

# UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

“ POST CONFLICT INTERVENTION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF  
THE EDUCATION STRATEGY IN KENYA AND RWANDA, 1996 – 2000 ”

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RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ARTS IN  
INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

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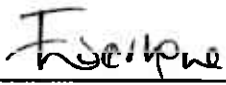


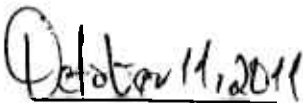
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## DECLARATION

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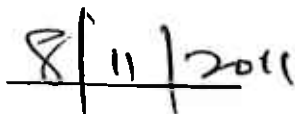
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## **List of Acronyms and Abbreviations**

EFA	Education for all
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
PEP	Peace Education Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Education Fund

## **DEDICATION**

**This project is dedicated to the people of Kenya and Rwanda.**

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

It has been a wonderful experience taking the time to expand my knowledge in my masters program and I especially thank my course lecturers at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, as well as the friends and acquaintances that shared their experiences, knowledge and wisdom during lectures and interactive sessions outside of the lecture halls.

To my project supervisor, for his guidance and support; his immense knowledge has directed this work to fruition.

## ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to demonstrate the role of education as an intervention strategy during post-conflict situation, a case study of Kenya and Rwanda. The first chapter provides the background content to the topic of research including reasons for conducting the study and objectives that the research seeks to meet. A discussion of the literature that informs the research is also provided as well as the methodology for conducting the research. The last content is the bibliography that laid ground to the theoretical knowledge.

The second chapter introduces the concept of post-conflict intervention and describes the nature of activities that go on during post-conflict intervention and the place for education in such environment. The third chapter conducts an analysis between educational intervention in post-conflict societies, specifically post-genocide Rwanda and post-2008 election violence in Kenya. This chapter presents a critique of the analysis of the problem statement and the views that the study adopts following the analysis. Lastly the fifth chapter provides the findings from the data analysis and develops a conclusion to the research based on the findings.

The study found that with the adoption of broad transformational agendas by individuals and institutions alike, there exists an opportunity where legacies of political violence in both Kenya and Rwanda can be countered. The commitment to confront past injustices can bring about substantial change. Indeed, without the acknowledgement that particular structures in society, such as institutional set-ups and socioeconomic factors, have allowed for political violence, profound change is unlikely to occur. Despite the existence of a civil society in Kenya that educates the masses while reminding political leadership of its pledges for reform, and scrutinises action taken; as well as an international community that follows closely the developments, there are risks that important transformational processes will not bear fruit. To

avoid these risks. leaders and individuals in society must take responsibility. even if in the short-term it might seem easier to move on without addressing what is needed. It is imperative to implement educational initiatives that seek to entrench a culture of peace towards strengthening the individual and society as a whole. while addressing socioeconomic issues such as poverty, inequality, and resource distribution. The society must be allowed, and be willing, to participate and engage substantially in the further shaping and implementation of such transformational processes.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Introduction and background to the study

In the face of increasingly endemic conflicts there were constant intervention efforts to mitigate the negative effects of conflicts. Interventions following termination of violence often involve military and humanitarian actions and efforts to restore peace. Unfortunately, the potential for education in such fragile environments has not been tapped. This means that humanitarian activities during post-conflict intervention do not usually utilize education as a strategy to keep conflict-affected societies. Rather, education is often part of the reconstruction activities.

The role of education in promoting cohesion and removing the culture of violence in volatile post-conflict environments is not yet understood well. As violence is meted out during conflicts, it destroys the social fabric and institutions that were beneficial in promoting individual and societal development. Millions of displaced persons affected by conflict in different countries experience alienation and deprivation of their basic rights including opportunities to advance themselves. Education has not only the potential of bringing changes in values but also attitudes towards liberating alienated people. The United Nations Children's Education Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) recognise the urgent need to make education a key tool for meeting humanitarian and social needs more importantly, during post-conflict reconstruction efforts.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See UNESCO, *The Dakar Framework for Action: Education for All – Meeting our Collective Commitments*, World Education Forum, Dakar (2000a), para.8

Although UNESCO's 2008 Education for All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report<sup>2</sup> recognises that countries experiencing conflict, or emerging from conflict, have very low levels of education development and seek to address this through the EFA. I argue for a different view. My contention is that it is not enough to reconstruct educational infrastructure only, but rather to use education as a tool to dismantle the culture of violence.

Much as education is globally recognised as an important tool towards achieving peace, it also has the potential to perpetuate violent conflict, resulting in destruction and social disorder.<sup>3</sup> It is this aspect that has become widely debated in the current global environment. Citing the example of Islamic religious institutions in were as such as Afghanistan and Pakistan, the commonly known madrassas have in recent times been associated with recruiting young people and indoctrinating them in radical teachings that preach their cause. Given that most post conflict societies continue to suffer organized violence, crime and lawlessness, they are therefore regarded as vulnerabilities that can be exploited towards such radicalized causes. It is on this basis that this study calls on a more radical use of education for purposes of eliminating the culture of violence and promoting a culture of peace instead.

In Africa, where many countries are emerging from conflict, investment in education should take priority. Kenya, which is still recovering from the effects of the 2007 post-election violence should use education not only as one of the pillars towards national cohesion and peace building, but as a strategy to create a new culture of peace. In this respect, Kenya, by adopting the National Educational Plans towards meeting the EFA goals has not done enough. Rwanda on her part presents a different development after facing decades of low

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<sup>2</sup> UNESCO. *The Dakar Framework for Action: Education for All – Meeting our Collective Commitments*. World Education Forum, Dakar. (2000a). para.8

<sup>3</sup> See Bush.K., and D. Saltarelli. *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children*. (UNICEF. 2000)

intensity ethnic conflicts which culminated in the 1994 genocide.<sup>4</sup> Rwanda is especially unique given that the conflicts were conducted along identity lines and this denotes a strong ideological infusion in the genocide. Granted, the Rwandese society was left fractured and traumatized by the events of the genocide. The challenge for Rwanda towards reconstruction was therefore huge considering the need to rehabilitate the community towards cohesion. The country is so far achieving great milestones through education, and this is what makes it a viable example to draw from in this study.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The relationship between education and post conflict intervention is complex in that while it is well documented that intervention activities include reconstructing educational systems and reinserting educational resources in post conflict society, what is deficient is the role that education plays in post conflict intervention towards changing attitudes and social relations in the community.

Education is considered a basic human right and therefore important in the society. People not only learn through education but change attitudes, values and behaviours. Shaped and influenced by way of learning, it is this aspect that makes education a core tool during post conflict intervention.

Post conflict intervention activities play a major role in society. Damaged by conflict, the reconstruction and restructuring of such societies as they build the basis for reform should work at education as an important tool. It is not enough to restore educational activities in post conflict intervention and to offer humanitarian relief. What is really required at the end

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<sup>4</sup> See Meredith, Martin. "The Graves Are Not Yet Full" in *The State of Africa: A History of Fifty Years of Independence*. (London: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd. 2006), pp.485-523

of horrible experiences like genocide. Rwanda for example, embarked on efforts towards shaping collective memory by working with all stakeholders in the community through educating them on why the genocide happened, how it happened and why it should never happen again. In this case, the community becomes aware of its values, beliefs, and how to relate to each other in a new way, thus replacing the old culture with a new culture. Such a transformation can be achieved through education. This study therefore raises the fundamental question of how education can be used to attain this.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The main aim of this research is to demonstrate the role of education in post-conflict reconstruction. The secondary objectives will include: -

- 1.3.1 Analysing the relationship between education and the promotion of a culture of peace
- 1.3.2 To investigate how education was used in post conflict Kenya and Rwanda
- 1.3.3 To compare were the role of education in Kenya and Rwanda

### **1.4 Justification of the research problem**

Activities involved in post-conflict intervention are intended to provide relief efforts that ultimately contribute towards achieving stability for reconstruction. This study will explore existing post-conflict intervention strategies in the present system as well as the practical and academic gaps that exist in the absence of appropriate educational initiatives.

The practical justification in carrying out this research is supported by the existing gap in concrete policies as well as practical initiatives that guide post-conflict intervention activities in Kenya, more specifically geared were d towards education as a tool in fragile situation.

Although activities in post conflict intervention were geared towards relief efforts that ultimately contribute towards achieving stability for reconstruction, it is important to search for long term intervention strategies which can not only address the violence but also promote positive cohesion. This study hopes to show how best education can be geared towards achieving such goals.

So far, no study has been carried out in Kenya to analyse the relationship between post-conflict intervention activities and education as a component of these activities. It is anticipated that the findings in this study will be important towards highlighting applicable standards in education that guide the activities in post-conflict intervention. Above all, the findings of this study may lay the groundwork for further investigation and debate on the problem.

The results of this research will be beneficial to a number of stakeholders and decision makers alike. These include conflict managers and peace practitioners who compose the main actors that provide post-conflict intervention activities and can thus provide best practices in terms of activities provided. Similarly, the findings will be beneficial to educators, politicians and administrators by providing lessons from which they can learn and shape national policies.

The academic justification for carrying out the study is based on the apparent gap in the literature on education in post conflict reconstruction. Theoretically, the link between education and conflict is influenced by experiences that war-torn societies have gone through. The critical need to focus on education as a key component of post conflict intervention is based on the need to restore stability, promote welfare and growth, and to meet the MDGs

and EFA goals<sup>5</sup>. However, if education is to be critical it should be part of the responses to post conflict realities right from the start.

Conflicts are endemic in society and as Davies<sup>6</sup> observed, the world is not becoming any less conflictual. In fact, conflicts in the modern international system continue changing in nature and frequency<sup>7</sup>, meaning that the term 'post conflict' is itself arguable. Because of this aspect, it becomes challenging to develop evaluative and concrete theoretical research into post conflict reconstruction and how education fits into this phase; this in turn means that practitioners in the field were left to refer to documents by fellow practitioners in order to map reality to possible success.<sup>8</sup>

Another aspect that begs further insight in emerging literature is the need to have an all-encompassing analysis of education for post conflict reconstruction and delink this with the tendency to align education towards achieving equilibrium. Often, educational activities during post conflict phase are conducted in order to restore the society to the conditions before conflict. On the contrary, reconstruction ought to be viewed as a period of transition towards new ways of learning and conducting relations in society so that it does not degenerate into conflict again.<sup>9</sup>

Equally common in practical lingo is the tendency to associate the term 'reconstruction' with 'development'. Without going into semantics, reconstruction goes beyond development in

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<sup>5</sup> See World Bank. *Reshaping the Future: Education and Postconflict Reconstruction*. (Washington, DC.: World Bank, 2005)

<sup>6</sup> Davies, Lynne. *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos*. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), p.3

<sup>7</sup> Kagawa, F.. "Emergency Education: A Critical Review of the Field" in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 41, No.4 (2005), pp.487-503

<sup>8</sup> See Tomlinson, K.. and P. Benefield. *Education and Conflict: Research and Research Possibilities*. National Foundation for Educational Research. (Slough, Berkshire, 2005)

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. Davies (2004), p.182



that while development builds with what is already in place, reconstruction actually seeks to overhaul a system that is in place and which is deemed unworkable, in order to create anew a working base from which the building can continue. This is the perspective that this study will take in examining education in post conflict intervention. Bearing in mind the above gaps, the aim of carrying out this study is to bridge this gap in theory and practice.

## **1.5 Literature review**

Relevant literature that informs this research substantiates the importance for the need to exercise viable post-conflict intervention activities. This literature shall be divided into three sub-themes namely-literature on post-conflict intervention, literature on education as a strategy for peace and literature on Kenya and Rwanda.

### **1.5.1 Literature on post conflict intervention**

The fact that conflict is endemic in society does not necessarily mean that it is bad. Conflict can either be function or dysfunctional depending on the outcome or the goals.<sup>10</sup> Post conflict intervention occurs within an environment created from the outcome of a conflict and it is this that is central to this study. Accordingly, Marxist theories of conflict<sup>11</sup> state that social conflict is functional because it results in what Dahrendorf<sup>12</sup> describes as change in human relations by creating aware ness that results in formation of self-conscious groups. Post conflict intervention should therefore take the approach of playing a functional role in the society and hence should go beyond creating self-aware ness and actually lead to a positive change in values and social interactions.

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<sup>10</sup> Jeong, Ho-Won. *Understanding Conflict and Conflict Analysis*. (London: SAGE Publications Ltd. 2008). pg.52-53

<sup>11</sup> Marxist theories of conflict derive from an analysis of conflict between social classes. See Schellenberg, James A., *Conflict Resolution: Theory, Research and Practice*. (Albany: SUNY Press. 1996) pp.79-88

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. Schellenberg, James (1996). p.86

Kumar and Zeeuw<sup>13</sup> identify post conflict societies as those that are recovering from prolonged violent conflicts, or rather those in which, according to Junne et al.<sup>14</sup>, open warfare has come to an end. Sandole<sup>15</sup> on the other hand places 'post conflict' on a continuum denoted by the de-escalation phase of a conflict processes which is characterised by cessation of open hostilities. However, this does not mean that there is peace at all in a post conflict society. In fact, in their seminal paper, Collier et al.<sup>16</sup> demonstrates that the risk of war is substantially higher during the first five years after the end of a conflict than it is in comparable countries. This means that post conflict society is characterised by some form of violence and insecurity and hence, it can be argued that the term 'post conflict' is itself misleading considering that conflict is dynamic in nature, and shifts over time and space, taking new forms and manifestations. Indeed, post conflict societies are often plagued with uncertainties as they continue to be faced with a myriad of conflicts and violence which have to be addressed anew.

Azar and Burton<sup>17</sup> posit that psychological and behavioural elements coupled with structural conditions in society, as put forward by Mitchell<sup>18</sup>, combine to fuel conflict. Psychological elements were anchored in essential values and needs of a community. These are considered nonnegotiable as they define that community. Values can be defined in terms of cultural beliefs and perspectives, while needs include identity, recognition and security. In social interaction values and needs justify one group's actions towards another. According to

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<sup>13</sup> De Zeeuw, Jeroen. et al (eds). *Promoting Democracy in Postconflict Societies*. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008). p.3

<sup>14</sup> Junne, Gerd & Willemijn Verkoren. The Challenges of postconflict development, in G. Junne and W. Verkoren. eds., *Postconflict development: meeting new challenges* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), pp.1

<sup>15</sup> Sandole, Dennis J.D et al. (eds). *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application* (Manchester, Manchester City University Press: 1993). pp.3-19

<sup>16</sup> Op.cit. Collier. P., (2003). p.83

<sup>17</sup> Azar. E., and J. Burton (eds.). *International Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1986). pp.28-39

<sup>18</sup> Mitchell. Christopher., *The Structure of International Conflict*. (London: Macmillan, 1981)

Burton's human needs theory<sup>19</sup>, when these needs are not met, they create deep resentments which accumulate in time and eventually erupt into conflict. This theory can be used to inform the relationship between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups in Rwanda and the long animosity between them that culminated in the genocide of 1994.

Post conflict intervention should ideally prioritise the society's psychological needs and values which are often lacking. This has not been the practice because often intervention strategies were geared towards humanitarian activities which include provision of material resources like food and shelter, clothing and healthcare needs; reconstruction activities geared towards rebuilding and repairing infrastructure; and conflict management mechanisms that seek to reconcile parties to a conflict, these include judicial strategies like arbitration, and non-judicial strategies such as confidence building measures as well as traditional methods like the gacaca<sup>20</sup> in Rwanda.

Additionally, the underlying basis for intervention in fragile post conflict societies is to alleviate continued human rights violations which continue to occur in such environments. According to the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, international law aspects in post conflict societies include refugees and displaced persons.<sup>21</sup> These are considered vulnerable groups whose social and cultural rights were at risk. However, there is no law that specifically addresses post conflict intervention activities; what

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<sup>19</sup> Burton, John W., 'Conflict Prevention as a Political System' in *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2001), pp.23-38

<sup>20</sup> See Stockman, Farah, 'The People's Court: Crime and Punishment in Rwanda', *Transition*, Vol.9, No.4, (2000), Issue 84: 20-41, p.22

<sup>21</sup> See International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies website accessed January 22, 2010. <http://www.ifrc.org/what/disasters/idrl/publication.pdf>

is governed in international law and human rights laws are rights to individual resources such as institutional education, food, shelter, and so on.<sup>22</sup>

Following on the above analysis, Horowitz<sup>23</sup> maintains that latent conflict in a polarized society is often manifested through response to a trigger event. For example in the case of Rwanda, the assassination of the then president Juvenal Habyarimana set off the events of the genocide. Galtung<sup>24</sup> uses the concept of structural violence, which is same as latent conflict, and maintains that structural violence is built into the very structure of society and cultural institutions. Latent conflict can take the form of denial of education opportunities, discrimination, repression and social alienation; these aspects were embedded in the structure of a society that promulgates inequality, and they in turn provoke resentment. In the long run, a certain event will trigger the initiation towards collapse of the structure. Take discrimination: this can result in denying people important rights such as education. When human beings are denied education, they become marginalised, hence creating social fragmentation.

From the above discussion, Sewer et al.<sup>25</sup> contend that post conflict intervention has the function of 'providing a safe and secure environment, providing for rule of law, stable democracy, sustain economy, and promote social well-being': all these were aspects to do with latent conflict. In this context, post conflict intervention should therefore consist of activities that assist societies recovering from the effects of a conflict. However, the mixed

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<sup>22</sup> See United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, website accessed January 22, 2010, <http://www.hrweb.org/legal/escr.html>

<sup>23</sup> Horowitz, Donald, *The Deadly Ethnic Riots*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001)

<sup>24</sup> Galtung, Johan, 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research' in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.6, No.3 (1969), pp.166-192

<sup>25</sup> Sewer et al., 'A Framework for Success: International Intervention in Societies Emerging from Conflict' in *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*, Crocker, Chester et al (eds), (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2007) p.371

achievements of post conflict intervention activities have faced criticisms in terms of how they contribute towards nation-building.<sup>26</sup>

Moser<sup>27</sup> et al. recognise that while post conflict intervention activities have been marked by a decline in political violence, the same is not true of economic and social violence, which increase during post conflict period. Yet Hampson et al<sup>28</sup> argue that activities towards social reconstruction in post conflict societies are themselves futile given that such societies were lacking in values and institutions. However, given the Hobbesian<sup>29</sup> perspective which defines successful intervention by its realist ability to maintain civil peace and security, as well as Galtung's structural violence<sup>30</sup> concept that analyses conflict, as well as activities towards addressing conflict, based on structured distribution (or lack thereof) of resources. then the need emerges to identify the social aspects that, according to Mill<sup>31</sup>, adapt to the special cultural and historical circumstances of the societies in which they were built.

### 1.5.2 Literature on education as a strategy for intervention

It is widely accepted that conflict impacts on education both in terms of resources as well as psychologically. However, the theory that defines the linkage between education and conflict is still considered an emerging field given the missing link between theory and practice.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See Hampson, Fen Osler, et al. 'Intervention and the Nation-Building Debate' in *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict management in a divided world*, Crocker, Chester, et al. (eds). (Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 2007) pp.679-

<sup>27</sup> Moser, Caroline O.N et al., Violence in a post-conflict context: urban poor perceptions from Guatemala (World Bank Publications). Pp.39-52

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. Hampson et al. (2007)

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. C.B. MacPherson (Hammondsworth, U.K: Penguin Books, 1968)

<sup>30</sup> See Johan Galtung, *Transcend and Transform: An Introduction to Conflict Work*

<sup>31</sup> Mill, John Stuart. "On Liberty" in *The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill*, ed. Edwin A. Burt (New York: Modern Library, 1939).

<sup>32</sup> See Paulson, Julia, et al., "Education and Conflict: Essay Review" in *International Journal of Educational Development*, No. 27, 2007, 340-347

However, as a tool for successful post conflict intervention, this study takes the view that education should adopt Lederach's<sup>33</sup> dynamics of providing knowledge and transforming relationships towards reconciling with adversaries using tenets of truth, justice, mercy and peace. This means that personal awareness is enhanced and space is open for adversaries to interact and discuss their values, goals and beliefs. This in turn results in rebuilding of relationships and ultimately transforming these relationships into cohesive systems in society. Creative, constructive change in the society is what education should be geared towards during post conflict intervention. In many post conflict societies, there is often a disconnect in relations caused by the results of a protracted conflict. Given that conflicts have the effect of breaking networks of communication and interaction among people; it is this aspect that comes into focus when developing concepts towards bringing the society to form cohesive relationships. Indeed, post conflict societies are not only characterised by a breakdown in institutions, but more importantly is the infringement on the rights of individuals.<sup>34</sup> In order for individuals to understand the dynamics at play then they need to understand the issues: this involves acquiring knowledge and skills to access their rights and responsibilities. This however is often not the case as human rights educators rarely, if ever, explain the dynamics of relations, instead concentrating efforts towards documenting the many abuses on behalf of development enterprises.

When Machel<sup>35</sup> posits that education is increasingly being considered a critical component in humanitarian response, alongside food and water, shelter and health care, this study argues that education should be an intervention strategy on its own so that when humanitarian actors intervene in post conflict situation, there should be separate educational intervention as well.

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<sup>33</sup> See Lederach, John Paul. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace: 1997)

<sup>34</sup> Uvazie, Ernest E., *Conflict Resolution and Peace Education in Africa*. (Lexington Books

<sup>35</sup> Machel, Graca, *The Impact of War on Children*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001). Similar expressions have been made by governments of Norway and Canada. see Johnson, 2002:4; Government of Canada, 2000)

This intervention should however be taken in the context of changing relationship and not instituting reconstruction.

Scholars such as Collier<sup>36</sup> have argued that conflict is endemic in countries with minimal education levels<sup>37</sup>. This is because education is one of the aspects that individuals care about in society and which can be used to their manipulation. This argument can be advanced though Ted Gurr's<sup>38</sup> analysis of identity-based conflicts, wherein he contends that political manipulation by the elite using skilful tactics can serve to incite the masses to agree along to their ideological messages. This instrumentalist explanation is enforced when ideological beliefs are imparted onto the society, hence changing interactions. This argument has been adopted to explain Hutu extremist position against Tutsis in Rwanda that culminated in the genocide<sup>39</sup>. The above case takes an even more crucial perspective when such societies' perspectives on recognising their shwere d interests as well as strengthening ties amongst themselves are not upheld. Instead, information that led to fracturing of the societies in the first place continues to be disseminated to the people after violence has ceded. However, this argument lays much emphasis on the aspects that can be learned by individuals while neglecting the inherent characteristics of human nature.

Aall, Helsing and Tidwell<sup>40</sup> observe that the pedagogical expansion of peace education following the flaring up of identity-based conflicts in the 1990s has not had the expected

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<sup>36</sup> Collier. Paul. "Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications for Policy" in *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, Chester Crocker et al.. (Washington, DC United States Institute of Peace Press. 2001). p.149

<sup>37</sup> 'Education' in this sense is used synonymous to acquisition of knowledge.

<sup>38</sup> Ted Robert Gurr "Minorities, Nationalists, and Islamists: Managing Communal Conflict in the Twenty-First Century" in Crocker, Chester A. et al. (eds) *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*

<sup>39</sup> See Human Rights Watch, *Slaughter among Neighbors: The Political Origins of Communal Violence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 1995)

<sup>40</sup> Aall, Pamela. et al., "Addressing Conflict through Education" in I William Zartman (eds). *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques* (US Institute of Peace Press) pp.327-349

results of developments in terms of post conflict reconstruction. Given the dynamic nature of conflicts, it follows that the twenty first century is lacking viable means of exploration of new conflicts and how to mitigate them. Consequently, there should be a shift in focus towards concentrating on wholesome educational activities that call for promotion of a culture of peace and not just concentrating on peace education in classrooms.

Nicolai and Triplehorn<sup>41</sup> as well as Smith and Vaux<sup>42</sup> focus on educational intervention during the emergency response phases and much less on post conflict reconstruction. In fact, they lay more emphasis on the developmental aspects of education in the society as the bridge that links the emergency phase to the reconstruction phase. The focus on children in Nicolai and Triplehorn lays emphasis on the contributions of basic education and rapid educational response through humanitarian aid for refugees and displaced persons while neglecting the important role that overall social capital has in society in the long run.

Peter Buckland<sup>43</sup> on the other hand avers to the complexity between education and conflict in terms of the theoretical implications of learning environments in promoting reconstruction in the society. What Buckland emphasises on is the aspect of language and curricula in education and how these work towards reconstruction. However, given the observations of Aall et al., classroom methods of learning have not contributed much towards healing societies and changing attitudes of violence to nonviolence. In fact, Davies<sup>44</sup> observes that it

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<sup>41</sup> Nicolai, S, et al. "The Role of Education in Protecting Children in Conflict" HNP Network series 42 (London: ODI, 2003)

<sup>42</sup> Smith, A, et al. "Education, Conflict and International Development" DFID Issues Paper. UK Department of International Development. (London: 2003).

<sup>43</sup> Buckland, Peter. *Reshaping the Future: Education and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (The World Bank: World Bank Publications, 2004)

<sup>44</sup> Davies, Lynn. *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos*. (Oxon, Canada: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004 ) p.163



is difficult to measure the impact of education provided in post conflict societies given the unique complexities of such situations.

### 1.5.3 Literature on education in Kenya and Rwanda

Common interpretations of education associate it with formal systems of acquisition of knowledge and learning resources. The value of this cannot be discarded as indeed formal learning should, according to Greaney<sup>45</sup>, lead to acquisition of key social and cultural skills and knowledge that lead to a change in behaviour that “promote(s) a sense of national solidarity and a well-informed, tolerant understanding of others”. Indeed, the development of, and general outlook on education in both Kenya and Rwanda has had extensive influence on the society in terms of forming individual fundamental attitudes as well as in conduct of relations with other societies.

Ntuli<sup>46</sup> observes that traditionally in Africa, including both Kenya and Rwanda, learning was conducted through a system of linkages wherein knowledge and skills were acquired and developed through apprenticeship. This involved watching and listening to, and imitating those considered repositories of knowledge; these included masters, elders, sages, parents and the community at large. Individuals in the society were given special skills on different aspects within the society. Certain connotations were inferred upon individuals; values, goals and relationships, knowledge, skills and attitudes were developed through cultural games, sports, music, dance and the arts. In this way, an individual became fully integrated into the society and this is what defined the cohesiveness of traditional African societies.

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<sup>45</sup> Greaney, Vincent. “Textbooks, Respect for Diversity, and Social Cohesion” in Eluned Roberts-Schweitzer et al. (eds.). *Promoting Social Cohesion Through Education: Case Studies and Tools for Using Textbooks and Curricula*. (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2006) p. 47-69

<sup>46</sup>Ntuli, Pitika P. “The Missing Link Between Culture and Education: Are we still chasing gods that are not our own?” in Makgoba, M.W. (ed.), *African Renaissance: The New Struggle* (Cape Town: Mafupe, Tafelberg, 1999). pp.184-199

According to Madambi<sup>47</sup>, the introduction of schooling by the white man led to subordination and detachment of African traditions to evangelism. Following the introduction of missionary education, traditional patterns of beliefs, values and practices began to be discarded in favour of the white-man's ways of beliefs and practices. This led to a reconceptualization of what is important to the society, making power, recognition and supremacy to be valued in the society in place of the age-old belief in unity and togetherness; this in turn created a cultural confusion which 'had warped values that the African accepted without questioning'.<sup>48</sup>

From the above analysis we see the evolutionary role that learning played towards shaping the nature of social divisions in present-day Africa, and hence Kenya and Rwanda. Consequently, education in both countries has been greatly influenced by the change in perception of the values, beliefs and attitudes of the society which in turn has followed the introduction of new perspectives on the role of education.

The main legal document governing education in Kenya is the Education Act Cap.211 of 1968 under which a number of policies fall. These policies are largely based on Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965<sup>49</sup> which was concerned with the eradication of poverty, ignorance and disease: these were regarded as key concerns for the society at that time. Subsequent milestones made towards education growth and development occurred largely in the form of technical and curricula developments such as setting up the 8-4-4 system as well as

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<sup>47</sup> Madambi, Munyaradzi. "Education at Cultural Crossroads: A Struggle for Meaningful Education in Zimbabwe" in David Kaulemu (ed). *The Struggles after the Struggle* (Washington, DC: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2008), p.99-108

<sup>48</sup> Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. (Howard University Press, 1981) p.273

<sup>49</sup> See Government of Kenya Sessional Paper No. 10. *African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1965)

implementing increased cost-sharing of education services.<sup>50</sup> The vision of the Ministry of Education in Kenya, which is the main provider of education and training, clearly outlines the goal of the education system in Kenya as being geared towards responding to the needs and challenges of development of the nation.

Even though previous attempts in Kenya's education reports<sup>51</sup> recognized the country's cultural richness and the need for nationhood, Njoroge<sup>52</sup> maintains that this has not achieved much in terms of uniting the Kenyan society and hence the idea of national cohesion still remains superficial. In this analysis, historical developments in education play a major role in exploring the idea of African renaissance by arguing on mental and educational achievements that seek to develop this vision.

Gachanga's<sup>53</sup> contention on the need for the Kenyan society to reclaim indigenous African traditions of building peace and resolving conflicts is based on Boulding's<sup>54</sup> analysis that every society has its own strategies of conflict resolution which were unique in that society and which were passed on from generation to generation. However, Gachanga lays more emphasis on formal institutional mechanisms towards reclaiming these practises and additionally ignores the complex dynamics affecting modern societies and more so the complex nature of post conflict societies. Consequently, the launching of the Peace Education

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<sup>50</sup> Ayako, Aloys B. et al., *Education and Financing in Africa: The Kenyan Case Study*. (Dakar, Senegal: ADEA/CODESRIA, 2006)

<sup>51</sup> The Ominde Report of 1964, the Ndegwa Report of 1971, the Mackey Report of 1981, as well as the Kamunge Report of 1988 all mentioned on aspects of nationhood and enhancement of cultures. See Sorobea N. Bogonko, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991)*. (Nairobi: Evans Brothers, 1992)

<sup>52</sup> Njoroge, Raphael, *Education for Renaissance in Africa* (Victoria Canada: Trafford Publishing, 2004)

<sup>53</sup> See Gachanga, Timothy, "Education for Peace in Kenya. Indigenous peace traditions and the Millennium Development Goals". At Issue Ezine Vol. 1 (February-June 2005), website accessed January 29, 2010. <http://www.africafiles.org/atissueezine.asp?issue=issue1>

<sup>54</sup> Boulding, Elise, *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History*. (New York: Syracuse University, 2000)

Program (PEP) in Kenya<sup>55</sup>, which arose as a result of the need for remedial measures towards developing skills for peaceful coexistence among communities, should not only focus on instructional pedagogy as this is limiting to a certain population of the society. Launched in January 2009 with the support of UNICEF, PEP in Kenya is yet to be implemented and already falls short of the need to enhance collective learning experiences that ultimately diffuse tensions and banish prejudices that continue to exist in the Kenyan society in time for the next general election in 2012.

On the other hand, Korir's<sup>56</sup> religious peacebuilding approach in the Rift Valley in 2008 details efforts towards reconciliation and building peace in the volatile towns within and around Eldoret attempts to reconnect the communities within the given environment and empower them with skills and knowledge towards peace initiatives. This approach goes further than the attempts that constrict issues of national unification to institutions and pedagogy; it involves community-based efforts and is driven by the community within which the conflict occurred. As such, it provides viable prospects, albeit it proved to be short-lived and can therefore be regarded as a short-term intervention effort. This means that it did not achieve the long-term basics of transforming the nature of relations in the society since tensions are still apparent between communities within the given region.

Much as Kenya's 2008 national education plan seeks to meet the MDGs, much of this talk is geared towards development and reconstruction of physical resources while neglecting concrete measures towards meeting the educational needs of post conflict societies such as evidenced after post-election violence following introduction of multi-party elections. None

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<sup>55</sup> See Kenya Emergency Humanitarian Response Plan 2009. Retrieved January 27, 2010. [http://ocha.unog.ch/CAPprojectsPDF/Reports/projectsheets/CAPProjectSheet\\_848\\_24442\\_2010127.pdf](http://ocha.unog.ch/CAPprojectsPDF/Reports/projectsheets/CAPProjectSheet_848_24442_2010127.pdf)

<sup>56</sup> See Korir, Cornelius, *Amani Mashinani (Peace at the Grassroots): Experiences of Community Peacebuilding in the North Rift Region of Kenya*. (Eldoret: Catholic Diocese of Eldoret, 2009)

of the main are as developed by the KESSP address this issue. Furthermore, the guiding framework for the education system in Kenya is archaic and further from reflecting the current targets and objectives of the country.

On the other hand, present-day Rwanda's population is composed of a majority of people who were eye-witnesses to extreme brutality meted out during the genocide, or were actual perpetrators of the genocide. In either of these two groups, at least each individual lost an entire family or at least a member of family. Uvin<sup>57</sup> observes that the Rwandan society is deeply traumatized by these events especially given that a contributing factor to the genocide was the manipulation of knowledge and information to suit a particular ethnic group.

Cooksey<sup>58</sup> contends that the divisive legacy of Rwanda's culture from independence allowed the society to follow a reinforced policy of ethnic quotas and regional preferences.

According to Obura<sup>59</sup>, post-genocide Rwanda has been characterised by a myriad of changes in the society and these originated right from the top echelons: these were not just institutional changes but emphasis was placed in the government's conduct in its relations with the outside world and the way it developed a drive towards inspiring equity and inclusion in the Rwandan society through education and training. Of particular note is the fact that education planners in Rwanda emphasize the promotion of a humanistic culture within education, which is different from Kenya's emphasise on technical expertise.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> See Uvin, Peter. "Reading the Rwandan Genocide" in *International Studies Review*, Vol.3, No.3 (Autumn 2001), pp.75-99.

<sup>58</sup> Cooksey, Brian, *Basic Education Sector Review*, (Kigali: UNICEF, 1992)

<sup>59</sup> See Obura, Anna. *Never again: educational reconstruction in Rwanda*, a UNESCO working document (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 2003)

<sup>60</sup> Ministry of Education of Rwanda with the support of UNDP/UNESCO. *Study of the education sector in Rwanda* (Kigali, 1998a)

Shyaka<sup>61</sup> corroborates the above analysis by emphasizing the role that the government, leadership and the entire Rwandan populace has undertaken towards adopting unique policies in conflict management and resolution approaches as well as the general will of the society towards nation building coupled with “the radical re-foundation of the inclusive and reconciling national identity, “Rwandanness”.

Mukarubuga<sup>62</sup> maintains that structural violence, which she attributes to have led to the genocide, can only be rid by building a culture of peace through peace education initiatives that address the social and political imbalance in the society. Even though this approach is centred on institutional approaches, Rwanda’s efforts towards building a culture of peace are not restricted in the institutional learning environment, but rather, were part of the society and were geared towards curbing alienation and discrimination.

The presentation in the literature review has brought to light critical and relevant were as of post conflict intervention through education, in Kenya, which this study will seek to explore by comparative analysis with Rwanda.

## **1.6 Theoretical framework for conducting the research: Liberal Critical Theory**

Given the dilemma inferred in the literature review in linking theory with practice of education and post conflict intervention, there emerges the need to advance the potential added value of education to fill the gap in post conflict intervention. Bearing in mind that education is a basic human right; the argument for educational intervention should therefore

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<sup>61</sup> See Shyaka, Anastase. *The Rwandan Conflict: Origin, Development and Exit Strategies*. a Study by the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, website accessed January 29, 2010 <http://www.nurc.gov.rw/documents/researches/rwandan%20conflict.pdf>

<sup>62</sup> See Mukarubuga, Cecile. “Rwanda: Attaining and Sustaining Peace” in Gavriel Salomon et al. (eds.) *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices Around the World* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. (2002). pp. 229-236

seek to address ontological concerns while incorporating critical perspectives. For this reason, this study will be conducted following a liberal critical theory as advanced by Habermas and developed by Hegel and Marx.<sup>63</sup>

Liberal critical theory stems from a normative concern and recognizes values, norms and ideals in society. It is liberal in the sense that it does not evolve from a specific ideology but is derived from a broad range of normative concerns. Such concerns arise from recent theoretical developments which recognize the effect of processes of discrimination and exploitation based on key dimensions of human life such as race and ethnicity; and less emphasis on the ideas of Hegel's dialectics and Marxism<sup>64</sup>. Critical theory is therefore used as a tool for analysis and criticism. According to Morrow and Brown 'critical imagination is required to avoid identifying where we live here and now as somehow cast in stone by natural laws'<sup>65</sup>

In this study, a critique of the role of education in post conflict intervention is analysed from a normative concern that ought to be realized. The established facts of post conflict intervention activities are analysed vis-a-vis the norms and ideals that should be in place in order to obtain basic concerns.

Using the framework of critical theory, the success of the dependent variable, post conflict intervention, is critiqued based on the independent variable, education. Normative theoretical issues have been advanced that point to the fact that conflict is endemic in society and that it is also dynamic by constantly shifting its nature, it therefore becomes complex defining the

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<sup>63</sup> Torres, Carlos A. "Critical Theory and Political Sociology of Education: Arguments" in Popkewitz, Thomas F. et. Al. (eds.) *Critical Theories in Education: Changing Terrains of Knowledge and Politics*. (London: Routledge, 1999) pp.87-

<sup>64</sup> Njoroge, Raphael (2004), 65-67

<sup>65</sup> Morrow R. A. and D.D. Brown. *Critical Theory and Methodology*. (London: Thousand Oaks, 1994) p.11

idea of 'post conflict' more so when these conflicts were protracted. Additionally, literature on the socio-psychological theories of conflict upon which conflict behaviours and post conflict activities were based means that it becomes difficult to anticipate actions of actors in the society and group relations as well and how these respond to any given input in the system. Add to this is the fact that no universally accepted typology for educational post conflict intervention has been developed. Cramer contends this aspect by analysing that post conflict reconstruction is often shaped by the processes that ended the conflict and rarely by the initial conditions that triggered it.<sup>66</sup>

Consequently, by employing liberal views towards adopting educational intervention as a strategy in post conflict environment, normative theory is used to contribute towards developing new ways of supporting healing and forming.

## **1.7 Hypotheses**

- 1.7.1 Aligning the educational priorities to conform to the needs of people affected by a conflict highly contributes towards successful post-conflict intervention.
- 1.7.2 Post conflict intervention through educational reforms will lead to increased social cohesion in Kenya
- 1.7.3 The education system in Kenya does not address the dilemmas faced by internally displaced persons

## **1.8 Methodology of the research**

### **1.8.1 Research design**

To understand the impact of education on post conflict intervention, the research was conducted using a case study of Kenya. This is to allow concentration on the events and

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<sup>66</sup> Cramer, Christopher, *Civil War is Not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries*. (Hurst & Co., 2006)



activities prior to the 2007 election and immediately thereafter. This approach using a specific situation allows the research to identify the factors that come into play; this could have been obscured were the research conducted in a large scale survey. The aspect of selection bias cannot be ignored given that the research is conducted by a single researcher. Similarly, the limitation on case study method means that the findings cannot be easily replicated in other case studies. However, this is a step towards coming up with a general observation more so given that the research will collate from a small universe with a representative sample.

This research employed a descriptive research design to obtain and analyse data on education and post conflict intervention activities. This approach was chosen because the study involves investigating variables which are not easy to quantify. In using this research method, the findings can be presented in a descriptive manner.

### **1.8.2 Population and sampling techniques**

Because the research targets actors in post conflict activities as well as in the education section, the sampling of the population for this study is purposive, that is, specific respondents were selected from the population because they hold credibility to the were a of study. The initial respondents are persons known to the researcher in the education sector as well as in various non-governmental agencies. They include 1 lecturer from Catholic University, 2 lecturers from University of Nairobi, 3 teachers from tertiary learning institutions in Kenya, 3 students from the Institute of Diplomacy, University of Nairobi, 1 member of staff of UNICEF and 1 staff from UNHCR, 3 employees from non-governmental organisations, 3 Kenya Ministry of Education officials, 1 representative of the government of

Rwanda in Kenya. Additionally, some informal discussions were held with different persons from the education sector in Kenya.

### **1.8.3 Data collection instruments and procedures**

Information on the research relies on both primary and secondary data. Primary data collection involves direct interaction of the researcher with the respondent in order to generate data for use in the research. This type of data is considered original in that it is generated from the source. The main methods used in this research to collect primary data were through focussed interviews and administered questionnaires by the researcher. Using focussed interviews is beneficial in this study as the data collected will be from people knowledgeable in the area of study and will therefore be able to provide peer credence towards the results of the study. In using administered questionnaires, the questions set will seek to capture relevant data to the study and avoid departures from the main objective of the research.

In order to corroborate or disprove information generated from the primary data, as well as collect representative material, secondary data is also used in the research. Secondary data is that which has already been collected by someone else. The secondary data used in this research is from written materials and documents from the archives and includes:

- Ministry of Education in Kenya policy papers and action plans;
- UNESCO policy papers and reports
- World Bank publications
- UNICEF reports and action plans
- Newspaper articles, online journals and publications

Before the data collection exercise began, permission was sought from the University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, to conduct the interviews and administer the questionnaires. The researcher set up appointments and made arrangements with the various selected respondents in order to collect data. The interviews were held at sites convenient to the respondents. The responses to the questionnaires were written down by the researcher as the interviewees spoke. Interview guides were used during interviews as well as necessary guidelines on administering questionnaires adhered to.

#### **1.8.4 Data analysis procedures**

The data analysis was qualitative and took place concurrently with data collection. Using mapping aspects, the various variables were categorised on an ordinal scale. This provided the most manageable way of measuring the variables in the study. The themes that emerged from the interviews, questionnaires and from document analyses formed the basis of further collection and summary. The analysis of the final data made it possible for themes to be identified and findings presented descriptively.

#### **1.9 Scope and limitations of the research**

The scarcity of data on education initiatives following the genocide Rwanda makes cross-national comparisons of data with the Kenya situation problematic. Available data during this period immediately following a conflict is inaccurate and unreliable. Also, a substantial amount of literature on Rwanda was in French, which required efforts in translation.

Similarly, the unofficial nature of many educational initiatives in early reconstruction means that they are often underreported. Another problem encountered is that national averages often disguise discrepancies in specific areas that were most affected by conflict.

## 1.10 Chapter Outline

- Chapter I – Post conflict intervention: A comparative analysis of the education strategy in Kenya and Rwanda (1996 – 2009). This chapter details the background content to the topic of research including reasons for conducting the study and objectives that the research seeks to meet. A discussion of the literature that informs the research is also provided as well as the methodology for conducting the research. The last content is the bibliography that laid ground to the theoretical knowledge.
- Chapter II – Post conflict situation analysis: This chapter introduces the concept of post conflict intervention and describes the nature of activities that go on during post conflict intervention and the place for education in such environment.
- Chapter III – Comparative Study between Kenya and Rwanda: This chapter conducts an analysis between educational intervention in post conflict societies in post-genocide Rwanda and post-2008 election violence in Kenya.
- Chapter IV – Critical Analysis: This chapter presents a critique of the analysis of the problem statement and the views that the study adopts following the analysis.
- Chapter V – Findings and Conclusion: This chapter provides the findings from the data analysis and develops a conclusion to the research based on the findings.

## CHAPTER TWO

### POST CONFLICT SITUATION ANALYSIS

#### 2.1 Post conflict intervention overview

The term 'post conflict intervention' conjures the concept of 'post conflict reconstruction'. However, a detailed synopsis developed in this paper goes deeper towards illustrating the holistic nature of post conflict intervention.

'Post conflict' refers to the period following a conflict, when overt violence has abated and different actors in the conflict seek to recover from the negative effects of the conflict. A description of the term in the literature review indicates that far from it being a period where out-right cessation of hostilities has occurred, in fact, during post conflict, there were serious concerns of insecurity as well as some violence which occurs. A society in the post conflict stage is considered fragile and more likely to deescalate into conflict.

The term 'intervention' is often associated with military activities that infringe upon the internal affairs of a sovereign state. Intervention by any other name summons up images of coercive actions, whether military, political or economic, in the form of blockades, sanctions and even threats. The term 'intervention' in this paper shuns the conventional usage of the concept and instead it is concerned with non-military, non-coercive actions and activities undertaken during post conflict for purposes of healing a fragmented society and to prevent conflict from recurring. This concept goes further than common linkage to humanitarian concerns which are geared more towards short-term activities towards protection and security to alleviate suffering. Instead, the term as invoked in this paper looks at the longer term activities that are more holistic towards alleviating continued suffering of individuals in a post conflict society.

Intervention can be considered a tool that works towards sufficiently motivating individual values and well-being which in turn leads to creation of perfect relations that cannot be easily ruined. Considered as the source of individual perceptions and desires, the mind is capable of imposing worth upon individual cravings: individuals' beliefs and values were a product of this function. Rebuilding and transforming relations is therefore not a one-time activity that can be completed in a given time-frame. It is an arduous, dynamic, social process that involves a myriad of activities that take place over a long period of time. This owes to the fact that polarized relations were indicative of a post conflict society: indeed, civil conflicts were characterised by highly charged issues of political, ethnic, religious and cultural orientation, which individuals hold in strong belief. Considering that the society is value-laden, when individuals hold strong beliefs in such non-negotiable values, the situation becomes manifest through aggression. It therefore becomes extremely difficult to change individuals' beliefs in such values. This calls for transformational approaches<sup>67</sup> towards healthy relationships and societies.

Transformational approaches recognize that conflict is endemic and dynamic within human relations and it creates a potential for constructive change. It is this constructive change that enables individuals to give room for dialogue and enable adaptive responses to post conflict situations thereby creating transformational relations.

Adam Curle<sup>68</sup>'s tools of transformation which he characterises as combining psychology with diplomacy lasting years is intended to, among other things, "change the perceptions of the society as well as their opposing attitudes in order to develop therapeutic listening and lead to

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<sup>67</sup> Lederach, John Paul, *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*, (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 2003), pp. 14-22

<sup>68</sup> Curle, Adam, *Tools For Transformation: A Personal Study*. (Stroud, UK: Hawthorn, 1990), p. 128

development of relationships of truth and friendship". He contends that through such approaches communities are able to take charge of their growth and change which ultimately leads to their empowerment. In this way, the community is then able to recognise and break down oppressive structures.

The concept 'Post conflict intervention' therefore describes activities that occur in the aftermath of a conflict for purposes of transforming the society through comprehensive, proactive steps that seek to prevent the conflict from recurring<sup>69</sup>. However, the ultimate goal of intervention activities is not just to prevent the recurrence of a conflict, but to enable viable peace to be achieved in a society emerging from a conflict. Post conflict situations therefore provide a good opportunity to examine the shortcomings and weaknesses of old systems and look for new solutions and approaches. Indeed, if there is a need to intervene during post conflict, at the heart of this need is a desire to build peace, hence, the concept of peacebuilding can also be described as a function of post conflict activities.

The concept of 'peacebuilding', initially unveiled by the then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali<sup>70</sup>, meant reinforcing and consolidating peace accords and the rebuilding of war-torn societies with the purpose of avoiding relapse into conflict. With this definition, peacebuilding put more emphasize on the immediate need to stabilize societies emerging from conflict as well as enforcing security; this was at the expense of the need to focus more on rebuilding and transforming relations in war-torn societies in order to enable sustainable peace. Later developments in the international saw the expansion of 'peacebuilding' towards a wholesome concept which involved the creation of positive peace and the acceptance of the

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<sup>69</sup> See Wessells, Michael & Carlinda Monteiro, "Psychosocial Intervention and Post-War Reconstruction in Angola: Interweaving Western and Traditional Approaches" in Christie, D. J. & Wagner, R.V. & Winter, D.A (eds.), *Peace, Conflict and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2001). Ch. 22.

<sup>70</sup> See Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. *An Agenda for Peace* (New York: United Nations, 1992)

idea of transforming relations. This is made possible by restructuring and re-orienting the society so that aspects that increase the likelihood of a resumption to conflict are reduced and instead conditions that were conducive to creating reconciliation and recovery were enhanced.

On the other spectrum is the term 'reconstruction', which ideally implies efforts to return, in this case a society, to the state it was before violence erupted. Whether the pre-violent state of the society could be described as 'peaceful' is arguable given that violence often is a manifestation of simmering conflicts that occur over a period of time. Such societies can then be said to be in a state of latent conflict, and therefore, the purpose of post conflict reconstruction in this case is to stop the violence and enable the society to continue in its former latent conflict state, often described as a state of stability. Given that the interrelated tasks of economic, political and social efforts in post conflict reconstruction often seek to transition societies from widespread violence to 'stabilization', post conflict reconstruction can then be said to be a temporary measure, one whose ultimate goal is not necessarily to address the original drivers of conflict in the society, but to set the stage for activities that enable transformation of the society.

Post conflict intervention therefore calls for an approach that provides for a broader framework which is trumped by the need to focus on the society. Issues of recognizing each individual's identity, values and beliefs, as well as focusing on all subsectors, these were highly prioritized aspects. However, they also involve recognizing and respecting, as well as tolerating individual differences, all these should then lead to social cohesion, which plays a central role towards harmonizing the whole community in achieving societal goals. The



consensus however is that this no mean feat; no wonder peacebuilding is often considered a challenge<sup>71</sup>. The potential, however, far outweighs the costs of peacebuilding.

The above analysis illustrates that the post conflict environment offers particularly huge challenges in terms of priorities. Sequencing of post conflict intervention activities is an enormous task given that the range of issues demanding attention as well as the need for urgent action need to be considered alongside the difficulties in undertaking the task of intervention as well as the limited human, institutional and financial resources.

## **2.2 The rationale for post conflict intervention**

The post conflict environment is characterised by different set-ups which call for a myriad of actors to be involved in their various areas of expertise towards ameliorating the dire situation on the ground. The main question thus becomes why these actors decide to involve themselves in such activities following a conflict. Bearing in mind that activities during post conflict situations can be laid in a continuum- from issues that focus on stability and security, to issues that focus on building vibrant civil societies and promoting justice and democracy; it follows that different actors have different priorities for embedding themselves in post conflict settings.

Actions taken during post conflict intervention are provided for in international law, which recognizes conventional analysis on the duty of post-war intervention. Both The Hague Convention of 1907 and the Geneva Convention of 1949<sup>72</sup> call for rebuilding of war-torn countries, albeit in realist terms that involve military occupation. The missing edict then is

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<sup>71</sup> See Lederach, John Paul. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation In Divided Societies* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1997)

<sup>72</sup> Roberts, Adam & Richard Guelff (eds). *Documents on the Laws of War*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). pp.80-84. 317-27

one that takes into account contemporary issues of morality and ethics in post conflict intervention which recognize the evolved role of actors and their actions in state building as well as the need to factor in issues of human security. This is addressed in the then UN Secretary-General's report of 1998<sup>73</sup> wherein he recognised the fragile nature of a post conflict society and the special need to address important priorities in such a setting.

Behind the quest for peace in post conflict settings is the notion of transformation of relations and creation of cultures of peace: which are issues that involve aspects such as healing, reconciliation and forgiveness; these were considered moral and ethical in nature, hence, the need to recognize that post conflict intervention is based on ethical and moral grounds. This argument is grounded on the premise that human beings instinctively create moral and standards that influence their ideas and it is these ideas that lead to actions which can either be wrong or right. Indeed, individuals' actions are greatly influenced by what they believe.

Following the above argument, Gheciu and Welsh<sup>74</sup> advance four main ethical reasons for the debate on why individuals engage in post conflict intervention activities. These were : the need to take responsibility over the devastation resulting from the use of violence, secondly, there is the need to facilitate transformational opportunities during transition from war to peace, thirdly, is the need to adhere to principles of statesmanship and lastly, is the desire to restore self-determination.

### **2.2.1 Responsibility to rebuild**

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<sup>73</sup> 'The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa'. Report of the UN Secretary-General. April 1998. Yearbook of the United Nations. 1998, Vol. 52, No.E.01, 1.1 (Africa Recovery, United Nations: 1998), p. 20

<sup>74</sup> Gheciu, Alexandra & Jennifer Welsh. "The Imperative to Rebuild: Assessing the Normative Case for Postconflict Reconstruction". *Ethics & International Affairs* (Summer 2009) Vol. 23, Issue 2, pp.121-146

This argument is based on the ethical need to bear liability on the negative effects that arise from the use of force and follow this with ensuring the well-being of victims by compensating for consequences incurred. Warring parties often employ the use of violence against each other in order to ensure collateral damage. This has the negative effect of causing damage and destabilizing the local community. As Walzer<sup>75</sup> posits, 'The work of the virtuous is never finished', it then becomes morally incumbent on the parties to the conflict (as well as their allies and sponsors) to stay on in order to help improve on insecurity and clean up the devastation they caused.

However, this argument lacks formal mechanisms that assign this responsibility to particular agents and instead, relies only on historical ties between the actors in a conflict (such as those of Belgium in Rwanda), the special knowledge of the conflict region (such as the AU in the same conflict in Rwanda) or superior capacity to rebuild (take for example the UN's resource capacity)<sup>76</sup>.

Third party agents who are not party to the conflict can choose to engage in rebuilding based on the premise of upholding the international harm principle and the need to protect basic human rights<sup>77</sup> which were threatened by violence; as well as to assist the vulnerable in a post conflict environment<sup>78</sup>. This aspect appears favourable for its claim to impartiality; and additionally provides an alternative to the often challenging discourse of causal responsibility and role responsibility<sup>79</sup>. However, arguments against this view point to the obvious lack of

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<sup>75</sup> Walzer, Michael, *Arguing About War*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004). p.215

<sup>76</sup> Miller, David. 'Distributing Responsibility' in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol. 9, No.4, (2001). p.454-468

<sup>77</sup> See May, Larry. *Crimes Against Humanity: A Normative Account*, (Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 2005)

<sup>78</sup> See Goodin, Robert E.. *Protecting the Vulnerable: A Reanalysis of Our Social Responsibilities*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985)

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. Goodin, R.E. (1985), pp.126-127

lead in operational direction which results in duplication of activities. obvious distribution of responsibility which results in likely shirking of obligations: meaning no corresponding liability for failure to protect. The result is a babel of actors without direction, which leads to unfulfilled expectations.

### **2.2.2 The Morality of facilitating transformation from war to peace**

The point of origin in this argument is premised upon the transformational role of conflict and the moral equality of all human beings to recognise universal values like freedom and self-government, which are often missing in post conflict settings. Towards this argument, other actors not party to the conflict have the moral obligation to safeguard such universal values and norms by transforming oppressive structures in society in order to create peaceful structures.

While the first rationale called for rebuilding of post conflict society through compensation of damages and protecting victims, the logic of this transformational argument seeks to engage the actors towards the creation of just structures that consolidate peace.

The transformational rationale takes such forms as the promotion of values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law. This aspect is often embedded in the foreign policies of states in the context of post conflict reconstruction. For example, the European Union (EU) has formally committed itself to championing the norms and values of its founding principles in its relations with the rest of the world<sup>80</sup>, hence, according to then EU High Representative, Javier Solana, "The aim of the European project is...(to) contribute to peace and stability in a

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<sup>80</sup> See Manners, Jan. "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction of Terms?" in *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 40. No.2 (2000). p.241

globalised world<sup>81</sup>. The reason behind advancing such policies is that possession of certain abilities is seen to carry with it an obligation to the broader international community.

What emerges from the above rationale is easily likened to the imposition of one's values and beliefs, instead of letting the local population establish its own independent values and principles which are in tandem with their history<sup>82</sup>. This has the added potential of creating dependency or even reigniting the conflict.

### 2.2.3 Adhering to principles of statesmanship

This imperative is based on the need to protect one's own society from harm. According to Foucault<sup>83</sup>, members of a society have a moral obligation to defend the society from failing by, (broadly) defending its national interests. The morality inferred in this idea lies in the notion that leaders in society are entrusted with the fate of their community and hence they hold a set of moral dilemmas that differ from ordinary citizenry<sup>84</sup>. This aspect is especially called for in the current international system in which failed states are seen as a threat not just to their citizens, but also to the neighbouring states which were more 'peaceful'. It therefore becomes vital for all citizens, and especially the leaders, to rebuild such societies as well as to prevent spill-over effects in the 'peaceful' zones.

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<sup>81</sup> Solana, Javier and Per Stig Moeller, "The EU Takes Responsibility and Makes a Difference" in *Jyllands Posten*, September 7, 2006

<sup>82</sup> See Mill, John Stuart. "A Few Words on Nonintervention" (1859), in Gertrude Himmelfarb (ed), *Essays on Politics and Culture*, (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1973), pp.368-84

<sup>83</sup> Foucault, Michel. *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France* (London: Penguin Books, 2003)

<sup>84</sup> See Morgenthau, Hans. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006). p.xxiv

Following Kantian democratic peace principles<sup>85</sup>, the aspect of promoting cultural foundations of security was viewed to be best in terms of guaranteeing international security. The need to recognise such liberal norms lied in the changing circumstances of the international system where states were not seen as the conventional threats to security. Instead, such actions as terrorism were acts of extremist groups and individuals; hence post conflict intervention is necessary in order to minimize the potential for breeding grounds for such groups in target societies.

This argument tends to support the defence of national interest over the need to protect the vulnerable as discussed in the first imperative to build. The two goals clash in this aspect and the consequence of mixed motives easily arise. Ultimately, helping to rebuild a state is often a political decision and involves quite a number of interests which were not often centred on the duty to protect the vulnerable.

#### **2.2.4 Restoring self-determination**

Once national interests have been achieved towards statesmanship, the next step is to restore self-rule in society to ensure that it joins the pluralist world of independent states. This view contends that the moral equality of states is more important than that of individuals as intimated in the second imperative. The basis for this argument stems from the realist perspective that sovereign states have the capacity to protect its citizens and hence, intervention should seek to restore sovereignty and independence in order to enable protection of the citizens. Ultimately, this view contends that the state is the main guarantee of security for individuals.

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<sup>85</sup> See Williams, Michael C., *Culture and Security: Symbolic power and the politics of international security*. (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2007), pp.42-50.

This state-centric approach takes a lot of criticism in the modern global system beset by issues of basic human rights, human security, as well as the nature of conventional conflicts, which pit states against extremist groups and individuals in society. Indeed, the nature and level of intervention required to facilitate equality among and between states in the present international system, rarely corresponds to what is required to secure the basic security needs and well-being of civilians within a community. This paradigm shift has become vital especially since oftentimes, establishing a strong state breeds authoritarian tendencies legitimatised by the Hobbesian contract<sup>86</sup> among individuals. This view can describe former Kenya president Daniel Moi's rule of repression. It is this aspect that tends to lead to repression and emancipation of civilians in society, which is likely to lead to tension and eruption of conflict.

The above ethical reasons illustrate the dilemma that actors engaged in post conflict intervention activities find themselves in: whether to take the unit-centred approach of ensuring the well-being of the individual in society or whether to adopt the state-centric approach where intervention is geared towards building the state while paying minimal attention to individuals' needs. A holistic approach would entail a mix of both approaches more so given the degree of instability that persists during post conflict situations. The end focus should be the positive impact in the long run, to both the individual and the society.

### **2.3 Activities in post conflict intervention**

In order to achieve the goals of intervention during post conflict periods, there should be recognition that a society's structures are destroyed or fractured, and that healing and

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<sup>86</sup> See Underwood, Lori J. *Terror by Consent: The Modern State and the Breach of the Social Contract* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007). p.119

reconciliation as well as reconstruction is required in order to provide individuals with empowerment towards mending relationships. High priority tasks have to be attained in order to revitalize the community and cement social transformation. These tasks were undertaken by different actors depending on the phase of transition during post conflict situations.

Post conflict settings have multiple phases and transition points<sup>87</sup>. Immediately following cessation of hostilities is the emergency phase, characterised by mechanisms aimed at stopping the violence from progressing further for purposes of reinforcing stability and discouraging a return to war. Following this phase is the recovery phase where the community seeks to heal the wounds of violence and reclaim their pre-war way of life through creation of conditions for sustainable development. The next phase of rehabilitation and reconstruction seeks to change, in the longer-term, the parameters that lead to the war in the first place in order to clean out the negative effects of the violence being meted again in conflict. The activities taking place during the different states often overlap; this is because the phases also often overlap from situation to situation.

Each of the above phases is characterised by different activities which, according to Barnett et al<sup>88</sup>, can be classified under four categories namely: Security and Military; Social, Economic, developmental, humanitarian; Political and Diplomatic; and Justice and Reconciliation. These categories were undertaken under different banners by different agents engaged in post conflict activities. For instance, while UNDP's mandate emphasizes on socio-economic programs, the Breton Woods institutions' focus is mainly on economic

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<sup>87</sup> See UNESCO working paper. 'Reintegration of War-Affected Youth and Children in Post-Conflict Settlements: A framework for Intervention Programmes', UNESCO Publications, December 2002

<sup>88</sup> Barnett, Michael, et al. "Peacebuilding: What Is in a Name?" in *Global Governance*. Vol. 13, No. 1 (2007), pp.35-58



development. Additionally, just as the phases in post conflict settings often overlap, so do the sectors and activities. The sectors don't follow a linear pattern in their execution: some sectors can be executed in tandem depending on the ability and mandate of the executing agent. That is why political-diplomatic aspects are often undertaken alongside security-military aspects.

### 2.3.1 Military-Security aspects

One of the reasons that post conflict settings were considered a challenge is the fact that they were fraught with continued issues of insecurity and hence the need to engage in activities towards creating stability in terms of security as well as removing any incentives that will enable a return to conflict. In order to achieve this function, agents of intervention must ensure that the cease-fire is maintained and that there is monitoring of the combatants, as well as weapons used during the conflict.

A key activity undertaken in this aspect is disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) programs which seek to remove, and reduce the number of weapons in the hands of combatants as well as enable them to integrate into their communities as civilians and continue pursuing meaningful lives with others in society<sup>89</sup>. Major DDR programs have been employed in Liberia as well Sierra Leone following the end of the civil wars in both countries. Demining is another activity important in preventing further loss and harm to individuals. This was widely carried out after the long civil war in Angola, as well as in Mozambique.

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<sup>89</sup> United Nations. *Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards (IDDRS) Framework*. December 2006. 1.20.. p.6

Other long-term key activities include security sector reforms such as those being conducted in Chad. These seek to, among other things, establish new military and police forces to enable them perform functions of providing security and ensuring stability of the society and state. Conflict assessment and early warning activities, such as Horn of Africa's CEWARN<sup>90</sup> project, are important towards setting up vital information databank and processes that will enable early detection and intervention through educational initiatives of possible conflict before they erupt into violence.

In as much as some of the specific activities in this aspect can be considered military-security in orientation, the correlation in their functions with other aspects is evident. For example, a function of DDR programs is to reinsert and reintegrate ex-combatants and these have both socioeconomic and developmental end-results as they are means towards ensuring that the ex-combatants find long-term civilian livelihoods.

### **2.3.2 Social, economic, developmental and humanitarian aspects**

Activities undertaken under this aspect are considered vital towards a return to 'normalcy' from the ravages of a conflict. They provide the means towards recovery and reconstruction of basic infrastructures as well as alleviating human suffering through provision of basic needs and opportunities to meet such needs.

Provision of humanitarian services such as food, shelter, and clothing as well as health facilities is necessary towards meeting basic necessities which are often lacking in post conflict settings, and also enable healing of physical wounds of violence. There are also activities that emphasize social development which in turn promotes cohesion; they include

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<sup>90</sup> CEWARN is acronym for Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism.

repatriation and return of refugees, reunification programs, as well as social reintegration of ex-combatants: education and training programs such as trauma counselling, and on top of that is the strengthening of civil society organizations.

There is often a bias in reconstruction efforts towards technical activities. Often, social development activities build capacity in individuals, which in turn empowers economic development. Indeed, strong civil societies enable growth of a viable private sector. However, there is still need for technical input in order to enable such growth. Financial as well as technical know-how is usually lacking in societies emerging from conflict. Rebuilding of infrastructural amenities such as transport and communication is vital in facilitating economic recovery. This is also true when it comes to rebuilding capacity of key economic institutions responsible for making and implementing fiscal policies.

Through the above activities, it would be true to contend that the long-term objective of intervention programmes in post conflict situations is to ensure development of individuals, communities and societies both socially and economically. Each of the above activities is dependent on the other and all work together in order to contribute towards peaceful coexistence in the society.

### **2.3.3 Political and diplomatic aspects**

The social nature of human beings makes it imperative that individuals seek for ways to live in harmony, and when this fails, then to solve problems diplomatically. Towards this end, there are a set of guiding principles that each society defines its ways of conduct.

Post conflict settings are characterised by issues involving maintaining and implementing peace agreements: these were inherently political in nature and involve a lot of diplomatic negotiations. Other activities that tend to build post conflict settings include support for democratic activities and institutions through such processes as devolution of political power. Democracy takes into account numerous activities and is a hot subject in the present international system. It tends to encompass activities like good governance and establishment of an independent and moral judicial and legal system which ultimately champions the promotion and education of human rights.

In order to set up legitimate authorities in situations where governments have been broken down, this can only be done through holding of elections: as such, election assistance and observation is regarded as an important function during such fragile settings.

The importance of these processes cannot be ignored given that through them, legitimate authorities are set up and able to act as engines in consolidating peace in a society emerging from a conflict.

#### **2.3.4 Justice and reconciliation**

Even though all the activities mentioned in the previous pages constitute vital parts of the overall peace engine, this paper contends that the most important aspect towards consolidating peace is to reconcile individuals in society so that mutual coexistence is achieved. Social activities which bring about this aspect are valuable aspects in post conflict settings and remain the main focus in this paper.

Some of the activities conducted under this aspect include dialoguing between and among leaders as well as the citizenry in society. Dialoguing provides an opportunity for face-to-face exploration of issues on and about the conflict and eventually has the capacity to strengthen and reinforce intervention through educational initiatives and create trust in the individuals, and ultimately, at society level in general.

Similarly, setting up truth and justice commissions as well as similar inquiries provides an avenue through which the community can learn about the true history of the conflict as it unfolded and this provides a basis for reconciliation and forgiveness. Restorative justice should derive from the two moral principles of reconciliation and forgiveness in order to be seen as working for the moral good of society. Punishing of perpetrators should be conducted in such a way that it does not alienate the target individuals. Otherwise, this is likely to promote mistrust, suspicion and resentment; sentiments which can resurface and manifest as exclusion and lead to resentment: therein we find a catalyst to reignite future violence. .

A broad-based scope of the activities in post conflict settings is indeed important and helps to define the importance of the nature of activities, as well as underlying mandates of agents involved in these activities. However, what emerges from this discussion is that post conflict settings present a do-or-die opportunity for the society and the individuals in society. By understanding the importance of this phase of conflict, individuals are able to grasp just how valuable activities conducted during this phase were , towards mending fences and more importantly, towards achieving positive peace in the society.

Ultimately, it all goes back to the rationale for engaging in post conflict intervention: all activities conducted under the mentioned aspects illustrate their functions of contributing to

positive peace through rebuilding society, transforming relations and imparting citizenship mores as well as setting up legitimate institutions that define a strong society.

#### 2.4 The link between education and post conflict

Oftentimes, the effects of conflict bring into question the nature and purpose of society and its make-up. Individuals in society seek explanations into why they take weapons to harm each other and how they conduct their relations with each other; and also, what influences the nature of these relations. This is considered highly educational because a society emerging from conflict becomes vital towards determining what an ideal society should be, as well as putting a bench-mark on how individuals are supposed to be conducting their relations.

Similarly applicable is the analysis that since conflicts begin in the minds of men, it is in these same minds that men must construe the foundations towards ending conflicts and recovering from the negative effects.<sup>91</sup> The mind is a powerful source of knowledge: it creates and shapes individuals', as well as society's mind, to perceive and conduct relations with other individuals and societies: it can therefore build barriers towards, or conversely, support, strengthen and nurture social cohesion. Human behaviours like greed, security or insecurity, hatred, ambition, ideology, ignorance and miscalculation, are among explanations that account for the prevalence of tension, which at times leads to violent conflict. The two 'faces' of education were recognised by virtue of it being a potential contributory factor in violent conflict, while also being a core tool towards instilling new values and attitudes, skills and behaviours as well as promoting new social relations that seek to build resilience to conflict. Indeed, such processes are inherently educational in nature.

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<sup>91</sup> Adopted from the preamble of UNESCO Charter, 1946. See Mungazi, Dickson A., *Knowledge and the Search for Understanding Among Nations*. (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2001). pp.123-143

Issues in post conflict settings capture policy aspects that are established and influenced by those in authority. In turn, these require implementation through practical actions whose execution is dependent on the individual in society. The creation of stable political and social institutions which are inclusive, equitable and accountable is important towards ensuring sound policies that translate into practical initiatives that actually work in the society. However, as is often the case, when policies are passed, if at all they were, they often repeatedly fail to translate into working initiatives. In this way, perhaps the strongest proof in the power of education as a tool for liberation is depicted in situations when it is most needed, which happen to be the same situations when it is most likely to be disregarded by authorities. In fact, it is the same authorities who frown at the thought of enlightening the masses towards recognising their rights, which they see as cause for alarm in deposing them off power. They often go for limited crisis management actions instead of proactive, long-range initiatives. As a key social institution, education becomes indispensable in formulating good policies that promote equity for all and ensure accountability by authorities.

Education is crucial because if properly exploited, it empowers individuals in society with skills, as well as building their capacity to achieve their goals, hence easing suffering caused by conflict. Individuals acquire, share, and transfer the capacity and knowledge to achieve positive peace. Ultimately, a peaceful society can only be created and maintained by a knowledgeable people whose first priority is to understand the truth of their own nature. This aspect can be used to explain the fact that often, countries emerging and recovering from conflict call upon their citizens in the diaspora to return home in order to participate in nation

building: the assumption is that such citizens are considered a huge resource in terms of knowledge needed towards nation building<sup>92</sup>.

As an aspect of education, capacity building measures and training activities help to promote and advance individual potentials in society. Such initiatives enable conflict-ridden societies to re-establish themselves along more intelligent and enlightened lines. Individuals and societies become aware of how the conflict came about and how not to repeat the horrors of the past. In this way, such activities serve to educate the individual and society, both intellectually and morally, and hence they serve as an emancipatory tool<sup>93</sup>. With this in mind, it can be argued that the long-term guarantor for peace and national cohesion following a conflict is reconciliation; and the essential way of bringing this about is through capacity building measures which go beyond facilitating understanding and communication, and also encourage cultural sensitivity and practise active resistance to the ills in society.

It is imperative that individuals in post conflict settings participate in efforts that help create awareness of the reality as it is on the ground. This is important because true awareness, and acceptance, of the fragile situation helps to defeat misleading interpretations, which in turn leads to development of an understanding of pertinent issues and how to proceed towards creation of a truly peaceful society. These efforts are also educational in nature, and education along these lines is not 'taught' in any formal way: learning and teaching how to co-exist and adapt towards a peaceful society is generally conducted through the influence of human relations in the same society. It is the society that teaches one how to remove obstacles towards growth and fulfilment of human and social purposes. Ultimately,

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<sup>92</sup> See Arthur, John A., "The New African Diaspora in North America: Policy Implications" in *The New African Diaspora in North America: Trends, Community Building, and Adaption*, Kwado Konadu-Agyemang et al. (eds). (Oxford, UK: Lexington, 2006). p.287

<sup>93</sup> See Murithi, Tim. *The Ethics of Peacebuilding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009). pp.13-18



individuals' capacities are expanded to enable the conduct of free and honest discussions that enable understanding by removing barriers of anxiety and suspicion. This is what a culture of dialogue entails. In essence, this can lead to a transformation of awareness of individuals and the society at large. This approach in education helps to build stronger resilience to conflict and is therefore a critical strategy during post conflict situations.

The transformational aspect of individuals brings into focus the various normative concerns that define a post conflict society. Examining the dynamic nature of such settings involves a continuous process of recognizing and finding ways and means to change and improve on the present fragile situation, which calls for a critical imagination. Through critical imagination, any rigid structures that are regarded as 'normal' in the society were questioned in as long as they serve to instil a certain pattern of ideas and practices in members in that society.<sup>94</sup> Individuals are therefore mandated to search for the ideal by analysing the society, its nature and how to improve on the deficiencies in place. It is not enough that individuals acknowledge the facts as they are in fragile post conflict settings, rather, the development of human capacities should enable individuals to go further and confront the systems in place, develop critical perspectives and incites that will enable successful intervention strategies towards social transformation and emancipation.

## 2.5 Chapter Conclusion

There is a definitive basis for the need to engage in post conflict intervention through education. While there is an acknowledgement of the importance of schooling during, and more importantly following a conflict, there is less discussion that takes into focus the urgency of engaging education for purposes of building a resilient society whose foundation

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<sup>94</sup> Thomas McCarthy, 'The Idea of Critical Theory' in S. Benhabib, W. Bonss and J. McCole (eds). *On Max Horkheimer: New Perspectives* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1993), p.128

rests on renewed human relations that were cohesive and more enlightened to the debilitating effects of violence.

As developed in this analysis, post conflict intervention is crucial as it lays the way towards moving beyond reconstruction, to creating transformational opportunities both in relationships among and between individuals in society, as well as among and between different societies. The rationalization for the need to engage in post conflict intervention provides justification that builds on the prerequisites of a society emerging from violent conflict. While such societies often have to deal with issues of saving lives, it is equally important that they move beyond this life-saving phase towards realizing that the society must move on and one of the first issues that have to be put into mind is how to heal fractured relationships.

It is not easy to mend fractured relationships, which is why individuals have to go through proactive initiatives towards empowering them and creating awareness, as well as building capacity. Different activities that are involved in post conflict intervention show how such initiatives can be important in post conflict societies towards healing and development of such societies. At the heart of it all is the ultimate need to heal a society, build on new capacities and aspects that enable viable peace to be present in that society.

In examining Rwanda and how it has evolved from the post-genocide phase in trying to promote national cohesion and integrate the Hutus and Tutsis into a harmonious people, the next chapter will analyse the various educational initiatives put in place, and compare them to the Kenya situation preceding and following the 2007 election violence, and then draw a

parallel on what educational initiatives have provided sound mechanisms that seal the cap in the two post conflict nation-states.

## CHAPTER THREE

### COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN KENYA AND RWANDA

#### 3.1 Historical Background

Kenya and Rwanda generally represent a confluence of two conflict zones that is the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa conflict zones. With both countries featuring prominently in matters of international affairs focusing on the two conflict zones, they often provide a credible departure point when analyzing the two mentioned conflict zones. However, what features prominently in their history are their unique historical pasts marred by events that are still fresh in people's minds: Rwanda's genocide and Kenya's post-election violence.

The history of Rwanda and Kenya, coming from colonialism, provides a basis for the events that led to both the genocide and the post-2007 election violence. A tiny, densely populated country whose main ethnic communities, the Hutu and the Tutsi, had a history of ethnic bias against each other, Rwanda going through the 1994 genocide resulted in collective traumatic disbelief, both internationally and locally, and naturally, the country's psyche was heavily affected. The genocide resulted in the deaths of more than 800000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus within three months<sup>95</sup>. With such levels of never-before-experienced catastrophic events, every individual in Rwanda was directly affected, meaning the entire population, or what remained of it, suffered the debilitating effects of the genocide.

Kenya, on the other hand, often considered a stable nation in the horn of Africa, was turned into mayhem overnight, on December 29, 2007, following a hasty announcement and swearing-in of the incumbent Mwai Kibaki, against a backdrop of allegations of rigging that

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<sup>95</sup>Eltringham, Nigel, *Accounting for Horror: Post-Genocide Debates in Rwanda*. (London: Pluto Press. 2004). pp.97-99

led to the defeat of the highly favored and anticipated win of Raila Odinga. Following this announcement, large sectors of the country erupted into violence that pitted ethnic communities against each other; a fact that was reminiscent of the Rwanda conflict of 1994.<sup>96</sup>

In the aftermath of the genocide in Rwanda, there was immense pressure in the international arena to save face and unite towards healing the country of the horrific events of the genocide. Similarly, the new Rwandan government had to look towards radical measures towards healing the community, and most importantly, uniting the two major ethnic communities – the Hutus and Tutsis, into a homogenous society. In Kenya, this same picture was played out and the sentiments expressed geared towards uniting the various ethnic communities that had expressed divergent views in the run-up to the elections and immediately following the outcome of the elections.

The need to engage in educational strategies during post conflict, as detailed in the discussion in Chapter II, illustrates the urgency of reviving communities from the brinks of disasters and offers opportunities to better manage crises, as well as conflicts, for purposes of promoting sustainable peace. Oftentimes, international organizations, as well as individual governments come together in order to map processes towards this goal. Various activities are initiated through assistance for countries emerging from conflict in order to establish the new post conflict paradigm. In post conflict contexts, the increased role of participation is evident from the greater involvement of both private and civic quarters, as well as from other varieties of organizations. Indeed, there is often need for empowerment in all quarters of the society in order to provide persuasive support for post conflict intervention efforts.

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<sup>96</sup> Chege, Michael. "Kenya: Back From The Brink?" in *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 19, No. 14 (October 2008). pp.125-139

Intervention approaches employed during post conflict often constitute aspects that are either institutional, or relational. The institutional aspects lay emphasis on the restoration, reform and rebuilding of infrastructure and capacity: these take the form of conducting elections, enhancing the economy, and also creation and installation of a functioning governance structure. On the other hand, relational aspects are reconciliatory in nature in that they focus on mending, creating, and sustaining relationships within the society for purposes of ensuring that individuals' natural and civil rights are enjoyed within that given society. Relational aspects include initiatives such as those that seek to foster dialogue between, and among, former parties to a conflict, they also include trainings and workshops in conflict resolution and mediation, as well as support and counselling for victims in the conflict<sup>97</sup>. Both these aspects are educational in nature as they ultimately lead to overall development of the society and individuals in society.

Bearing in mind that this study's focus is on the need for reconciliation and fostering of peaceful co-existence during post conflict, the subsequent discussion will compare the various aspects that are relational in character, and which have been put into effect in Rwanda and Kenya through perspectives that are educational in nature, for purposes of sustainable peace in the two countries following their individual conflicts. From this discussion, there will emerge a definitive description of the activities which are important in the society for purposes of fostering peaceful relations and co-existence.

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<sup>97</sup> Fred-Mensah, (2004).

### **3.2 Relational aspects between Kenya and Rwanda**

In the aftermath of a conflict, especially one that assumes catastrophic magnitude such as the genocide in Rwanda and Kenya's post-election violence, there is a general collective impulse in the populace to return the society from the brink of war and save the country from being labelled as a failed state. Both Rwanda and Kenya incurred losses that were never before experienced in the countries and the magnitude and shock of the experiences inflicted trauma and disbelief in individuals in society. However, the fact that both conflicts developed and erupted following decades of ethnic animosity is a noted fact. Systemic ethnic rivalries and violent conflicts had existed long before both countries made international history in 1994 and 2007-2008 following their individual internal violence.

Following Kreisberg's<sup>98</sup> dimensions of reconciliation model, this discussion will analyse perspectives in both Kenya and Rwanda in order to compare the ways in which specific education strategies have been utilised to reconcile different ethnic communities and build peaceful relationships. In using these tools, the basis is to help "transform a destructive conflict or relationship and view progress towards attainment of security and justice needs (in their widest definitions) as central to any recovery process...(as well as enhance)..views (on) mutual recognition or regard and the sharing of perspectives or truth getting as the other essentials".<sup>99</sup>

#### **3.2.1 Establishing peace through governance mechanisms**

Even though reconstruction and creating structural functions in a post conflict environment are important, this pales when noting that individuals who will ultimately occupy these

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<sup>98</sup> Kreisberg, Louis. "Comparing reconciliation actions within and between countries". In Y Bar-Simaan-Tov (ed.), *From conflict resolution to reconciliation*. Oxford University Press. (2004).

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. p.82

structures and run them, have fractured relations and no sense of dignity, no trust and no faith between and among themselves.

The national reconciliation and peace programs in both Kenya and Rwanda seem to recognize this aspect through initiatives in integrating accountability in public institutions. Poor quality institutions existed both in Kenya and Rwanda, which consequently, failed to prevent the atrocities from occurring. Public institutions failed to implement policies that recognized and apportioned resources equitable among and between ethnic communities. Hence, Hutus were politically and economically empowered at the expense of Tutsis. Equally in Kenya, member of communities in the Central province were economically and politically empowered through previous regimes initiatives, this, at the expense of the other ethnic communities. Such governance mechanisms that exclude ethnic communities from public resources while empowering others entrench corruption and cronyism. This observation called for the need to integrate accountability in the governance initiatives.

Accountability policies that have been developed to curb governance iniquities include the enactment of official cohesion, or unity, and integration commissions in both countries, which lay grounds against discriminatory policies in governance. In Rwanda's case, the commission is more concerned with enforcing social status and consolidating social classes between the two communities, Hutus and Tutsis. Kenya's commission has to consider empowering the minority ethnic communities through affirmative policies of inclusion, given that there are over forty ethnic communities in the country.<sup>100</sup> Accountability policies provide extrinsic motivation to focus attention on aspects that foster unity and equality.

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<sup>100</sup> See Kenya National Cohesion and Integration Commission Act. Accessed May 18, 2010. And Shyaka, Anastase. *The Rwanda Conflict: Origin, Development, Exit Strategies*. A study order by The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission.



On the other hand, accountability must be complemented by capacity-building measures to enhance ability to be constructive in reforms. This is considered a challenge in the face of scarce competing resources in a post conflict environment.

### 3.2.2 Broader participatory governance

Participation by the entire community in the governance process is important especially since this supports social reconstruction in an engaging manner. When undertaken inclusively, broad participation of members enhances efforts in rebuilding post conflict societies. In the case of Kenya and Rwanda, participatory governance is important as it promises mending of social fabric destroyed after the conflict. Ideal civic organizations improve outcomes and act as an engine for broader social change.<sup>101</sup> Participation of a broad community means there is more social capital in the form of norms, trust and networks, to improve efficiencies and coordinate actions.<sup>102</sup> Productive forms of social capital have been implemented in Kenya through Kenya's National Civic Education Programme.<sup>103</sup> In the case of Rwanda, there has been active involvement towards accepting the genocide and most civic organizations are involved in programs that seek to reintegrate *genocidaires* as well as victims into society.

Broad participation in governance can also be used as a tool to economic recovery since excluded community members are involved as partners in the reconstruction process. Through such networks, citizens are able to communicate information about their interests, preferences and needs, and also generate pressure to respond.

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<sup>101</sup> Burde, Dana. *Current issues in comparative education*. New York: Columbia University, (2004). p. 75

<sup>102</sup> Putnam, Robert. D. (1993). *Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (1993). p.167

<sup>103</sup> Finkel, Steven E.. The Impact of the Kenya National Civic Education Programme on Democracy. Attitudes, Knowledge, Values and Behavior. December 30, 2003

Caution should be exercised towards this aspect because when distinct social groups develop political alliances and national affiliations, they have the potential to destabilize the situation. Add to this is the possibility that different members within a network may develop individual ideas as stakeholder power and governance patterns shift. However, the ultimate focus is always on social integration, community cohesion, or character development.

### **3.2.3 Education for regard**

Sustainable peacebuilding is founded on strengthening healthy, cooperative relationships among and between sectors of society. Strategies that focus on creating opportunities for regard or mutual recognition are vital in building relationship building in post conflict societies.

Communities should seek for projects that are of mutual rather than individual benefit, in order to bring different sectors together in working relationships. Certain activities which can be considered 'small' provide a huge picture of this aspect. Such include construction of infrastructure, which activity involves the whole community, and cuts across both genders. Management of projects encourages intra and inter-community cohesion and teamwork. In both Kenya and Rwanda, there was need to build schools and provide teachers after conflict, and this is where this initiative is demonstrated. This in turn allows communities to re-experience working together, it keeps members busy and engaged with community processes. These projects help to rebuild trust and confidence that had been lessened by the tensions. Many of the communities that did not experience open violence during the tensions nonetheless expressed general feelings of anxiety and fear. People were 'not free to move around' during the tensions. Old grievances over land, for example, were rekindled by people

taking advantage of the lawlessness, and communities were fearful of the potential threat of violence. The delivery of services and the economy had ground to a halt.

Rebuilding projects brought communities together during a time when there was a lack of trust. This process of working together to achieve common goals allowed people to re-engage with each other and re-identify their place in the community networks. The process of rebuilding trust is particularly relevant for the youth who were caught up in the fighting. Being included in the projects, and being given responsibilities for ensuring the success of the projects (such as leading labour teams, transporting materials) allowed the youths to regain the trust of the community. It kept them busy and out of trouble and it allowed them to experience aspects of leadership in preparation for future roles. The community could witness them working productively and constructively and were reassured.

Even though these initiatives are atypical of educational initiatives they do demonstrate that intervention measures that are formative in nature are successful vehicle for creating situations where people who have had their relationships disrupted by the conflict can come together for mutual benefit.

### **3.2.4 Education for truth**

This area is of particular importance more so given the inherent need for parties in a conflict to know the truth about the conflict and its aftermath. For this reason, truth commissions have become increasing features of post conflict processes. Truth commissions record and detail records of human rights violations, and also help the healing process by acknowledging

people's experiences of the conflict.<sup>104</sup> Truth commissions promote healing and reconciliation in several ways. From this perspective, it follows that a truth commission is a moral standard bearer in that it emphasises the prevention of further human rights violations. It can also transform the old symbols of the past and re-humanise the conflict by fostering dialogue about suffering and resilience. A truth commission is the public face of the truth and can be duplicated at local level: each area or community has the potential to instigate its own process of truth telling.

In Rwanda, the local *gacaca* courts are both innovative and participatory as they provided details to the community from the mouths of the *genocidaires*, who sat face-to-face with the victims of their violence. This justice method in turn facilitated mechanisms agreeable by both parties and actors in the conflict on ways to pardon or punish the perpetrators, while at the same time increasing tolerance, forgiveness and acceptance of the perpetrators into the community. Overall need to promote learning about self respect, and respect for others, and contributing to the improvement of relationships between people in the community is paramount. The objectives of education for mutual understanding state that as an integral part of their education the themes should enable community member to learn to respect and value themselves and others; to appreciate the interdependence of people within society; to know about and understand what is shared as well as what is different about their cultural traditions; and to appreciate how conflict may be handled in non-violent ways.<sup>105</sup> As part of this initiative, stories about experiences of the conflict are also shared. Likewise in Kenya, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established to enable meaningful participation in society and explore the details of the conflict.

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<sup>104</sup> Bam. June. 'Negotiating history: truth and reconciliation and globalization: An analysis of the suppression of historical consciousness in South African schools'. Pretoria. (2000).

<sup>105</sup> Smith. Alan and Alan Robinson. *Education for mutual understanding: The initial statutory years*. University of Ulster. Coleraine. (1996).

Truth and justice commissions provide an avenue for learning the different perspectives on the conflict, as well as the roles played by parties to the conflict: additionally, they document the suffering caused and the resilience of the people. Sharing stories about suffering and resilience will help contribute to the recovery of dignity, confidence and will create avenues for dialogue about the past and how it pertains to the future. However, a major challenge in truth and justice commissions is the fact that they relegate the importance of state institutions set up to try perpetrators of violence in courts. In the Kenya case for example, the Truth and Justice Commission has come under a lot of criticism right from its set-up, with civil societies questioning the moral of the authority of the chief of the commission, this however, has not been cited in the case of Rwanda.

### 3.2.5 Education for security

New definitions of security recognise structural and cultural violence as threats, along the same vein as direct violence.<sup>106</sup> Indeed breaking the current cycle of violence in Rwanda and Kenya depends upon recognising and addressing the underlying structural and cultural forces pushing people towards conflict. The process of rectifying these structural and cultural inequities and meeting basic needs can be viewed simultaneously as enhancing security and building peace. Non-violent initiatives offer actors an analysis of violence and power and a peaceful means of transforming the structures, values and patterns of social relations that create and sustain conflict. Unless the reality of domination and exploitation embedded in global power structures and manifested at local levels is also explicitly addressed, there will be no space for values essential for sustainable recovery and reconciliation.

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<sup>106</sup> Op. Cit. Lederach, J. *Building peace. Sustainable reconciliation in divided Societies* (1997); Galtung, J. 'Cultural Violence' (1990). and Spence, Rebecca, 'Befriending the neighbours: Creating common security' in G.T. Harris (ed.), *Demilitarising sub-Saharan Africa*. Institute of Security Studies, Pretoria, (2004).

While direct violence may be met by external intervention as seen in Rwanda during the genocide, unless the structural causes of the conflict are addressed, cooperative and participatory structures that meet human needs are created, and unless the capacity of people to use non-violent methods to transform ongoing conflict is nurtured and supported, then violence will remain embedded.

The various rehabilitation programs for genocide perpetrators in Rwanda is an example of a non-violent mechanism through which individuals are trained in peaceful relations. Unfortunately, this only seeks to manage trauma and anger; ultimately, it is the responsibility of the individual to want to integrate wholly in the community. Culturally appropriate dispute resolution and mediation processes can also be adopted at community level as a means for working through distrust, differences and conflict. This is evidenced in the conflict cases in North Eastern Kenya by pastoralist.

### **3.2.6 Education for justice**

The approach to justice adopted by post conflict societies determines the extent to which relational peace building processes are embraced by that society. Post conflict societies such as Rwanda and Kenya have adopted a two-tier approach to justice: the main perpetrators of violence are brought to trial and punished, but alongside this, a restorative justice system is also needed to operate.

The results of structural inequalities mean that victims in society arise owing to being disadvantaged upon by the systems in place. Restorative justice therefore seeks to recognise that victims in society have special needs which require special responses by the society.

Consequently, the society must take measures to restore the humanity of the victims by analysing this aspect in them.<sup>107</sup> On the other hand, it also recognises the special needs of the perpetrators during post conflict: often considered as outcasts. Considering the transformational aspects of educational initiatives, restorative justice should therefore play the function of provide restoring processes and not being retributive. This enables elevation of the society members to look beyond violence and revenge.

Victims of rape in Rwanda and Kenya, 1996-2008, conform to this pattern as they represent as a 'special interest' group. It is natural for rape victims focus on the harm done more than on the rules broken; on the same note, it is considered unfeasible to show equal concern for both victims and offenders of such atrocious acts. However, through restorative justice, these points are taken into account. If there is collective need to show humanity then this should cut across the board both when considering the special needs of victims of rape, and the perpetrators of acts of rape. Through the *gacaca* courts, the *genocidaires* accounts, their open acts of being sorry for their actions in the face of their victims, and the victims' acceptance to pardon and seek to forgive the *genocidaires* are indeed brave actions that ultimately empower and support both parties, and encourage them to understand and accept each other. This also provides opportunities for open dialogue among and between both parties. Kenya on the other hand lacks a similar mechanism which is widely recognised.

Even though the International Criminal Court, ICC, provides for mechanism to punish perpetrators of crimes against humanity, such criminal tribunals take a long time to constitute and even then, they rarely go after the perpetrators on the ground, instead they focus on political bigwigs. Kenya has not set up *gacaca-like* courts; instead, what has become popular

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<sup>107</sup> See Zehr, Howard. *Restorative Justice: When Justice and Healing Go Together*. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing Company. (1997)

with the citizen is the 'Hague process' where six Kenyans have been identified as having played critical roles in meting out the post-election violence.

### **3.3 Challenges Facing Post conflict Intervention through Educational initiatives in Kenya and Rwanda**

In order to stop violence before it erupts, there should be an early warning system in place. This should be the case during post conflict given the fragile situation on the ground. Unfortunately, in East Africa, such a mechanism is not effectively in place. There is the CEWARN as well as various genocide early warning systems in place; however, these were set up to mitigate future violence. Institutions need to set up tools that provide insight into the various initiatives and how they affect the post conflict dynamics. There is not much that has been done towards development of systems that provide opportunities to intervene.

Additionally, urgent mechanisms need to be developed to conduct impact assessments of intervention initiatives during post conflict. This is necessary because conventional intervention initiatives have adopted one-dimensional approaches that rarely factor the possible negative externalities of well-intentioned efforts. For example, the multitude of international NGOs that mushroomed in Rwanda following the genocide became a challenge for effective peacebuilding as they conflict with the Westphalian space occupied by the State in ensuring its citizen's human security.<sup>108</sup>

Lack of perceived interests is also a challenge given the volatile environment in Africa. Both international organizations, as well as other major donor countries think in terms of individual vital interest at stake. Moral or humanitarian concerns have rarely been the only

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<sup>108</sup> Lederach, John Paul. "Conflict Transformation in Protracted Internal Conflicts: The Case for a Comprehensive Framework". in Kumar Rupesinghe (ed.). *Conflict Transformation*. (Houndsmills: London 1995) p.201 – 222.



consideration when implementing educational initiatives: the stakes are often weighed on whether outcomes will be favorable, not for the post conflict environment, but 'the self'. It takes great effort to convince the international community that in a complex interdependent world conflict intervention through educational initiatives is of vital interest to whole groups. Efforts need to be made to help decision-makers to better assess the costs of alternative conflict strategies, and to hold them accountable for the destruction of war. It would help if conflicts were embedded in a democratic environment, or if decision-makers had to justify their war activities before an international accountability mechanism. Today it is practically impossible to get reliable information about the costs and benefits of violent conflicts. The available data tend to be partial, incomplete and not very trustworthy.

The dearth in conflict transformational skills also plays a major role in intervention efforts. There is no formal training available for a post conflict environment, similar to what most professions have. What is available is conflict management efforts which are mostly provided as part of military trainings or through workshops with practitioners. Conventional post conflict situations require a more sophisticated analysis of conflict dynamics and a better acquaintance with the available instruments of post conflict intervention. According to Boutros-Ghali, skills in peacemaking and peacekeeping are not sufficient, there needs to be skills in peacebuilding as well in order to consolidate viable peace.<sup>109</sup> These create both objective and subjective contexts that enhance transformation of conflicts leading to sustainable peace supported by entire communities.

Both Kenya and Rwanda, 1996-2008, provide background conflicts that offer complex interdependence between seemingly diverse situations. The post conflict environments in

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<sup>109</sup>Ghali, Boutros B. Agenda for Peace.

both situations is similarly interdependence, albeit, in distinct situations. However, both are the result of ethnic violence characterized by endemic factors in the respective societies. They do not only differ in their artificial legal distinction between internal and external conflicts, but also the propensity to evolve towards other regions as well. Indeed, most conflicts cannot be reduced to pure internal conflicts. They are or were at one time or another influenced by conflicts at a regional or global level. Consequently, any intervention initiatives in Rwanda cannot be restricted to Rwanda alone, similarly to Kenya, but also across boundaries, to the global arena.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CRITICAL ANALYSIS

#### 4.0. Introduction

This chapter presents findings of data collected on the study as discussed in the preceding chapters and sub-sections in line with the study objectives. The data is analysed following criteria factored by the population sample, the discussion on post conflict intervention as well as the comparative analysis of the education strategies in Kenya and Rwanda, 1996 – 2009.

#### 4.1 Questionnaire response rate

The administered questionnaires comprised of both open- and close-ended questions. The total sample collection was 48; however, only 26 respondents participated in the study, representing 54% response rate. This is attributed to the complex nature of post conflict activities especially those that are educational and depict transformational characteristics. From this sample of respondents, 34% were from institutions of learning, 42% from government institutions and international organisations, and 23% from non-state actors as well as individuals. Additionally, the respondents cut across age brackets with 15% of the respondents between 18-25 years; 53% between 26-40 years and 26% between 41-56 years. The sample was therefore representative of a wide population of actors that play an influential role in shaping the views and providing information relevant to post conflict situations.

#### 4.2 Characteristics of respondents

The sample population included state, non-state and individual respondents thus an attempt was made to present data first in terms of demographics of respondents, highlighting the

difference groupings where possible, including their level of education, their nationality as well as occupation. This description of subjects was helpful in the analysis of the discussions.

### **4.3 Distribution of respondents by gender**

The formatting of the questionnaires required respondents to indicate their gender. The resulting distribution showed that out of the 26 respondents interviewed, 44% were male while female comprised 50% of respondents. Most respondents from international organisations as well as some government institutions opted not to indicate the gender citing responses as representative of their respective institutions. The margin of disparity in the responses from the two genders does not seem to be greatly skewed hence indicating a balanced overview in the general perception from the genders in relation to the study theme.

### **4.4 Interpretation of the results in relation to the objectives**

#### **4.4.1 The relationship between education and the promotion of a culture of peace**

The underlying principle of this discussion is to understand how educational initiatives can best be utilised to promote cohesiveness in society and remove the culture of violence.

According to the respondents 95% indicated that education plays a role in creating a culture of peace; while 83% agreed that successful post conflict intervention is denoted when educational priorities are aligned to conform to the needs of people affected by conflict. When asked to indicate examples of interventions that promote a culture of peace, 60% of the respondents cited various cohesive measures between the different ethnic communities such as dialogue efforts facilitated by EMO<sup>110</sup> in Kenya's Rift Valley, as well as Gacaca Courts in Rwanda which have provided avenues for Tutsis and Hutus to seek pardon and acceptance:

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<sup>110</sup> See EMO Society website. <http://www.emosociety.org/>. accessed 22 June 2011

30% of the respondents indicated measures towards equitable distribution of resources by the state such as efforts in Kenya enforcing a law on land distribution: while 10% indicated international measures that uphold harmony in the universe, for example U.N and A.U enforcing actions and mandating states to obey principles of Humanitarian Law and ensuring human security. 89% of the respondents indicated awareness of challenges in establishing educational intervention efforts and listed such issues as a lack of commitment by the state in enforcing initiatives, there is also failure of the individual in society to acknowledge efforts towards meeting each other half-way and accepting our differences and learning to live with each other as individuals; notably, of the 89%, half of the number indicated the lack of employment making it easier for politicians to employ youths towards inciting and meting out violence against the public. This was the case in Rwanda during formation of the *Interahamwe* militia, and in Kenya as noted by the *Mungiki* group.

When interviewed on whether educational strategies address dilemmas of vulnerable communities during post conflict, 95% of the respondents agreed with this postulate, citing measures such towards psychosocial healing and trauma counselling to rape victims to enable them reintegrate in the society. This is especially true during the genocide Rwanda as well as in various parts of Rift Valley and Nairobi where rape was used as a form of torture.

Of note is that 85% of the respondents concurred that education does play a role in building peace in post conflict situations. The respondents explained that through education, actors in a conflict are made aware of the consequences of their actions, how the real situation evolves and how it affects the long term relations in the society. Respondents also provided that education provides tools that equip members in a society to be better citizens and to learn to appreciate each other. Also, they cited that through education, individuals become

empowered and the nation achieves collective unity. However, 11% did not agree that education necessarily plays a role in building peace. Their arguments were based on the fact that positive peace is a frame of mind considering that human beings are inherently evil and therefore prone to enter into conflict. It therefore does not matter what intervention efforts are at play. This argument can be developed further when one analyses the present situation in Rwanda and Kenya where structural violence is still on-going despite the various intervention efforts.

In analysing the various factors influenced by educational intervention efforts, 65% agreed that educational intervention has played a role towards creating cohesiveness in their country; 86% strongly agreed that such interventions have helped create awareness; 50% agreed that peace was achieved through the mentioned interventions and a further 88% strongly agreed that intervention measures play a role towards equitable distribution of resources. Other factors such as regional acceptance and respect in the international community were recommended. Through these findings, it emerges that equitable distribution of resources is considered a key factors and one in which educational intervention measures are regarded as having achieved much, similarly in creating awareness in the general populace. In terms of such measures playing a major role in creating cohesiveness, there seems to be an agreeable populace on this matter; this can be attributed to the engraved ethnicity in the communities.

Finally, 77% of the respondents stated that in order to improve peace in conflict prone areas, there ought to be a commitment by the individuals in the society towards this effort first, before the government or the international community can be called upon. Additionally, 61% of the respondents stated that there should be a functioning government that is answerable to the people with institutions that promote and provide equitable distribution of resources and

services: a further 80% stated promoting a free and vibrant civil society that monitors the state and champions for human security. 69% mentioned for collective will of the international community to enforce human rights in all states and not just be biased against Africa, and on the same note, equipping the AU to continue enforcing impartial solutions to African problems. All these measures collectively lead towards creating harmony in the society.

From the above analysis, it emerges that various educational intervention efforts are intimately connected towards promoting a culture of peace. While post conflict situations are volatile, with a multitude of actors involved in trying to manipulate the situation to suit their individual goals, it takes a collective effort from each individual in the society and rolls through towards the state, ultimately, to the international community, in making sure that positive peace is achieved from the grass-roots right up to the international stage.

#### **4.4.2 Liberal critical theory as a framework for analysing educational intervention measures in promoting peace in Kenya and Rwanda**

The need to change the frame of mind of citizens of both Rwanda and Kenya is heavily influenced by the ethnic nature of the conflicts. The inherent nature of these two conflicts depicted societies whose norms and values were greatly shaped by events of past actions as well as institutions. The various measures put in place that are educational in nature, and which acted as mechanisms that intervened to facilitate changes in society cannot be excluded. The protracted nature of conflicts in modern societies makes it challenging to manage or stop them all together. This then calls for fresh, long-term measures that look at changing such societies, investigating the nature of such conflicts themselves and identifying the right antidote to inject at each specific point of the conflict cycle.

Indeed. Kenya and Rwanda have provided new initiatives towards promoting cultures of peace. The *gacaca* courts provide a new informative way in which perpetrators of violence come face-to-face with victims in the society and ask for pardon from the victim. Options are provided and both parties give themselves a chance to live together in the community. In Kenya, the post-election violence of 2008 more than anything, came as a shock to a country that had for a long time, been considered a beacon of peace surrounded by seas of conflict. The aftermath of this conflict saw major governance reforms such as repairing electoral systems and dealing with corruption, factors which exacerbate perceptions of inequality between different communities.

Other normative approaches have been instituted in both countries to bring about social cohesion. For example the setting up of institutions like Kenya's National Cohesion and Integration Commission which lays grounds against discriminatory activities; also, there is the development of the Peace Education Programme which has been replicated in other African regions, and whose belief is based on the premise that peace can be fostered...through the adoption of peace promoting behaviour and the practice of specific peace related skills which can be taught.<sup>111</sup> On the other hand, the Rwandese government recognised that education played a key role in discriminating between the different ethnic groups; it there sought to strengthen a common, central, national identity defined through *Banyarwanda*, and not Hutu or Tutsi.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> See Baxter, Pamela. *Challenges in Peace Education. The UNHCR/INEE Approach*. Working Paper for the International Expert Meeting "Peace Education around the world". Feldafing. (2004)

<sup>112</sup> Op. Cit. Shyaka. Anastase.



#### **4.5 Chapter summary and Conclusion**

The above analysis has established that the implementation of various intervention mechanisms plays a pivotal role in promoting and shaping a culture of peace. This discussion has provided scholarship that can be applied towards mitigating future de-escalation into conflict during post conflict situations. It is imperative that the society recognises the volatility of post conflict situations, and commits to substantial change. Entrenched in the very principle of positive peace, is the need to change structural violence in the society, and address issues such as inequality and resource distribution, as well as poverty. The society must be allowed, and willing, to participate and engage substantially in the shaping and implementation of processes that promote peaceful cultures.

#### **4.6 Hypothesis test**

In conclusion, the research hypotheses which sought to investigate whether aligning the educational priorities to conform to the needs of people affected by a conflict highly contributes towards successful post conflict intervention; and post conflict intervention through educational reforms will lead to increased social cohesion in Kenya; as well as the education system in Kenya does not address the dilemmas faced by internally displaced persons have been verified. This therefore implies that majority of Kenyans believe that educational strategies in intervention following a liberal normative framework create opportunity for more social cohesion. Respondents however did not verify if lack of common understanding on education systems is likely to lead to unsuccessful post conflict intervention initiatives. Most respondents felt that there is common experience of education, but no common appreciation of its impact.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings, conclusions, recommendations, suggestions for further research and contribution to the body of knowledge.

#### 5.2 Summary of findings

The first objective in analysing the relationship between education and the promotion of a culture of peace found out that 95% of the respondents felt that there was a very strong link between education and the promotion of a culture of peace. To the extent possible, this objective was met since most of the respondents answered in the affirmative in varying degrees. The study found that there have been numerous efforts towards intervention through educational initiatives. Over the years, important work has been done aimed at the promotion of peace. Needless to say, the escalation of global conflict is rooted in diversity, which may be looked at in terms of economics, culture, politics, ethnicity, nationality, religion and gender among others. It is because of this diversity that there is a tendency for members of one group not to tolerate the views and actions of others. This leads to a fight for dominance, the result of which is conflict and the consequential breakdown of peace. In this instance, initiatives towards educating society members to be peacekeepers and peacemakers become vital.

Both practical and spiritual connotations influence the concept of peace and indeed, it does imply a state of calm of mind as does its implication as an end of conflict. Equally, it describes such states as harmony, unity, security and understanding. Hence, as individuals in

society. each is mandated to reflect on these aspects in order to create cooperation and the community.

The second objective postulates that post conflict intervention through educational reforms will lead to increased social cohesion in Kenya. The study has established that post conflict intervention through educational initiatives is a key element on both cases. Intervention through educational initiatives is an important aspect in building and maintaining peace in the society. It gains particular importance in the present day given the polarity of ethnicity that has led to conflict at difference levels. A tolerant society must be one in which diverse groups created by marks of affiliation and cohesion may maintain their identities while at the same time sharing in the larger natural or regional unity.<sup>113</sup>

Intervention through educational initiatives also involves the capacity to recognize and respect the beliefs and practices of others. This then calls for self re-examination where one's values and prejudices may be isolated. Efforts at legislation for the protection of rights of individuals and groups may go a long way in foster the recognition of the individual in a diverse society. The continued breakdown of peaceful relations through ethnic violence, religions, tensions and economic superiority calls for an integrated approach to the issue of diversity.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Parties to the Kenyan National Dialogue and Reconciliation on the resolution of the political crisis and its root causes: the Government of Kenya/Party of National Unity and the Orange Democratic Movement. Kenyan National Dialogue and Reconciliation: annotated agenda and timetable. agenda 4.

<sup>114</sup> See generally the essays entailed in C Villa-Vicencio and F du Toit. *Truth and reconciliation in South Africa 10 years on*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. 2006.

### 5.3 Conclusions

Peace education is an essential component of quality education. It is concerned with helping learners to develop an awareness of the process and skills that are necessary for achieving understanding, intervention through wholesome initiatives and international goodwill. It is concerned with helping individuals develop an awareness of the processes and skills that are necessary for achieving understanding and social cohesion. It facilitates examination and discussion of values and attitudes that respect diversity, cultural differences and human dignity, and ultimately achieving fundamental changes within societies. Through such the various educational tools, language and social interaction skills are promoted towards peaceful relations among people, among nations and between human beings and the natural environment, as well as learning to solve problems and think critically regarding issues of conflict and violence.

The process of achieving positive peace is participatory in nature: involves both genders, a spectrum of age groups, different actors, and the whole global community which is comprised of a multitude of different ethnicities. However, challenges such as use of conventional arms continue to make the post conflict environment more volatile. Economic disparities are a huge hurdle more so in resource-scarce post conflict situations; compounding this aspect is the widening gap between the haves and the have-nots in such societies. The tragedy of the commons has brought to fore the issue of environmental degradation; competition over degraded resources makes post conflict reconstruction efforts difficult given that the need to survive competes with the environment, which is the lifeline for humanity. Tackling these complex and interwoven challenges requires measures and solutions that are deeply rooted in the minds of the populations. Hence, the need for peace enhancing

educational strategies, which focus on human security and how to live in a world that is so diversified.

#### 5.4 Recommendations

Analysing conflict involves examining the situations for the causes of conflict or misunderstanding. Through this, pupils, students and communities can develop a vocabulary that is needed to discuss the concept of peace and conflict and to deepen their understanding of these issues. As they explore the concepts of peace, they discuss their own attitudes and values; they improve their social interaction skills as well as their language skills.

Conflict, it is agreed, is a negative force that we should try to resolve in order to achieve more positive states such as harmony, understanding and peace in our lives. Nevertheless, conflict exists at all levels of social interaction, from personal inner conflict to global wars and international violence. We cannot avoid conflict but we can find ways to deal with it that will reduce its impact on our lives and even exploit positive effects related to conflict situations. For example, examining a situation and how to respond to it. If positive it may allow for more peaceful living and intervention through educational initiatives. Clarifying the elements within a situation that are sources of conflict is an important first step in resolving the conflict. Because of each community's desire to have dominance over certain resources or to project its social, political or cultural groups, the temptation not to tolerate those that do not ascribe to their desires is so often great.

Because conflict is a natural part of our daily lives and thus unavoidable, when viewed in a positive light, it allows us to examine the status quo and engage in creative problem solving. We can use conflict situation to grow personally and to become more reflective. In addition,

conflict situations creatively handled allow us to effect personal organizational and societal change.<sup>115</sup> The world needs more people with peacemaking skills.<sup>116</sup> The beneficiaries of peace education should be the ones able to examine conflict situations for better understanding, practice conflict resolution techniques and be better prepared to be effective peacemakers. Therefore, the theme of conflict resolution in peace education presents the opportunity to acquire peace-making skills for dealing with conflict in our personal lives and make us aware of the processes of peace making at national and international levels. Conflict resolution, through peace education, is geared towards the de-escalation of the conflict using appropriate methods.

The language of non-violence involves developing effective communication skills in order to carry out positive interactions in everyday social situations as well as conflict situations. It involves an understanding of pro-social behaviour such as cooperation, collaboration, affirming others and expressing feelings clearly in such a way that do not accuse others in other words, speaking the language of peace. Experience in cooperative learning, conflict resolution, structured controversy and mediation are identified as comprehensive efforts to create peace.

Developing cross-cultural understanding provides knowledge necessary to enhance awareness of cultural patterns among different cultures. Peacebuilding initiatives take into account the disparities that exist between cultures and knowledge on how to act when faced

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<sup>115</sup> See for example M Machuka, US urges Kenya to reform police; judiciary. *The Standard*, 15 June 2009, <http://www.eastandard.net/InsidePage.php?id=1144016732&cid=418&>.

<sup>116</sup> See for example K McEvoy. Letting go of legalism: developing a 'thicker' version of transitional justice. in McEvoy and L McGregor (eds). *Transitional justice from below: grassroots activism and the struggle for change. Human rights law in perspective (vol. 14). transitional justice from below: grassroots activism and the struggle for change*. Oxford and Portland: Hart Publishing, 2008. 15-45.

with puzzling cross-cultural differences. Our culture influences and shapes individual feelings, attitudes and responses to our experiences and interaction with others: it defines our cultural heritage. These aspects are handed down from generation to generation and influence a community's values of what is acceptable behaviour and what is not. Because each culture has a unique way of approaching these situations, we find great diversity in knowledge and skills for more effective communication in inter cultural situations.

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