and without hands. He is like a disabled person. He is vulnerable. He cannot move forward, he cannot move backward. This is a refugee. How can a refugee become self-reliant if he is like that? The only thing he can do is wait for the hands to provide all the things he needs. The man also solved the problem by explaining that the emblem should show that refugees have not lost their capability of organising their own life while fleeing their own country while at the same time it should show that it is true that there are people in need of protection at this time in their lives. His idea could be represented by a tree which provides shade, firewood and fruit to the most needy refugees beneath it, but the community has a responsibility to the tree, to care for it and use its resources wisely. But most importantly, the community is free to move out from under the tree to explore their*
own possibilities. Deriving from this man's statement, refugees seem to have become objects against their will, i.e. the ones the work is being done for by others.

4.2.5 Agency of refugees
Refugees' lives are regulated by many rules and limitations but at the same time, certain people are able to turn restrictions into opportunities. McLean (1999: 8) argues that there are two differentiated power structures in refugee camps. First, those determined by the aid 'community' and second, those in the refugee population. The first, already described above, is characterized by a dependency relation with the benefactor, which is clearly shown by the 'ritual' of providing food (Hoyer, 2005). But also the provision of land, building materials, firewood, health care and education are examples. Because refugees are often seen from the outside as one very vulnerable group, it seems to be legitimised to impose a new power structure on them. Nevertheless, people are not only dependent on the rules that govern them, some can also use these rules to improve their situation.

This is an indication for the second power structure McLean (ibid) describes. He shows clearly that refugees are more than dependent victims of external aid because they are actively searching for ways to influence their own lives. A closer look at this power structure must start by stating that the refugee population is not a homogeneous group and that we can identify hierarchies of power within this group. Commandants are appointed to rule the camp and protect the people. These and the newly appointed block leaders often manipulate the aid community and become very powerful and wealthy (Barber, 1997, in McLean, 1999). People are creative in managing to get extra food or income. Whereas some get extra food rations through illegal work already described before, some others have found a job as a teacher or nurse within the camp or work for (international) NGOs. Nevertheless, for the majority of the people it is difficult to gain from the rules in the camp. They can only find unsteady casual labour or trade at the camp market where people buy and sell self-grown food, cloths, machines and even permits. Sexual exploitation, also called transactional sex, of both women, girls – resulting in pregnancy and the spread of sexual transmitted diseases - and boys is for some a common way to receive extra goods and gifts. Finally, recruiters from outside often find ways into to the camp to look for people to work in their business or in a rebel group. As Cindy Horst (2003) has shown in her account on Somali refugees in Kenya, remittances from relatives living elsewhere can also help refugees to improve their situation. This is something that also benefits the wider community.

To what extent does the number of chances one gets to improve one's life, also affect the way one thinks about the future? It has already been stated above that the majority of the refugees is labelled as very poor. But it was not necessarily them who told me that life is difficult in Nyarugusu. Somehow, people are most of the time able to look at the brighter side, having been given a chance to live in Tanzania. They continue looking at the future positively, finding ways to survive until the day that they will go back to their own country. Peace is conceived as part of that
future. Their concept of peace is linked to modernization and advancement of the country and its people. This linkage is based on what people think to know about Western countries where there is peace but also modernisation and a advanced standard for the country and the people there. Other refugees, bothered by the hardships of life, problems with job opportunities and security are frustrated or even aggressive. Many men have lost their traditional role as bread winners whereas mothers can continue with the household tasks which they already did before the flight. Those who have become frustrated or disappointed start longing for repatriation. Some people are actively trying to be repatriated to DR Congo these days but experience difficulties coping with the situation when they do not succeed. Especially elderly men appear to be paralysed by being in limbo and become frustrated resulting in substance abuse and sexual violence against women (Turner, 2004). Berckmoes (2006) also found the anomalies within family life in a Tanzanian refugee camp but these, being reported by children, were said to be temporary and would change after repatriation. Still, it can be questioned how much they know about live after repatriation. Children's perceptions of their world and ideas about the future are likely to have been coloured very much by the organisations most refugees have to depend upon. Parents, local organisations and teachers will likewise contribute to it. More indirectly also the media such as films shown and mobile-phone contacts with friends and relatives living elsewhere will have their influence. Although it must be noted that information about the world outside the camp equals rumours only. Adequate information is very scarce since newspapers or the news on television is hardly available and radios mainly broadcast music. It may be doubted whether the information people base their ideas for the future on is true.

4.3 Conclusion

In summary, political instability and violent unrest in the eastern part of the country, leave the area unsafe and not ready to receive those who would want to quit living in a refugee camp and be repatriated. Refugee's lives in camps are structured and ruled by the Tanzanian government and international organisations that provide basic needs. Although living standards in the camp are not so much different from those of the native population in western Tanzania, life is very much restricted. Whereas some people have been successful to turn rules to their benefit, others lose and have become frustrated. Refugees are not one homogeneous group and their ideas about the future differ too. More about this will be discussed in subsequent chapters. The focus of the current chapter was merely on factors in the past and present that shape people's day-to-day lives and beliefs about what is possible in the future. The next chapter takes some more distance by discussing global peace and the related internationally-determined policy that affects the kind of aid refugees receive.
Part 2
policy, practice and understanding
results
5. Policy for Refugees: *Peace to the World!*

Refugees are a special kind of people. They do not nor can live inside their own country and depend on the generosity of others. How generous are the others and why and what is their limit? These questions are at the basis of the policy-making of governments and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Some of the policies concerning refugees were already touched upon in the preceding chapter. They are now put into a broader policy debate about assisting refugees in Africa. Knowledge of this broader subject is needed to understand what is written as a policy about peace education. When I was in Nyarugusu I read the manual for peace education that is used in the camp. It is a big volume written in French and, to my knowledge, in the camp only available at the educational headquarters of WVT. This manual for peace education developed by UNICEF education-officers for refugees in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa is the central subject of this chapter. Attention will be given to the way it deals with peace, war and ways to attain peace. Furthermore, the manual's sensitivity to age and gender differences will be touched upon. All together, the chapter will mostly be an analysis of the textual level of peace education, i.e., how it is prescribed and what is written about it. Beginning with the latter of these two, the chapter provides in the first part the knowledge that is needed as a background before starting to analyse the manual. It gives a discussion of some important academic and policy debates concerning the international regime of aid to refugees and aid bureaucracies. In three separate sections, the aid is firstly discussed in general terms and then zooms in further on the subject of education and in particular peace education for refugee children. The discussion ends with the question whether (peace) education should be provided to refugees. This discussion is meant to give a framework for the second part of this chapter in which the content and purpose of peace education as it is described in the manual for teachers is presented and analysed. Special attention will be given to the definitions given for peace and war, and the question whether gender and age differences between children are included.

### 5.1 Aid for Refugees

Helping refugees, based on the assumption that they are vulnerable people in need of help, is common practice around the world. This help focuses in the first place on the primary needs of people, i.e., food, shelter, and health care, then education and after some time, other kinds of help, such as peace education and conflict resolution, will arise. Initiatives like the latter two are based on the assumption that where you find refugees, there must be conflict or at least violence nearby and that such a situation calls for intervention. Following this line of argumentation, it is no surprise that refugees are often the objects of peace interventions. But is the environment refugees live in...
or have fled from necessarily violent? And if so, is that a reason to intervene? The answer to the first question is no. Although no two refugees are exactly the same it can generally be said that refugees are in search of refuge; a shelter, safety, food, work, freedom, a better place. For many, the fear of violence is enough to make them move to a safer haven. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines a refugee as any person who ‘...owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself to the protection of that country’ (UNHCR, 1979: 11).

We can derive from this that refugees do not necessarily flee violent conflict and need to be taught how to resolve that. Other refugees do flee violence, even war, and they often need help that goes beyond the primary needs mentioned above.

The UNHCR is the most politically and financially powerful actor in the international regime of providing relief for refugees. Though in the past mainly focussing on relief and eventual integration, UNHCR is now more focused on repatriation and prevention by means of democratization and promoting and securing human rights. Coordination of refugee relief, including the government of refugee camps, falls under the auspices of the office of the UNHCR and its implementing partners such as the Red Cross and World Food Program (WFP). As is described before, refugees who fled to Tanzania recently were given plots for housing only, they receive food biweekly and health care is provided. Other kinds of aid are available too but this is often not to the level of satisfaction of those receiving it.

Both the UNHCR and its partners have their own policy based on their view what refugees need being vulnerable people. This labelling of refugees as being vulnerable is merely a way to order disorder (Hyndman in Hoyer, 2005, p. 46), but it ignores important (changing) social hierarchies within the collective recipients as they were described in the preceding chapter. This ignorance is the consequence of the assumption that the original social structure within a society was broken when they fled and people come in as people equally affected by the violence and in need of protection and someone to represent them (Horst, 2003:12). Thus, from outside these people are seen as vulnerable. This assumption legitimises the imposition of a new power structure by the aid agencies. To answer the second question that was asked above, we have seen that this vulnerability is given by many aid agencies as a reason for intervention.

The discussion about vulnerability of refugees becomes even more complex, when it is combined with the discourse of the War on Terrorism (WoT), that points to poverty and underdevelopment as threats that feed conflict and terrorism (Willet, 2005). Following this line of argument, the occurrence of violence and conflict does not make only these people vulnerable, it makes people all over the world vulnerable. An example is the so-called banana theory of terrorism, a theory seeing weak states in the African Sahara and Sahel as being extremely vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders (ibid). Remembering acts such
as those of 9/11, these networks are a threat to the well being of other people (Keenan, 2007). Not surprisingly, those who share the WoT discourse argue that violent places (where refugees often come from) need to made safe, stable and peaceful (i.e., without conflict) in order to prevent terrorists from hiding there and threatening the rest of the world. Therefore, peace (education) is high on the agenda of those involved in the War on Terror. A counter discourse to this WoT-discourse is also popping up in current academic work. We can read in Keenan's work that the US intervention in the Sahel is not a pacifistic movement to save the world but merely a way to secure oil sources and thus to get hold on the world's resources (Keenan, 2007). Generally said, he sees these interventions as an excuse for big power's greed. Others argue that the focus on making the world safer through a liberal peace discourse has generated greater global instability (Willet, 2005). This instability in itself provides a legitimization for further interventions. Taken all together, this discourse on the elimination of terrorism, reveals where the need for pacification these days originates. Its need has not gone by unnoticed. Aid agencies refer to it in their policies to make a claim to extra funds and, although contested at the same time as will be discussed below, peace programmes are in fashion these days.

5.2 Education for Refugees

Education in general is a much contested subject when it comes to providing it to refugees in an emergency situation. Even before questioning the need for peace education – or maybe besides that – there is the doubt whether there is a need to do more than feed, shelter and provide medical services to displaced emergency-affected populations (Sinclair, 2001, p. 7). Some fear that providing education for refugees will prevent rapid voluntary repatriation or that it will consume resources otherwise meant for other purposes such as feeding and health care. Nevertheless, the costs of an un(der)educated population may be much higher. Or as Ruud Lubbers (2001), then United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, puts it almost poetically in his introduction to Learning for a Future, where he writes:

‘A refugee who goes without education cannot look forward to a more productive and prosperous future. A refugee who is unable to attend school or a vocational training course is more likely to become frustrated and involved in illegitimate or military activities. A refugee who remains illiterate and inarticulate will be at a serious disadvantage in defending his or her human rights’. (p. III).

Education can provide children an alternative to joining militias or protect them from other harm. Also, it can address their psychosocial needs caused by trauma and displacement. Next to that, education is a first step, back to 'normal' live. Students need to maintain and develop their study skills and at the same time, education will be used to disseminate key messages such as how to avoid HIV/AIDS, landmine awareness, environmental education and education for peace and citizenship. Education for refugees therefore does not seem to be something that one should
question whether to provide it or not. Like Lubbers (ibid) argued, it is needed to avoid the existing problems to become worse and affect more lives.

At the same time, critiques can not be avoided especially when it seems that expectations as described in policy documents cannot be realized in practise. To go back to the quote above, it is implicit in these sentences that there is a need for adult education and including others who are now outside the educational system, such as teenage mothers, drop-outs or former child soldiers (Sinclair, 2001, p. 30). It may help them focus on something else than the troubles of their daily lives, it may give them new job opportunities and hope for a brighter future. At the same time, many may not be able to concentrate and family-heads may not have the time and means to follow education while taking care of their families. Moreover, the curriculum and pedagogy used in mainstream education may not be well adjusted to their situation and background (Sommers, 2001, p. 192). Others question whether education functions as a remedy for youth's problems. Boyden and Ryder (1996, p. 12 in Sommers, 2001, p. 177) argue that it delays participation in the world of adults and lengthens childhood-dependence. Especially when it does not guarantee employment, education can raise false expectations among young people. Debates about this go beyond the scope of this thesis, which is mainly on primary education for young children. But even education provided for them is critiqued. The impact of messages that are transmitted through special lessons can heavily be flawed due to a shortage of materials to actually teach or due to factors such as the teaching by unqualified personnel or these persons' biased opinions about the situation. In addition, are children ready to learn after having experienced traumas (Williams, 2001: 100)? Responding to these questions, community involvement in school management is important to facilitate communication of the content of the curriculum and pedagogics of teachers. In addition, community involvement is thought to help improve local and national governance (Sinclair, 2001, p. 19). The provision of education to refugees requires a lot of organisation and frequent evaluation. I will come back to this issue in the next chapter about the educational reality in the classroom.

5.3 Peace Education for Refugee Children

Peace education is a sensitive subject and its necessity is not shared by all. As explained earlier, there are several kinds of peace education. In this section, the focus will be on peace education programmes for primary-school children living in a refugee camp. Sommers (2001, p. 164) defines peace education as a response of aid agencies to the assumed difficulties to re-establish peaceful lives, especially for youth, who are frequently drawn into violent activities. This kind of peace education addresses a wide variety of subjects as a response to the need for gender equality, democracy and peace, HIV/AIDS prevention, and fighting teenage pregnancy, substance abuse, racism, environmental damage, depression, suicide and conflict (WHO, 1999 in Sinclair, 2001, p. 29-30). Likewise, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) prescribes that these kind of programmes address both overt and structural violence and call for its full elimination while instead
creating a society based on the principles of justice and peace (Fountain, 1999: 3). The framers of
the CRC viewed the promotion of mutual understanding, peace and tolerance through education
as a fundamental right of all children, not an optional extra-curricular activity. All authors and
organisations mentioned in this section up till now do not seem to doubt the necessity of peace
education. Others, nevertheless, may not find it necessary to teach the members of their
community about peace and the elimination of violence. For example because the violence that
others consider unjustified, is seen by them as appropriate, or even righteous. They may prefer
teaching about the benefits of a war, which there undeniably are to certain people. Should we
therefore see peace education as culturally biased, an imposition of one cultural values upon those
of another? And what about the concepts of psychiatry and psychology in non-western cultures?
Psychologists and psychoanalysts working in field of emergency response debate about the
universality of Western teaching techniques and counselling often used. As an alternative, it might
be better to restore supportive social structures broken by conflict and displacement by working
from within the community in stead of importing solutions from outside (Sinclair, 2001, p. 19). At
least, these discussions bring forth some doubts about the universality of values implicit in (peace)
education. An example can be drawn from Tanzania where a group of people who was developing
the peace education materials for a Rwandan refugee community was accused of promoting
repatriation (Fountain, 1999, p. 24).

Nevertheless, UNICEF continues its support to the development of peace education
programmes, the values of non-violent conflict resolution and peace-building because, as Fountain
(ibid, pp. 3-4) puts it, 'the promotion of peace, and of peace education, is an essential component
of UNICEF’s mandate to work for the rights and well-being of children’. Moreover, UNICEF claims
to avoid using one approach universally and is instead working closely with the target group
focusing mainly on the priorities shared within that community. Nevertheless, the outset for every
new peace programme is the UNICEF manual Education for conflict resolution: a training for
trainers manual (Fountain, 1997). This manual was created in 1997 as a preparation to the theme
of a Culture of Peace developed by UNESCO. This UN organisation is responsible for the Decade
Based on this manual, teacher’s guides and lesson plans that were developed by UNICEF in
cooperation with a multinational group of refugee educators, followed two years later (Baxter, 2000
in Sinclair, 2001, pp. 29-30). Thus, the outset is a universally used manual but during the
development of a locally sensitive programme the community is invited to share its ideas. If the
share of those who are involved is limited to the inclusion of some songs, poems and stories
and/or only some leaders are invited, one can question whether one can really speak of community
involvement. An example of the development of a new programme, is the community-based peace
education programme for refugees which was carried out in Ngara, Tanzania. Starting in April
1996, the programme was initiated with a workshop for Rwandan refugees, based on the manual
just mentioned. By involving the local community who is the object of the programme, UNICEF attempted to allay concerns about politically motivated aims and got at the same time the values of all stakeholders clear (Fountain, 1999). People invited included religious leaders, camp leaders, and representatives of women’s groups, as well as teachers. In this way, the programme became responsive to local circumstances. It was assured that the programme was accepted by the majority of the people before bringing its messages to the youth. This order was chosen because children are unlikely to assimilate new attitudes unless their parents are willing to do so as well. And although the real impact on the content of the manual is a bit doubtful the fact remains that when ideas for the content come from the community themselves, the sense of ownership and dedication to promoting peace will be higher.

A final critique on peace education concerns its effectiveness. The theoretical chapter already explained that there is not much evaluation of programmes and thus it is difficult to say whether and how it works. Lessons can be learned from the mistakes that have been made earlier. Co-operation and communication seem to be the key-words. Williams (2001, p. 85) argues that a programme is most effective when developed on site and in collaboration with stakeholders and implementers. This collaboration goes beyond involving the local community but includes partnerships with other aid agencies. Often, we see that organisations are working on the same kind of projects separately (Sinclair, 2001, p. 73). In stead of learning of mistakes made by others, they make a new attempt and are confronted with the same problems again. Besides its cost-ineffectiveness, the separate messages will not be as strong as when they are joined together. Marc Sommers (2001, p. 175), who studied refugee populations in Kenya, calls for more interaction and coordination between religious and humanitarian worlds. The distance between the two can limit or even undermine peace education’s effectiveness as the two may create conflicting messages about peace and how to prevent or mediate conflicts. Children also learn in churches, temples or mosques, they join a community where they learn about peace in an environment that can powerfully influence their ideas and behaviour. Sommers has experienced that religion-based messages have proved to be more influential especially among children of forced migrants, but he concludes quite sceptically that peace education can always work, just depending on what you want from it (Sommers, 2001, p. 173).

5.4 Manual for Peace Education

This part of the chapter will be devoted to the content of the peace education manual that is developed for primary education to refugees living in western Tanzania. As an introduction to the manual (see also the quote on top of this chapter), its authors wrote that peace education is a fashionable subject all around the world. Not only that, its goals are less utopian than before and mainly focused on making the world a place that is a little bit more liveable for all its inhabitants while at the same time accepting that it will not be able to eradicate all wars and conflicts. The
manual is in the first place meant for teachers of primary schools in refugee camps for Burundese, Congolese and Rwandans but goes beyond the situation of living in a camp. It may also serve teachers working in Burundi, DR Congo and Rwanda, and perhaps even outside these countries. The material for all six classes is presented in separate chapters in one big volume, counting over three hundred pages. The different lessons included lean on the use of the materials collected and presented in a separate catalogue. The material in the catalogue is the result of the joint contributions of the refugee community, students of the primary school, teachers, the authors of the catalogue and some documents that were consulted and adapted for this. The catalogue, annexed to the manual, is composed of songs, poems, stories, sketches, games, role games, histories, images, riddles, etc. Some examples will be found in this part of the chapter. Some of the materials found in the catalogue are referred to in the manual, others are added for complementing the documentation of the users. Without hanging to much on the methodology proposed, the teacher himself has the freedom to choose the materials that fit the reality of his class. The main objective of the manual is to change the behaviour of the students to the good. But as it is stated in the introduction of the manual, its impact will heavily depend on the teachers, who are the role models for their students. Peace education is regarded as a combination of cognitive and moral education that hopefully contributes to a balanced maturation of the student which is the ultimate objective of the composers of the manual (UNICEF, 2000: 14-15)

5.4.1 Contents of peace education.
Which subjects do the developers of the manual for peace education want to teach the primary school children of Nyarugusu and how do they want the subjects to be taught? The introduction of the manual is preceded by an overview of its contents. The overview gives an insight into the themes that are prescribed for the separate standards in primary education. Themes like peace and conflict, additives of peace, the resolution of conflict and the maintenance of peace are reoccurring subjects in all six years of primary education. Other themes include human rights, communicational skills, environmental and health care and a plan to promote peace (see box 1). The latter themes are meant for the more advanced standards only. Stated in its introduction, the manual is constructed in a coherent, logical and progressive way, taking into account the prerequisite and psychological development of the students for which it is meant. How teachers are supposed to deal with the subjects for different age groups will be discussed in a separate section about age differences below.

Derived from the content of the manual, peace is defined as two separate things. First, it is a situation of solidarity and harmony between people. Second, it is the opposite of conflict. The manual focuses on both aspects, i.e., positive peace and negative peace. The former can be recognized in themes such as the additives of peace, e.g., sharing, love, respect, greetings, decency, truth, tolerance, patience, humility, mutual acceptance. In short, children are encouraged to behave very well in every situation. Good communication too is needed to avoid conflict. Good
Every school year starts with a reminder of the definition of peace and conflict. The universality of these words is shown by translating the words in other languages which the students may (or may not) know. Conflict is presented as the opposition of peace. Both words are explained with examples from daily life (at school, at home and the way to school). A final definition of the two concepts is given in the 6th grade:

- **La paix**: une situation d’entente, d’harmonie entre deux ou plusieurs individus, entre deux ou plusieurs groupes d’une société donnée.
- **Peace**: a situation of solidarity, harmony between two or more individuals, between two or more groups of individuals of a certain society.
- **Le conflit**: le manque d’entente, d’harmonie entre deux ou plusieurs individus, entre deux ou plusieurs groupes d’une société donnée. Paix est contraire de conflit.
- **Conflict**: the absence of solidarity, harmony between two or more individuals, between two or more groups of individuals of a certain society. Peace is the opposite of conflict.

### Classification (situation and causes) and consequences of conflict

By discussing sorts and consequences of conflict that may occur in the daily lives of the children, they learn that it is preferable to choose for situations of peace over situations of conflict. Moreover, they should always avoid situations of conflict and choose for peaceful situations, such as the following: obey your parents, live in harmony, pay attention while on the road. Causes of conflict are divided over three categories; resources (theft, no sharing, unequal division of resources), values (no respect for one’s belief, ethnicity, tribe, ideology, marriage, sexuality) and sentiments (insults, feelings of superiority, jealousy, wrong interpretation, traumas, rumours). While discussing causes of conflict, the importance of tolerance, acceptance, good communication and love for all over tribal and other boundaries is stressed. Causes are also discussed in combination with the consequences of conflict and then, it goes further than the student’s daily life. Consequences are many, for example: a decline of affection between people, tribal wars, regional inequality, destruction, murder and rupture of economy within and between communities, famine and diseases, decrease of economy, destruction of infrastructure, massacres in many people’s lives internationally, desecration of human rights and a rising of the numbers of refugees in neighbouring countries.

### The additives of peace/ keys to peace

Different concepts and their applicability in daily life are discussed in order to make/keep these lives peaceful, e.g. play a ball game together (sharing), love others, show respect to elders and important persons through special greetings, always tell the truth, be tolerant for handicapped people, albinos and people with other religions, be patient, avoid fights and choose non-violent resolutions.
resolution of conflicts
The purpose of these lessons is not to make all conflicts disappear but to explain to the children that conflicts occur all over the world, that there are several forms of conflicts and of resolving them. Every person has a responsibility; parents and other adults, authorities at school and in the wider country, but also children. Children should try to stop a fight and resolve a conflict amongst each other, only calling for an adult when it is really necessary. Adults can help but should take care that they do not encourage fighters nor favour one over another. Other authorities may be called for in different cases, i.e. traditional resolution within the community, e.g. drums and dance, arranged marriages or consulting the wise in the village; following the national judicial system or international institutions. This subject also includes training techniques of negotiation and mediation.

building and maintaining peace
The recapitulating of the keys to peace (obedience to the family, respect in the classroom, love and care at school, morality of the truth every day of your life) learns the students that by doing all these things in daily life, they are contributing to peace. A wealth of poems, songs, proverbs, etc. is used to illustrate that the concept of peace is well founded in the children's cultural background.

stereotype and generalisation
Since both stereotypes and generalisations are often sources of conflicts, they need to be explained so that students learn to avoid using them. A stereotype is defined as a generalisation concerning a social group, a way of identifying the group, often found untrue. Stereotypes can be classified over race, colour, sex, religion, physical state of a person, tribe/ethnicity, behaviour, culture, social class, age, profession, etc. Consequences can be frustration, feeling superior/inferior, animosity between groups, hatred that transforms into a conflict, contributing to war.

communication
Students should take care of what they are saying and how they communicate to keep it peaceful. Sources of conflict can be unclear messages, wrong interpretation, non polite language, not listening.

human rights, justice, duties and law, the constitution and different institutions of a country
This section teaches the students general knowledge about human rights and the actors involved. There is special attention for the rights of children and the elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against women, including the consequences. These rights include respect for the dignity of an individual, equality of rights for men and women, e.g. education, employment. The duties and rights of a child include freedom of speech and religion, to go to school, helping your parents, doing household tasks, keep your belongings neat, protect a girl to bad influences. The sixth graders receive additional information about national and international laws, constitutions and official institutions connected to these (the democratic system).
communication is characterized by being clear, listen, use the right means of communication and first think and then talk. Children also learn to take care of the environment and the health of themselves and others because neglect can also be a source of conflict. Examples drawn from daily life and a wealth of cultural expressions, e.g. poems, proverbs or tales are given to explain the importance of building a peaceful society. Closely linked to this, is an understanding of human rights and judicial systems. The battle against violence against women is discussed, as well as an equal treatment of both genders. The students are taught about their rights and duties, they learn about people's individual and joint responsibilities and get familiar with concepts such as democracy, government and constitution. There is also a lot of attention for the opposite of all this, i.e. conflicts in a society. The manual gives the impression that peace cannot go without conflict. Moreover, conflict may be unavoidable and sometimes even needed. Children learn about the causes of conflict to be able to recognize and keep away from it. Conflict, especially wars, should be avoided at any costs. A special source of conflict is the use of generalisations and stereotypes. These two concepts get attention in some separate lessons. Causes of conflict are divided over the following three categories: resources, values, and sentiments. Starting the discussion simple and close to home, it becomes clear that conflicts have many bad consequences which can be summarized as the rupture of human lives. Solutions for conflict include negotiation and mediation. Students get the opportunity to practice these techniques together with their classmates. By doing this, they learn that everyone has a responsibility to resolve conflicts and both children and adults can contribute to a peaceful world. In special cases, the help of (local, national and/or international) professional peace builders may be needed.

In addition, some very specific lessons are included. Students learn to name feelings of sadness, frustration and/or inferiority that they may have experienced in a situation of conflict. Other examples found in the manual show the importance of traditions. People consult wise men, execute rituals and certain concepts which are connected to peace can be found in songs, proverbs, poems, etc. The students may discover that the International Convention of Human

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**links between environment and health and peace education**
The section shows that taking good care of the environment and health of people, will contribute to peace. Neglect may lead to conflicts, e.g. destruction of the woods, pollution of water sources.

**plan of activities to promote peace**
All that has been learned over the years, is repeated in this last section. Children get the chance to show the community around them what they know about the importance of avoiding violent conflicts and building peaceful relations.
Rights too is applicable to them and that they principally have the same rights and duties as students in other places of the world. This shows again that lines are drawn between the lower and higher levels of society. The different levels can also be discovered in the discussion of the consequences of conflict. There are intra- and interpersonal, local, national and international consequences. The national and international level are not forlorn. There is also attention for some history of Congo and the Great Lakes Region, institutions responsible for building peace and execution of a constitution. The role of international institutions such as the African and European Union, International Criminal Court and the Court for Justice is explained.

The definition of peace and conflict and their consequences can be separated over material and ideological/emotional factors. In other words, they are either concrete or abstract. Both have a place in the manual but the majority deals with the latter. The definitions of peace and conflict (see box 1) refer to emotional factors whereas material factors are not explicitly mentioned. Causes of conflict are divided over the following three categories; resources, values and sentiments. Whereas the first refers to a conflict over materials, the latter two are connected to ideological and/or emotional conflicts. Advice is given about how one should react in terms of love, patience, mutual understanding and tolerance. An example of a lesson where both aspects are combined is the explanation of a stereotype. Stereotypes can be classified following race, colour, sex, religion, physical state of a person, tribe/ethnicity, behaviour, culture, social class, age, profession, etc. Moreover, abstract concepts are made more tangible with explanations derived from daily life and by training certain skills such as proper communication and solving conflicts. This shows that the concrete-abstract division in this manual can also be translated into a skills-knowledge division. Students are taught new knowledge about abstract notions and the causes and consequences of conflict. They learn about the responsibilities people have to build and maintain peace and older children receive information about national and international institutions and their roles in dealing with conflict and construct peaceful societies. Students also train skills, such as different forms of communication, negotiation and mediation. They learn to take care of the environment especially

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**box 2: Song About the Environment (Manuel d'Éducation à la Paix: Catalogue; UNICEF, 2001)**

**OH! Compatriotes, Remercions notre Dieu, le tout puissant.**

Il nous a sauvés, Il nous a assisté dans la traversée des frontières de notre pays natal,

où l'insécurité est partout, au nord, au sud, à l'est et à l'ouest!

A présent, nous sommes ici en Tanzanie sous la protection du HCR, de l'UNICEF

installés dans les différents camps de la région de Kigoma.

Maintenons la propreté de cette terre qui nous a permis d'être en bonne santé.

Nous devons l'aimer. Ne coupons pas les arbres anarchiquement.

Si tu en coupes un, plantes-en deux ou trois, pour maintenir la végétation.

Apprenons les uns et les autres ce qu'est l'environnement.

l'environnement c'est ta vie! C'est aussi la mienne.
now they are in Tanzania because it is not theirs (see box 2). Students also learn to pay attention to health issues as its negligence can harm others and therefore be a cause of conflict. For the two highest standards, the course ends with activities to promote peace in the wider community.

5.4.2 Gender and peace education. The manual does not address boys and girls separately. All children are considered to be in one classroom and follow peace education together. There are no suggestions given in the manual that girls may understand concepts as peace and war differently from the way boys do. The only time that the manual acknowledges that there are differences between boys and girls is during the discussion of human rights. These differences are found for example in the educational system, where still more boys than girls are admitted. It is also explained that boys often have more freedom than girls. While girls are doing household tasks and are observed by the wider community to check that they always behave well, boys are more loosely monitored. The children learn that both boys and girls have to do duties such as obeying the parents and respect elders. Next to that, they all have rights which include equal treatment of boys and girls. They all have a right to education, leisure, freedom of speech, religion and sexuality. Students learn how they can make a claim to these rights and who are responsible to provide them. Although examples of songs, poems or stories about differences between boys and girls and how to confront these differences were expected to be found in the catalogue, none was included. At the same time, many examples of other differences such as those based on religion and tribal background were found and condemned. Reference to sexual exploitation and gender-based violence in relation to HIV/AIDS infection and prostitution, although often found in the context of a conflict and also in refugee camps affecting both boys and girls (Machel, 1996, pp. 29-30), was not included in the manual. This may perhaps be too delicate subjects to openly discuss in the classroom with both boys and girls present but merely be discussed in youth clubs and counselling for either one of the sexes.

5.4.3 Age and peace education. Peace education for primary schools in refugee camps in Tanzania, as discussed above, was developed after a workshop about peace for adults. Those involved, identified certain aims for peace education which can be divided over three subjects, i.e., knowledge (enhancing knowledge of community mechanisms for building peace and resolving conflict ), skills (communication: active listening, self-expression, paraphrasing, re-framing; ability to cooperate, think critically about prejudice and deal with stereotypes; constructive conflict resolution) and attitudes (tolerance, acceptance of others, respect for differences and the rights and responsibilities of children and parents) (Fountain, 1999: 14-16).

The booklet that came out, shows the issues raised during this workshop. This Community Course Booklet; Peace Education Programme, provided by UNHCR (2001) is a reminder of the
programme people had followed previously and not meant in the first place for children. It is therefore not age-sensitive. But all aims that were identified by adults and just listed above, can be identified in the manual for primary school teachers as well (see box 1). By comparing the booklet with the manual, it will become more clear how adult issues are translated into kids’ stuff.

The booklet gives some definitions of peace (see box 3) as they were suggested by participants of the course and explains that peace can mean different things to different people ranging from 'children being quiet' to 'countries not fighting'. There are examples of both positive and negative peace. Ideas of peace can point to all levels of society, from the government and international levels to the community and personal relationships. Some refer to internal peace and others to external peace. The booklet (ibid) also suggests some definitions of conflict (see box 4) and says that since most causes of conflict are personal, people should look at internal resources in relationships with others to resolve and manage conflict. This UNHCR booklet, therefore stresses the strength of individuals and their responsibility for peace, arguing that refugees cannot keep running, they must stay and try to transform conflict through negotiation, mediation, reconciliation, and transformation. Cooperation is the essence of peace education. There are different sources of conflict and each one requires a different approach in which certain communication skills are used, e.g., active listening, questioning and co-operation. The booklet also touches the subject of human rights, especially stressing the importance of equal gender rights, arguing that there can be no true peace without social justice. Realizing that equality and justice is often problematic in a refugee community due to cultural beliefs about the division of work over men and women that cannot be kept in the new situation. Somewhat remarkable in the booklet are the examples from non-African, non-refugee situations, e.g., Northern Ireland.

The main difference between the booklet for adults and the manual, focused at children, is the level at which peace and conflict are defined. Whereas the latter mainly focuses on the lower (personal) levels, the former is more balanced over all levels, ranging from the personal onto the international. This difference between the two documents can easily be explained. Abstract
concepts are considered to be known by adults. Children, to the contrary, have to be made familiar with them and the best way to do that is link abstract things to concrete things. Activities and occurrences in someone's daily, personal life are concrete and therefore offer a good source to draw examples from. Sources of conflict, as they can be found in everyday life, are extensively discussed in the manual for primary education. An explanation for the emphasis on emotional/ideological factors over more material factors, can be found in the booklet. As it explains, causes of conflict are personal and people should look at internal resources in relationships with others to resolve and manage conflicts. Again, these sources are explained to children in relation with daily life. Only the older children learn about more abstract and psychological mechanisms that can cause conflict.

Age differences are also found within the manual as they are mentioned in its introduction. The authors identify the developmental stages children go through and advice teachers to take this into account. The manual sets the teachers free to adapt the material to the actual situation in the classroom and to the level of understanding of their pupils. In addition, within the manual itself the notion of development is found in the way that different methodologies are explained for different standards. Firstly, the subjects are explained very simply and quite passively in the first grade. Secondly, the number of subjects is also less in the beginning than for subsequent standards when the lessons become more in-depth and students are expected to involve themselves actively. Peace and conflict is a subject that occurs at the start of every school year. The first two years, the children learn that both concepts can be translated in other languages, e.g. French, Kiswahili, Kirundi and Kinyarwanda. In other words, they learn that peace and conflict are universal. The words are explained quite passively through images and stories from daily life. Songs are also often used. Children in higher standards are encouraged to be more active. Teachers can play word games with them in which they try to come up with words connoted to or expressing the opposite of peace and conflict. All this is done to enrich the definition of the concepts, while staying close to the students own mindsets. Conflict is taught to the children in a similar way. For the youngest, the curriculum keeps close to children's life and simple things they can do to avoid conflicts or solve them without violence. Starting in grade three, the concepts of stereotype and generalisation are introduced. Students learn to identify and deal with them. The older ones are expected to come up with their own ideas relating to conflict, actively think about the consequences and each lesson ends with copying all that is learned from the blackboard into their notebooks. The higher grades, i.e. 5 and 6, also look into the higher levels, i.e. (inter)national, at which conflicts occur. Every lesson again, pushes the children to be examples of good behaviour for the rest of the community. They learn that they are, as much as adults and special institutions, responsible for resolving conflict and building peace. Therefore, students are trained in communication skills from the third grade onwards. They learn to be clear, avoid rustle, use the right means of communication and train themselves to negotiate and mediate when conflicts occur.
In grade five and six, these lessons also include the provision of information about human rights, equal treatment of men and women and care for health issues and the environment. In grade six, there is special attention for the history of Congo and how the country is politically organised. Next to the aforementioned two changes in methodologies, there is also a change in the way the material is presented and how teachers and students should interact. Both the presentation and the interaction start quite passively in the first years but require students to be more active as they enter higher grades. Older students are encouraged to organise discussions between them, do research about certain subjects and train learned skills outside school. The lessons in grade five and six end with a plan to promote peace to others in the direct environment of the pupils. In this way, they can show what they have learned and spread the importance of constructing peaceful societies.

5.5 Conclusion
Can peace education be compared with English, mathematics or geology? For one, everything children learn at school can be of use in their future life. On the other side, this chapter has shown that there is a special rationale behind the subjects taught in peace education for refugee children. In general, refugees are often considered to be a vulnerable group of people that need help. Whereas food, shelter and health care are provided as soon as possible after a calamity has occurred, the provision of education is more debated. Education is seen as a means to avoid the situation to worsen but it must be admitted that expectations raised beforehand can often not be met in practice causing undesirable or unsatisfying outcomes. Moreover, peace education is viewed by some as a provision based on universal human rights whereas others criticise its universal applicability and attainability. Part of this criticism is overruled by involving local communities while developing a peace education program and cooperating with other influential parties that have experience in the field. Peace education for students in primary schools is described in the manual for teachers that was developed by UNICEF in co-operation with several community leaders. Peace education is not seen as a means to eradicate all wars and conflicts but only to make the world a little bit more liveable for all its inhabitants. Whereas the lessons are clearly adapted for children of different ages, attention for gender differences is very minimal. The developers of the manual may have chosen for this approach to show that boys and girls should be treated equally, which is one of the lessons taught. Peace education for refugees as described in the manual is an all-encompassing subject that seems to deserve equal attention as is given to other subjects in the curriculum. How the policies described in this chapter, in particular the manual for peace education, work out in practical terms for primary education is the subject of the next chapter.
6. Peace in Education

the total activity structure of school classrooms gives a microscopic picture of
the whole of the society for which the school stands
(Valsiner, 2000, p. 261)

Education is the foundation of life is written on the wall of the educational headquarters in the
centre of the camp. It is a white-painted wall with letters in blue. Over time, the wall has become
orange due to the interaction between heavy rain and the red ground. Red-brownish mud, or dust
in drier times, has not only coloured this wall but also every note book and most of the school
uniforms. It is also the colour of the bricks used to build school buildings. Even the papers I used to
make notes on have become orange. What does this say about peace education in the camp? Has
the manual that was described in the preceding chapter, also become orange? Indeed, its pages
are closer to orange than to white. The description that follows is meant to show that in education
there is also an interaction between what comes from above and what is found on the ground,
colouring the outcome with the limited shades available. In more general terms, the purpose of
peace education as it was found in the manual, is to teach young children about peace and ways
to handle with conflict in non-violent ways but what has been written does not necessarily reflect
what is done in practise. This chapter gives a description of the education system as it was
observed in the schools. The first section starts with a general overview how primary education is
organised in the camp and some figures typifying the population of both teachers and students.
The second part explains firstly some practical characteristics of the situation in the classroom, e.g.
physical layout, limitations imposed by budget, curriculum and teaching methods. Secondly, a
more atmospheric picture is drawn in which the interaction between children and adults in the
school will play a central role, e.g., school culture, means for conflict resolution and disciplinarian
techniques. The final part deals with the subject of peace education and discusses both implicit
and explicit teaching in primary schools of values, norms, skills and knowledge related to peace.
This part is combined with an analysis of teacher's answers which were collected through
interviews that were done under all teachers of two randomly-chosen primary schools. Outcomes
of the interviews show teacher's experiences with peace education as being part of their daily
work.

6.1 Organisation of Primary Education

There are twelve primary schools in Nyarugusu refugee camp and they have more than eleven
thousand children enrolled (50% girls). UNHCR (2008) reported that there is a total enrolment rate
of more than 100% because students above school age are also enrolled. Primary education is
spread over six years and accessible free of costs for all children aged six or older. Although
children can start at the age of six, many do not finish the prescribed six years in time resulting in
an average age of fourteen years in the sixth grade. Most children are between the age of six and
fifteen, though some are sixteen or even older. There are schools with separate units for children with special needs such as the deaf (and dumb), blind, and physically or mentally disabled. Every school has approximately twelve classrooms. Since these twelve rooms are not enough to accommodate all children at a time, the time schedule is divided into two parts. First- and second-graders have classes in the morning, as well as the sixth-graders. Classes start at 8.00am and continue until 12.50pm. The third, fourth, and fifth-graders come in the afternoon and begin at 13.00pm to continue until 17.50pm. Breaks consist of two times ten minutes in between classes. Schools are closed on Sundays but all other six days, they are open. Thus, there is six days times four and a half hours or twenty-seven hours education in total for every child in a full week. Children follow the Congolese curriculum in the French language. It reinforces the policy of the Tanzanian government who considers the Congolese refugees only guests, as described before. In addition, there are several important human rights issues that would support freedom to use the previous medium of instruction (Bruce Abramson, personal communication, in Sinclair, 2001, p. 27).

Teachers used to live in DR Congo but have fled the country like all other refugees who are residing in Nyarugusu. Therefore, teachers live in the same environment with its rules and regulations as their students do. Teachers are paid incentives for the work they do. They receive about Tsh 20.000 (12 euros) per month through World Vision Tanzania from UNHCR. Payment is often delayed and sometimes skipped but teachers are expected to continue their work. Since it becomes more common to apply for repatriation, teachers who are leaving are replaced by new ones. These young teachers often lack the experience and training that the old ones had. On average, every school has 24 teachers with an average age of 36. The majority of the teachers is male compared to females with a frequency of 85 versus 15% respectively. Although most girls are enrolled in primary education, the traditional role of women to take care of the household still holds to be true for older girls. This is easily recognized in the distribution of gender over the teachers as it was described above. Most of the female teachers, nevertheless, are married and combining their work with the work at home. Most of the teachers have finished either six or four years of the pedagogy track in secondary education. Some have also studied at university level and received an undergraduate diploma after completion of the first three years. Young and newer teachers have completed their education in the camp, where a teachers college can be found. During their first years of being a teacher, they need to be mentored by inspectors and/or more experienced teachers but in practice it turns out to be difficult to make these trainers available. Diplomas received in the camp are recognized as official documents in the camp but also in DR Congo. Education in the camp is coordinated by a team which consists of a coordinator and his assistant, two inspectors for primary and secondary education, two trainers, a secretary and a librarian. These people, who are also refugees originating from DR Congo, work in co-operation with Tanzanian employees of WVT. The latter are responsible for communication between the Congolese people and the Tanzanian government and international donors. Through WVT and
UNICEF, these donors also contribute to education in Nyarugusu by providing school buildings and basic educational materials.

Materials in the schools are limited to the most necessary things. Class rooms are built with mud bricks and aluminium roofs over a wood structure and all have dirt floors. In the rainy season, mud pools are found inside the classrooms due to holes in the roofing. The walls separating one room from the other do not reach up to the ceiling causing noise from other rooms to be easily heard. Sounds from outside too do often not go by unnoticed either since windows, like door holes, are openings in the walls. Window holes are ideal places for children that have no classes during that part of the day to follow lessons of others from outside and comment on what is taught inside the room. Being in or out of the school is not always very clear. This is once more emphasized since there is no fencing around the school and the water tap in the middle of the playground can be used by both the students and by adult females from surrounding villages for washing and cleaning. Class rooms are furnished with a desk and chair for the teacher. For the students, benches connected to small desks are available. Two-seat benches are often occupied by three or even four children. Every class room has a blackboard and that is about it. Teachers themselves have drawn maps of countries, overviews of the human body and other explanatory posters on big papers which are kept in the headmaster's office and are available for all when needed. Chalks are also kept by the headmaster but easily obtained, even by students whether or not sent by their teacher. The first question of the interview (which is further explained in the next chapter) made clear that children are not familiar with books at school. The only book they mentioned, the bible, was to be found in the church. Books are not available in the classrooms but children receive small copy books from UNICEF to write down what is written on the blackboard and to make their exercises. Pens (bics), pencils, erasers and rulers are also provided by UNICEF, as is a uniform for every child. Complaints about the quantity of goods given were often heard but scarcity may also be caused by the way children take care of their properties, either losing them or ‘eating’ them. Borrowing a pen from a neighbour on the bench was possible but caused delays in finishing copy work. One library for all students is found at the WVT compound in the middle of the camp. The books donated are mainly for secondary-schoolers and although some French and English literature is available, the use of shelves stocked with outdated courses in Latin, German or Swedish may be questioned.

6.2 Formal Education in Primary Schools

The boundary between formal and informal education is not always very clear. This is also true for the situation found in schools in Nyarugusu. Of course, the presence of schools in itself is a clue for formal education and the teaching of subjects such as arithmetic, natural science or geography are typical examples of a formal curriculum. In addition, the situation inside the school is all but informal due to strict rules and regulations that need to be followed. At the same time, these
schools are not very distant from the rest of the community which gives the impression that schools are not that formal either. It may therefore be better to say that there is a lot of informal teaching in the formal system.

Firstly, the role of students and teachers is not always clear. Teachers, whose messages are meant for the students inside their classroom, also reach others outside. Passers-by can be either interested in the lesson or just in search of a replacement of their boredom with life in the camp. People, both young and old, can easily have a look inside through the open windows and see and hear what is happening inside the classroom. Moreover, out-side noises or critique from someone in the audience outside, will not go by unnoticed for the students inside the room. At the same time, when students are outside in the playground it is easy for adults other than teachers to comment on children's behaviour and teach what they should be doing. The opposite is also true. All teachers are living inside the camp and their function as a role model does not stop when they leave the class room. Although it would have been too difficult to observe teachers when they were off duty, interviewing them brought some clarification about how they perceive themselves as role models.

Secondly, the same blurred distinction between life in and outside schools, can also be noticed in the messages carried out by teachers. Daily life seems to have become a part of daily school-life for many people in the camp and the same applies vice versa. Teachers are part of the community of refugees and, while teaching, they are referring to that status like any other person in the camp can do. People talk about life with others and so do teachers with their students. Since the present situation in which they are living is created due to what happened in the past and is related to the situation in homeland DR Congo, both situations are also discussed inside the schools. In what way is this situation discussed and what messages are enclosed in history lessons? What is being taught is, in addition to the formal curriculum, therefore also connected to the status of being a refugee and to events that take or took place in DR Congo. In general, implicit teaching goes hand-in-hand with what is taught explicitly and therefore needs to be studied as a complement when observing education in primary schools. Further explanation of how this works out in practice is given below but first there is a general description of the formal education in Nyarugusu primary schools.

6.2.1 Teaching characteristics
Teaching is often a big challenge in Africa. Compared to educational traditions that exist in Europe or America the situation in Africa is often very different. The following is a description of the classes that I observed during my visits to schools in Nyarugusu refugee camp. This description should not be accepted as the status quo of education in Africa nor for education for refugees. At the same time, I have realized that the description below also applies in general terms to schools I visited in other places in Africa. Some characteristics are still widely found all over the continent whereas others are deviating from the general picture either positively or negatively. Firstly, classes in the
camp consist of 25 to 35 and maximally 40 children which is very low for African standard. Exceptions are found on days of heavy rains which keep some of the teachers attached to their home. The same applies for days of food distributions when participation of most, especially female, family members is required. On days of the latter kind, many older girls are also absent since they are expected to help carry the food from the distribution centre to home. Since agriculture is officially forbidden in the camp, children do not skip many classes to help their parents on the land. A second peculiarity is the curriculum used. Although children reside in Tanzania, they follow the national Congolese curriculum. The medium of teaching is the language of the former colonial power, i.e., French. In contrast, during breaks children communicate with each other in Swahili and sometimes another (mainly tribal) language which is Bembe for the majority. The curriculum is spread over six years which are divided into three, two-year levels. There is an elementary level, a middle level and a terminal level. Pupils must gain an overall mark of 50% to progress from one level to the next. The primary education curriculum includes the following subjects: French, arithmetic, history, geography, African languages, physical and natural sciences, civic instruction, moral and religious education, art, and physical education. On completion, pupils take the Examen de Fin de Cycle. Successful students are awarded the Certificat d'études primaires. Certificates obtained in the camp are recognized in Congo too.

Exemplary for main-stream African education is the mode of teaching, which can mainly be typified as rote-learning. Harber gives a description of rote-learning from a school in Botswana, also arguing that it has generally applicability to African classrooms: Students are perceived as passive recipients of vast amounts of information to be memorised and as apprentices in the acquisition of elementary skills required for the production of specific products. Learning is perceived to occur through repetition and drill, the effectiveness of which is assessed through the use of test questions requiring little more than simple recall (Rowell & Prophet in Harber, 1996 p159). For primary-school teachers in Nyarugusu, it comes down to them talking most of the time while making notes on the blackboard and asking students to recite the right answers they have presented them before. Critical and/or creative thinking of students is rare and not promoted through this system. Books or informative media such as radio, television or internet are not available in the school which leads to a situation that knowledge can only come from the teacher. Explanatory pictures used for teaching are drawn by teachers themselves, either on a piece of paper or on the blackboard. The blackboard is the only thing that decorates one wall of the classroom. All other walls are empty, except for some texts that students may have written with chalk or the alphabet written by the teacher. Materials for creative subjects such as drawing or tinkering are absent, which causes the content of these lessons to be limited to not much more than copying a picture from the blackboard with a pen. Students are expected to listen and, when asked, they have to answer teacher's questions in the exact words that he had used. Now and then, students are asked to come to the front and write the correct answer on the blackboard. Free
interpretation while answering a question is in most cases not accepted as a correct answer. When a mistake made by the teacher on the blackboard is detected by one of the students, it will be discussed in lowered voice with some classmates but the teacher will not be confronted with it openly. At the end of every lesson, students get some minutes to copy notes in their note books. For the older students, additional questions or assignments are given as homework for the next day. Some children have either finished or lost their note books or pens or pencils. These children cannot do much more than wait till others are finished. When they have luck and a friend in the classroom, they may be given a paper and writing material so that they still can copy the notes. Without luck or a friend, the child will go home without notes and thus without a source to use when preparing for a test which enlarge the chances that he will fail. The child is punished in this way for not looking careful after his belongings but one can question whether it is the child’s own careless behaviour only that has brought him in this situation. A lack of further investment in schools, resources and curricula required to teach and study effectively remains a barrier. This is both a barrier for many to succeed in school but also to provide education that is adapted to and accessible for all children.

6.2.2 School culture and atmosphere
The above has shown that teachers are confronted with limited means to teach. Although it is positive that classes are relatively small, the drawback of this is that children can go to school only half of the day. It is also good to remember that teachers are paid small incentives and that their lives, being largely dependent on others and restricted by rules and regulations, are not easy. The background of the teachers may influence the way they teach and relate to their students. Refugees often complained or told sad stories about the absence of breakfast or scarcity of food in general, about the low 'salaries' and having lost friends and/or family during the war and fleeing to Tanzania. But all this information is largely kept out of the classrooms where it is remarkable how positive and enthusiastic the style of teaching of most teachers is. Many are energetically teaching, almost entertaining, the children. They are trying to keep the students’ attention despite the lack of any interesting material to show them. It all has to come from within the teacher. One technique used, especially for the younger children, is singing and hand-clapping. The end of a lesson and the start of the next 45 minutes before the next break is demarcated by a song and some simple exercises. This helps to keep children awake and gives them a moment to use their energy after a lesson during which they had to pay attention and sit still. Children are allowed to stand up, jump and/or clap their hands while singing loudly. Unfortunately, children in the neighbouring classrooms will hear this singing and be distracted. Hand-clapping is also often heard during questioning sessions. These sessions are used by teachers to check whether the children understand and remember what is explained. When all the right answers are given, the class is asked to applause for and praise those who were successful. Every class has his own ritual of praising. Some only clap hands in a certain rhythm, whereas others include putting dumps up, pointing to the best ones
in the class and giving them a knock on the shoulder. In this way, good behaviour such as paying attention and study well is positively reinforced and their behaviour will probably function as an example for others.

The same positive atmosphere can be experienced outside the classroom. A good example is the interaction between students and the headmaster. The role of the headmasters of the two schools at which the present study was conducted, is characterized more by a broker than a authoritarian dictator. It is quite easy for students to knock on the door, even when it is open, of the headmaster and ask or tell him something. Messages are sometimes even sent through the window of his office. Sometimes questions are simple, like can we have a ball to play netball?, but children also drop in to discuss more serious problems. Some have found themselves in a dispute with a teacher or classmate, others have problems at home or with studying. The headmaster is the one who listens, gives advise and when needed, brokers and mediates between the quarrelling parties. From time to time, class representatives will be consulted to give their view on the case. In other cases, the matter will not even reach the headmaster but be solved among students whether or not with the help of the class representative and if this does not work out a ordinary teacher may be consulted before going to the headmaster. The headmaster is approached as another person when he is the one who comes to the students instead of the students to him. Upon his entering the classroom, students will stand up and greet him in a standard, disciplined way. The same happens when other visitors come, although small mistakes are made with madame/monsieur when suddenly a woman enters the room. This results in some laughter but despite that, respect is shown and students will not sit down unless they are given the sign by the visitor.

Discipline is trained every day after the first break. Before entering the classrooms again, children make two rows with the tall ones at the back and the smallest in front. Following the whistling of one of the teachers, all children make the same movements with their hands and feet and this will continue until all move synchronically. Another exercise that is practised on a daily basis, is the singing of the national anthem of DR Congo, which is done before classes start. Discipline through corporal punishment seemed fully absent at first but it nevertheless turned out to be practised, as it was often reported by students and observed in classrooms. The main practice of teachers is a slap in the face for bad behaviour of the child such as fighting or distracting classes. Fighting on the playground that cannot be solved by the children themselves, will be settled by one of the guards who will use a cane more easily than teachers do. Small pieces of chalk are thrown to children who do not pay attention to the teacher while he is teaching in front of the class. Children who make mistakes in their homework or assignments during the lesson, which mostly involves copying what has been written on the blackboard, are punished with a low grade but rarely with caning or another form of corporal punishment.
6.3 Teaching Peace

Children learn about peace at school formally and at the same time, they also learn about it informally in and outside school. Sources for knowledge about peace and its possibilities that can be found in the camp in general were already discussed in chapter 4. For sources within the educational system, a look into formal lessons at school will provide valuable insights. In addition, students will also learn through experiences such as observing how a quarrel between some classmates is settled and how teachers deal with conflict, authority and discipline. Peace is a subject that is taught formally through the curriculum for primary education in all primary schools in Nyarugusu. Most of the children in the camp are therefore subject to peace education on a weekly basis since the majority of children is enrolled in primary education where peace lessons are taught. Although it can be argued that peace education requires special teachers who are equipped with specific skills and attitudes (Sinclair, 2001, p. 30), there are no special teachers for peace education in the primary schools in Nyarugusu and the matter is therefore taught by the normal teachers of the children. Like most of the other subjects, peace education is taught in French but often alternated with some explanations in Swahili.

There was no consensus between teachers about the frequency of peace education. Although it is scheduled once a week according to the planning in the office of the headmaster, teachers gave differing answers when asked how often peace education was taught in their class. The majority of teachers (72%) reported that they teach peace education twice a week. Another 16% reported 3 or four times a week, whereas 12% said to teach it only once a week. Despite all this, it was difficult to come across a peace education lesson. In most of the cases, the time schedule was not followed for this matter. Sometimes I was surprised with a lesson when it was not on the schedule, but most of the time I was disappointed when I came for it but found that another subject was taught. Moreover, it appeared to be difficult to make appointments about visiting and observing peace education lessons. In total, some 15 lessons of peace education were followed and are described shortly. Observations during other subjects, as it was outlined above, are added to give a more complete description. The following description of (peace) education will, nevertheless, have some gaps and certain questions will remain unanswered. Whereas some holes could be partly filled with the information given by teachers and other educators through interviews, other shortcomings in the observations could not be solved but will be discussed in the conclusion where they have been rewritten into recommendations for further research.

6.3.1 Purpose and importance

When teachers were asked about the purpose of peace education, three main themes were recognized. The first theme was teaching positive peace on an individual scale and the second theme was positive peace on a global scale. Answers for positive peace focused on teaching about the meaning of peace, love, unity and learning to listen to each other and come to agreements.
Whereas the first theme was directed at people in the direct environment of the children, e.g. friends, parents and teachers, the second theme stressed the importance of creating a peaceful society among all people worldwide. As in the following case, answers were often somewhere in between the two themes:

\[ 	ext{kumjengea mtoto mazingira mazuri yenye utulivu na ya maendeleo, kimwilimwili na ka kiroho} \]
\[ 	ext{hata kisikolojia. pia kumfanya mtoto akomae katika upendo na msamaha kwa jirani.} \]

to build for a child a good environment with serenity and development, physically and spiritually even psychologically. Also, making it for a child so that he matures in love and forgiveness for his neighbour

(teacher 12; std. 6, male)

Words often used were *amani* (peace), *upendo* (love), *usalama* (safety) and *masikilizano* (agreement or understanding). All these words were also found in children's reactions to peace as they were given during interviews with them (see next chapter). A third theme was the negation of conflict on an individual scale. One of the teachers in standard six says that the purpose of peace education is the following:

\[ 	ext{kuzoeza wanafunzi njia za kutatua matatizo kati yao;} \]
\[ 	ext{na kutambua visababishi vya ukosefu wa amani ili waviepuke} \]

to train students ways to solve problems between them;

and understand the reasons for the lack of peace so that they avoid them

(teacher 11; std. 6, male)

In contrast with a global scale that would focus on war and conflicts at a national or international level, the individual focus is more on avoiding *matatizo* (problems), *mizozo* (disputes), *migogoro* (troubles) and *magomvi* (quarrels) among students and people in their direct environment. Answers of the teachers show that they think that peace education should mainly focus on the immediate environment of children, teaching them about both the positive and negative connotations with the concept of peace. Positive peace was considered to be the right of all people in the world, i.e., peace on a global scale.

Concerning the importance of peace education, teachers were asked to give their opinion about the following statement: *Teaching to read is more important than about peace.* This question came forth because it seemed that peace education was often skipped and replaced by other subjects. Surprisingly, only a minority of the teachers agreed with the statement. They based their decision mainly on the following argumentation:

\[ 	ext{ndio kwa sababu mtu akijuwa kusoma anapata fursa ya kuijalamisha} \]
\[ 	ext{katika elimu zingine zikiwemo dini, amani, nk.} \]

yes because if a person knows to read he also gets the opportunity to teach himself about other education whether it is religion, peace, etc.

(teacher 1, headmaster, male)

This headmaster of one of the two schools connects literacy to the opportunity to develop oneself through reading and studying and argues that one can learn anything provided one has learned to
read. A majority of the teachers reacted otherwise and disagreed with the statement based on either one of the following two arguments. Those in the first group said exactly the opposite of the above, i.e.,

hapana, ni bora kujifunza amani, kwani bila amani hakuna mafunzo mengine.
<<kabla ya mambo yote tafuteni amani na upendo kwa watu wote duniai >>.
no, it is better to study peace, because without peace there is no other teaching.
<< before anything else, search for peace and love for all people in the world>>

(teacher 17, std. 3, male)

Teachers who reacted like this teacher, regarded peace as a prerequisite for all other teaching. Referring to a similar text from the bible in Matthew 6:33 (Lakini utafuteni kwanza Ufalme wa Mungu na haki yake na haya yote mtaongezewa [Mathayo 6:33]) who teaches you to search for the Kingdom of God before anything else, this teachers added to his answer that we should first find peace and love before all other things. A normal life cannot be realized when there is no peace, i.e., without a peaceful world, one cannot go to school nor study. Other teachers also disagreed with the statement but their argumentation was differently:

afazali kujifunza amani, kwa sababu watu wa siasa wanatusumbua na hali zao za kutaka kakandamiza wasio usomi
it is better to learn peace, because politicians bother us with circumstances of wanting to oppress those illiterates

(teacher 15, std. 3, male)

Teachers pointed to politics and stressed the importance of learning about peace as a shield against politicians who want to oppress the uneducated people. All people in this group referred to watu wa siasa (politicians) who kukandamiza (oppress). In fact, this argumentation is not so much different from the one that agreed that reading is more important than peace. Both see education as a key to fight ignorance. Whereas the former consider education in general the best shield, the latter see the key to fight oppression in peace education. Learning about the world empowers people and will work as a shield to oppression and getting involved in a conflict because it teaches people alternatives to violence. The question remains to what extent peace education in a primary school in Nyarugusu can form a shield and can empower children or even the wider community. The following section which describes the content of peace education in the classrooms, is an attempt to answer this question.

6.3.2 Observations in the classrooms
How does the theory of peace education as it was described in the manual, look like in practice? It has already become clear that education in general is restricted by limitations on materials, hours and the training of new teachers. In addition, rote learning is widely practised, studies are examination-oriented and much time is needed to copy notes from blackboard. These are not the ideal circumstances for learning and remembering but they are the reality for both the teachers and their
students. Peace education is taught in this same reality. The following text goes deeper into the practice of peace education that was observed in two randomly-chosen schools in the camp during eight weeks at the end of 2008.

Four different characteristics of peace education could be identified for the lessons that I managed to observe during visits to the schools. The first theme is translating the French word for peace, *la paix*, into other languages. *Amani*, the swahili translation, is always present as is *amaoro* for the official language of Rwanda and Burundi (kinyarwanda and kirundi) and *alembe*, the translation for *kibembe*. Teachers also ask their students whether they know other languages and can give the word for peace. A minority of refugees in the camp is part of the Congolese Fulero tribe and their word for peace, *mtula*, is also mentioned and accepted as a correct answer. Sometimes, the English *peace* is heard, and the Dutch word *vrede* will probably also be used for some time after my visits. Children can learn through this that peace is a word that is used in every language, also by people they do not know much about and even in languages of Rwanda and Burundi, often pictured as the opponents in the conflict in eastern Congo. At the same time, the translation without an explanation does not yet say anything about the conceptualization of the word by others, even those who use the same language. Teachers do discuss the meaning of the word with their students. Then, the focus is mainly on positive attitudes such as obeying your parents and being friends with each other. Once, a kiss-and-hug session was observed in standard two. In addition, teachers may refer to the absence of quarrels and war as the destructive forces of peace.

The second theme that occurs in peace education in the schools connects to this and can be entitled ‘how to resolve a conflict between classmates’. Lessons have the form of a workshop in which two children are encouraged by the teacher to start a fight in front of the class. While the two start pulling each other's shirt and run after each other in front of the classroom, a third child is pushed forward by the teacher to stop the two fighters and solve the conflict. The fighters, some of them enjoying the play whereas others are clearly ashamed to do something they are actually forbidden to do, are separated by the third student and told that they should never do it again because fighting is a bad thing. This play is well known by all students and some have become true comedians in acting their role of fighter or mediator convincingly. Through these plays, fighting has become something innocent that can be solved easily by separating the two and telling them they should not do it again. Resolving a conflict is shown as if it is an act that can be performed by every child in the classroom smilingly. This picture of conflict resolution may reflect the reality of the school and its playground but it can be doubted to what extent it prepares children to life outside this place. What if they are forced to join rebels or have a violent father at home that beats them up? Have they learned to deal with this kind of violence too?

A third theme is, in contrast, focussed on the situation outside the schools. Children learn about the war in Congo that caused them to flee and live as refugees in Tanzania. Teachers mainly
stress the unsafe situation in the homeland and relate that to the condition of life in the refugee camp. Lacking videos or pictures, teacher act what happened when they were running for bombs and gunfire, collecting the things they wanted to take before running and binding young children on their backs to carry them. Children in the classroom laugh when they see their teacher running through the classroom, putting pens in his shirt and than leaving the classroom while carrying one of the students on his back. After returning into the room, the teacher continues to explain that the situation he has just shown, was the situation that made him and many others flee. In fact, the serious situation that the teacher refers to is the situation about which the whole class was laughing. A question that remains is what do children learn about the seriousness of a war?

A second part of the lesson looks into the situation after arriving safely in Tanzania. Teachers discuss the current situation, without reference to peace, and explain that refugees will stay until they can return to DR Congo. Difficulties of living in the camp, receiving aid from outside and uncertainties about the future are shared with the children without dramatizing them. Children recognize what teachers tell since they all live the same lives. At the same time they are taught that this is a temporary solution that will last until Congo is safe enough to return to. Matters like killing, rape, people losing friends and family, severe suffering nor causes of the fightings were all absent in the lessons observed.

In line with the former three characteristics of peace education, the last is singing. Singing has almost become a metaphor for the way that peace is taught, i.e., it is universal, easy, optimistic and positive. Students learn to sing simple two- or three-sentence songs about peace and related issues such as love, friendship, and sharing but also more complicated songs about love for the country and about God who is the one to help the people to create peace. The messages that are transferred through these songs, relate to positive peace and not so much to the negation of it in terms of war and conflict. Singing, as it was already described above, is a way to create a moment of relaxation and creating a positive sphere in the classroom but at the same time it internalizes the messages sung in the children. They remember the song on the way home when the words go through their heads again. Messages about peace will in this way stick for a long time since songs, once known, are not forgotten easily.

6.3.3 Definitions of peace
In preparation of the following chapter about children's perceptions of peace, I asked the teachers to predict what children would tell me about the definition of peace. How much do teachers know about what children are learning about peace? Teachers’ answers were codified by using the same categories that were used to analyse the children's answers for associations with peace as they are described in the next chapter. It became clear that the three main categories found were positive peace in the immediate environment of the children and the negation of peace both on the individual as well as the global level. A teacher who included all three of these categories, wrote the following:
For the first category, the following words were mainly used to describe a positive peace: *upendo* (love), *masikilizano kati ya watu* (people listening to each other), and living with *maelewano* (mutual understanding), *utulivu* (serenity) and *urafiki* (friendship). Words in the second and third category were negations of war, such as the following: *kuacha magomvi kati ya watu* (stopping quarrels between people), *bila vita wala uhuni wowote katika nchi* (without war or any vandalism in the country), *kutafuta ufumbuzi wa migogoro kwa ushirika* (searching for a solution for problems in unity), *palipo amani hakuna mgogoro* (where there is peace, there are no problems), *bila matatizo kati yao* (without problems between them), *amani ni kutokuwa na fujo, conflit* (peace is being without disturbances, conflict). Some of the answers referred to human attitudes to describe peace, such as *mutual understanding* and *no discrimination*. The answers that teachers expected their students to give differed from the purposes of lessons that teachers explained earlier. Especially particular were the categories for the absence of war and the presence of human attitudes that were only found in predictions for children's answers but not as the purpose of peace education.

Teachers were also asked to think about possible differences between the answers that boys and girls would give for the definition of peace. A majority of the teachers (80%) said that there is no difference between the sexes because the education is the same for all and the purpose of peace is to unite, not to separate. The headmaster of one of the schools mentioned that:

*amani imepewa kwa wanafunzi wote bila kujali jinsia,*

*ila kuonyesha pia haki ya wasichana shuleni*

peace is being given to all students without concern for sex,

except showing also the right of girls at school

(teacher 13, headmaster, male)

Three other teachers connected in addition the circumstances under which girls are living to their argumentation about to the rights of girls. Examples of these circumstances were given to argue that girl's definitions of peace may differ from the ones of boys. They wrote that girls are often expected to work at home which will keep them from school and that girls can be harassed on the way to school or while being at school. Following the expectations of these teachers, negative peace in the immediate environment may characterise girl's answers more than boys. Another headmaster gave the following answer without any further explanation:

*labda wanafunzi wa kike wailenga ainisho ya amani katika mazingira ya kifamilia*

*na wale wa kiume wailenga ngazi ya juu* (Rwanda-DRC)
maybe that the female students aimed at an assortment of peace in an environment of the family and those males aimed at higher levels (Rwanda-DRC) (teacher 1, headmaster, male)

He predicts that boys will refer more to negation of conflict on a global scale as girls are more focused on their direct environment. The following chapter gives the results for the children who are interviewed for the present study.

The last question asked all teachers to write down their own definition of peace. Their own answers consisted of the same categories that were found in the definitions that children were expected to give. The same words were used for these categories Teachers may assume that their student's definitions are similar to their own definitions to a certain extent. One additional category was apparent in the teacher's own conceptions of peace but not in their predictions about student's answers. This category refers to human attitudes. A standard-three teacher explained peace as being:

maelewano kati ya watu bila ubaguzi
wa kabila, wa rangi wala wa jinsia
mutual understanding between people without discrimination
of tribe, colour nor sex

(teacher 5, std. 3, female)

More clear examples of human attitudes were given, e.g. *ukosefu wa chuki* (absence of hatred), *kutokuwa na upendelelo* (no preferences), *haki kuheshimiwa za binadamu* (respect for human rights), *kutokuwa na ukabila* (no tribalism). These attitudes show that teachers think of peace at a more abstract level than they expect their students to do.

6.4 Conclusion

Education in Nyarugusu is clearly the result of the interaction between that which comes from above and the availability of what is found on the ground. What comes from above is the policies and fundings from outside. They determine to a large extent what is taught and how it is taught. At the same time, the ideals for education are coloured by characteristics of life in a refugee camp in Tanzania. There is a lively interaction between what is happening inside and outside the schools, whereas at the same time, teaching techniques are mainly focused on rote-learning and teachers are often the only source of knowledge in schools when other materials are not available due to budgetary limitations.

For peace education, there are special lessons added to the original Congolese curriculum that is offered in the school. Most of the teachers see education, and some peace education in particular, as a shield to fight oppression and underdevelopment. Messages for peace, both explicitly and implicitly taught in schools, may be somewhat romanticized. Firstly, the student-teacher interaction in cases of conflict or failure is typified as positive. Mediation, the singing of songs and positive reinforcement through appraisal are all examples of this. At the same time, it
must be acknowledged that discipline and respect too is highly valued in students.

Secondly, the way that the concepts of peace and conflict are explained to students is also mainly in positive terms. Lessons often refer to events in the immediate environment and when it comes to more serious issues on a national or global level, the seriousness of the situation is replaced by a simplified picture of the reality. It may be questioned whether this gives students a balanced idea of what is expected of them and what is possible in life (cf. Valsiner, 2000, at the start of this chapter). For the matter of peace education, it may be questioned whether children learn what is practically possible in attaining peace. At the same time, it may be a praisable thing that teachers are able to be optimistic irrespective of what they have experienced in their lives and that they are avoiding to affect a new generation too by what has affected them. How this new generation thinks about peace and conflict is the subject of the next chapter.
7. Peace and Conflict for Children

Most of the children currently enrolled in primary education in Nyarugusu have never been in Congo because they were born in a refugee camp in Tanzania. School buildings here were paid for by the Dutch government, learning materials are provided by UNICEF and food is distributed through World Food Program and World Vision Tanzania. Children grow up while to a large extent depending on what is given to them or organized for them by outsiders from other parts of the world. Whereas the background of the majority of the community living in Nyarugusu has known war for a part of their lives, most of the young children in the present study were born and grow up in a relatively peaceful environment away from the war in Congo. What do the children know about the world surrounding them? Do concepts like peace and war play a role in their lives and how do these children in Nyarugusu conceptualize them? The former chapter has shown that peace and conflict do play a role in the primary education in which these children are enrolled. Teachers have their own ideas about what they are teaching their students. Chapter four showed that there are also factors outside the formal educational system that are most probably influencing what children know about the concepts. It is difficult to say where and how exactly children learn about peace and related issues but what they know can be studied as a first step for this matter. Eighty Congolese children were selected at two schools in Nyarugusu refugee camp in Tanzania to give answers to questions about peace and conflict and react on issues related to them. The questionnaire discussed in chapter 3 guided the interviews with all these young respondents. This chapter presents the results for the reactions of the children to the issues raised in the questionnaire and the analysis for relation with age, school standard and gender.

7.1 Analysis of Children's Responses

Many questions were asked and children's responses to all these questions were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively (the questionnaire and the response categories can be found in annex A and B). In addition to a statistical analysis, a descriptive analysis of the full answers and children's word-use is included to give a more qualitative overview of the results. The quantitative analysis of the coded answers was done to be able to answer the following questions: Are there significant differences in the responses of boys and girls? Are there significant differences between the age-groups and educational level? Respondents were grouped according to educational level (standard 3, 4, 5 or 6), gender (boy or girl) and to age group. Since age was not equally spread over the educational level, it needed to be decided how children would be grouped in order to still be able to find expected relations between children's age and the answers they give. Therefore, the following age groups were created: 7-9 (n=19), 10 (n=21), 11 (n=15) 12 (n=12) and 13-15 (n=13). The grouping was not ideal since numbers of respondents were not equal in every age group and the width of age per group differed too. An option to solve the latter would have been to
take the ages of 10-12 or 12-15 together but that would have resulted in an extremely large middle
or older group with n=48 and n=25 respectively. The combination of quantitative and qualitative
descriptions of the data obtained has resulted in an informative description of the different aspects
of children's understanding of peace, war, and ways to attain peace, and the relation of these
developing concepts with age, gender and educational level. Furthermore, children's solutions for
conflict dilemmas, their interpretation of the current situation in the region and people's
responsibilities for peace as much as student's factual knowledge about the world was assessed
through the questionnaire-based interviews. Results are described further below.

For a selected group of questions (i.e., all questions about the conception of peace and
ways to attain peace, and all questions about the conception of war) the following analytical
procedure to examine the obtained data was used. Each category of a certain question was
treated as a separate variable with two values, i.e. 1; present in response, or 0 when not present.
The relation among categorical variables was analysed by calculating relative frequencies of all
categories for the total sample. Missing values were only found when children had not been able to
answer or when they had not given a relevant answer. Based on the consequences for further
analysis, it was decided whether to keep these children or leave them out of the analysis.
Decisions made are discussed per question below. In certain cases, it was decided that not
respondents but categories had to be omitted or ignored and one time they could form one new
category but that was only done since reformation could be based on theoretical argumentation. If
a category turned out to have been included in less than 10% of the total responses, it was
excluded from further detailed examination because small numbers would otherwise influence the
results for chi-square tests negatively (De Vocht, 2000). Frequencies of the different categorized
responses and a qualitative discussion follow below.

The most-frequently used categories were analysed for their systematic interactions with
the independent variables age, school standard and gender. Interaction was tested for all three
separate variables and combinations of two dependent variables, i.e., age and gender or school
standard and gender. The found 2- and 3-way contingency tables were analysed by means of chi-
square ($\chi^2$) based on the assumption of an underlying chi-square distribution. Through chi-square
tests, one can find whether there is a relation between variables. By calculating Phi ($\Phi$), the
strength of the relation becomes apparent. In this way, it can also be said to what extent children's
answers can be predicted based on characteristics such as their age, school standard or gender.
For a near-perfect relation, high phi-scores close to 1 will be found. For social studies, phi-scores
around .350 are already relatively strong (Rosnow & Rosenthal, 2002). In the case that relations
are found, results per response category follow below. The following sections include descriptive
statistics for conceptions of peace, war and ways to attain peace but also the findings of the
statistical analyses. For the questions about the conflict dilemmas, and the questions about factual
knowledge, only relative frequencies were calculated and discussed in combination with word-use.
7.2 General Understanding of Peace and War

A first analysis was done to see whether all children in the present study understand the concepts of peace and war. Children’s conceptualisations of war and peace were found by taking their answers to three questions together, i.e., the question to give their associations with the concept and two questions to give a definition of the concept. Two new variables were created by combining these three questions to analyse the general understanding of both peace and war. In addition, it was checked whether children had enough knowledge to answer all the questions in the questionnaire. Seven children could not answer more than half of the total number of questions. Six of them were girls and there was only one boy. Five of these students were below ten years old and studied in standard three, the remaining two girls were ten years old and in standard four. A reason for eliminating these seven children from the total sample could be that they would cause many missing values. Nevertheless, other studies have found that not all children of this age already have an understanding of the subjects in the questionnaire (Hakvoort, 1996) and therefore, these children were remained to represent those children in the population who have not yet an understanding of the subjects in the questionnaire.

The understanding of the concept of peace or war was defined as giving a relevant answer to at least one of the three questions for peace or war respectively. Only 11% of all students (i.e., 9 children) did not have any understanding of peace. The total number of children with no understanding is too small to do any further calculations for dependency with gender, age or school standard. Nevertheless, there are more boys than girls (i.e., 6 and 3 respectively) in this group and more children in the lower standards than in the higher standards (i.e., 4, 3, 2 for standard 3, 4, 5 respectively). All students from standard 6 had a relevant understanding of peace. Only one student with the age of 11 had no understanding of peace whereas the rest of the eleven year old and older children could explain it. A majority of the children had an understanding of the concept of war, and only 5% of the children had not yet an understanding of war (i.e., 4 children). These four children were all below the age of 11 and there were both two boys and two girls.

7.3 Understanding Peace

For the first question I would like to know what you think when you hear the word peace?, nine possible response categories were created. While coding, one more category, relating to improvement of living standard was created out of three sub-questions that were initially separate but showed to be mixed in the answers of the children. This new category included the former categories 2b (material related), 5b (sharing with others), and 8 (development related). The same seven categories were also used to codify the questions about the definitions of peace which are discussed in the subsequent section below.

Computing the relative frequencies for all eight response categories, showed that 42.5% of the responses included positive emotions in the immediate environment (category 3i). Significantly
more girls than boys included this category in their response ($X^2=5.12$, df=1, $p<.05$, $\Phi=.253$). Respondents mainly used words such as:

- **kuishi/kukaa vizuri/sawa na familia** (living well with the family)
- **upendo kwa watu** (love for people)
- **iko furaha** (there is happiness)
- **jisikia vizuri** (feeling good)
- **usalama** (peacefulness, also safety)
- **kushirikiana** (working together/ co-operation)
- **kuwa na umoja** (be united/ be one)

Most answers refer to positive emotions and positive relationships with other people. It is often questionable whether these answers refer to the immediate environment of the children or to a more global level. Although reference to people in the immediate environment (e.g., parents or family) was only occasionally mentioned, special reference to the global level lacked completely in these answers. Responses about the negation of conflict in the immediate environment (category 4i), and about the negation of war that exceeds the immediate environment and merely approaches the global level (category 4g), were mentioned to a much lesser extent but still included in 12.5% and 10% respectively. For these two categories, no clear relations with the independent variables were found. Respondents often used the following words for the global category:

- **hakuna vita** (there is no war)
- **hapana kupigana** (there is no fighting with each other)

And for negation of conflict in the immediate environment;

- **tusiwe na fujo** (we should not have disorder/chaos)
- **wakati mtu hagombani, anapata amani** (when a person does not quarrel, he gets peace)
- **hapana kunya’nganya kitu chako** (there is no stealing of your thing)

For these two categories, the distinction between the personal and non-personal (i.e., general or global) level was more clear. For the former, children either included people from the own group or mentioned low-scale violence whereas war and fighting are related to conflict of the latter kind.

The newly-added category for improvement of living standard (category 8n) was included in 10% of the answers. Respondents who had been categorized for it, answered:

- **ukijifunza, utaendelea vizuri katika maisha** (if you study, you will continue well in life)
- **ni njia ya kuunda Congo** (it is the way to construct Congo)
- **nikiomba kitu, anipa** (if I ask a think, he gives me)

Responses for this new category included answers about either providing material, infrastructural or more ideological bricks to build a good life for oneself or others. Materially, there was reference to food, work money, and getting everything you want. In terms of infrastructure, hospitals, roads and buildings were mentioned. For the ideological part, most often the provision of education came up.

Another 37.5% of the respondents did not know to answer or gave an irrelevant response,
i.e., the answer was not an explanation of the word *peace*. Responses that were often heard in this category, included translations of the Swahili word for peace into

- *amaoro* (Kinyarwanda or Kirundi)
- *alembe* (Kibembe)
- *mtula* (Kifulero)
- *la paix* (French)

These answers, being mere translations, were not considered to be relevant answers to define the concept of peace. Translations had also been found in the education of peace in the classrooms, but there, they were used to argue the universality of peace. This insight was not shown by those who gave translations during the interviews. Others who did not give a relevant answer, stated that they had no ideas about the word *peace* at all. The number of boys who did not give a relevant answer was significantly higher than girls ($\chi^2=7.68$, df=1, $p<.05$, $\Phi=.310$). This pattern, although a chi-square test was not allowed for this particular case due to the minimal number of girls, was especially apparent for the boys in standard 6 or aged 12 years or older.

Children were also asked to define the concept of peace by explaining its meaning in one question to their classmates (Q2A) and in the other question to a 5-year old child (Q2B). The same four response categories as for association with peace were found to be mainly used. The categories 3i, 4i, and 4g were found in responses of 46.25, 21.25 and 18.75% respectively for the first question and 41.25, 30.0 and 10% respectively for the second question of the total number of children. Category 8n was included in 12.75% of the responses for the classmates-question. No clear relations with age or gender were found in the first question but girls were overrepresented in the former three categories when explaining peace to a 5-year old. Words different from the ones mentioned above were not found but it was interesting to see that whereas the question asked children to define peace, responses were often given in the form of advice:

- *muwe sawa* (you should be good/equal)
- *kila watu washirikiane* (all people should unite)
- *usiwe na ugomvi* (you shouldn't have bad feelings)
- *msitukane* (you should not insult)
- *tusianze kupigana* (we shouldn't start fighting)

Several children stated that there would be no sense in explaining the concept to young children because they will not be able to understand what is explained to them. Also for these two questions, many children were not able to give an appropriate definition although the relative frequencies of category 0 dropped to 21.25 and 27.5 respectively. Translations into other languages were rare for these two questions. Again, more boys than girls could not give a relevant response, although this result was not significant.
7.4 Strategies to Attain Peace

Four questions in a cluster for strategies to attain peace asked children how they would make peace being in a neutral position (Q3A), the leader of Tanzania (Q3B), leader of the world (Q3C) or the boss of a country at war (Q3D). In addition, three other questions about attaining peace were posed for Tanzania (Q4A2), Nyarugusu refugee camp (Q5B2) and DR Congo (Q5D2). To be able to codify all responses, an extra category was added to the original nine which were already used for the questions about peace described above. Reference to seeking refuge (category 9) was found in responses to the questions about strategies to attain peace in a region where there is war or where it was recently. Only in the question about the leader of a country at war (Q3D), a sufficient number of the respondents included this category in their answer to do further analysis. Mainly the categories positive emotions in the immediate environment (3i), negation of war at an individual
level (4i), negation of war at a global level (4g), or no relevant response (0), were found in the responses again (see table 1). The following Swahili words and phrases explain the first three categories, i.e., 3i:

- nawapenda wenzangu na familia (I like my friends and family)
- kucheza (playing) - uwe rafiki (you should be friends)
- kupatanisha/kushirikiana pamoja (uniting together)

nitawapenda wananchi kwanza, tutawasaidia wanao mawazo
(first, I will love the citizens, we will help those who have worries)

kukaa pamoja na wenzako (being together with your friends)

4i;

ninapokuta watu wanaogombana nitawaamua (if I see people quarreling I will resolve it)

nikikut watu wanaogombana, nikiwakataza wasigombane,

wakiacha ndio kuwa watashauriwa wasigombane
(if I come across two people who are quarrelling, if I stop them,
if they stop indeed being advised they should not quarrel)

4g;

kati nchi mbili, viongozi wawili washirike tena baada ya vita
(between two countries, the two leaders should cooperate after the war)

majeshi wamalize kugombana ili walete amani
(the soldiers should stop fighting so they bring peace)

nitawaita wananchi; musipigane, mnaweza kumizana na kuuana
(I will call the citizens; you should not fight, you can hurt and kill each other)

Answers found for these questions are similar to the ones found for associations with and definitions of peace. Only now, they are put in a more active form stating what one can do to make peace in contrast with the former that stated what is done when there is peace.

For question 3A, more girls than boys at the age of 11 or in standard 5 included answers for positive emotions in the immediate environment (category 3i). Question 3B revealed several relations: firstly, a majority of the children who did not give a relevant response were below 11 years old. Secondly, those of the younger ones who did give an answer used either words negating war at a global level (category 4g; more boys than girls) or improvement of living standard (category 8n; more girls than boys). The same pattern was found for question 3C. For the question about being the boss of the world (3C), the following two more categories also scored 10% or more: religion/church-related (category 2a);

kuomba Mungu (ask/pray to God)

Nitawaambia kwenda kanisani kusikia neno la Mungu,

watakaa kunifuata ndio wale watafika binguni
(I will tell them to go to church listen to the word of God,
they will stay following me, indeed they are the ones who will go to heaven.)
and improvement of living standard (category 8n):

nitawapa vitu fulani; chakula, nguo hela na elimu

(I will give them certain things; food, clothings money and education)

walime/ukifanya biashara, unaweza kuwasaidia wengine

(they should do agriculture/if you do business, you can help others)

kuwasomeshia, kusoma vizuri (provide education, study well) - kujenga hospitali (build hospital)

It is interesting to see that there are children who, being the boss of the world, would ask God to make peace. At least two explanations can be argued for. Firstly, they may think that it is beyond human capacities to make the world in total peaceful. Secondly, there may also be a link to the omnipresence of churches in the camp where preaching about peace is common practice. The inclusion of answers based on the principle of the perceived relation between development and peace, is less surprising but it should be noted that it has not been described to the same extent in former studies.

For the question about how to attain peace being the boss of a country at war (3D), categories 3i and 4g scored above the 10%. Although these two response categories are present for almost all questions about peace, their relative frequencies were quite different for this particular question. Almost fifty percent stated that they would stop the war as their main activity to make peace. Positive emotions related to peace were mentioned by a much smaller group whereas the negation of war in the immediate environment was almost absent. This shows that it is understood that living nicely together and showing love and happiness and no quarrelling will not be the main activity to attain peace in a country at war, but intervention on a more international or global level is needed. In addition, children referred to what they know to do when one is confronted with war, like their parents and others in the camp have done, i.e., seek refuge outside the country (category 9):

nitakimbia nafasi hazina vita, kama Tanzania/Kigoma

(I will run to a place where there is no war, like Tanzania/Kigoma)

twende kwenywe kambi (let us go to a camp)

Questions about the strategies undertaken to make or keep peace in Tanzania and Nyarugusu (5A4 and 5B2) showed all three categories that were most often heard in all questions about peace, i.e. positive emotions in the immediate environment (3i), negation of conflict in the immediate environment (4i) and negation of war on a global scale (4g). All three categories were found in approximately 20% of the responses. No clear relation between these responses and dependent variables for age and gender could be distinguished. One 12 year-old girl gave a long answer to explain the way peace is cared for in Tanzania and how she perceives to which extent refugees are allowed benefit from this peace:

Rais wa Tanzania Kikwete na marais wengine, ni mkuu wa nchi.

Wanasomeshia watoto kwa bure, patisha wafanyakazi mishahara, kulinda UKIMWI, wanashuka bei ya biashara sana. Tunakuwa kwema kwa amani.
Wamefunga soko kwa sababu Watanzania wanataka tunarudia kwetu, wanasema kuna amani lakini hamna

The president of Tanzania Kikwete and other presidents, it is the head of the country. They educate the children for free, provide salaries for the workers, care for AIDS, they make the prices of business go down. We are in a good position with peace.

They have closed the market because Tanzanians want us to return to our home country, they say there is peace but there is not

The last question about what was being done to make peace in a country where there is war (Q5D2), such as the often mentioned Congo, turned out to be too difficult to answer for half of the respondents. This was in contrast with the number of children who did not give a relevant response to (17.5%) for question 3D which asked children what they would do to make peace if they were the boss of a country at war. The answers given for this question were not repeated on a large scale for the question about Congo. Thus, children have shown an understanding of what can or should be done by the boss of a country at war but this understanding is not closely related to or informed by what they know about what is being done at the moment in Congo, a country at war.

**Table 1: Strategies to Attain Peace**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategies to Attain Peace</th>
<th>Relative Frequencies for Main Response Categories (N=80)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no relevant response (0)</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Bar Graph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religion/church-related (2a)</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Bar Graph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>positive peace in immediate environment (3)</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Bar Graph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation of war in immediate environment (4)</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Bar Graph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation of war on global level (4g)</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Bar Graph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improvement of living standard (8n)</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Bar Graph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seek refuge (9)</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Bar Graph" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.5 Understanding War

Children were asked what they thought when they heard the Swahili word *vita*, war (Q6A). Secondly, they were asked to define the word by explaining it to their classmates (Q6B) and to a 5-year old child (Q6C). There were ten main response categories. For all three questions, the same five response categories scored 10% or higher for their relative frequencies. The responses that were most often heard referred to negative consequences of war (category 6a; 27.5, 23.75, 33.75% respectively for the three separate questions). Children mainly responded with answers about death people and the majority included fleeing the country. This response category reflects the background of the society the students belong to but it is only described in general terms, i.e.,

* watu wanakimbia kwa sababu ya vita wasife, kwenda Nyarugusu  
  (people flee because of war so they don't die, going to Nyarugusu)
* tumekimbia porini (we have fled into the forest)
* wote watakufa (all will die) - wanapoteza mama na baba (they loose mother and father)
* tumetoka Congo kukimbia vita kwa kupata amani  
  (we have left Congo fleeing the war to get peace)

Twenty-five percent of the children on average gave answers closely related to this and included answers about war activities (category 4) In swahili, the following phrases were included:

* ni kitu ambacho kinaua watu (it is a thing that kills people) - kusikia bomu (hearing bombs)
* kuwauana (killing each other) - vikundi viwili vinapigana (two groups fight with each other)
* nikiwa kupigana nao ni vita (when I fight with them it is war) - kuna njaa (there is hunger)

Again, war is described in general terms only and more specific details, based on experiences shared by the community the children belong to, were not mentioned. The same activities but in the immediate environment of the child in stead of on a national/global level, were found in category 3, including words such as:

* kuleta ugomvi/kugombana (bringing quarrels/quarrelling)

This category was significantly more present in the answers of standard 3 students than in any other group ($\chi^2=16.92$, df=3, $p<.05$, $\Phi=.460$). Negative emotions in relation with the word *war* (category 7) were also found:

* nasikia kero tena nalia sana (I feel scared and also, I cry very much)
* sina furaha (I am not happy) - kitu kibaya sana (something very bad)
* haipendezi (it is not good) - sipendi vita (I don't like war)

Probably wanting to say the same, but focussing on peace in stead of war (category 1) was also included in answers like:

* watu wote wawe na amani, wamalize vita (all people should have peace, they should stop war)
* hawana amani (they do not have peace)

Answers in this category did not so much describe war, but were focussed on peace and stopping the war. For these responses categories, no clear relations with age, gender or school standard
were found. Other categories found in former studies, i.e., showing insight in the international character of conflict and a qualitative evaluation of war, scored below 10% in the present study.

Understanding War
After combining the responses for the three separate questions about war, the total understanding of war was measured. Significantly less children in standard three understood the concept of war than in the other standards ($X^2=12.62$, df=3, $p<.05$, $\Phi=.397$). Almost all categories scored above 10% (see table below). Categories 1 (peace-related), 3 (quarrelling) and 4 (war activities), 6a (negative consequences) and 7 (negative emotions) were also found for the separate questions. Quarrelling was more present in standard five than in the other classes ($X^2=13.77$, df=3, $p<.05$, $\Phi=.415$). Finally, more boys than girls referred to category war activities although the result was not significant. Categories 2 and 5 were only found when taking the three questions together in a cluster. The former category focusses on the attributes of war, e.g., wapolisi/sungusungu, (police) and bomu, silaha, banduki, kisu, panga (bombs, weapons, pistols, knife, machete) the army. Reference to human aspects of war (category 5) was codified for responses like hakuna upendo (there is no love), hawasikilizani (they do not listen to each other) watu wanaochukiana (people who hate each other). Although the society these children belong to, knows a recent history of war, the majority of children do not mention specific examples or memories of this war but only give a generally held picture of war.

![Total Understanding of War](image)

7.6 Conflict Dilemmas
Children were presented five conflict dilemma's and asked to react on them. The first three dilemmas presented to the children dealt with interpersonal conflicts, asking the children what they would do if someone in general (Q4A) or their best friend (Q4B) stole one of their belongings and what they would do if they saw their friend fighting with another classmate (Q4C). There were four main categories for the responses to be codified. Relative frequencies for these categories were
calculated but no further statistical analysis for relations with age, standard or age was done. Responses to the first dilemma were often (43.75%) *calling in the help of an authority in the person of the teacher* (category 2a), mainly saying:

\[ \text{nitampeleka kwa mwalimu na yeye atamwambia arudishe kitu changu} \]

I will take him to the teacher and he will tell him that he should return my thing and only occasionally, it was added that the teacher would punish the child by beating him with a stick. Nearly one third of the respondents choose to solve the conflict themselves by asking for their belonging (category 3b, 31.25%), using either the verb *kuuliza* (ask, like in question) or *kuomba* (ask, like in beg). There were also children who replied that they would leave it and let the child go with it (category 1, 18.75%).

In the case that it was their best friend who snatched something from them (Q4B), a large group (43.75%) of the respondents choose to forgive him and leave it, and/or let the child play with it (category 1). Many of them added that they would give it to their friend if he/she liked it. Other categories were ask (3b), psychological approach (4), and call in the help of an authority in the person of a parent or other adult (2b), with respectively 27.5, 15 and 12.5%. The psychological approach included answers such as:

\[ \text{nitamwambia si furaha (I will tell him it is no joy)} \]
\[ \text{nitameleza, nitamwambia ni kitu changu, ucheze na kitu cha kwako, mimi na kwangu. (I will explain him, telling that it is mine, he should play with his own and I with my own)} \]
\[ \text{nitamwambia ni rafiki asinyang'anye (I will tell him it is a friend he should not steal)} \]
\[ \text{nitashirika, nitashinda (I will co-operate, I will win)} \]
\[ \text{kesho atanileta (tomorrow, he will bring it to me)} \]

The majority of the respondents (87.5 %) choose a psychological approach (category 4) for the third dilemma (Q4C). When they would see their friend fighting with someone else, they replied that they would resolve the quarrel (*kuamua*) by stopping them, talk with them and make sure that they would not start again. As was described in the former chapter, the latter is a strategy extensively discussed and trained in the classroom.

Dilemma four introduced the children to a 15-year old boy called Riki and asked them what this boy should do when he would be forced against his will to join the army to fight for his country (Q4D1). Reactions were often quite egoistic, wanting to protect oneself, but also passive, trying to avoid being enrolled in the violence. More than a third (37.5) of the respondents included a focus on the negative personal emotions related to participation in a war, combined with an urge to take action to secure one's life such as try to seek help, flee or refuse to help because of fear or incompetence (category 2b). Another 25% was, in contrast with 2b, not so much a personal decision to refuse to join but merely one that included an evaluation (category 3b) of the options such as helping the country but not wanting to kill people, not accepting war as a way to get peace or stating that a 15-year old boy is too young to go help the army. Also this answer showed a
disapproving attitude towards war although it was based on a more thoughtful consideration of arguments including the wider community. Another 18.75% of the respondents decided that the boy should join (category 3a) on the basis of an argumentation like *it is good to fight to end the war, he should go/join*. More than half of the respondents explained Riki’s decision for not wanting to join the army (Q4D2) by focussing on category 3b again. Reasons given were mostly focused on non-violent solutions, either about the boy still being in school and not yet ready to be in the army or the negative consequences for the country and its people, such as fighting, deaths, destruction and no love or peace. Another 18.75% were more focused on the well being of the boy himself than on an evaluation of options. Their answers were codified under category 2a (negative emotions such as a fear of dying and/or killing). For dilemma 4D3 about Riki’s 20 year-old brother, a large group still advised to refuse to join while at the same time the group of children considering the option of joining the army had become larger. Negative emotions with action were mentioned by approximately one third (33.75%; category 2b) of the respondents, mainly mentioning that he will refuse and/or run away. A small group of 10% stated that Riki’s brother would be obliged to fight in the war (category 1). Another half of the respondents evaluated the options available. Of all respondents, 27.5% decided after evaluating the options that this older brother should join and fight for his country because he is old enough (category 3a) whereas 22.5% decided that this brother too should not join the army because war is not a good way to make peace (category 3b).

For the fifth dilemma, children were asked how they think about a conflict between two groups of people in a country. They were told that both groups wanted to end the war between them but did not want to start since they blamed the other group for having started the war. There were 5 categories and a sixth was added to categorize those who responded that it would not be possible to end the war. Most children gave an appropriate answer although their solutions were not that practical. Almost half of the children (46.25%) responded that both groups, without pointing to a guilty party, would have to work together to end this war (category 3). Strategies mentioned were talking and listening to each other, stop fighting and go away. Category 5 was found in 17.5% of the responses, the neutral party in this category was often the child him/herself, probably still in his/her role of boss of the country like he was during one of the aforementioned questions (Q3B-D). The child would try to stop the people telling them that they should not fight and make peace. Another neutral party that was found in their answers, was the leader of another country or God. Other respondents said that one party should start and that the other would follow (category 1, 11.25%).

7.7 Situation in Tanzania and DR Congo

When asked whether there is peace in Tanzania, 91.25% of the children affirmed that they consider Tanzania peaceful. Only 3 of all 80 children said:

*hapana, wamefunga soko, wanawaua watu kule Congo, wanataka tunaenda kule*
(no, they have closed the market, they are killing people there in Congo, they want us to go there)

or:

\textit{hapana, wanatuambia toka Congo, sisi hatutaki}

(no, they tell us to leave for Congo, we do not want)

Four others argued that there is peace but not everywhere and not every day. None of the children did not know the answer nor did they give an irrelevant response. Children were also asked whose responsibility it is to care for peace in Tanzania and in Nyarugusu. One third approximately (33.75\%) named president Kibaki (category 6b) as the person to take care of peace. Children also gave names of other presidents (category 6f, 18.75\%), mainly the first president of Tanzania who died in 1999, Nyerere or the present president of DR Congo, Joseph Kabila. Although these answers are not right for Tanzania, children have shown an understanding of the role of a president as the leader of the country and him having the responsibility to take care of peace but they had probably forgotten who is being what and where at the moment. Only 10\% of the children said that it is the responsibility of all people to care for peace in the country. The majority did not see a big role for ordinary people when it comes to taking care of peace. If children were asked who is taking care of peace in Nyarugusu, some gave different responses. The police and the army (category 5b) were the highest-scoring categories for the person taking care of peace in the camp, but still with only 15\% of all children included. This category is a correct answer as it refers to executing authorities in the camp and around it. Both the leader (without a name) of the camp (category 6h) and all people/the citizens (category 3) had a total frequency of 12.5\%. Lastly, the president of Tanzania (category 6b) was mentioned by only 11.25\% of the students in this case. The army/police was not often heard in the question concerning the whole country and for the president and citizens, changes in their relative frequencies were found. This shows that a certain group of children was able to differentiate between the camp and the wider country it is situated in.

Responses for peace in DR Congo were more varied. A majority, 62.5\%, stated that there is no peace but there is war whereas another 21.25\% stated that there is indeed peace in DR Congo. Some children (11.25\%) did not know whether there is peace or not, mainly saying that they were born in Tanzania and had never been in DR Congo. Others knew because:

\textit{baba anasema: 'Watoto wangu, nilikuwa na mawazo ya kwenda Congo, lakini kinachotuzuia ni vita. Subirieni kama vita vimeisha, tutaangalia kama kuko kimya, tutaenda kwa kuangalia kama kuna amani.'}

father is saying: 'My children, I had the thought of going to Congo, but what is preventing us is the war. You should wait until the war has ended, we will look if it is quiet, we will go to look whether there is peace.'

or:

\textit{nilisikia kwenye redio ni vibaya. pia kwenyetelevisheni.}

I heard on the radio it is bad. also on the television.

Close to half of the respondents (48.75\%) named the president of Congo, Joseph Kabila, as the one
person to be responsible to take care of peace in the country. All other categories scored far below the 10%.

For the ones fighting in the war (Q6E1), more than half of the children pointed to the army or the police (category 5b; 51.25%). In addition, a large group of children showed understanding of the situation stating that no only presidents and generals are fighting but also ordinary people. The latter (category 3), i.e., people without a special function, were also often heard to be the ones fighting and a general or leader of the army (category 5a) and the president (category 6b) also had percentages that were high enough to mention, i.e., 43.75, 31.25 and 18.75% respectively. For category 3 about citizens, Rwandans were mainly heard to be the ones fighting. Unsurprisingly, general Laurent Nkunda, being Rwandese himself, was most often found in the category for general of the army.

Two separate questions asked the children to explain why people are fighting or why they are involved in a war (Q6D) and after asking which people are involved in the war (cf. responses categories for Q6E1 above), children were asked why these people are involved (Q6E2). Although similar categories were expected to be found for the two questions, the first question showed two more categories than the second. These two additional categories, which were not mentioned for the situation in Congo, were war is used as a reaction to a conflict started by others or a murder or theft committed by others (category 2) and war helps to care for (global) peace (category 3b), i.e., wapate amani (so that they get peace). The three categories that were found for both questions were 4a, 4b and 5Ia. Category 4 dealt with emotional motives connected to war, i.e., the first (a) with negative emotions such as a lack of peace, not liking people, having no love for others and the second (b) with positive emotions such as having a joy in killing or fighting. Category 5Ia included material enrichment as a reason for fighting a war. Many answers in this category referred to kuiba/kugombania nchi (stealing or fighting about country/land), hela/pesa/franca (money) and other resources such as dhaabu (gold). The difference in response categories found for the two separate questions is interesting since it gives a clue how the people fighting in DR Congo are conceptualized. Whereas war in general, according to the children, can be fought as a reaction to others’ violence or to create peace, the war in DR Congo is described as a war fought by the president, generals and their army, and ordinary people specified as Rwandans, combating for self-enrichment and led by negative attitudes such as liking to kill and hatred against others.

7.8 Factual Knowledge

Children's factual knowledge about the history of DR Congo was difficult to analyse since 37.5% was not able to give any specific examples of war times, whereas 31.25% of the respondents stated that there had always been peace, not referring to any war or conflict in the past. The only category in the list of wars that took place in Congo, that scored 10% was a post-colonial war which children explained by referring to the impact it has had on their own lives, e.g., referring to people fleeing the country or loosing friends and/or family and now having to live in a refugee camp. Factual knowledge about the contemporary situation in the world in terms of war, was also assessed. A majority (76.25%) of the children mentioned at least their home country, DR Congo. Three other countries that had scores of
10% or above, were Burundi, Rwanda and Tanzania with 10, 16.25, 13.75% respectively. Though Tanzania is surprising to find, Burundi and Rwanda are not. Officially, there is no war in all three countries nor has there been a war in the past five years. Nevertheless, past wars in both countries are related to the current war-situation in Congo since many citizens of these two countries are residing in the eastern part of Congo. Especially Rwandans, still causing unrest in the area, are blamed for the war in Congo. The political violence in the post-election time in Kenya in early 2008 was mentioned by 7.5% and other countries were only mentioned by one or two respondents. Based on these results for factual knowledge, it is clear that children could only show limited and dated knowledge. They mentioned mainly facts concerned with the here and now. The answers given for understanding of the situation in the rest of the world, shows that the knowledge is quite isolated too, since examples from other parts of the world are rarely mentioned.

7.9 Conclusion

Analysis of response categories showed how these children think and what they know about peace and conflict. Both peace and war were understood by the majority of the children from the age of 8. Although there were not many, more boys than girls had not yet developed an understanding of peace. All those who had not yet developed an understanding of peace and/or war were below the age of 11. The understanding of peace was to a certain extent similar to earlier findings reviewed by Hakvoort and Oppenheimer (1998), as they were explained in chapter 2. Positive peace in the immediate environment of the children was a reoccurring theme (more girls than boys) and material-related responses were found. Abstract and norm related responses were not (yet) found extensively in the children's answers, including the older ones. The children in this study connected peace to development and improvement of living standard and connected the attainment of peace in certain specific cases to the work of God. These themes have not yet been found through other research. For strategies to attain peace, children were able to differentiate between situations of peace and war. Answers for situations of war were most often general solutions whereas the only practical solution often heard was seeking refuge outside the country. The understanding of war was quite general in contrast to what had been expected based on the background of the society these children belong to. The main themes referred to visible outcomes of war. The youngest children mainly explained war in terms of activities found in the immediate environment whereas the older ones had a more national (not international or global) understanding of the concept. A more elaborate comparison of the results presented in this chapter with former results, will follow in the general discussion of this study (chapter 8).

Children’s reactions to conflict dilemmas showed practical solutions for conflicts in the immediate environment but more general ideas for the higher (national and international) levels. A disapproving attitude in relation with conflict, choosing mainly non-violent solutions, was found. Children considered Tanzania peaceful whereas the majority defined DR Congo to be at war. Several parties involved in this war could be mentioned and they were pictured quite negatively. Although children showed that they know that wars can serve positive goals, the fighters in Congo, according to these
children, are mainly involved for egoistic self-enrichment. Further knowledge of conflicts in the world turned out to be often outdated and overall very limited. Children mainly focus on the here-and-now and their knowledge is not much future oriented nor do they have detailed knowledge of the history of their own country. It is hypothesized in the present chapter that these results are linked to certain characteristics of the context in which children are growing up, e.g., formal education, relation with aid organisations, religious movements and the status of refugee. These possible explanations for the findings are elaborated in the following chapter. Also, suggestions for further analysis to confirm hypotheses and avoid possible bias included in the present study, will be given.
Part 3
understanding peace and conflict in a refugee camp
conclusion and discussion
8. General Discussion

The present study was an attempt to link the different layers that can be discovered in the field of peace education. At the same time, it wanted to study the understanding of peace in a context which is not yet well documented. Therefore, this study addressed the understanding of peace in policy, education and as part of children's developing knowledge of the community they belong to in the context of Congolese living in a refugee camp in Tanzania. It was questioned what happens with the policy and theory of peace education when it is implemented in primary schools in a Congolese refugee camp in Tanzania, e.g., what is possible in reality, how do the students think about peace and conflict and how do their ideas relate to the intentions of the developers of the peace education programme, of the teachers using it and to the context in which they are living?

The interesting element in the present study is the global links that can be found between on the one hand Western-based organisations who develop policy and on the other hand refugees in Africa who are subject to these policies. The following findings, derived from the present study, can be useful for organisations that want to develop policy for peace education programmes which are successful in addressing the understanding and context of those it is intended for.

Children's understanding of peace as it was studied through the questionnaire-based interviews, both showed similarities and deviations from the general results for children's understanding as they were found in other studies. The following discussion compares the results for children's understanding outlined in chapter seven with results of former studies as they were reviewed by Hakvoort and Oppenheimer (1998) and discussed in chapter 2. Firstly, similar to former findings, most children have developed an understanding of peace and war at the age of 8. Slightly more boys were present in the group who had no understanding of peace yet. For those who were able to conceptualize peace, reference was made to positive interpersonal relations (more often by girls than boys) and the negation of quarrels and war. For the negation of war, a trend was found that this theme was more often used by boys than girls. The same three themes and relation for gender have been found in former studies but results for the present study showed that the stress of the Congolese refugee children is mainly on positive interpersonal relations rather than the absence of war. The main stress on positive emotions may be explained by the way peace is dealt with in the classroom, i.e., more in terms of positive feelings than the absence of war or conflict.

Secondly, more abstract, norm-related themes like disarmament, concern for nature and pollution and global initiatives for cooperation between nations were expected to be included in the answers of children above 10 years, especially for the questions about strategies to attain peace. In addition, concern for human aspects of peace like tolerance and respect and universal rights like free elections and democracy could be expected for children over 10 and 12 years respectively, based on past findings. In terms of abstract themes, only a small group in the present study, mostly older boys over 13 years of age, included human attitudes, whereas other abstract or ideology-related themes could not be identified. The absence of a more abstract understanding can be due to the infrequent
occurrence of instances of this kind of peace in society (Covell et al., 1994). Abstract notions were elaborated in the manual for the refugee children but they have not been found to be taught in the classroom nor are they very present in the situation in which refugees are living in Nyarugusu.

Thirdly, although abstract notions were found only occasionally, inclusion of certain roles in the questionnaire through which children were asked to explain strategies to attain peace, provided other extra information on children's understanding of peace. The answers to the questions showed some other, additional themes in comparison with former research. The first theme referred to improvement of the standard of living in terms of provision of food (also through sharing), work, education and rebuilding the country. In general, many refugees explained in conversations that they picture the situation in European countries both as peaceful and having a high standard of living where everything is available. It was therefore no surprise to see that children link the latter to their understanding of the former notion. The second theme is related to religious matters, connecting the attainment of peace to asking God and reading in the bible. Explanations for this finding, may be found in the presence of churches, and religious festivities. Additional research is needed, since this explanation was not researched through the present study but only observed by the researcher. The third theme, seeking refuge outside the country, was only mentioned as a strategy to be executed by the boss of a country at war. Reference to fleeing, even though it is only in general wordings, shows the experience of the refugee society who have fled themselves when they were confronted with war.

Fourthly, for the understanding of war, both earlier findings were confirmed and additional results, matching with the context in which they were found, could be identified. Similar to former studies, war was explained by concrete themes, i.e., war activities and the negative consequences of war. Consequences referred to refugee-related issues such as being forced to leave the country and having to live in a camp rather than descriptions of destroyed houses or graveyards which were found in former studies. In contrast, war objects like soldiers and weapons were only rarely mentioned. This may be the consequence of not having been exposed to pictures of war in terms of these objects through television or newspapers. Other concrete themes, in contrast, may be more visible for these children. Activities such as shooting and killing both as the negative consequences are experienced by the children in their daily lives. They know people who have died and know that their current stay in Tanzania is the consequence of the war in Congo. In addition, other themes were discovered for the current group of children, i.e., 1) responses related to the negation of peace, and 2) negative emotions concerning war. The first theme may be caused by the elaborative discussion of peace in questions preceding the ones about war causing children to think of war in terms of the negation of peace. The second theme was mainly concerned with a negative evaluation of war, a theme not found before the age of 15 in other studies. Evaluation of the war in a negative way, was something that was often done in the camp. People, also teachers, blamed the war in Congo for the situation in which they were living and told children that fighting a war is a bad thing they should not do or they would continue living in the camp for a long time. This may explain why children express such a concern at a young age. In line with former research, children of this age did not show an understanding of the mutuality of conflicts.
Fifthly, children's reactions to conflict dilemmas showed practical solutions for conflicts in the immediate environment but only more general ideas for the higher (national and international) levels. An attitude related to self-defence mainly, combined with non-violent solutions, was given. Both attitudes are in line with the lessons learned through education (for solving interpersonal conflicts) and the history of the refugee society (avoiding war by fleeing to another country). Although children showed that they know that wars can serve positive goals, the fighters in Congo, according to these children, are mainly involved for egoistic self-enrichment. Further knowledge of conflicts in the world turned out to be often outdated and overall very limited. Children mainly focus on the here-and-now and their knowledge is not much future oriented nor do they have detailed knowledge of the history of their own country. A thorough investigation of the curriculum and education may provide more information what is taught to children and compare it with their factual knowledge of these themes.

Concluding the findings for children's understanding of peace, war and strategies to attain peace, the repertoire of children's understanding of peace, war, and ways to attain peace, mainly consists of several concrete themes also found in previous studies, complemented with themes referring to the status of being a refugee and a religion-related theme acknowledging the influence of churches on children's understanding of the peace. Although it is not possible to say with much certainty how children construct their understanding and what influences their understanding, some clues were found. There is a reoccurring reference to children's status of refugee, e.g., a way to attain peace in a country of war is fleeing and war is explained in terms of the consequence that children experience in their lives, i.e., their families were forced to flee, certain friends and family lost their lives and the present life in the camp is hard. Reference to the status of refugee in terms of dependency for solving problems in life, could also be identified in the absence of many practical solutions for conflict dilemmas which show that children have not learned to think of creative solutions. Of course, it is possible that more probing during the interviews would have resulted in more specific, creative answers. Furthermore, it is possible that the absence of these answers was due to limitations caused by children's developmental stage connected to age in stead of dependency, i.e., they have just not yet developed this level of understanding.

These possible explanations can be tested in future research. Some relations between the response categories given and the variables for age or gender were found but it was difficult to distinguish clear patterns based on these results. The inclusion of more children in a subsequent study and a stricter divisions of age groups spread over a wider range would probably have resulted in stronger patterns that can be interpreted and analysed for the context in which they are found. The inclusion of younger children, from age 6, can give a better insight in the development of the understanding of peace and war. Older children, above 15, can prove whether more abstract, evaluative themes are found in adolescents of that age and provide additional knowledge about children's developing understanding. Also, explanations for the absence of more advanced
knowledge should also be researched by addressing the context in which children are learning about peace and war. This may not only provide explanations for the absence of abstract themes but also for the limited knowledge of the current situation in the world. The present study showed that children are not taught much detailed or factual knowledge about the conflicts in DR Congo or other parts of the world and other sources of information are only limitedly available. Doing elaborate observations in the classrooms, an analysis of the curriculum as much as other sources of knowledge such as family and the availability of mass-media may present further explanations for the findings in this study.

In the present study, already an analysis of policy, the peace education manual and observations in schools were executed. Based on the results of the analyses and observations, some remarks can be made. Firstly, although the policy behind providing aid for refugees has been critiqued extensively, the policy expressed through the manual for peace education is adapted to the context, needs and level of development of the children quite adequately and realistically. According to what is written in the manual, its intention is to teach children knowledge, skills and attitudes to become adults who know how to balance peace and conflict and to make the world more liveable for all. This is done by prescribing lessons for peaceful conflict resolution, communication, care for the environment and the curriculum includes information on the mechanisms of governmental and legal institutions for the older students. Sensitivity for age is included in the manual which is expressed in the emphasis on tangible examples from everyday life. Older students are pointed to their own responsibilities for peace and they are expected to be involved in a more active way than their younger counterparts. Nevertheless, at one point, the manual does not address a problem found in reality. Although a description of the context in which refugees are living showed that refugees are often confronted with gender based violence, the attention in the manual for gender differences is very limited and does not address this subject. The absence of the topic of gender-based violence may be explained by the wish to solve such issues within the own community without interference of outsiders, as was described in chapter four.

Observations in the classrooms showed that the formal teaching of all the different lessons described in the manual for peace education is very limited and therefore, its influence is not expected to be very high. In general, the educational situation in primary schools is limited by the number of schools and materials available which are not sufficient to serve all the students enrolled. In addition, new teachers do not get the supervision and training which is needed. Nevertheless, teachers use the limited means available and try to stay optimistic. For example, the limited formal teaching of issues like peaceful and democratic interaction, human rights, and conflict resolution as they were prescribed in the manual, is complemented by informal teaching of these values through positive interaction with students, teachers and other adults. It can therefore be concluded that many of the issues prescribed in the manual are taught to children irrespective of the limitations put to education in the camp. At the same time, it should be noted that informal
teaching of these issues seems to be more influential than the formal ways as they were expected by the developers of the manual.

In addition to informal teaching in the schools, children also seem to learn through interaction with the rest of the community. The content of the answers for the understanding of peace and conflict showed that children have acquired knowledge about being a refugee. For refugees in general, this status means that they are treated by aid organisations and the Tanzanian government as vulnerable victims who need to be empowered whereas at the same time they are kept passive recipients of aid. The idea that these people need help and that their lives need to be structured from outside the own community may have adverse effects on the way people can live their lives and the way they conceive their own agency in influencing the present and future. Seen from the Tanzanian perspective, the way refugees are handled is understandable. Tanzania too is a poor country with limited means to help a large influx of refugees in a emergency situation. Nevertheless, it is impossible to still talk about an emergency situation after more than ten years of hosting the same refugees. Some refugees have managed to improve their lives by making use of the regulations imposed, whereas others do not benefit and are merely dependent on external aid. The dependency of refugees is reinforced by the way both the Tanzanian government and international organisations have limited the freedom of agency of people. These limitations have made a large group of people more passive than needed. They live their lives without showing many initiatives for improvement since most initiatives are not encouraged from outside. The same apathy is reflected in the way people look at the future and imagine the possibilities of peace, which they both approach in a way that shows that they have rested in the situation and are waiting for intervention from outside.

Taking this context into consideration, a paradox for providing aid to refugees becomes apparent showing that on the one hand the rationale to empower refugees by providing (peace) education for their children and on the other hand the restrictive context which keeps the majority of refugees dependent. Next to the scholarly subjects which are important to improve chances for a good job, students learn in schools to defend themselves, to avoid harmful influences and to interact with people who are different from them. In short, education is thought to provide the means to raise refugees to be social and critical citizens and agents of their life. This may help to avoid the recurrence of conflict that caused so many to flee and stay in a refugee camp for a long time. In addition, the messages included in peace education can contribute to a more peaceful world. Irrespective whether the actual teaching of these values is possible in reality, the messages are in strong contrast with the way organisations interact with refugees in the camp at the moment. Do they want refugees to become more critical and show initiatives for peace or do they want to keep them passive and dependent? Whereas the former seems to be appropriate for returning to the home country, the latter is still widely accepted in the country of current residence. Nevertheless a change of attitudes cannot be expected overnight but needs time and repetition for
the message to last. What students encounter in daily life is in such strong contrast with the message that educational programmes are considered to teach, that the influence of the latter is most possibly lost before people go back to their home land.

The final question for this general discussion is: what are the practical implications of these conclusions? This study showed that children’s understanding and knowledge is mainly limited to the here-and-now. They have learned to live in peace and react in non-violent ways to conflicts but do not know much about the outside world. For the current situation they are living in and for what can be expected from children this age this knowledge and understanding of society is enough. When taking into account budgetary limitations that not allow for much more elaborative teaching, it becomes only more apparent that more cannot be expected. Of course, improvements can be made through investment in the development of teaching materials and making them available in all schools for all children. Also, training teachers to use less formal and more cooperative, child-focused teaching techniques can benefit the development of children’s strategies to learn and interact with others. Providing more lessons in history and about the world at large in terms of existing value systems and customs gives children a more balanced idea about the world and informs them on possibilities available in other times and/or places. This wealth of knowledge will allow for the development of creative and critical thinking.

Children's knowledge as it was found in the present study, is considered to be adequate to create a peaceful environment for themselves at the moment. The extent to which they are prepared to continue doing this in the future when they have become grown-ups and have gone back to Congo, is not enough. According to international policy, refugees are considered to be in need of protection and should be taught to avoid renewal of violence through empowerment. Nevertheless, refugees' own agency (also in the case of attaining peace) seems to have been lost while translating policy into practice. Dependency affects how people react on difficulties in their lives. Without wanting to ignore the difficulty to change the current situation, changes are needed to prepare refugees for repatriation and facing the complicated environment they left many years ago. If refugees are not empowered, a new influx of refugees can be expected in future. For one, political and economic reform in Congo itself is needed. In addition, refugees' creative and critical thinking should get the opportunity to develop. Although the latter is something that should start when refugees are still living in the camp, it is not very much encouraged and promoted at the moment.

Some ideas for change include encouraging entrepreneurship, by providing more freedom of movement in and out of the camp. This will most likely make refugees less dependent on aid organisations. They can go to town to do business, interact with Tanzanians and make some money to improve their own lives. If land is provided, others may do agriculture and in that way produce food to sell on the market or supplement their own food-rations. Another suggestion in relation with enlarging the agency of refugees, is the support of community-based organisations.
By making available micro-credits, people can organise themselves, make their voices heard and at the same time help others. Now may be the right time to implement these changes in the refugee camp, since it will prepare people for repatriation and become agents of their own lives after having settled in DR Congo again.

As a final point, one has to admit that the violence many refugees have gone through, cannot lead to any other reaction than fleeing. Many people have been confronted with extreme violence in their lives. First and for all, repetition of the history should be avoided. It is needed that people have the tools to construct conditions that prohibit conflicts to escalate to the level which it has reached in the past. Although it is good to protect children to a certain extent from the horrors that have happened in their parents’ lives, they also need a balanced picture of reality since a romanticized idea will not help to prepare them for what may be awaiting them. Education is not the only means to teach children these lessons nor is it good to confront them with too many horrific details at a young age. They should be given the opportunity to experience real struggle at their own level of development in order to learn how to deal with it gradually. Giving refugees in general more freedom and promote critical and creative thinking, will make adults the right role-models for children. Moreover, it will enlarge the freedom in which refugees can live and encourage them to become agents of their own lives. This will help them to become true peacemakers in their society.
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Part 4
response categories, questionnaire and abbreviations
annexes
annex A: Nominal Categories for Responses of Every Thematic Unit

The concept of peace and strategies to attain peace (Q1, 2A, 2B, 3A, 3B, 3C, 3D, 5A4, 5B2, 5D2).

categories are not exclusive, except 0

0) missing: no response, no conception of peace [calling it good/necessary without explanation], irrelevant response (no definition because he will not understand me, only Q2b)

1) war related: responses about war (activities), make war, chase away the bad people, the Rwandans [not the negation of war]
   a. religion/church related: God, heaven, symbols, bible, word of God, preaching in church
   b. materially-good life for oneself: receive presents, have a house, have income, have food
   c. absence of everything: calmness, quietness, stillness, inactivity, patience

3) i. positive emotions at an individual level: being nice/happy/friendly, listen to each other, do good things or help others [without giving examples], playing or living together, be with family, obey parents and help them with chores, love, unity, cooperation, usalama / upole
   g. positive emotions at a global level: collaboration between (leaders of) nations or groups, between soldiers or companies, be dependent on each other globally, be good for everyone, be good president, answers that refer to all people [not just friends/family]

4) i. negation of conflict at an individual level: no quarrels or fights between people/friends, activities to solve interpersonal conflicts, no stealing or teasing, no mistakes or problems
   g. negation of war at a global level: activities to solve a global conflict, i.e. absence of war (activities)/hostility/fighting/shooting [without mentioning individuals], protection of the country

5) a. disarmament: reduction or stopping the possession of weapons/bombs/army
   b. sharing: distributing food/clothings/money, creating materially-good life for others

6) human attitudes: no discrimination/segregation/hatred, respect/tolerance/equality, obey rules, mutual understanding, use good words, treat others just

7) universal rights: liberty/freedom of speech and press/democracy/fair elections/justice [good governance only when examples of aforementioned are included, otherwise 3g]

8) development-related: create opportunities to go to school, study and learn, educate about peace, built up the country, improve health care and economy, there is work for everyone [answers must be focussed on conditions for peaceful future for whole region/country/world]

9) seek refugee: flee, leave the country, go into hiding, go to another place [without mentioning the avoidance/negation of conflict/war]

interpersonal conflict dilemmas (Q4A, 4B, 4C). categories are not exclusive, except 0

0) do not know: no response or irrelevant response

1) no reaction: not important enough to react on, leave it, he can have it, I'll forgive him (only for Q4B) friends won't do that, will return it by themselves

2) call in the help of an authority
   a. own teacher
   b. parents/other adults
   c. other/older child(ren)

3) concrete activity
   a. aggressive: (only for Q4A, 4B) beat/fight/tease/steal, (only for Q4C) help friend to fight [just do]
   b. ask: (only for Q4A, 4B) request to get belongings back, (only for Q4C) ask others to help [first think]

4) psychological approach: (only for Q4A, 4B) negotiate, exchange for something else, ask for reason, explain that he is doing something wrong, wait for some time till it is no fun any more or till he has forgotten it/not paying attention any more, (only for Q4B) friendship is over, he is not a real friend (only for Q4C) mediate, separate both, tell them to stop, have to forgive each other

national conflict dilemmas (Q4D1, 4D2, 4D3). categories are exclusive

0) do not know: no response or irrelevant response

1) join: forced, obey rules, accept superiority of authority [without evaluation of options/consequences]

2) a. negative, personal emotions without action: afraid, do not want to (die)
   b. negative, personal emotions with action: try to hide, flee, seek refugee/help of authority, refuse to
help [because of fear; without mentioning consequences]

3) a. **evaluation of options/ consequences and join:** consider one's responsibility/norms/values and join, accept it as part of the human system, war is inevitable, fight for country/own people, will make the world better place, it is good to fight, regardless of age
b. **evaluation of options and will not join:** go over responsibility/norms/values of people and decide not to join, do not accept war/fighting an option, will not help, one should not react with violence to solve a war, he only wants peace, he is only a boy and/or should study

4) a. have contrary ideas/actions (only for Q4D3): less afraid, is stronger, no longer a child
b. do the same/think the same (only for Q4D3)
[recategorize these answers to 0-3b]

**International conflict dilemma (Q4E). categories are exclusive**
0) do not know: irrelevant response or no response
1) one of the two has to start [without pointing which one]
2) guilty group should start
3) both groups should try to solve together [do not mention guilt]
4) both are guilty
5) a neutral, independent party should help
6) it is impossible to end this

**Peace in the country Tanzania and DR Congo? (Q5A1Tz and Q5A1Congo). categories are exclusive**
0) do not know: no response or irrelevant response
1) yes
2) no
3) yes and no

**Historical knowledge of own country in terms of peace/war (Q5A2). categories are exclusive, except 3**
0) do not know: no response or irrelevant response
1) only general terms: negation of peace without specific examples, reference to war without giving examples of specific conflict
2) yes: there was peace [without mentioning a conflict], used to be peace
3) no: not always been peace in own country because one/more of the following conflicts:
a. tribal wars in pre-colonial times
b. conflicts during colonial times
c. freedom fights
d. post colonial, reference to internal, civil/tribal/political war (e.g. Hutu-Tutsi, presidential candidates)
e. post colonial, reference to international war [other nations are included] (e.g. Rwandan-Congolese)
f. post colonial, reference to impact on own life; fleeing, losing family/friends, going to Tanzania

**Knowledge of temporary situation in terms of peace/war worldwide. (Q5C). categories are not exclusive, except 0**
0) a. do not know: no response or irrelevant response
b. yes: peace everywhere
c. only general terms: what is war/peace?
1) no: peace is not everywhere because one/more of the following contemporary conflicts:
   1) DR Congo
   2) Kenya
   3) Uganda
   4) Sudan
   5) Iraq-US
   6) Zimbabwe
   7) Israel
   8) Somalia
   [no war or the ones that ended more than 5 years ago: 9) Burundi, 10) Rwanda, 11) Ireland, 12) Tanzania, 13) Europe, 14) South Africa]
who is involved in creating peace and war? (Q5A3, 5B1, 5D1 and Q6E1). categories are not exclusive, except 0

0) do not know: no response or irrelevant response
1) direct environment: parents/older siblings, teacher
2) religious leaders: Jesus/God/Allah, priest/pastor, the gods/spirits
3) all human beings: everybody, all people, citizens, (group of) people in general [no special function mentioned]
4) authority not directly related to situation:
   a. another country/its leader
   b. union of some countries/their leaders
   c. UN
5) executive authority:
   a. general/leader of the army [person]
   b. army/soldiers/police/security
   c. dictator [use this title]
6) controlling authority:
   a. the boss/leader [no title/name]
   b. president of the country [and/or his name]
   c. minister: of Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Defence
   d. prime minister
   e. government: cabinet, law, politicians
   f. king/queen/former president [not relevant for area questioned but is/was relevant in another situation]
   g. judge/court
   h. (only for Q5B1) leaders appointed in the camp

The concept of war (Q6A, 6B, 6C). categories are not exclusive, except 0

0) missing: no response, no conception of war, irrelevant response
1) peace-related: responses about peace (activities), war will stop, war stops peace, no peace any more
2) weapons/soldiers: army/soldiers/generals, bombs/guns/pistols, enemy
3) quarrel: individual level of conflict, quarrelling, getting problems
4) war activities: shooting/fighting/killing/destroying/violence
5) human aspects of war: no trust between people, teasing each other, no co-operation/friendship/love, selfishness, hatred
6) consequences
   a. negative: houses are destroyed, people are dying/become poor/go into hiding/flee/are forced to work/cannot go to school, there is blood/graves/hunger/misery, situation is dangerous.
   b. positive: people will protest to stop the war
7) negative emotions: being afraid, cry, people have pain, it is not nice/sad, war is not good, I do not want it
8) conflict
   a. international, between two or more countries/their leaders [without insight in mutual character]
   b. international, between two or more countries/their leaders [with insight in mutuality]
9) qualitative evaluation of war: innocent people are punished/killed, kill to see justice done, done without thinking what actually is being done, out of anger that others attack them, about land that is not even theirs, difficult to stop the war and make peace because war has destroyed mechanisms to do that

reasons to make war or be involved in it (Q6D, 6E2). categories are not exclusive, except 0

0) missing: no response, irrelevant response [also definitions of war without explanation of the reasons]
1) small things: not worth the fight, people don't know why any more, will not get anything
2) related to conflict: response to an act of war/violence, will be punished when you do not join
3) caring for peace:
   a. individual level, so they can be together
   b. global level [for all or without mentioning individuals], end the war
4) emotional motives
   a. negative: people are angry/do not like each other, are not peaceful, hate each other
   b. positive: people think it is fun, they like fighting/killing/make other's lives difficult, want to kill
5) **Enrichment**
   a. **Material**: more land/money/oil
   b. **Enlargement of weapon arsenal**
   c. **Enlargement of power**: being a boss, leader

6) **Protection**
   a. **Themselves**: do not want to die, self-defence
   b. **Direct environment**: defend family/friends
   c. **People in the country**: prevent people to die/suffer
   d. **Land/property**: others should not get our country/land

6) **Global conflict** [several parties are mentioned]
   a. **Between countries**: disagreement between countries/their leaders
   b. **In one country**: between population/residents and government, discontent with ruling authority, fight for independence

7) **Responsibility** [reference to responsibility/norms must be included]
   a. **At individual level**: you have to help your country/fellow-man
   b. **At a global level**: help neighbouring countries, UN

8) **Discrimination**: racial, religious, insult each other

9) **Absence of universal rights**: suppression, negligence of people's freedom
annex B: Questionnaire in English

name: (boy/girl), age in years: std: about the family: number of children: work of parents: place:

1. I would like to know what you think when you hear the word (-book?) peace?

2A. If classmates asks “can you explain the word peace to us?” What would you tell them?
2B. How would you explain peace to a 5-year old child?

3A. how do you think you can make peace?
3B. If you were the boss of Tanzania, what would you do to make peace?
3C. If you were the boss of the world, what would you do to make peace?
3D. If you were the leader of a country at war. How would you make peace in this country?

4A. You know that the teacher does not like children who tell upon others but a classmate snatched your favourite toy. What are you going to do?
4B. What would you do when your best friend snatches that from you?
4C. Your friend is having a fight with another classmate. What would you do?

4D-1. There is boy called Riki in a country where there is war. He is 15 years old and has to be helpful in the war. He does not want to join the army because he does not want to be a soldier in the war. If others force the boy to join the army, what should Riki do?
4D-2. Why doesn't he want to join the army?
4D-3. Riki has a brother who is 20 years old. He thinks the same as Riki about helping soldiers but he is an adult. What should that brother do?

4E. There are two groups of people at war with each other. They both want to stop the war, but they do not want to start talking about peace because both think that the others have started the war. Both groups want the others to start talking about peace. What do you think about this?

5A-1TZ. Do you think there is peace in Tanzania? Why do you think so?
5A-1DRC. Do you think there is peace in Congo? Why do you think so?
5A-2. Has there always been peace in Congo? Can you give examples (i.e., “situations without peace” in the past)? What happened?

5A-3. Who is taking care of peace in Tanzania these days? 5A-4. How?
5B-1. Who is taking care of peace here in Nyarugusu? 5B-2. How?
5C. In the world there are countries where there is war. Do you know which countries? Why do you mention these countries? What is happening in those countries?
5D-1. Who tries to take care of peace in such a country? 5D-2. How?

6A. What do you think when you hear the word war?
6B. If classmates ask “can you explain the word war to us?”. What would you tell them?
6C. How would you explain war to a 5-year old child?

6D. We have already spoken about the countries where there is war. Why are people fighting? Why are they involved in the war?
6E-1. Who is fighting in these countries? Which people are involved in these wars?
6E-2. Why do they join the war?
annex C: Questionnaire in Swahili

jina: (mv/ms), miaka mingapi: darasa: kuhusu familia: watoto wapi: shughuli ya wazazi: mahali:

1. Ninaomba kujua unafikiri nini, unaposikia neno (~ kitabu?) amani?

2A. Wakiuliza wanafunzi wenzako: “je, unaweza kutueleza maana ya neno amani?”, utawaambia nini?
2B. Utaelezaje maana ya amani kwa mtoto wenye umri wa miaka mitano?

3A. Unaletaje amani, unafikiri?
3B. Ukiwa kiongozi wa Tanzania, utafanyaje kuleta amani?
3C. Ukiwa kiongozi wa dunia, utafanyaje kuleta amani?
3D. Ukiwa kiongozi wa nchi ambapo ipo vita, utafanyaje kuleta amani?

4A. Unajua kwamba mwalimu wako hamtaki mtoto anayekuja kumwambia juu ya tendo mbaya ya mtoto mwingine lakini mwanafunzi wenzako anekinyang'anya kitu chako cha kuchezwa unachopendezwa. Sasa, utafanya nini?
4B. Utafanya nini kama rafiki yako wa bora anakinyang'anya kitu hicho?
4C. Rafiki yako anapigana na mwingine wa darasa lako. Utafanya nini?
4D-2. Kwa nini, Riki hataki kujiunga na wajeshi?
4D-3. Riki ana kaka anayehumza unani kama iridha. Huyo anapigana na mwingine wa darasa lako. Utafanya nini?
4E. Kuna kundi mbili za watu ambazo zinapigana wao kwa kwa wao. Wote wanataka kutuliza vita, lakini hawataki kuanzisha mazungumzo ya amani kwa sababu kundi zote inaathiri kwamba mvulana ambapo wengi wengi wakafanya vitendo wengine wengine kwa sababu kundi zote inafikiri kwamba vita hivyo. Kundi zote zinataka kwamba mwingine wengine wameanza vita hivyo. Kundi zote zinataka kwamba mwingine wengine wameanza mazungumzo ya amani. Unafikiri nini kuwa hivi?

5A-1. Unafikiri kuna amani ndani ya Tanzania? Kwa nini kwa amani?
5A-1DRC. Unafikiri kuna amani ndani ya Congo? Kwa nini kwa amani?
5A-2. Wakati wa zamani, ilikuwa amani ndani ya Congo? Kwa nini?
5B-1. Nani anatunza amani ndani ya Tanzania siku za leo? 5B-4. Kwa nina gani?
5B-2. Nani anatunza amani ndani ya Tanzania siku za leo? 5B-4. Kwa nina gani?
5C. Kuna nchi ambapo vita duniani. Je, anajua nchi gani? Kwa nini kwa amani kwa nchi gani? Kwa nini kwa amani kwa nchi gani?
5D-1. Nani anajaribu kutunza amani ndani ya nchi gani? 5D-2. Kwa nina gani?

6A. Unafikiri nini, unaposikia neno vita?
6B. Wakiuliza wanafunzi wenzako: “je, unaweza kutueleza maana ya neno vita?”, utawaambia nini?
6C. Utaelezaje maana ya amani kwa mtoto wenye umri wa miaka mitano?

6D. Tumeshazungumza juu ya nchi ambapo vita. Watu wanagombana kwa sababu gani? Kwa nini wanahusika ndani ya nchi gani?
6E-1. Nani anapigana ndani ya nchi gani? Watu gani wanahusika ndani ya nchi gani?
6E-2. Kwa nini wanajungiwa na vita?
annex D: List of Abbreviations

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CBR</td>
<td>Community Based Rehabilitation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRC</td>
<td>Convention on the Rights of the Child</td>
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<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
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<tr>
<td>GoT</td>
<td>Government of Tanzania</td>
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<tr>
<td>MHA</td>
<td>Ministry of Home Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>PE</td>
<td>Peace Education</td>
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<td>SGBV</td>
<td>Sexual and Gender Based Violence</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRCS</td>
<td>Tanzanian Red Cross Society</td>
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<td>TWESA</td>
<td>Tanzania Water and Environmental Sanitation</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund</td>
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<td>WFP</td>
<td>World Food Program</td>
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<td>World Health Organisation</td>
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<td>WoT</td>
<td>War on Terrorism</td>
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<td>WVT</td>
<td>World Vision Tanzania</td>
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