

**THE ROLE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN  
PEACEBUILDING:  
THE CASE OF HARGEISA, SOMALILAND (1991-2006)**

**BY  
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**IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE AWARD OF A DEGREE  
OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND  
DIPLOMACY AT THE INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES(IDIS), UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**October 2007**

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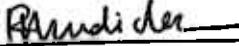
## DECLARATION

**This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.**

**Were Rachael Ameyo, Signature:**  **Date:** 08/11/07

**This dissertation has been submitted for external examination with our approval as University Supervisors.**

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank the following for their contribution to the successful completion of this dissertation. My gratitude goes to my supervisors Prof. Mwangi and Mr. Mudida for the supervision and support in spite of their busy schedules of teaching and supervision of other students' work. For the guidance on key focus areas, assistance on availability of material and support throughout the study, I say thank you.

I am also grateful to Prof. Nyunya who provided the initial direction towards this study, and to my MA colleagues Kaloki, Ombwara and Ogot, and to Makini and Okinda, who contributed to this work in different ways.

I thank Mr. Manfred Winnefeld, Mr. Paul Mattison, Mr. John B., Mr. Thomas Odera, Mr. Maurice Ochuka and Mr. Afyare Elmi who made time to discuss with me issues of youth, education and peacebuilding in Somaliland. Special thanks also to Hasheem Hassan, Evelyn Alosa and Mohamed Aqli. I also thank the youth in Hargeisa and especially my former students of SOS Sheikh Secondary School who participated and answered the questionnaires. My gratitude goes to my parents for the encouragement and educational foundation they accorded me and to Ale for his unwavering support throughout the period of this study.

Finally, I acknowledge all the help I received from all other persons whose names I have not been able to append here. I thank them for all the contributions they made in their respective capacities to have enabled me accomplish this study.

## **DEDICATION**

**To the youth, may education always nurture in you the values of peace.**

## **ABSTRACT**

This study is based on the theoretical framework of liberal peace that promotes the linking of social, economic and political well being of people with peace and stability. One fundamental way by which peace can be nurtured after the end of a violent conflict is through the vehicle of education. The study considers education an integral part in rebuilding social cohesion and in promoting knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that encourage non-violent behaviour among the youth.

In the aftermath of war, young people are constantly confronted with varied challenges ranging from social, economic and political problems. How they deal with these challenges, that is, whether they choose to resort to violence or peaceful resolutions will depend on the opportunities availed to them by society. In this regard, education can significantly improve prospects for young people in the social, economic and political spheres of their lives. Although education can be used as a weapon for conflict, through appropriate educational opportunities young people can learn values of peace and can cultivate a peacebuilding capacity in their inter-group relations. Thus, the study investigates the role of formal secondary education in peacebuilding in post-conflict Somaliland.

Current education initiatives in Somaliland have significantly improved the political capacities, enhanced positive inter-group relations and promoted values of peace and tolerance among the youth. High levels of unemployment, clan manifestations in education, limited access to secondary schools, limited opportunities for further academic and professional advancement and poor governance were thought as dampening the role of secondary education in peacebuilding. These challenges must be addressed and overcome for education to significantly promote sustainable peace in Somaliland.

The study concludes that formal secondary education makes an essential contribution to the development of political competencies, social and economic well being of the youth necessary for a sustained peaceful society. However, for education to be effective in activating and promoting sustainable peace, a multi-track approach to peacebuilding is required at the policymaking, middle and grassroots levels in order to achieve the desired result of education that ensures conflict prevention and social cohesion.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS**

<b>ABE</b>	<b>Alternative Basic Education</b>
<b>CECs</b>	<b>Community Education Committees</b>
<b>DEC</b>	<b>District Education Committee</b>
<b>REC</b>	<b>Regional Education Committee</b>
<b>NPE</b>	<b>National Policy of Education</b>
<b>MoE</b>	<b>Ministry of Education</b>
<b>TFG</b>	<b>Transitional Federal Government</b>
<b>SNM</b>	<b>Somali National Movement</b>
<b>UN</b>	<b>United Nations</b>
<b>UNESCO</b>	<b>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</b>
<b>UNICEF</b>	<b>United Nations Children's Fund</b>

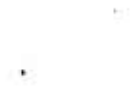
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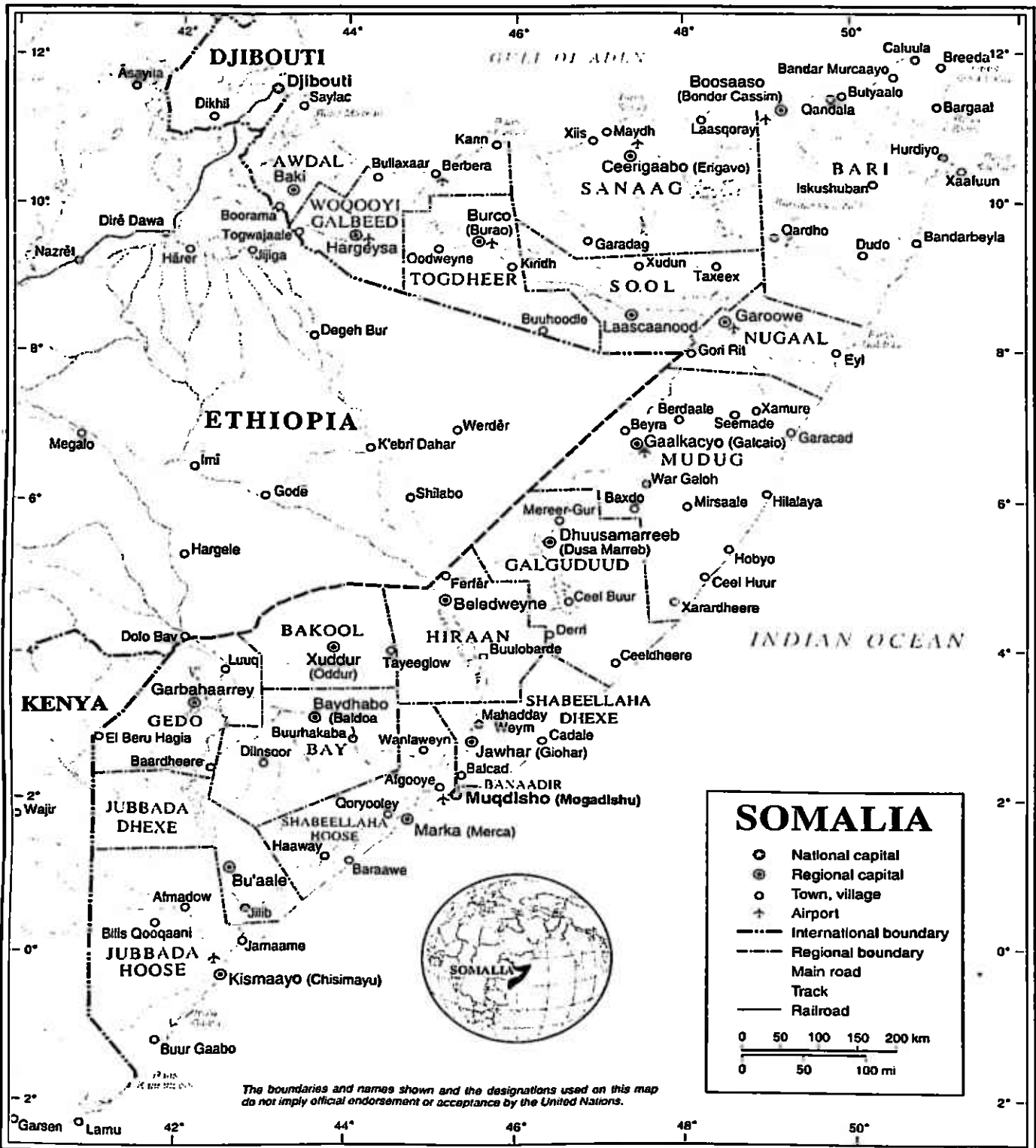
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## **Chapter 1**

### **Background to the Study**

#### **Introduction**

In many post-conflict countries, peace agreements are followed by the consolidation of peace phase. However, the challenge for many lies in putting in place effective political, economic and social safeguards that will prevent a relapse into conflict. In the north-western region of Somalia (also known as Somaliland) for example, the current relative peace is continuously being tested by the existence of political, economic and social problems which if left unaddressed may create conditions for a return to violence.

Lederach defines peacebuilding as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward sustainable, peaceful relationships.<sup>1</sup>Peacebuilding therefore involves activities that enable countries to cultivate the promotion of peace before, during and after conflict.

During conflict, youth are often a targeted group. The lack of opportunities in their communities often leads them to gravitate towards violent conflict and acts of terrorism. As victims and witnesses they play a key role in peacebuilding in post-conflict societies. They are increasingly being recognized as critical in creating long-term stability, producing

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<sup>1</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*(Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press,1997)p.20.

effective outcomes in communities, and offering protection from future conflicts.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, on the basis of peacebuilding, this study will examine the role of secondary education in peacebuilding among Somaliland's youth in Hargeisa, from 1991-2006. The study aims to determine the role of formal secondary education in peacebuilding in post-conflict Somaliland.

### **Statement of the Research Problem**

In post-conflict countries education plays a fundamental role in reducing the risk of conflict or a relapse into conflict. For a long time, post-conflict societies have concentrated their energies on political development and security reform in the post-conflict phases at the great expense of social and economic development. As a peace dividend, education creates economic and social safeguards that mitigate against tensions and conflict in society. Hence to ignore education, a key mover of sustainable development and peace is not an option for conflict affected societies.

The youth form a key aspect of education in society. They are the future of societies. Instilling values of peace and co-existence becomes a necessary requirement for establishing an environment conducive for the peaceful resolution of conflicts in the future. Owing to the experience of conflict, many youth have been actors or victims in post-conflict societies. Reasons that triggered the conflict, for example, economic inequalities, oppression, poor governance or misperceptions about groups may still linger on for many once a peace agreement has been reached. It is thus important that

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<sup>2</sup> United Nations, *World Youth Report: Youth and Conflict* (New York: United Nations Publications, 2003)pp.2-7.

post-conflict countries tap into the enormous role of education in steering the youth towards peaceful co-existence with one another.

This study investigates the role of secondary education in peacebuilding and in particular the sort of skills, attitudes and values that secondary education instills in young people that ultimately promotes non-violent behaviour and peaceful co-existence in post-conflict Somaliland.

### **Objectives of the Study**

1. To critically analyse the role of secondary education in promoting peacebuilding.
2. To examine the role of secondary education in promoting peace through economic development.

### **Justification of the Study**

The justification of the study lies in the realization that the youth are severely affected by conflicts and at the same time engage directly in acts of warfare. A vast majority of educational projects are primary-based and those that have an emphasis on peaceful conflict management and co-existence are adult education oriented and focus on the broad mass of the people. A study that deals with the youth, a key group where influencing non-violent values, attitudes and behaviour is concerned, as one means of preventing and consolidating peace in post-conflict Somaliland is thus quite relevant and timely.

The study adds on additional information that demonstrates the importance of formal youth education and its applicability to peacebuilding in post-conflict societies. Youth who are most affected by both manifest and structural violence hold out the most promise for changing the conditions



that lead to direct violence. Its findings can also help in determining useful policy recommendations in educational reform in societies emerging from conflict. This would ensure that the resultant education system is one that takes account of conflict prevention and promotes social cohesion.

Lastly, its findings can spur further debate and research on the positive value of education in post-conflict peacebuilding processes. Education is a necessary prerequisite for successful post-conflict peacebuilding, particularly for the young people, as it empowers them to value and respect diversity, builds their political competencies and interpersonal skills, and enables them to live economically productive lives, key in the achievement of social justice and economic equity in society which in turn lend powerful support to conflict prevention.

## **Literature Review**

### **Introduction**

The literature review will inform this study by providing insights into the peacebuilding role of education. It will examine the debates in education and paradigms that guide peacebuilding work in conflict affected countries.

### **An Overview of the Role of Education in Peacebuilding**

Lederach defines peacebuilding as an all-inclusive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full range of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships.<sup>3</sup> The goal of peacebuilding is to create a structure of peace that is based on justice, equity, and cooperation, that is,

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<sup>3</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997) p.20

positive peace, thereby addressing the underlying causes of violent conflict so that they become less likely in the future.<sup>4</sup>

Peacebuilding thus entails the struggle to eradicate social, economic and political policies and procedures that promote conditions of poverty, unemployment, discrimination and fewer opportunities to ensure human growth and development. Peacebuilding also endeavours to make decision-making processes participatory for all groups in the society.<sup>5</sup>

The main goal of education for negative peace is the development of a citizenry that is informed to take action for the achievement of peace and disarmament. Positive peace on the other hand focuses on the elimination of all structural and cultural obstacles to peace, and thus the creation of true peace. Positive peace takes concern beyond the end of war and physical violence, addressing the need for justice, equity, democracy and an end to structural violence such as oppression, exploitation, and poverty. Specifically, education for positive peace addresses problems of economic deprivation and development, environment and resources, and universal human rights and social justice.<sup>6</sup>

Education can be a powerful instrument to reduce violence and improve the human rights situation in any given society. In societies where direct violence is or was pervasive until recently, for example in countries torn by civil war like Sierra Leone, and in post-conflict countries such as Mozambique and El Salvador or in post-apartheid countries like South

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<sup>4</sup> M.I. Gawerc, 'Peace-building: Theoretical and Concrete Perspectives, *Peace & Change*, Vol.31, No.4 (October 2006) pp.435-478.

<sup>5</sup> M. Moshe, 'Peacebuilding: A Conceptual Framework', *International Journal of Social Welfare* Vol.10 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001) pp.14-26.

<sup>6</sup> B.A. Reardon, *Comprehensive Peace Education: Educating for Global Responsibility* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1988) p.22.

Africa and Namibia, political and civic leaders have emphasized the need to make schools violence-free and a key channel for changing the value system and bringing up generations of young people able to coexist in a more peaceable fashion.<sup>7</sup>

The youth constitute not simply a potential threat to stability should they be recruited into military or criminal activity, but also an important potential resource for development and reconstruction. Thus, education has frequently been identified as one of the strategies required to address the challenges confronting youth in post-conflict societies.<sup>8</sup> A good quality education system can have cumulative benefits that mitigate the impact of conflict on children, youth, and help prevent conflict. If young people are denied education opportunities, they may be driven to become a destabilising and destructive force, continuing cycles of violence and vulnerability.<sup>9</sup>

Equally, by designing appropriate curricula for the youth, promoting a culture of peace and making available civic education programmes to all sections of the population, and by assisting in the demobilisation of militia, a meaningful contribution to promote peace and stability will be ensured.<sup>10</sup> The re-development of curriculum therefore, as well as the inclusion of peace or citizenship education bears on sustainable peace in the long-term.

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<sup>7</sup> J. De Rivera , 'Assessing the Basis for a Culture of Peace in Contemporary Societies', *Journal of Peace Research* ,Vol.41,no.5 (2004) pp.531-548.

<sup>8</sup> The World Bank, *Reshaping the Future ,Education and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* ( Washington D.C: World Bank, 2005) pp.2-68.

<sup>9</sup> J.Lowicki, *Missing Out: Adolescents affected by armed conflict face few educational opportunities and increased protection risks* (1999): [www.tc.columbia.edu/cice/archives/2.1/21lowicki.pdf](http://www.tc.columbia.edu/cice/archives/2.1/21lowicki.pdf).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid

Colleta and Cullen also draw on a conceptual framework that relates conflict to the concepts of 'social capital' and 'social cohesion':

"Social capital has to do with the norms, values and social relations that hold communities together, that is horizontal relations, and the relations between civil society and state, that is, vertical relations. Social cohesion within a society is the density and interplay between these two sets of relations. In practice societies with strong social cohesion have strong horizontal ties between members of groups based on kinship, ethnicity and religion; high levels of involvement and commitment to community associations and networks that cut across differences in kinship; and high levels of interaction between civil society and government".<sup>11</sup>

Colleta and Cullen use this structure to analyse how social cohesion was undermined by conflict in Somalia, among other countries. In this case, education is considered as one of a number of social institutions that sustain relations that contribute towards social cohesion.<sup>12</sup>

A main debate in education rests in its positive versus negative impacts in society. The good and the bad debate serve to highlight the assumptions about the value of education in society. Proponents of the bad debate challenge the widely held notion that education is inevitably a force for good. Bush and Saltarelli<sup>13</sup> portend that the negative face of education shows itself in uneven distribution of education to create or preserve privilege, the use of education as a weapon of cultural repression, and the production or doctoring of textbooks to promote intolerance. Segregation

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<sup>11</sup> J.N.Coletta. and L.M.Cullen,*Violent Conflict and the Transformation of Social Capital: Lessons from Cambodia, Rwanda, Guatemala and Somalia* (Washington D.C: World Bank, 2000) p.3

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> K.D. Bush and D.Saltarelli, (Eds), *The Two Faces Of Education In Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children*, (Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre,2000) pp.9-16

along religious lines in schools was a factor in perpetuating the conflict in Northern Ireland<sup>14</sup> for example.

Harber<sup>15</sup> also argues that the dominant model of schooling is authoritarian, and that this authoritarianism 'provides the context for schools' role in the reproduction and perpetration of violence. Issues of racism, control, sexual abuse, stereotyping the other, corporal punishment, examinations and militarization, he concludes are examples of violence towards pupils by schools.<sup>16</sup>

According to Davies<sup>17</sup> education also, indirectly does more to contribute to the underlying causes of conflict than peace. This is through the reproduction of economic inequality and the division of wealth and poverty among individuals, and through modifying gender, ethnic and religious segregation or intolerance. It is worth noting that Harber and Davies refer not only to societies presently or recently at war, but to general model of education used throughout the world.

Alongside the negative face however, Bush and Saltarelli<sup>18</sup> also identify peacebuilding and conflict-limiting aspects of education. They identify the conflict-dampening impact of educational opportunity, the promotion of linguistic tolerance, the nurturing of ethnic tolerance, and the 'disarming' of history as some of the positive aspects of education.

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<sup>14</sup> M. Arlow, 'Citizenship Education in a Divided Society: the Case of Northern Ireland' in S.Tawil and A. Harley (Eds) *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion* (Geneva: UNESCO International Bureau of Education, 2004) p.278.

<sup>15</sup> C. Harber, *Schooling as Violence: How Schools Harm Pupils and Societies* (Abingdon: RoutledgeFalmer,2004) p.38.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.,p.138.

<sup>17</sup> L. Davies, *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004) p.203.

<sup>18</sup> K.D.Bush and D.Saltarelli, (eds), *The Two Faces Of Education In Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children*, (Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2000) pp.16-20.

Davies<sup>19</sup> notes that education also has a positive face. She posits that 'paradoxically peace education is achieved through exposure to conflict, either through texts and narratives or through deep reflection on one's insight in a conflict situation'. She argues for the encouragement of positive conflict in schools and for 'interruptive democracy' that is 'the process through which individuals are enabled to intervene in practices which continue injustices'<sup>20</sup> as the foundation for schools that would help prevent conflict.

Nicolai and Triplehorn<sup>21</sup> contend that education provides protection for children in conflict. They view the relationship between protection and education as two-fold and entails both protecting the child's access to education during conflict and displacement and using education to protect the child from risks that such situations present.

The good and the bad faces of education encourage us to question the assumption that education is essentially a good thing. Whichever side one takes, whether it aggravates or prevents conflict, to ignore education in peacebuilding is not an option.

Two main schools guide peacebuilding work, namely, the liberal peace theory and the 'institutionalization before liberalization' school of thought. The 'liberal peace' thesis designs peacebuilding strategies based on liberalization. In the political realm, liberalization signifies democratization or the transformation of war-shattered states into liberal democratic polities with periodic and genuine elections, constitutional limitations on the

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<sup>19</sup> L. Davies, *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos* op.cit. p.139.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.pp.211-224.

<sup>21</sup> S. Nicolai and C. Triplehorn, *The Role of Education in Protecting Children in Conflict* (London: Overseas Development Institute, 2003) p.7

exercise of power, and respect for civil liberties, including freedom of speech, assembly and conscience. Democratization is aimed at promoting peace.<sup>22</sup>

The literature on the domestic dimensions of the liberal peace, that is, the relationship between liberalism and intrastate violence, suggest that democracies are considerably less likely than non-democracies to experience a wide range of domestic disorders, including “revolutions, bloody coups d’état, political assassinations, antigovernment terrorist bombings, guerrilla warfare, insurgencies, civil wars, mutinies, and rebellions.”<sup>23</sup>

As a system for collective decision-making, democracy for example, is taken as an institutionalised conflict management system. The institutions and procedures of democracy offer ways of both identifying conflicts in a community and of dealing with them in a non-violent manner. Most importantly, a widespread democratic culture and strong institutions of rights, privileges and culture offer the chance to draw attention to conflicts at an early stage and prescribes ways of dealing with and solving these conflicts with a high degree of legitimacy.<sup>24</sup>

Through the liberal lens, the principal task of public schooling or education, properly organized and delivered, has traditionally been to create “harmony” within a nation of divergent peoples. Education is viewed as an

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<sup>22</sup> See R. Paris ‘Wilson’s Ghost: The Faulty Assumptions of Post-Conflict Peacebuilding’ in C.A. Crocher, O. Hampson and P. Aall, *Turbulent Peace* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001), pp.767-784.

<sup>23</sup> See J.R.Rummel, ‘Power Kills: Democracy as a Method of Non-violence’ in R.Paris, *Bringing the Leviathan Back In: Classical Versus Contemporary Studies of the Liberal Peace*, *International Studies Review* Vol.8 (Oxford & Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2006), pp. 425–440.

<sup>24</sup> A. Akerlund, *Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace: Experience and Ideas of Swedish Civil Society Organisations*, Sida Studies no.13 (2005) pp.31-33.

investment in a social contract the benefits of which are believed to accrue not only to the individual who experiences education but also, and perhaps more importantly, to the wider society.<sup>25</sup>

In the economic realm, liberalization involves the transformation of war-shattered countries into market-oriented economies. Marketization is expected to create conditions that are most conducive to long term economic growth, which would in turn, also help to reduce tensions in these countries.<sup>26</sup>

The 'institutionalization before liberalization' school of thought was in response to the unanticipated destabilizing side effects of liberalization in war-shattered countries.<sup>27</sup> Paris<sup>28</sup> posits that the liberal thesis wrongly assumes that rapid liberalization in the immediate aftermath of civil conflicts will have a peaceful effect on the countries undergoing these reforms. He argues that the solution lies in not abandoning liberalization altogether but in delaying market democratization in these countries, given that in post-conflict countries, political institutions are usually weak, especially those that might be critical to building trust between former enemies, such as an effective and honest justice system. When levels of interpersonal trust are also low, then without successful efforts to strengthen the state the combination of all these factors may quickly return the society to a state of war.<sup>29</sup> Thus, peace builders need to pursue a strategy that helps

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<sup>25</sup> K.D. Bush and D.Saltarelli, (Eds), *The Two Faces Of Education In Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children* (Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2000) p.6.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.p.766.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.,pp.774-776.

<sup>29</sup> M.Dodson, 'Post-Conflict Development and Peacebuilding: Recent Research' *Peace & Change*, Vol.31, No.2 (April 2006) pp.244-252.



to suppress societal conflict for as long as it takes to lay the foundations of effective political and economic institutions.<sup>30</sup>

### **Assessment of Literature Review**

From the review of the literature, two distinct paradigms emerge, first, the ‘liberal peace’ thesis which views political and economic liberalization as effective solutions to violent conflicts. The promotion of human rights, democracy, elections, rule of law, good governance and neo-liberal economics are essential in realizing sustainable peace. Second, is the ‘institutionalization before liberalization’ paradigm that advocates for firm political and economic institutions first before embracing liberalization in conflict affected countries.

This study adopts the liberal peace thesis. Values such as the rule of law, good governance, human rights and economic empowerment of individuals in society steer countries towards sustainable peace in the long run.

Contentions in the review point to education as a force for good while others see it as a force for bad in society. The key question ‘is education essentially a good thing?’ shapes the good and bad debate in education. While education may exacerbate conflict in certain contexts, there is agreement that education can also prevent or reduce the risk of conflict. The challenge lies in the aims of the particular way education is administered or implemented in a given context.

Gaps in the review include little review of secondary education and post-conflict Somaliland. This study seeks to redirect its focus to post-

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<sup>30</sup> See R. Paris ‘Wilson’s Ghost: The Faulty Assumptions of Post-Conflict Peacebuilding’ in C.A. Crocher, O. Hampson and P. Aall, *Turbulent Peace* op.cit.p.776.

conflict Hargeisa and examine the peacebuilding role of secondary education in post-conflict Somaliland.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The study adopts the “liberal peace” thesis which views political and economic liberalization as effective solutions to violent conflicts. The promotion of human rights, democracy, elections, rule of law, good governance and a neoliberal economy are part and parcel of international peacebuilding strategy.<sup>31</sup>

The normative underpinnings of peacebuilding include the establishment of security through demobilization and reintegration of former combatants as well as through security reform. Alongside these is the political consolidation realized through national dialogues, early elections, the expansion of political rights, and the establishment of the rule of law, while economic reconstruction involves reforms for speedy recovery and rehabilitation. The aforementioned normative underpinnings have guided peacebuilding practice since the 1990s.<sup>32</sup>

### **Hypotheses**

1. Secondary curriculum promotes peacebuilding.
2. Economic development promotes peacebuilding.

### **Methodology**

#### **Research Design**

The study will be based on a case study of Hargeisa district in Somaliland. It adopts the qualitative research design to provide a picture of

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<sup>31</sup> Tschirgi, N., *Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Revisited: Achievements, Limitations, Challenges* (New York: WSP International, 2004) p.5.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid

the peacebuilding role of formal secondary education and how it can be used as a force to promote sustainable peace.

### **Population and Sample**

The target population is youth from Hargeisa district. The site was selected as a study area because at present majority of secondary education interventions in Somaliland are urban based. A total of 40 youth aged between 15-24 years will form the sample. The researcher will use convenient sampling which involves selecting the participants as they become available to the researcher. Data on secondary education will be collected from 1991 to 2006.

### **Data Collection Procedure**

Data will be collected from both primary and secondary sources. The researcher will use structured in-depth interviews with key informants in the field of education and youth, subjectively selected by the researcher. Because of time spent with an informant, it is assumed that the rapport between researcher and informant will be enhanced, and that the corresponding understanding and confidence between the two will lead to in-depth and accurate information<sup>33</sup>. Thus, the researcher will be able to have greater control and get raw data and information that is untainted. One demerit of in-depth interviews is that the respondent may be less willing to open up than in the relaxed atmosphere of a group<sup>34</sup>. The researcher activities will attempt to overcome this limitation or obstacle to a

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<sup>33</sup> R.Kumar, *Research Methodology: A Step-By-Step Guide for Beginners* (London: Sage Publications,2005) p.124

<sup>34</sup> <sup>34</sup> F.N.Kerlinger, *Foundations of Behavioral Research: Educational and Psychological Inquiry* (New York: Holt,Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1964) p.131.

large degree, through the establishment of good rapport and trust between the researcher and the respondent.<sup>35</sup>

Secondly, the researcher will use structured questionnaires for youth in Hargeisa, aged 15 to 24 years. The advantage of using questionnaire is that the responses are gathered in a standardised way, thus greater reliability and more objective.<sup>36</sup> The researcher will thus have reliable and objective data for the study. A disadvantage of open-ended questions is that it could generate large amounts of data that can take a long time to process and analyse. The researcher will attempt to limit this problem by limiting the space available so that their responses are concise.

Secondary data will be collected from libraries, relevant institutions and from scholarly journals on the internet. Secondary data will allow the researcher a comparative analysis of the findings and is also cheaper to execute.

### **Data Analysis**

In order to sift, organize, summarize and synthesize the data collected the researcher will adopt the qualitative data analysis. The data will be analyzed qualitatively and conclusions will be drawn from the interviews carried out and responses to the questionnaires.

### **Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The scope of the study will be Hargeisa because the aim is to establish what significant role secondary education has played in promoting peacebuilding in post-conflict Hargeisa. The study is limited to youth that

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<sup>35</sup> C.Nachmias and D.Nachmias, *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, Fifth Edition (London: St.Martin's Press Inc, 1996) pp.239-240.

<sup>36</sup> F.N.Kerlinger, *Foundations of Behavioral Research: Educational and Psychological Inquiry* op.cit. p.476

have attained formal secondary –level education hence it would be difficult to generalize this for out-of-school youth.

Anticipated problems of the research include the problem of language barrier in situations where the respondent does not understand English. In this case, the researcher will employ the use of translators who are both speakers of English and Somali. Additionally, due to financial and time constraints the research will be limited to two months.

### **Outline of Chapters**

Chapter One will include the background to the problem, the problem statement, objectives and justification of the study, literature review, theoretical framework, hypotheses. Chapter Two will discuss the conflict cycle, approaches to peacebuilding in the context of secondary education. Chapter Three will form the case study and will examine the role of secondary education in peacebuilding in post-conflict Somaliland. Chapter Four will be a critical analysis of the role of Secondary Education in Peacebuilding. Chapter Five will provide conclusions of the study.

## Chapter 2

### Approaches in Peacebuilding

#### Introduction

As has been noted, the literature on peacebuilding has undergone a revision of thinking on the complex dynamics and processes involved, including the idea that effective and sustainable peacemaking must be based not just on the manipulation of peace agreements made by elites, but more importantly on the empowerment of communities torn apart by war to build peace from below.

This chapter provides a discussion of the conflict cycle. An understanding of the conflict cycle is vital in appreciating the aims and approaches of peacebuilding in the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. The chapter will then proceed to give an analysis of the main approaches to peacebuilding in the context of secondary education.

#### The Life Cycle of Conflict

The idea of the conflict cycle rests on the premise that conflicts are dynamic and organic and have a life of their own. It also provides conflict managers with an understanding of the ways in which it can aid conflict management efforts. It does this by making it evident that within each stage of the conflict cycle, there are certain conflict prevention and management activities that can be done, and which if they are done properly and in a timely manner, can prevent the degeneration of a situation into a violent conflict.<sup>1</sup>Swanstrom and Weissmann<sup>2</sup> note that conflicts are cyclical in

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<sup>1</sup> M.Mwagiru, *Peace and Conflict Management in Kenya* (Nakuru: Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, 2003) pp.43-44.

<sup>2</sup> L.P.Swanstrom and M.K.Weissmann, *Conflict, Conflict Prevention and Conflict*

nature in terms of their intensity levels. They posit that conflict escalates from relative stability and peace into crisis and war, and thereafter deescalates into relative peace. This implies then that different conflict management activities are at work at any given moment in the conflict cycle.

Mwagiru<sup>3</sup> also presents the conflict cycle as commencing from the point of peace where there is no violence and where tensions are at a minimal level. He notes that if conditions of peace are left unattended, tensions may slowly begin to develop in the community. If these tensions are left unaddressed they can continue to bubble under and if still nothing is done to arrest these tensions, they increase greatly, and eventually burst into a violent conflict. Once violence has occurred, it must to be contained and this is accomplished through conflict management activities. If conflict management activities are successful, an agreement to stop the violence is reached, and this in turn leads to the post-conflict stage. During this stage the violence has stopped, but it is only after a consolidation of peace management activities that the stage of peace can eventually be reached. At this stage, the conflict cycle begins again.

These stages of the conflict cycle, and its characteristics can be illustrated by Table 2.1 which provides an analysis of the civil war that eventually led to the self-declaration of independence by Somaliland from Somalia in 1991. The civil war was characterized by a number of multi-causal factors involving a combination of political, social and economic reasons.

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*Management and Beyond : A Conceptual Exploration*, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program (2005) p.9.

<sup>3</sup> M.Mwagiru , *Peace and Conflict Management in Kenya*, op.cit.p.47

Clan solidarity coupled with power asymmetry formed the root causes of the civil war in Somalia. The tension stage was characterized by proximate causes linked to the poor economy in the North as a result of Barre's economic policies. Competition for resources due to an influx of refugees in the northern region further exacerbated the tensions. Lewis<sup>4</sup> rightly notes that the Ogaden War and refugee problems served to fuel the crisis further.

**Table 2.1: Conflict cycle in Somaliland**

Peace Stage	Tension Stage	Violence Stage	Post-Conflict Stage
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Structural conflict (clan solidarity).</li> <li>▪ Power asymmetry</li> <li>▪ Underdevelopment and social-stratification in the north (legacy of colonial administration).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Autocratic rule.</li> <li>▪ Economic problems and economic domination by the south.</li> <li>▪ Refugee influx.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Aerial bombardment of the cities of the north.</li> <li>▪ Mass murder of citizens in the north.</li> <li>▪ Destruction of physical, social and economic infrastructure.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Secession from Somalia (1991).</li> <li>▪ Grassroots peace conferences.</li> <li>▪ Confidence-building measures e.g. elections</li> <li>▪ Reconstruction &amp; Development projects (that seek to address structural sources of conflict and promote human security).</li> </ul>

Table.2.1: Source: Modified from M.Mwagiru, *Peace and Conflict Management in Kenya* (Nakuru: Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, 2003) p.47

The violence stage was characterized by the wholesale indiscriminate aerial and ground bombardment of all Isaaq towns and villages in the north by Barre's government in response to an offensive launched by the Somali National Movement (SNM), an opposition movement in the north. This

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<sup>4</sup>I.M.Lewis, *A Modern History of the Somali: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Fourth Edition, (Oxford: James Curry Ltd, 2002) pp.252-253.



sparked off the crisis into an open war that eventually culminated in the declaration of Somaliland's independence on 18 May 1991.<sup>5</sup>The secession marked the post-conflict stage. A series of peacebuilding activities have since been undertaken and a majority are still ongoing, in an effort to consolidate peace and prevent the re-occurrence of war.

### **Peacebuilding Approaches**

The conflict cycle aids conflict managers in both the understanding of conflict and in the peace and conflict management activities that should occur at each stage of the cycle. Peace management activities take place during the periods of tension and the development of tensions, and after the cessation of armed hostilities. At the post-violence stage, a combination of peace and conflict management activities can take place as the goal for both is to consolidate agreements that previously warring parties have reached. Thus, if peace is not managed and nurtured, the conflict will again erupt. This then underlies the need for post-conflict peacebuilding activities.<sup>6</sup> These peacebuilding activities are generally guided by the following approaches.

#### **Top –Level Approach**

Lederach<sup>7</sup> termed the top-level as the top-down or “trickle down” approach to peacebuilding. He identified the main actors in this level as being key political, military and religious leaders, and leaders with high visibility in the society. This is also dubbed official or track one diplomacy,

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<sup>5</sup> A.Adedeji (ed), *Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts: The Search for Sustainable Peace and Good Governance* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1999) pp.242-243.

<sup>6</sup> M. Mwagiru, *Peace and Conflict Management in Kenya*, op.cit. pp.46-48.

<sup>7</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op.cit.p.20.

and track one conflict management. These actors are often backed by a supporting government or an international organization such as the United Nations, which lies outside the relationships caught in the internal conflict.

Mwagiru noted that in many cases, track one conflict management results in peace agreements which reflect the power balances of the parties after bargaining. At this level, it sometimes appears more important to have an agreement, often any agreement, than to achieve a resolution to the conflict.<sup>8</sup> In effect, settlement then merely reduces the level of intensity of conflict behaviour between parties. Resolution however, removes the very essence of conflict, and eliminates or transforms the conflict situation. It is only when conflict is resolved, as distinct from settled, that gains to both parties and cooperation between antagonists can be realized.<sup>9</sup>

Somalia, especially central and south Somalia, provides a fitting illustration of this approach. The UN and the international community has since 1993 organized fourteen reconciliation conferences for Somalia. Faction leaders would sign agreements at every meeting. But each settlement would collapse soon after it was agreed.<sup>10</sup> The latest settlement of 2004 is currently grappling with insurgency from the ousted Islamic Courts Union, in addition to the increasing perception within Somalia of the TFG being a faction rather than a national authority. Consequently, peace still remains elusive in these regions.

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<sup>8</sup> M.Mwagiru, *Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Watermark Publications, 2000) pp.123-124.

<sup>9</sup> A. De Reuck, 'A Theory of Conflict Resolution by Problem-Solving' in J.Burton and F.Dukes (eds) *Conflict Readings in Management and Resolution* (London: Macmillan, 1990) pp.183-198.

<sup>10</sup> A. Adedeji, *Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts: The Search for Sustainable peace and Good Governance*, (Ed.) (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1999) p.250.

This then points to the weakness of top-level or elitist peacebuilding. Lederach notes that peacemakers sometimes assume that achieving peace is primarily a matter of identifying the representative leaders and getting them to agree. This assumes that the representative leaders can be identified, that they will truly articulate the concerns giving rise to the conflict, and that they possess the power and influence to guarantee their community's support for any agreements reached.<sup>11</sup> However, leaders often do not have this sort of centralized power.

Moreover, the top-level approach assumes a step-by-step, issue-oriented, short-term peace process carried out by top-level leaders.<sup>12</sup> However, the development of peace often does not occur according to this time frame. Imposing solutions denies ownership of the process by the affected population. It is therefore likely to fail at the implementation phase thereby making peace a pipedream.

In the realm of secondary education, the top-level is characterized by executive leadership in the Ministry of Education. Key responsibilities include the development of education policies, standardized curriculum, the provision of textbooks and supervision of the sub-sector to ensure quality service delivery.<sup>13</sup> The management, administration and policy development of the education system at this level is usually highly centralized. This is partly because of the sheer size of the economic problem of finding resources. It is also because of the universally-held policy of a high degree

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<sup>11</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op.cit, p.45.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> Ministry of Education, *Strategic Framework 2007-2011* (Hargeisa: MoE, 2007) Annex 1, pp.37-38.

of unification in the content of education. Central control is associated with control of the syllabus and curricula.<sup>14</sup>

Peacebuilding education activities at this level can include capacity building programmes for Ministry of Education (MoE) staff to ensure the development of effective and relevant peacebuilding education programmes, policies and educational materials, and ensuring that education policies reflect current economic or labour market realities<sup>15</sup>, to avoid widespread economic deprivation and social injustice.

### **Middle-Range Approach**

This entails a “middle-out” approach to peacebuilding. It is based on the premise that the middle range contains a set of leaders with a determinant location in the conflict who, if integrated well, might provide the key to creating an infrastructure for achieving and sustaining peace. These unofficial actors engage in track two diplomacy and track two conflict management.<sup>16</sup>

Mwagiru notes that track two diplomacy is characterized by

“a lack of a lot of formalities and power relations associated with track one diplomacy. It also neither rejoices, nor thrives in conformity to formal rules of procedure and bureaucracy that track one diplomacy does. It does not emphasize the institutionalization of operations, or the formalization of relationships. The structure of track two conflict management is in many ways the antithesis of track one conflict management and diplomacy”.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> L.Bloom and J.G.Ottong, *Changing Africa: An Introduction to Sociology* (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1987) p.169.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid

<sup>16</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op.cit. pp.46-47.

<sup>17</sup> M. Mwagiru, *Conflict Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Watermark Publications, 2000) p.128.

Middle-range approaches relevant to peacebuilding education entails two main categories, namely, problem-solving workshops and conflict resolution training. The problem-solving process entails a situation where representatives of parties in a dispute meet in the presence of a small panel of disinterested consultants. The parties are enabled by the panel to negotiate not by bargaining in the conventional manner, but by collaborating in the solution of their joint predicament through the discovery of accommodations allowing net advantages to all concerned. Their joint predicament is the problem to be solved. The process is non-judgemental and highly participatory, with the aim of not merely settlement of conflict, that is, a cessation of hostilities, but resolution of conflict, which implies a solution freely acceptable to all parties, and where the very ground of conflict is eliminated or transformed.<sup>18</sup>

As an instrument of conflict resolution, problem-solving workshops provide a venue for persons who unofficially represent parties to a conflict to interact in the process of problem analysis. It is aimed at broadening participation in the process and the perceptions of the participants, and deepening their analysis of the problem and their innovation in seeking solutions. Parties do not engage in bargaining or power contests. Instead they go through a process of analysing their conflict and their attitudes to each other, and thus design mutually acceptable solutions that can legitimise their post-conflict relationship.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> A. De Reuck, 'A Theory of Conflict Resolution by Problem-Solving' in J. Burton and F. Dukes (eds) *Conflict Readings in Management and Resolution* (London: Macmillan, 1990) pp.183-198.

<sup>19</sup> See A.J.R. Groom, 'Problem Solving in International Relations' in E.A. Azar & J.W. Burton (eds), *International Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1986) pp.85-91.

However, one of the major obstacles to the re-perception of a conflict situation arises from the cognitive set induced in the parties by their need to conform to role expectations. This essentially blocks cooperative possibilities for conflict resolution. As a true resolution of conflict implies a joint search for mutual advantage, an essential part of the problem-solving technique must be for the panel to divest parties of their inhibitions as adversaries, and to offer them alternative roles, first as analysts and later as partners.<sup>20</sup>

Hence, interactive problem-solving workshops have a two-fold purpose: to produce change in the participants themselves by stimulating new understandings, modifications in perceptions and attitudes, new ideas in conflict resolution; and to transfer these changes to the policy arena<sup>21</sup> that is, these changes at the level of individual participants are fed back into the political debate and decision-making in the communities, hence becoming vehicles for change at the macro-level.<sup>22</sup> Thus, middle-range actors are the most appropriate participants for problem-solving workshops, both because they are knowledgeable about the conflict and because they have access to policymakers.<sup>23</sup>

Training as another middle range approach to peacebuilding generally aims at raising awareness through educating people about the conflict and imparting skills for dealing with conflict. Education among other things can

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<sup>20</sup> A.De Reuck, 'A Theory of Conflict Resolution by Problem-Solving' in J.Burton and F.Dukes (eds) *Conflict Readings in Management and Resolution*, op.cit.pp.186-187.

<sup>21</sup> H.C. Kelman, 'Interactive Problem-Solving: a Social-psychological Approach to Conflict Resolution' in J.Burton and F.Dukes (eds) *Conflict Readings in Management and Resolution* (London: Macmillan, 1990) pp.199-215.

<sup>22</sup> N.N. Rouhana & C.H., Kelman, 'Promoting Joint-thinking in International Conflicts: An Israeli-Palestinian Continuing Workshop', *Journal of Social Issues*, 50(1) (1994) pp.157-178.

<sup>23</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op.cit.p.48.

encourage a greater understanding of the predicaments of others, discourage a zero-sum approach to conflict, reduce expectations of war by nurturing thoughts of conflict avoidance, conflict management and resolution.<sup>24</sup>

Training is therefore a strategic tool as it promotes the development of peacebuilding capacities within the middle-range leadership. In contrast to problem-solving workshop, the focus of training is internal rather than external oriented. However, since training is guided by processes and skills, it faces the challenge of how best to orient and adapt its effort in a wide variety of contexts and cultures while still remaining appropriate and helpful.<sup>25</sup>

In the realm of secondary education, the middle-range level is characterized by teachers, religious leaders, regional and district education committees (RECs and DEC), and Somaliland scholars in the diaspora. Peacebuilding activities here can entail the provision of management training to all levels, including RECs and DEC, relevant to their roles and responsibilities<sup>26</sup>through workshops. Workshops can serve to create opportunities for these actors to meet and reflect together about issues concerning, for example, the contribution of the secondary sub-sector to the enhancement of peace in the wider society.

Training can also provide middle-level participants with an understanding of how conflict operates, the general patterns and dynamics it follows, and useful concepts for dealing with it in more constructive ways.

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<sup>24</sup> G.Stern, *The Structure of International Society: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* (New York: Pinter, 1995) pp.278-279.

<sup>25</sup> See A.J.R.Groom, "Problem Solving in International Relations in E.A. Azar & J.W.Burton (eds), *International Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1986) pp.85-91.

<sup>26</sup> Ministry of Education, *Strategic Framework 2007-2011* (Hargeisa, MoE, 2007) Annex 1, pp.37-38.

In terms of developing skills, training aims at teaching individuals specific techniques and approaches for dealing with conflict, often in form of analytical, communication, negotiation, or mediation skills. Training therefore is a strategic tool as it promotes middle-range leadership. This potential is further enhanced when training, serving a convening function, brings together people from the same level of society but on different sides of the conflict.<sup>27</sup>

Examples of training such as in-service training of teachers and training of trainers' courses can equip individuals with appropriate conflict-specific knowledge and skills and cooperative learning techniques that can be used to promote a culture of peace, in and out of the classroom. Urch notes that teacher education has an important role to play in peacebuilding education. He argues that it is the teachers, rather than policies that shape the reconstructed educational system. They are the interpreters, implementers and conveyors of educational policy and are expected to move the policy into practice.<sup>28</sup> Often teachers in countries affected by conflict have been trained to teach using authoritarian methods. There is need therefore for teachers to re-think the very way they teach, and engage in elicitive and participatory teaching techniques that have a positive impact on peace in the long-term. Thus through training, teachers can be equipped with the appropriate teaching techniques that encourage cooperation and harmony among students and hence promote peace.

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<sup>27</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op.cit, pp.48-49.

<sup>28</sup> See G. Urch, Teacher Education and Reconstruction in Somalia, in H.M. Adam and R. Ford (eds), *Mending Rips in the Sky: Options for Somali Communities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (Eritrea: The Red Sea Press Inc., 1997) pp.403-407.



Moreover, since teachers represent the authority of society, the authority relationships of teachers and students are models for authority-relationships in society outside the educational institution. Socialisation in school, college or university, is therefore an aspect of political socialisation. It is, for instance, impossible for a democratic political system to take root and flourish unless the educational system is built on democratic values and relationships. Where teachers and administrators accept democracy as a major aim of the educational system, young people are moulded into responsible, independent, highly-skilled individuals who are also ready to take their places in a democratic society.<sup>29</sup>

In sum, by establishing links that cut across populations, the middle range approach according to Lederach, seemingly holds the greatest prospective for sustainable peace and reconciliation<sup>30</sup> in post-conflict societies.

### **Grassroots Approach**

The grassroots or 'bottom-up' approach to peacebuilding usually involves a massive section of the population. Recent transitions towards peace in El Salvador, Ethiopia and Philippines have largely been attributed to grassroots pressure for change.<sup>31</sup> Lederach argues that long-term peacebuilding requires the participation of not only government officials, party elites and paramilitary elites, but also, of peace advocates and community activists. He notes that without attention to the structural and

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<sup>29</sup> L.Bloom and J.G.Ottong, *Changing Africa: An Introduction to Sociology* (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1987) p.167.

<sup>30</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op.cit, p.51.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid

social and psychological dimensions of the conflict, particularly at the grassroots level, it would be impossible to achieve sustainable peace.<sup>32</sup>

In the political realm, Somaliland provides an excellent illustration of the grassroots or bottom-up approach to peacebuilding. After the defeat of Barre in 1991 by the SNM, the north-western part of the country declared its independence from the rest of Somalia. From then on it initiated numerous grassroots peace conferences that resulted in the Grand Burco conference which succeeded in establishing a framework for peace, the basic structure for the current relative peace and stability in Somaliland.<sup>33</sup>

This grassroots approach was guided by the need to build on the Somali traditional mechanisms for dealing with inter-clan disputes. The role of the elders replaced the centralized dictatorial regime and provided an alternative system whose hallmark was participatory democracy from top to bottom. Consequently avenues for dialogue and compromise were provided while state structures were still weak, which eventually resulted in the fora for consensus building such as the Borama conference. It is this traditional mechanism that makes the vital difference between Somaliland and the rest of Somalia.<sup>34</sup>

A major obstacle to the grassroots approach is the sheer numbers of people involved at this level. Hence, at best, strategies can be sometimes implemented to touch the leadership working at local and community levels, but more often than not these strategies generally represent points of contact with the masses rather than a comprehensive programme for reaching them.

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p.51-55.

<sup>33</sup> H.M. Adam and R. Ford (eds), *Mending Rips in the Sky : Options for Somali Communities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century* , op.cit.pp.79-80.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*

Second, many of the people at this level can barely make ends meet, food, shelter and safety are a daily struggle, hence satisfaction of their basic human needs can easily take precedence over efforts directed at peace and conflict resolution. A more realistic approach to peacebuilding, Lederach and many others argue, is one with a more comprehensive approach that stresses the interdependence of levels and integrates the activities of the various tiers of leadership in the peacebuilding process.<sup>35</sup> It is evident, that peacebuilding stands a better chance when, consciously or by accident, multi-track approaches are used, involving official diplomacy at the state level, and unofficial interventions at various levels, and a cross-section of civil society.<sup>36</sup>

In the realm of education, grassroots peacebuilding education is characterized by community education committees (CECs), elected school boards, parent-teacher associations, aimed at cultivating positive and mutually reinforcing linkages between formal educational systems and the sub-cultures within society.<sup>37</sup>

These approaches of peacebuilding and the kind of activities that characterize them can be illustrated by Table 2.2. of the education system in post-conflict Somaliland. Multi-track approaches to peacebuilding yield and enhance longer-term peace in post-conflict societies. Similarly for peacebuilding secondary education, there is need to integrate the bottom-up, the top down, and the middle out approaches. Training for instance, while

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<sup>35</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op.cit,p.51-55.

<sup>36</sup> P.Van Tongeren, M.Brenk, M.Hellema and J.Verhoeven (eds), *People Building Peace II* ( London: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.,2005) pp.85-86.

<sup>37</sup> K.D.Bush and D.Saltarelli, (Eds), *The Two Faces Of Education In Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children* ( Florence: UNICEF,2000) p.24.

appropriate for the middle level, can in fact be appropriately used at any level or across levels of leadership.<sup>38</sup>

**Table 2.2: Peacebuilding Approaches in Educational System-Somaliland**

Type of Actors	Approaches to Building Peace	Affected Population
<b>Level 1: Top Leadership</b> National Assembly, Government, MoE, Minister, Director General, Donors	<b>Top-level</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policy Making</li> <li>• National curriculum development</li> <li>• Teacher education and national exams.</li> <li>• Coordination</li> </ul>	Few ↓ Many
<b>Level 2: Middle Range Leadership</b> Regional and District Educational Committees comprising of: Respected ethnic, religious, academics, intellectuals, Humanitarian leaders in the education sector.	<b>Middle-level</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Problem-solving workshops</li> <li>• Training in conflict resolution and pedagogical methods.</li> <li>• Implementation</li> </ul>	
<b>Level 3: Grassroots Leadership</b> School Education Committees comprising of: :Local leaders Leaders of local education NGOs Local teachers ,parents ,youth workers	<b>Grassroots Level</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grassroots training and capacity building</li> <li>• Prejudice reduction</li> <li>• Psychosocial work</li> <li>• Building a culture of peace</li> </ul>	

Table 2.2: Source: Modified from J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op.cit; also Ministry of Education, *National Policy of Education* (Hargeisa: MoE, 2007) p.34

Realizing the salient aspect of a multi-track approach, the Somaliland National Policy of Education (NPE) envisages a steady decentralization of the management of the education system. Here, decentralization is aimed at increasing accessibility to all, improving the quality of programmes by

<sup>38</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op.cit.p.48.

making them more relevant to local needs and ensuring more people take responsibility for education through the devolution of authority and transfer of resources to regions, districts and communities.<sup>39</sup>

Further, both vertical and horizontal integration of the education management system is envisaged. Vertical integration will allow the central co-ordination of making of national policy and development plans in combination with delegation of authority to regions, districts and communities, and the involvement of those units in the co-planning of education. Horizontal integration will make the system more responsive to local needs and increase regional, district and community participation in an effort of increasing community ownership, sense of partnership and inter-sectoral collaboration.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, any education process in a deeply divided society essentially requires a legitimate, unique and interdependent look at the needs and resources of the grassroots, middle range and top level. An integrative, comprehensive approach provides for recognition, inclusion and coordination of peacebuilding activities across all levels<sup>41</sup>, which in turn enhances the potential of formal education contributions to long-term peace in the wider society.

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<sup>39</sup> Ministry of Education , *National Policy of Education* ( Hargeisa: MoE, 2007) p.34.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid

<sup>41</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op.cit.p.48.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Secondary Education in Peacebuilding: A Case Study of Hargeisa, Somaliland**

#### **Introduction**

Chapter Two provided a framework of the conflict cycle and various approaches to peacebuilding, namely the top, middle and the grassroots levels, through whose lens the role of secondary education in peacebuilding can be articulated. It was noted that a pragmatic approach to peacebuilding entails a more comprehensive approach that stresses the interdependence of levels and integrates the activities of the various tiers of leadership in the peacebuilding process.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter provides a discussion of the case study and will examine the role of secondary education in peacebuilding. It will start by providing a brief background of the administrative structure and political environment of Somaliland. It will then proceed to briefly examine the theory of conflict prevention. An understanding of the theory of conflict prevention is useful in articulating the role of peacebuilding in preventing the occurrence or re-occurrence of conflict. The role of secondary education in peacebuilding in post-conflict Hargeisa will then be examined.

#### **Administrative Structure and Political Environment**

The Republic of Somaliland is situated in the Horn of Africa. Its boundaries are defined by the Gulf of Aden to the North, Somalia in the East, the Federal Republic of Ethiopia in the South West, and the Republic of Djibouti in the

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<sup>1</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, op.cit.p.46.

North West.<sup>2</sup>The administrative structure of the state consists of a judiciary, legislature and an executive. The governance structure comprises a legislature made up of the House of Elders, and the House of Representatives, while the executive is comprised of the President and his chosen council of ministers who may not be members of parliament. The country is divided into six regions, namely, northwest, Awdal, Sahil, Togdheer, Sool and Sanaag, which are subdivided into thirty districts, with Hargeisa as the capital city.<sup>3</sup> As a result of local, clan-based reconciliation process, Somaliland has developed its own political institutions, judiciary, police, armed forces and currency.

In spite of strides made towards the social and economic well-being of its citizens, coupled with the relative peace and political stability in the country, Somaliland still remains unrecognised as sovereign. It does however have representative offices in several countries but these missions do not have formal diplomatic status. Such offices exist in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Italy, United Kingdom and USA.<sup>4</sup>

### **Understanding Conflict Prevention**

Peacebuilding is frequently cited as a part of conflict prevention. There are many terms used to denote conflict prevention. Among these, preventive diplomacy is the most commonly used term.<sup>5</sup> Boutros Boutros-Ghali provided the classic understanding of preventive diplomacy in his *Agenda of Peace*. Boutros-Ghali used conflict prevention to mean action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into

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<sup>2</sup> Ministry of National Planning & Coordination, *Somaliland in Figures*, Fifth Edition (Hargeisa: Ministry of National Planning & Coordination, 2004) p.2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.4

<sup>4</sup> Foreign Relations of Somaliland:

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign\\_Relations\\_of\\_Somaliland](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_Relations_of_Somaliland).

<sup>5</sup> J.S. Moolakkattu, 'The Concept and Practice of Conflict Prevention: A Critical Reappraisal', *International Studies* 42; 1 (Sage Publications: 2005) pp.1-19.

conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur.<sup>6</sup> Peacebuilding as has been demonstrated in Chapter Two similarly involves activities that enable countries to cultivate the promotion of peace prior, during and after conflict.

Further, preventive diplomacy does not take place in isolation. It is central to the entire conflict management process. After conflict, preventive diplomacy forms an integral part of post-conflict peacebuilding where it is a part of the process of consolidating peace.<sup>7</sup> Lund defines preventive diplomacy as "action to address almost any instance of potential or actual violence, whether or not it is interstate or inter-communal". Restricting his definition even more, Lund describes it as "action taken in vulnerable places and times to avoid the threat or use of armed force and related forms of coercion by states or groups to settle the political disputes that can arise from the destabilising effects of economic, social, political, and international change".<sup>8</sup>

Likewise, the Carnegie Commission for Preventing Deadly Conflict in its report identifies a three-fold agenda in conflict prevention that includes preventing the emergence of violent conflict through democratization, prevention of ongoing conflicts from spreading through the creation of military barriers like stoppage of supply of arms, ammunition and funds to the belligerents and prevention of the re-emergence of conflict through disarmament, decommissioning, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Structural strategies for conflict prevention lay emphasis on security, well-being and justice. That is, it entails:

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<sup>6</sup> B. Ghali. *An Agenda for Peace* (New York: United Nations, 1995) p.45.

<sup>7</sup> M. Mwangi, *Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Watermark Publications, 2000) p.11.

<sup>8</sup> M. S. Lund, 'Preventing Violent Intrastate Conflicts: Learning Lessons from Experience', in P. Van Tongeren, H. de Veen and J. Verhoeven (eds), *Searching for Peace in Europe and Eurasia: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peace-building Activities* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002) pp.34-37.



“putting in place international legal systems, dispute resolution mechanisms and cooperative arrangements; meeting people’s basic economic, social, cultural and humanitarian needs; and rebuilding societies that have been shattered by war or any other crises”.<sup>9</sup>

Similarly, former Secretary General of the UN, Koffi Annan, in a report submitted to the General Assembly in 2001, reiterated that conflict prevention is expected to address “the deep-rooted socio-economic, cultural, environmental, institutional and other structural causes that often underlie the immediate political symptoms of conflict”.<sup>10</sup> Hence an investment in national and international efforts for conflict prevention must be seen as a simultaneous investment in sustainable development since the latter can best take place in an environment of sustainable peace.<sup>11</sup> This is in line with the liberal thesis which also contends that at the domestic level, well-established democracies are less prone to civil unrest, political assassinations, and other forms of intrastate violence<sup>12</sup> hence more peaceful. Where there is peace, development can follow.

In light of these views, it follows then that youth and education are amongst a society’s key resources and investments in the future. Young people are the driving force behind future developments, and education is considered an engine of personal development and social change. Thus, in order to tap into the special potential of the young people, it is essential to promote peaceful-coexistence. Education not only transmits knowledge, but also transfers basic

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<sup>9</sup> Carnegie Commission, *Report of the Carnegie Commission for Prevention of Conflicts* (New York: Carnegie Commission, 1997) p. xxviii.

<sup>10</sup> United Nations, *Report of the Secretary General on Prevention of Armed Conflict*, UN General Assembly 55th Session, A/55/985-S/2001/574 (2001): <http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2001/un-conf/prev-07jun.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid

<sup>12</sup> R.Paris, ‘Bringing the Leviathan Back In: Classical Versus Contemporary Studies of Liberal Peace’, *International Studies Review* Vol.8 (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2006) pp.425-440.

personal, social and conflict-specific skills<sup>13</sup> to the youth. To influence the course of conflicts, peacebuilding education is needed most in moments of latent conflict, as well as in post-war phases and phases of peace.<sup>14</sup>

In secondary schools in Hargeisa, common types of conflicts<sup>15</sup> include verbal harassments, verbal arguments, rumours and gossip and physical fights. Conflict resolution education programmes focus on developing critical skills and abilities for the student to deal constructively with such conflicts. Such skills may for instance involve problem-solving skills where students can be taught to resolve conflicts through dialogue and cooperation rather than resorting to physical fights whenever differences arise among themselves.

Conflict resolution education can also be curriculum-based programmes designed to teach students about conflict and alternatives to violent conflict resolution and are preventive in nature. For example, through incorporating life skills subjects into the Somaliland secondary curriculum such as peace and conflict resolution, and interpersonal skills, young people can acquire skills that can enable them to live effectively and handle life's challenges in society. These skills may also entail social skills, empathy training, stress and anger management, attitudes about conflicts and bias awareness.<sup>16</sup>

In most cases conflict education programmes generally occur in schools, but they may also be used in after-school programmes, community centers or

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<sup>13</sup> N. Ropers, *Peace-Building, Crisis Prevention and Conflict Management: Technical Cooperation in the Context of Crises, Conflicts and Disasters* (Eschborn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für, 2002) p.67

<sup>14</sup> See T.Jones in P.Van Tongeren, M.Brenk, M.Hellema and J.Verhoeven (eds), *People Building Peace II* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 2005) p.245.

<sup>15</sup> D.W. Johnson and R.T. Johnson, 'Conflict Resolution and Peer Mediation Programs in Elementary and Secondary Schools: A Review of the Research', *Review of Educational Research*, op.cit

<sup>16</sup> D.W.Johnson and R.T.Johnson, 'Conflict Resolution and Peer Mediation Programs in Elementary and Secondary Schools: A Review of the Research', *Review of Educational Research*, Vol.66, No.4 (1996), p.459-506.

faith –based groups.<sup>17</sup> For instance in Hargeisa, majority of the youth cited co-curricular activities such as sports, club activities and volunteer service in the community as encouraging friendships, tolerance and respect and service to others thus creating good relationships among young people and promoting shared values of peace in their communities.

### **Secondary Education in Peacebuilding**

The study findings were based on the outcome of questionnaires administered and from in-depth interview discussions with key informants in the education and youth fields in Hargeisa. One common legacy of conflict in the education systems of post-conflict societies is that of large numbers of overage students.<sup>18</sup> This was evident in the study where majority (66%) of the secondary school graduands were between 20 to 24 years with 32% falling between 15 to 19 years.

In addition, 63% of the respondents were males and 34% were females. Violent conflict usually offers opportunities for taking positive steps towards gender equality. Educating females should be seen as inherent to the process of building peace at the top, middle and grassroots levels of Somaliland's education systems. For it is in building the capacities of girls and women that communities also build their capacity to prevent violent conflict<sup>19</sup> in the long run. For instance, women generally build the capacities of their communities

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<sup>17</sup> See T.Jones in P.Van Tongeren, M.Brenk, M.Hellema and J.Verhoeven (eds), *People Building Peace II* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 2005) p.245.

<sup>18</sup> The World Bank, *Reshaping the Future, Education and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (Washington D.C: World Bank, 2005) pp.20-21.

<sup>19</sup> See L.Schirch & M. Sewak, 'Women: Using the Gender Lens', in P.Van Tongeren, M.Brenk, M.Hellema and J.Verhoeven (eds), *People Building Peace II* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 2005) pp.97-107.

and countries in conflict prevention when they nurture the values of peace, respect, and empathy for others in their children.<sup>20</sup>

Somaliland considers education as a key peacebuilding tool in preventing conflict from re-escalating in its current post-conflict phase and in the consolidation of peace. This is aptly reflected by its key national education goals that include among others, the promotion in the society of a sense of responsibility for peace and improved relations at the individual, family, community, national and international levels, the growth of civic consciousness in an informed and socialized citizenry committed to mutual understanding, a culture of peace, acceptance of diversity, and towards solving problems without violence, and, the promotion of values of loyalty, self-reliance, tolerance, co-operation, critical thought, honesty, justice, fairness and peace.<sup>21</sup> Thus, secondary education can contribute to peacebuilding in the following ways.

### **Secondary Education and Economic Development**

First, the sub-sector is considered as one of the keys which can open the door to economic growth and poverty reduction<sup>22</sup> at the grassroots levels in Somaliland. This is supported by the Dakar Framework for Action that designates education as key to sustainable development.<sup>23</sup> 71% of participants to the study agree that a good quality secondary-level education provides young people with useful knowledge, skills and ability to enter into employment or be self-employed. These skills form the individuals' welfare values which Gurr

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup> Ministry of Education, *National Teacher Education Policy* (Hargeisa: MoE, 2006) pp.2-3.

<sup>22</sup> Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Strategic Plan, 2007-2011* (Hargeisa: MoE, 2007) p.2.

<sup>23</sup> See the Dakar Framework for Action in Y. Daudet and K.Singh, *Education Policies and Strategies 2, The Right to Education: An Analysis of UNESCO's Standard Setting Instruments* (Paris: UNESCO, 2001) p.30.

referred to as “economic and self-actualization values.”<sup>24</sup> Welfare values and self-actualization are reciprocal in nature, in that, the advancement of each can be instrumental in the attainment of the other. Thus, the provision of physical goods of life serves as a grassroots approach to peacebuilding in Hargeisa and not only ensures basic survival but also reduces the sense of relative deprivation within individuals which in turn minimizes the risk of violence in society.

This finding is reinforced further by a World Bank study which reached the conclusion that social and economic development which is above all aimed at overcoming social inequality, exclusion and humiliation has fundamentally proved to be the best form of conflict prevention.<sup>25</sup> Thus, where education reaches only a small group, it may encourage elitism. But as it is expanded a greater proportion of the Somaliland population are thrust into the cash economy and all groups can be placed on an equal footing. By meeting basic human needs of the masses at the grassroots level, sustainable peace is significantly strengthened in Somaliland. In this instance, that education has a functionalist role in creating a unified society is evident.

87% of the respondents noted that for development to take place however, there first must be peace and stability in the country.<sup>26</sup> Boutros-Ghali reinforces this notion by noting that:

“Without peace there can be no development and there can be no democracy. Without development, the basis for democracy will be lacking and societies will tend to fall into conflict. And without democracy, no sustainable development will occur; without such development, peace cannot be maintained.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> T.R.Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970) p.25.

<sup>25</sup> R. Allison (ed.) *Conflict Prevention and Post-conflict reconstruction: Perspectives and Prospects*, (Washington DC: World Bank, 1998) p.4.

<sup>26</sup> Aggregate responses from youth aged between 15-24 years to self-administered questionnaires (Hargeisa, 28&29 August 2007).

<sup>27</sup> B. Ghali, *Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the organization. General Assembly, Supplement No.1 (A/48/1)* (New York: United Nations, 1994) p.1.

## **Democracy in Secondary Education**

Secondary education promotes political participation among young people crucial to peaceful co-existence in Hargeisa and in Somaliland in the long run. A democratic government rests on the principle that people should participate freely in choosing their government.<sup>28</sup> Utilizing Gurr's value typology, political participation forms part of the set of values known as "power values" which merit inclusion in decision-making processes that shape one's future. Inclusion ensures the ability to advocate for the policies and procedures that will secure conditions for growth and development<sup>29</sup> for citizens hence giving support to the promotion of sustainable peace in Somaliland

A simple explanation to students of democracy is the choosing of the class prefect through an election in the classroom setting to represent them in matters affecting their welfare. This can afford Somaliland students a better idea of democracy at a grassroots level before delving into more complex examples at the regional and national levels of governance. The teachings of topics related to the obligations of the citizens, the constitution, basic human rights and responsibilities, the legislative and the judiciary, among others, is meant to instill the knowledge of democracy in students. The idea of a democracy should thus be part of the classroom activities in order to develop critical thinking and decision-making skills in students<sup>30</sup> at a lower level which in turn serves to open up the democratic space in the country. 79% of the participants view secondary

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<sup>28</sup> L. Bloom and J.G.Ottong, *Changing Africa: An Introduction to Sociology* (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1987) p.182.

<sup>29</sup> M. Moshe, 'Peacebuilding: A Conceptual Framework', *International Journal of Social Welfare* Vol.10 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001) pp.14-26.

<sup>30</sup> M. Adeyemi and L. Boahene, 'Democracy and Social Studies Education at the Junior Secondary School Level in Botswana,' *Pastoral Care* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001) pp.15-20.

education as forming a basic component for the development of their political capacities. Subjects like geography and civics equip them with requisite knowledge that enables their participation in political processes such as elections hence encouraging democracy and political stability in Somaliland.<sup>31</sup>

The need for requisite knowledge and skills in secondary schools in Hargeisa to peacefully change conditions of injustice at the grassroots level is also propounded in the Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy:

“Education must develop the ability to value freedom and the skills to meet its challenges. This means preparing citizens to cope with difficult and uncertain situations and fitting them for personal autonomy and responsibility. Awareness of personal responsibility must be linked to recognition of the value of civic commitment, of joining together with others to solve problems and to work for a just, peaceful and democratic community.”<sup>32</sup>

### **Conflict Resolution Skills in Secondary School**

Somaliland’s secondary curriculum should consist of integrated academic and practical subjects aimed at developing problem-solving skills and cognitive abilities among students.<sup>33</sup> To resolve conflicts constructively, students need to learn how to negotiate integrative agreements based on an understanding of both their own and the other person’s perspectives. Integrative negotiations are aimed at maximizing the gains of both oneself and the other person. In cooperative contexts in which relationships are ongoing such as schools the integrative approach to negotiation results in the most constructive outcomes.<sup>34</sup> Here,

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<sup>31</sup> Aggregate responses from youth aged between 15-24 years to self-administered questionnaires (Hargeisa, 28&29 August 2007).

<sup>32</sup> B.A.Reardon, *Education for a Culture of Peace in a Gender Perspective* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2001) p.80.

<sup>33</sup> Ministry of Education, *National Teacher Education Policy*, op.cit. p.12.

<sup>34</sup> L. Stevahn, D.W. Johnson , R.T. Johnson and D. Real, ‘The Impact of a Cooperative or Individualistic Context on the Effectiveness of Conflict Resolution Training’, *American Educational Research Journal* Vol.33, No.3 ( American Educational Research Association: Winter 1996) pp.801-823.

students use creative problem-solving procedures to find an agreement that gives both parties what they want.<sup>35</sup> Mitchell sees the aim of problem-solving exercises as “a re-analysis of the conflict as a shared problem, as providing alternatives to coercion and new options for a generally acceptable and self-sustaining resolution, involving agreement and a new relationship between erstwhile adversaries”.<sup>36</sup>

Kelman additionally argues that interactive problem-solving can serve a two-fold purpose, first to produce change in the participants themselves by stimulating new understandings, modifications in perceptions and attitudes, new ideas in conflict resolution; and second entails to transfer these changes<sup>37</sup> to the wider community. Thus, secondary education among other things encourages a greater understanding of the predicaments of others, discourages a zero-sum approach to conflict, reduces expectations of war by nurturing thoughts of conflict avoidance, conflict management and resolution<sup>38</sup> in students. And since students are involved in long-term, ongoing relationships, the most important conflict strategy for them to use is usually integrative negotiations in which joint benefit is considered over personal gain.

The reality however is that most secondary schools in Hargeisa operate in competitive rather than cooperative environments. In competitive situations, students typically have a short-term time orientation and focus their energies on

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<sup>35</sup>B.J. Hill, ‘An Analysis of Conflict Resolution Techniques: From Problem-Solving Workshops to Theory’, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol.26, No.1. (Mar., 1982), pp.109-138.

<sup>36</sup> C.R. Mitchell, ‘Problem-Solving Exercises and Theories of Conflict Resolution’ in J. Dennis, D.Sandole & H.Van de Merwe (eds), *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993) p.79.

<sup>37</sup> H.C. Kelman, ‘Interactive Problem-Solving: a Social-psychological Approach to Conflict Resolution’ in J.Burton and F.Dukes (eds) *Conflict Readings in Management and Resolution* (London: Macmillan, 1990) pp.199-215.

<sup>38</sup> G.Stern, *The Structure of International Society: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* (New York: Pinter, 1995) pp.278-279.



winning, paying little or no attention to maintaining a good relationship. Thus, in order to teach students how to seek solutions to problems rather than "win," educators must counter the competitive environment by creating a cooperative context in the classroom and school. Teachers can adequately achieve this through use of cooperative techniques in learning situations.<sup>39</sup> For example, by applying learner-centered teaching techniques and encouraging small group exercises in the classroom, students learn and appreciate the value of working and cooperating with one another to achieve a common goal. Additionally, in a problem solving oriented classroom the student's role is an active one. Students are exposed to substantive material in the area of study, they critically analyze and interpret this material using a cognitive framework-problem solving. Class assignments, class sessions, and examinations utilize this problem solving framework. Students are evaluated on the basis of their ability to identify issues and to utilize resources in resolving them. They are not evaluated on the basis of the particular solution which is finally determined. Hence, group work for discussion and simulation of problem solving situations provides the basis for a cooperative learning<sup>40</sup> environment.

The concepts and philosophy of non-violence can therefore be modelled by helping students to develop attitudes and behaviours which manifest the norms and skills of non-violence, maintaining a classroom climate that nurtures the development of attitudes and behaviours, and modelling them in the cooperative relationships with students.<sup>41</sup>Based on the integrative approach to negotiation,

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<sup>39</sup> D.W. Johnson and R. T. Johnson , Conflict Resolution and Peer Mediation Programs in Elementary and Secondary Schools: A Review of the Research, *Review of Educational Research*, op.cit

<sup>40</sup> J.Henton, R.Baden & D.Kieren, 'Problem-Solving in the Classroom', *The Family Coordinator*, Vol.28.No.1 (Jan.1979) pp.61-66.

<sup>41</sup> B.A.Reardon, *Education for a Culture of Peace in a Gender Perspective*, op.cit, p.53.

64% of the respondents observed that secondary education provides them with alternatives to physical violence by equipping them with useful skills and techniques for dialogue to resolve conflicts amongst themselves.<sup>42</sup>

Moreover, given that in many war situations, it is the youth who are normally the active participants by virtue of the inherent energies and being the people who act of peer pressure that can easily be manipulated to become a tool for war, engaging this section of Somaliland's society in education especially in secondary schools provides them the time and place to prepare for more positive undertakings in the future.<sup>43</sup> According to an elder in Ijaara, south west of Hargeisa: "We are not satisfied with the teaching in the schools. The quality is no better than that of the last regime, but at least the children are kept out of trouble until lunch time". That logic does not hold true for long since attrition rates are high, even in the lower grades, but parents are relieved with each year that they can keep their children out of "gun-school" - the *day-day* culture of the streets.<sup>44</sup>

At present, the gross enrollment rate of primary students in Somaliland is currently at 28%, an improvement from approximately 23% in the year 2006.<sup>45</sup> It is today's primary-age children that are tomorrow's youth. An increase in primary enrolment reflects positively on secondary education, where most youth find avenues for engagement in constructive activities that keep them off societal ills such as chewing or selling of *qat*, a local stimulant narcotic plant.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Aggregate responses from youth aged between 15-24 years to self-administered questionnaires (Hargeisa: 28&29 August 2007).

<sup>43</sup> Ibid

<sup>44</sup> War-torn Societies Project (WSP), *A Self-Portrait of Somaliland: Rebuilding from the Ruins*, (Hargeisa: Somaliland Centre for Peace and Development, 1999) p.73.

<sup>45</sup> Interview of the researcher with Manfred Winnefeld, *Education Adviser*, European Commission, Somalia Operations (Nairobi: 15 June 2007).

<sup>46</sup> Aggregate responses from youth aged between 15-24 years to self-administered

## Social Skills in Secondary School

During the colonial era and after independence, clan rivalries were manipulated by those in power in Somalia to further their interests. European colonial officers for example provided weapons to the clans that became their allies, and war-like relationships developed between those clans and the ones that resisted the foreign presence resulting in the crystallization of inter-clan rivalries.<sup>47</sup> Siyad Barre's military regime also rewarded clans that supported him and alienated those that did not through oppressive government's policies. As a result, tensions between clans arose in Somalia that, in part contributed to the civil war. It is argued that the balanced pastoral clan system that existed at the beginning of colonization gradually changed into a modern clan system of exclusion in which the strongest dictated their rules, and isolated the weakest in the name of their given clan affiliations.<sup>48</sup>

Thus, secondary education can promote a sense of belonging among students that is crucial to peaceful co-existence in Somaliland. Belonging forms the basis of individuals' interpersonal values enshrined in social interactions that enable one to construct a sense of self and group recognition.<sup>49</sup> It provides an avenue for engagement between local clan youth as well as the opportunity to live together as one people rather than clans.<sup>50</sup> A respondent rightly notes that:

“it is in secondary schools where youngsters from all parts of the country meet and integrate. These youngsters are from different clans,

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questionnaires (Hargeisa: 28&29 August 2007).

<sup>47</sup> See M.A. Mohamed, 'Somalia: Kinship and Relationships Derived from It', in H.M. Adam & R. Ford (eds), *Mending Rips in the Sky : Options for Somali Communities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (Eritrea, The Red Sea Press Inc., 1997) pp.145-159

<sup>48</sup> Ibid

<sup>49</sup> M. Moshe, 'Peacebuilding: A Conceptual Framework', *International Journal of Social Welfare*, op.cit

<sup>50</sup> Interview of the researcher with Thomas Odera, *Education Adviser*, Somalia/Somaliland Education Programme, SOS-Kinderdorf International NGO, Regional East Africa Office, (Nairobi: 13 June 2007).

social classes and backgrounds...the sense of togetherness created by secondary school makes them feel part of a larger and more important community, Somaliland. Hence none of the youngsters judges the other by clan, which is the main source of conflict".<sup>51</sup>

When young Somalilanders learn to perceive each other as equal and to discard clan mentalities, peaceful co-existence is made possible not only in the school environment but also in the wider community enhancing the country's grassroots peacebuilding efforts.

Next, language policy in secondary schools in Hargeisa, and in Somaliland in general, has a crucial role in promoting peace at the top, middle and grassroots levels. At the top-level, the national education system is at present promoting the use of English as a medium of instruction in schools to advance national unity and to facilitate greater interactions beyond Somaliland's borders. In the school environment, educators as middle-level actors should strive to use language to help construct learners' view of reality. When teachers convey messages to students through language, for example, describing a liberation movement as 'freedom fighters', 'rebels' or 'terrorists', they develop the linguistic tools that predispose learners toward either inflaming or resolving conflict.<sup>52</sup> At the grassroots level, formal education usually promotes a common language which permits communication<sup>53</sup> and mutual interaction between members of different clan and sub-clan groups in Somaliland and consequently promotes horizontal integration. Reardon notes that:

"all people as is declared in "Education for All" have the right to know fully one language, to speak it fluently, to read it critically and to write it articulately and reflectively. Thus, in addition to skills of discussion, the basic skills of literacy should be developed to a stage where they are in

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<sup>51</sup> Modified questionnaire response from a youth aged between 20-24 years (Hargeisa: 28 August 2007).

<sup>52</sup> A. Smith & T.Vaux, *Education, Conflict and International Development*, (London: Fuller-Davies Ltd, 2003) p.29.

<sup>53</sup> B.A.Reardon, *Education for a Culture of Peace in a Gender Perspective*, op.cit, p.100.

fact useful tools for social interaction in various spheres, such as economic activity for the sake of self and community, and political participation for the sake of political participation for the sake of full-fledged democracy.”<sup>54</sup>

Freudenstein took the idea of language learning as a vehicle to peacemaking one step further. He argued that teaching English as a second language can go beyond merely acquiring linguistic skills and communication competence to guiding pupils or students toward living peacefully with speakers of other languages. Documents, class activities, exercises, and so forth can be used to link learning any foreign language with peace-education content.<sup>55</sup> Key informants to the study concur with Freudenstein and indicate that aspects of peace in Somaliland’s secondary curriculum could easily be addressed in the English language syllabus.<sup>56</sup>

Another grassroots peacebuilding role for secondary education in Hargeisa is that, education transmits a sense of morality for the youth. The educational system aims not at enforcing a code of behaviour that consists of meaningless acts that are avoided or carried out in order to escape punishment but providing an understanding of the social reasons for norms or principles. History and sociology are particularly relevant subjects for educating youth to understand how and why social and moral norms and ideas have developed in their society.<sup>57</sup> Many youth, for example, indicate that subjects such as history provide an understanding of the consequences of war on humanity and afford them the opportunity to learn important lessons from the past as well as value

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid

<sup>55</sup> See R. Freudenstein in B. Yanoov, Conflict-Resolution Skills Can Be Taught, *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol.71, No.3 (1996) pp.12-28.

<sup>56</sup> Interview of the researcher with P.Mattis and John B., *Integrated Secondary Education Project Officers*, Africa Educational Trust NGO (Hargeisa: 06 August 2007).

<sup>57</sup> See E. Durkheim, ‘Moral Education’ in L.Bloom and J.G.Ottong, *Changing Africa: An Introduction to Sociology* (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1987) pp.173-174.

and promote peace in their society.<sup>58</sup> The benefits of these accrue to the wider community thus enhancing peace and stability at the grassroots level.

Next, secondary education through co-curricula activities plays a significant role in peacebuilding in Hargeisa. There is a distinctively sporting contribution to society, based on sporting values. These values include the importance of competing while retaining respect for opponents, the ability to express and suppress individual talents and ambitions within a team, the acknowledgement that there is something beyond individuals' immediate ambitions and an ultimate willingness to accept authority, however harsh its judgments (whether those of selectors or those of referees) may seem at the time.<sup>59</sup> By students adhering to sports rules, for example, compliance to a send-off from a soccer game for engaging in a fight or tackle on fellow player, it by and large sows the seeds of naturalizing respect for others, discipline and adherence to agreed upon norms and standards in society<sup>60</sup> thus lending support to grassroots peacebuilding efforts in Somaliland.

Sports also involve interactions through which young Somalilanders are able to enhance positive relations at the local level. There is a long tradition, dating back to Plato and Rousseau that asserts that sport not only promotes the good of the individual but also benefits the wider society. Rule 1 of the Olympic Charter follows this tradition when it states that "the aim of the Olympic Movement is to educate young people through sport in a spirit of better mutual understanding of friendship, thereby helping to build a better and more peaceful world."<sup>61</sup>The

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<sup>58</sup> Aggregate responses from youth aged between 15-24 years to self-administered questionnaires (Hargeisa: 28&29 August 2007).

<sup>59</sup> L.Allison, 'Sport and Civil Society', *Political Studies* XLVI (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998) pp.709-726.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid

<sup>61</sup> K.Jones, Sport and Friendship, *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Vol.35, No.1. (2001)

thesis that sport promotes the good of society stems from the general idea that sport is able to unite its participants in a common humanity that transcends social divisions, whether based on clan, gender, religion or nationality.<sup>62</sup> Whether students belong to the same clan or not, the bond created in sports deters antagonistic attitudes, thus, they learn to see one another as brothers.<sup>63</sup> In the process of playing together in school, they would talk, agree on rules and as a result personal interactions would be enhanced.

99% of the youth in this study agree that co-curricular activities such as sports and volunteer service in the community provide them with experiences that promote friendships, tolerance, respect and service to others, which then promotes good relationships not only among young people but also within the surrounding community.<sup>64</sup> Within these relationships also, students in Somaliland can formulate beliefs and understandings of society and the laws and norms that govern societal interactions hence promoting peaceful co-existence at the local, regional national and international levels.

Lastly, Somaliland's ministry of education strives to promote unity at the grassroots level through selection policies where students are chosen by equal quota from different parts of the country. Such a policy is based on the idea that if students grow up together, they become acquainted on personal basis with other young people from other clans, and fears and ignorance which underlie most discrimination and suspicion will be avoided.<sup>65</sup> This though remains a

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pp.131-140.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid

<sup>63</sup> Interview of the researcher with Maurice Ochuka, *Youth Coordinator*, SOS-Kinderdorf International NGO (Nairobi: 27 July 2007).

<sup>64</sup> Aggregate responses from youth aged between 15-24 years to self-administered questionnaires (Hargeisa: 28&29 August 2007).

<sup>65</sup> M.Bray, P.B.Clarke and D.Stephens, *Education and Society in Africa* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd, 1986) p.24.

challenge to secondary education in Hargeisa and the rest of Somaliland, as there are still some regional differences in school enrolment, and especially in the enrolment of girls.

From these discussions, it is evident that a quality secondary education is an important factor that can contribute to Somaliland's young people's chances of leading productive and responsible lives and in eliminating economic deprivation and social injustice in their country. Peace can be most fulfilled where opportunities for both cognitive and material self-realisation are provided to the young people of Somaliland. In creating a society that reflects the values and ideals of elimination of economic and political injustice as well as physical violence between clans and between countries<sup>66</sup>, peace in Somaliland can be realized in the long-term. Collaboration between the top, middle and grassroots actors of Somaliland's education system is also vital in promoting secondary-level education that not only provides young people with personal skills for development, but also bestows on them attitudes and values that allow for peaceful co-existence in society.

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<sup>66</sup> H. Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) p.14.



## **Chapter 4**

### **The Role of Secondary Education in Peacebuilding: A Critical Analysis**

#### **Introduction**

This study set out to examine the role of education in peacebuilding in post-conflict societies through the lens of secondary education in Hargeisa district of Somaliland.

Chapter One provided background to the problem, the problem statement, objectives and justification of the study, literature review, theoretical framework and hypotheses. In this chapter it was established that education builds the political capacities, economic and social skills of learners and is thus central to cultivating peace in society.

Chapter Two discussed the approaches that guide peacebuilding work in conflict affected countries. During the analysis, three levels of peacebuilding approaches were identified, namely, the top-level approach, the middle-level approach and the grassroots approach.<sup>1</sup> A multi-track approach was established as the most viable approach in attaining long-lasting peace.

Chapter Three focused on the case study and examined the role of secondary education in peacebuilding. It was demonstrated that democratic schools, the development of conflict resolution, social and economic skills among students significantly promotes values of peace in young people.

Chapter Four sets out to examine the interconnection of all the issues that have emerged from the foregoing chapters with the goal of achieving stated objectives of the study. It will begin by first providing an assessment of the role of secondary education in peacebuilding. Constraints of the role

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<sup>1</sup> See a detailed discussion on peacebuilding approaches in Chapter 2.

of secondary education in peacebuilding in post-conflict Somaliland will be highlighted. Lastly, an examination of a more effective role for secondary education in peacebuilding will be provided.

### **The Role of Secondary Education in Peacebuilding: An Appraisal**

Throughout this study it has been illustrated that peacebuilding seeks to provide those conditions that will enhance the transition from a state of conflict to co-existence and hence contribute to sustainable peace. Peacebuilding being a long term activity transforms the conflict structure by focusing on long-term relationships in the community. By education changing the psychological dimensions of adversarial relationships, improving communication and replacing violence with non-violent action it serves to transform conflict structures towards peace in communities.<sup>2</sup>

Both conflict and peacebuilding address human aspirations. The start-point of peacebuilding rests in the identification of human aspirations that are at the root of both conflict and peace. Economic despair, social injustice and political oppression have been defined as some of the deepest causes of conflict.<sup>3</sup> Peacebuilding is thus linked to the construction of a new social environment that advances a sense of confidence and improves conditions of life<sup>4</sup>of individuals. Education can thus play a key role in mitigating against conflict, be it in moments of latent conflict, phases of peace or in post-war phases.<sup>5</sup>

The central concern of post-conflict education is conflict prevention to ensure that education does not contribute to the likelihood of relapse into

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<sup>2</sup> H. Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) p.37.

<sup>3</sup> M. Moshe, *Peacebuilding: A Conceptual Framework*, *International Journal of Social Welfare* Vol.10 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001) pp.14-26.

<sup>4</sup> H. Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) p.38.

<sup>5</sup> See a full discussion of the Conflict Cycle in Chapter 3.

violence and actively builds social cohesion to help prevent it.<sup>6</sup>As illustrated throughout this study, education is critical in society for it ensures that political and social institutions are inclusive, equitable, and accountable. It creates an enabling environment for economic, social, and ethnic diversity rather than polarization and dominance. It also spurs growth and development that provide equitable benefits across society, and lastly it creates a culture of dialogue rather than violence.<sup>7</sup>

This role of education gives powerful support to peacebuilding in societies. It is widely agreed that, for the process of peacebuilding to be sustainable, and in turn yield long term peace, it needs to be comprehensive, and should involve the political, social, economic, legal, psychological, and spiritual facets of individuals in society.<sup>8</sup> Supporting this aspect of comprehensiveness of peacebuilding, Zartman argues that, “unfortunately there is no order of priority amongst them to prescribe ... All of this must be done at once and at the same time, and the steps kept apace of each other as the process moves along ... rather than as a series of discrete steps taken one step at a time.”<sup>9</sup>Education thus contributes to the various facets of peacebuilding when it equips young people with core skills in the political, social and economic spheres of society that eventually encourage peaceful co-existence in Somaliland.

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<sup>6</sup> The World Bank, *Reshaping the Future ,Education and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* ( Washington D.C: World Bank, 2005) pp.2-68

<sup>7</sup> The World Bank, *Reshaping the Future, Education and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* op.cit. pp.11-12.

<sup>8</sup> M.I. Gawerc, ‘Peace-building: Theoretical and Concrete Perspectives’, *Peace & Change*, Vol.31, No.4 (October 2006) pp.435-478.

<sup>9</sup> W. I. Zartman, *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995) p.273.

Contemporary social science contends that human nature is not intrinsically violent or warlike.<sup>10</sup> This is the nurture debate of conflict which portends that violence and aggression are conditioned by the environment in which individuals find themselves. Violence is therefore not inevitable in society, and just as it was learned, it can be unlearned.<sup>11</sup> If we have to be taught to be wary of strangers, of other tribes or clans, racist, or sexist, we can also be socialized to trust, appreciate others unlike ourselves, cooperate, and respect the law. We can also learn how to negotiate, mediate, share, compromise, and to bargain in conflict situations. If teachers and students learn to conquer situations of domination, oppression, and negative forms of dependence, individuals can learn to coexist with other people regardless of tribe, clan, nation, race, sex or culture, who act similarly.<sup>12</sup> Thus the subjective and objective contexts for a constructive transformation of conflict can be changed by a shift in power relations and attitudes<sup>13</sup> brought about by education. Hence, secondary education can have a socially constructive impact on intergroup relations and can positively shape the perceptions, attitudes, and ultimately, the behaviour of young people in society.

### **Secondary Curriculum in Peacebuilding**

Civil wars are essentially the result of discrimination and exclusion from the distribution of national wealth, as well as of the monopolization of

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<sup>10</sup> B. Yanoov, 'Conflict-Resolution Skills Can Be Taught', *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol.71, No.3 (1996) pp.12-28.

<sup>11</sup> M. Mwangiru, *Conflict : Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Watermark Publications, 2000) p.17

<sup>12</sup> B. Yanoov, Conflict-Resolution Skills Can Be Taught, *Peabody Journal of Education*, op.cit

<sup>13</sup> H. Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, (Aidershot: Ashgate, 2000) p.38.

power.<sup>14</sup> Hence education has the potential to instil new values, attitudes, skills, and behaviour as well as help promote new social relations in conflict afflicted societies that will build resilience to conflict.<sup>15</sup> Churchill<sup>16</sup> noted that the traditional notion of the state embodied a set of assumptions that simultaneously claim and construct linguistic, cultural and political homogeneity. Education contributes to this process by constructing and imposing a common culture, founded on a common language, a shared sense of history and destiny, and more broadly, a common set of expectations and behaviours rooted in a sense of civic loyalty. Whether the end result is assimilation or integration depends on both the way education is structured and the content of the curriculum, both hidden and explicit. In a liberal view of the world, the end result is a society based on tolerance and respect for difference.<sup>17</sup> Hence, when the curriculum, a critical element of secondary education, is positively exploited by the top-level leadership, that is, policymakers to enhance skills, values and attitudes of peace among students, it yields positive consequences for peaceful co-existence in the school and in the wider community as a whole.

The goals of secondary education are substantially aimed at building human capital<sup>18</sup> by achieving the highest enrolment rates, and highest quality of education, with the resources available. The resultant mass

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<sup>14</sup> See Causes of the Somali civil war in Chapter 2.

<sup>15</sup> The World Bank, *Reshaping the Future, Education and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (Washington D.C: World Bank, 2005) pp.2-68.

<sup>16</sup> S. Churchill, 'The Decline of the Nation State and the Education of National Minorities' in K.D.Bush and D.Saltarelli, (eds), *The Two Faces Of Education In Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children* (Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2000) p.6.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid

<sup>18</sup> See a full discussion of the national goals of education in Somaliland in Chapter 3.

literacy increases demands for political participation and economic equity.<sup>19</sup> This goal is supported by the liberal peace thesis that is premised upon political and economic well being as key ingredients for peace in society. Perry also asserts this notion by stating that, “more democracy and more free market economies in more nations means less chance of conflict”.<sup>20</sup>

The study has also demonstrated that certain subjects in the curriculum positively mould the perceptions and attitudes of students in their inter-group interactions. Such perceptions include the internalization of values of peace among individuals, desegregation of learners’ minds from clan mentality and learning to live together.<sup>21</sup> Also, through the curriculum it is rightly argued that schools can teach a lot about peace and conflict through their approach to knowing. Tidwell pointed out that children, and in our case students, learn very different lessons when knowledge is presented as fixed, authoritative, and unquestionable, as compared to presenting knowledge as interpreted and interpretable, inquiry-based, democratic, and critical.<sup>22</sup> Other than developing students’ cognitive skills, this approach is generally aimed at sharpening students’ problem-formulating and problem-solving skills.<sup>23</sup> It involves perspective-coordination, a basic social development skill required for resolving conflicts that entails perspective taking, coordinating one’s

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<sup>19</sup> L. Ndikumana, ‘Distributional Conflict, the State and Peacebuilding in Burundi’, *The Round Table* Vol.94, No.381 (September 2005) pp.413-427.

<sup>20</sup> See W.J. Perry, ‘Defense in an Age of Hope’ in J.S. Moolakkattu, ‘The Concept and Practice of Conflict Prevention: A Critical Reappraisal’, *International Studies* 42; 1 (Sage Publications: 2005) pp.1-19.

<sup>21</sup> K.D.Bush and D.Saltarelli, (Eds), *The Two Faces Of Education In Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children*, (Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2000) pp.16-20.

<sup>22</sup> A. Tidwell, ‘Conflict, Peace and Education: A Tangled Web’, *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 21, (2004) pp. 463-470.

<sup>23</sup> See a fully developed discussion on perceptions and problem-solving in Chapter 3.

perspectives with that of others and expressing empathy and emotions.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, students must understand and value each other's point of view. This is a useful skill that can instil in students respect for others' views and promote skills and values of peaceful resolution of conflicts both within the school and in the wider community.

Likewise, Jones<sup>25</sup> notes that when conflict resolution education is integrated into the school curriculum, it decreases aggressiveness, discipline referrals, dropout rates, social withdrawal, suspension rates, victimized behaviour and violence amongst students. She argues that conflict resolution skills impact positively on the school climate by generally reducing disciplinary actions and suspensions thus improving the school climate, and the classroom climate. Hence conflict resolution education forms a critical part of secondary education's peacebuilding efforts.

Cognitive skills serve to hone the students' decision-making skills. The teachings of topics related to the obligations of the citizens, the constitution, basic human rights and responsibilities, the legislative and the judiciary, among others, is meant to instil the knowledge of democracy in students.<sup>26</sup> In addition, the capacity to influence the mind and the assumption that once one is convinced makes education a useful tool in training the minds of the youth<sup>27</sup> towards peaceful co-existence in society. Moreover, when students are given the opportunity to express themselves and speak their mind

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<sup>24</sup> C. Daiute, R. Stern and C. Weinberger, 'Negotiating Violence Prevention', *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol.59, No.1(2003) pp.83-101.

<sup>25</sup> T.S. Jones, 'Education that Makes a Difference' in P. Van Tongeren, M. Brenk, M. Hellema and J. Verhoeven (eds), *People Building Peace II* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 2005) pp.245-254.

<sup>26</sup> M. Adeyemi and L. Boahene, 'Democracy and Social Studies Education at the Junior Secondary School Level in Botswana,' *Pastoral Care* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001) pp.15-20.

<sup>27</sup> Interview of the Researcher with Afyare Abdi Elmi, PhD Candidate, Department of Political Science, University of Alberta (Nairobi: 4 July 2007).

without fear of persecution or punishment, irrespective of their background or gender, it sows the seeds for respect of others opinions, thus laying the basic foundations for democracy in society.

Conversely, through co-curricula activities such as sports, peace is also enhanced. In divided communities, social attitudes can prove difficult to change and sport can just as easily transcend community antagonisms or sustain them.<sup>28</sup> As illustrated by this study, sports<sup>29</sup> is an excellent medium through which relations between young people can be enhanced at the school level, and spill-over to the community, regional, national and international levels. Friendships that are formed when young people play and compete together can help transcend social divisions and encourages a better and peaceful society.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, outreach programmes as part of schools' curriculum also aim at creating linkages between school and society, which then cultivates positive and mutually reinforcing linkages between the formal educational system and the surrounding communities.<sup>31</sup>

From these foregoing discussions, secondary education curriculum plays a significant role in peacebuilding through the development of political competencies in students that are characterized by the development of cognitive skills that hone their decision-making skills, and social skills that impact positively on inter-group relations, elements essential for sustainable peace in society. These findings thus confirm the significant role

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<sup>28</sup> K.Jones, Sport and Friendship, *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Vol.35, No.1. (2001) pp.131-140.

<sup>29</sup> See Chapter 3 for a fully developed discussion on the role of sports in peacebuilding.

<sup>30</sup> Interview of the researcher with Maurice Ochuka, *Youth Coordinator*, SOS-Kinderdorf International NGO (Nairobi: 27 July 2007).

<sup>31</sup> K.D. Bush and D. Saltarelli, (Eds), *The Two Faces Of Education In Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children*, op.cit., p.22



of secondary education's curriculum in peacebuilding thereby reinforcing hypothesis one of this study.<sup>32</sup>

### **Economic Skills in Peacebuilding**

In Somalia, clan solidarity coupled with power asymmetry formed the root causes of the civil war. Power-sharing issues emerged when the southern leaders increasingly dominated over the northerners.<sup>33</sup> Proximate causes of the war were linked to the poor economy in the north as a result of Barre's economic policies. Private businesses were nationalized, state-owned agencies became complete monopolies, nomads and agro-pastoralists needs were ignored and as a result of these policies, the country's economy plummeted.<sup>34</sup> Competition for resources due to an influx of refugees in the northern region further exacerbated the conflict. As a result of these repressive policies the northerners launched an offensive against the government through the Somali National Movement (SNM), an opposition outfit in the north. The government responded to the SNM offensive by a wholesale indiscriminate aerial and ground bombardment of all Isaaq towns and villages in the North. These acts were the last straw that triggered the civil war that eventually culminated in the declaration of Somaliland's independence from Somalia on 18 May 1991.<sup>35</sup>

Here, education for positive peace aims at addressing the root causes of conflict. It seeks to accomplish these by directing its efforts at the elimination of all structural and cultural obstacles to peace through fostering

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<sup>32</sup> For hypotheses, see Chapter 1.

<sup>33</sup> A. Adedeji, (ed), *Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts: The Search for Sustainable peace and Good Governance* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1999) p.239.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. pp.239-243.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid

economic and political development, and social justice in societies. Development activities are comprised of cultural and political elements as well as material. These activities are geared towards the promotion of human well-being, an important condition for realizing peace.<sup>36</sup> Hence, sustainable social and economic development is an element of structural stability.<sup>37</sup>

Talentino<sup>38</sup> notes that many internal conflicts have an economic dimension to them, with grievances hinging on both political and economic exclusion. Therefore altering inequities is a central expectation of peacebuilding activities. A primary function of an educational system is to match the output of skilled and educated people to jobs, trades and professions, which implies anticipating the jobs that will be available in the future.<sup>39</sup> Thus, when education equips young people with core skills that prepare them to function well as economically productive individuals in society, it greatly impacts on peacebuilding. Furthermore, economic activity is a social activity. An individual's work while providing for self and family also has consequences for the well-being of the entire community.<sup>40</sup>

El-Kenz<sup>41</sup> notes that violence is a common mode of response to societal problems and notes that it is the youth who are usually at the forefront; young people enraged by situations of injustice and indignity in their

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<sup>36</sup> H. Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) p.241.

<sup>37</sup> N. Ropers, *Peace-Building, Crisis Prevention and Conflict Management: Technical Cooperation in the Context of Crises, Conflicts and Disasters* (Eschborn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für, 2002)p.52

<sup>38</sup> A.K. Talentino, 'Perceptions of Peacebuilding. The Dynamic of Imposer and Imposed Upon', *International Studies Perspectives* 8, (2007) pp.152-171.

<sup>39</sup> L Bloom and J.G.Ottong, *Changing Africa: An Introduction to Sociology* (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1987) p.177.

<sup>40</sup> B.A. Reardon, *Comprehensive Peace Education: Educating for Global Responsibility* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1988) p.83.

<sup>41</sup> A. El-Kenz, 'Youth & Violence' in S.Ellis (Ed) *Africa Now: People, Policies & Institutions* (The Hague: Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DGIS), 1996) pp.42-57.

societies and cannot tolerate it anymore. He argues further that economic, demographic and cultural factors can result in an explosive mix that can fuel violence in situations of social injustices. Thus, where education provides students with a broad range of skills that enable them to acquire employment or attain self-employment, it has a positive spill-over effect on peace in the wider community, in that there is a less chance of tensions and social injustices. The assumption behind human rights at the societal level is that individuals who have their basic needs respected and catered for will be less likely to engage in violent behaviour to try and pursue justice.<sup>42</sup>

In addition, it was observed that broadening of educational opportunities in secondary school makes the grounds for employment more equal. Equity in turn reduces the odds of violence in society. However, a key finding of the study indicated that only 6% of the respondents saw secondary education as a vehicle for acquiring skills necessary for entering into gainful employment. This is a challenge which the government must promptly rise to the occasion by providing the necessary conditions or opportunities that will enhance the economic prospects of its youth in the society. It also calls on educators to be aware of the economic possibilities that will face the learners in their societies and to also capacitate the students to diagnose these economic obstacles and contribute to their elimination.<sup>43</sup> This implies that an educational system must have the ability to forecast the type of skills that social change depends upon and then provide an appropriate education.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> P.Friedrich ,English For Peace: Toward a Framework of Peace Sociolinguistics: *World Englishes* op.cit.pp.72-83.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid

<sup>44</sup> L Bloom and J.G.Otong, *Changing Africa: An Introduction to Sociology* op.cit. p.177.

As illustrated economic problems generally contribute to conflict. Problems that may seem unrelated to conflict such as poverty need to be addressed to improve living standards and to reduce its levels in society. Poverty may not be a direct cause of conflict, but a solid economy is essential for political stability and consolidating peace. Poverty generally erodes the relationship between the people and the state and is therefore detrimental to peacebuilding. A weak economy also increases the temptation to use the state as a source of wealth accumulation when the returns to investing in politics exceed the returns in the private sector.<sup>45</sup> Consequently, a good economic performance is vital for building lasting peace. Thus, peacebuilding is seen as involving the struggle to eradicate social and economic policies and procedures that promote conditions of poverty, unemployment, homelessness, discrimination and fewer opportunities to ensure human growth and development.<sup>46</sup> Therefore the goal for secondary education must focus on how best to equip the youth with knowledge and competencies needed to cope with economic realities of their time and also improve their quality of life in society in the present and future times.

All in all, the second hypothesis<sup>47</sup> of the study has been confirmed true to some extent. For economic development to have a substantial impact on peace in Somaliland however, education must be more practical and reflect the current market realities so that learners can be enabled to function as economically productive citizens in society, in the long run. In addition, the government should partner with the private sector in an effort to avail more

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<sup>45</sup> L. Ndikumana, Distributional Conflict, the State and Peacebuilding in Burundi, *The Round Table* Vol.94, No.381 (September 2005) pp.413-427.

<sup>46</sup> M. Moshe, Peacebuilding: A Conceptual Framework, *International Journal of Social Welfare* Vol.10, op.cit

<sup>47</sup> See Chapter 1 for hypotheses of the study.

employment opportunities for the youth. As regular citizens at the grassroots level, with no role in government the youth are most concerned with daily life. Their focus is on economic issues and is most affected by factors that make them more or less able to work and live peaceably.<sup>48</sup> By providing more opportunities for economic productivity, the liberal peace thesis contends that, this will create conditions that will allow for long term economic growth<sup>49</sup> which will significantly reinforce peacebuilding at the grassroots level, and in turn promote sustainable peace in this country.

### **Constraints of Secondary Education in Peacebuilding**

As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, secondary education plays a central role in peacebuilding by shaping the values, attitudes and ultimately the behaviour of the youth in society. However, several challenges dampen the sub-sector's role in peacebuilding in Somaliland.

First, limited access to education opportunities at this level is of major concern. Formal secondary education only serves a small section of the young people, thus significant segments of the youth are missing out on education, such as those in internally displaced camps, nomadic populations and those who were born or grew up during the civil war.<sup>50</sup> Also, most schools are concentrated in urban areas such as Hargeisa, limiting access by youth from rural areas. Fees charged by public and private schools compound the problem of access as many parents are unable to raise the

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<sup>48</sup> A.K. Talentino, 'Perceptions of Peacebuilding. The Dynamic of Imposer and Imposed Upon', *International Studies Perspectives* 8, (2007) op.cit

<sup>49</sup> R. Paris 'Wilson's Ghost: The Faulty Assumptions of Post-Conflict Peacebuilding' in C.A. Crocher, et al., *Peace* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001), pp.766

<sup>50</sup> The World Bank, *Somalia: From Resilience Towards Recovery and Development: A Country Economic Memorandum for Somalia*, Washington D.C, 2006, p.104

amount charged owing to widespread poverty.<sup>51</sup> This not only locks out significant numbers of students, but also disadvantages girls in the education process which is detrimental to achieving peace in the long run. Caprioli<sup>52</sup> notes that when there is more gender equality in society, there is less interstate violence. Feminist conceptions of peace entail among others conditions of social justice and economic equity. Access to education for example is viewed as an indicator of the welfare of society. Hence for social justice to be realized, greater participation of girls and women is required.<sup>53</sup>

Conversely, where groups have no equal chance, it encourages elitism. Elitism increases economic and political inequalities which may result in social and political instability as new and traditional elites struggle for domination.<sup>54</sup> Randrianja<sup>55</sup> similarly argues that elites constitute an obstacle to democratization when they for example, do not genuinely share power with other groups, especially the poor, the ill-educated rural groups and the masses of the city-dwellers. Hence, educational systems should strive to promote an equal chance of education for all groups and should not be viewed as creating a new group of elites.

In the same vein, a lack of opportunities for further academic or professional training after secondary school forms a key source of frustration for many youth. While aggression is not innate in human beings, the potential for aggression is, and is activated by certain kinds and levels of

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<sup>51</sup> Interview of the researcher with Thomas Odera, *Education Adviser*, Somalia/Somaliland Education Programme, SOS-Kinderdorf International NGO, Regional East Africa Office, (Nairobi: 13 June 2007).

<sup>52</sup> M. Caprioli, 'Gendered Conflict', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37(2000) pp. 51-68.

<sup>53</sup> H. Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) pp.82-84.

<sup>54</sup> L Bloom and J.G.Ottong, *Changing Africa: An Introduction to Sociology* (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1987) p.176.

<sup>55</sup> S.Randrianja, 'Nationalism, Ethnicity & Democracy' in S.Ellis (ed) *Africa Now: People, Policies & Institutions* (The Hague: Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DGIS), 1996) pp.20-41.

frustration.<sup>56</sup> With many young people faced with no or limited alternatives for further advancement and a bleak future, the peacebuilding role of secondary education is dampened and such pent-up frustrations could eventually gravitate the youth towards violence or anti-social behaviour in society.

The peacebuilding potential of the curriculum is also still minimal. The history curriculum as illustrated in Chapter Three, for example, has much more information about wars than peace topics.<sup>57</sup> Bush and Saltarelli for instance note that critical historiographic skills are essential if young people are to be able to identify the intersection between their personal stories and larger collective histories. That it is only when young people realize that histories are constructed rather than given, that they can begin to contemplate challenging and changing the behaviour that poisons inter-group relations.<sup>58</sup> Therefore subjects like history should endeavour to discard previously held distorted perceptions of others among students and encourage them to embrace values of peace, diversity and tolerance in the school and in the wider community of Somaliland as a whole.

Moreover, as illustrated earlier in this Chapter ,the Somaliland's secondary curriculum is still of a general academic nature in terms of its relevance to national development and labour market needs, and does not substantially result in the sort of practical skills which are needed to make young people economically productive citizens. Secondary education is

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<sup>56</sup> See J.Dollard et al, 'Frustration and Aggression' in M. Mwangi, *Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Watermark Publications, 2000) p.17

<sup>57</sup> Interview of the researcher with P. Mattis and John B., *Integrated Secondary Education Project Officers*, Africa Educational Trust NGO (Hargeisa: 06 August 2007).

<sup>58</sup> K.D. Bush and D.Saltarelli, (Eds), *The Two Faces Of Education In Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children*, op.cit

therefore not yet at a stage where it can play its full role in producing young people who will help drive national economic growth.<sup>59</sup> This is evidenced by the overwhelming number of youth that identified unemployment as a major concern for them. Majority felt that continued unemployment could drive the youth into anti-social behaviour if it was left unaddressed. Hence high levels of expectations by young people and their families, that education will provide the means to their economic well-being in the future and the reality of unemployment could be a destabilizing factor for peace in Somaliland in the long run. The government must therefore strive to create a stable economic environment in which its citizens can actively take part.

In a related vein, the societal apparatuses that ensure entitlements and opportunities for growth and development generally reflect members' value expectations.<sup>60</sup> In post-conflict countries parents and students alike place very considerable expectations on educational systems. When these expectations are not fulfilled, feelings of deprivation may arise. For many youth education is viewed as a way out of poverty and a path to their economic well being and that of their families. When the education system fails to avail opportunities employment, this may cultivate a sense of injustice and also create tensions in the society. In support of this is also the notion that an increase in literacy of ethnic groups can result in their greater mobilization. The logic is that, the greater the attainment of literacy and expansion of educational opportunities, the greater the awareness of the group members about their grievances which in turn, strengthens their

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<sup>59</sup> Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Strategic Plan, 2007-2011* (Hargeisa: MoE, 2007) pp.13-14.

<sup>60</sup> M. Moshe, *Peacebuilding: A Conceptual Framework, International Journal of Social Welfare* Vol.10 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001) pp.14-267.



resolve to fight.<sup>61</sup> This is supported by the subjective view of conflict which argues that conflict arises when an incompatibility of goals is subjectively experienced by individuals. It portends that people have to subjectively perceive a conflict and its effects for them to be considered to be in a situation of conflict.<sup>62</sup>

Also, curriculum development and policies are centralized and are very much a top-level approach activity. Bloom and Ottong note that a usual justification for this by policymakers is that only the central government can decide what the country's priorities should be. They argue that this is a weak argument, because all citizens are, or should be involved in making such decisions.<sup>63</sup> This then means that the needs of the grassroots level actors such as teachers, religious leaders, students and even the community are not factored in the resultant policies. The result is usually policies that are a poor reflection of the needs on the ground that limit the system's capacity to foster individual talents and provide an education that will build peace in the long-term.

Next, the quality of education provided is adversely affected by the large number of untrained teachers with limited teaching skills in conflict resolution, problem-solving skills and cooperative learning. Teachers as middle-level actors<sup>64</sup> feed into the policy-making process of the education system and are also the implementers of policies and as such are critical in any education that takes account of conflict prevention. They are also

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<sup>61</sup> P. Sahadevan, 'Negotiating Peace in Ethnic Wars' *International Studies*, 43, 3 (New Delhi/Thousand Oaks/London: Sage Publications, 2006) pp.239-266.

<sup>62</sup> M. Mwangi, *Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Watermark Publications, 2000) pp.15-16.

<sup>63</sup> L Bloom and J.G.Ottong, *Changing Africa: An Introduction to Sociology* op.cit. p.166

<sup>64</sup> For more on actors in the middle-level approaches to peacebuilding see Chapter 2.

generally considered drivers of peacebuilding at the grassroots as theirs is to liberate communities into positive peace. Therefore their pedagogy is expected to be appropriate for this transformation and should thus be elicitive and transformative, rather than prescriptive and directive<sup>65</sup> as is the case at present. Freire argued against the ‘banking’ or teacher-directed nature of education as a form of oppression, and advocated for education that liberated the human potential of individuals.<sup>66</sup> Teacher-centred methodologies restrict students’ participation and fail to encourage cooperation among students that is essential for peace in the long run. This greatly limits the potential role of secondary education in peacebuilding.

Moreover, communication is a central concern for several educators working on peace. For example, teaching assertive communication skills to students can help them break “the typical passive-aggressive cycle” that often leads to conflict. Students can be provided with, and practice ways to use peacebuilding linguistic tools to resolve conflict in a non-confrontational manner.<sup>67</sup> In Somaliland however, a language policy for secondary schools is yet to be fully operational. In addition, the level of English teaching is underdeveloped in the country and sometimes has to be supported through the medium of Somali language, even at the university level.<sup>68</sup> This limits the role of the English as well as the ability of teachers in building their students’ language skills with the aim of fostering mutual respect and peace beyond their communities.

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<sup>65</sup> O. Ramsbotham, T. Woodhouse and H. Miall , *Conflict Resolution*, Second Edition (Cambridge:Poliby,2005) pp.219-220.

<sup>66</sup> See P.Freire in O. Ramsbotham, T. Woodhouse and H. Miall, *Conflict Resolution*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Poliby, 2005) pp.219.

<sup>67</sup> P. Friedrich, English for Peace: Toward a Framework of Peace Sociolinguistics, *World Englishes*, Vol.26, No.1 (2007) pp.72-83.

<sup>68</sup> Ministry of Education, *National Teacher Education Policy*, op.cit

Next, lack of funding is another challenge for the sub-sector. In many post-conflict societies resources are usually channelled to military expenditures and away from education, leaving schools without textbooks and learning materials, teachers unpaid, and schools unsupervised.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, an over-reliance on donor inputs has seen an increased external pressure on the Ministry of Education to provide primary rather than secondary education.<sup>70</sup> This has negative implications in terms of limited secondary opportunities for many young people upon completion of primary level education in Somaliland. It also makes education a top-level, externally-driven process rather than an internally driven participatory process. Hence because the grassroots level actors are usually left out in such consultations, the effectiveness of secondary education in peacebuilding is considerably curtailed.

Moreover, sustainability is also a problem where foreign aid has assisted government efforts in restoring educational services. For example, UNICEF provides support in terms of training and school supplies. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has also provided support in the curriculum development, textbooks, and teacher training. The achievements have been impressive, with more students now in Somaliland's schools, but the problem of sustainability remains unresolved<sup>71</sup> hence this risks making education's role in peacebuilding quite minimal and unsustainable.

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<sup>69</sup> The World Bank, *Somalia: From Resilience Towards Recovery and Development: A Country Economic Memorandum for Somalia* (Washington D.C: World Bank, 2006) p.101.

<sup>70</sup> Interview of the researcher with P.Mattis and John B., *Integrated Secondary Education Project Officers*, Africa Educational Trust NGO(Hargeisa:06 August 2007).

<sup>71</sup> War-torn Societies Project (WSP), *A Self-Portrait of Somaliland: Rebuilding from the Ruins*, (Hargeisa: Somaliland Centre for Peace and Development, 1999) p.74.

Lastly, a key finding of the study was that secondary education built the political capacities of the youth through equipping them with cognitive skills vital in decision-making processes, which in turn enhance their participation in democratic processes.<sup>72</sup> However, the weakness of government institutions featured strongly as a constraint to the role of education in promoting democratic societies. Nearly all participants cited a weak judiciary system, violation of human rights, corruption and greedy leaders as obstacles to their confidence in their country's democracy. Upholding human rights for example, is one of the primary tasks in building positive peace. Hence there is need for firm and effective government institutions to uphold justice and ensure confidence in the country's democracy so that sustainable peace can be realized in Somaliland in the long run.

#### **Maximizing the Role for Secondary Education in Peacebuilding**

The foregoing discussions have identified several challenges from the experience of secondary education in peacebuilding in Hargeisa district of Somaliland. Lack of access to education, the persistence of poverty and unemployment, and inequitable access to opportunities and resources can cause social exclusion and marginalisation. Poverty is viewed in part as the result of inequitable distribution of opportunities, resources, incomes, and access to employment and to social services.<sup>73</sup> Realizing the potential role of youth education in peacebuilding the following can serve to promote an effective role for secondary education in post-conflict Somaliland.

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<sup>72</sup> See a detailed discussion on democracy in secondary education in Chapter 3.

<sup>73</sup> B.Huber, *The Concept of Social Integration: A Policy-Research Agenda* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003) pp.433-439.

First, the government must genuinely take steps in enhancing the relevance of secondary education with a view to ensuring that graduands from this level possess appropriate skills for the social and economic development of society and their own development.<sup>74</sup> The government can achieve this by making curriculum development a participatory process that allows for grassroots and middle-level contributions in the education-policy making process. A locally driven bottom-up policymaking process does have a long-lasting impact on peacebuilding in contrast to externally-driven top-down processes.<sup>75</sup> This is supported by Bush and Saltarelli<sup>76</sup>, who rightly argue that peacebuilding education, like peacebuilding itself, should be a bottom-up rather than top down process driven by war-torn communities themselves, founded on their experiences and capacities. Thus, education should firmly be rooted in immediate realities of the society, and not in abstract ideas or theories and should also be applicable, immediate, and relevant to the students and societal needs.<sup>77</sup>

With regard to donor funding and sustainability of secondary education in building peace in the society, it is paramount that the same features that characterize peacebuilding education characterize the role of external donors, namely that it “is a process rather than a product, it is long-term rather than short-term, it relies on local, rather than external, inputs and resources seek to create opportunities rather than impose solutions”.<sup>78</sup> If these are accepted as the guiding premises of peacebuilding education, then

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<sup>74</sup> Ministry of Education, *National Policy of Education* op.cit.p.20

<sup>75</sup> K.D.Bush and D.Saltarelli, (Eds), *The Two Faces Of Education In Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children* (Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre,2000) p.26

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p.22

<sup>77</sup> Ibid

<sup>78</sup> Ibid

Somalilanders must own the process and be involved right from the start, and not after the formulation of education frameworks and approaches by outsiders, or not only for the implementation of donors solutions<sup>79</sup> to education challenges. In this way, grassroots ownership will be enhanced and thus ensure an effective role for secondary education in peacebuilding.

Further, in strengthening the peacebuilding goal of education, the curricula should try to help children and young people see the effects of war on themselves, their families and their communities.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, training workshops<sup>81</sup> can equip teachers with conflict resolution skills that can be utilized both within the classroom setting and in the wider community thus becoming vehicles for change at the macro-level.<sup>82</sup> Lederach terms this the vertical capacity of the middle-range level actors and portends that it is the level with the “greatest potential for establishing an infrastructure that can sustain the peacebuilding process over the long term.”<sup>83</sup>

Moreover, the three levels need to work simultaneously, the top which is concerned with policymaking, the middle range which encompasses the community’s middle range actors that consists of teachers, religious leaders and influential business persons, and the grassroots that involves the wider community, so that sustainable peacebuilding outcomes can be realized. This is supported by Lederach who notes that the key to effective and strategic peacebuilding is the coordinated relationships across the levels that

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid

<sup>80</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, ‘*The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children: Report of the Expert of the Secretary General, Ms Graça Machel*’, UN Document A/51/306 (26 August 1996).

<sup>81</sup> See a detailed discussion of training as a middle-level and grassroots approach to peacebuilding in Chapter 2.

<sup>82</sup> N.N. Rouhana & C.H., Kelman, Promoting joint-thinking in international conflicts: An Israeli-Palestinian continuing workshop, *Journal of Social Issues*, 50(1) (1994) pp.157-178.

<sup>83</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997) p.51

is, horizontally, and most importantly, the coordinated and responsive relationships between the levels, which he labels as the vertical relationships.<sup>84</sup>

Furthermore, to mitigate against the youths' perception of discrepancy between their value expectations<sup>85</sup> and their environment's realities, educational policies should be implemented through partnership with the private sector. Influential leaders from the business community acting as middle-level actors can feed into the education policy process so that the eventual curriculum reflects the market realities on the ground. Another advantage for engaging the private sector in peacebuilding emanates from their creation of employment and other economic opportunities that can nurture and sustain fragile peace in post-conflict countries. Provision of employment and economic opportunities are hence pivotal to sustainable peace, and the active participation by the private sector is increasingly viewed as an indispensable component.<sup>86</sup> In addition, partnerships with the private sector enlighten both the policymakers and educators of the economic possibilities and problems that will face the students they are preparing to function as economically productive citizens who are committed to the achievement of an economically just society. This creates an enabling environment for the education system to capacitate learners to diagnose economic obstacles and also devise solutions for their

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<sup>84</sup> See J.P.Lederach in M.I. Gawerc, 'Peace-building: Theoretical and Concrete Perspectives', *Peace & Change*, Vol.31, No.4 (October 2006) pp.435-478.

<sup>85</sup> T.R. Gurr, *The Condition of Civil Violence: First tests of a causal model* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1967) p.3

<sup>86</sup> A. Gerson, 'Peace Building: The Private Sector's Role', *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol.95, No.1 (Jan., 2001) pp.102-119.

elimination.<sup>87</sup> Thus, a comprehensive multi-dimensional, multi-level, and multi-track approach in charting out secondary education initiatives in Somaliland will ensure that the realization of the sub-sector's peacebuilding goals in particular, and sustainable peace in general, become a reality.

Conversely, the establishment of foreign-sanctioned secondary schools should be encouraged by the authorities and supported by other development partners, as these can unlock the doors for admission to quality foreign institutions of higher learning in neighbouring African and Arab countries<sup>88</sup>. However, with Somaliland's lack of international recognition this poses a further challenge as students upon completion of secondary school are faced with limited opportunities for advanced study outside of Somaliland's borders.

Conflict transformation can underscore the goal of peacebuilding through empowering marginalized populations so that they too achieve self-sufficiency and well-being.<sup>89</sup> Thus, by expanding education opportunities to include out-of-school youth so that greater numbers of young people can benefit from education that instills values, skills and attitudes that build peace, education lends support to structural transformation of social conditions. Moreover, mass literacy enables young people to make critical decisions based on factors other than ethnic or clan orientations. Rocher considers that:

“In...a country in which the majority of the population is illiterate, education is certainly a powerful agent for cultural and mental change. It encourages new modes of thinking, widens the understanding of the world, introduces a rational view of the

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid

<sup>88</sup> The World Bank, *Somalia: From Resilience Towards Recovery and Development: A Country Economic Memorandum for Somalia*, op.cit

<sup>89</sup> H. Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) p.38.



physical environment, develops rationality in knowledge and action, socializes people into universal norms in their judgments and in social relationships.”<sup>90</sup>

Similarly, reducing factors that hinder access and participation in schools, such as less emphasis of school uniforms and provision of boarding facilities for nomadic communities<sup>91</sup> can increase opportunities for many young people to receive a good quality and holistic education. For example, the government ‘s recent policy of promoting the participation of out-of-school children and youth in alternative education programmes such as alternative basic education (ABE), in partnership with external actors <sup>92</sup> should be pursued with rigour. Through such initiatives, these young people sometimes referred to as the ‘lost generation’, can equally benefit in the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that seek to facilitate sustainable peace and stability in Somaliland.

In addition, the establishment of peer programmes in schools can enhance education’s role in equipping young people with values and attitudes that promote peace in post-conflict countries. These can either be initiated through cadre or total student body programmes. The cadre approach emphasizes training a small number of students to serve as peer mediators whereas the total student body approach emphasizes training every student in the school to manage conflicts constructively.<sup>93</sup> Whether a cadre or total student body programme, peer programmes can be a useful

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<sup>90</sup> See G. Rocher, ‘Le Changement Social’ in L. Bloom and J.G. Ottong, *Changing Africa: An Introduction to Sociology* op.cit. p.176.

<sup>91</sup> Interview of the researcher with Thomas Odera, *Education Adviser*, Somalia/Somaliland Education Programme, SOS-Kinderdorf International NGO, Regional East Africa Office(Nairobi: 13 June 2007).

<sup>92</sup> Ministry of Education, *National Teacher Education Policy*, 2006,p.6.

<sup>93</sup> D.W.Johnson and R.T.Johnson, ‘Conflict Resolution and Peer Mediation Programs in Elementary and Secondary Schools: A Review of Research’, *Review of Educational Research*, Vol.66, No.4. (Winter, 1996), pp.459-506.

tool in learning useful skills in conflict resolution and thereby contribute to the reduction of violence in schools and in the general community as a whole.

In tackling funding gaps in the secondary education sub-sector, the government should expand partnerships with the private sector and Somalilanders from the diaspora in an effort to promote more locally-driven schools. This will also promote ownership by the locals and would steer the educational system towards achieving a sustainable system in the long run. Bush and Saltarelli rightly argue that for education to have a sustainable peacebuilding impact, it must be driven by those individuals and groups within war torn, war-born, and war-threatened societies themselves.<sup>94</sup> Thus Somalilanders themselves must take charge in availing and initiating education opportunities for its young population, as it is the young people who hold the promise for a peaceful society in the future.

Further, the government's policy of sensitizing communities on the benefits of increased female participation and the education of girls in society, by for example recruiting more female teachers, head teachers and other education administrators to increase interest in the needs and concerns of girls, and to serve as role models at all levels of the educational system<sup>95</sup> must be pursued in earnest for long-term benefits of peace to be realized. Religious leaders and teachers can utilize their influence at the grassroots level and their vertical capacity to support girl-child education campaigns in the wider community. At present, it is argued that as one moves up the education system from primary level to tertiary level, the numbers of female

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<sup>94</sup> K.D.Bush and D.Saltarelli, (Eds), *The Two Faces Of Education In Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children*, op.cit

<sup>95</sup> Ministry of Education, *National Teacher Education Policy*, 2006,p.5

students and teachers alike reduce dramatically.<sup>96</sup> Modern feminists argue that feminine values of caring, compassion and nurturing are important in achieving peace hence the need for greater participation of girls and women in the education system. They argue that the goals of peace can be further enhanced by the removal of privileged systems for the few and the promotion of social justice and economic equity.<sup>97</sup> Feminists also contend that women are in a position to appreciate the value of peace better through their vulnerability to the structure of violence and deprivation since they have played the role of nurturers, mothers and natural peacemakers from time immemorial. Thus they have special skills with which they can assess the role of violence in society and can offer alternative models of behaviour in dealing with conflict and social change.<sup>98</sup>

Next, language is viewed as consisting of a community's shared stock of meaning. Lederach notes that language is always more than a vehicle for communication and expression of conflict. It is also a window into how people organize both their understanding and expression of conflict.<sup>99</sup> Thus teaching English as a second language for example, can go beyond merely acquiring linguistic skills and communication competence to guiding pupils or students toward living peacefully with speakers of other languages.<sup>100</sup> In view of this then, the Ministry of Education plans on developing a special programme for the development of English language teaching in schools

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<sup>96</sup> Interview of the researcher with Manfred Winnefeld, *Education Adviser*, European Commission, Somalia Operations (Nairobi:15 June 2007)

<sup>97</sup> See Brock –Utne, 'Feminist Perspectives on Peace' in H. Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) p.83.

<sup>98</sup> H. Jeong, *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) p.83.

<sup>99</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996) pp.74-78.

<sup>100</sup> See more on the role of language in peacebuilding in Chapter 3.

and colleges, with the technical and financial support from development partners.<sup>101</sup> It is a laudable action and will serve to promote the broadening of personal interactions and perceptions of other cultures, hence encouraging tolerance and an appreciation of diversity among its young people, essential for a culture peace in the long term.

Besides language, religion has also been identified as having a strong hold in Somaliland and in shaping values and attitudes of the youth.<sup>102</sup> This then provides a strong value base for peacebuilding in education. Training of religious leaders for example, conceptualized as part of the middle level actors<sup>103</sup> in society can facilitate a change from prejudiced attitudes and perspectives to a more tolerant and open-minded attitude which they can then transfer to the grassroots level. They can also motivate and empower the youth and the wider community to hold tolerant attitudes and to translate them into actions that promote the peaceful resolution of conflict.<sup>104</sup> This then would reinforce the role of education in fostering tolerance and shaping non-violent behaviour among young people thus encouraging sustainable peace in the country.

By and large, the youth perceive secondary education as central to building peace in their country. Moreover, young people are more conscious of the causes of violence and oppression and how best to tackle them, when they are better informed and educated. It is evident that for secondary

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<sup>101</sup> Ministry of Education, *National Teacher Education Policy*, op.cit

<sup>102</sup> Interview of the researcher with Maurice Ochuka, *Youth Coordinator*, SOS-Kinderdorf International NGO (Nairobi:27 July 2007)

<sup>103</sup> J.P.Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997) pp.39-42

<sup>104</sup> Interview of the researcher with Maurice Ochuka, *Youth Coordinator*, SOS-Kinderdorf International NGO (Nairobi: 27 July 2007).

education to be effective in building sustainable peace, multi-track approaches involving top, middle and grassroots level actors must be a part of the educational policymaking processes. Maximizing the potential role for secondary education is thus critical in achieving the intention of peacebuilding which seeks to create a structure of peace that is based on political, economic, and social well being of all groups hence making the underlying causes of civil war in Somaliland less likely in the future. A strong commitment to the education of the young people, a fundamental resource of the world is thus essential in moulding the kind of persons needed to move their communities, their countries and the world towards peace and stability in the long run.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Conclusions**

#### **Introduction**

This study has analyzed critically the role of secondary education in peacebuilding using the case study of Hargeisa district of Somaliland. The successes achieved and the challenges encountered in the experience of education in peacebuilding among the youth have been examined. Pertinent issues toward an effective role for secondary education in Somaliland have also been articulated. This Chapter seeks to provide conclusions and demonstrate that the objectives of the study have been achieved.

The broad objective of this study has been to investigate the role of secondary education in peacebuilding among youth in Hargeisa district of Somaliland. Specific objectives of the study were first, to critically analyse the role of secondary education in promoting peacebuilding, and secondly, to examine the role of secondary education in promoting peace through economic development.

Confined exclusively on formal secondary education, the study has been conducted on the theoretical premise of liberal peace thesis. Through the liberal lens, the principal task of education, when properly organized and delivered, has been to create harmony in a nation of divergent peoples. Education then is viewed as an investment in a social contract, the benefits of which are believed to accrue not only to the individual who experiences an education but also to the wider society.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> K.D.Bush and D.Saltarelli, (Eds), *The Two Faces Of Education In Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children* (Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2000) p.6.

There is widespread agreement that the underlying causes of intrastate conflicts are to be found in the interrelationships between development, security and governance. In a survey of the literature on the causes of civil war there is some consensus among researchers working in the field that factors such as poverty, lack of economic opportunities, a low level of economic development, a previous history of armed conflict, the dominance of one ethnic community over another and political instability increase the risks of conflict.<sup>2</sup> Education as demonstrated in earlier chapters can counter these through fostering social peace, contributing to overcoming social inequality, and providing the means to equal societal and political participation.

Conversely, peacebuilding has been defined as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward sustainable, peaceful relationships. Peacebuilding activities enable countries to cultivate the promotion of peace before, during and after conflict. It has been argued that peacebuilding does not end with the cessation of hostilities, it is an ongoing process in the conflict cycle and that it is important that measures are taken at every stage to consolidate peace.<sup>3</sup>

Previous chapters have illustrated that facets of peacebuilding are present in every stage of the conflict cycle. Timing of peacebuilding initiatives is therefore key in enabling countries to cultivate and maximize the promotion of peace before, during and after conflict. Moreover, as

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<sup>2</sup> A.Mack, Civil War: Academic Research and the Policy Community, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.39, No.5 (Sep.2002), pp.515-525.

<sup>3</sup> See more on the aims of Peacebuilding in Chapter 1.

Ropers notes, the division of a conflict into phases does make it easier to identify high-priority activity areas and key strategies, and sheds light on the issue of which approaches are best combined in which situation.<sup>4</sup>

Peacebuilding education as an example of consolidating peace has been illustrated as an exercise that seeks to initiate or support an educational process that allows students to articulate, accommodate and accept differences between and within groups in regions characterized by structural or direct violence.<sup>5</sup> The case study has clearly demonstrated the peacebuilding potential of secondary education in Somaliland. It has noted that secondary-level education is not only viewed as a critical input to human resource development for national and socio-economic development but also a significant means through which a re-orientation of values and attitudes of young people towards non-violence can take place.

The challenges of high levels of unemployment, clan manifestations in education, limited access to secondary schools, limited opportunities for further academic and professional advancement and poor governance illustrated by the study present a daunting task for the education system in Somaliland. Further, limited policy-making and administrative capacity, loss of staff with previous educational and managerial experience, extremely weak planning and budgeting<sup>6</sup> and over-reliance on donor inputs and funding compound these challenges. As Paris rightly notes the challenge for the liberal peace phenomenon, more broadly, is to include considerations of

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<sup>4</sup> N. Ropers, *Peace-Building, Crisis Prevention and Conflict Management: Technical Cooperation in the Context of Crises, Conflicts and Disasters* (Eschborn : Deutsche Gesellschaft für,2002) pp.35-36

<sup>5</sup> See more on education for peacebuilding in Chapter 3.

<sup>6</sup> The World Bank, *Somalia: From Resilience Towards Recovery and Development: A Country Economic Memorandum for Somalia*, op.cit,p.105



institutional effectiveness into its modelling of the larger relationship between liberalism and peace.<sup>7</sup> Undertaking training and capacity building programmes at the top and middle level of the education system can thus serve as a first step at towards improving the institution's efficiency. The institution should similarly engage other middle level actors such as learned Somalilanders in the diaspora in order to strengthen its service delivery capacity.

Moreover, educational policy and curriculum development should entail a participatory process. Middle-range actors such as community and religious leaders, private sector, head teachers and development partners alike should be involved right from the start of the policymaking process. The curricula should also include themes such as communication, cooperation, reconciliation and problem-solving that aim to equip learners with conflict resolution skills. Adopting a multi-track approach in the policymaking process by partnering with both middle and grassroots actors will enhance the role of secondary education in peacebuilding.

The goals of peacebuilding ultimately will be achieved by reconstruction and reconciliation that are directed not only toward changing behaviour and perceptions but also toward social and institutional structures that can be mobilized to prevent future conflict.<sup>8</sup> Thus, a strong educational institution will maximize the peacebuilding opportunities present in the secondary education sub-sector. Where education equips young people with social, economic and political competencies, these serve to reinforce

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<sup>7</sup> R.Paris, Bringing the Leviathan Back In: Classical Versus Contemporary Studies of the Liberal Peace, *International Studies Review* (2006) 8, pp. 425–440.

<sup>8</sup> L.P. Swanstrom and M.K. Weissmann, *Conflict, Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management and beyond :A Conceptual Exploration*, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute& Silk Road Studies Program,(2005) p.12

peacebuilding measures such as fostering economic development and political participation at an early stage thus making secondary education an important tool for building peace among the youth. In this way formal education can play an essential role in conflict transformation whether it is to sensitize young people to realize inequalities, to foster tolerance and inter-group understanding, to promote healing and reconciliation; or to nurture an idea for peace.<sup>9</sup>

Galtung however cautions us that the role of education should not be exaggerated. Education will work on the mind, by equipping students with knowledge, values and skills. It is however a fundamental bias of intellectuals to believe that a person thinks first and then undertakes a well-considered action. Very often, a person acts first, and if it works, he or she may develop a theory about it; if it does not work, some rationalization. That does not mean that a much higher level or peace consciousness the students may not change this state of affairs.<sup>10</sup> Education certainly creates a society, a nation, where people are less manipulable and have values that promote peaceful co-existence. It is for this kind of society and nation that education for peacebuilding upholds.

For education to have a sustainable peacebuilding impact, it will have to be driven by Somalilanders themselves. However, grassroots actors alone cannot yield sustainable outcomes and must be complemented by both middle and top-level actors in the education system. The study concludes

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid

<sup>10</sup> J.Galtung, *Peace: Research.Education.Action : Essays in Peace Research*, Vol.1, (Romania: Cipexim,1975) p.333.

that a multi-track approach is fundamental for secondary education to be effective in peacebuilding.

Overall, this study has achieved the desired purpose. The two hypotheses of the study have been tested and proved. Thus secondary education positively contributes to peacebuilding by equipping young people with core political, social and economic skills vital for sustainable peace and stability in post-conflict Somaliland.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION



**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**  
College of Humanities and Social Sciences  
**Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies**

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Nairobi 00100  
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July 23, 2007

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Re: Rachael A. Were - R/50/P/9253/04

This is to certify that Ms. Were is a registered Master of Arts student in International Studies in the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi. She has successfully completed her coursework and has now embarked on her research project entitled "*The Role of Secondary Education in*  *Peacebuilding: A Case Study of Hargeisa, Somaliland*".

Any assistance accorded to her will be highly appreciated.

  
Mr. Lucas Njoroge  
Ag. Director

## **APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE COVER LETTER**

**To all interviewees,**

**Ref: Academic Research Study**

I am a Master's student at University of Nairobi, currently undertaking my research project on the role of Secondary Education in Post-conflict Peacebuilding in Hargeisa, Somaliland.

*Peacebuilding involves activities that aim at preventing the occurrence, the return or continuation of armed conflict in societies.*

Education plays an important role in peacebuilding through developing social, economic and political skills in young people that encourage peaceful societies.

I would thus like to ask you some questions about you and your education background. Your sincere response will provide very useful information in assessing the role of secondary education in providing employment, promoting democracy and in encouraging sustainable peace in Somaliland. However, if you feel that you do not want to answer a particular question, I will accept your decision. I assure you that your responses will be completely **confidential** and will not be used for any other purpose other than for the benefit of this research study.

Once you have answered the questions please return your responses by latest 24 August 2007. In case of any questions I can be reached at ameyoh@hotmail.com or Tel +254 733 618616.

Yours Sincerely,

Rachael A. Were  
University of Nairobi  
Kenya.

**APENDIX III: QUESTIONNAIRE**

**Location:**

**Date:**

**Section A**

1. Please indicate your age by placing a tick in the appropriate age-category

15-19 years

20-24 years

2. Please indicate your gender by placing a tick in the appropriate box

Male

Female

3. What is your current level of Education? Please tick the appropriate level.

Secondary

Technical and Vocational school/college

Other   
(Please specify .....

**Section B**

**Instructions for completion of table:** Please tick one answer from the choices provided. If you don't know the answer please tick 'undecided'

1. Subjects like history, geography and civics promote useful knowledge of the country that shape the norms and values of a society.	Strongly Agree
	Agree
	Undecided
	Disagree
	Strongly Disagree
2. In your opinion, does secondary	Strongly Agree
	Agree

education promote participation in political processes such as elections and as a result encourage democracy and political stability?	Undecided
	Disagree
	Strongly Disagree
3. In your opinion, co-curricular activities e.g. sports, club activities, volunteer service in the community promote friendships, tolerance and respect and service to others, creating good relationships among young people and promoting peace in society in general.	Strongly Agree
	Agree
	Undecided
	Disagree
	Strongly Disagree
4. In your view, does secondary education encourage you for example, to learn to solve problems or arguments among yourselves without getting into physical fights?	Strongly Agree
	Agree
	Undecided
	Disagree
	Strongly Disagree
5. Secondary education provides young members of society with attitudes which would enable them want to value peace and contribute to the development of their communities in general.	Strongly Agree
	Agree
	Undecided
	Disagree
	Strongly Disagree
6. Do you think secondary education provides you with useful knowledge and ability to enter into employment or be self-employed and therefore contribute to Somaliland's economic development in the future?	Strongly Agree
	Agree
	Undecided
	Disagree
	Strongly Disagree
7. For development to take place, there must be peace and stability in the country	Strongly Agree
	Agree
	Undecided
	Disagree
	Strongly Disagree

### Section C

1. In what way (s) do you think secondary education contributes to peacebuilding and hence promotes long-lasting peace and stability in your country?

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**2. What do you as a young person feel are problems that can prevent long-lasting peace and stability in Somaliland? Please list some of them:**

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**3. Are there any possible suggestions you can make to solve the problems in question (13) above? Please list them.**

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**Thank you for your cooperation**

## **APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

### **Interview schedule administered to:**

Afyare Elmi	PhD Candidate.
John B	Africa Educational Trust.
Paul Mattison	Africa Educational Trust.
Manfred Winnefeld	European Commission, Somalia Operations.
Maurice Ochuka	SOS-Kinderdorf International.
Thomas Odera	SOS-Kinderdorf International.

1. What do you feel are the obstacles to sustainable peace of conflict in Somaliland? Do you feel education or lack there-of is a strong factor?
2. How in your view can the secondary school curriculum be a tool for integration in the Somali society in the context of peacebuilding?
3. What would you say is the role of education, particularly among the youth in post-conflict peacebuilding?
4. What would you say is the expected impact of secondary education programmes on peacebuilding?
5. What are the constraints or obstacles faced by secondary educational interventions in Hargeisa in particular and in Somaliland in general?
6. In your view, what would be the policy implications and recommendations for secondary education in attaining sustainable peace?