

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES**

//
**TITLE: A REVIEW OF PEACE EDUCATION AND CONFLICT
TRANSFORMATION: GREATER EAST AFRICAN REGION //**

Name: Said Warsame Hersi
Reg. No. R50/75562/09

Supervisor: Dr. Ochieng Kamudhayi



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Declaration

I, **Said Warsame Hersi**, declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other university.

Signed 

Date 2/11/2012

This Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Supervisor.

Signed: 

Date 2/11/2012

Dedication.

I dedicate this work to my beloved Wife for her patience, encouragement and unwavering support.

Acknowledgement

I would like to acknowledge and extend my sincere gratitude to all those who helped me complete this project. I put a lot of effort in this project but without support of many people, it would not have been possible to successfully realize it.

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to review the role of peace education in conflict transformation among states in the Greater East African Region. Peace education and conflict transformation are long term endeavors for conflict resolution. Conflict transformation is a process by which conflicts, such as ethnic conflicts, are transformed into peaceful outcomes. Conflict transformation differs from conflict resolution and conflict management approaches in the sense that it recognizes that contemporary conflicts require more than the reframing of positions and the identification of win-win outcomes. Peace education is described as the process of acquiring values, knowledge and developing attitudes, skills, and behaviors to live in harmony with oneself, with others, and with the natural environment. Although peace education is a move in the right direction for conflict transformation, it emerged in this study that, states have not embraced it as an approach of conflict management. Peace education is regarded and perceived as an approach that should be pursued by non-state actors. As such the prerogative of implementing peace education is solely left unto international organizations and other non-state actors.

In this research study it emerged that, peace education is not well developed across all states. Only Uganda and Kenya have programs on peace education at university level. Rwanda and Sudan offer peace education programs, but at the primary school level. In Somalia and Eritrea, peace education is solely a prerogative of non-state actors like UNESCO. From this research study, it emerged that, the main challenge facing peace education in the Greater East African Region is inadequate training for human resource and lack of training facilities like institutions. Considering that conflicts evolve through phases, implies that, peace education can be effective at a particular phase of conflict, in this research it emerged that states have not embraced this suggestion. As a result peace education is not applied at the time and place where it should be applied. There is need that, since non state actors are the ones who are often involved in execution of peace education, that they should be involved in all phases of conflict. Therefore, its efficacy in conflict transformation is still lagging behind and often not effective. Considering that peace education is a long term strategy for conflict resolution, requires that, states accord it the same right and treat it with the seriousness that it deserves. Peace education should be promoted by the central government and the agencies of governments.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Background to the Peace Education and Conflict Transformation

1.0 Introduction

This research study examines the role of peace Education in conflict transformation among states in the Greater East African Region. The present day Eastern and Central Africa was perhaps the most violent region in the world throughout the 1990s and continues to present immense challenges to conflict management. The Greater East African Region has also been synonymous with conflicts of all aspects, these include social for example inter-ethnic conflicts, political conflicts for example coups and economic related conflicts that are caused by imbalanced use of economic resources. As a result of the conflicts, many endeavors have been pursued, both at the local and international level to solve this conflicts. The endeavors have sought to find a solution to that can eventually lead to conflict management. In conflict management, there are two results that can emerge, either conflict is settled or conflicts are solved.

While many of the attempted efforts to conflict in the region have been geared to address these two issues, it remains to be told that, the fact that, conflicts are still ongoing, there is more that need to be done as concerns conflict management. At this point, it can be stated that, either the pacific methods attempted at conflict resolution have been geared at addressing symptoms and not the causes of conflict. The need to address the causes of conflicts is the basis upon which this thesis will be based. To address the causes of conflict calls for need to address conflict from the grassroots, this again calls for the need to attempt conflict transformation methods not only via the normal channels, but through the indirect fronts which in this case include school. Hence,

a synthesis that addresses conflict from a transformation view while using schools as a medium is peace education. Peace education and conflict transformation is therefore a front that will be examined with view to lay bare the prevailing situation in the Great East Africa region.

Conflict brings with it the potential for constructive change. Positive change does not always happen, many times conflict results in long standing cycles of hurt and destruction. But the key to transformation is a proactive bias toward seeing conflict as a potential catalyst for growth. This notion suggests that efforts to generate a sustainable culture of peace must be rooted deeply in the population. This aspect will be examined in this discourse as peace education. This would mean that education for peace would mainly have to occur inside and outside of school, through the action of the adult population. Such concretization efforts would create political forces, which would be instrumental in the struggle for social justice on the global as well as local levels, including changes in the formal educational system. Unless it becomes part of the overall process of non-violent social change, peace education will not succeed in contributing to the creation of peace and social justice.

This means that capacitating citizens to cultivate appropriate conflict transformation life skills and weakening the sources of cultures of violence. Second is by generating understanding of the causes of conflict and its transformation approaches, trust and reconciliation, promotion of respect for cultural diversity and support democratic cultures can be fostered.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

Violent conflict and its unresolved consequences rank among the top challenges obstructing a large number of African countries from achieving their aspirations to peace,

security and socio-economic progress¹. Similarly, it is quite worrisome that half of all countries emerging from conflict fall back into violence within five years. This shows that even if conflict stops the likelihood of its recurrence is at least fifty percent. Clearly therefore this is an indication of the absence of effective conflict transformation mechanisms. According to Lederach, the thinking behind this is that conflict is experienced mostly by people at the grassroots and that sustainable peace must go beyond the mere resolution of the conflict involving relationships and conditions throughout the society.² Conflict transformation also signifies the transformation of a culture of violence mindset among people to a culture of peace attitudes. Considering the fact that, despite the many attempts at conflict resolution in the East African region conflicts are still prevalent, calls for a need to reconsider conflict resolution methods. It can be argued that, the main reason why conflicts are still prevalent is because prevailing attempts address the symptoms of conflict while the causes of conflict are not addressed. It is on the breath that, this research study puts forth the claim that, the ccauses of conflicts can be adequately addressed if mechanisms are put in place to address the needs of conflicting parties at the grassroots level. In this sense, this can be achieved by utilizing peace education as a mechanism for conflict transformation. It is the aim of this study therefore to examine how peace education and conflict transformation can be embraced by states in the Greater East African Region to ensure conflict settlement. The study will critically investigate and analyze the role of peace education in conflict transformation in the Eastern African. As a result the study envisions to providing viable recommendations and arriving at sound conclusions. This study will therefore attempt to answer the following question: What is the role of Peace Education in Conflict Transformation?

¹ New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), Annual Report for the year 1999, 2000, pp.2-5

² J.P. Lederach, Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Culture, Oxford, London, 1995, p.14

1.2 Objectives of the study

The primary objective is to examine the role of Peace Education in conflict transformation.

The secondary objectives will seek to;

- a) Establish the contribution of peace education in conflict transformation in the Greater East African Region.
- b) Investigate the efficacy of peace education programs in the Greater East African Region.

1.3 Literature Review

This section critically examines relevant literature on peace education and conflict transformation in the Greater East African Region. The literature was reviewed in the context of theoretical debates that inform the study of peace education and conflict transformation. This is important so that, it identifies issues that have been attempted so far by scholars and hence avoid reinventing the wheel in as far as the discourse of peace education and conflict transformation is concerned. Finally, the section reviews the current status of peace education in regional states. The aim of this section therefore is to distinctively review literature concerning peace education and conflict transformation across the globe and showcase what it is that scholars have analyzed to identify what it should be that, this research will study.

1.3.1 Role of Peace Education in Conflict Transformation

The term peace education has many divergent meanings for different actors in different systems. On the one hand Wright observes that, peace education is mainly a matter of changing mindsets with a general purpose to promote understanding, respect, and tolerance toward yesterday's enemies, for instance considering peace education programs conducted in regions of

intractable conflict such as Northern Ireland, Israel, or Bosnia.³ On the other hand, Burton and Dukes note that, peace education is mainly a matter of cultivating a set of skills with the general purpose of acquiring a nonviolent disposition and conflict resolution skills.⁴ A vivid example would be school based, violence prevention programs, peer mediation, and conflict resolution programs implemented in South Africa and Rwanda.

Smith argues that, peace education in third world countries is mainly a matter of promoting human rights among the populations.⁵ On the one hand, Danesh contends that, the study of peace education resembles other forms of problem oriented studies, such as development education, environment education, and human rights education, in that it combines personal and political goals.⁶ On the other hand, Boulding argues that, peace education distinguishes itself from other educational themes by its explicit orientation on a nonviolent solution of conflict, the challenge of a humane future, and its articulation in terms of responsibilities.⁷

From above, it emerges that peace education rests on two poles, one pole is conflict and the other is academic. The fusion of the two and subsequent deduction of how each can symbiotically benefit from the other gives rise to the pursuit of peace education. Therefore, the centrality of peace education is justified by the notion that, a search for both ends can help

³ Quincy Wright, "The Nature of Conflict," in John Burton and Frank Dukes, eds., *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990, p. 18.

⁴ John Burton and Frank Dukes, eds., *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990); and A. J.R. Groom, "Paradigms in Conflict," in John Burton and Frank Dukes, eds., *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990, pp. 90-92.

⁵ A. Smith, 1995, Education and the conflict in Northern Ireland. In S. Dunn (Ed.), *Facets of the conflict* in Northern Ireland, New York: St. Martin's Press, pp. 168-186.

⁶ Danesh, H. B. 2007. Education for peace: The pedagogy of civilization. In Z. Beckerman and C. McGlynn (Eds.), *Addressing ethnic conflict through peace education: International perspectives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.22-25

⁷ Kenneth E. Boulding, "Future Directions in Conflict and Peace," in John Burton and Frank Dukes, eds, *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), p. 41.

people to become responsible citizens, if only they are willing to learn and integrate it as a challenge into their personal lives.

As such, the term peace education will be used in this research study to imply that peace can and conflict management can be learned. This belief is grounded on the fact that, in Europe, after two centuries of extreme nationalism, peace education was utilized and was able to teach the peoples of Europe to accept war as a strategy for political ends. The protagonists of this message like Pickus argue that education could contribute to a better future for all people on the international system.⁸ Proponents of this view were further encouraged by the view that, if people were equipped with better insight into the real nature of old problems and were ready to use their knowledge to bring about a better and more peaceful world, they should be able to change a dark and violent world into a peaceful, enlightened, prosperous, and democratic world.

In this breath, Vasquez applies the term peace education to the more humanistic and value oriented work of peace studies. He presents a strategy for educating students to be sensitive to both the normative and scientific aspects of the study of peace.⁹ This show cases the second element of peace education, that, peace education is oriented to change the perspective of students in schools.

The objectives of peace education can only be achieved by imparting specific values, attitudes, beliefs, skills, and behavioral tendencies that correspond with the aims. Imparting values of peace is of particular importance as these values influence specific beliefs, attitudes, and behavior of the students or targeted groups. In addition, peace education emphasizes the acquisition of peaceful behavioral patterns, as changes in behavior ultimately signal the

⁸ Robert Pickus, "New Approaches," in W. Scott Thompson et al., eds., *Approaches to Peace* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1991), p. 232.

⁹ John A. Vasquez, "Toward a Unified Strategy for peace education," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 20, no. 4 (December 1976): p. 710

achievement of peace education objectives. Thus, peace education can be seen as a type of socialization process because its objectives are concerned with the internalization of specific worldviews, as defined by the society in question.

Vasquez adds that, the essence of peace education among school going children is arguably founded on the basis that, fundamental peace values like trust, respect for life, solidarity, and nonviolence are effective and have their roots in the very early days of every human's life.¹⁰ These roots are a necessary basis for human learning, which is not only a cognitive but, first of all, an affective activity.

Alger asserts that the bedrock of peace education is attainment of belief in the possibility of attaining peace everywhere, a belief that is facilitated by the capacity to perceive widespread peace in the world today and awareness that human beings have learned a great deal about building peace, through both practical experience and research in a number of relevant disciplines.¹¹

From far, it appears that, peace education is a universal principal applied to all states uniformly, however, upon close analysis, it emerges that, different educational systems exist in various states in the international system. A review of these programs of education for peace in different states indicates that they differ considerably in terms of ideology, objectives, emphasis, curricula, contents, and practices. Pickus notes that, for example, in Australia, peace education focuses on challenging ethnocentrism, cultural chauvinism, and violence and promoting cultural diversity, nuclear disarmament, and conflict resolution.¹²

¹⁰ John A. Vasquez, "Toward a Unified Strategy for peace education, op, cit, p.7116

¹¹ Alger, C. 1996. Adult Education for Peace-Building: A Challenge to Peace Research and peace education. In R.J. Burns and R. Aspeslagh (Eds.), *Three Decades of peace education around the World: An Anthology*. New York: Garland, pp. 263-272

¹² Robert Pickus, "New Approaches," in W. Scott Thompson et al, op, cit, p.23

Pickus add that, in Japan, peace education mostly targets issues of nuclear disarmament, militarism, and the nature of responsibility for acts of violence performed in the past. In South America, peace education is preoccupied with structural violence, human rights, and economic inequality. While in the United States peace education programs often concern prejudice, violence, and environmental issues.

From above, it emerges that, within the wide range of different peace education programs existent in the international system, a common general objective can be found. The objective that peace education programs aim to foster is changes that will make the world a better, more humane place. Hence, the goal of peace education is arguably to diminish, or even to eradicate, a variety of human ills ranging from injustice, inequality, prejudice, and intolerance to abuse of human rights, environmental destruction, violent conflict, war, and other evils in order to create a world of justice, equality, tolerance, human rights, environmental quality, peace and other positive features.

Toh Swee-hin describes peace education as the process of acquiring the values, the knowledge and developing the attitudes, skills, and behaviors to live in harmony with oneself, with others, and with the natural environment.¹³ Toh Swee-hin explains that peace education seeks through appropriate educational processes to promote a critical understanding of the root causes of conflicts, violence and peace in the world, across the full diversity of issues and problems and from macro issues like national, regional, international, global to micro issues like local, interpersonal, personal levels of life; and simultaneously develop an empowered commitment to values, attitudes and skills for translating that understanding into individual and

¹³ Toh Swee-Hin. 1997 *Education for Peace: Towards a Millennium of Well-being*. Colombo, Spalding Publishers, p.24

societal action to transform selves, families, communities, institutions, nations and world from a culture of war, violence and peace to a culture of peace and active nonviolence.

Danesh points out that peace education must focus on the healthy development and maturation of human consciousness through assisting people to examine and transform their worldviews.¹⁴ This illustrates that through peace education people can be assisted to change from culture of conflict viewpoint to culture of peace perspective and eventual attainment of sustainable peace. Cawagas puts forward that through the educational activities of schools, NGOs and CBOs, citizens can be helped to develop a critical consciousness towards issues which determine their quality of life and their social, economic, political and natural environments.¹⁵ Cawagas further notes that, through a continuing educational process, young people can acquire skills for gathering data to answer questions relating to societal problems as objectively as possible, albeit skills which are infused with ethics, reciprocity, and solidarity.¹⁶

Often the theory or philosophy of peace education has been assumed and not articulated. Whereas Galtung observed that, no theory for peace education existed, more recently there have been attempts to establish one.¹⁷ Calleja suggests that a philosophical basis for peace education might be located in the Kantian notion of duty.¹⁸ This notion is extremely important as peace education empowers and obligates citizens to be law abiding citizens out of self respect and respect for others. Page further explains that a rationale for peace education might be located in

¹⁴ Danesh, H. B. 2007. Education for peace: The pedagogy of civilization. In Z. Beckerman and C. McGlynn (Eds.), *Addressing ethnic conflict through peace education: International perspectives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.22-25

¹⁵ F. V. Cawagas, 2002. *Globalization: When Everything is on Sale*. Colombo, Spalding Publishers, p. 6

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ J. Galtung, 1975. *Essays in Peace Research*, Copenhagen: Eljers. pp. 334-339.

¹⁸ J.J Calleja, 1991. 'A Kantian Epistemology of Education and Peace: An Examination of Concepts and Values, PhD Thesis, Bradford University, p.72'

virtue ethics, conservative political ethics, aesthetic ethics and the ethics of care.¹⁹ These concepts signify underlying principles of peace education which are based on morally acceptable behaviors, fairness, and human conduct guided by righteous values and actions.

While academic discourse on the subject has increasingly recognized the need for a broader, more holistic approach to peace education, a review of field based projects reveals that three variations of peace education are most common: conflict resolution training, democracy education, and human rights education.

New approaches are emerging and calling into question some of theoretical foundations of the models just mentioned. The most significant of these new approaches focuses on peace education as a process of worldview transformation. Danesh argues that the majority of people and societies in the world hold conflict-based worldviews, which express themselves in conflicted intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, and international relationships.²⁰ Danesh subdivides conflict based worldviews into two main categories. First is the survival based worldview and second is the identity based worldview. It is through the acquisition of a more integrative, unity based worldview that human capacity to mitigate conflict creates unity in the context of diversity and establishes sustainable cultures of peace.

Danesh argues that, Peace Education programs as conflict resolution typically focus on the social behavioral symptoms of conflict, training individuals to resolve inter personal disputes through techniques of negotiation and mediation.²¹ Learning to manage anger, fight fair and improve communication through skills such as listening, turn-taking, identifying needs, and separating facts from emotions. Stern and Elbedour argue that, in general, approaches of this

¹⁹ J.S. Page, 2008. *Peace Education: Exploring Ethical and Philosophical Foundations*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, pp.3

²⁰ H. B. Danesh, 2006, 'Towards an Integrative Theory of Peace Education' *Journal of Peace Education*, Vol:3, No:1, pp.55-78.

²¹ Ibid

type aim to alter beliefs, attitudes, and behavior from negative to positive attitudes toward conflict as a basis for preventing violence.²² For example UNESCO civic education project for peace, democracy and development in Somalia involves community groups who are encouraged to take responsibility for their actions and to brainstorm together on compromises. They are further encouraged to explore commonalities, internalize the essence of peace, and identify ways of building trust and harmony among different communities.

Cabezudo and Haavelsrud elucidate that Peace learning process creates a space for meeting, for talking about common issues and problems as well as challenging the actors in this process to find new ideas tackling borders by confronting solutions for their individual and collective hopes, needs and dreams.²³

Peace education programs focus on the political processes associated with conflict, and postulate that with an increase in democratic participation the likelihood of societies resolving conflict through violence and war decreases. At the same time, a democratic society needs the commitment of citizens who accept the inevitability of conflict as well as the necessity for tolerance.²⁴ Thus programs and approaches of this kind attempt to foster a conflict positive orientation in the community.

Based on the assumption that democracy decreases the likelihood of violence and war, it is assumed that these are the same skills necessary for creating a culture of peace. Cabezudo and Haavelsrud explain democracy and peace education as a whole learning participatory process takes place at both social and individual levels.²⁵ This means that democracy is not confined only to the way the state exercises its power and to citizens participation. It is also the way people

²² Ibid

²³ M. Cabezudo, 'Rethinking Peace Education', New York: Magnus, p.21.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 17

²⁵ Ibid, p.18

communicate with each other in the family, at school, within association groups, as well as religious or ethnic communities and society as a whole.

Clark argues that, Peace Education as Human Rights Education programs focus at the level of policies that humanity ought to adopt in order to move closer to a peaceful global community.²⁶ The aim is to engender a commitment among participants to a vision of structural peace in which all individual members of the human race can exercise their personal freedoms and be legally protected from violence, oppression and indignity. Approaches of this type familiarize participants with the international covenants and declarations of the United Nations system. Brabeck²⁷ explains that such programs guide citizens to recognize violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and promote tolerance, solidarity, autonomy and self-affirmation at the individual and collective levels.

1.3.2 Conflict Management and Conflict Transformation in the Greater East African Region

The nexus between conflict and conflict management can be founded on the desire for affected parties to achieve peace. Galtung argues that, peace is a product of individual, group, and state interaction at the many levels of social, political, and economic life of actors.²⁸ Weeks argues that peace is the other side of conflict that represents harmony and reflects a mutually satisfying relationship.²⁹ But considering that actors in the international system interact in a continuous process of gradual change and transformation, implies that neither conflict nor peace can exist without the other, making them two societal states.

²⁶ Clark, H. 2000. *Civil Resistance in Kosovo*, London, p.2

²⁷ K.,Brabeck, 2001, Justification for and implementation of peace education. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, Vol:7, pp.85-87.

²⁸ J. Galtung, 1975. *Essays in Peace Research*, Copenhagen, op, cit

²⁹ Dudley Weeks, *The Eight Essential Steps to Conflict Resolution* (Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarcher, 1992), p. 10.

Thus it is for the above reason that conflict transformation is reviewed in this section as the most appropriate means for conflict management in the Horn of Africa and Greater East African Region. Conflict, simply defined, is a relationship perceived by one or more concerned parties as unfair, unworkable, or both.³⁰ The feeling it engenders reflects both a state of mind and a state of economic and political affairs characterized by disagreement, intense competition, and mutual hostility. Conflict in society occurs when power, interests, or values are distributed in a manner that makes certain groups feel constrained and discriminated against.

The premise of conflict transformation is founded on the fact that, peace achieved through coercion and domination is neither good nor lasting but could be workable in serving limited goals in the short run.³¹ However peace that comes through conflict transformation process is usually complete. Considering that conflict transformation leads to stimulating dialogue and inducing honest and fair competition it is regarded as an agent of positive social and economic change.

The success of conflict transformation can be gauged by considering various cases where it has been applied. Here, Laue observes that, while in some societies and regimes, like the former Czechoslovakia, responded to conflict transformation by embracing democracy, others, like the Algerian regime became more authoritarian.³² Yet others, like Somalia failed to apply conflict transformation and consequently fall into civil war. The failure in Somali, for example, has led to political disintegration, economic dislocation, the loss of tens of thousands of lives,

³⁰ K. Brabeck, 2001, Justification for and implementation of peace education, op, cit, p.34

³¹ Ibid

³² James H. Laue, "Combinations of the Emerging Field of Conflict Resolution," in *W. Scott Thompson et al., eds., Approaches to Peace* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1991), p. 301.

and the near total destruction of the country's social infrastructure and ethnic and religious group relations.

In the cases of Nigeria's civil war in the 1960s and the black population's struggle against apartheid in Zimbabwe, the winners in both cases adopted a policy of conflict transformation and integration based on fair and reasonable representation and equal rights. In the Nigerian case, a peace education program was constructed and more powers given to individuals in dealing with all matters that affected the daily life of the people.³³

Conflict transformation is a further stage of conflict settlement.³⁴ Conflict transformation in this sense is not something that can be imposed. It is arguable that individuals will never feel secure, in the fullest sense of that term, until the community in which they live has demonstrated a renewed sense of order and is able to make improvements in the basic needs of issue that they were contesting about. For instance, conflict transformation in Cambodia, South Africa and Northern Ireland, reconstituted government is seeking to establish basic economic priorities as the threshold for equitable social advance.

Theorists and practitioners of conflict resolution tend to have widely differing views regarding most aspects of processes to resolve conflict. Kissinger advocate for conflict resolution as the most practical and realistic approach to conflict management. Saunders, emphasize the role of conflict transformation and the need for a general concept of peace education. Holsti

³³ Hugh Miall, *Peaceful Settlement of Post 1945 Conflicts, A Comparative Study: The United States Institute of Peace's Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Third World*, unpublished paper (Washington, D.C., 1990), pp. 3-7.

³⁴ Kenneth E. Boulding, "Future Directions in Conflict and Peace," in John Burton and Frank Dukes, eds, *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), p. 41.

stress the role of non-governmental organizations in facilitating human interaction through the process of Track Two conflict management.

Discussions of conflict transformation center on various approaches, however two are major viewpoints in explaining conflict transformations; these are based on the realists' perspective and the other on the idealists. The first viewpoint is driven by a desire to understand the world as it is, and to construct models and theories to manage world affairs and predict future developments based on past experience and current circumstances and premises. It is a viewpoint that accepts the world as given and devotes most attention not to changing it, but to preserving the status quo and manipulating the active socio-political and economic forces to attain and maintain advantage. This is done largely by building models and theories that give legitimacy to existing relationships and influence group and state behavior to conform to prescribed models.

Dougherty argues that, the realist approach considers power differences and the use of coercion by each group to maximize its domination and control of the other in explaining the role of conflict transformation as an agent of conflict management.³⁵ The wish of each group to dominate the other, or at least to avoid being dominated by the other, is taken for granted. Change in the accommodation that the groups have reached with each other largely depends on shifts in their relative power.

Adherents of the idealist view in conflict transformation stress on the inevitable striving for advantage among individuals.³⁶ They emphasize self interested behavior and rational choice as the desired factors that can influence conflict transformation process. This is because,

³⁵ Dougherty, J.E. and Pfaltzgraff, R.C. 1990 *Contending Theories of International Relations*, New York and London: Harper and Row

³⁶ A. Cabezudo, 2006, Haavelsrud, Magnus. Rethinking Peace Education in Johan Galtung and Charles Webel (eds): *Handbook on Peace and Conflict Studies*, Routledge, World Peace Forum, p. 4

individuals rally around symbols that give them a sense of collective identity that they can use to gain economic and political power. Thus, they may act collectively to impose a system of discrimination against others for economic advantage or may develop military capability to attain political advantage. As identities and capabilities change, so do the kinds of accommodation that different peoples try to make, more or less unilaterally.

The third approach stresses the importance of satisfying basic human needs. These needs are universal, and if social, political, and economic institutions do not satisfy them, conflicts ensue and persist. Galtung argues that, they involve a one sided domination and grossly unequal life chances constitute structural and cultural violence.³⁷ Unless such conditions are transformed, a stable, equitable peace cannot be achieved.

The constructivist approach contends that, insofar as conflict transformation entails members of one conflicting group coming to believe that members of another conflicting group share important qualities with them, can contribute to equitable accommodations. Social norms guide conduct. For example, norms about slavery, economic discrimination, and political rights have changed drastically over the years. As norms become established, they often are embodied in domestic laws.

Peace building underpins the work of peacemaking and peacekeeping by addressing structural issues and the long-term relationships between conflicting parties. According to Galtung's conflict triangle, peacekeeping lowers the level of destructive behavior, peacemaking aims to change attitudes through meditation, conciliation, arbitration and negotiation, and peace

³⁷ A. J.R. Groom, "Paradigms in Conflict," in John Burton and Frank Dukes, eds., *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), p. 92. See also Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research*, 6, 3 (1969):167-91.

building tries to overcome the contradictions which lie at the root of the conflict through processes of demilitarization, democratization, development and justice. The overall aim of peace building is to transform conflicts constructively and to create a sustainable peace environment.

Therefore, the way a particular conflict is perceived and resolved must take into consideration the past and future relationships between the conflicting parties. The nexus between the past and future can be captured by considering psychological factors of conflict. Source argues that, there are psychological factors which are inherent causes of war such as fear, hatred, envy, insecurity, collective ego, competitive spirit, obsession for supremacy over others, primitive tribal and racial arrogance and religious fanaticism.³⁸ Intellectual therapy is the only way to root out the seeds of war from the minds of men. In this context the high, noble-sounding words that form an epigraph to the UNESCO Constitution appropriately captures the true essence of this notion. “Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be established³⁹.”

Robinson points out, providing the foundations for a peaceful society requires more than directives⁴⁰. This means that orders and physical interventions are not enough to establish solid foundation to a peaceful society. He notes that, it needs an in-depth understanding of values, respect for others and a thorough awareness of the importance of sustainable development and protection of the environment. To achieve this, Robinson observes that, there is need to view conflict positively, meaning that conflict creates the potential for healing and for personal

³⁸ A. Cabezudo, 2006, Haavelsrud, Magnus. Rethinking Peace Education in Johan Galtung and Charles Webel (eds): *Handbook on Peace and Conflict Studies*, Routledge, World Peace Forum, p. 4

³⁹ Epigraph of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1945, p.i.

⁴⁰ Robinson, Marklee, 2001, *Just Conflict: Transformation through Resolution*, London, Hedger Publishers, p.12

change. It is very possible that people transform their lives simply by learning how to engage conflict in a creative way. There must be relatively simple and effective steps anyone can take that will resolve conflicts painlessly.

Robinson notes further that, thinking in a new way about conflict can lead to happier lives and a more peaceful and just society.⁴¹ From this point of view, if we start to think a conflict something we can manage, an experience we can learn from, truly human being has the power to transform conflict from negative to positive and stop its disastrous consequences as well as its recurrence. Then we will be a large happy family that its members live in dignity, respect, pride and happiness.

Collier argues that, conflict transformation views peace as centered and rooted in the quality of relationships.⁴² This includes both face-to-face interactions and the ways in which we structure our social, political, economic, and cultural relationships. In this sense, peace is a process structure, a phenomenon that is simultaneously dynamic, adaptive, and changing. In essence, rather than seeing peace as a static end-state, conflict transformation views peace as a continuously evolving and developing quality of relationship. It is defined by intentional efforts to address the natural rise of human conflict through nonviolent approaches that address issues and increase understanding, equality, and respect in relationships.

1.3.3 Peace Education in Conflict Transformation in Greater East African Region States

Moreover, Collier adds that, the Eastern African region is part of sub-Saharan Africa comprising two traditionally recognized regions: East Africa made up of Kenya, Tanzania,

⁴¹ Robinson, Marklee, 2001, *Just Conflict: Transformation through Resolution*, op, cit, p.17

⁴² Paul Collier, 2003, *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, The World Bank and Oxford University Press, p.13

Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda; and the Horn of Africa, made up of Somalia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Sudan.⁴³ Most of the countries in the Eastern Africa region experienced political coups, civil wars, ethnic violence and oppressive dictatorships. Since the end of colonialism, the region has endured violent conflicts of both inter and intrastate in nature.

Vaughan notes that, on the one hand Ethiopia is located in the Horn of Africa region; it borders Somalia to the South East, Kenya to the South, South Sudan and Sudan to the West, Eritrea to the North and Djibouti to the North East.⁴⁴ On the other hand, the name Somalia is used to refer to the de jure existing state of the Republic of Somali which is located in the Horn of Africa. In its present day mapping, Somali consists of the Republic of Somaliland in the northwest, the autonomous region of Puntland in the north and northeast as well as a third part known as Southern Somali or South Central Somali.⁴⁵

Somali as a state is notorious for the long standing conflict, lawlessness and insecurity for the international system in general and particularly for the Horn of Africa region. As a state, Somali is located in the Horn of Africa region; it borders Ethiopia to the West, Djibouti to the North, Kenya to the South West and the Indian Ocean to the East. Dornboos observes that the Somali Republic (1960-1991) constituted the former Italian colonies of South Central Somalia, Puntland and the former British Protectorate of Somaliland.⁴⁶ The state of Somali is relatively homogenous linguistically and religiously. Lineage underpins Somali society, with divisions defined along clan and sub clan lines.

⁴³ Ibid, Paul Collier, 2003, *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, ibid, p.5

⁴⁴ Vaughan, S., and Tronvoll, K. 2003. "The Culture of Power in Contemporary Ethiopian Political Life." SIDA Studies No. 10, Stockholm, p.2

⁴⁵ Jean-François Bayart, 1993, *The State in Africa. The Politics of the Belly*, London: Longman, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁶ M Dornboos, 2002, "State Collapse and Fresh Starts: Some Critical Reflections" *Development and Change* 33 Vol:5:pp.797-815:810

Menkhaus and Prendergast note that the state of Somali collapsed in 1991 as a consequence of the gradual disintegration of its governance structures and the impact of clan based armed groups, notably the Somali National Movement (SNM), the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) and the United Somali Congress (USC)⁴⁷. Most of Somali's armed clashes since 1991 have been fought in the name of clan, often as a result of political leaders manipulating clans for their own purposes.⁴⁸

Ethiopia has witnessed the highest number of external conflicts with her neighboring states, more than any state in the East African region. Often, external conflicts result from disputed regions and inter-border conflicts. Internal conflicts have also seen civil strife within the state. Bearing in mind that, Ethiopia was not colonized, brings into view the fact that, its education system is unique since it was inherited from any particular colonial master. Moreover, Waters and LeBlank argue that, a close historical and traditional lineage with neighboring states, set precedence that directly and indirectly usurps Ethiopia's to education system of other states in the region.⁴⁹

Erim argues that, the centrality of peace education in conflict management is that, education is the only means through which individual actors and parties in conflict can be brought together to deliberate on issues that affect their general well being.⁵⁰ Education is a tool and an avenue that enables belligerents in conflict to appreciate the dynamics of factors upon which there is contest leading to conflict. Education buttresses successful understanding of

⁴⁷ K. Menkhaus, and J. Prendergast, 1995, 'Political Economy of Post-intervention Somali' *Somali Task Force Issue Paper* No.3.

⁴⁸ Paul Collier, 2003, *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, The World Bank and Oxford University Press, p.5

⁴⁹ Waters T., and LeBlanc, K. 2005. "Refugees and education: Mass public schooling without a nation-state." *Comparative Education Review* 49 (2): 129-147.

⁵⁰ McCandless Erim, 2007, 'The Emergence of Peace-Building and Development' in *Peace research for Africa: A Critical Essay on Methodology*. Erim McCandless, Abdul Karim. B Mary King, SallEbruma (eds) Addis Ababa: University of Peace, pp. 12-13

conflict. Education eliminates ignorance and promotes understanding of conflict from a perspective that allows belligerents to qualify conflicts as irrational actions. As such, education forms the base of every development in the cycle of conflict management.

Badat contends that, education opens up whole new vistas of understanding and enabling people to learn to tolerate others, what they believe in, and what they would want to achieve collectively.⁵¹ Moreover, Badat adds that, it is both theoretically and practically impossible to talk about a culture of peace in conflict management if the people lack the basic understanding of that very culture and the role it can play in bringing about peace. In brief, education liberates. And the basic significant aim of any form of education, be it formal or informal, it is to transform the educated into responsible, progressive, dynamic and reasonable individual who would be able to play a role in the advancement of humankind; through the transfer of societal, traditional and cultural norms and values.

Education, therefore, serves as the only single weapon that can be used to change and liberate society and direct its activities in a positive direction.⁵² If people engaged in it have received relevant, applicable and responsible education, it is expected that they can then exhibit an advanced level of change in attitudes, values, knowledge and skills and generally, they will display advance behavioral attitudes compatible to the level of education received.

Ibeanu adopts a social constructivist approach and argues that, depending on the level of education that people have received they are expected to think and reason better, know and argue better so they are able to contribute positively to bringing about meaningful changes in conflict management that will benefit the immediate and distant communities which should reflect their

⁵¹ S. Badat, 1997, Education politics in the transition period. In P. Kallaway, G. Krus, A. Fataar and G. Donn (eds.) Education after Apartheid: South African Education in Transition. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, pp.53

⁵² J. Avis, 1996, Knowledge and nationhood education, politics and work. London: Cassell, p.6

understanding of events, issues, people, places and things.⁵³ Thus, their level of interaction, tolerance, judgment and above all cooperation should be at a stage pertinent to their level of education, therefore establishing the main ingredients for peace, an ingredient very important to survival, advancement and development in conflict transformation.⁵⁴

Mary argues that, for sustainable peace to be a reality in societies emerging from violent conflicts, it is fundamental that the history of prejudice as a component of individual mindset and attitudes be addressed and overcome.⁵⁵ The factors underlining conflict that relate to structural imbalances also need to be analyzed and addressed. Similarly, socio economic and cultural inequalities inherent in social institutions require political goodwill to chart new ways for peace in post conflict setting. Peace education lends itself well to such a vital mission.

Apple and Christian-Smith observe that, peace education can be thought of as a dynamic process that is rooted in a socio cultural context.⁵⁶ They add that, no form of peace education, as a source of knowledge, is politically neutral. The main agents to enhance peace education are schools, schools of all levels, can play an essential role in promoting peace. The importance of schools arises from the fact that they make what is considered the official knowledge available to people in communities. Schools participate in creating what society has recognized as legitimate and truthful. Apple and Christian-smith argue that, they help set the canons of truthfulness and, as such, also help recreate a major reference point of what knowledge, culture, belief, and morality really are.⁵⁷

⁵³ Oke Ibeanu, 2007 'Conceptualizing Peace' In *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*. Shedrack Gaya Best (ed). Ibadan: Spectrum Books, p. 7

⁵⁴ Binn, T. 1993, Geography and education: UK Perspective. *Progress in Human Geography*. Volume 17 Number 1 pp. 101-110.

⁵⁵ King E. Mary, and Christopher, Miller 2006, *A Teaching Model: Non Violent Transformation of Conflict*. Switzerland: University of Peace, p.3

⁵⁶ M. W. Apple, and L. K Christian-Smith, eds., 1991, *The Politics of the Textbook*. New York: Teachers College Press, p.9

⁵⁷ Ibid, p.12

In addition, the role of peace education in the Horn of Africa region cannot be fully analyzed without considering the conflict situation in states that neighbor Ethiopia. Tadesse argues that, there are a number of factors that exacerbate this; first, is the Ogaden region, which is disputed between Somalia and Ethiopia.⁵⁸ Somalia obtained Independence in 1960 both from Britain and Italy. Somalia has sought secession claims of the Ogaden region which was allocated to Ethiopia, as a result the region has witnessed brute conflicts over time. The same applies to Eritrea, where the two states dispute over a border region.⁵⁹ As such the following section will review the Horn of Africa literature in view of the above identified factors.

Valentino notes that, the Ethiopian Civil War began on September 12, 1974 when the Marxist Derg staged a coup d'état against Emperor Haile Selassie, and lasted until the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition of rebel groups, overthrew the government in 1991.⁶⁰ The war overlapped other Cold War conflicts in Africa, such as the Angolan Civil War (1975-2002). The Eritrean War of Independence⁶¹ (1 September 1961 – 24 May 1991) was a conflict fought between the Ethiopian government and Eritrean separatists, both before and during the Ethiopian Civil War. The war went on for 30 years until 1991 when the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), having defeated the Ethiopian forces in Eritrea, took control of the country. In April 1993, in a referendum supported by Ethiopia, the Eritrean people voted almost unanimously in favour of independence. Formal international recognition of an independent and sovereign Eritrea followed later the same year. The two main rebel groups fought two Eritrean civil wars during the war of liberation.

⁵⁸ Tadesse Berhe, and Yonas Adaye. Undated. "Afar: The Impact of Local Conflict on Regional Stability." Institute for Security Studies, Addis Ababa, p.4

⁵⁹ Ibid, p.8

⁶⁰ A. Valentino, Benjamin. *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*, 2004. Page 196.

⁶¹ Killian, Tom (1998). *Historical Dictionary of Eritrea*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow, p.7

The Eritrean–Ethiopian War⁶² took place from May 1998 to June 2000 between Ethiopia and Eritrea, forming one of the conflicts in the Horn of Africa. Eritrea and Ethiopia two of the world' s poorest countries spent hundreds of millions of dollars on the war, and suffered tens of thousands of casualties as a direct consequence of the conflict, which resulted in minor border changes. According to a ruling by an international commission in The Hague, Eritrea broke international law and triggered the war by invading Ethiopia. At the end of the war, Ethiopia held all of the disputed territory and had advanced into Eritrea. After the war ended Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission, a body founded by the UN, established that Badme, the disputed territory at the heart of the conflict, belongs to Eritrea.^[19] As of 2009, Ethiopia still occupies the territory.

Tadhesse and Adaye note that, the Somali Conflict is an ongoing civil war taking place in Somalia.⁶³ The conflict, which began in 1991, has caused destabilization and instability throughout the country, with the current phase of the conflict seeing the Somali government losing substantial control of the state to rebel forces. From 2006-2009, the National Defense Force of Ethiopia was involved in the conflict. The Second Sudanese Civil War started in 1983, although it was largely a continuation of the First Sudanese Civil War of 1955 to 1972. It took place, for the most part, in southern Sudan and was one of the longest lasting and deadliest wars of the later 20th century. Many civilians were killed in southern Sudan, and many more southerners have been forced to flee their homes at one time or another since the war began. The

⁶³ Tadhesse Berhe, and Yonas Adaye. Undated. "Afar: The Impact of Local Conflict on Regional Stability." Institute for Security Studies, Addis Ababa, p.4

civilian death toll is one of the highest of any war since World War II. The conflict officially ended with the signing of a peace agreement in January 2005.⁶⁴

The Uganda-Tanzania War⁶⁵ was fought between Uganda and Tanzania in 1978–1979, and led to the overthrow of Idi Amin's regime. Idi Amin's forces included thousands of troops sent by Muammar al-Gaddafi. Relations between Tanzania and Uganda had been edgy for several years before the war started. After Amin seized power in a military coup in 1971, the Tanzanian leader Julius Nyerere offered sanctuary to Uganda's ousted president, Milton Obote. Obote was joined by 20,000 refugees fleeing Amin's attempts to wipe out opposition. A year later, a group of exiles based in Tanzania attempted, unsuccessfully, to invade Uganda and remove Amin. Amin blamed Nyerere for backing and arming his enemies. The relationship between Uganda and Tanzania remained strained for many years.

Kenya and Djibouti had also their shares of ethnic conflicts. In Djibouti there had been occasional bloody clashes between the two main ethnic communities (Essas and Afars). Similarly the post-election violence in Kenya uncovered deep seated ethnic hatred between certain communities. East Africa is plagued by chaos and trouble. From the collapse of Somalia, the insurgency in Uganda, refugee camps in Tanzania, simmering relations in Ethiopia and Eritrea, ethnic conflict in Kenya, the entire region is beset with deep problems. The conflict crisis in East Africa can be categorized as Interstate conflict, intrastate conflict, Crime and Corruption, Insurgencies, and Ethnic/Religious hatred.

⁶⁴ Ibid, Tadesse Berhe, and Yonas Adaye. Undated. "Afar: The Impact of Local Conflict on Regional Stability.", p.7

⁶⁵ R. Lemarchand, 1970, *Burundi and Rwanda*. New York: Praeger, p.12

Rwanda is a landlocked state with a population of about eight million people. In the course of the past half-century, violent ethnic conflict culminated in genocide which took with it more than one million lives. After the conflict, the society was disintegrated, as such, peace education played a key role in integrating the young population back to society and to live in peace. Lemarchand argues that, peace organization was championed by nongovernmental organizations who regarded peace education as a crucial element for building a culture of peace and that in order to achieve significant results, peace education has to address the social and political imbalance between those in power and the rest of the people.⁶⁶

Indeed, peace education in South Sudan differed from classical education in the sense that it went beyond the acquisition of knowledge to actively transforming one's surroundings, thus representing action taken to transform systems of inequality into power sharing and more democratic structures. Uvin argues further that, peace education represents an attitude that aims at eradicating prejudice among individual's people of South Sudan, promoting tolerance and solidarity. Moreover, it represents a socializing process, through which children acquire values of democracy, freedom, and self-determination and learn to live in a multicultural society that acknowledges the value of different cultures.⁶⁷

The crisis of 1993 and the long drawn-out conflict that followed had a devastating effect on Burundi, and exacerbated the underlying problems that existed before that date. For peace to become sustainable there was need to access education at all levels for all ethnic groups and all parts of the Burundi. The Peace Education Standing Commission, has led the way toward developing a curriculum to promote tolerance among young people and adults. Using the

⁶⁶ R. Lemarchand, 1970, *Burundi and Rwanda*. New York: Praeger, p.12

⁶⁷ Uvin, P. (1998). *Aiding violence: The development enterprise in Rwanda*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, p.23

spiritual and ethical teachings of students' own faith traditions as a foundation, peace educator's help students develop a new understanding of, and respect for, people of other backgrounds.

In summary, it emerges from above literature review that, most states in the East African region have experienced conflicts, especially internal conflicts at different times and levels of magnitude. While most of these conflicts have been managed, they have not been transformed in totality; hence settlement of the conflicts is yet to be realized. It is upon this background that, the need arises for reframing the approach accorded to conflict management in the East African region. The above literature does not capture cases or events of conflict transformation, in particular with the element of peace education play. When either of them is applied in conflict management, it is pursued as a standalone endeavor, this loosely translates to imply that conflicts are solved, hence short term and recurrence. However, for conflicts to be transformed fully calls for further research of the role of peace education and conflict transformation.

1.4 Summary of the gap in literature review

In conclusion, it has emerged from above that peace education is an effective instrument in conflict transformation. Peace education however has not been used as a tool to manage conflicts particularly among states in the Greater East African Region. From above it emerged that, education is an important aspect in socializing and development, however states have not embraced peace education in the process of conflict transformation. It emerged that, peace education is often conducted by non-governmental actors, while the states as the main actors are not much involved. There is need therefore to do further research and evaluate how states can use peace education in conflict transformation. It also emerged from the literature review that, regardless of how effective or ineffective societies have been in developing their own conflict resolution techniques, no society has managed to totally resolve conflict, eliminate its causes,

control its forces, or predict its outcome and thus prepare for its many consequences. As a result, all societies continue to experience conflict, struggle with it, and change under its influence, going into different and sometimes opposing directions. Peace education can offer new ways for conflict transformation particularly for states in the great Eastern Africa region.

1.5 Justification

This research study adds to the body of knowledge on peace education and conflict transformation in the context of Greater East African Region. The findings contribute to the understanding of the role of peace education in conflict transformation. Academic institutions in the Greater East African Region and beyond will use the findings of the study as relevant case studies or as basis for further research.

In addition, the findings of the study will be useful for international and regional peace keeping missions to conceptualize the role of peace education in peace-building and consider it as a component in intervention strategies towards enhanced and sustainable conflict resolution efforts. Finally, the study findings will be useful for policymakers and civil society organizations to make use of it on their policy and program formulations relating to peace education and conflict transformation.

1.6 Methodology

1.6.1 Research Design

This research used descriptive format to review data, examine issues & debates and report findings for the research study. As such the sub-objectives identified in the objectives section above lead the theme and thesis of this research. Eventually data was qualitatively interpreted. Responses of the interviewees and data collected through the specified means was

accurately transcribed where consistency, accuracy and reliability was needed, the principal researcher attentively re-checked. Then narratives and memoirs were written to form this research study paper.

1.6.2 Sampling Design

This research employed probability sampling design. The aim here was to identify people who are knowledgeable in peace education and conflict transformation in the region. From the selected group of people, the principal researcher used probe techniques to know more about the questions at hand. Moreover, the principal researcher used snowball sampling to identify respondents who are knowledgeable and they referred to other respondents who could elaborate more on particular issues.

1.6.3 Data Analysis

Data was analyzed by considering two critical issues. The First issue is that the data collected in the case study chapter was analyzed by comparing with the conceptual literature collected in the previous chapter, this was done with a view to finding out if the literature agrees with what is already existent and how. The second issue is that, data was compared vis a vis the theories that are existent and inform this study research. This was aimed to find out if the literature agrees with the existent frameworks.

1.6.4 Data Collection

This study utilized qualitative approaches. It relied on primary and secondary data to collect data for analysis. Primary data was obtained through interviewing key informants who were knowledgeable or had direct experience either in post conflict situations or had been involved in peace education programs in the region of the case study. Personal interviews were

used because they were an appropriate tool for this study, interviews were conducted via personal interviewing, telephone calls and electronic mail correspondence (e-Mail). From the interviews, in-depth and detailed information was collected, adjustments were made, and in case of misunderstanding, and the issues were clarified as the need arose.

The respondents who were interviewed included individuals involved in Civic education activities in Kenya, Rwanda and Somalia; officers from UNESCO Nairobi, Culture of Peace department officials, and community groups who were also involved in civic initiatives and activities in the region. The interviewed officers had working knowledge on peace education or conflict management in the region. The interviewees were sampled through purposeful sampling technique which was also supplemented by Snowball sampling. The two techniques complemented one another and produced a representative and satisfactory sample size.

Secondary data was obtained from analysis and review of books, journals, papers and other available literature on the role of peace education in conflict transformation in the Eastern Africa region. A comprehensive and scholarly analysis of secondary data was undertaken, on books, journals, and articles on peace education, culture of peace, peace studies, conflict transformation as well as specific literature on the conflicts and peace building initiatives in the Eastern Africa Region. Data was also collected through observation method.

1.7 Chapter Summary

This study research comprise of five chapters. Chapter one embarks at a level where it sets the theme to the background for the research study through introduction. It introduces the research themes as captured in the main topic, presents the statement of the research problem, the objectives of the study and provides a justification for this research study. Chapter one examines relevant literature and antecedents where books, journals, relevant project reports and documents

are reviewed and contextualized within the suggested framework and the scope of project objectives. Furthermore, chapter one presents the methodology of study, which was used as a guide for collecting data, the methodology identified the methods of sampling, data collection and analysis.

Chapter Two of this research study provides an overview of peace Education and conflict transformation, by extension, chapter two is a conceptual chapter. As such, it provides an overview of issues and debates informing peace education and conflict transformation in global context. The discussion in chapter two opens with an overview of peace education and conflict transformation in the international system, then narrows down to conflicts in Africa and subsequently to the Eastern African region.

Chapter Three is the case study chapter; it examines the Eastern Africa Region in the context of peace education and conflict transformation. It reviews the conflicts in the region as well as conflict transformation initiatives that have been attempted. The chapter utilizes primary data from interviews, telephoning, physical visits and non-published primary documents to formulate this chapter. It explores peace education programs in the region and attempts to explain achievements and efficacy of such programs.

Chapter four is the analysis of the findings chapter. This Chapter provides critical analysis of the findings of the study, by utilizing the framework suggested in chapter one to examine the findings from the case study. The point of concern is that, chapter four seeks to determine if the findings agree with the established facts of truth and eventually comes up with emerging issues. Finally, chapter five is the conclusions and recommendations chapter of the research study. The chapter provides a narrative presentation of the outcome of the research

study. It offers conclusions, based on the findings and recommendations based on the critical analysis of the research study.

CHAPTER TWO

Overview of Peace Education and Conflict Transformation

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the topic of this research study, statement of the problem, objectives of study, literature review, methodology and chapter outline. Chapter two examines the theme of peace education and conflict transformation in the context of international conflict management. Chapter two therefore analyzes the development of peace education as a strategy in conflict transformation. In addition, chapter two examines the concept of conflict transformation and finally studies the role of peace education as a utility for conflict transformation. As a result, chapter two was reviewed in two sections. The first section presents review of peace education and the second section highlights review of conflict transformation.

2.1 Peace Education

Peace education is a unifying and comprehensive concept that seeks to promote a holistic view of education. Dewey argues that, the primordial role that education occupies in human history has been well documented and amply recognized through the ages. Education has been closely connected with the development of civilizations and has always been viewed as a way of bringing better life into existence.⁶⁸ It is, therefore, no wonder that in articulating the objectives of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the UN was keen to emphasize the need for humanity to attain universal primary education for all by the year 2015.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ John Dewey, 2002, *Education and Experience* , p.35.

⁶⁹ United Nations (2005). *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2005*. UN: New York

Peace education is not a single entity, a variety of distinctions can be offered. For one, Galtung contends that, peace has more than one meaning. He further distinguishes between positive and negative peace, whereby positive peace denotes collaboration, integration, and cooperation, and negative peace denotes the absence of physical and direct violence between groups.⁷⁰ A second, possible distinction pertains to the sociopolitical context in which peace education takes place which are regions of intractable conflict, regions of racial or ethnic tension with no overt actions of hostility, or regions of tranquility and cooperation.

A third distinction can be made between desired changes: changes on the local, micro level, for example, learning to settle conflicts and to cooperate on an interpersonal level, versus desired changes on a more global, macro level, for example, changing perceptions, stereotypes, and prejudices pertaining to whole collectives.

Peace education encompasses entrenching respect for human rights and political pluralism; accommodation of diversity, building the capacity of state institutions, economic growth and equity.⁷¹ Correspondingly, these measures are the most effective means of preventing crises they are consequently as much pre-crisis priorities which further explain the concept of peace education.

UNESCO literature states that Peace Education is more effective and meaningful when adopted according to the social and cultural context and the needs of a country. It should be enriched by its cultural and spiritual values together with the universal human values. It should also be globally relevant. Given such a framework, it is hard to find a universally accepted definition. As such, Peace Education is characterized by its many definitions.

⁷⁰ Galtung, J. 1973, *Peace: Research, Education, action*. Copenhagen: Christian Ejlertsen, p.32

⁷¹ William W, 1973 'Tendencies in African education' In *Today's Education Journal* Vol. 11-12 pp.30-36

Mara observes that, the term peace education when used in conflict management encompasses a wide variety of aims and approaches, depending on the audience and socio political and ideological context.⁷² In this perspective, it can be argued that, peace education overlaps and shares theoretical and practical ground with other types of progressive educations used in various aspects of social and political life.⁷³ These include development education, environmental, human rights, and peace education in violent conflicts. Laing defines peace education as an attempt to respond to problems of conflict and violence on scales ranging from the global and national to the local and personal. It is about exploring ways of creating more just and sustainable futures.

Hicks argues that, peace education shares a concern of contemporary problems with global education as the basis of its content and a belief in participatory and active learning strategies.⁷⁴ Hicks also distinguish between negative and positive peace, as well as direct and indirect (structural) violence.⁷⁵ Peace education has been identified as sharing common ground with citizenship education through beliefs in the interdependency of the world's citizens,⁷⁶ and through its faith in tolerance, respect for difference, and an appreciation of the rights of others as productive of peace.⁷⁷

Apple argues that, peace can be understood from several points of view. It can be interpreted in terms of values, norms, knowledge, and skills, which are to be specified in

⁷² John. K. Mara, 2006, 'The Virtues and Challenges of Traditional African Education' in *Journal of Pan African studies*. Vol. 1, No.4 pp.15-24.

⁷³ Toh, S. H. and Cawagas, V. 1990. *Peaceful Theory and Practice in Values Education*. Quezon City. Phoenix Publishing House, p.5

⁷⁴ D. Hicks, (Ed). 1988. *Education for peace: Issues, principles and practice in the classroom*. London, Routledge, p.87

⁷⁵ J. Galtung, 1975. *Essay in Peace Education*, Volume 1. p.53

⁷⁶ Harris, Ian and Synott, John. 2002. 'Peace Education for a New Century' *Social Alternatives* Vol:21, No:1, pp.3-6

⁷⁷ G. Mahrouse, 2006, (Re)Producing a Peaceful Canadian citizenry: A lesson on the Free Trade of the Americas Quebec City Summit protests [Special Issue on Democracy and Education]. *Canadian Journal of Education*, Vol:29, No:2, pp. 436-453.

different cultural and current contexts. Vriens elaborates the idea that peace education has to be developed as a modest concept on the basis of a broad concept of learning. The modest concept means that peace education cannot make peace, nor can it guarantee that people will become peace loving. But it can offer an important contribution to the development of a culture of peace, which justifies and supports policies aimed at attaining peace.

2.2 Classification of Peace Education

Peace education can be classified into three distinctive categories namely peace education in regions of intractable conflicts, peace education in regions of interethnic tension, and peace education in regions of experienced tranquility. Menkhaus observes that, the classification is determined by a host of factors, chief of which is the magnitude of the conflict at hand.⁷⁸ The intensity of the conflict, for instance if it is a protracted conflict or a short-lived conflict, the region where the conflict is taking place and attempts that had been engaged to contain it. Intractable conflicts refer to situations that are volatile and have potential to erupt into at any given time, for example the Congo region. Interethnic conflict areas refer to spots where, due to a high number of ethnic backgrounds, people are bound to compete for certain resources that often expose them to conflict. Finally, peace education in areas of tranquility refers to situations where conflicts are a one off.

2.2.1 Peace Education in Intractable Regions

Peace education in intractable regions takes place in the context of ongoing, violent conflicts between actual adversaries. Rouhana argues that, peace education in intractable regions are conflicts about tangible resources, accompanied and sustained by collectively held national,

⁷⁸ K. Menkhaus, and J. Prendergast, 1995, 'Political Economy of Post-intervention Somali', op, cit, pp.2-5

ethnic, tribal, or religious narratives describing the good versus the bad.⁷⁹ These narratives contain a host of collectively held memories of past atrocities and present day victimhood, and one's own moral superiority over the other.⁸⁰ Peace education in this category attempts mainly to change mindsets that pertain to the collective other, including the other's narrative and one's own group responsibility for the other's suffering. Cases in point include Northern Ireland, Israel-Palestine, Cyprus, and Rwanda.

Peace education in regions of intractable conflict often entails elements of antiracism, conflict resolution; multiculturalism, cross-cultural training, and the cultivation of a generally peaceful outlook, but it can neither be equated with these nor reduced to them. It has its residual, unique character that transcends these elements. Relative to these elements, it faces the most difficult obstacles, such as collectively held animosities, shared painful memories, and common national or ethnic views of self and of other, all issues on a collective macro level.

Peace education in regions of intractable conflicts uniquely confronts what Azar describes as ethnic comprising of racial, national, or religious hostilities crossed with developmental inequities that have a long history and a bleak future. It follows from this conception that this class of peace education faces three important challenges. First of all, it faces a conflict that is between collectives, not between individuals, secondly, it faces a conflict that is deeply rooted in collective narratives that entail a long and painful shared memory of the past and third, it faces a conflict that entails grave inequalities.

Bar-tal contends that, the first challenge facing peace education in contexts of intractable conflict is a collectively held ethos, or narrative, that explains the conflict and each side's role in

⁷⁹ Rouhana, N., and Bar-Tal, D. 1998. Psychological dynamics of Interactable Ethnonational conflicts. The Israeli-Palestinian case. *American Psychologist*, 53(7), pp.761-770.

⁸⁰ Ibid

the conflict, justifies one's own position, and denigrates the other's.⁸¹ Such narratives generate intense animosity that becomes integrated into the socialization processes in each society and through which conflict related emotions and cognitions are transmitted to new generations. The second challenge facing peace education is the grave inequalities usually implicated in the conflict inequalities between conquerors and conquered, between different social or economic statuses, between majority and minority, or between an indigenous population and relative newcomers. Two implications follow from here. One implication is that the two sides would best be served by different kinds of peace education intervention, as they are likely to have different agendas. Although in both cases individuals are the targets for change, the change itself pertains to two different levels.

Still another possible distinction is between the political, economic, and social status of peace education participants between racial or ethnic majority versus minority, conqueror versus conquered, and perpetrator versus victim.⁸² From this it emerges that, peace education for the weak and dominated is not the same as for the strong and dominating.

2.2.2 Peace Education in Regions of Interethnic Tension

In this category, peace education programs takes place in contexts most frequently characterized by interethnic, racial, or tribal tension between a majority and a minority without necessarily entailing either overt acts of aggression or collective memories of along history of hostilities, humiliation, conquest, or dispossession. Vivid examples include, cases in Belgium, Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans in the United States of America (USA) and guest workers in Germany.

⁸¹ Bar-Tal, D. 2000, *Shared beliefs in a society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

⁸² Ibid

Inter-ethnic tension is often sparked by feelings of intolerance, often described as Xenophobia. Xenophobia is described as a condition where, people of one ethnic background, move slowly but steadily from their original settlement into a new one. The host community then develops fears of occupation and marginalization against the other, hence leading to situations where by, the host community forceful endeavors to eject the new members from their community. Interethnic tension lasts for a short time period but causalities are high. They are characterized by feelings of intolerance that accrue overtime to a level where they spill out. As such interethnic tension builds up due to psychological behaviors. A case in point for this illustration is the rebellion in South Africa black communities by indigenous people against immigrants from Zimbabwe.

Peace education in this aspect is used as a psychological tool to change the mind set of the community that feel marginalized. Peace education programs employ the strategy of empowering people with variety of choices to empower their choice to tolerate the new community. The end goal is to ensure that, tolerance is achieved among people of all ages and each person affected can make an independent choice based on the knowledge the have attained.

2.2.3 Peace Education in Regions of Experienced Tranquility

This category of peace education programs takes place in contexts in which there is no specifically identified adversary with whom peace, reconciliation, or coexistence is desired. In such contexts, programs are perhaps best characterized by consisting of education about peace rather than education for peace, because there is no concrete adversary or out group with whom peace is sought. In this respect, education about education can play a crucial role in cultivating a concern for peace such that past indifference to violent acts carried out in other regions.

The reasons as to the above context can best be understood by considering the issues informing regions of experienced tranquility. Here, Menkhaus argues that, since the conflicts are protracted, it becomes hard to identify the issues as to why people engage in conflict.⁸³ In this case, the issues giving rise to conflicts often crop up when they are not solved early, this projection can rise still up-to a point where by the issues that can be identified as the causes of conflict are many. Hence, it becomes hard to exactly identify the issues that cause the conflict. For instance, in Somalia, after the overthrow of Siad Barre, corruption was cited as a factor for Barre's ousting, later, issues of piracy, clannism, resource plundering and power struggle were cited as among the causes of the conflict.⁸⁴

2.3 Direct and indirect models of Peace Education

Bar-Tal and Rosen note that there are two models of peace education that represent its two extreme types. According to them, the dimension that differentiates the two models concerns the political societal conditions that serve as a background to the development of peace education.⁸⁵ On one side of the dimension are political–societal conditions that are unfavorable to the development of peace education and do not allow direct reference to the intractable conflict in which the society in question is involved.

These conditions limit the scope of themes that can be dealt with within the framework of peace education. But even under these conditions there is a place or the development of what Bar-Tal and Rosen term indirect peace education. They explain that indirect peace education does not directly address the conflict which includes its goals, its historical course, its costs, or the image of the rival. Instead, it concerns itself either with very general themes relevant to peace

⁸³ K. Menkhaus, and J. Prendergast, 1995, 'Political Economy of Post-intervention Somali', op, cit, p.8

⁸⁴ Ibid p.12

⁸⁵ Bar-Tal, D. and Rosen, Y. February 2009. Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Direct and Indirect Models: *Review of Educational Research* 2009, p.7

making avoiding direct clashes with the culture of conflict, especially the ethos of conflict or with an array of themes and skills that do not refer to the ongoing conflict at all.

This type of peace education may focus on a choice of themes such as identity, ecological security, violence, empathy, human rights, and conflict resolution skills. At the other end of the dimension are political societal conditions that are favorable to the development of peace education and allow direct reference to all the issues and themes that concern the societies involved in intractable conflict. Bar-Tal argues further that, under these conditions it is possible to develop direct peace education. This type of peace education refers to all the themes of the intractable conflict that contributed to the development and maintenance of the culture of conflict and served as barriers to its peaceful resolution.⁸⁶

Direct peace education, as already mentioned, can be launched when the societal and political conditions are ripe and the educational system is ready, both administratively and pedagogically, for this major endeavor. Direct peace education directly refers to themes of conflict and tries to change societal beliefs, attitudes, values, and behaviors related to culture of conflict.⁸⁷ An example of direct peace education is the Education for Peace project carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the past decade, which attempted to transform the lives of the students, teachers, and the whole community by directly confronting participants with the issues that were at the heart of the conflict.⁸⁸

2.3.1 Components of Peace Education

The main aim of Peace Education, as has been stated earlier, is to add value to the existing systems of education, in order to ensure that it becomes relevant to real life experiences

⁸⁶ D. Bar-Tal, (2002). The elusive nature of peace education. In G. Salomon & B. Nevo (Eds.), *Peace education: The Concept, Principles and Practice in the World*, pp. 27–36.

⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ Clarke-Habibi, S. 2005. Transforming world views: The case of education for peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Journal of Transformative Education*, Vol:3, pp.33-56.

of the learners, in their quest to create a just and equitable society. schools and other educational institutions can effectively become social arenas, which model how the ideal world ought to be. In order to achieve this, the school will need a curriculum where the content and the methodology are equally important and where a holistic view of education is entrenched to ensure the acquisition of specific knowledge, skills, behavior and attitudes.

Fischer notes that, peace Education is the learning methodology. Unlike the traditional approach where not much thought was given to this component.⁸⁹ Peace Education proponents put stress on a type of methodology that reinforces and models the skills and attitudes being targeted. To fully integrate the skills, attitudes etc., the way of learning is deemed to be as important as what is being learnt. In this way the school settings become authentic social contexts for experiential learning.

2.3.2 Justification for a Peace Education program

Senge notes that, there is need for political education to respond to the transition period that most African countries are undergoing for instance the democratization of the social and political structures.⁹⁰ There is also need to be in step with sound education ideologies that advocate holistic approaches. This is because, most states in the Greater East African Region are either in states of structural or overt conflict, post conflict, reconciliation process and or are experiencing political/social and economic instability. The general need for cultures of peace therefore constitutes a most urgent need in almost all the states in the region.

The articulated need for providing quality education in Africa as expressed in most development instruments and national documents provide a strong incentive for African

⁸⁹ Ronald J. Fisher: Introduction, in: Fisher (ed.): Paving the Way. Contributions of Interactive Conflict Resolution to Peacemaking, Lanham MD: Lexington Books 2005, p. 2.

⁹⁰ P. M. Senge: The Fifth Discipline. The Art & Practice of The Learning Organisation, New York: Doubleday 1990, p. 128.

governments to restructure and institute positive changes in their education systems. This can easily be linked with declarations such as UNESCO's Education for All programme, achievement of Universal Primary Education as stipulated in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010).⁹¹ This also coincides with the proposed African Union Second Decade of Education for Africa (2006-2015).

Education has been recognized in the Greater East African Region as being one of the most important tools to be used in the prevention of conflicts and through which sustainable development process of African countries may be assured.⁹² Through education, it is possible that peace programs that target a wide population can be elaborated and implemented, with a long term perspective to achieve such goals as cultivating inclusive citizenship, 'de-segregating the mind' and building a culture of tolerance. Peace Education will add value to the different education systems in Africa, so that they are more responsive to the local needs. By giving the children the necessary skills to solve inter cultural conflicts, Peace Education will finally respond to the language and cultural problems that have for a long time, undermined and deterred development initiatives in Africa.

2.4 Conflict Transformation

Galtung argues that, the pressure on the international community to undertake peace operations such as conflict mediation, negotiation or transformation stems exclusively from

⁹¹ UNESCO (2000). *The Dakar Framework for Action – Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments*. Adopted by the World Education Forum, Dakar, Senegal, 26-28 April 2000

⁹² African Union (2006). *Second Decade of Education for Africa: Aide Memoire on First Meeting of Working Groups*.

humanitarian concerns about massive human suffering.⁹³ Galtung contends that, conflicts are part of society, and if they are part of society then they require an approach that is instilled in people. This way Galtung adds that, conflicts can be solved amicably. The approach of conflict transformation was first proposed by John Paul Lederach as an alternative to the conventional perspective of conflict resolution.⁹⁴ Conflict transformation, however, professes the goal of transforming the conflict into something desired in a longer timeframe, focusing not only on the content of the conflict but more importantly on the context and relationship between the actors involved. Lederach rightly observes that a central challenge for transformation is to encourage people to address and articulate a positive sense of identity in relationship to others.

2.41 Structural perspective of conflict Transformation

The structural perspective of conflict transformation, as promoted by Lederach, was taken up primarily in the context of development cooperation.⁹⁵ Development cooperation endeavors to create the structural conditions for peaceful coexistence on a long-term basis by working on the structural causes of the conflict and developing or strengthening institutionalized forms of conflict management for instance democratic systems, a functioning judiciary. However, it is precisely due to the long-term nature of such endeavors that combining them meaningfully with peace dynamics has rarely been successful. Lederach expounds on Galtung's perception by comparing peace education to development, in that, since education is meant for development of people, then an aspect of peace education can complement peace education for long term period.

⁹³ J. Galtung, (1969). Violence, Peace and Peach Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 1969, Volume 6, pp. 167-191.

⁹⁴ John Paul Lederach, 1997, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington D.C, pp.26

⁹⁵ Robert Ricligiano: Networks of Effective Action. Implementing an Integrated Approach to Peace Building, in *Security Dialogue* in: *Security Dialogue* Dec. 2003, Vol. 34 No. 4, p. 445-462.

Conflict transformation is a relatively new invention in the toolbox of conflict prevention. Osabu observes that, conflict transformation complements military strategies, which contain actual violence in conflicts, and a dispute resolution approach, which addresses the problem of disputes behind the actual violent behavior.⁹⁶ Conflict transformation starts with the realization that violent disputes, conflicts and intra- or inter-state wars often take place within a structure of interaction, which could be transformed into a more peaceful direction.

Conflict transformation is a generic, comprehensive term referring to actions and processes seeking to alter the various characteristics and manifestations of violent conflict by addressing the root causes of a particular conflict over the long term. Philpott notes that, conflict transformation is the process by which conflicts, such as ethnic conflict, are transformed into peaceful outcomes.⁹⁷ It differs from conflict resolution and conflict management approaches in that it recognizes that contemporary conflicts require more than the reframing of positions and the identification of win-win outcomes.

It aims to transform negative destructive conflict into positive constructive conflict and deals with structural, behavioral and attitudinal aspects of conflict. The term refers to both the process and the completion of the process. As such, it incorporates the activities of processes such as conflict prevention and conflict resolution and goes farther than conflict settlement or conflict management.⁹⁸ Conflict transformation is therefore a process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourses and, if necessary, the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict.

⁹⁶ Timothy U Osabu, (2000). *Comparative Cultural Democracy: The Key to Development in Africa*. Ontario: Mary Knoll, p.43

⁹⁷ Daniel Philpott, 2007, "Religion, Reconciliation, and Transitional Justice: The State of the Field," *SSRC Working Papers*, pp.5-7

⁹⁸ Hugh Miall (2004) Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task, Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation, p. 4

Deutsch observes that, the explicit aim of conflict transformation is to contribute to reducing violence in conflicts and mobilize the system's own internal resources.⁹⁹ This will help to establish or reinforce support systems that will promote the necessary political and social change towards a peaceful and just society. Due to the centrality of the issue of a fair and equitable distribution of power and resources, another key element of conflict transformation is always to empower local stakeholders and state and non-state institutions to identify and implement forms and processes of power and resource distribution.

Ross argues that, conflict management assumes that conflicts are long term processes that often cannot be quickly resolved, but the notion of management suggests that people can be directed or controlled as though they were physical objects.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the notion of management suggests that the goal is the reduction or control of volatility more than dealing with the real source of the problem.

Conflict transformation, as described by Lederach, does not suggest that conflict is simply eliminated, but rather recognize and work with its dialectic nature.¹⁰¹ By this it means that social conflict is naturally created by individual actors who are involved in relationships, yet once it occurs, it changes the events, people, and relationships that created the initial conflict. The cause and effect relationship goes both ways from the people and the relationships to the conflict and back to the people and relationships. In this sense, conflict transformation is a term that describes a natural occurrence. Yonah argues that, conflicts change relationships in

⁹⁹ Karl W. Deutsch, 1963, *The Nerves of Government. Models of Political Communication and Control*, London: Macmillan Press, pp.34-38

¹⁰⁰ R. Mare, (1993). *The Management of Conflict: Interpretations and Interests in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p.5

¹⁰¹ J. P. Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op, cit

predictable ways, altering communication patters and patterns of social organization, altering images of the self and of the other.¹⁰²

Conflict transformation is also a prescriptive concept. It suggests that left alone, conflict can have destructive consequences. However, the consequences can be modified or transformed so that self-images, relationships, and social structures improve as a result of conflict instead of being harmed by it. Usually this involves transforming perceptions of issues, actions, and other people or groups. Since conflict usually transforms perceptions by accentuating the differences between people and positions, effective conflict transformation can work to improve mutual understanding.

Transformation also involves transforming the way conflict is expressed. Conflict can be expressed competitively, aggressively, or violently, or it may be expressed through nonviolent advocacy, conciliation, or attempted cooperation. Unlike many conflict theorists and activists, who perceive mediation and advocacy as being in opposition to each other, Lederach sees advocacy and mediation as being different stages of the conflict transformation process.

Conflict transformation is ideal in peace interventions because it often avoids the nationalistic sensitivities often provoked by other types of interventions. Moreover, it avoids taking sides in concrete political disputes. Conflict transformation approaches require analysis of conflict structures. This analysis can serve as a basis for a longer term assessment of conflict related state. Conflict transformation involves transforming the relationships that support violence. Conflict transformation initiatives are often characterized by long time horizons and

¹⁰² MiKael Yonah, 'Conflict Transformation in the Middle East' Jethad Publication, 2001, p.23

interventions at multiple levels, aimed at changing perceptions and improving communications skills addressing the roots of conflict, including inequality and social injustice.¹⁰³

In principle, Marshall argues that, conflict transformation can be applied to all violent inter-group conflicts, especially in disputes over identity, territory, security and governance systems.¹⁰⁴ The approach is suitable for the pre-negotiation, negotiation and post-negotiation phases of conflicts. Its use may be restricted by extreme escalations of violence, for example, which greatly limit the scope of international but also local actors and also make an adequate security regime a necessity.

Ballentine and Nitzschke note that conflict transformation requires substantial inputs of time and resources due to the need for flexibility, networking with activities actors on other tracks.¹⁰⁵ Conflict transformation presupposes that organizations involved in international cooperation will rethink their attitudes and undergo a change in mentality shifting away from unilinear planning feasibilities towards sensitive and long-term process monitoring, and also away from thinking in terms of “our project” towards engaged and credible support for local partners.

2.4.1 Challenges with Peace building in Africa

The Peace-building and conflict transformation terrain in Africa is characterized by significant number of challenges. A sizable number of armed conflicts relapse to war, resulting in renewed violence and wars, as proven by greater violence in Angola and Rwanda in 1992 and

¹⁰³ John Paul Lederach and Michelle Maiese, "Conflict Transformation," *Beyond Intractability*, eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess, Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. Posted: October 2003.

¹⁰⁴ Monty G. Marshall & Ted Robert Gurr: *Peace and Conflict 2005. A Global Survey of Armed Conflicts, Self-Determination Movements, and Democracy*, College Park, 2005, p. 26

¹⁰⁵ Karen Ballentine and Heiko Nitzschke: *The Political Economy of Civil War and Conflict Transformation*, in: Martina Fischer & Beatrix Schmelzle (eds.): *Transforming War Economies. Dilemmas and Strategies*, Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series No. 3, Berlin: Berghof Research Center 2005, p.155

1994 respectively, after the failure of peace processes. In Somalia almost all of the peace processes attempted since 1991, including the US–UN peace mission in 1992, failed to resolve this protracted conflict.

The conflicts in Africa are seemingly intractable and protracted. Most peacemaking agreements do not last, and a lot of countries have demonstrated a relapse into violence. According to Collier et al found empirical data that suggest that there is almost a 44 percent risk of a country reaching the end of a conflict returning to conflict within five years.¹⁰⁶ One reason for this, according to Collier is that the same factors that caused the initial war are usually still present.

Another challenge with peace-building in Africa is that external players impose prescription without seeking sustainable solutions at the grassroots level. Very often, peace-building is managed by international NGOs and diplomats, who have no immediate acquaintance with local environment. Peace-building programmes are designed by northern Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) with specific strategies for implementation. This approach has problems in the sense that designers are not accountable to members of communities where such programmes are implemented. Funds are dispersed to Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and Local Non-governmental Organizations (LNOG) and other implementing partners of the northern NGOs which in equal measure, are not accountable to local communities. Communities have no ownership of peace-building processes designed in the north, minimizing the possibilities of anyone having to account to members of the local communities.

According to Makumi, one of the most alarming things in Africa has been that while the problem of conflict and its management has been so glaring, there was little that was being

¹⁰⁶ P. Collier, Mary King and SallEbruma, 'The Emergence of Peace-Building and Development' in *Peace research for Africa: A Critical Essay on Methodology*. 2005, pp.14

taught in African universities and other institutions of higher learning about the analysis of conflict.¹⁰⁷ Makumi further explains that what little existed, was taught in departments of political science and sociology but without the realization that the international conflict analysis had emerged as a discipline with its own theory and literature.¹⁰⁸

In Africa, elders and traditional leaders play an important role in ingenuous conflict management.¹⁰⁹ They are respected in the society and are knowledgeable on traditional ways of conflict resolution. However, the nature of conflicts in Africa is becoming more complex, multifaceted and Peace-building in Africa is often built into role expectations in many African countries. According to Mburugu and Hussien, the primary indigenous conflict resolution institution is the council of elders.¹¹⁰ They conducted a study in the year 2003 amongst the Turkana, Borana and Somali communities in Kenya and established that the institution of the elders is very much in use even today but somewhat weakened as the elders are unable to enforce the punishment meted out.¹¹¹

South Africa showed us that there is no issue, however intractable it may appear, which cannot be solved if there is goodwill, a capacity to compromise, and a will and desire for peace. With peace, South Africa set out to ensure that human rights were entrenched, that all impermissible forms of discrimination based on race, gender, disability, and sexual orientation were combated, and recognizing that poverty was incompatible with respect for human rights, that conditions were created to deal with the appalling poverty which it inherited. Ex-Minister of Education of South Africa, states as Minister of Education, I recognized that we had to begin

¹⁰⁷ Makumi Mwagiru, 2006. Conflict in Africa: Theory, Process and Institutions of Management, Exscape Printers, Nairobi, Kenya, pp.17-24

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, pp.25-31

¹⁰⁹ Mbugua, Edward, K. and Hussein, Mohammed. 2003. Customary Institution of Conflict Management among Pastoralist Communities in Kenya; The Case of the Turkana, Borana and Somali communities, Oxfam GB, Nairobi, p.66

¹¹⁰ Ibid, Customary institution of conflict management among pastoralist communities in Kenya, p. 62

¹¹¹ Hugh Miall (2004) Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task, op, cit, p.7

early with our students to instill respect for each other, to celebrate our rich diversity of language, culture and religion in a country where such distinctions were used previously as instruments of oppression. Bigotry, callousness and lack of respect for human rights violate the basic ethical and moral assumptions of a democratic society. To assist teachers in their difficult role as guides and mentors, we therefore identified core values based on our Constitution—freedom, dignity, equality, justice, tolerance, solidarity, reconciliation, peace—values which are fundamental to a revised school curriculum. These values in education had to permeate the whole school system. Neutrality on fundamental issues could not be an option.

Mial notes that, the lesson learned was that without peace in South Africa, in African continent, and throughout the world, there would not be effective development, human security or respect for the environment.¹¹² Violence, which exists in nearly every society in different forms, would not be countered by greater violence by the state, so it is essential to embrace principles of peace education and respective for human dignity and set about to reform non-compatible policies, abolish capital punishment, and remove the callousness of corporal punishment.

Although peace education is based on the idea of peace for all people in the world, it has to be tuned to different situations. It has to be adapted to problems and conflicts connected to cultural and political backgrounds.¹¹³ This means that peace educators must have a dialectic attitude, by combining a global value orientation with local problem involvement in specific historical circumstances. Faleti and Ademola note that, after the end of the second World War in the 1950's, peace education in Southern Africa states manifested itself mainly as education for

¹¹² H. Miall, 2004, 'Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task', p.6

¹¹³ Faleti S, Ademola, (2007) 'Theories of Conflict' *In Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*. Shedrack Guya Best (ed).Ibadan: Spectrum Books, P.43

international understanding; during the 1960s, it focused on political problems of war and peace from different points of view; in the 1970s, the focus shifted to the teaching of conflict resolution and nonviolence; in the 1980s, it centered around education against nuclear armament and the Cold War; and finally in the 1990s, it primarily focused on teaching people to overcome prejudices, xenophobia, and violence.¹¹⁴ In the South African situation, peace education dealt with children who had no real war experiences. Its main task was to help children to form an opinion about problems of war and peace and to become alert to opportunities to bring about a culture of peace and solidarity in their state, which in turn contributed to a more peaceful world.

2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, chapter two was a conceptual chapter, it emerged that, peace education can be applied in three perspectives of conflicts, areas of tranquility, areas with inter-ethnic tension and areas of intractable conflicts. Peace education can be applied either directly or indirectly in conflict transformation; the mode of application is determined by the prevailing political situation in a state. In this sense, the complex nature of conflicts in Africa, make it imperative to utilize both methods of peace education in conflict transformation. Therefore, whether direct or indirect, peace education is a process of developing knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviors and values that enable learners to, identify and understand the three instances of conflicts and develop positive and appropriate solutions to conflict transformation.

¹¹⁴ Faleti S, Ademola, (2007) 'Theories of Conflict' *In Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*. Shedrack Guya Best (ed). Ibadan: Spectrum Books, P.43

CHAPTER THREE

Role of Peace Education in the Greater Eastern African Region

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter examined peace education and conflict transformation. It analyzed the concept of peace education and gave a brief overview of the evolution of the discipline of peace education. Chapter two also explored the basic tenets of direct, indirect models of peace education and presented challenges of peace building in Africa. This chapter examines the empirical findings of this research study that were collected through interviews, unpublished documents, seminal papers and Focused Group Discussions, it opens with a broad view of the state of the art of peace education in conflict transformation in the East African region. Then examines the contemporary state of peace education in the countries identified in chapter one.

3.1 Impact of Peace Education

Rose observes that, among most communities residing in the greater Eastern Africa region, the ideas of schooling and education were first integrated in their social system during the colonial occupation.¹¹⁵ The traditional system of education incorporated the ideas of learning, social and cultural values and norms into its purpose and method. Hence in African traditional society, the education of people started at birth and continued to adulthood.

Mwajefa observes that, peace education is neither always a force for good, nor even compassionate, this is because certain kinds of education can contribute to conflict, especially violent ethnic conflict.¹¹⁶ In this sense Mwajefa argues that, peace education should be pursued

¹¹⁵ Pauline Rose, Education Cant wait till the war is over, Article on www.wordpress.com, accessed on 6th April 2011

¹¹⁶ Mwakera Mwajefa, Ministry of education Kenya, Interview on 4th November 2011

as a process in which certain events from conflict are highlighted while others are minimized or ignored.¹¹⁷ Hence, if peace education is pursued in this line, it can be a weapon of cultural repression through conflict can be managed and positive results achieved.

Atemi in an interview noted that, since peace education is a process of promoting knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that are needed to bring about behavior changes among children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, then it is necessary to use both overt and structural elements to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create conducive conditions for peace, whether at an school or in community level.¹¹⁸ Overt elements can be used in the community while structural elements can be used in schools with proper curriculum, in this sense, Atemi concludes that, peace education should not be regarded as a mechanism that can be pursued only in mainstream schools, but as a continues process, hence the need for overt and structural perspective.

In terms of structural element, Rose is cautious and notes that, conflict can be reinforced and manipulated through the uneven distribution of education particularly in states with different ethnic groups, to give one group advantages over another.¹¹⁹ Segregated or unequal access to schooling can also induce feelings of superiority or inferiority among students. Hence, while the dominant group in the ethnic divide is supported, the repressed group may feel insecure and hence peace education may not achieve its purpose in conflict transformation. It is therefore necessary that, a diligent examination of the structure of education is considered to supplement the analysis of peace education designed for communities with different ethnic identities.

¹¹⁷ N. Katz, (1985). *Communication and conflict resolution skills*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt Publishing

¹¹⁸ S. Atemi, Ministry of Education Kenya, Interview on 12th November 2011, Nairobi

¹¹⁹ Pauline Rose, *Education Cant wait till the war is over*, op, cit

Atemi explains, the structure of peace education can serve as the only single weapon that can be used to change and transform conflicts in a positive direction.¹²⁰ When people have received relevant, applicable and responsible peace education, it is expected, that they will exhibit an advanced level of change in attitudes, values, knowledge and skills; and generally, they will display advance behavioral attitudes compatible to the level of education received.

In light of this, chapter two identified the premise of utilizing peace education in conflict transformation that, due to the level of education people receive they are expected to think and reason better, know and argue better so they are able to contribute positively to bringing about meaningful changes in society that will benefit the immediate and distant communities which should reflect their understanding of events, issues, people, places and things. Thus the level of peace education should be at a stage pertinent to their level of education of the people and the conflict.

With the above background examination on the role of peace education in conflict transformation, the following section will in the next section utilize primary data collected from the field to review the state of peace education among states in the Greater East African Region. This is important, as chapter three is the case study chapter, hence the views illustrated here, are used intentionally to paint the picture of the prevailing circumstances and set the stage for further analysis.

3.2 State of the Art of Peace Education in the Greater East African Region

The Greater East African Region is in this chapter regarded as the part of Africa that comprise on the one hand Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and on the other hand Somalia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Sudan. As indicated in chapter two, while most states in

¹²⁰ S. Atemi, Ministry of Education Kenya, Interview on 12th November 2011, Nairobi

this region have experienced conflict, at one time or the other. Somalia is the only state in the Eastern African region, which is currently experiencing conflict within its borders. It should be noted however, that, not all parts of the Somali State are in conflict. In light of this, it should be noted that, the other states in the region, although they have had conflict, they have managed to either resolve it or settle the conflict.¹²¹

The purpose of this section is therefore to bring into light the prevailing situation as a prelude to examine the impact of peace education in conflict transformation. In this breath, it should be mentioned that, most of the states in this region have experienced internal or external conflicts, albeit of different magnitudes since they gained independence. They have also employed peace education at different phases of conflict transformation; this chapter hence, considers primary data to build up the case study of this chapter.

To begin with, the Daily Nation newspaper noted in an editorial column that, peace education is most effective among communities with literate populations; the literate populations should ideally be youths and school going children.¹²² In addition, the impact of peace education will depend on a large extent on the size of the population, the level of development of the school curriculum and the commitment of the government in ensuring standard education levels are adhered to. Nyabera notes that, youths comprise over 75 percent of the total population in all Eastern Africa member states.¹²³ With the exception of Somalia and parts of South Sudan, the other states have a uniform standard academic curriculum. Most youths in these states are also in main stream education systems.

¹²¹ World Bank, 2002, *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education*, Washington DC, World Bank, p.45

¹²² J. Ludek, *Taming School Unrest*, Daily Nation, 23rd September 2009.

¹²³ Emmnauel Nyabera, article on www.wordpress.com, accessed on 7th June 2011

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania offer peace education and related courses at all levels of study. Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan offer peace education at the primary and secondary level of study. Ahmed notes that, some parts of Somalia are teaching peace education related courses at the primary level. Therefore, it emerges from this that, all states in the Eastern African region have appropriate apparatuses for implementing peace education.¹²⁴

Ahmed notes that, of concern also is the role of non-state actors in implementing peace education.¹²⁵ This is so because, in post conflict states, non-state actors are the dominant proponents of peace education. This is so because, the role of the state is considered weak among states that are emerging from conflict. This understanding forms the basis for evaluating peace education in Burundi, South Sudan and Somalia. In societies that are undergoing conflict transformation, there is a mix between the state and non-state actors in implementing peace education programs.

With the above understanding, this chapter brings into perspective the view that, it will utilize primary data collected from interviews, Focused Group Discussions (F.G.D) and primary published documents gathered from magazines, newspapers, television, radio and online sources to formulate this chapter. This will be done against the background that, internal and external conflicts that have occurred in the Eastern Africa region have different magnitudes and impacts on peace education. While some notable conflicts like the Rwandan genocide and Sudan conflict have made substantial tracks towards conflict transformation. Others particularly the Somalia conflicts are yet to be solved. In this chapter, the term peace education is used to described activities that promote knowledge, skills and attitudes, that will allow people of all ages and at all

¹²⁴ Ahmed Osman, Ministry of Education Somaliland, Interviewed on March 10, 2012, Hargessia.

¹²⁵ Ibid

levels to develop behavior changes that can prevent the occurrence of conflicts, resolve conflicts peacefully and or create the social conditions necessary for peace.¹²⁶ Peace education can take place in formal and non-formal settings.

3.2.1 Peace Education in Rwanda

Rwanda experienced one of the most brutal conflicts ever experienced in the Eastern Africa region. The conflict killed approximately 800,000 people. The genesis of the conflict can in part be traced back to education discrepancies among the main communities residing in the country where one community was considered superior to the other.

Kimanuka observes that, the manipulation of history in Rwanda's schools was the principal manner in which educational content helped construct ethnic identity.¹²⁷ The intensity of competing histories in Rwanda is virtually unparalleled when compared to other states in the Greater Eastern African region. The European created history of Rwanda, emphasizing the Hamitic myth which contended that Tutsis were a foreign race from Ethiopia, superior to the native Hutu who were disseminated as scientific certainty and were central to the self-understanding of Hutus and Tutsis. It was these intellectual foundations of ethnic identity, promoted in the colonial period that first developed Hutus and Tutsis as political identities.

In the colonial period, Kimanuka notes that, education was taught and accepted in such a way as to generalize blame and omit differences within Tutsi or Hutu groups.¹²⁸ Stereotyping helped construct the Tutsi identity of supremacy and Tutsis used the theory of scientific superiority to pursue their own aims. Colonial education was taught and accepted in such a way

¹²⁶ S. Fountain, 1997. Education for conflict resolution: a training for trainers manual. New York, UNICEF, pp.23-25

¹²⁷ O. Kimanuka, Editorial Opinion, 'Peace Education should be Implemented in Schools', New Times newspaper, accessed on 3rd November, 2011

¹²⁸ Ibid

as to generalize blame and omit differences within Tutsi or Hutu groups. Kimanuka further contend that, stereotyping helped construct the Tutsi identity of supremacy and Tutsis used the theory of scientific superiority to pursue their own aims.¹²⁹

Peace education content is thus a subject of great controversy and debate among the Rwandan community. At the same time, government officials in Rwanda invested great hope in educational reform as a tool of social reconciliation in the post genocide period. Akintore observes that, the government of Rwanda stressed the role of education in creating a culture of peace, emphasizing positive, nonviolent national values and promoting the universal values of justice, peace, tolerance, respect for others, solidarity, and democracy.¹³⁰ The government insisted that a new set of values must be taught which highlights similarities and inclusiveness among Rwanda's people.

Considering that, Akintore observes that, the education system was discriminatory and the history curriculum in particular was integrally tied to the roots of conflict in Rwanda, textbooks and curriculums produced prior to 1994 have been rejected.¹³¹ Consequently, history as a subject of study has not been taught in Rwanda's schools since the genocide. Although it has been included on the curriculum, no new textbooks have been produced and teachers are not trained to teach history and are furthermore hesitant to take on such politically sensitive material.¹³² In terms of conflict transformation, the importance of revising educational content has been widely recognized as a tool for peace building in Rwanda, and policy reflects this recognition although little actual progress has been made.

¹²⁹ Ibid

¹³⁰ Alline Akintore, Parliament Should Consider Peace Education Studies in Schools, New Times News Paper, accessed on 3rd November 2011

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² Ibid

The divisive structure of education, particularly during the colonial period, also helped construct and consolidate Hutu and Tutsi identities in Rwanda. Both Catholic missionary and state schools openly favored the Tutsi and actively discriminated against the Hutu. In Rwanda, the schools even had a minimum height requirement for admission that disadvantaged the Hutu, who are usually shorter in posture.

Monseigneur Classe, the first bishop of Rwanda, made it an explicit policy in 1911 to turn the Tutsi into born rulers of Rwanda and developed an obsession with Tutsi focused education.¹³³ Hutus were given only enough education to pursue menial jobs such as working in mines and industry, whereas Tutsis were cultivated for political, administrative, cultural, and economic power. Obura explains that by granting or denying access to education, colonial and missionary powers were also defining, on the basis of ethnicity, who would occupy important political posts.¹³⁴

Following the 1994 conflict, a revised educational policy targeted national unity and reconciliation. In so doing, it rendered illegal any form of discrimination based on ethnic or regional identity. By not categorizing students and teachers along the Hutu-Tutsi divide, the hidden curriculum had changed.¹³⁵ This was a promising step in the peace building process and appeared to be a commitment to following through with the goal of peace education in conflict transformation.

Considering that, education contributed to the polarized construction of ethnic identities in Rwanda, which contributed to violent conflict, There is a likelihood also that the same education, through the peace arm can contribute to reconstruction and be a valuable part of post

¹³³ O. Kimanuka, Editorial Opinion, *op, cit.*

¹³⁴ David Obura, United Nations Children Education Fund, Interview on 21st November 2011.

¹³⁵ Alline Akintore, Parliament Should Consider Peace Education Studies in Schools, *op, cit*

conflict peace building and conflict prevention in Rwanda.¹³⁶ Peace educational content and structure in Rwanda's schools have since then changed drastically depending on the ethnic group in power.

Finally, Kimanuka noted that, considering that every schoolchild was reared in the doctrine of racial superiority and inferiority, the idea of a collective national identity was steadily laid to waste as Rwanda embarked on peace education. On either side of the Hutu-Tutsi divide there developed mutually exclusionary discourses based on competing claims of entitlement to education.¹³⁷ The colonial period, marked by Belgian support for the superiority of Tutsis, was drastically contrasted with the two post-independence regimes of Hutu rule. Since the 1994 genocide, Rwanda's government has recognized the importance of peace education and is currently undertaking curricular reform that seeks to eliminate and replace ethnic exclusivity with an inclusive Rwandan identity.

3.2.2 Peace Education in Sudan

Sudan experienced a long standing armed conflict between the rebels in the south and the central government in the North. Peace education in Sudan is encrypted within the learning centers. Many universities in the Sudan have peace building centers running research and activities that help Sudanese authorities and general people to experience tolerance and reconciliation. However Jerome recognizes that, these centers like the universities themselves are poorly funded by the federal government and hardly get external sources as they are official bodies and hence deprived of such benefits.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Ibid

¹³⁷ O. Kiwanuka, Editorial Opinion, op. cit.

¹³⁸ Jerome Hiram, UNESCO, Interview on 21st November 2011

Although there are many ways to resolve the Sudan conflict, the academic textbooks reviewed consistently advocate violent acts as the means to resolve conflict. For instance, in the fourth grade Arabic language textbook, there are 13 lessons out of 53 in which war appears as the main theme.¹³⁹

Deng underlines that, the language of instruction in schools is Arabic and English, policies are shared between the federal government, government of southern Sudan and education institutions.¹⁴⁰ The Eastern Sudan peace agreement asked for people from Eastern Sudan to be fairly represented in the academic institutions and relevant bodies of public universities. Darfur peace agreement stated an affirmative action with precise percentages of intake in certain public universities in the Capital. This was done with the intention of balancing regional representations of the south and North.

Deng mentioned during the interview that, the essence of representation in education affairs is premised on the point that, if all Sudan nationals who are qualified to pursue higher education are allowed access, then both will be exposed to equal access which will enable them to develop and pursue similar opportunities.¹⁴¹ This is hence perceived to be the starting point for conflict transformation.

Moreover, elites and dominant groups who seek to advance their hegemonic ideas have often manipulated education as a terrain of struggle over control of knowledge. The educational system in Sudan is described as not being exception. This is because; the Sudanese education system has always been a victim of political interference. Different regimes have used education and educational institutions to advance their political agendas, with a new curriculum policy resulting from every major political change.

¹³⁹ Ibid

¹⁴⁰ Pien Deng, Jesuit Refugee Services, Interview on 22nd November 2011

¹⁴¹ Ibid

In view of the foregoing events, Deng notes that, it is then evident that education has never been a neutral enterprise in Sudan. It is often used as a tool of religious, social and cultural domination by Northern dominated political regimes and Islamic zealots.¹⁴² Schools in Sudan are among other societal institutions that play an essential role in promoting peace among conflict prone areas. The importance of schools arises from the fact that they make what is considered the official knowledge available. Schools participate in creating what society has recognized as legitimate and truthful.

Moreover, Deng asserts that, education is the only means through which people can be brought together to deliberate on issues that affect their general wellbeing.¹⁴³ Peace education forms the base of every development including political, industrial, economic and social. In essence education buttresses successful governance of democratic states and as such Sudan's peace education can be modeled along the same line.¹⁴⁴

Nyarsuk claims that, Peace education in Sudan is used as a tool to eliminate ignorance and dictatorship after a long spell of violent conflict.¹⁴⁵ Education opens up whole new window of understanding enabling people to learn to tolerate others, what they believe in, and what they would want to achieve collectively. Peace education is both theoretical and practical, it is impossible to talk about a culture of peace if people lack the basic understanding of that very culture and the role it can play in bringing about peace, in brief, Deng contends that education liberates.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² Abuk Denk, www.jrsusa.org, accessed on 23rd March 2012.

¹⁴³ Pien Deng, Jesuit Refugee Services, Interview on 22nd November 2011, Nairobi

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ Laku Nyarsuk, Centre for Peace and Education Interview on 17th November 2011

¹⁴⁶ Pien Deng, Jesuit Refugee Services, Interview on 22nd November 2011

The basic significant aim of any form of Peace education in Sudan should be to transform the educated into responsible, progressive, dynamic and reasonable individuals who would be able to play a role in the advancement of humankind through the transfer of societal, traditional and cultural norms and values in order to realize peace.

Being skilled in peace education provides children with a sense of mastery that is needed to cope with stressful life events after the prolonged conflict. Apaya argues that, possessing skills for solving problems and resolving conflict reduces the risk of adjustment difficulties in children, even children from low income and troubled families.¹⁴⁷

Hook observes that, in order to participate amicably in conflict transformation, new ways of handling anger and resolving conflict must be introduced early.¹⁴⁸ He adds that, school age may be too late to introduce conflict resolution skills, especially for children who are exposed to violent environments. Pro-social skills need to be taught to the very youngest children.

Nyarsuk observes that, although children in primary schools may lack the higher level of cognitive processing ability necessary to take the perspective of another, and thereby come to a mutually satisfying resolution to conflict, early learning can model behaviors of more competent peers and adults.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, although young children may be limited by their cognitive maturation, actors in conflict management should recognize that understanding of conflict and its transformation can occur at different levels of processing. Primary school children are capable of evaluating the consequences of their choices if taught foundational skills.

Hook notes that, understanding conflict resolution as a socially competent behavior, with the building blocks based on knowledge of emotions and diversity, may help young children

¹⁴⁷ Cecilia Andrea Apaya, *Achieving peace Starts from Schools*, Opinion, Chicago Tribune, 23rd October 2011.

¹⁴⁸ Richard Hook, UNICEF, Interview on 16, March 2011.

¹⁴⁹ Laku Nyarsuk, op, cit.

model and adopt good strategies for dealing with conflict in their environment.¹⁵⁰ Ultimately, healthy, socially competent development requires knowledge of negotiation and conflict resolution abilities.

Hook further notes that, trained children are better able to come up with non-forceful solutions to a peer conflict than were the children who were not in the trained group.¹⁵¹ In Sudan, owing to the long prolonged period of conflict, it is essential that children learn pro-social methods for resolving conflicts and dealing with hostile emotions as early in life as possible. There is need for peace education to help to diminish the models of aggression in a child's environment and to break the cycle of violence that leads children to model the aggressive approaches they may observe early in life.¹⁵²

Hamburg argues that, the availability and provision of peace education at primary and secondary levels, for all children in Sudan is another way of using education for conflict transformation. Emphasis should be given to help teachers better understand child development, psychological needs, and cultural considerations especially in pre service and in service training, and in all aspects of teacher development.¹⁵³

New or revised curricula and syllabi in Sudan should include themes such as communication, co-operation, reconciliation and problem solving and should have accompanying methodologies of drama, art, music, storytelling in traditional subject areas to newer methodologies like, human rights, gender and environment.¹⁵⁴ Like curriculum

¹⁵⁰ Richard Hook, UNICEF

¹⁵¹ Ibid

¹⁵² Information from www.jrsusa.org, article published in June 2009, accessed on 23rd March 2012.

¹⁵³ D.A. Hamburg, 'Post Referendum period and Peace in South Sudan', New York Times, P.15. accessed on 4th April 2012

¹⁵⁴ International Bureau of Education, Education, Emergencies and the Long-term (Unpublished) Innovation. p.87.

development and, teacher training, new and revised textbooks would need to focus on underlying root tensions such as poverty, illiteracy, racism, patriarchy.

Other non-formal peace education programs in Sudan should include youth camps, youth groups, sports and recreation programs. These activities can be useful in helping youths of different backgrounds to develop cooperative, collaborative and communication skills, teamwork, mutual respect, all of which help to breakdown long standing cultural barriers.¹⁵⁵

There should also be training for community leaders in peace education, this should include, extending work with community leaders in aspects of peace building and conflict prevention. This will be important because of the high regard in which they are held by communities. Moreover, in traditional conflicts, communities preferred traditional methods of discussion and resolutions before any other, considering that traditional practices were successful, they can also with a little help from education.

Finally, educational Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's), research institutes and related organizations can also develop curricula and teaching materials for their constituencies about peace education, furthermore they can share expertise with other NGOS; collaborate with academic community for specific research and evaluation skills.

3.2.3 Peace Education in Kenya

Wachira suggested that peace education is used as a way to build foundations for peace through the proactive and deliberate inculcation of values and skills that encourage non-violent, collaborative responses to conflict.¹⁵⁶ In this sense peace education is seen as a process of building cohesion and capacity within communities through the development of skills and understanding.

¹⁵⁵ M.J Pigozzi, Education in Emergencies and for Reconstruction., p.5

¹⁵⁶ George Wachira, Senior Research and Policy Advisor, Ministry of Education Kenya, Interview On 13-June 2011.

Mpaayei argued that, peace education in Kenya and the rest of the continent will only be realized when people discover that their individual and collective actions constitute choices either for peace or violence.¹⁵⁷ Peace education, while it may not offer all the answers, it still holds the possibility that we can begin to build the foundations for peace among young school going people.¹⁵⁸

Mutahi, further suggested that everybody has to take responsibility for peace in their communities.¹⁵⁹ He indicated that the Ministry of Education Kenya has invested in the curriculum with a focus on peace education and citizenship education. Psychosocial interventions are being enhanced to promote healing for those who may be experiencing stress or psychological trauma in terms of conflict transformation. Kenya has also allotted further funds for a series of co-curricula music, drama and sports festivals to help build cohesion, patriotism and co-operation among communities that were affected by post-election violence.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, the University of Nairobi introduced a course on peace education, at the Kikuyu Campus. The program aims to equip practitioners of education with necessary skills to help in implementation of peace program in the country.

Nyawalo noted that components of peace education have always existed in the Kenyan Education Curriculum.¹⁶¹ Subjects such as Civic Education, Social Ethics, Agriculture, Health Science, Religious Education and lately Environmental Education have always featured, both in the upper Primary and Secondary sections of the Kenyan School curricula.¹⁶² The school system

¹⁵⁷ Ms Florence Mpaayei, Director NPI, Interview on 7th June 2011, Nairobi

¹⁵⁸ Nairobi Peace Initiative (2005) Engaging with a Changing Africa: Strategic priorities 2005-2009.

¹⁵⁹ Karega Mutahi, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, interview on Nation News paper, 12th December,

2010

¹⁶⁰ Nairobi Peace Initiative (2008) Concept Note, *The Conference on Peace Education in Eastern and Central Africa: The state of the art, lessons and possibilities.*

¹⁶¹ P. Nyawalo, 2006. Status of peace Education in Kenya, a paper presented in a meeting on Peace Education in Africa, University of peace.

¹⁶² Ibid

in Kenya also gives a lot of emphasis on extra-curricular activities, which involves culture, sports and all types of creative arts. However these subjects have often been taught in isolation from each other.

As a result, they lack the proper focus and have been dogged by the use of inappropriate methodologies.¹⁶³ Sometimes, their contents have been censured and distorted to serve the interests of the government of the day. Even in cases of no state interference, Kenyan education system with its heavy emphasis on examinations, does not give the schools and teachers enough room to appreciate the value of life skill education. Besides, Kenya has always wrongly assumed that because they have never had a full blown state of war, like most other countries within the continent/region, Peace Education is not a priority as such. However, this notion has been disproved by the violent events of the post-election violence.

3.2.4 Peace Education in Tanzania

Tanzania is seen as one of the rare countries in Africa that can be rated as a peaceful nation.¹⁶⁴ However, the situation on the ground demonstrates a completely different story it is a case of negative peace for most of its citizens. The need for Peace Education in Tanzania is as real as it is for any conflict or post conflict country. Samara noted that Tanzania is witnessing considerable internal inter-ethnic violent conflicts.

There is also school violence associated with destruction of institutional property and the beating up of teachers. Corruption, political violence and the conflicts caused by cultural beliefs

¹⁶³ Coalition for Peace in Africa, Conference paper, Presentation of experiences in Implementing the Peace education Project. *Conference on Peace Education in Eastern and Central Africa: The state of the art, lessons and possibilities December 2008.*

¹⁶⁴ Samara, Emmanuel, 2006. Status of peace Education in Tanzania, a paper presented in a meeting on Peace Education in Africa, University of peace.

also abound. All these create the need for Peace Education in the school curriculum in order to equip the learners with skills and knowledge to achieve and maintain peace.

Samara states that elements of peace education such as human rights and responsibilities, cultural practices, economic and social development do exist in primary and secondary education programs, although those programs are not named peace education.¹⁶⁵ For instance the academic syllabus in use in Tanzanian's schools has most components of peace education. Even the methodologies proposed for use in the program and the skills, values and attitudes it seeks to develop are quite similar to those in peace education.

According to Samara again, the only snag that is hampering the effectiveness of the program is the fact that the Tanzanian schooling system is geared towards the examinations and competition between individuals for the few available places within the various educational institutions.¹⁶⁶ This approach conflicts with the skills and spirit of cooperation and partnership espoused in peace education methodology. He contended that, since they are examinable subjects, Civics Education and others that have curricula akin to that of Peace Education, seem more focused on shaping the learners for their final examinations, rather than preparing them to face the challenges of their future life.¹⁶⁷

3.2.5 Peace Education in Uganda

Uganda has been going through internal conflicts for the past 40 years. According to Onen, the country too had been involved in a number of regional conflicts such as the ones in

¹⁶⁵ Emmanuel Samara, 2006. Status of peace Education in Tanzania, a paper presented in a meeting on Peace Education in Africa, University of peace.

¹⁶⁶ Department of Education and Early Childhood Development (2008) *Effective Schools are Engaging Schools*

¹⁶⁷ Ibid

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Rwanda, and has been subjected over long periods to dealing with huge numbers of both internally and externally displaced persons.¹⁶⁸

These events have greatly put physical and psychological strains on the people and the country's capacity to function at its maximum.¹⁶⁹ Onen states that a reform is going on in the education system as a whole, and that the Ugandan education system had captured some major broad goals aimed at creating national unity.

Uganda also offers a case where elements of peace education already exist within the syllabus, although under different appellations. This is not reflected only in the content of the curriculum but also in the proposed methodologies for use in the learning settings. She notes, for instance, that the current pedagogical trend is from teacher centered methodologies to learner centered approaches.¹⁷⁰

As examples of peace education initiatives, Onen mentions two universities that have departments of conflict studies namely; Makerere University Uganda Christian University. Several other initiatives are also being conducted by different NGOs such as Save the Children and the Norwegian Refugee Council. Though certain NGOs have developed manuals in peace education, yet the challenge is that these programs are not accredited by the central government, nor are they examinable. The challenge is how to balance the need for Peace Education skills within the society and at the same time, satisfy the rigid demands of a school system based on elimination practices.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ P. Onen. Status of peace Education in Uganda, a paper presented in a meeting on Peace Education in Africa, University of peace.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.,

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

¹⁷¹ Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (2008) Action Agenda and Recommendations for Central and East Africa.

3.2.6 Peace Education in Somalia

In Somalia UNESCO has been implementing a Civic Education for Peace and Good Governance project in Somalia from 1997-2003.¹⁷² This has been carried in partnership with existing radio stations, adopting the popular soap opera and radio magazine formats, supporting the radio program's with a printed magazine, establishing a network of community groups coordinated through Peace Resource Centers (PRCs).

This highly successful project has generated discussion among Somalis and agencies working in Somalia about the culture of peace and values, attitudes and practices related to good governance, fundamental human rights and democracy.¹⁷³ Unfortunately, although it was highly successful program, it was stopped due to funding problems and that rises the issue of sustainability on non-formal peace education programs led by non-government organizations.

In Somaliland, the Hargeisa University has a faculty of peace and conflict resolution studies. The Dean of the faculty stated that the faculty aims to train social scientists that can identify and analyze violent and non-violent behaviors as well as the structural mechanisms attending social conflicts with a view towards understanding those processes which lead to a more desirable human conditions and efforts aiming at the prevention, de-escalation, and solution of conflicts by peaceful means, thereby seeking 'victory' for all parties involved in the conflict.¹⁷⁴

In Somalia, the Galkayo Peace School leads by teaching peace education and also by drawing its students, teachers and administrative body comprising of the Community Education Committee from rival areas in equal measure from the south. The Galkayo Peace School is

¹⁷² UNESCO PEER, 2003, Annual Report of UNESCO Peer activities inn Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes, pp 12-15

¹⁷³ Ibid

¹⁷⁴ Adam, Haji Ali Ahmed, Interview, 18 March 2012,

facilitated by UNICEF and the local administration comprising of communities of the north and south.

The UNHCR and its field partners also started a life skills based Peace Education Program (PEP) among refugee camps of Kakuma and Dadaab in Kenya.¹⁷⁵ The two camps comprise of mostly Somalia's who have been displaced by war. PEP was a success in these two refugee camps; as a result, PEP was subsequently introduced in some UNHCR supported program in the Greater East African Region and elsewhere in the continent, for refugees and for other conflict affected populations. The program was facilitated and funded by the UNHCR, who also employed national educators as trainers in several the countries where they executed the PEP program. UNHCR also trained refugee educators as peace education teachers. PEP was a vision of UNHCR, translated into a program through the inputs of refugees in Dadaab and Kakuma. It has two major components comprising a schools based program and a community program for youth and adults, which is the most dynamic element in the entire program.

PEP adopted skills oriented approach aimed at behavior development and used a variety of activities for teaching and learning effectiveness in the program, focusing on the learning of specific skills and on skill practice during each workshop and each lesson.¹⁷⁶ The same skills were then practiced in the wider context of school life, in the home, and in the street. PEP aims at improving the quality of life for all refugees, now and in the long term. It focuses on conflict prevention, and includes elements of conflict resolution, opting for mediation techniques which produce more satisfying long term positive outcomes for everyone, in preference to intrusive methods with less durable outcomes.

¹⁷⁵ E. Nyabera, op, cit

¹⁷⁶ Ibid

3.2.7 Peace Education in Burundi

Mutoronda argues that, peace education programmes in Burundi are formulated to build capacity by developing knowledge, and cognitive, interpersonal and self-management skills, attitudes and values that prevent conflict and contribute to a culture of peace.¹⁷⁷ Such programmes seek to reinforce empathy and tolerance and an appreciation of diversity, cooperation and respect for people of Burundi. While this is a government initiative, non-governmental actors have also embraced peace education by seeking life-skills approaches that emphasize social and emotional development as well as peer mediation and dispute resolution. Such programmes target both formal and informal education and take diverse forms, from developing school curricula and material to campaigns for peaceful coexistence using art, theatre or sports. A United Nations report indicated that, special peace education projects have also been formulated, this include components such as human rights and democratic citizenship as well as anti-discrimination programming that promotes inclusion of children from minority groups in urban and rural areas of Burundi.¹⁷⁸

Another approach to building a culture of peace education in Burundi is sponsoring exchange programmes for young people among communities that were involved in the conflict. Developing national youth policies has been used in Burundi to ensure that youth can contribute to democratic governance.¹⁷⁹ These policies are drafted with the active participation of youth representatives, reflecting their diverse regions, ages, gender and social strata, especially including those who are marginalized. Such policies and processes define the role of youth in society, and the responsibility of society to youth. Their purpose enables the youth to identify

¹⁷⁷ P. Mutoronda, Interview on *The Sun Newspaper*, 14-January 2012

¹⁷⁸ United Nations Development Programme, *Youth and Violent Conflict: Society and development in crisis?* UNDP, New York, 2006, p. 26.

¹⁷⁹ P. Rose and M. Greeley, *Education in Fragile States: Capturing lessons and identifying good practices*, paper prepared for the DAC Fragile States Working Group, May 2006, pp. 2, 3, 4, 7, 22.

major issues that affect them, promote the establishment of services and structures to meet their needs and encourage youth to participate in decision making processes.¹⁸⁰

In Burundi, children and young people come together to create a theatre festival that explores an aspect of their history that is yet to be taught in schools. As an informal education programme, the plays offer a new way for audiences to reflect on the theme of reconciliation as it relates to the recent genocide and to build solutions for the future.¹⁸¹

3.2.8 Peace Education in Eritrea

Eritrea is a fairly new nation located in the Horn of Africa with a population of approximately 4.3 million. Under the colonial administrations and conflict period with Ethiopia, educational opportunities for Eritreans were very limited and focused on colonial cultures and social experiences. However, since the end of the conflict with Ethiopia, Eritrea has focused on the peace education of its people, which is a vital element in the process of rebuilding its shattered social and economic infrastructure

Baxter notes that, during the conflict period, educational opportunities for Eritreans were very limited and focused on Ethiopian system and social experiences. Since the end of the Eritrea and Ethiopia conflict, the Government of Eritrea has made various attempts to fuse peace education to its education system.¹⁸² Asmara University has assumed a more active and visible role in peace building and reconciliation processes, through activities oriented to reconstruct the social foundations of communities.

¹⁸⁰ P. Buckland, *Reshaping the Future: Education and post-conflict reconstruction*, World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2005.

¹⁸¹ Ibid

¹⁸² P. Baxter and V. Ikobwa, Interview on *Horn News*, February, 3rd 2012

The government of Eritrea regards education as key to uniting the different tribes and brings them close together.¹⁸³ Hence, Eritrea has intentionally sought to promote a culture of peace and non-violence; it has further sought to promote peace education as a fundamental human right, social justice, democracy, literacy, respect and dignity for all pupils and students in institutions that offer former education.

Moreover, the ministries of education and natural resource management recognize that, education is a key tool in combating poverty, in promoting peace, social justice, human rights, democracy, cultural diversity and environmental awareness.¹⁸⁴ Peace education in Eritrea therefore implies an active concept of ensuring peace through values, life skills and knowledge in a spirit of equality, respect, empathy, understanding and mutual appreciation among individuals, groups and tribes residing in Eritrea.

In its Constitution and resolutions, the Eritrean parliament has also committed itself firmly to promote peace education activities that are particularly linked to education promoting human rights and democracy and encouraging international understanding and solidarity.¹⁸⁵ The government has called on non-governmental organizations to compliment the state and develop peace education in line with UNESCO's Charter and aims, the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on the Rights of the Child.

3.3 Capacity of higher learning institutions to deliver quality peace education

Educators at all levels generally agree that students should be taught about peace. This is especially true in the current political climate in the eastern African region. Fewer seem to

¹⁸³ Ibid

¹⁸⁴ G. Salomon, 'Does Peace Education Really Make A Difference? Seminal Paper, presented at Asmara University, on 12-June 2010

¹⁸⁵ Ibid

consider teaching for peace in the same light. Yet peace education entails more than just content. It also includes how we craft our learning environments and the teaching methods we use. Peace educators are quick to admit that structure and processes are critical elements of a peace-making pedagogy. According to Lannert, "The form of peace education is possibly even more important than its content".¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, Eisler explains that students are "educated" by three different elements; the content, or the material that is included; the processes or the methods used to transmit information; and through the ways that schooling is structured.¹⁸⁷ He reminds us "including certain kinds of information in the curriculum-and not including other kinds of information-effectively teaches learners what is, and what is not, valuable".¹⁸⁸ No doubt this is true of learners at all levels and of all ages. Therefore the capacity of an educational institution to deliver quality peace education must reflect the three aforementioned elements.

Faleti and Ademola note that, relevance of peace education depends on the suitability of the impact that its graduates make in relation to the requirements of the field of work.¹⁸⁹ The impacts that the peace education graduates make in all these aspects of society are themselves dependent on the knowledge, skills and consciences that the graduate needs to tackle given tasks; conscience is of vital importance as it determines the development of work ethics in the graduate. This in turn determines the manner in which the graduate applies his/her knowledge and skills.

In Africa, there are problems of underdevelopment such as poverty and high levels of dropping out of youth from educational institutions. The majority of children do not complete

¹⁸⁶ Lannert, V. 2003. Education for peace: Concepts, contexts, and challenges. In Y. Iram (Ed.), *Education of minorities: Peace education in pluralistic societies* (pp. 57-74). Westport, CT: Praeger.

¹⁸⁷ Eisler, R. (2000). *Tomorrow's children*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid

¹⁸⁹ Faleti S, Ademola, (2007)' Theories of Conflict' *In Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*. Shedrack Guya Best (ed).Ibadan: Spectrum Books, P.43

primary education, with girls predominating.¹⁹⁰ This in turn means that enrollments of girls in higher education institutions remain relatively low.

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere maintained that universities in Africa and particularly in East Africa can no longer afford to be disinterested parties to the task of nation building.¹⁹¹ A university in a development cost context in which most of the taxpayers are poor must use as its first sense of moral and intellectual obligation, defining the ways in which society can answer best to the needs of the vast majority of the people. In the same token, it is fair to say that universities in Eastern African region can no longer afford to be disinterested parties to the badly needed conflict transformation initiatives. Who else is more suited in developing and implementing viable peace education programs as a tool for conflict transformation and sustainable peace building? Surely, this has been an important area of education neglected by both academicians as well as policy makers. The university or higher learning institution needs to address in terms of teaching and research to those fields that communities see as priority areas. Failure to so do will seriously compromise the relevance and the role of the higher learning institution. Universities are expected to keep abreast with and seek solutions on evolving needs and emerging challenges facing the community.

Quite clearly many kinds of expertise and skills are needed to carry out meaningful peace education initiatives. Managerial personnel as well as planners, educators, curriculum developer, researchers and analysts are important for any strategy to embark on peace education. The possibility for the higher learning institutions to play a significant role in the initiation or the

¹⁹⁰ UNESCO. 1998. Higher Education in Africa: Achievements, Challenges and prospects, published by UNESCO Regional Office(BREDA), DAKAR, Senegal.

¹⁹¹ Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, One of Africa's most respected figures, *Julius Nyerere (1922 – 1999) was a politician of principle and intelligence. Known as Mwalimu or teacher he had a vision of education and social action that was rich with possibility.*

improvement of peace education will be affected by number of factors. More importantly, the capacity at higher learning institution to deliver meaningful peace education, among other things is a decisive factor to be considered.

In the eastern African, like everywhere else in Africa, higher education is currently faced with great challenges and difficulties related to financing, surging numbers of students in the face of insufficient resources, equity of conditions at access into and during the course of studies, improved staff development, enhancement and preservation of quality in teaching, research and services, and relevance of programmes.¹⁹² At the same time, higher education is being challenged by new opportunities relating to technologies that are improving the ways in which knowledge is produced, managed, disseminated, accessed and controlled.

3.4 Status of Peace education in the Eastern Africa Region

The Governments of Eastern Africa states have made various attempts to fuse peace education programmes in their institutions of learning. These programmes are spread through the different levels of education, this include, primary level schools, secondary level schools, tertiary and college institutions and universities.

The level at which peace education programmes are offered are determined by the conflict that particular country has experienced, in this sense, Rwanda, Sudan and Eritrea have peace education programs at the primary and secondary levels while Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have peace education programs at the tertiary and university levels. In South Sudan, the University of Juba offers a conflict resolution course.¹⁹³ Although it is on its infancy level, the

¹⁹² Osei Darkwa, and Fikile Mazibuko (2000) *Creating Virtual Learning Communities in Africa: Challenges and Prospects*.

¹⁹³ United Nations Development Programme, *Youth and Violent Conflict: Society and development in crisis?* UNDP, New York, 2006, p. 26.

course is extended to all learners, including refugee and migrant children, children from minorities and disabled with the objective of promoting equal opportunities through education.

In Kenya, the University of Nairobi, Moi University and Nazarene university offer courses oriented towards conflict resolution, peace keeping and diplomacy.¹⁹⁴ The training in Kenya aims to equip students from the region, including staff from ministries of different states in the region. The courses promote the development of the whole person, so as to enable everyone to contribute to society in a caring and responsible manner. In Uganda, Makerere University, Uganda Christian University, and Nkuba University all offer courses oriented to promote peace education in the region. The educational context in Uganda ensures to provide programs addressing psychological and physical violence, through violence prevention, conflict resolution and mediation.¹⁹⁵

In Eritrea, the University of Asmara, Research and Information Center on Eritrea (RICE) has developed a program for peace studies.¹⁹⁶ The program offers lessons not only for the classroom but lessons for life of immediate relevance by empowering students to achieve a just society in which all human rights of all persons are valued and respected.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid

¹⁹⁵ Ibid

¹⁹⁶ P. Buckland, *Reshaping the Future: Education and post-conflict reconstruction*, World Bank, Washington 2005.

Table One: Higher Institutions of Learning Offering Peace Education Courses

Country	University	Programme Title
Kenya	University of Nairobi	Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies The Wangari Mathai Institute of Peace and Environmental Studies Kikuyu College of Peace Education
	Catholic University and Hekima College	The Centre for Social Justice Ethics
	St. Paul's Theological College Limuru	
	Daystar University	Peace and Conflict Transformation
	Kenyatta University	
Sudan	Juba University	The Department of Peace Studies. The Department of Humanitarian Studies and Human Rights
Eritrea	University of Asmara	Department of Political Science, College of Social Science
	University of Eritrea	Peace and Conflict Studies
Rwanda	National University of Rwanda	Peace and Development Studies
Burundi	Bujumbura University	Peace Studies
Somalia/Somaliland	Hargeisa University	Faculty of Peace and Conflict Resolution Studies
Uganda	Uganda Martyrs University	Department of Good Governance and Peace Studies
	Busoga University	Centre for Peace Studies
	Makere University	Peace and Conflict Studies

Source: information compiled through primary and secondary data collection

Table Two: Conflict in the Eastern Africa region

Country	Type of Conflict	Cause of conflict
Kenya	Inter-Ethnic tensions	Cattle rustling, Natural disasters, proliferation of illicit arms, resources competition,
Sudan	Ethnic conflict/ resources based conflict	Unbalanced Resources Sharing, competition over control and access to natural resources, state neglect, Resources competition,
Eritrea	Interstate conflict/Resources based conflict	Boundary dispute
Rwanda	Ethnic conflict	Intolerance
Burundi	Ethnic Conflict	Intolerance, strife for leadership
Somalia	Inter-clan conflict/Resources based conflict	Power politics, Natural Disasters, diminishing role of traditional governance systems, resource competition,
Uganda	Inter-Ethnic tensions/resources based conflict	Cattle Rustling, armament, inadequate policing and state security arrangements, state neglect, resources competition,

Source: Information compiled through primary and secondary data collection

3.5 Efficacy of Peace Education in the greater East Africa Region

In a region that has faced for decades of armed conflict, the role that existing peace education programmes play in conflict transformation is still reticent, because most of these programmes are relatively new. In general, almost all Peace Education programmes in the East Africa Region are nascent. However, some of the universities and other educational institutions in the region have initiated positive change, developed a workable Peace Education programme contents and demonstrated genuine commitment to national capacity building, in contexts of conflict transformation. Both the design and the content of Peace education programmes in Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda have the capacity to produce transformative outputs. However, it is too early to evaluate the outcome and the long term impact of these relatively young peace education programmes. For example the University of Nairobi launched a Master's Programme in Peace Education in June 2011. The design and the content of this programme and the institutional capacity as wells available expertise made the researcher to believe that it is a viable peace education programme that plays an active and visible role in enhancing capacity and professional expertise in the field of peace education. Yet it is too early to evaluate its long term impact.

On the other hand, many peace education programmes in the region are developed and implemented by non-governmental organizations with limited involvement of national governments or local authorities. This makes the ownership, the sustainability and the effectiveness of the programme questionable. A good example is UNESCO implemented Civic Education for Peace project in Somalia which although successful has to be discontinued due to funding.

Furthermore, peace education programmes implemented by non-governmental organizations do not have uniform design or content and it is difficult to ascertain their effectiveness in the context of conflict transformation. In the region, there are many non-governmental organizations implementing similar peace education programmes with little or no coordination or common agenda. Sometimes NGOs may duplicate interventions in their quest for donor funding.

It is important to underscore that building peace and reconciliation environment requires the action of different state and non-state, national, local and international actors ready to participate not just on the search for solutions to the armed conflict, but also on the design and implementation of a peace inclusive agenda with specific strategies for giving sustainability to the process and also avoid a future violent relapse.

Although all states in the region have peace education programmes in one form or the other, only Kenya and Uganda offer training to Peace Educators at the university level. Existence of Peace Education programmes in the states of the east African region is a positive step in the right direction. The design and the content of most of the existing programmes have the ability to contribute in yielding sound outputs but it is yet to be seen how transformative such programmes would be in the long run. Perhaps other scholars may wish to pursue in evaluating the outcomes and long term impact of peace education programmes in the Greater East African Region.

3.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, it emerged from the field research that, peace education is present in all states of the Eastern Africa region. Almost all existing peace education programmes in the region

are young and it is too early to evaluate their long term impact in terms of transformational capacity. However, in terms of design and content some of the existing peace education programmes can contribute viable outputs. Peace education programmes are relevant in the sense that, most states have experienced conflict in one way or another. Moreover, the degree to which peace education is pursued depends on the level of stability that a country is in, for instance, Kenya has a more developed peace education program at higher institutions of learning than for instance Eritrea or Somalia.

Chapter Four

Critical Analysis of Peace Education in Conflict Transformation in the Greater East African Region

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the empirical findings collected for the purpose of constructing the case study for this research study. Chapter three utilized primary information including information from interviewees, e-mail & telephone conversations and data from unpublished primary documents to form the basis of further analysis. As such, chapter four will critically review emerging issues from chapter three; this will be done within the precepts of the theory of conflict transformation. This will be done with a sole aim of critically assessing the thesis of this research study and evaluate the role of peace education in conflict transformation. Chapter four will therefore embark with a review of literature, followed by an application of theory and capped with an illustration example from the Greater East African Region.

4.1 Theoretical Framework for Analysis

Vayrynen observes that, the theory of conflict transformation contends that, contemporary conflicts in the international system require more than the reframing of positions and the identification of win-win outcomes for a conflict to be settled or resolved.¹⁹⁷ This implies that, conflict transformation should be complimented by outside activities that, while they are not part of the traditional tools of conflict management, they are an important aspect of conflict transformation. This research study departs at this point, the study identifies Peace education as

¹⁹⁷ R. Vayrynen, 1991, *New Directions in Conflict Theory: Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation*, London; Sage Publications, p.2

one of such components; which has been used and applied variedly across the divide in the Greater East African Region.

Philpott observes that, the use of peace education as a strategy is used in this analysis to refer to a calculated, planned and well executed move aimed at utilizing the prevailing circumstances to deliver the best of results.¹⁹⁸ While peace education as an instrument, refers to the use of peace through education as an option among the many choices used in conflict transformation. Peace education in conflict management is a long term transformation of a conflict system into a peace system, inspired by a quest for the values of peace and justice, truth and mercy. The key dimensions of this process are changes in the personal, structural, relational and cultural aspects of conflict, brought about over different long term period and affects different conflict transformation levels at different times.

4.2 An Analysis of Peace Education in Conflict Transformation

Peace education, as contemplated in chapter three can be classified into three distinctive categories namely; peace education in regions of intractable conflicts, peace education in regions of interethnic tension, and peace education in regions of experienced tranquility.¹⁹⁹ Through education, it is possible for peace programs that target a wide population to be elaborated and implemented, with a long term perspective to achieve such goals as cultivating inclusive citizenship, 'de-segregating the mind' and building a culture of tolerance.²⁰⁰ It emerged that, peace education adds value to the different education systems in areas of intractable conflicts, so those affected by conflict are more responsive to the needs of the state.

¹⁹⁸ Daniel Philpott, 2007, "Religion, Reconciliation, and Transitional Justice: The State of the Field," *SSRC Working Papers*, pp.5-7

¹⁹⁹ K. Menkhaus, and J. Prendergast, 1995, 'Political Economy of Post-intervention Somali', op, cit, pp.2-5

²⁰⁰ Chapter Two, p.8

The application of peace education will be expounded by critically analyzing situations in Rwanda, Uganda, Sudan, Kenya Somali and Eritrea. These examples are ideally within the precepts of conflict transformation, because, the period when conflicts were concluded befits the classifications of peace education intended for this study. By extension, most structures among Greater East African Region where conflict prevailed have resumed to levels that can arguably be classified as normal operations, more so on the education front. Furthermore, if a state has witnessed stability for a defined time period, then the education curriculum has technically stabilized. A non-violent campaign can transform conflict by detaching the props sustaining it such as groups resisting land reform and harnessing them to support social alternatives.²⁰¹

From the research study it was found out that, peace education is used as a way to build foundations for peace through the proactive and deliberate inculcation of values and skills that encourage non-violent, collaborative responses to conflict.²⁰² In light of this, the nexus between peace education and conflict transformation is founded at a point where a state has successfully albeit the time period, emerged out of conflict and educational structures sustained without retract to conflict.

Schweisfurth contends that, the theory of conflict transformation contends that, in the post conflict transformation phase, a mere reinstatement of the existing educational system can cause trouble when the belligerents realize that, what was considered oppressive education system is still the same after attempts on conflict management.²⁰³ This is an important consideration for peace education, in that, in order to improve social cohesion in Rwanda,

²⁰¹ Rouhana, N., and Bar-Tal, D. 1998. Psychological dynamics of Interactable Ethnonational conflicts. The Israeli-Palestinian case. *American Psychologist*, 53(7), pp.761-770.

²⁰² George Wachira, Senior Research and Policy Advisor, Ministry of Education Kenya, Interview On 13-June 2011.

²⁰³ M. Schweisfurth, (2010) "Global and Cross-National Influences in Education in Post-Genocide Rwanda" in *Oxford Review of Education* Vol:32, No:5, pp 697-709

Uganda and Eritrea the educational structure had to be changed so as to equalize educational opportunity for the warring ethnic communities or tribes. However, it was found out that, in Sudan peace education was not successful because the curriculum was structured to favor one part of the Sudan in detriment of the other. Peace education was being implemented at a time when the conflict in Sudan was ongoing. This can also explain the fact that, peace education in conflict transformation is less effective in intractable conflicts. In comparison, it emerged that, peace education was effective in Rwanda, Uganda and Eritrea because it was implemented at a time when the conflict was in transition to a time of peace.

Bush noted that, the idea of peace education as a variable that fosters conflict transformation and conflict management is based on the premise that formal education can shape understandings, attitudes, values, and the behavior of parties involved in conflict.²⁰⁴ However, during the research it emerged that, formal schooling through which students are exposed to peace education is just one part of conflict transformation and the transmission of values, and the relative weight of schooling in relation to other influences under discussion. Hence, it was found out that, peace education is not yet an effective tool for conflict transformation. In addition, formal schooling is limited often to urban areas of the member states.

From above, it can be argued that, if peace education in Rwanda was hindered by the penetration capacity of schooling, then for peace education to be effective, it must be supported by infrastructural changes in society. Peace education programs on their own cannot offer a magic solution to conflict transformation. Peace education programs should then ideally be used

²⁰⁴ Bush. K. 1998, *Somalia: when two anarchies meet*. In Wirick, G. and Miller, R. (Eds.), *Canada and Missions for Peace*. Ottawa: International Development Research Center, p.65

together with other long term initiatives so that they could build social cohesion and help prevent conflict in the future.²⁰⁵

In light of the above, it was found out that, peace education is a long term endeavor, implying that, it can best be pursued in an atmosphere of relative long period of peace or non-conflict and as such it is unrealistic to expect short term results.²⁰⁶ From the research study, it emerged that peace education in South Sudan has not been effective since the conflict was there for a long time period. This finding therefore agrees to the debate and asserts the claim that, peace education cannot be pursued in an atmosphere of ongoing conflict effectively. In comparison, the areas where peace education has been used successfully like in Rwanda, Eritrea and Uganda have experienced episodes of relative peace for some time.

In chapter two it emerged that, practitioners of peace education note that, the foundation for implementing peace education should be set and made available for peace education to take root or be implemented successfully in conflict transformation.²⁰⁷ However, it should be noted that, this is especially challenging for states in the Greater East African Region that are emerging from conflict for instance parts of Somalia and South Sudan. In chapter two, it emerged that, states that are emerging from conflict, majority of teachers have no formal qualifications, and a good number of schools are damaged during the conflict. This then hinders the implementation of peace education in conflict transformation.

²⁰⁵ Bar-Tal, D. 2000, *Shared beliefs in a society*. Op, cit, p.14

²⁰⁶ K. Menkhaus, and J. Prendergast, 1995, 'Political Economy of Post-intervention Somali', op, cit, p.12

²⁰⁷ Chapter Two, pg. 2

4.3 Theoretical Underpinnings of Conflict Transformation

The theory of conflict transformation contends that, non-state actors play an important role in conflict transformation.²⁰⁸ This claim agrees with the findings in chapter three, here it emerged that in the research study that, when a state has emerged out of conflict like in South Sudan and is in the process of conflict transformation, there is need for a neutral actor to engage and oversee the process of implementing peace. This neutral actor in peace education include the non-state actors like UNESCO, UNESCO is active in Somalia and Eritrea, where they have complimented state action to realize peace education. On the same breath, it emerged from the research study that, post conflict transformation demands commitment and facilitation of both human and material resources.

The claim that states are not the only actors in conflict transformation, confirms the point that, most states in the Greater East African Region that have experienced conflict are developing states, confirms the fact that states on their own cannot effectively implement peace education. And by extension cannot participate in conflict transformation. There is therefore a need for state and non-state actors, particularly Non-governmental Organizations (NGO) to participate in conflict transformation and implementation of peace education.

The theory of conflict transformation contends that, of all the groups of practitioners engaged in peace education and conflict transformation, it is probably the non-state actors who pay most attention to theoretical framework of conflict transformation.²⁰⁹ Non state actor's practitioners advocate a sustained level of engagement over a longer time period. They seek an in

²⁰⁸ E. Azar, and John W. Burton, 1986. *International Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner and Wheatsheaf, p.12

²⁰⁹ J. Burton, 1987. *Resolving deep-rooted conflict: a handbook*, Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, p.25

depth understanding of the roots of conflict, working closely with people both within and outside the conflict parties. They seek to open a space for dialogue, sustain local or national conferences and workshops on paths towards peace, identify opportunities for development and engage in peace building, relationship building and institution building over the longer term.

This illustration is a true reflection of the state of affairs for non-state actors in peace education and conflict management in the Greater East African Region. In Rwanda, UNICEF, Save the Children, Canadian Relief Services and Consortium Education Fund (CEF) lead the way in implementing peace education programs. They are supported and approved by the government of Rwanda. In comparison, UNICEF, Save the Children and a host of other non-state actors that were active in Sudan, did not achieve the effectiveness of implementing peace education because their actions were not approved and supported by the central government. While the presence of non-state actors is fertile, they have not achieved an equal measure in all states. This therefore implies that, either non state actors cannot transform conflicts on their own or they must be complimented by state actors.

A further analysis of the failure by non state actors in implementing peace education in conflict transformation in the Greater East African Region, brings into view the fact that, state actors are among the most influential of all the actors as their practice impinges most directly and powerfully on the conflict parties, and the positive and negative consequences of their interventions are fully in the public eye.²¹⁰

The methods and tools employed by non state actors in peace education include supporting and sustaining local groups and social movements, building peace constituencies, strengthening capacity, empowering key actors, organizational development and networking and

²¹⁰ Vansina, J. 1998 "the Politics of History and Crisis of the Great Lakes" in *Africa Today* Vol:45, No:1 pp37-44.

training.²¹¹ In view of this, it can be argued that, practitioners of conflict transformation activities at the non-state level must pursue their aims with sensitivity to both the culture of the conflict area and the goals and constraints of other actors. This is ideal in Sudan where, the religious divide between Christianity and Islam is sensitive in conflict transformation. They must always remember that they may not be able to influence other actors whose actions will in turn affect their own work. Moreover, their task may broaden when conflict transformation involves changing the policies of Track one actors outside the conflict area.

From the research study, it emerged that, states coming out of conflict like South Sudan are considering employing and using peace education, they should also endeavor first of all to have the facilities for learning like schools and class rooms.²¹² For without this fundamental prerequisite, it is impossible to implement peace education. Moreover, there is need to consider and accept the fact that, not only are states, the main actors in peace education and conflict transformation, but also the fact that, non-state actors play an important role here.

Once a state has committed in principle to reforming education as a precaution to conflict and has access to funds to undertake peace education process, the question of who controls the reform process, especially with regard to documenting the historical narrative to be used in schools, is often a highly contentious issue. This question reflects a wider conflict transformation debate particularly in the Sudan conflict.

4.3 Peace Education and Conflict Management in Sudan

In chapter three it emerged that, the educational system in Sudan was structured to favor the Northern part, South Sudan was as result blocked from participating in any meaningful peace

²¹¹ Bar-Tal, D. and Rosen, Y. February 2009. Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Direct and Indirect Models, op, cit, p.44

²¹² Chapter Three, p.11

program initiated and geared to peace education and conflict transformation.²¹³ Regan posits that, conflict transformation in Sudan was assumed to be an international activity.²¹⁴ In chapter three, respondents interviewed were of opinion that, peace education in North Sudan was essentially a domestic activity among the people residing in that region. While for the people in the South were arguably locked out either by design which loosely translates to mean lack of resources or inadequate communication among the actors that are involved.²¹⁵

The effectiveness of peace education in Sudan was therefore hinged on the above factors. Thus, peace education was arguably a contest between two parts of the then state of Sudan. On the one part was a party that needed peace education but its access was limited and on the other hand was a party that had the resources for implementing peace education but underlying interests could not permit it to implement it.

From above, two deductions can be adduced, first is that the phase upon which peace education was sanctioned in the then larger Sudan was not ideal to bring about realistic changes. However, considering that Sudan later split into two states implies that, it is now possible to pursue peace education both as an instrument and strategy in conflict transformation. This is also because of the fact that national interests that hitherto hindered pursuit of peace education are now consolidated.

Secondly, the role of non state actors in intractable conflicts should be restricted to the facilitation, support, and encouragement of local actors in the process of implementing peace education programs. The role of international community in the Sudan conflict was vested on

²¹³ Chapter Three, p.10

²¹⁴ C. Regan, 1993. 'Peace education: a global imperative'. In Cremin, P., ed., Education for Peace. Educational Studies Association of Ireland and the Irish Peace Institute, PP.15-16

²¹⁵ See Chapter Four for Details

resources and hence, they were spoilers. In chapter two, Galtung argued that, the pressure on the international community to undertake peace operations such as conflict mediation, negotiation or transformation stems exclusively from humanitarian concerns about massive human suffering.²¹⁶ Conflict transformation therefore started in South Sudan with the realization that violent disputes, conflicts often take place within a structure of interaction, which could be transformed into a more peaceful direction.

It emerged from the research study that, peace education in this situation aimed to transform negative destructive conflict into positive constructive conflict and dealt with structural, behavioral and attitudinal aspects of conflict transformation. In summary peace education efforts in South Sudan should be directed towards strengthening the capacity of government and civil society through the transfer of skills and knowledge. Teaching people to build bridges is more useful than building bridges for them; and more useful still if the peace education draws on their expertise and experiences of local actors and thus, not reliant on foreign factors.

One of the key strengths of peace education is that it provides the forum for increasing tolerance and breaking down stereotypes by mixing different groups together in a structured and controlled environment.²¹⁷ However, the other side of the coin is that the lack of a common language of education for instance in Sudan (Arabic and English) can reinforce separation and distance between groups and reduce opportunities for communication, mixing, and the breakdown of those social barriers that the program is aiming for.²¹⁸

²¹⁶ J. Galtung, Violence, Peace and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 1969, Volume 6, pp. 167-191.

²¹⁷ Faleti S, Ademola, (2007) Theories of Conflict' In *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*. Shedrack Guya Best (ed).Ibadan: Spectrum Books, P.43

²¹⁸ See Chapter three for more Details

4.4 Peace Education and Conflict Management in Rwanda

In Rwanda, the government has endeavored to create new programs in colleges and universities dealing with conflict prevention, resolution and management, peace and security.²¹⁹ The importance of this is that, it reflects the concern of the state in developing peace education at the highest levels. This is also the case in Kenya, where the University of Nairobi, offers courses for peace education training. Wachira suggested in chapter three that, the Ministry of Education Kenya has invested in the curriculum with a focus on peace education and citizenship education.

The theory of conflict transformation also notes that, conflicts have both life and life destroying aspects which form from contradictions in the structure of society.²²⁰ They then become manifest in attitudes and behavior. Once formed, conflicts undergo a variety of transformational processes: articulation or disarticulation, complex or simple, polarization or depolarization, escalation or de-escalation.²²¹ The incompatibility which arises between parties may be eliminated by transcending the contradiction, by compromise, by deepening or widening the conflict structure, and by pursuing peace education programs.

The conflict in Rwanda in 1994 was as a result of inter-ethnic differences between the main tribes residing there. In the aftermath of the conflict, peace education was used to change perceptions, liberate society and direct post conflict activities in a positive direction.²²² This was successful because when the people of Rwanda received relevant, applicable and responsible education, they exhibited an advanced level of change in attitudes, values, knowledge and skills; and generally, they displayed an advanced behavioral attitudes compatible to the level of

²¹⁹ Chapter, p.7

²²⁰ Hugh Miall, 2004, *Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task, Handbook for Conflict Transformation,*

p. 4

²²¹ Ibid

²²² Chapter two, p.4

education received. It can be argued therefore that, effective implementation of peace education in Rwanda ensured that, parties affected or engaged in conflict were convinced to develop positive attitudes towards the whole conflict in general.

In Rwanda peace education took stride on the conflict and transformed it successfully, it changed the outcome positively and actors ensured that; it is a long term engagement of conflict resolution and conflict transformation. Peace education can be launched when the societal and political conditions are ripe and the educational system is ready, both administratively and politically. In the absence of physical amenities, education programs provided Rwandese families with skills to help children recover from the stress and trauma of war.²²³ This was an additional benefit of adult education programs, it helped adults to address their own beliefs, attitudes, behaviors and responsibilities for exacerbating conflict, and for recruiting and instigating their children for warfare. Of all those affected negatively by emergencies, girls and women were at a particular risk. Peace education therefore played an essential role in enabling girls and women and to assert themselves and to develop the skills and competencies necessary to cope with new challenges during emergencies.

4.5 Status of Peace Education in Somalia and Eritrea

It emerged from the research study that, mere education in itself is an inadequate solution to peace and conflict transformation, actors in conflict transformation therefore need to question whether contributing resources to education might make conflict worse.²²⁴ When there are so many other peace building and development priorities in competition with education, it may be

²²³ Ibid, p.8

²²⁴ Chapter Three, p.14

difficult to commit and sustain government funding at adequate levels to make peace building gains.²²⁵

Perhaps this was the case in Somalia where, the role of peace education failed to take shape and bring meaningful transformation to the protracted conflict.²²⁶ However, while the role of non-state actors and the ploy to divert resources meant for peace education failed, it should also be argued that, the phase of the conflict transformation, where the Somalia conflict was at, was not appropriate for peace education initiatives to be implemented.

Peace education failed to transform the conflict in Somalia not because it was inadequate but because academic institutions of learning were not spread across Somalia and also because the basis of engaging in peace education was not ripe in the Somalia Situation as a whole. As such, it is the contention of this study that, peace education should be utilized as a strategy for conflict transformation when relative peace is present in the whole country and institutions of learning are fairly distributed in the country under focus.

In Somaliland, the Hargeisa University has a faculty of peace and conflict resolution studies. Moreover, in chapter three it emerged that, in Somali, the Galkayo Peace School leads by teaching peace education and also by drawing its students, teachers and administrative body comprising of the Community Education Committee from rival areas in equal measure from the south. The Galkayo Peace School is facilitated by UNICEF and the local administration comprising of communities of the north and south. The importance of offering peace education at this level is that, it ensures that, peace education is formalized as profession. This is also the

²²⁵ C.Thyne, (2006) "ABC's, 123's and the Golden Rule: The Pacifying Effect of Education on Civil Conflict, 1980-1999". *International Studies Quarterly*, 50 pp 733-754.

²²⁶ Ibid

case in Uganda whereas mentioned in chapter three, two universities had already instituted peace education programs.²²⁷

From the research study, it was found out that, non-state actors were not successful in implementing peace education in Somalia. It can be argued here that, public and private non-governmental institutions all have a key role to play at all stages of peace education in areas ranging from public education, monitoring government policies, alerting governments and the world community about possible trouble spots and mediation. Perhaps the collapse of non-governmental actors was because they failed to identify and focus their attention to these particular issues. Hence, its high time that these actors prioritized their areas of concern to maximize their impact on the role of peace education in Somalia.

Peace education in the broad sense is only one input into a rebuilding process of conflict transformation.²²⁸ For peace education in Somalia to have lasting results, it must be accompanied by more fundamental restructuring at the political, economic, social and cultural levels. Peace education should be used both a tool of prevention and of social reconciliation.²²⁹ It is crucial from the start to clearly define what is meant by peace and what model of social coexistence is being envisaged in each specific context. In this sense, the Somalia conflict engaged peace education without necessary confirming with the prevailing situation on the ground.

Given the multiple facets of the conflicts found in Somali Region (and arguably in all conflict arenas on the Great Eastern region), it follows that for peace education to play the maximum positive role; it needs to consider a very holistic approach that addresses multiple

²²⁷ Chapter Three, p.18

²²⁸ J. P. Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op, cit

²²⁹ Harry Eckstein, 1975, "Case Study and Theory in Political Science," in *Handbook of Political Science* ed. Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, Reading, Addison-Wesley, p.6

actors and multiple approaches. In Eritrea, the ministries of education and natural resource management recognize that, education is a key tool in combating poverty, in promoting peace, social justice, human rights, democracy, cultural diversity and environmental awareness.²³⁰ They have hence included them in the process of achieving conflict transformation. The Eritrean parliament has also committed itself firmly to promote peace education activities that are particularly linked to education promoting human rights and democracy and encouraging understanding and solidarity.²³¹

Peace education must address the prevention and resolution of all forms of conflict and violence, whether overt or structural, from the interpersonal level to the societal and global level. Peace education is therefore a much needed service in the Somali Region and while its role in short term conflict transformation is limited, it has a clear long term development role to play in helping to address conflict and stability.

Education alone is not the panacea to the conflict issues in Somali Region and it should be developed in conjunction with other initiatives aimed specifically at addressing the root causes of conflict.²³² Overall for the education sector to maximize its role in development, additional inputs and threads alongside the formal sector need to be explored, in addition to strengthening the performance of formal delivery. These additional inputs could include a range of education programs to saturate the social environment to ensure voices for peace are not only within the formal education system but are also supported by key community leaders with influence.

²³⁰ G. Salomon, 'Does Peace Education Really Make A Difference? Seminal Paper, presented at Asmara University, on 12-June 2010

²³¹ Ibid

²³² J. P. Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op, cit

Non-formal and informal education initiatives with explicit links to improved livelihoods, shared economic linkages across conflict lines particularly between women as well as increased skills at addressing conflict could also play an important role, as youths come through the education system and may end up disillusioned with few opportunities facing them.²³³ Educators interviewed in chapter three generally agreed that students should be taught about peace education. This is especially true in the current political climate in the eastern African region. Fewer seem to consider teaching for peace in the same light. Yet peace education entails more than just content. It also includes how we craft our learning environments and the teaching methods used in school.

States and other actors engaged in conflict transformation can also help with training of new teachers, as well as teachers who have been in refugee camps or in exile, in conflict transformation, management and conflict resolution. These trainers themselves would have to be retrained with the help of professionals from the international community as is the case in Eritrea. It should be noted that, in terms of employing peace education, this is the phase where the Somalia conflict best fits. Therefore, for Somalia to employ and feel the impact of peace education, its efforts at conflict transformation should be centered here.

A point of concern in introducing peace education at colleges and universities in Somalia should be premised on the fact that, it is at this level that scholars marry theoretical skills with research to predict and come up with feasible solutions to future conflicts. As such peace education at this level is both ideal to practitioners of conflict management and policy makers. In Rwanda for instance policy makers have endeavored to appoint chairs at universities or high

²³³ William .W Block, 1973, 'Tendencies in African education' In *Today's Education Journal* Vol. 11-12 pp.30-36

profile academic institutions in above areas to stimulate more research and practice in above issues both for formal and non-formal levels.

It was found out that, higher education is currently faced with great challenges and difficulties related to financing, surging numbers of students in the face of insufficient resources, equity of conditions at access into and during the course of studies, improved staff development, enhancement and preservation of quality in teaching, research and services, and relevance of programs.²³⁴ At the same time, higher education is being challenged by new opportunities relating to technologies that are improving the ways in which knowledge is produced, managed, disseminated, accessed and controlled.

In chapter three, it emerged that, there are problems of underdevelopment such as poverty and high levels of dropping out of youth from educational institutions across all states in the Greater East African Region. The majority of children do not complete primary education, with girls predominating.²³⁵ This in turn means that enrollments of girls in higher education institutions remain relatively low.

Higher education is also faced with great challenges and difficulties related to financing, surging numbers of students in the face of insufficient resources, equity of conditions at access into and during the course of studies, improved staff development, enhancement and preservation of quality in teaching, research and services, and relevance of programmes.²³⁶ At the same time, higher education is being challenged by new opportunities relating to technologies that are

²³⁴ Darkwa, Osei and Fikile Mazibuko, 2000, *Creating Virtual Learning Communities in Africa: Challenges and Prospects*, P.8

²³⁵ UNESCO, 1998. *Higher Education in Africa: Achievements, Challenges and prospects*, published by UNESCO Regional Office(BREDA), DAKAR, Senegal.

²³⁶ Osei Darkwa, and Fikile Mazibuko, 2000, *Creating Virtual Learning Communities in Africa: Challenges and Prospects*.

improving the ways in which knowledge is produced, managed, disseminated, accessed and controlled.

Lannert argues that, the form of peace education is possibly even more important than its content.²³⁷ In chapter three, it emerged that, relevance of peace education depends on the suitability of the impact that its graduates make in relation to the requirements of the field of work. The impacts that the peace education graduates make in all these aspects of society are themselves dependent on the knowledge, skills and consciences that the graduate needs to tackle given tasks; conscience is of vital importance as it determines the development of work ethics in the graduate.

The fact that some countries like South Sudan have not accepted peace education per se as an examinable subject, may often mean that peace education does not receive due weight within the school setting. And on the other hand, if made to be an examinable subject, it may mean that the learning will focus more on the theoretical aspects than the practical ones and encourage all the negative methodologies that are not compatible with peace education.

States in non-conflict situations can also participate in peace education by supporting exiles and refugees in the diaspora through education and training programs especially in areas such as psycho-social counseling and rehabilitation, conflict prevention, resolution and management. For instance, the Somali and Sudan refugees in Kenya can be exposed to peace education programs. Mediators, counselors, volunteers engaged in conflict transformation at governmental, non-governmental and international levels, can help to create the national,

²³⁷ Lannert, V. 2003, Education for peace: Concepts, contexts, and challenges. In Y. Iram (Ed.), *Education of minorities: Peace education in pluralistic societies* (pp. 57-74). Westport, CT: Praeger.

regional and international political, social and psychological environments which would make it difficult to resort to force.

During the conflict phase, considering that the conflict is still ongoing and the physical amenities for conducting peace education like schools may often not be up, states should endeavor to rewrite and create new schools texts, curricula, and other resource materials for managing and resolving conflict. This can be done within the context of peace education previously discussed, for among other things, peace education is vital to sustaining processes such as mediating conflict and signing of peace accords.²³⁸

Peace education in conflict transformation should focus on peace through generational change or over a relatively long period of time. This time lag needs to be more broadly accepted not only in Somalia where the protracted conflict has extended beyond two decades but also in other parts of Eastern Africa in order to achieve the required long term commitment.²³⁹ The situation in Somalia can be contested as one where, too often peace education endeavors have not included the longer range goals of social transformation and socio psychological reconciliation among the parties that are in conflict. This claim agrees with the tenet of conflict transformation theory that argues that, in order to achieve durable peace, the peace building process must be extended in time, considering social change in terms of generations.

In addition to requiring a long term moral and political commitment, peace education programs in states like Somalia and South Sudan should then be implemented with other realistic goals of general conflict management. This also agrees with the tenet of conflict transformation, which contends that, peace education cannot be pursued in isolation.

²³⁸ Ibid

²³⁹ A. Smith, and T. Vaux, 2003, *Education, Conflict and International Development*. London: Department for International Development, p.9

4.6 Comparison of the Status of Peace Education in Conflict Transformation

Considering the prevailing situation in institutions of learning, this section departs on the point that, the education system among states in the Greater Eastern Africa region must be rebuilt and not simply re-instituted as demonstrated in chapter three. The rebuilding should aim to address issues of justice, gender, equity and diversity in all aspects and not only in curriculum development but also as a fundamental component of conflict transformation.

For instance in Rwanda and Kenya, the function of peace education is wholly described and constituted within the precept of changing the curriculum of education in all levels of learning. Hence, although peace educational research and evaluation have roles to play in reconciliation and rebuilding, they need to bridge the gap between theory and practice. Kenya has for instance allotted funds for a series of co-curricula activities including music, drama and sports festivals to help build cohesion, patriotism and co-operation among communities that were affected by post-election violence.²⁴⁰ The University of Nairobi introduced a course on peace education, at the Kikuyu Campus. The program aims to equip practitioners of education with necessary skills to help in implementation of peace program in the country. The government of Kenya should go a step further and introduce peace education programs in all levels of learning.

Most states in the Greater East African Region have national policies and education goals to ensure safe and peaceful schools. These may complement international conventions and protocols such as the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. However the capacity of school systems to include peace education initiatives in policy and practice vary according to the traditions, infrastructure, funding and current concerns of the country. For countries that have

²⁴⁰ Nairobi Peace Initiative (2008) Concept Note, *The Conference on Peace Education in Eastern and Central Africa: The state of the art, lessons and possibilities.*

experienced intensive internal wars like Rwanda, South Sudan and Somalia, human rights abuse are neglected by government, peace education will therefore have a different emphasis.

As an example, the Basque Plan of Action for Human Rights and Peace Education was developed in response to a long period of violence and terrorism in Spain. The plan emphasized on co-responsibility to generate systematic, coordinated and sustainable programs including education in schools. This is very much focused on healing social fractures, particularly in relation to the victims of violence and human rights. In Australia, peace education is rarely seen as a discrete area of study in school curricula.²⁴¹ Generally, peace education and conflict resolution education is incorporated through a range of prevention and intervention initiatives. These include social skills development, relationship building, and reduction of bullying, conflict management, violence prevention, peer mediation, restorative justice and citizenship education.

Peace education must focus on attitude and behavior change to build understanding and harmony between stakeholders. A collaboration of teachers, students, parents and the local community need to be part of the solution. Strengthen and enhance student centered learning approaches. Encourage opportunities for students to be more actively engaged in constructing their learning environments. This means opening avenues for effective student teacher communication to diffuse potential conflict and create democratic frameworks for student participation in school life.

Although, the Governments of Eastern Africa states have made various attempts to fuse peace education programs in their institutions of learning. The level at which peace education programmes are offered are determined by the conflict that particular country has experienced, in

²⁴¹ Council for the Australian Federation, 2007, *Federalist Paper 2, The Future of Australian Schooling*, Australian Government.

this sense, Rwanda, Sudan and Eritrea have peace education programs at the primary and secondary levels while Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have peace education programs at the tertiary and university levels.

Deutsch observes that, the explicit aim of peace education in the above states is to contribute to reducing violence in conflicts and mobilize the system's own internal resources.²⁴² This will help to establish or reinforce support systems that will promote the necessary political and social change towards a peaceful and just society. Due to the centrality of the issue of a fair and equitable distribution of power and resources, the government should empower local stakeholders, state and non-state institutions to identify and implement forms and processes of power and resource distribution.

Peace educators interviewed noted that, the structure and processes of implementing peace education are critical elements of a peace making process. For instance, according to Lannert, the form of peace in Rwanda institutions is possibly even more important than its content.²⁴³ Furthermore, Eisler explains that students are educated by three different elements; the content, or the material that is included; the processes or the methods used to transmit information; and through the ways that schooling is structured.²⁴⁴

Eisler reminds that, including certain kinds of information in the curriculum and not including other kinds of information effectively teaches learners what is, and what is not, valuable.²⁴⁵ Therefore the capacity of an educational institution to deliver quality peace

²⁴² Karl W. Deutsch, 1963, *The Nerves of Government. Models of Political Communication and Control*, London: Macmillan Press, pp.34-38

²⁴³ V. Lannert, 2003. *Education for peace: Concepts, contexts, and challenges*. In Y. Iram (Ed.), *Education of minorities: Peace education in pluralistic societies*, p. 57.

²⁴⁴ Eisler, R. 2000. *Tomorrow's children*. Boulder, Westview, p.6

²⁴⁵ Ibid

education must reflect the three aforementioned elements. Relevance of peace education depends on the suitability of the impact that its graduates make in relation to the requirements of the field of work. The impacts that the peace education graduates make in all these aspects of society are themselves dependent on the knowledge, skills and consciences that the graduate needs to tackle given tasks; conscience is of vital importance as it determines the development of work ethics in the graduate. This in turn determines the manner in which the graduate applies his or her knowledge and skills.

In the Greater Eastern Region, there are problems of underdevelopment such as poverty and high levels of dropping out of youth from educational institutions. The majority of children do not complete primary education, with girls predominating.²⁴⁶ This in turn means that enrollments of girls in higher education institutions remain relatively low.

The methodologies currently used in formal learning situations found in the schools under consideration, conflict with the peace education methodology. Whereas in traditional learning settings, competition among learners is encouraged, through grading, peace education methodology puts more emphasis in cooperative learning, critical inquiry, discovery method, and such like issues.

The interest in programs that promote peaceful ways of living post-conflict is not surprising but the notion of peace education, particularly in the curricula, which is not widely accepted. This is due in part to problems of defining what peace education is and what it is meant to achieve. One view that emerged in chapter three was that, peace education is part of the broad suite of life skills that prepare people for active citizenship. Another was that peace education

²⁴⁶ UNESCO. 1998. Higher Education in Africa: Achievements, Challenges and prospects, published by UNESCO Regional Office(BREDA), Dakar, Senegal.

helps deal with particular situations or events such as internal conflicts, by teaching mediation skills or running cultural events to break down tension teachers are hence, preparing their students for conflict transformation.

4.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be argued that, the pursuit of peace education in the Greater eastern Africa region is a process of developing knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviors and values that enable individual actors who have been through conflict to identify and understand sources of conflict, issues informing contested interests to the conflict and offer opportunity to acquire appropriate solution to conflicts. Although peace education is ideal in the regional context, there are no sufficient mechanisms including institutions of higher learning to aid in effective implementation of peace education. Any implementation of peace education in the greater eastern Africa region will need to take into account both the state of conflict they are trying to address and the availability of complimenting actors for instance, non state actors to help in conflict transformation through peace education. Actors in conflict transformation and peace education must therefore actively envision, include, respect, and promote the peace and long term solutions to prevailing conflicts in the region.

Chapter Five

Summary of the Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.0 Summary of the findings

Since the beginning of this research study, various issues have emerged and debates considered with the sole purpose of analyzing the role of peace education in conflict transformation in the Greater East African Region. In Sum, chapter one introduced the topic of this research study, provided the statement of the problem, objectives of study, literature review, methodology and chapter outline. Chapter two was the conceptual chapter; it examined the themes of peace education and conflict transformation in the context of international conflict management. It highlighted the issues informing the pursuit of peace education and conflict transformation debates. Chapter two also analyzed the development of peace education as a strategy in conflict transformation. In addition, chapter two reviewed the concept of conflict transformation and the role of peace education as a utility for conflict transformation.

Chapter three examined the empirical findings of this research study that were collected through primary sources. The chapter utilized primary data from interviews, interviews, e-mails and telephone conversations to examine the prevailing situation for the case study of this research study. Information collected from various sources, representing the different states of the region was compiled and analyzed to form the case study chapter. Most of those interviewed were of opinion that, peace education plays a central role in conflict transformation.

Majority of respondents were in agreement to the fact that, peace education is most effective in situations where the conflict is over and people are settling. This was the case in Rwanda, Uganda, Eritrea and parts of Sudan. It also emerged that, most conflict experienced in

the region are inter-ethnic conflicts. Chapter four critically examined the primary material collected to build and argue out critically the thesis of this research study.

5.1 Conclusions

In conclusion, it can be argued that, the peace education approach to conflict transformation represents a dynamic, non-linear approach to conflict management in the region. Systemic conflict transformation makes an important contribution to establishing a strategic planning framework to coordinate and link different activities, levels of activity and actors among conflicting parties. Peace education should be promoted by states and they should endorsed the roles of non-state actors, for instance, peace education is a success in Rwanda while in Sudan it is not. This is because; the government of Rwanda approves peace education activities in country while the government of Sudan had not complimented the activities of the non-state actors in peace education.

For peace education to be effective, it must be supported by infrastructural changes in society. Peace education is a long term endeavor, implying that, it can best be pursued in an atmosphere of relative long period of peace or non-conflict and as such it is unrealistic to expect short term results.

The claim that states are not the only actors in conflict transformation, confirms the point that, most states in the Greater East African Region that have experienced conflict are developing states, confirms the fact that states on their own cannot effectively implement peace education. There is therefore a need for state and non-state actors, particularly Non-governmental Organizations (NGO) to participate in conflict transformation and implementation of peace education. The practitioners of conflict transformation activities at the non-state level must

pursue their aims with sensitivity to both the culture of the conflict area and the goals and constraints of other actors.

Mere education in itself is not an inadequate solution to peace and conflict transformation, actors in conflict transformation therefore need to question whether contributing resources to education might make conflict worse.²⁴⁷ For peace education in Somalia to have lasting results, it must be accompanied by more fundamental restructuring at the political, economic, social and cultural levels. Peace education should be used both a tool of prevention and of social reconciliation.²⁴⁸ It is crucial from the start to clearly define what is meant by peace and what model of social coexistence is being envisaged in each specific context. In this sense, the Somalia conflict engaged peace education without necessary confirming with the prevailing situation on the ground

Conflict transformation requires substantial inputs of time and resources both from state and non-state actors. Considering that initiatives of peace education generally take place in a highly dynamic political environment, it is therefore important for these programs to be flexible, responsive to new scenarios and also capable of effectively using the emerging windows of opportunity to advance the cause of conflict management and peace education in the Greater East African Region. The application of peace education in conflict transformation requires all those involved to show flexibility, openness and creativity in developing viable solutions, which may also necessitate greater inputs of time and resources.

As such, conflict transformation requires very well trained key personnel who display a high level of openness and have the excellent process and mediation skills needed to implement

²⁴⁷ Chapter Three, p.14

²⁴⁸ Harry Eckstein, 1975, "Case Study and Theory in Political Science," in *Handbook of Political Science* ed. Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, Reading, Addison-Wesley, p.6

systemic approaches. Occasionally, external expert and process moderators should be brought in for peace education projects and programs. Moreover, the essence of peace education in conflict transformation cannot be contained in a simple method box.

On this breath, it should be noted that, networking and exchanging experiences among Greater East African Region states will not only make peace education have a contextually rich learning framework but also it could considerably reduce the costs that are otherwise spent by each state in isolation for training, research and curriculum development. It is time that states in the Greater East African Region not only worked hard at drawing from their own resources in order to solve the monumental problems facing them at home. There is also need to strategize the pooling together of material resources for more cost effective service delivery across the region.

Education alone is not the panacea to the conflict issues in Somali Region and it should be developed in conjunction with other initiatives aimed specifically at addressing the root causes of conflict.²⁴⁹ Peace education in conflict transformation should focus on peace through generational change or over a relatively long period of time. In addition to requiring a long term moral and political commitment, peace education programs in states like Somalia and South Sudan should then be implemented with other realistic goals of general conflict management

Although there are numerous challenges with conflict transformation in Africa in general and in the eastern African region in particular, I am highly optimistic that African higher learning institutions can embark meaningful peace education programmes. Needless to say, Africa is endowed with a very rich and diverse cultures through which societies inculcate tolerance, respect, acceptance of others and forgiveness. However, these attributes need to be reinforced

²⁴⁹ J. P. Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, *op. cit*

through formal education and applied research and development in peace education and conflict transformation.

5.2 Recommendations

There is need to establish links between non-state actors and state actors when implementing peace education. From the research study, it emerged that, peace education was often propounded by state actors but executed by non-state actors. Non-state actors are used as facilitators. There is need to accord non state actors a more proactive role. This role should start from the time of formulating peace education programs up to the time when they are implemented.

Non state actors represent important partners locally but do not really play a role in coordination at political levels, even though they handle the peace building contributions of many bilateral donors. Consideration should therefore be given to how these organizations can be involved more in the coordination activities. This should be dispensed right from the time when conflict management efforts are initiated.

Peace education and Conflict transformation requires a very large number of highly qualified and well informed staff. However, from chapter three it emerged that, most of those used to spread peace education are not trained. There is need to train peace educators especially at higher levels of institutions like universities. In chapter three, it emerged that only Uganda and Kenya offer peace education at university level. There is need therefore for other states in the Greater East African Region to train peace educators and for states to set peace education Programs at this level.

To facilitate the use of the conflict transformation approach by non-state actors, clear entry points should be identified. A distinction should also be made between the fields of application of peace education and conflict transformation; this should be at the level of political management and coordination, and the use of the peace education for the further development of conflict transformation. To further clarify how the approach should be applied, for example, a pilot project on conflict transformation could be incorporated into an existing peace building program and targeted advisory services offered in the fields of application among states that have experienced conflict in the Greater East African Region.

To support the proposed training measures mentioned above, there is need to encourage a process of reflection on support and funding for cooperation among states in the Greater East African Region. Regional institutions of higher learning can help to promote relationships between the member states. This will greatly benefit conflict transformation in many ways, especially because institutions from the region have a far greater knowledge of the political, historical, economic, cultural, social and religious structures in which the conflicts are taking place. Furthermore, institutions of higher learning can facilitate access to complex conflict systems, for instance in the ethnic and resources based conflicts which are the main causes of conflicts in the Greater East African Region.

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