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From Education for Peace to Education in Conflict:
Changes in UNESCO Discourse, 1945-2015

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Abstract
Since the turn of the 21st century, the global education community has focused significant attention on the promotion of education in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, embodied in the growth of a new subfield called Education in Emergencies. This article points out the surprising distinction of this new sub-field from the more established and closely related field of peace education. It examines UNESCO documents for insight into the changing global ideas that have facilitated the shift in focus from peace to conflict. Empirically, we draw on a quantitative content analysis of more than 450 UNESCO documents published between 1945 and 2015. We find that education for peace remains a constant, if evolving, concern in these texts, but that a powerful emphasis on individual rights has shifted the discursive focus away from inter-state relations and toward the educational needs of young people. In the documents, conflict is now theorized as a threat to education and peace is re-envisioned not just as the desirable outcome of education, but also as its pre-condition. We show how this ideational transformation has re-cast an expansive array of conflicts, natural disasters, and other emergencies as threats to education.

Abstract

Since the turn of the 21st century, the global education community has focused significant attention on the promotion of education in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, embodied in the growth of a new subfield called Education in Emergencies. This article points out the surprising distinction of this new sub-field from the more established and closely related field of peace education. It examines UNESCO documents for insight into the changing global ideas that have facilitated the shift in focus from peace to conflict. Empirically, we draw on a quantitative content analysis of more than 450 UNESCO documents published between 1945 and 2015. We find that education for peace remains a constant, if evolving, concern in these texts, but that a powerful emphasis on individual rights has shifted the discursive focus away from inter-state relations and toward the educational needs of young people. In the documents, conflict is now theorized as a threat to education and peace is re-envisioned not just as the desirable outcome of education, but also as its pre-condition. We show how this ideational transformation has re-cast an expansive array of conflicts, natural disasters, and other emergencies as threats to education.

Introduction

Recent years have witnessed a dramatic rise in academic and professional interest in education in fragile and crisis-affected contexts among the international education community (see, for instance, the collection of articles edited by Bengtsson and Dryden-Peterson 2016). The development of this new sub-field, frequently referred to as "education in emergencies," has been reflected in the striking growth of new organizations, networks, and funding streams, as well as publications and training programs, all dedicated to promoting young people's education in situations of conflict and emergency (Kagawa 2005; Novelli and Lopes Cardozo 2008; Talbot and Davies 2008; Dryden-Peterson 2016). Amidst the rapid growth of this sub-field, it is easy to forget that the well-established field of peace education precedes this emerging field and, on the surface, shares many of the same concerns, including education, peace, and human rights (Reardon 1989, 1997; Burns and Aspelagh 1996; Page 2004; Bajaj 2008). And yet, the new field of education in emergencies has largely developed outside of its older cousin and alongside the earlier focus on education for peace a newer focus on protecting education from conflict and crisis has emerged. Recognizing this somewhat surprising distinction, this article asks: What explains this shift in global educational emphasis from *peace to conflict*?

To answer this question, the article examines changes in how the relationship between education, war, and peace has been understood in international education discourse over the past six decades, as reflected in publications by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). We employ a quantitative content analysis of more than 450 UNESCO documents published between 1945 and 2015, sampled from the extensive online repository of the organization. For our conceptual framework, we draw on world society theory (Meyer et al.

1997), as a useful theoretical lens to examine and interpret changing world-level ideas about education. Concretely, we build on the concept of "theorization" (Strang and Meyer 1993) to understand how UNESCO discourse, as produced by contributing professionals and academics, conceptualizes the relationships between education, war, and peace over time. Unlike many studies based in world society theory, which study the diffusion and adoption of ideas in diverse national contexts, this article thus seeks to document changes in dominant global ideas themselves. The production and circulation of global ideas about education is a key dimension of globalization and, in particular, of the influence of international governmental organizations and the professionals that inhabit them (Finnemore 1993). Our focus on the global, as opposed to the cross-national, contributes to an important body of work dedicated to explicitly examining the global level as a way of overcoming the "methodological nationalism" that characterizes many studies in comparative education (see e.g. Dale 2005).

The contribution of our article lies in unpacking an often taken-for-granted phenomenon in the international education community: the growing focus on protecting education in fragile and crisis-affected contexts. We argue that this shift should not be thought of as the natural or inevitable result of changing conflict patterns and intensities over the 20th century. Instead, our findings highlight the ideational underpinnings of this shift. As we show, there is an older worldview in which the ultimate goal of global action is international peace, not individual human development through education. This older emphasis is tied in particular to the prevention of inter-state war, offering a vision of schooling as an instrument of socialization for international understanding. It is a collective vision, tied to the nation-state as "the charismatic locus of both power and right" (Ramirez, Meyer, and Lerch 2016, 44). Yet in our documents, we

demonstrate the recent rise of a rather distinct emphasis on the individual human person, and their right to personal development through education. While our documents show that concerns with peace remain and evolve, we argue that this shift to the individual undergirds the move toward a focus on conflict: rather than being only an educational outcome, peace is re-envisioned as also being a necessary condition for the protection of education. We show how this seemingly subtle shift opens up whole new conceptualizations in UNESCO discourse, re-casting an expansive array of conflicts as threats to education, extending these threats beyond war to any type of emergency, such as natural disasters, and also defining new populations whose right to education is at risk. It is this broadening and reconceptualization of threats and target populations that supports our claim that the current global emphasis on education in fragile and crisis-affected contexts represents an ideational transformation rather than straightforward reflection of changing conflict dynamics.

Background

Education and Conflict Prevention: Continuity and Change

The idea that education can prevent conflict is not new. There is a long-standing tradition in the field of comparative education, championed by UNESCO, that examines the role education plays in promoting tolerance and international understanding as building blocks of peace. In the post-World War II decades, this peace was conceptualized as occurring primarily between nation-states. While the tragedies of the War meant that the national state lost much of its earlier charisma (Meyer and Bromley 2013), the post-war global order was an inter-state one. In line with this international focus, there was a widespread sense that education was in part to blame for prejudiced and hostile attitudes between nations (Harris 2004). The creation of UNESCO in

1945 has to be understood in this context, as evident from its constitution: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." (UNESCO 1945). One educational priority at that time was to combat excessively nationalist messages diffused through national education systems. Another was to create educational activities and collaborations that would teach children (and adults) shared global values, such as human rights, global interdependence, and the richness of international diversity – in short, to socialize them for international understanding (Reardon 2000; see also the papers in Bajaj 2008). This broad theme continued during the Cold War years, although peace educators' priorities evolved to include concerns about nuclear disarmament, democracy, and education (Reardon 1982; Marks 1983; Markusen and Harris 1984; Brock-Utne 1985). UNESCO's focus on peace education, to this day, is manifest in programs such as the UNESCO Associated Schools, which aim to promote international understanding and peace through education (UNESCO 2016).

Peace education, then, is rooted in the Durkheimian conception of the school as a site for socialization (Durkheim 1956). In its older version, the educational task is primarily to improve interpersonal relationships for international understanding, with the ultimate goal of more peaceful societies and a more peaceful world. This intellectual tradition still exists today and is also found in the newly institutionalizing field of education in conflict and emergencies. For example, current works highlight the ways in which education can impact conflict dynamics through processes of exclusion, the devaluation of diversity, and the nurturing of violent attitudes (Bush and Saltarelli 2000; Gallagher 2004; Smith 2005; Davies 2005; Lopes Cardozo 2008; Burde 2014). The notion that education can either prevent or exacerbate conflict persists today.

However, as we will show empirically, the strong emphasis on educational socialization to prevent *international* conflict has by and large faded away. Indeed, the approaches to peace that are developing as part of today's education in emergencies field differ in important ways from earlier notions of peace education. In contrast to the latter's relatively narrow, school-based, socialization model, today's concerns with education for peace assume a more holistic understanding centered on the political economy of conflict and the building of peace. They draw attention to the myriad inequalities and grievances that may be tied to schooling as a social institution (Novelli, Lopes Cardozo, and Smith 2017) and call for "conflict-sensitive" education that responds to these dynamics in a given context (Smith 2014).

In part, changing forms of violent conflict during the 20th century help account for these changing approaches. Many scholars have noted that since the end of World War II there has been a dramatic decline in inter-state wars, paired with a rise in intra-state civil conflicts, as illustrated in Figure 1 (Gleditsch et al. 2002; Fearon and Laitin 2003; Hironaka 2005). Today's attention to the role of education in the broader political economy of peacebuilding is connected to this predominance of intrastate conflict, given a growing literature identifying relationships between education and the (re-) occurrence of civil war (see e.g. Urdal & Østby 2010; Lange 2012). As such, contemporary conceptions around education for peace have shifted to emphasize not international, but nation-internal drivers of conflict, such as a lack of opportunities for youth and socio-economic or cultural inequities within societies.

[Figure 1 here]

The Rise of Education in Conflict and Emergencies: A Broader Shift

In view of these changing conflict dynamics, one might argue that the current global attention to education in conflict and crisis is merely a function of these shifting material realities. Our point, however, is that changes in conflict patterns and intensities – while certainly relevant – cannot fully account for this shift. In making this argument, we build on an extensive sociological literature reminding us that the perception of social problems is in great part a matter of socio-cultural framing and imagination (see e.g. Gusfield 1980; Benford and Snow 2000). It only rarely maps neatly onto empirical reality. Indeed, as evident from Figure 1 above, the number of civil wars began to outnumber inter-state ones long before the 1990s and 2000s, when global attention to education and conflict started to accelerate. Furthermore, there was in fact a decline in the number of wars, including civil wars, starting in the early 1990s (see Fearon and Laitin 2003) and spanning much of the period in which the field of education in emergencies was consolidating. These observations cast doubt on a straightforward relationship between conflict patterns and global concerns around education in conflict.

Importantly, the strikingly broad scope of today's field of education in emergencies sits uneasily with an explanation centered exclusively on transformations in the nature of violent conflict. In sharp contrast to the older field of peace education, the field tackles not simply violent conflict, but also seemingly unrelated issues such as natural disasters. Moreover, and as a further point of distinction from the earlier tradition, the field maintains a focus on providing education in conflict zones and on the school as a site for protection, quite irrespective of the conflict-mitigating role of education. These considerations suggest that the shift from education for peace to education in conflict is more than a straightforward response to a changing empirical reality.

Instead, it is indicative of a profound world cultural transformation, which we delineate in this article.

The development of education in emergencies as a distinctive global field of activity started in the 1990s, but really took hold and flourished after the turn to the 21st century (Kagawa 2005; Novelli and Lopes Cardozo 2008). Traditionally, global responses to emergencies delivered basic services, not education (Burde 2007). There were some modest global refugee education efforts, starting primarily after World War II. The task for refugee education initially lay with UNESCO, and was gradually transferred to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Yet for much of the twentieth century, global refugee education initiatives consisted of limited scholarship support for individual refugee students at universities (Dryden-Peterson 2011). Historically, education thus tended to be excluded from the global emergency response.

The rise of the education in emergencies field overturns these earlier norms and practices. The field emerged from within the global activities around Education for All (EFA). Its growth was supported both by advocacy from humanitarian actors in education who had come to view schooling as central to protection and restoration of normalcy during emergencies and from development actors' recognition that conflict-affected countries had many of the worst educational outcomes in the world. The Second World Education Forum in Dakar in 2000 included a special focus on education in conflict- and crisis-situations and was followed by the first Global Consultation on Education in Emergencies in Geneva that same year. The most prominent global network in the field, the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) was founded at that consultation, and subsequent years witnessed the rapid structuration

of the education in emergencies field, aided in part by a donor focus on fragile states after 9/11 (Novelli 2010). This includes new global networks and working groups within aid agencies and corresponding funding streams and jobs, global standards, tools, and best practice guides for emergency education programming, as well as a new scholarly journal and academic and training programs in the field (Winthrop and Matsui 2013). Importantly, education – while still considered to be underfunded – has been incorporated into the global humanitarian response system, exemplified by the Global Education Cluster within the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (Anderson and Hodgkin 2010).

As a whole, the field promotes education for displaced and non-displaced children and youth in contexts where schooling is disrupted by violent conflict, natural disasters, or epidemics – straddling acute and protracted crises (Nicolai, Hine, and Wales 2015). While the field maintains a concern with conflict mitigation and prevention as discussed above, it differs drastically from the older peace education tradition in its explicit focus on the delivery of education in times of conflict and, importantly, other situations of crisis. Contrasting with the earlier emphasis on inter-state peace, this implies a concern with the rights and needs of individual children and youth. The goal of this article is to trace, empirically, the normative changes that have underpinned and accompanied this important shift.

Conceptual Framework

We draw on the world society tradition to make sense of the changing relationship between education, peace, and conflict, as reflected in international education discourse. World society theory emphasizes the macro-sociocultural environment in which nation-states, organizations,

and individuals are embedded (Meyer et al. 1997; Boli and Thomas 1997; Meyer, Krücken, and Drori 2009). At the organizational level, this environment includes international organizations, agencies, and networks, as well as the international professionals that staff them. These organizational structures in turn are legitimated by and infused with world cultural norms of individual and national progress, human rights, equality, and scientific rationality.

We build on the core insight of the theory that changes in world cultural norms often manifest in real-world changes, such as the development of new fields of study and practice – like education in emergencies. Given their intangible nature, however, the study of world cultural transformations can be an empirical challenge. One approach would be to interview professionals steeped in our fields of interest about long-term changes they have observed. But a key element of cultural norms is their taken-for-granted nature, which means that useful additional insights can be gleaned from studying them as they manifest in socio-cultural artifacts or structures. This is the approach we take here, focusing on global educational discourse, rather than individuals' experience.

We adopt Chabbott's (2003) argument that international education discourse reflects the world cultural norms of its era and interpret its production as part of the process of "theorization" (Strang and Meyer 1993). World society scholars define theorization as "the self-conscious development and specification of abstract categories," facilitating the structuration of ideas into generalized patterns and relationships (492). Through theorization, "culturally legitimated theorists" (494) such as education professionals and academics are engaged in a continual process of conceptualizing and re-conceptualizing the relationship between education, peace, and

conflict over time. Importantly, "theorization is a strategy for making sense of the world," (493) and is a "main mechanism" through which global cultural norms are diffused (Meyer, Krücken, and Drori 2009, 17). For theorization to be effective, it needs to be compelling to relevant audiences. We can thus understand which theorizations have purchase within the international education community at a given time by examining which concepts persist, which decline, and which proliferate. Conceptually then, our article builds on this understanding of theorization to characterize the discursive shifts we observe. However, with other scholars pointing to a lack of theory-building in the fields we study (see e.g. Novelli and Lopes Cardozo 2008, 481-482), we choose to predominantly refer to it as a process of "conceptualization" to capture the various normative stances expressed in the texts we review.

We acknowledge that world society theory is not the only theoretical tool for understanding global educational change and that there is a lively debate about its strengths and weaknesses (see e.g., the collection edited by Silova and Rappleye 2015). Yet for a number of reasons we believe the theory to be uniquely suited for the kinds of questions we ask in this article. One major critique of the theory is that in its focus on the global stage and "top-down" pressures it fails to account for local-level processes, contestations, and enduring differences (see e.g., Anderson-Levitt 2003). As we are explicitly interested in world-level shifts, as opposed to their local-level instantiations, this critique is less relevant for our paper. In fact, the theory's analytical emphasis on abstract blueprints drawn at the most macro-social level of the world offers a conceptual advantage for us, vis-à-vis other theoretical lenses. A second major critique notes that the theory underplays or ignores the workings of power and the political economy (see e.g., Dale 2000). It is certainly true that world society theory puts comparatively little emphasis

on the material expressions of power and the interests of powerful actors. And yet it draws our attention to more subtle, but nonetheless consequential, expressions of power, rooted in professional discourse and, indeed, theorization. As we detail in the section below, we recognize that such discourse is, of course, not unrelated to material and coercive forms of power. However, it is also an independent source of influence and social change, rooted in the authority that professional status and expertise carry in the modern world. As such, the theory is uniquely suited for our core goal in this article: to understand the power of changing ideas in ushering in novel and dramatic global foci on education in fragile and crisis-affected countries. We now turn to our empirical tools for capturing these changing emphases.

Data and Methods

We center our empirical efforts on analyzing shifts in UNESCO discourse, which we treat as a limited but nevertheless highly useful source for examining global normative shifts. Drawing on a broad collection of documents from UNESCO's online repository, we examine patterns in documentary references to abstract concepts – such as peace, conflict, and rights over time. We do not engage in a traditional discourse analysis, which would entail unpacking the socio-linguistic meanings of word choice. Instead, we analyze the patterned usage of generalized, abstract concepts in UNESCO documents throughout the decades, highlighting conceptualization as a process of abstraction. As we detail below, a broad range of academics, policy-makers, and practitioners contribute to the production of UNESCO documents. As such, UNESCO documentary discourses afford insight into shifting ideas in our professional communities of interest, as expressed in written materials. Contrasting with interview-based approaches, our unit of analysis is therefore the collective discourse produced by professionals and academics in

UNESCO documents rather than these individuals per se. While this discourse likely echoes (and influences) the individual interpretations of contributors, it carries important broader meaning and distinctive ontological status as a world cultural artifact, reflecting and in turn shaping the global norms of its era.

Our decision to use UNESCO as our data source rests on prior research on the role of international governmental organizations (IGOs) as carriers, producers, and diffusers of global norms (Barnett and Finnemore 1999). UNESCO is a multilateral IGO founded in 1945 to "contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations, through education, science, and culture" (UNESCO 1945). Despite this early focus on war and peace, UNESCO has historically been focused on cooperation in educational development (Mundy 1999); it is not a humanitarian agency. Moreover, it has a very limited field presence, and has historically struggled with funding, relegating it primarily to an advisory and policy role in the global arena (Jones 1988; Mundy 1999). Nevertheless, UNESCO documents offer a useful lens into shifting conceptualizations about education over time, particularly in relation to our concepts of interest. For one, the organization has been a thought leader in the international education sector since the end of the Second World War. It was founded as the main multilateral agency dedicated to educational cooperation and regularly hosts major global conferences in education, including the annual International Conference on Education. More recently, it was tasked with housing the Education for All monitoring. Second, the organization has always had an idealistic orientation toward human rights and peace, as expressed in its original mandate and subsequent recommendations. This history makes it uniquely suited for the longitudinal study of global-level theorization of the relationships between peace, conflict, and education.

Additionally, UNESCO makes its large repository of documents publically available through its UNESDOC database, with over 130,000 documents produced by extended networks of educational professionals dating back to the 1940s. The wide number of contributors based at organizations, universities, and ministries around the world means that the ideas found within these documents tend to reflect broadly held, rather than organizationally specific, ideas. We are not studying UNESCO's organizational trajectory per se, but the evolution of global discourse as contained within the broad range of documents assembled in the UNESCO repository. Moreover, with contributors based at a range of organizational types, UNESCO documents blend academic and professional voices. Compared with an exclusive focus on academic articles or books, our focus on UNESCO documents thus allows us to capture the overlaps between academia and the professional world in the fields we study. While existing work highlights gaps between research and practice (see Paulson 2007), the education in emergencies field is characterized by a great deal of academic-practitioner hybridity, making UNESCO's breadth a real strength of our analysis.

Nonetheless, we recognize the limitations of using UNESCO documents as our data source. For one, the field of education in emergencies also developed thanks to successful advocacy by humanitarian actors in education, who view education as an essential element of protection (Kagawa 2005). Given UNESCO's orientation toward development, an analysis of UNESCO discourse will likely not fully reflect humanitarian rationales and ideas, for instance around protection. This means that some of the findings displayed here would likely look different had we examined a humanitarian organization. Nevertheless, our analysis sheds light on a similarly important question, namely: why and how education in emergencies became a developmental

concern. Second, it is important to acknowledge that despite the range of contributors, UNESCO discourse is likely to disproportionately reflect Western or Western-style conceptualizations. The issue is exacerbated by the necessary decision to restrict our documents to English-speaking ones, which as explained below constitute the vast majority of UNESCO documents. On one hand, this permits us to examine those discourses that are dominant on the global stage. But it evidently excludes a range of perspectives and voices from our analysis, and is an important limitation to keep in mind as we present our findings. Finally, we recognize that our analysis of discourse is less useful for understanding important dynamics other than normative shifts, such as advocacy efforts or changes in material world conditions, that have similarly contributed to the changes we identify.

To sample our documents, we followed the models of Ramirez and Tiplic (2014) and Buckner (forthcoming) to narrow in on educational documents whose titles pointed to a concern with war and peace. The sampling strategy was to select UNESCO documents and publications as well as non-UNESCO publications whose titles contained either "education*" or "school*"[1] *and* any of a number of relevant terms we defined to capture a concern with conflict or, conversely, peace. To determine our list of terms, we conducted a comprehensive literature review in the fields of peace education as well as education and conflict/emergencies, and catalogued key words and phrases used in each related to conflict, or peace, broadly defined. Our final list of title words used is described in Table 1 and captures the major vocabulary used to articulate these issues, historic and present. While our list is not exhaustive, our terminology is broad and our sampling thus not tilted toward a specific discursive framing. For coding purposes, the analysis was further limited to only full-text documents that were available in English, in order to make our analyses

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[1] The asterisk ensures that the search will return any word that begins with the part truncated by the asterisk.

feasible. Though this obviously means that non-English texts were excluded, this limitation is mitigated by the fact that the vast majority of UNESCO documents are written, or have been translated into, English. From an initial list of 569 documents, we excluded 105, as they were not actually concerned with our concepts of interest (e.g., a document entitled "education and crisis" may be about an economic crisis, rather than a humanitarian one). Table 2 shows our final sample of 464 documents analyzed by decade, between 1945 and 2015. We also show the proportion of our sampled documents out of the total universe of documents concerned with education.[2] This proportion is relatively consistent over time, indicating a steady concern with the issues studied here; but, as we show below, the emphasis has shifted notably.

[Tables 1 and 2 here]

Documents were analyzed using quantitative content analysis, which focuses on identifying and analyzing the words present in texts (Neuendorf 2002). The specific methods expand and refine those used in Buckner (forthcoming) to analyze higher education discourse. Various quantitative analyses were conducted in NVIVO, a content analysis software, to document changes in word usage over time by: 1) identifying the top 20 most frequently cited concepts[3] in each decade; and 2) conducting frequency counts of specific terms, calculated as the mean number of references to a given term per page of text by decade.[4] To better depict the conceptualization process, the article also draws on illustrative quotations. Recognizing that keywords may not be equally present in all documents due to frequent usage in a subset of publications, rather than diffuse

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[2] The total number of education documents was found by searching for UNESCO documents and publications as well as non-UNESCO publications containing either "education*" or "school*" in the title.

[3] Searches for the most frequently cited concepts were limited to words with five letters or more to eliminate prepositions and verbs.

[4] In our frequency counts, we include singular and plural instances of a given term, as well as appropriate variations of the term. For instance, a search for "insurgency" counts all of the following: insurgency, insurgencies, insurgent, insurgents.

usage throughout, we conducted a robustness check and examined the percent of documents in a given decade mentioning key terms at least once. Trends are predominantly consistent; here we opt for average references per page to standardize for documents' varying lengths.

Findings

From Peace to Conflict

In this section, we document the discursive shift toward conflict that has occurred over the time period under study. Figure 2 graphs decadal average references per page to "peace," "international understanding," and "conflict". It shows a striking shift: while mentions of peace have remained at roughly the same level since the 1970s, the earlier concern with international understanding drops away, and we see a dramatic rise in references to conflict.[5] The shift is most evident in our latest period of study (2010-15), where we find more average mentions of conflict than of peace, and mentions of international understanding have entirely disappeared. This indicates that conceptualizations around schooling as a socialization mechanism for international peace are displaced by a growing focus on the link between education and conflict. Shaped by the legacy of the Second World War and Cold War confrontation, UNESCO's early educational activities were tied to this older notion: the revision of curricula in post-War Europe, the Associated Schools Project, and the 1974 Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. While these activities were attempts to curb excessive nationalism, they were rooted in an ontological vision of the world as constituted by nation-states. And the

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[5] We also ran frequency counts of references to war, noting a relatively flat line over time, after an early emphasis in the years immediately after World War II.

goal – international peace – was a collective one, centered on harmonious relationships within the community of national states.

Today, this focus on education for international understanding is being displaced; all the while a concern around education and peace remains but is joined by an impressive rise in theorizations around education and conflict. For example, we note that in many documents, there is a subtle shift in language from "education for peace" to "education for peace and conflict prevention" (see e.g., UNESCO 2015). Figure 3 further dramatizes this shift by plotting mentions of "peace education" against mentions of "education in emergencies" and "education and conflict" in the documents. The Figure shows the development of peace education as discursive category early on, contrasting with the recent and remarkable rise of education in emergencies and education and conflict. While references to peace education have not disappeared and remain slightly higher even in the latest period, they experience a clear decline in the 2010-15 years. Showing similar findings, Table 3 highlights some of the twenty most frequently mentioned concepts by decade. "Peace" remains one of the most common words starting in the 1970s, but the words that are associated with it shift strikingly from "understanding" to "violence," "conflict," and "emergencies" beginning in the 1990s. These empirical findings echo the observations made in our literature review above, with a global concern around education for peace persisting into the contemporary era, but shifting remarkably in associated conceptual emphases. We return to this persistence of peace as conceptual category in our final empirical section. For now, we focus on the fact that there has been a remarkable increase in conceptualizations around conflict, and show that the concerns articulated in these conceptualizations differ in significant ways from the earlier ones around education for peace and international understanding.

Document titles help elucidate the shift away from education for international understanding to education in times of conflict. In 1947, UNESCO hosted a "Summer Seminar on Education for International Understanding." The focus resulted in a number of publications with titles such as: "The Fundamentals of Education for International Understanding," "University Education and International Understanding," and "The Training of Teachers in Relation to International Understanding." In 1959, UNESCO published a document entitled "Education for International Understanding Examples and Suggestions for Classroom Use," which states that the hopes and aspirations of humans, embodied in the UN Declaration of Human Rights depend "on the ability of nations to live and work together in a peaceful community" (UNESCO 1959, 9).

In the most recent decade, however, we find more document titles with explicit mentions of conflict. In 2011, a UNESCO report is called "Understanding Education's Role in Fragility" and that same year, the Education for All Global Monitoring Report issue was titled "The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education." This focus generated a number of background papers focused on education amidst conflict, with titles such as "Education and Conflict," "The Role of Education in Driving Conflict and Building Peace - The Case of Rwanda," and "The Right to Education for Children in Conflict." The last title in particular signals a concern with the rights and needs of individual children, a major change from the earlier emphasis on the community of nation-states. In the following section, we explore this shift to the individual and its link to the rise of conflict as discursive emphasis.

The Rise of the Individual and the Protection of Education

We argue that the core normative change underlying this discursive move toward conflict is the rise of an emphasis on the rights and needs of the individual human person, which in turn shifts the focus to education as paramount goal, above and beyond its contribution to peace. In the older vision, schooling is conceptualized as socialization mechanism for peace between nations. This theoretical underpinning is evident not just in the earlier emphasis on "understanding" depicted quantitatively above, but also more qualitatively in the documents. A 1959 publication, for instance, argues that "education at all levels has a vital role in building peace through international understanding" (UNESCO 1959, 9) and explicates:

> "A consideration of common world problems, of the international organizations working to solve them, and of multinational contributions to art, science, industry, and trade can help them [children] to understand the meaning of interdependence, and why, at this stage of history, nations can no longer exist in isolation from one another but must seek a modus vivendi on a world scale." (UNESCO 1959, 13)

This interest in education for peace through socialization does not disappear entirely; for example, UNESCO continues to give a Prize for Peace Education, a program that began in 1981. Even here, we see subtle shifts in emphasis toward the individual, with peace between nations no longer the predominant concern. In 2006, the prize announcement explains:

> "We are living in a dangerous world where hate and violence seem to have become the norms. It is all the more important for our children and our youth to be inculcated with such values as love, peaceful coexistence, mutual respect and tolerance." (UNESCO 2006, 11)

But most importantly, the rise of an emphasis on conflict involves a re-conceptualization of the relationship between education and peace. Today, the focus is not just on how schooling can promote peace, but also on how *peace protects education*. For example, a 2011 document argues that in most conflict-affected countries there is a "significant negative impact of conflict on the

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proportion of the population with formal education, the average years of education attained, and the literacy rate" (UIS 2011, 4). Similarly, a 2012 address by the Director-General of UNESCO explains that conflict constitutes a crisis for education "because the impact of armed conflict and emergencies on education is devastating" (UNESCO 2012, 1). Clearly, there has been a major transformation in how the linkages between education, peace, and conflict are understood.

In our view, this newer notion of education as needing protection from conflict and crisis is best explained by a broader normative shift toward the individual as "the locus of both rights and action" (Meyer and Bromley 2013, 6). Especially with the rise of neo-liberalism, the "cult of the individual" (Durkheim 1969) has become a dominant global ideology, with agency and rights increasingly seen as inhering in individual persons, rather than social collectives or structures (Meyer and Jepperson 2000). Along with a great many social transformations (see e.g., Frank, Camp, and Boutcher 2010; Bromley and Meyer 2015), the rise in individualism has contributed to a growing global focus on education, understood as human right and human capital (Baker 2014; Ramirez, Meyer, and Lerch 2016). The notion of rights stemming from humans' inherent entitlement, not their national states, underpinned dramatic expansions in the global human rights regime (Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004; Koo and Ramirez 2009), leading to greater emphases on the protection of all sorts of rights, including in education (Elliott 2007, 2014). Moreover, by the time the Soviet Union collapsed, education had become established as central to human development (Chabbott 2003). The critical point is that the universal promotion of education as key to individual human development and empowerment has become a core global goal in recent decades. This is dramatized by the Education for All (EFA) movement as well as the educational targets set in the Millennium Development Goals and, more recently, the Sustainable

Development Goals. Particularly the conception of education as human right implies universality, mandating its protection in any situation (Bromley and Andina 2009).

More broadly, the move toward the individual in education mirrors often observed shifts in development paradigms, away from the modernization thinking characterizing the post-World War II decades and toward a hegemonic neoliberal account of what development is and should be in the post-Cold War era (see e.g., Colclough 1996). While modernization theories were rooted in liberal ontologies of social progress, they nevertheless accorded an important role to the national state in achieving this progress, including in education (Fuller 1991). The neoliberal paradigm de-constructs this state-centric picture of the world, instead re-envisioning economies, polities, and societies not as collective structures but as the proper expressions of individual agency. As a result, developmental interventions in the neoliberal era tend to be characterized by an emphasis on individual empowerment and action and a curtailment of the national state.

In the case examined here, we posit that the dramatic rise of a focus on the individual human person has shifted global educational emphases away from peaceful inter-state relations and toward the educational needs and rights of young people in conflict and crisis. As a result, peace has become re-envisioned as necessary condition for the protection of education, rather than being the ultimate end, and the focus has shifted to conflict and emergencies as threats to education. From this perspective, it is perhaps no surprise that the INEE – catalyst for the consolidation of the field – was founded in the context of EFA. As others have observed, "a main rationale for emergency education is based upon an insistence that access to education is an inalienable right for all children" (Kagawa 2007, 495). Building on earlier expansions in the

concept of peace (Galtung 1969), the very meaning of peace has thus become broadened and re-conceptualized, from a narrower definition of "the absence of conflict or tension" to being more comprehensive, based in rights and human empowerment. After World War II, peace refers somewhat specifically to the prevention of international war and education played a role in socializing young people for that peace. Today, ideas of positive peace promote a much broader definition, based in human rights and justice – reflected also in the move toward holistic conceptions of peace-building described above. At the same time, education, now envisioned as integral part of the human existence, becomes a central global goal.

The data we present in this section offers support for this overall argument. Figure 4 demonstrates a substantial shift in our documents toward concerns with access to education, graphing mean per page references to "access" and "EFA"[6] by decade. In the early decades (until the 1990s), emphases on educational access in relation to war and peace are absent. Dramatically, this changes in the 1990s and 2000s, when mentions of access and EFA rise tremendously. Today, there is evidently much concern around what conflict and crisis mean for young people's ability to receive an education. Figure 5 in turn plots average mentions of "human rights education" – a core element of socialization for peace in the older model – against mentions of the "right to education." The results are striking and offer much support for our argument: a focus on human rights education has by and large been sidelined by a focus on the right to education. Qualitative examples reflect this shift. A 1986 document notes:

> "[…] the promotion of and respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rights of peoples are indispensable pre-conditions for the success of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace […]." (UNESCO 1986, 24)

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[6] Due to NVIVO limitations, we were unable to search for "Education for All", as NVIVO ignores words like "for" and would thus search for all instances of phrases that couple "education" and "all".

Note the stark contrast with a policy brief from 2015, which advocates:

> "Education urgently needs to be made a priority in conflict-affected countries. These countries currently have some of the world's worst education indicators. Millions of children and adolescents are being deprived of their right to an education that could transform their lives." (EFA GMR 2015, 1)

Evidently, while the early world of peace education emphasized learning about human rights to promote international peace and understanding, today's world of education in emergencies emphasizes protecting the right to education in conflict and crisis – even when retaining a focus on education for peace. For example, a 2015 document explains that there is a vital need to integrate education for peace and conflict prevention throughout the education system, "to promote the right to education and holistic development in millions of children who are being denied access to education because of violent conflict" (UNESCO 2015, i). It is clear from these illustrative quotes and the quantitative patterns that the right to education is the dominant framing in the most recent decades. The sacred status of the human individual in the contemporary neoliberal period has thus curbed earlier ambitions to teach about human rights to prevent conflict, privileging instead a more targeted concern with the individual's right to education in conflict settings. This finding echoes the observation of other scholars that an over-emphasis on human capital in the neoliberal era displaced alternative visions of education's role in society (see Novelli 2010, 453). In the next section, we outline some of the major implications of this overall shift toward the individual human person, and their right to and development through education.

[Figures 4 and 5 here]

Expanding Threats and Disruptions

The seemingly subtle shifts depicted above have opened up whole new conceptualizations among international education professionals, as expressed in UNESCO documents. The core element is a novel focus on disruptions to schooling, stemming from the move toward protecting education. To illustrate this general idea, Figure 6 graphs average mentions of "disruption" in our documents, showing dramatic increases since the 1990s, coinciding with the shift to conflict.

More concretely, the focus on disruptions entails three important shifts, illustrated in Figures 7 through 9. Figure 7 depicts average mentions of various types of conflict in the documents, by decade. It shows that in recent decades, conceptualizations emerge around a much broader range of conflicts than before. While the initial conception of conflict may have been as an inter-state war, since the 1990s this encompasses many more types of conflicts, including not just civil wars, but also insurgency, terrorism, genocide, and rebellion. Mentions of these terms increased particularly dramatically in the first half of the present decade – from 2010 to 2015. Clearly, once conflict is theorized as interruption to education, its definition becomes expanded and sharpened. It is important to point out that these types of conflict are certainly not new to the 21st century. If educational discourse were responding strictly to the external environment, then we might have expected to see mentions of these types of conflict much sooner. After all, the 1970s saw a wave of global terrorism and one of the most widely recognized genocides occurred in Rwanda in 1994. Yet, it is not until the 21st century when these varied types of conflict are mentioned in educational discourse. Their incorporation points to an expanded socio-cultural imagination of what conflict means for education.

[Figures 6 and 7 here]

Importantly, our data highlights that all sorts of situations are now thought to disrupt children's education, leading to an expanded vision of the nature of disruption to include a whole host of phenomena other than violent conflict. Figure 8 shows striking increases in mentions of "emergencies," "disaster," and "fragility" in our documents, particularly since the turn of the 21st century. Once conflict is conceptualized as interruption to education, it can be equivocated with other, fundamentally different, situations that similarly interrupt schooling – dramatized in the catchall category of "emergency." And at the same time as the category of interruptions has expanded, the category of whose education needs to be protected has expanded, too. In the post-World War II era, global efforts (though minimal) were focused on refugee education. Figure 9 demonstrates that the focus today is on all displaced individuals, depicting noticeable increases in average mentions of "displacement" and "internally displaced/IDP," in addition to the older category of "refugee,"[7] since the 1990s. Clearly, the notion of displacement has become generalized to include all populations whose right to education is interrupted by emergencies. The growing focus on disruptions to education has thus not only meant that new situations are perceived as threats to education, but also that new categories of individuals are defined as needing their rights protected.

[Figure 8 and 9 here]

The Rise of a Reciprocal Relationship

Despite the rise in emphases on conflict, peace education has not disappeared from UNESCO conceptualizations. In fact, while the new field of education in emergencies places heavy emphasis on the protection of education, the notion that education can contribute to a more

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[7] The spike in mentions of "refugee" in the 1950s is likely due to UNESCO's post-World War II refugee mandate, which was eventually handed over to UNHCR.

peaceful world remains – although, as evident from our descriptions above, the concerns are less with preventing inter-state war but have shifted toward preventing the forms of conflict depicted in Figure 7 above. As noted above, scholars in the field of education in emergencies, broadly defined, continue to discuss education's role in the promotion of peace and the prevention of conflict, and prominent aid projects are focused on education and evolving visions of peace-building (see e.g., Novelli, Lopes Cardozo, and Smith 2015). Our documents, too, reflect this continued concern with education for peace, even if they are situated within the field of education in emergencies. For instance, a brief on "Humanitarian aid for Education" notes:

> "Education […] can help prevent conflict. One study showed that doubling the percentage of youth with secondary education from 30% to 60% has the potential to halve the risk of conflict. […] Education can promote tolerance as well as the global citizenship skills outlined in the proposed SDG targets as important for peaceful and inclusive societies." ⌜SEP⌝(EFA GMR 2015, 1)

The idea that education can prevent war, traditionally coupled to peace education, thus persists in today's world of education in emergencies. Our point, however, is that the two fields differ in important ways due to the novel focus on education as human empowerment. Reviews of the field of education in conflict and emergencies have noted the field's focus on the "dialectical," or reciprocal, relationship between education and conflict (Kagawa 2005, 491; see also Novelli and Lopes Cardozo 2008). This constitutes a major difference from the established field of peace education, where the relationship from education to peace is largely theorized as one-directional. In the newer field of education in emergencies, while the older notion that education can prevent conflicts is maintained, it becomes coupled to the new notion that conflicts and other situations are a threat to education, dramatized empirically in the sections above. This is reflected qualitatively in our documents: "Children lacking an education face a future blighted by poverty – and poverty is a most persuasive recruitment sergeant for armed groups" (UNESCO 2011, 3).

The two fields thus have substantially different conceptual orientations. Table 4 illustrates these differences empirically by showing tetrachoric correlations between a document mentioning "peace education" or "education in emergencies" at least once and mentioning a number of terms at least once.[8] The results are striking: documents that mention "peace education" are more likely to refer to "international understanding," "tolerance," and "human rights education" than documents that mention "education in emergencies." In turn, documents that cite "education in emergencies" are more likely to mention "access," "disruption," and "right to education" than documents that refer to "peace education." The correlations with mentioning "conflict" at least once are very similar across "peace education" and "education in emergencies" documents. Though the *number* of references to conflict is much higher in the "education in emergencies" documents, it is clear that both fields are concerned with conflict in one sense. And yet *how* they discuss conflict differs substantially. Peace education is more oriented toward a socialization model whereby education can prevent conflict through promoting international understanding, or tolerance, utilizing pedagogies like human rights education. Education in emergencies, in contrast, is less tightly coupled to these ideas and much more oriented toward the impact of conflict on education, as articulated through concerns with access, disruption, and the right to education. These in turn are much less prominent in the field of peace education. Despite overlap, our findings suggest that the logics underpinning the two fields thus differ in important ways. We now turn to discuss the implications of these findings.

[Table 4 here]

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[8] The tetrachoric correlation is used to estimate correlations between binary measures. We coded our documents via a number of simple binary variables capturing whether or not they mention a given term at least once and then estimate the tetrachoric correlations between these variables.

Discussion and Conclusion

Our findings point to fundamental transformations in how the international education community, as captured in UNESCO documents, has conceived the linkages between education, war, and peace over time. Concretely, the shift from education for peace to education in conflict appears to involve a re-organization of core concepts at the heart of both the older peace education field and the newly institutionalizing field of education in emergencies: education, peace, and human rights.

In the older intellectual tradition, education is envisaged as the path toward peace between national states. Through appropriate schooling interventions, it was assumed that young people would learn about the importance of global community and diversity, and nationalist excesses would be kept in check. Yet there was little interest in the relationship between peace and education in the other direction. This re-organization only comes with the rise of the new field of education in emergencies and conflict, where we see that theorizations about education's effect on peace, while still prevalent in an evolved form, are accompanied by a growing concern with how peace affects education. In this newer model, underpinned by values that privilege individual empowerment and rights, the linkage between education and peace has been re-assembled and peace is re-conceptualized not only as a possible outcome of education, but, importantly, as a necessary condition for schooling to take place. This in turn evokes conceptualizations about the absence of peace, i.e., conflict, and its implications for education. Similarly, we have depicted a re-organization around the concept of human rights: whereas in the early decades of our sample, teaching about human rights was conceptualized as core element of educating for world peace, in today's world, the main theorization stresses education as a human

right, even for those in fragile and crisis-affected settings. Our central argument is that there is a normative shift undergirding this change, namely the move toward establishing the right to education for its own sake, above and beyond its contributions to a more peaceful world.

We have shown that these transformations have important implications. The move toward protecting the education of the individual child not only puts the spotlight on conflict. It also expands and sharpens conceptualizations about a great many different types of conflicts and extends the reach of the field to non-conflict situations such as disasters and fragile states, or emergencies more broadly. And it widens the scope of populations targeted, to include all individuals whose right to education may be threatened by displacement. The conceptual and normative universality of the right to education thus facilitates an expansive scope for the field of education in emergencies and conflict. Indeed, more recently, the field has moved beyond basic education and is directing its attention to assuring the right to the full spectrum of education, from early childhood education to higher education (INEE 2015). Once education is defined as a core element of human existence, the scope of the field becomes difficult to constrain, since this normative view – in theory at least - incorporates all human beings everywhere. An interesting area for future research would be to examine whether, having established itself as distinctive field, this expansive nature of the education in emergencies and conflict field leads to its integration with other fields of research and practice.

Along this dimension, our findings indicate that while the emphasis on international understanding has declined, peace remains an important concern, at least in UNESCO documents. We know that peace education certainly persists today and that the field of education

in emergencies has retained an orientation toward the effect of education on conflict dynamics. Yet beyond the conceptual connections highlighted here, we know little about engagement between these two fields. A fruitful area of future research would thus be to empirically study collaborations and connections, but also divides, between the professional and academic activities in these closely related sub-fields of comparative education. Closely connected to these issues is the question of whether we have actually seen not one, but several new fields develop, challenging the imagery of two fields portrayed in this article. Our approach here has been to take an expansive view of the education in emergencies field, including its various fringes. However, with the field maturing, it is evident that a number of sub-fields are emerging (such as education and peace-building), which may well develop into fully-fledged fields of study and practice in their own right (Smith 2014). Future work could focus on addressing these emerging sub-divisions and potentially diverging approaches.

Our findings also reflect the conceptualizations underpinning the ongoing shift from viewing education as a purely developmental concern, towards its increasing entrenchment within the humanitarian space. Although outside the scope of this article, there is room for further research on how, once the right to education is established, theorizations reconcile the dual nature of education as simultaneously developmental and humanitarian, and how professionals and programs are addressing this duality in practice. For instance, how is a long-term focus on human development through education reconciled with an emergency mindset of short-term interventions addressing immediate needs? Which elements of education are theorized as similar across the humanitarian and developmental domains, which as different, and why?

Lastly, future work could usefully adopt different methodological tools and data sources to explore the shifts we describe in this paper. For instance, studies could focus on the experience of individuals working within, or perhaps even across, these fields. Practitioners will likely have different, or additional, interpretations of the changes we depict, for instance tied to personal and collective advocacy efforts. Moreover, it would be helpful to study these issues through different organizational lenses. While the UNESCO repository contains documents from a range of sources, it undoubtedly tilted our analysis toward a developmental lens, rather than a humanitarian one. It would be interesting to conduct analyses using documents from humanitarian-oriented organizations, even if only available over a short time period, as there may be important differences, with humanitarian rationales more focused on protection issues.

This article has examined "theorizations" in international education discourse to understand the rise of a global concern with education in conflict and emergencies, and how and where this novel concern differs from that of the well-established field of peace education. We have argued that while a concern with education for peace persists, a powerful emphasis on individual rights has shifted the emphasis of the global system away from inter-state relations and toward the educational needs of young people. Through this lens, the spotlight has fallen on conflict as threat to education and peace has been re-imagined not just as possible educational outcome, but also as its pre-condition. Concerns with education for international understanding have faded away, and instead novel conceptualizations around a wide array of emergency-related situations and affected populations are on the rise.

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Tables and Figures

Tables

Table 1. Title Words for Document Sampling

conflict*	extremis*	"international understanding"	refug*	terror*
crisis/crises	fragil*	peace	rehabil*	violen*
disarm*	humanitarian*	rebel*[1]	relief	war/wars
displace*	IDP*	reconcil*	resilien*	
emergenc*	insurgen*[1]	reconstruct*	"social cohesion"	

Notes:
*The asterisk ensures that the search will return any word that begins with the part truncated by the asterisk.
[1] No documents found.

Table 2. Document Sample

	1945-49	1950-59	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99	2000-09	2010-15	Total
Selected Documents (pages)	44 (780)	35 (666)	23 (1,074)	23 (601)	87 (2,616)	61 (2,846)	101 (5,674)	90 (5,002)	464 (19,259)
All Education Documents	211	852	1,262	2,007	2,122	1,899	2,551	1,435	12,339
%	20.85	4.11	1.82	1.15	4.10	3.21	3.96	6.27	3.76

Table 3: Dominant Concepts over Time

	1945-49	1950-59	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99	2000-09	2010-15
Peace								
Reconstruction								
Destroyed								
Understanding								
Violence								
Conflict								
Emergencies								

Table 4: Correlations between Mentions of Select Terms and Mentions of "Peace Education" and of "Education in Emergencies"

|	Peace Education	Education in Emergencies
International Understanding	0.38	- 0.67
Tolerance	0.52	0.27
Human Rights Education	0.68	0.32
Conflict	0.45	0.46
Access	0.35	0.80
Disruption	0.09	0.75
Right to Education	0.31	0.66
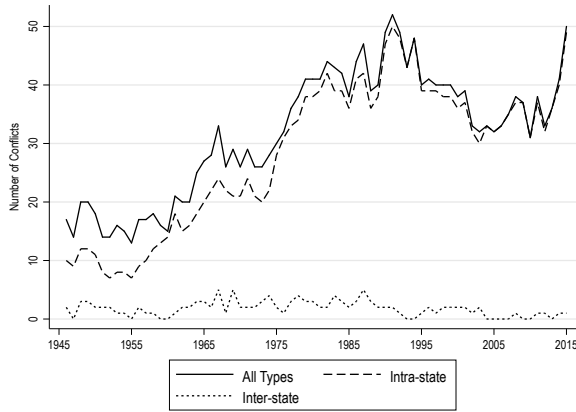
Figure 1. Conflict Patterns, 1945-2015
Notes: Intra-state conflicts include intra-state conflicts and internationalized intra-state conflicts. The "all types" category also includes a very small number of extra-systemic conflicts, not separately graphed here.
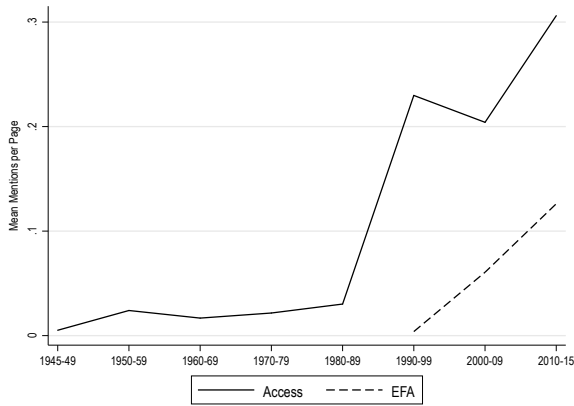Source: Petterson and Wallensteen 2016; Gleditsch et al. 2002.
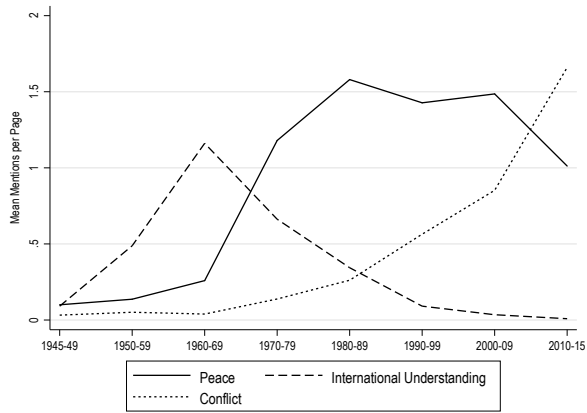
Figure 2: References to Peace, Conflict, and International Understanding
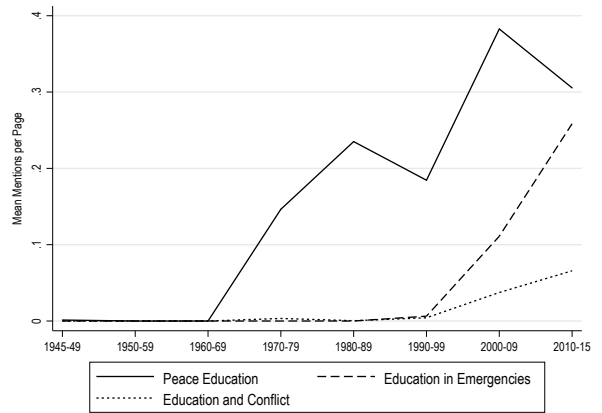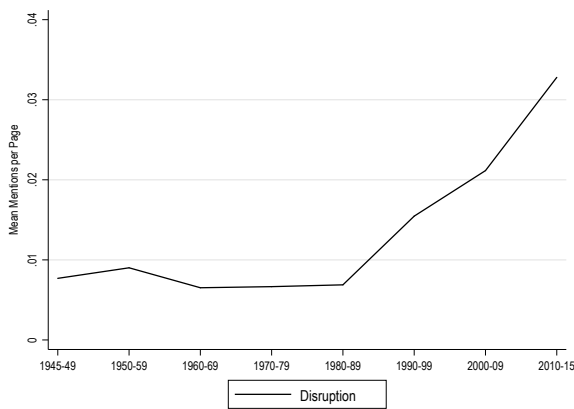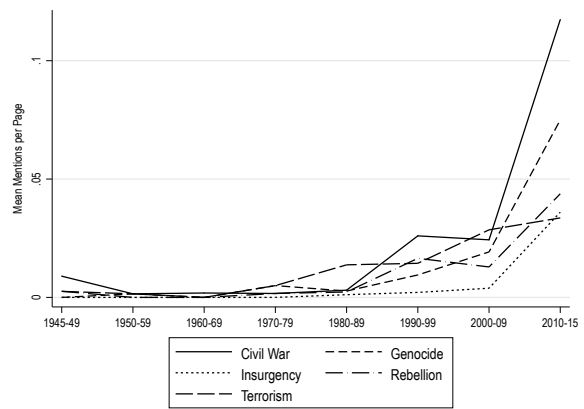
Figure 3: References to Different Sub-Fields

Figure 4: References to Access and EFA
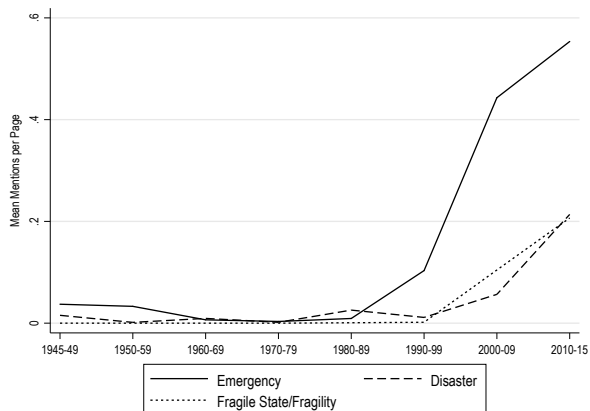Notes: The line for EFA starts in the 1990s as EFA did not exist before then.

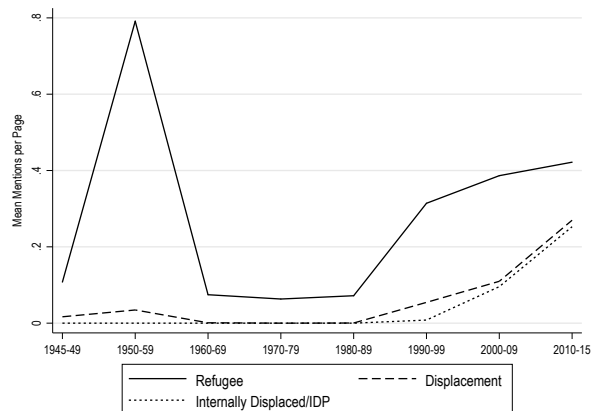**Figure 5:** References to "Human Rights Education" and the "Right to Education"

Figure 6: References to Disruption

Figure 7: References to Types of Conflict

Figure 8: References to Types of Threats

Figure 9: References to Categories of Protection