Original Paper

The Issue of Education in Post-Conflict Reconstruction through the Transitional Justice Process: The Case of Côte D'Ivoire

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Abstract

The inclusion of education in post-conflict reconstruction in a transitional justice process goes far beyond physical construction and educational facilities to become part of national educational planning and policy. The issue of education in post-conflict periods is at the level of the national education system in general and of educational policies and strategies in particular. In Côte d'Ivoire, as in other countries emerging from violent conflict, even if the issue of education can be identified in the structural and direct causes of the occurrence of conflicts, it must be recognized that the impact of these conflicts on education remains considerable at different levels. Thus, taking account of its consequences in post-conflict reconstruction in the context of transitional justice is of great interest both for its contribution to economic growth and for the promotion of fundamental human rights and social cohesion. A full involvement of education in the transitional justice process is a real potential for mutual reinforcement in the reconstruction process. Practical synergies between education and transitional justice call for closer collaboration between education and transitional justice actors.

Keywords

Education, transitional justice, post-conflict, reconstruction, truth and reconciliation commission

1. Introduction

UNESCO considers that education is a human right for all, throughout life, and that access to education goes hand in hand with quality. Education is the action of developing a body of knowledge and moral, physical, intellectual, scientific and other values considered essential to achieve the desired level of culture. Education enables the transmission from one generation to the next of the culture necessary for the development of the personality and the social integration of the individual. Education is also very

important in human development, particularly in terms of increasing productivity and thus macroeconomic growth, but also in terms of guaranteeing and promoting fundamental rights. Integrating education into a process of transitional justice means highlighting these two aspects of education. Education is therefore forward-looking. It is about preparing future generations and opening up opportunities for construction. However, in many African countries, war and conflicts of all kinds, by their impacts, tend to destroy the material, physical, organizational and functional supports of education. This is what justifies its consideration in the reconstruction of the state and its adaptation to the sometimes-unexpected changes of the post-conflict period.

In Côte d'Ivoire, the challenge of peace and post-conflict reconstruction after several years of conflicts, ruptures and tears, has led to the establishment of multidimensional mechanisms capable of rebuilding society and laying solid foundations for living together and sustainable development. It is in this context that the new government established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to lead the reconciliation and reconstruction process. In carrying out its mission, the work of the Heuristics, Inquiry, Reparations and Memory sub-commissions was to focus on several areas including the unavoidable and cross-cutting issue of education. Moreover, a society imagines its future -its development- through the education it offers to its young people and its population in general. Similarly, transitional justice is an important mechanism, among other things, for its potential to prevent violations and promote human rights in the future through post-conflict reconstruction or post-dictatorial regimes. From this perspective, the issue of education in the post-conflict period goes well beyond the physical construction of schools to the level of the entire system and national education policy in general. However, the integration of the issue of education into transitional justice processes in many states undergoing post-conflict reconstruction has still not been effective. Our study will explore the synergies between education and transitional justice in practice. It is necessary to show and appreciate through the case of Ivory Coast, how the transitional justice process has taken into account post-conflict educational reconstruction? But first, we are going to study the issue of education in the emergence of conflicts and its consequences on the school. We will conclude with perspectives and some recommendations for a closer collaboration between education and transitional justice actors for a reconstruction that takes fully into account the educational issue.

2. Method

The field investigations were preceded by documentary studies. From a methodological point of view, two investigation methods were used.

On the one hand, a critical analysis of the issue of education and the child in the light of legal or statutory texts and instruments, and on the other hand, field investigations. We opted for both a quantitative and qualitative study of the data we collected. To carry out our study, we will use a number of research approaches and methods to highlight the causes and effects of the conflicts in Côte d'Ivoire in order to consider education in post-conflict reconstruction in an appropriate manner.

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2.1 Data Collection Techniques

-<u>*Group and individual interviews:*</u> Exchanges during which the interlocutors expressed their perceptions, their experiences of conflict and their appreciation of the inclusion of children in the transitional justice process. This took place in regions or localities (3) severely affected by the conflicts. Exchanges with stakeholders also took place during seminars with NGOs working on the issue of education and children and 300 children raised in cities heavily affected by the conflicts.

The exchanges were structured around two (2) essential points that highlight the issue of education in the causes and consequences of conflicts as well as their consideration in post-conflict reconstruction.

-<u>*Documentary research*</u>: We referred to media sources (press, video, radio listening ...). The research took into account the reports of UNOCI, Truth commission, UNESCO and agencies in charge of integration of ex-combatants and others intervening in the maintenance of peace in Côte d'Ivoire. This documentary research made it possible to cross-check the information in order to reach more objective conclusions.

-<u>*Observation*</u>: it allowed us to see for ourselves information from observed situations, behaviors or events related to the causes and consequences of conflicts on education and children.

2.2 Legal framework of the study

Our study was based on the legal instruments relating to children's rights. namely: The four fundamental principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Note 1) are: non-discrimination, the priority given to the best interests of the child, the right to live, survive and develop, and respect for the views of the child; -Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict; Jakarta Declaration adopted at the International Conference on the Right to Basic Education as a Fundamental Human Right and the Legal Framework for its Financing Indonesia 2-4 December 2000.

3. Results

We will show both the structural and direct causes and consequences of conflict on education. Finally, we will see how education is taken into account in post-conflict reconstruction through transitional justice in Côte d'Ivoire.

3.1 The Questioning of Education in Conflicts

This point will emphasis on the role of education in the emergence of conflict. It should be noted that although the actions carried out in this framework do not directly relate to the problem of education, their consequences may fall within the typology of causes at the origin of the erosion of the education system and its direct or indirect contribution to the outbreak of conflicts. We shall present them at two levels, namely structural causes and immediate causes.

3.1.1 Structural or Indirect Causes

There is regional disparity and discrimination in the field of education.

3.1.1.1 Uneducated Populations and Regional Disparities in Education

A mixed perception of school by the populations of northern Côte d'Ivoire. The dissemination of schools is disturbed by the persistence of traditional conservatism and by the standard of living of the population. It concerns parents who reject school, parents who are in favor of excluding young girls from school (surveys, 2014). This typology is based on beliefs that mix traditions and Islam. It is "an Islamo-animist syncretism, the result of multiple compromises between scriptural Islam and pre-Islamic traditions that do not provoke profound mutations as the similarities between the two models are so great on the formal level" Fadiga K, (1998). The rejection of school is the doing by a minority whose ambition is the perpetuation of agro-pastoral beliefs and practices. Children are used as family. Rejection of schooling can be a palliative to reduce the shortage of agricultural labor. Across the country as a whole, nearly 43% of Ivorian youth do not attend normal schooling, with marked geographical disparities. In the north and northwest regions, for example, between 43 and 55% of them do not attend school. The rate drops to 28% in the central-eastern zone. These inequalities are also found in gender: from an early age, girls are the most excluded, i.e., 52.6% of girls are excluded from the school system compared to 47.4% of boys. This entire illiterate population is the victim of manipulation and manipulation by politicians.

Table 1. School Enrolment Rates in the North and North-East

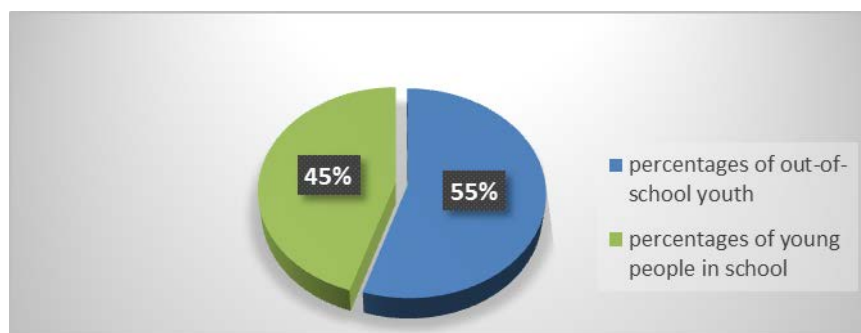| SCHOOLING	PERCENTAGES
percentages of out-of-school youth	55%
percentages of young people in school	45%

Figure 1. School Enrolment Rates in the North and North-East

Table 2. School Enrolment in the Centre-East

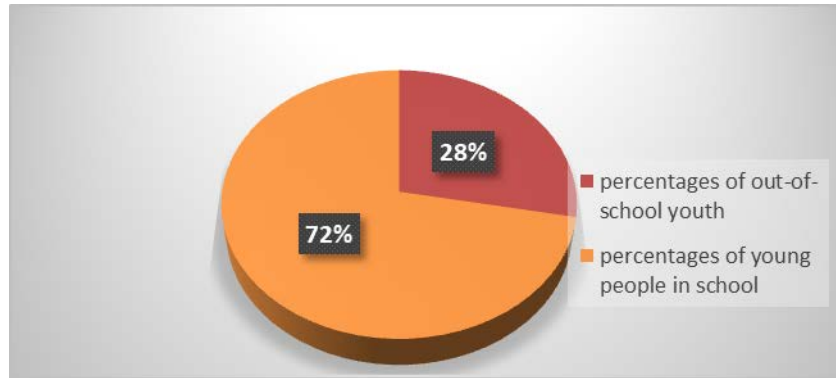| SCHOOLING	PERCENTAGES
percentages of out-of-school youth	28%
percentages of young people in school	72%

Figure 2. School Enrolment in the Centre-East

Table 3. Comparison of Girls' and Boys' Non-enrolment in School

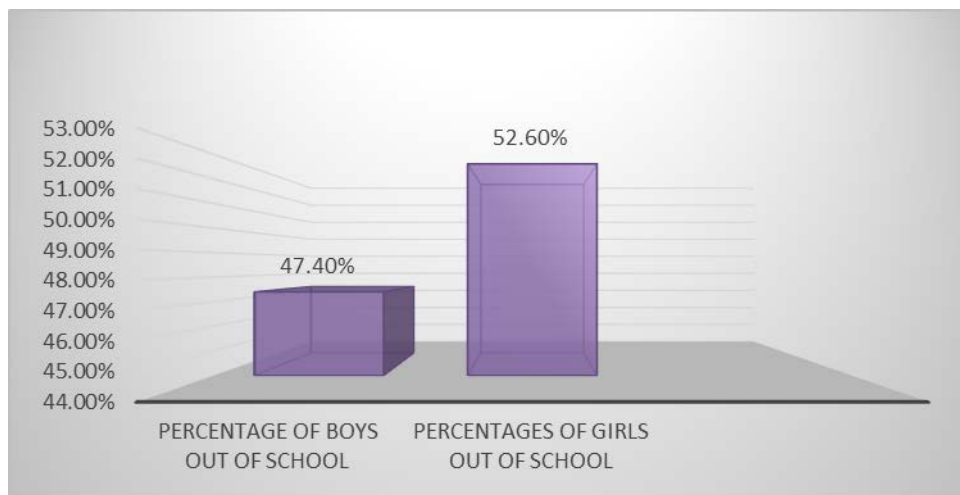| SCHOOLING	PERCENTAGES
percentage of boys out of school	47,4%
percentages of girls out of school	52,6%

Figure 3. Comparison of Girls' and Boys' Non-enrolment in School

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3.1.1.2 Prejudices and Discrimination Against Women and Girls through School Textbooks

Fischer (1996) (Note 2) thinks that a prejudice is a judgement that can develop outside of any real experience and which is expressed through a set of attitudes and feelings to characterize groups, individuals or objects In schools and in Côte d'Ivoire for example, (concerning textbooks, examples chosen in exercises,...) value men more and infer women more. Between myth and reality, we can see that the sexual division of labor and hierarchization is perpetuated in the field of work under the cover of so-called "natural" skills or impossibilities. "School textbooks are a privileged relay for learning about prejudices. They act as contemporary equivalents of ancient fables, thus shaping minds and nourishing social thought". These words of Fischer, enable us to understand that schooling is a form of developing prejudices and maintaining them. After the structural or indirect causes, it is appropriate to look at the direct or immediate causes.

3.2 The Immediate or Direct Causes: Physical Violence and Attacks on Freedom of Expression

Here, we want to shed light on violence against students and teachers, politicization of the schools and universities, and finally the high unemployment rate and problems with birth certificates for school-age children.

3.2.1 Violence Against Students in Schools and Universities

Firstly, it should be noted that from 1990 to 2000, the violence was essentially maintained by the political authorities against the groups, socio-professional groups (unions in the education, health and transport sectors) and student movements (FESCI), which also responded with violence. This violence subsequently took place among the students themselves. Indeed, students allegedly belonging to FESCI (the student and school federation of Côte d'Ivoire) clubbed and murdered other students suspected of being indicators of the government on campus Vanga A. F, (2009). Since the 2000s, there have been numerous rights violations in the school and university environment involving FESCI (the student and school federation of Côte d'Ivoire). According to Human Rights Watch, members of FESCI have been implicated in several cases of rape or violence against students who did not share their views. Acts of murder, assault and torture committed against other students reveal abuses of all kinds and especially of freedom of speech and association both in secondary schools and at the university level.

3.2.2 Violence against Teachers

Since 2002, FESCI has intimidated and occasionally physically abused several teachers and professors because of their political beliefs or because they were campaigning for better working conditions. In November 2007, members of FESCI reportedly beat two secondary school teachers who had participated in a teachers' strike with belts and clubs (Le Nouveau Réveil, Abidjan, 2007) (Note 3).

3.2.3 Politics in Schools and Universities

Opposition supporters living in the university townships told Human Rights Watch they must be discreet about their political affiliation. They should avoid holding books or documents in their rooms that could associate them with the opposition, in order to avoid being forcibly expelled from their rooms by FESCI. "In the residences, if you do not adhere to the ideals of the ruling party—you cannot

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express yourself". You have to hide who you are for your safety and survival in order to avoid attacks Human Rights, 2005: Côte d'Ivoire (Note 4). There is also the politicization of some teachers' unions. Academics, because of their political connections with FESCI students, are unable to take action to punish students who are guilty of wrongdoing against their colleagues.

3.2.4 Failure of School System and Increasing of Unemployment

The overcrowding in training structures and difficulties in meeting social demand in all sectors of education (primary, secondary and higher education) pose a recurring problem of the profitability of training infrastructures. An increasing number of Ivoirians are turning to North Africa, France and the USA to compensate for the weaknesses of the higher education training system. The low internal efficiency of the education system is characterized both by excessive repetition rates (43% in CM2, 32% in third class and 28% to 45% in the final year of secondary school depending on the specialties) and by a large number of dropouts (30.8% in CM2 and 32% in third, Unesco, 1999 (Note 5)). There is also the inadequacy between the different systems (education and training). Between 1996 and 1999, there was an increase of more than 10% in the number of offers requiring work experience. In the meantime, the number of offers requiring no work experience is decreasing. This suggests that employers are increasingly interested in a workforce with previous work experience. The loss of confidence is all the more significant in that in 1998 and 2002, only 4% and 3% of jobseekers took steps to look for work with the AGEPE (Agency for the Study and Promotion of Employment) and placement agencies AGEPE, 1998 (Note 6). From 1998 to 2002, there was a considerable drop in the number of placements: 154 to 5; and 62 to 3.

Table 4. Drop in the Number of Traineeship Application

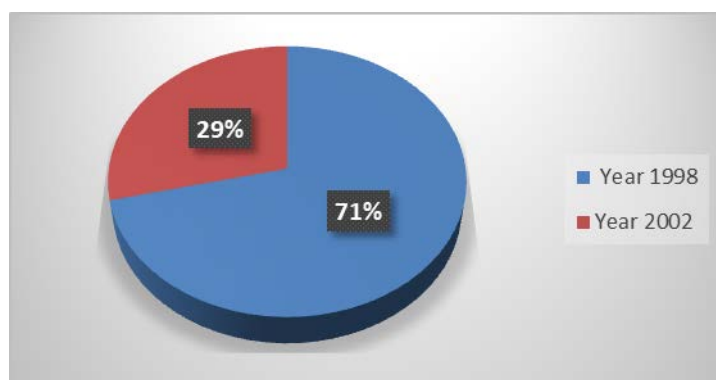| YEARS	TRAINEESHIP APPLICATION
1998	154
2002	62

Figure 4. Drop in the Number of Traineeship Application

3.2.5 Administrative Document Problem: The Birth Certificate

It is estimated that nearly 2 million children in Côte d'Ivoire do not have a birth certificate UNESCO 2013 (Note 7). Birth registration is free in the first three months after a child is born, but of the 800,000 new births each year, only half are registered within the legal time limit. Many children do not have access or drop out of school because of the lack of a birth certificate. Indeed, according to UNICEF, 4 out of every 10 school-age children in Côte d'Ivoire may be denied education because their birth has never been registered. The non-registration of births in Cote d'Ivoire is a chronic problem that has worsened during the crises of the past 10 years. And because of the collapse of the administration in the early hours of the rebellion in 2002.

In the light of the above, we can say that education has a responsibility in the logic of the emergence of conflicts through exclusion and discriminatory methods but also through the violence of all kinds maintained in schools and universities. We must now look at the consequences of crises on the field of education.

Table 5. Percentage of Births Registered

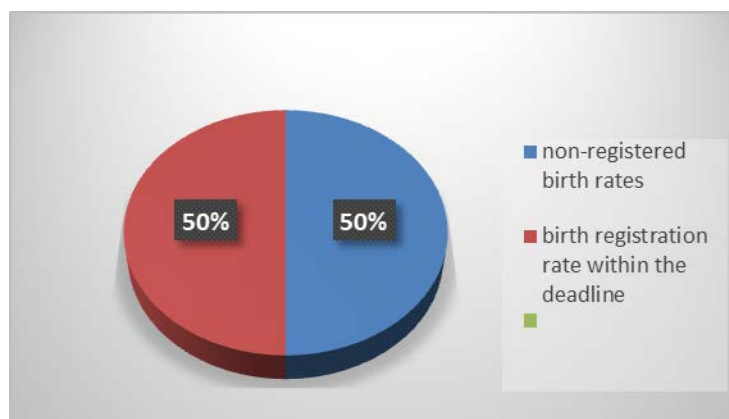| REGISTERED	PERCENTAGES
non-registered birth rates	50%
birth registration rate within the deadline	50%

Figure 5. Percentage of Births Registered within the Deadline

3.3 The Impact of Conflicts on Education

The evaluation missions carried out by UNESCO and our research in Côte d'Ivoire revealed a number of rather negative socio-educational indicators linked to the war and its capacity for destruction and institutional and social disruption. In this section, we will look at the consequences of the conflicts on the whole field of education; among others: on the educational infrastructure and materials, on the education system and on the pupils or learners.

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3.3.1 Impact of Conflicts on Infrastructure and Educational Material

The war in Côte d'Ivoire had many consequences on infrastructure and educational material, namely: the destruction and deterioration of domestic property, infrastructure, equipment and school and university facilities; looting and sale of school archives and computer and teaching equipment; the closure of teaching and research institutions, the relocation of international institutions and the suspension of their support programs for the development of education/training, and finally the erection of school buildings into military camps.

3.3.2 The Impact of the War on the Educational System and Mechanism

The curricula, pedagogical and didactic devices (teaching methods, students' experience of war, availability of teaching materials, etc.) are all elements that have suffered the consequences of the war. The use of double shifts, which is a disruptive factor in terms of conventional management of school time, is a real demotivating factor in terms of classroom learning. The partition of the national territory has also led to two types of separate education systems. In Côte d'Ivoire, the objective of education for all supported by UNESCO, Unicef and many NGOs has been strongly thwarted by the conflicts and their consequences. With regard to the traditional objectives of school education, i.e., scientific, professional and social training, the effectiveness of emergency measures is weak. Indeed, due to the non-existence of the administration in rebel-controlled areas and the feeling of insecurity, teachers left these areas en masse to go to government-controlled areas. This has resulted in the closure of rebel-controlled schools despite efforts to keep children in school.

3.3.3 Impact of War on Students

We will see at this level the displacement of pupils and parents, the drop in their school performance and the rise in the phenomenon of child soldiers.

3.3.3.1 Displacement of Students and Parents

This conflict situation has led to hundreds of displaced people to continue their schooling or to do so for their children. These choices are not always made without difficulty, as very often the schools in the host localities, where they exist, are overcrowded. This calls into question the quality of education provided both in occupied areas and in relay schools in open areas. It should also be noted that the functioning of education and training institutions, and therefore programs, has broken down in some occupied areas. In other situations, it is rather the lack of material resources, disease or war-related disturbances that have hindered the schooling of displaced persons. Displacement of populations (parents, primary school students) is relatively high during conflicts. During this period, 49% of girls between the ages of 6 and 24 continue their schooling, compared with 60% of boys. When we look at displaced children under the age of 15, 70% of them are still enrolled in school. By contrast, those aged 13 are less enrolled in school 54%. By gender, boys are more enrolled in school than girls; 68% versus 51%. Ministry of Solidarity and War Victims, 2007(Note 8).

3.3.3.2 Decrease in Students' Performance

In Côte d'Ivoire, the school results of relay or displaced CM2 pupils were negative overall at the end of the 2002-2003 school year (80% failure compared with 80% success for the control pupils). This is due to several conflict-related factors. These include: disorientation, social conditions, transport, food, housing, study, etc.) Displaced pupils with educational difficulties live in precarious social conditions. There is also the trauma linked to the torments of war and the feeling of insecurity.

3.3.3.3 Rise of the Phenomenon of Student Child Soldiers or Associated with Combatants

According to UNICEF, 250,000 to 300,000 child soldiers (boys and girls under age 18) are involved in more than 30 conflicts around the world. In Côte d'Ivoire, there are significant numbers of boys and girls in and out of school who are recruited by combatants. Some are forcibly recruited or abducted; others enlist to flee poverty, abuse and discrimination, or to seek revenge for acts of violence committed against them or their families. Their recruitment is therefore done willingly or by force within the combatant groups. The role of the combatants is also to provide food or medical care to the male combatants. Young girls are used as sexual companions to the combatants or carry weapons and the spoils of war, which are always shared to their detriment. Indeed, according to the 2011 PNRRC report, "11,136 people, i.e., 10 to 14% of the overall workforce, are women and girls. And 9711 of them have actually fought on the ground as FAFN and 1425 women are associated with the FRCI". CSCI Election Observation Mission Report 2010 (Note 9). Also, in November 2002, many girls and boys were recruited either forcibly or voluntarily by military leaders to take part in campaigns of violence. Most of them are also associated with combatants, acting as indicators. These groups were first identified by the United Nations in 2006. At least 4,000 children have been recruited into the ranks of combatants since the conflict in 2002. Côte d'Ivoire: Former child soldiers are still vulnerable 16 February 2008 (Note 10). They monitor the spoils of war and clean up the camps.

Table 6. Effects of the Crisis

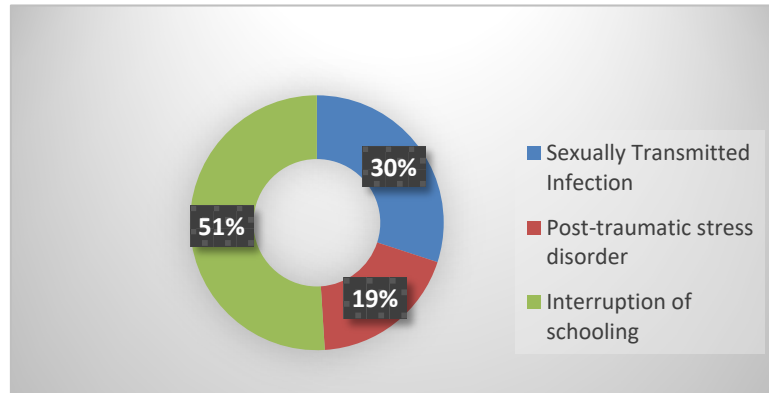| EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS	PERCENTAGES
Sexually Transmitted Infection	30%
Post-traumatic stress disorder	19%
Interruption of schooling	51%

Figure 6. Effects of the Crisis

It is clear that conflict has a devastating impact on children and their education. In the following lines, we will see how it is taken into account in post-conflict reconstruction as part of a transitional justice process. The International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) in New York has defined Transitional Justice in the following terms: "It is a response to systematic and widespread human rights violations". It aims at the recognition of victims and the promotion of any possibility of peace, reconciliation and democracy. Transitional justice is not a new kind of justice, but justice adapted to societies that are changing as a result of a period of human rights abuses. According to Freeman and Djukic, in the context of TJ, the term "transition" should be associated with the period of formal transition from a state of war to a state of peace or from an authoritarian regime to a democratic one Freeman, M., Djukić, D. et al. (2008). Andrieu distinguishes the different mechanisms and processes of TJ through the following three categories of action Andrieu, K. (2012): Legal justice: (prosecuting those responsible (nationally and internationally) Restorative justice: (healing victims, rebuilding communities) Social justice: (resolving the economic, political and social injustices that may have been at the root of the conflicts.

3.4 Taking into Account Education in Reconstruction

In this part we will see the degree of integration of education in transitional justice in Côte d'Ivoire and the participation of children in the different stages of judicial and non-judicial mechanisms. TJ is a field that includes post-conflict reconstruction, and more specifically that attempts to understand ways to heal past trauma. It strives to understand what needs to be done to build, from a society in ruins, a new society, stable enough to ensure justice and stability. Under these conditions, transitional justice is seen as a series of approaches adopted by societies to address the consequences of serious and systematic human rights abuses. (International Center for Transitional Justice 2008). Our analysis will focus on the inclusion of education in these two mechanisms in a holistic approach to transitional justice for sustainable post-conflict reconstruction.

3.4.1 The Inclusion of Education in the Judicial Mechanisms of Transitional Justice

We will talk about national and international legal proceedings.

3.4.1.1 Investigations and Legal Proceedings at the National Level

Article 138.4 of the Ivorian penal code condemns the forced recruitment of children. In addition to the traditional courts, the Special Investigation and Investigation Unit (USEI) was created by Decree No. 2013-93 to investigate crimes committed during the crisis period. Indeed, the memory of justice was to contribute to peace so that "never again" would prevail in the fight against impunity. For the victims of the crisis who are waiting for justice to be done, this is an important message that maintains the hope that those responsible for the serious crimes committed during the crisis will be brought to justice. However, investigations and prosecutions have not mentioned attacks and destruction of school buildings, let alone the recruitment of children by soldiers.

3.4.1.2 Investigations and Prosecutions at the International Level

Article 8 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) declares that attacks on school buildings constitute war crimes and are therefore subject to the jurisdiction of the Court.93 The Court's jurisdiction over attacks on school buildings is based on Article 8 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Unfortunately, these issues have not been raised before international tribunals. Unlike other countries such as Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire has also failed to record prosecutions against those who have recruited child soldiers. Yet this could act as a deterrent to the recruitment of children into fighting forces. Increased attention to crimes against children in the courts contributes to the protection and reintegration of children who have experienced conflict and have been victims of rights violations and abuses of all kinds. In total, investigations and prosecutions, both at national and international level, have focused on several crimes and rights violations without specifically addressing crimes suffered by children and those related to education.

3.4.2 The Inclusion of Education in the Non-Judicial Mechanisms of Transitional Justice

In Côte d'Ivoire, alongside judicial justice, there were non-judicial mechanisms, which represented restorative justice or justice of forgiveness through dialogue. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission aimed to shed light on past and recent crises in order to identify responsibilities and create the conditions for national reconciliation, to propose means of all kinds that could help to repair damage, to heal the trauma suffered by victims and to fight against injustice and inequalities of all kinds. The operationalization of the non-judicial mechanisms was carried out by the actors of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission through four specialized commissions set up to manage the legacy of several years of conflict in Côte d'Ivoire. These are the heuristic or historical commission, the enquiry and hearing commission, the reparation commission and the memorial commission. They are responsible for carrying out practical tasks in line with the commission's objectives.

3.4.2.1 The Issue of Education in the Truth Commission in the Post-Conflict Period

We will refer to Alex BORAINE who distinguishes three progressive levels of truth: factual truth, personal truth and social or dialogical truth. All of these forms of truth aim to "document and analyze

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both the actual violations of human rights and the structures that allowed or facilitated them" Lerner, Salomon, (Note 11). To these should be added reparative truth. These forms of truth are taken into account in the sub-commissions: heuristics, investigations and hearings, public hearings and memorials.

a-The heuristic commission:

The Heuristics Commission work on the search for the root causes of the conflicts: it has critically reviewed the conclusions of past forums and is deepening the search for the root causes of the conflicts that occurred in Côte d'Ivoire in the period from 1990 to 2011. This research has focused on several themes, including that of education. The search for the root causes of the wars is essential, especially those linked to structural situations of injustice, poverty and exploitation, which must be addressed in order to eradicate them or at least limit their impact on education. The sub-committee in charge of reflecting on education issues included experts on education issues. It carried out its work and made recommendations. These activities took place in the framework of a listening seminar with all the representative structures of Ivorian society: political parties, trade unions, civil society organizations, women's and youth associations, religious leaders, traditional chiefs, national and local elected officials, opinion leaders, territorial administration officials and foreign communities. They communicated their vision of the root causes of the Ivorian crisis and opened discussions on all themes including education. Summaries of all the proceedings were presented at a restitution workshop and were submitted to a National Colloquium. This form of truth called dialogical or social truth is a truth born of the debates and centered on the experience of the participants. This approach also makes it possible to create the conditions for peaceful social relations between the different strata of society, but also to promote democratic values and respect for human rights.

b-The hearings and inquiries committee

It aims to create a space of exchange sufficiently serene for people by gathering testimonies of individual or personal truths. This restitution of individual memory must then serve to build up a vast database which, when brought together, will serve to build a national collective memory. This sub-commission conducted field work to establish the typology of human rights violations, seek the truth about the harm suffered by victims and identify the perpetrators/perpetrators. Collecting more or less confidential data from a person who has suffered a violation and who is asked to tell his or her story in his or her own words allows that person to make a statement. The statement must: enable the population to exercise their right to know in order to claim reparations; enable families to know the truth; enable the recognition of direct and collateral victims; enable the State to take measures to ensure that these things never happen again, i.e., the guarantee of non-repetition; enable an appropriate reparation policy to be put in place; make it possible to know who did what? Where and when? When? How? Why? In what context? Who is a witness? As part of the search for this personal truth, the survey forms included children's questions in the questionnaire. Here there was no special unit for educational questions. It was the unit in charge of gender and children, with the help of the UN Women, which

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worked to take into account child soldiers and the consequences of conflicts on girls and boys. The issue of education has not been specifically addressed. Of the 72,483 people interviewed, there were 757 children, with 55% boys and 45% girls.

Table 7. Hearings and Inquiries

AUDITIONS	PERCENTAGES
percentage of children auditioned	98%
percentage of other people auditioned	2%
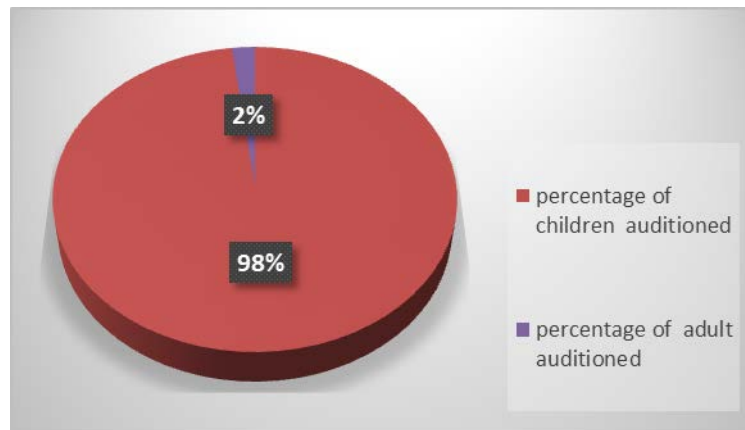
Figure 7. Hearings and Inquiries

Table 8. Hearing of Children by Gender

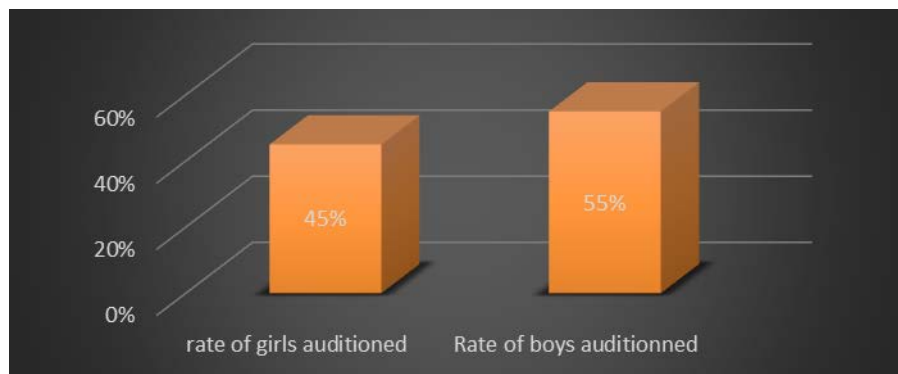| THE CHILDREN AUDITIONED	PERCENTAGE
rate of girls auditioned	45%
Rate of boys auditioned	55%

Figure 8. Hearing of Children by Gender

-Public hearings: this stage is the one that should contribute to the moral satisfaction of victims as a restorative truth through its therapeutic aspect. For truth and reconciliation commissions, the essence of restorative justice is to seek moral satisfaction for victims during the process. For the VRC, the public hearings were supposed to develop on a larger scale the modes of exchange inaugurated during the collection of testimony. The idea was to implement a dialogue that places the Commission between the alleged victims and perpetrators. The public hearings that follow the depositions give the victim the opportunity to publicly tell the story of the violence suffered in order to create catharsis among the populations that listen to it. It also allows the victim to dialogue with her torturer in order to ask for and obtain forgiveness after a sincere repentance following the acknowledgement of the facts committed. At this level, in the commission's activities, no clear mention was made of the issues of educational prejudice. The commission did not create a separate space for children or young people. Some parents testified on behalf of their children. It could have been an opportunity to establish formal links including the signing of a "cooperation agreement" with the Ministry of Education and the wider education community as was the case in other countries. This would have allowed a better inclusion of education in the process. Children did not express their experiences of the crisis at the public hearings, thus undermining the principles of trust, participation and recognition. Out of the 81 public hearings we had only two children represented by their parents.

Table 9. Public Hearings

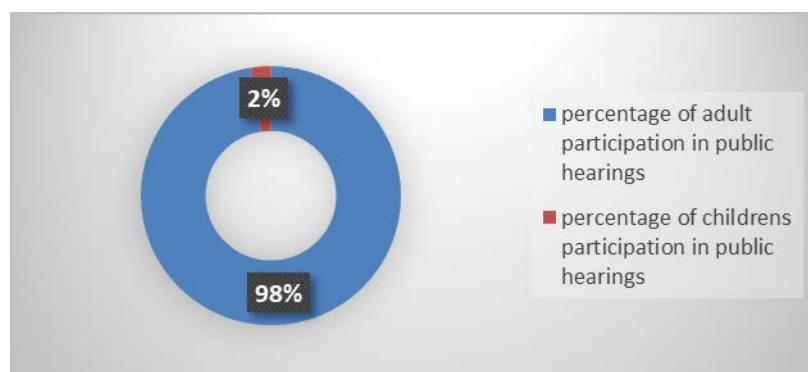| PARTICIPANTS	PERCENTAGES
percentage of adult participation in public hearings	97,54%
percentage of children's participation in public hearings	2,46%

Figure 9. Public Hearings

The memorial: The aim was to make public and accessible the information collected and stored in a specific space that will be the memory of the Ivorian nation. This stage should be concerned with drawing up a new code of peaceful coexistence for a new way of living together. This sub-commission

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was charge of given the task of answering vital questions such as: «What does Côte d'Ivoire want to be»? And "what does it mean to be Ivorian?". For the ethics of reconciliation as desired by the truth commission had to break the cycle of revenge that is maintained by the refusal to forgive offenses and aggressions. Commemoration projects actively embody the public education role inherent in many justice initiatives. It should be an opportunity to commemorate and educate not only about the violent past itself, but also about transitional strategies for dealing with the educational consequences of conflict. In Côte d'Ivoire, a national day of purification of the blood-soaked soil of the victims took place in a context of African tradition. However, the museums, monuments and public art works to offer memory, mourning, dialogue, reconciliation and learning were not built. And yet, in addition to their public educational value, museums and memorials were to be the basis for special programs for schoolchildren, and to encourage visits by school groups who could make them part of their school activities.

3.4.2.2 The Issue of Education in Reparation and Rehabilitation in the Post-conflict Period

It was the responsibility of the reparations commission to estimate and evaluate the damages suffered with a view to making reparations, based on the investigations carried out by the "hearings and investigations" commission. Reparations can be grouped into two groups: individual reparations and collective reparations. The challenge is to resort to equitable dialogue on the part of the perpetrators of violations and to propose reparations for the benefit of the victims in order to achieve national reconciliation. To achieve this reparation, there are various structures or programs. In particular, the National Program for Social Cohesion (PNCS) was established to carry out this mission.

-Education and Individual repairs: The systematic loss of educational opportunities is a violation of children's rights. In cases where children have been systematically denied education, states have an obligation not only to provide it but also to consider reparations for girls and boys affected by the interruption of schooling due to war. Service-based reparations, such as education, may be more appropriate for children because they are more likely to reach their intended beneficiaries. Mazurana and Carlson (2009.) It is directed at -individuals whose schooling was interrupted due to violence, -the children of victims, -those forcibly recruited by self-defense committees, or law enforcement. These measures include: adult education and literacy programs; access to primary education; access to vocational training; exemption from tuition and examination fees; student housing and meal allowances for recognized victims; implementation of a comprehensive scholarship program, covering tuition, books, transportation, and food for university and technical studies, taking into consideration the specificity of cases and regional quotas. Special support should be given to students from the most affected areas. Not all of these proposals have been formalized and made in agreement with the Ministry of Education. Their execution depends on the political will of the State.

-Education and collective repairs: the reconstruction and rehabilitation of schools has been proposed. Some proposals have been carried out and others are being implemented as part of national development projects. However, human rights education and peaceful conflict management programs

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were not developed and proposed by the commission as part of the reparations package as a program to be submitted to the Ministry of Education to be part of the post-conflict education policy. Yet it is a component of collective reparations. For Mazurana and Carlson, "post-conflict education should include educational reparations programs beyond what the state is already obligated to provide". It should be directed not only toward eliminating educational gaps in the areas most affected by rights violations but, above all, toward a culture of human rights and conflict prevention.

3.4.2.3 Institutional Reforms

The issue of education in auditing or vitting in post-conflict is important. The aim is to promote institutional reform by examining corrupt or incompetent members of the education system in public institutions. This constitutes a transitional justice mechanism that allows for the removal from the system of the agents that were at the root of the conflicts. In Côte d'Ivoire, however, no audits of the education sector (or of the civil service in general) have been undertaken despite the recognition of the involvement of certain actors in the education system in the outbreak of conflicts. However, methods that could bring renewed legitimacy to the education sector tainted by their role or complicity in human rights violations should be considered. Alternatively, the commission should provide for the in-service training of the teachers concerned in conflict prevention pedagogy.

4. Discussion

The results of the study show that trust, recognition and participation remain the principles and the best route to successful post-conflict reconstruction in a transitional justice setting. As part of De Greiff's (Note 12) holistic approach, we also believe that transitional justice should emphasize the recognition of the suffering of all victims and the violations that have affected the whole society as a whole in order to rebuild the social fabric through the restoration of trust. This kind of participation is the basis of democracy and reconciliation itself. It is about seeing victims as rights holders. The educational objective is also part of the promotion of rights within a framework that seeks to recognize, challenge and overcome inequalities. Policy development and practice that opens avenues for fuller participation. For victimized children, the recognition offered by their participation can strengthen the transitional justice process through their specific involvement, taking into account their experiences. Kofi Annan said this: "Education is a human right with immense transformative power". On its foundations lie the cornerstones of freedom, democracy and sustainable human development. Kofi Annan (1999). Its effective inclusion in transitional justice processes will need to be seen in this light and integrate all aspects of the post-conflict reconstruction process.

In Côte d'Ivoire, examination of the consideration of the issue of education in the transitional justice process reveals many aspects of discrimination, particularly with regard to access to education, the politicization of schools and certain forms of school violence. The discrimination observed is the result of an often negative evaluation that operates outside of any experience with the reality in question. These are often negative attitudes and unfavorable judgements of the persons or groups concerned. In

general, inequality of opportunity for pupils and the failure to take gender into account in certain areas such as education are not only forms of discrimination, but also the causes of the social divide and, above all, of the erosion of the unity of our society.

Indeed, they concern a form of violence induced by the norms or habits of our structures (political, judicial, family, social, school, religious, and military, professional...). They harm physically and/or psychologically and the individuals in general and in particular to girls and the pupils, including through constraints, threats, sanctions or limitations that hinder their actions and development. These excluded persons then become those who do not find in education, work, politics, family or collective life a social identity and therefore a place in society. These and other examples clearly show the myriad ways in which the education system can contribute to inequality, conflict and violence. Inequalities between girls and boys and social injustices are taught, reinforced and entrenched by educational structures. There is uneven pedagogy and textbook content. In addition, there is multifaceted physical violence in schools and universities. The violent school environment as indicated in the results of our study can contribute to or create vulnerabilities, especially for girls and minority groups. It can undermine key aspects of social cohesion, including social and institutional trust, civic cooperation and the rule of law. Andy Green, John Preston and Jan Germen Janmaat (2006).

With regard to the impact of the conflict on education, it should be noted that it is linked to a number of factors, including: sociological factors and precarious social conditions, i.e. difficulties related to health care, food, housing and transport. Sociological factors are therefore factors in the educational failure of IDPs. Parental competence understood as the father's ability to invest and exercise authority for the benefit of the displaced child is almost non-existent because displacement further disqualifies poor parents. Added to this are psychological factors (trauma linked to the torments of war, feelings of insecurity, etc.) psychological factors are among the causes of the underperformance of the displaced. They are reflected in: school emigration to neighbouring countries (Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea, Senegal, Togo, Ghana, etc.), Europe and North America. There is a general feeling of insecurity in both occupied and government areas and the high risk of school deaths confirmed by the disappearance of some 368,000 pupils (primary and secondary) since the outbreak of war in Côte d'Ivoire. Thus, in addition to exposing girls and boys to violence and, in many cases, to serious human rights violations, the conflict is creating serious problems of access to school. The destruction of physical infrastructure, affects students and teachers, exacerbates and reinforces gender inequalities, drastically limits or interrupts the quality of education. In many places, schools have been used as sites of violence and as centers for child recruitment or abduction. Susan Nicolai and Carl Triplehorn, (2003), All in all, war is a destructive factor in the social and cultural fabric and educational institutions. Indeed, war deregulates the functioning of societies and all these educational institutions. It destroys them totally or partially. On the basis of the examination of the causes and consequences of conflicts on education. Education is linked to macroeconomic growth (Gary S. Becker, 1993). Furthermore, research shows that education can contribute to social cohesion. Indeed, more educated people participate more in

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social, community and political life Zuki Karpinska, and Julia Paulson (2008). The obligation of states to provide basic education to their citizens is clearly stated in international human rights declarations (Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights UDHR.) Indeed, education is supposed to be linked to the ability of individuals and societies to meet other fundamental rights. Since illiteracy is one of the major causes of household poverty, education can play a role in contributing to poverty reduction (World Bank, "Education and Development" 2005). Education, especially for girls and women, is linked to positive health outcomes and thus to the ability to claim the right to health; education has been shown to reduce child mortality, positively affect reproductive health, improve child well-being, improve nutritional outcomes, and encourage immunization. Indeed, gender-sensitive education that sincerely addresses the needs of girls and women is considered crucial for the elimination of discrimination against women and gender inequality.

Côte d'Ivoire has adopted a judicial and a non-judicial approach to post-conflict reconstruction. The issue of education was mentioned in the commission's objectives, however, it has not been effectively and fully taken into account in these activities. The judicial mechanisms, even if they have been put in place, have not specifically addressed the issue of crimes relating to the destruction of educational infrastructure and child soldiers recruited by combatants. With regard to non-judicial mechanisms, the inclusion of education in the search for the root causes of conflict has been an innovation in the field of transitional justice in Côte d'Ivoire. However, the issue of education does not seem to have been really integrated into the commission's subsequent activities. This was reflected in the commission's recommendations. At the level of the memorial, it is noted that there has been no "commemoration of schools" that have been badly affected by the conflicts. Yet renaming schools could be of considerable importance for children, adolescents and the community at large as an important tool for building memory and as a symbol of moral reparation for students. This type of commemoration in schools can also be an interesting potential at the micro level reconciliation of community members. Indeed, according to Facing History and Ourselves, educational initiatives that use the memory of genocide in transitional justice to promote the values of citizenship have been successful around the world. At the curriculum level, in Côte d'Ivoire, it should be noted that the commission's report has not been systematically published. However, in some countries that have experienced transitional justice, such as Sierra Leone, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has supported the production of a version of the commission's report for distribution to primary schools in the country. The report was to be a resource for human rights education as part of the national curriculum. In Guatemala, local and international NGOs have produced resources that use the Commission's final report to teach a "culture of peace". From the above reflections, we can see that the practical synergies between education and transitional justice call for closer collaboration between education and transitional justice actors. A process that includes the objectives of updating the most significant links between education and human development and between education and conflict. When the recommendations of a truth commission are intended to influence policy development and practice in a sector such as education, it

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is essential that these recommendations are well grounded in the commission's conclusion and in the realities and opportunities for sector reform. The recommendations of the truth commission in Côte d'Ivoire, unlike in other countries, have not been legislated and therefore are not binding. A series of simple practical recommendations for a better consideration of education in the transitional justice process can be made to the commission but also to the state.

5. Recommendation to Truth and Reconciliation Commission

- Transitional justice mechanisms that identify children as priority actors should also identify education as a priority and reflect on how it can be addressed.

- Truth commissions should consider establishing formal and concrete collaboration with the Ministry of Education before and during their work.

- At the beginning of its activities, the commission should discuss with Ministry of Education officials how the issue of education could be included in the post-conflict reconstruction process. It should make recommendations and design reparation programs in collaboration with the Ministry of Education.

The commission was to plan "training of trainers workshops" with students and teachers, support the establishment of human rights and peace clubs in schools, organize radio programs on its role and child-facilitated debates, visit schools and organize quizzes and debates for young people.

The signing of a "cooperation agreement" with the Ministry of Education would have ensured that the different aspects of education were well integrated into each stage of the commission's activities.

6. Recommendations to the State

At this level, the public authorities should be urged to continue to work tirelessly to push back the frontiers of ignorance in order to enable better schooling. The public authorities must proceed to:

Take into account the place of the girl child in the conception of education in the post-conflict period.

To strengthen the institutional capacity of the education sector to effectively address the main challenges of the sector. These challenges are as follows:

-the psychological and moral security of education staff and students; the reconstitution of school and university archives;

-the capacity to develop infrastructure, making it possible to estimate and meet the needs for classrooms and the necessary equipment, for the pedagogical comfort of pupils and teachers.

-Capacities for the qualitative development of the educational service, in order to compensate for the deterioration of the quality of education and to raise it to the level of international norms and standards.

Anticipation and action-research capacities to study the impact of the war on education, on the social demands for education, on the costs of education, and the impact of the war on the structures and content of the new curricula.

-Human development capacities to effectively combat poverty in schools, particularly in terms of food, health and school fees.

-Capacities to care for victims of school deregulation, which can be divided into three categories: psycho-affective maladjusted children, victims of the loss of the school year and child soldiers.

-Negotiation capacities with bilateral and multilateral, national and international partners for the resumption and intensification of programs (technical and financial) in the field of education.

-Dissemination of images favorable to gender equality. Apart from the media, training seminars/workshops for young people, women, journalists, opinion leaders, investigators, community leaders, (...) should take gender into account.

-Introduce in school textbooks examples of exercises that take into account gender or that value women.

-Sensitization and information of communities on gender should be done through the media (Television, Radio, Internet, posters, etc.). The use of local and traditional communication structures at the grassroots level on the need for gender equality and on gender issues.

-The opening of access to EMPT (military preparatory and technical school) to young girls.

-Effectively integrate gender issues into curricula, pre-service and in-service teacher training.

-Strengthen and extend the reception structures offering a second chance of schooling to out-of-school or out-of-school girls (listening centers and alert brigade).

-Reinforce girls' schooling through specific measures such as social mobility between school and family, as the child receives habits, a system of values, beliefs and models of action from his or her family.

7. Conclusion

The notion of "post-conflict", defined by the United Nations, refers to an ideal model of transition after a war, involving international institutions, states and civil, private and associative actors to overcome tensions together and rebuild a lasting peace. (Freeman & Djukić, 2008). The criteria surrounding the war offer a wide scope for interpretation, the extent of which only becomes apparent once the conflict is over. It is clear that war does not end with the announcement of the end of the conflict or with the cessation of hostilities, it still remains to be rebuilt. Given the enormous importance of education for conflict-affected populations, its reconstruction must be done in a way that enhances its potential to contribute to human development. Our study on education in transitional justice in Côte d'Ivoire examines education as a factor in human development in terms of the process towards: guaranteeing human rights, achieving human security and promoting capacity. In sum the research looks at the links between education and development in the post-conflict context in a holistic approach to Transitional Justice. The recommendations aim to capture the needs of public education in the post-conflict period in Côte d'Ivoire. The Ivorian commission has not failed to raise the issue of education in its activities. However, the study reveals that education is insufficiently and partially taken into account in the reconstruction process. Indeed, the best way to take education into account in the post-crisis reconstruction process is to involve education staff in the commission on a permanent and integral basis

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in order to undertake a constructive working relationship with the Ministry of Education. Such close collaboration with the Ministry of Education from the beginning to the end of the activities is extremely important not only for its integration into the recommendations and the facilitation of their implementation in educational programs. It is a matter of full cooperation that is both practical and conceptual. This has still not been the case for most of the commissions.

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Notes

1) Beyond these principles, we can mention the fundamental rights of the child as defined by the text of the Convention: right to an identity (articles 7 and 8), right to health (articles 23 and 24), right to education (article 28), right to family life (articles 8, 9, 10, 16, 20, 22 and 40), right to express oneself (articles 12 and 13), right to be protected from war (Articles 38 and 39), right to be protected from exploitation (Articles 19, 32, 34, 36 and 39), right to equality and respect for differences (Preamble §§ 1, 3 and 7, Articles 2, 3 and 28).

2) Indeed, for Fischer (1996, p. 113), a prejudice refers to "a way of thinking by clichés, that is, the set of simplified descriptive categories based on beliefs by which we qualify other people or social groups". In other words, stereotypes are a cognitive schema associated with one of the criteria such as: physical appearance, gender, religious, political, ethnic, sexual identity, criteria that define our beliefs and guide our judgements about social groups and their groupings.

3) «Des miliciens et la FESCI bastonnent des enseignants», Le Nouveau Réveil (Abidjan), 20 novembre 2007.

4) Human Rights Watch interview, Abidjan, September 30, 2007.

5) The internal and external effectiveness and efficiency of the Ivorian system is not sufficient. This is at the root of several negative phenomena, including graduate unemployment (Unesco, 1999).

6) "It is disheartening to note that over the years AGEPE's placement capacity for internships and employment has been reduced. There is also a lack of endowment of the system with research institutes and centers, laboratories, construction workshops, and public/private partnerships for funding"... (AGEPE, 1998).

7) Women and men have little concern about the preparation of administrative documents and for birth registration and identity documents. Pupils without birth certificates cannot take the primary school leaving examination. The birth certificate is therefore an essential document to ensure that girls and boys can remain in the education system (UNESCO 2013).

8) Moreover, the situation of girls is a cause for concern in areas heavily affected by conflict (Ministry of Solidarity and War Victims, Côte d'Ivoire, 2007).

9) "9711 of them have actually fought on the ground as FAFN and 1425 women are associated with the FRCI" (CSCI Election Observation Mission Report 2010).

10) Most of them are also associated with combatants, acting as indicators. These groups were first identified by the United Nations in 2006. At least 4,000 children have been recruited into the ranks of combatants since the conflict in 2002 (Côte d'Ivoire: Former child soldiers are still vulnerable 16 February 2008).

11) Lerner, Salomon, interview menée le 10 avril 200par Salmon, Elizbeth, membre du Comité de rédaction de la *Revue internationale de la Croix-Rouge,* et Gaillard, Philippe, chef de la délégation du Comité International de la Croix-Rouge (CICR) au Pérou. La version anglaise de l'interview a été publiée dans *International Review of the Red Cross*, vol. 88, n° 82, June 2000, pp. 22-2.

12) Pablo de Greiff, a leading Transitional Justice theorist and practitioner, who is also Director of Research at ICTJ in New York, stresses the need to create synergy between several Transitional Justice mechanisms.

13) Education, especially for girls and women, is linked to positive health outcomes and thus to the ability to claim the right to health; education has been shown to reduce child mortality, positively affect reproductive health, improve child well-being, improve nutritional outcomes, and encourage immunization. reduction (World Bank, "Education and Development"). World Bank, "Education Notes: Fast Track Initiative: Building a Global Compact for Education," Washington, DC, World Bank, 2005, (Human Rights, 2005: Côte d'Ivoire).