

Peace Education in Post-Conflict Societies: The Case of The
Young Peace Ambassador Program in Somalia and Kenya

by
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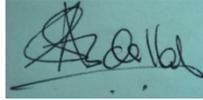
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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation as my original work and that all sources have been accordingly acknowledged by means of complete references.

A handwritten signature in black ink on a light blue background. The signature appears to be 'Said Abdalla' written in a cursive style.

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Said Abdalla

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ABBREVIATIONS

ARS	Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRF	Children Relief Fund
DST/NRF	Department of Science and Technology /National Research Foundation
FGM	Female genital mutilation
GNRC	Global Network of Religions for Children
ICEE	Interfaith Council on Ethics Education
IIEC	Interim Independent Electoral Commission
INEE	Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies
IPRA	International Peace Research Association
KCIU	Kenya Council of <i>Imams</i> and <i>Ulamaa</i> (Islamic religious scholars)
KIE	Kenya Institute of Education
LLT	Learning to Live Together
LNGOs	Local non governmental organisations
NFD	Northern Frontier District
PEV	Post election violence
SAYS	Somaliland Association for Youth Salvation
SOCDA	Somalia Organization for Community Development Activities
SSC	Sool Sana'ag and Cagn
TYPAP	The Young Peace Ambassador Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Education Fund
WCRP	World Conference on Religion and Peace

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ABSTRACT

Contributing to a fairly new discipline in the region, this study investigates the objectives, contents, design, approaches, strategies and methodologies involved in a Peace Education initiative called The Young Peace Ambassador Program (TYPAP), which is being implemented in East Africa and the Horn of Africa.

The aim of the study is to outline the nature, causes and consequences of conflict and violence in northern Kenya and Somalia by looking at the way in which peace education can help build a culture of peace in northern Kenya and Somalia. Accordingly, the consistency of TYPAP with peace education principles, its impact according to interviewees and how far it has met its own objectives were assessed.

Thus, using a qualitative case study methodology employing content analysis, interviews and observations, this dissertation shows that TYPAP a multifaceted peace education initiative working with local partners – has potential not just for creating awareness of peace issues, but also for cultivating the seeds of a culture of peace. Following Galtung's theories, the dissertation also indicates that it is not just "structural violence", but also the deeper symptoms of "cultural violence", that we may need to address in taking the region forward in the coming years.

Key words: Peace education, Horn of Africa, post-conflict societies, structural violence, cultural violence

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, East Africa and the entire Horn of Africa have experienced periods of social, economic and political turmoil and uncertainty. While Somalia has been struggling to overcome years of war and crisis after the removal of the dictator, Siyad Barre, in 1991, Uganda has been dealing with a twenty-year-old conflict with the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), which has created untold suffering for the civilian population, with 1.5 million people having been rendered refugees and desperate to return home (Healy 2008). Kenya, on the other hand, which for a long time was seen as an island of stability in a sea of turmoil, realised the futility of this myth when over 1 133 people died and over 300 000 were internally displaced following the violence that took place after the 2007 disputed election. This according to reports by both the Commission of Inquiry on Post Election Violence (CIPEV) 2008 and the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) 2008.

In the words of Healy (2008:7), the Horn of Africa is a "regional security complex", which is "distinguished by the prevalence and persistence of armed conflict", where the security problems of each country impact on the security of all such that "different conflicts interlock with and feed into each other". In such environments, several governmental and non-governmental initiatives have taken it on themselves to enhance peace, not just through the usual traditional infrastructural "development" paradigm but also through education.

In an analysis of the effectiveness of peace education programmes by Nevo and Brem (2002), it was noted that, between 1981 and 2000, approximately one thousand articles, chapters in books, reports and symposia proceedings dealing with a broadly defined peace education area were available for review. About a hundred of these focused on Peace education interventions. Of this secondary data, seventy-nine studies contained sufficient details for analysis. Nevo and Brem studied these and found that 64.5% of them were

partially or highly effective in teaching peace and conflict skills. Therefore, there is an increasing belief that peace as a value can be taught at an early age to the growing child and, as such, peace education initiatives have sprung up in many African countries (Abebe, T.T, Gbesso, A & Phoebe A. Nyawalo 2006)

Yet not all peace education initiatives and programmes can be described in such glowing terms, as some scholars have identified some initiatives that seek to promote peace in the future only to potentially participate in “sustaining conflict in the present” (Engstrom 2009:19).

Security narratives and the ongoing global “war on terror” have also interestingly and increasingly catalysed the promotion of and rationale for peace education initiatives and similar programmes across the world (Boadua & Milondzo 2009). Thus, in the face of divided societies under conditions of difference and inequality, as is the case in Africa, the need for learning, critical reflection and accumulation of experience remains particularly important (Gallagher 2009).

The study of the Young Peace Ambassador Program (TYPAP) forms part of this knowledge and experience accumulation. TYPAP has been implemented in Kenya, Somalia and Somaliland by the Global Network of Religions for Children (GNRC) Africa, which is an international interfaith non-governmental organisation working for children and youth. The need among the young people and children in East Africa and the Horn of Africa for sustainable involvement in a viable peace-building discourse cannot be overstated. In Somalia and Somaliland, the targets/beneficiaries of TYPAP’s intervention – children and young people – are themselves the targets and victims of war.

What are the historical and sociopolitical context and undertones of the areas under this peace education initiative? How is peace defined within the peace programme? How is peace education designed in the peace programme and what is the peace education content of the TYPAP? This study was driven by some of these questions and concerns in the hope that, through an analysis

of TYPAP, lessons can be learnt that can advise other peace initiatives in East Africa and the Horn of Africa.

1.1 Conflict and Violence in Northern Kenya and Somalia

As already mentioned, the conflicts in Northern Kenya and Somalia are closely linked.

In Somalia, the Al Shabaab suicide bombing strategy against the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and other groups has resulted in the killing of hundreds of civilians. In December 2009, for example, an Al Shabaab suicide bombing at a medical students' graduation ceremony at the Benadir University killed 22 civilians, including three TFG ministers, and injured as many as 50 others. The recent entry of Kenyan forces into Somalia in search of Al Shabaab militants has resulted in grenade and improvised explosive device (IED) attacks on Kenyan towns, such as Garissa, Wajir, Mandera, Mombasa and even Nairobi, targeting mainly civilians and which are attributed to Al Shabaab. Counter attacks by the TFG, the African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) against Al Shabaab have also resulted in gross human rights violations on the part of the government (Human Rights Watch 2012).

The general lack of effective and functional government or authority in Somalia (especially in the south central) means little or no control over other harmful and violent practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM), the incidence of which in Somalia is 98% – the highest in the world (UNICEF 2012), rape in internally displaced camps (IDP) and refugee camps and also as a means of settling inter-communal violence, early marriages, use of child soldiers by militia groups, piracy and insecurity (US State Department Human Rights Report: Somalia 2010). In Somaliland and Puntland, where there is a semblance of authority, FGM is illegal, but the law is not enforced (US State Department Human Rights Report: Somalia 2010). In Kenya, FGM stands at 27% (US State Department Human Rights Report: Somalia 2010) and is practised by many communities including the Somalis of Northern Kenya.

By September 2011, the three Dadaab refugee camps (designed for 90 000 refugees) in the North Eastern Province of Kenya stood at 450 000, most of them from Somalia where conflict has been ongoing for more than 20 years (UNHCR 2012).

Northern Kenya is characterised by low and unreliable rainfall, a hot climate, limited pasture land, and arid to semi-arid conditions. Livestock rearing and trade are the major economic activities. The main sources of water are major earth pans and boreholes as the rivers are mostly dry throughout the year except for brief periods in April or October. Thus, owing to limited resources, political rivalry, ethnic divisions and a harsh environment, Somali clans in the North Eastern Province (NEP), such the Ogaden, Degodia, Murule, Garre, Ajuran and Isaaq, have clashed from time to time over pasture land, water points and grazing rights (Omar 1997).

Ultimately, the conflicts in northern Kenya and Somalia emanate not just from the political aspects of these regions, but also from social and communal dimensions. This paper will revisit these conflicts in more detail in chapter two. Given the nature and extent of the conflict and violence, how can peace education contribute to the development of a culture of peace in the region? This question forms the central aim of this paper and is further addressed in the chapters five, six and seven.

1.2 Peace Education and a Culture of Peace

Peace education in post-conflict societies has become a key area of interest to governments and non-governmental groups. In Boutros Boutros-Ghali's *Agenda for peace* (1992:15), the former United Nations (UN) secretary general highlights the importance of educational projects and curriculum reform to forestall a re-emergence of cultural and national tensions.

In the aftermath of international war, post-conflict peace-building may take the form of concrete cooperative projects ... I have in mind, for example, projects that bring States together to develop

agriculture, improve transportation or utilize resources such as water or electricity that they need to share, or joint programmes through which barriers between nations are brought down by means of freer travel, cultural exchanges and mutually beneficial youth and educational projects. Reducing hostile perceptions through educational exchanges and curriculum reform may be essential to forestall a re-emergence of cultural and national tensions which could spark renewed hostilities.

Scholars have defined peace and conflict studies as a field in social science that identifies and analyses violent and nonviolent behaviours, as well as the structural mechanisms underlying social conflicts, with a view to understanding those processes that lead to a more desirable human condition (Dugan 1989). An important distinction between peace studies (irenology) and war studies (polemology) is that the former is an interdisciplinary effort aimed at the prevention, de-escalation and solution of conflicts by peaceful means (thereby seeking “victory” for all parties involved in the conflict), while the latter has as its aim the efficient attainment of victory in conflict by violent means and to the satisfaction of one or more, but not all, parties involved (Dugan 1989).

Western academic thinking about peace has been traced as far back as campus club discussions following the American Civil War, deliberations following both World War I and World War II and the founding of the UN, which provided stimulus for more rigorous approaches to peace and conflict studies. Concerns in the 1960s about the Vietnam War and later in the 1980s about a possible nuclear war catalysed growing interest in peace and conflict studies (Wallensteen 1988).

By the end of the Cold War, peace and conflict studies had changed their focus from international conflict to more complex and nuanced issues, such as political violence, human security, democratisation, human rights, development and social justice. By the 1990s peace studies curricula, especially in the US, had shifted from teaching and research about negative

peace, the cessation of violence, to positive peace – the conditions that eliminate the causes of violence (Harris, Fisk & Rank 1998).

Peace education theory has often been tacit rather than expressly articulated. John Galtung (1975) suggested in 1975 that no theory for peace education existed and that there was a clear need for such theory. However, more recently scholars have suggested that a philosophical basis for peace education might be located in the Kantian notion of duty (Calleja 1991). Other scholars, such as James Page (2008), have tried to locate peace education rationale in virtue ethics, conservative political ethics, aesthetic ethics and the ethics of care.

Ian Harris and John Synott (2002) have described peace education as a series of teaching encounters that draw from people

- their desire for peace
- non-violent alternatives of managing conflict, and
- skills for critical analysis of structural arrangements that produce and legitimate injustice and inequality.

Thus, as the years have passed there has been further clarity, distinctions and elaborations on what peace education entails. One such distinction is the difference between negative peace and positive peace. Negative peace education is seen as education that is reactive – after conflicts have already happened and there is need to “put out fires”. Positive peace education is more long term and reflective, and tries to stop conflicts from breaking out in the first place.

These distinctions sometimes lead to the debates on teaching separate peace education classes versus having integrated peace themes in existing curricula. In many countries teachers are starting programmes that do not use the term “peace education”, but are rather called by such terms as “conflict resolution”, “violence prevention” and “anger management” (International Peace Research Association 1998). The apparent reluctance to use the term

“peace education” is its long-term solution, which does not receive the kind of support as does *conflict resolution*, which aims to put out fires and is seen to be perhaps more marketable and practicable (International Peace Research Association 1998).

In terms of definitions, therefore, peace education can be seen as education that empowers people with skills, attitudes and knowledge

- to build, maintain and restore relationships at all levels of human interaction
- to develop positive approaches for dealing with conflicts from the personal to the international
- to create safe environments, both physically and emotionally, that nurture each individual
- to create a safe world based on justice and human rights
- to build a sustainable environment and protect it from exploitation and war (International Peace Research Association 1998)

Phoebe Nyawalo, an African evaluator with the University of Peace, defines peace education as a process of developing knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviours and values that enable learners to

- identify and understand the sources of local and global issues and instil positive sensitivities towards these problems
- resolve conflicts and attain justice in a non-violent way
- live by universal standards of human rights and equity by appreciating cultural diversity, respect for the earth and for one another

From the above definitions, peace education can be seen as having to do with certain positive skills, attitudes, knowledge and values, which are needed to create safe environments, resolve conflicts, build sustainable environments, appreciate cultural diversity and attain justice in a non-violent way.

If this is Peace education, how then can Peace education help bring about a culture of peace? The desire for peace and non-violent means of resolving

conflict are perhaps the building blocks for a more peaceful culture. The skill to critically analyse the structural inequalities (as most conflicts in Africa are primarily resource conflicts) and governance failures seems to be more challenging in Africa. This problem is compounded by the fact that society in Africa is still structured along not just class lines but, more importantly, ethnic and religious fault lines. Mazrui's (1986) triple heritage of western Christianity, Islam and Africanity demonstrates and illustrates the cultural forces at play in Africa and especially in East Africa and the Horn of Africa. The corollary, thus, is that Africa is a collective of a variety of worldviews, value systems and moralities. Whose values and morality are right and whose morality is wrong? Whose worldview should be followed as the criteria or basis for attaining justice, resolving conflict, and promoting ethics education and peace education? Such questions expose the problematic of peace studies and peace education programmes and seem to challenge the entire philosophical foundation of peace education.

Danesh (2008:158) proposes an integrative theory of peace in which peace is understood as a psychosocial, political, moral and spiritual reality. Peace education is thus understood from insights that recognise the developmental nature of human psychosocial dispositions. Peace education must therefore focus on the healthy development and maturation of human consciousness by assisting people to examine and transform their worldviews. Worldviews are defined as the subconscious lens (acquired through cultural, family, historical, religious and societal influences) through which people perceive four key issues: the nature of reality, human nature, the purpose of existence and the principles governing appropriate human relationships. It is through the acquisition of a more integrative, unity-based worldview (as opposed to a conflict-based worldview) that the human capacity to mitigate conflict, create unity in the context of diversity, and establish sustainable cultures of peace is increased (Danesh 2008:158) and peace education can catalyse this worldview transformation through unity-promoting attitudes and behaviour. This paper will revisit these questions in chapter three.

1.3 Rationale and Objectives of the Study

Peace education is an emerging trans-disciplinary agenda in East Africa. In Kenya, for example, peace education was only introduced into the school system in 2008¹ and only after the post-election violence of 2007/8 had claimed about 1 200 lives and displaced over 300 000 persons. What contributions can be made to this emerging educational phenomenon? The rationale of this study thus lies in an attempt to interrogate, describe and analyse TYPAP so as to contribute to this body of knowledge, which is emerging rapidly in the region. TYPAP's lessons, design, content and impact in light of the historical and sociopolitical processes of the region may help advise future peace education initiatives in the region.

Long-term longitudinal studies are also expensive and often their results find that circumstances on the ground have changed. A case study such as this may help policy developers and educationists design better peace education initiatives and programmes. The challenges exposed in this case study may help future peace initiative designers' create better programmes.

Finally, significant investments have been made by civil society groups in peace-building initiatives and in the support of young people through interfaith and intercultural perspectives. Law enforcement is simply not enough and organisations such as many NGOs and UNESCO have long distanced themselves from the clash of civilizations, instead undertaking more interactive frameworks of cultural encounters and exchanges that promote cooperation and partnerships among people (Cisneros 2010).

Moreover, as Johnston (2005) points out, as the concept of national sovereignty is eroded under the onslaught of globalisation, the power of state-centred political bodies is diminishing. NGOs and faith-based NGOs in particular are stepping in to fill this vacuum especially in the realm of peace building and conflict prevention. Although thousands of books have been written showing religion's negative contribution to history, the positive contribution has often been overlooked (Johnston & Sampson 1994). Johnston (2005) identifies several attributes that religious leaders and

institutions bring to bear in promoting peace and reconciliation among opposing parties. Such attributes include

- credibility as a trusted institution
- a respected set of values
- moral warrants for opposing injustice on the part of governments
- unique leverage for promoting reconciliation among conflicting parties including an ability to re-humanise situations that have become dehumanised over the course of protracted conflicts
- a capacity to mobilise community, national and international support for a peace process
- an ability to follow through locally in the wake of a political settlement
- Operating out of a sense of calling – there is an inspired ability to persevere in the face of major, otherwise debilitating, obstacles.

The GNRC is one among very few global interfaith initiatives that works for the betterment of children and youth in the region. This somewhat unique organisation's peace initiative in the region is therefore worthy of some analysis and study.

Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are as follows:-

- i) to outline the nature, causes and consequences of conflict and violence in northern Kenya and Somalia
- ii) to explain the concepts of a culture of peace and peace education, how peace education can help build a culture of peace and the relevance of a peace culture to northern Kenya and Somalia
- iii) to explain TYPAP as a case study of a peace education project and to assess it in three ways:
 - a) its consistency with peace education principles
 - b) the extent to which it has met its own objectives
 - c) its impact in contributing to a culture of peace in northern Kenya and Somalia in the opinion of the interviewees.

1.4 Research Methods Used

Using a case study approach this study employed the following methods to collect data:

- *Document analysis:* A critical review of the TYPAP was undertaken. This involved analysing TYPAP documentation such as correspondence, proposals, concept papers, manuals and reports. Desk-top/library research and internet searches were conducted to identify the historical and sociopolitical background of the areas in which TYPAP operates, that is, Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya.
- *Interviews:* Purposeful semi-structured interviews were conducted with some key informants and beneficiaries of TYPAP to complement the study. These included some of the TYPAP facilitators, peace club members, TYPAP youth members (peace ambassadors) who have gone through TYPAP training sessions and TYPAP administrators.
- *Participant observation:* As a staff member of TYPAP the researcher was able to observe and have access to multiple insights, aspects and perspectives of the phenomenon under study. The researcher kept a journal recording his observations and also to check any researcher biases.

1.5 Organisation of the Study

Chapter one of this paper introduces the discussion on the conflict and violence in Somalia and Northern Kenya and the concept of peace education and a culture of peace. The rationale and objectives of the study as well as the research methods used are briefly introduced and discussed.

Chapter two discusses the nature, extent, cause and consequences of the conflict and violence in Northern Kenya and Somalia in more detail. The historical and sociopolitical aspects of the conflict in TYPAP areas of Northern Kenya and Somalia are discussed at the outset of this chapter. The chapter also explores the activities of various actors intended to curb the violence,

including responses by civil society groups to undertake peace education initiatives in the region.

Chapter three looks at the relevant peace literature pertaining to the phenomenon of peace education. Galtung's (1990) typologies of direct, structural and, in particular, cultural violence are discussed, together with the insights of other experts on peace education. The chapter reviews five empirical case studies of peace programmes in South Africa, Liberia, Burundi, Sri Lanka and Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to obtain a better understanding of the issues and challenges that confront peace education in post-conflict areas. The chapter concludes by highlighting some peace education principles concerning curriculum, teaching and learning methods and the school environment in which peace education is supposed to take place.

Chapter four discusses the research design and methodology of this study. Here the paper looks at the methodological approach, design, methods of data collection and analysis, the researcher's role, validity and reliability issues, triangulation, ethical considerations and the limitations of the study.

Chapter five discusses the design and content of TYPAP. Here the goals, approaches, strategies, principles and methodologies of TYPAP are critically described and discussed. The chapter is thus an attempt to respond to the first and second research questions.

Chapter six is an analysis of findings obtained from the interviews held with the beneficiaries of the peace programme and other stakeholders, the peace radio content analysis, some reported impacts of TYPAP and feedback from TYPAP peace-building workshops. In this chapter, the paper attempts to further discuss and answer the third research questions in the light of the conceptual framework discussed in chapter three, namely, Galtung's (1990) direct cultural and structural violence, and the sociopolitical/historical contexts of the region.

Chapter seven is summarises the conclusions and recommendations that follow from the discussions and analysis included in the content of the study report.

CHAPTER TWO

CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN KENYA AND SOMALIA

This chapter examines and outlines the nature, extent, causes and consequences of conflict and violence in Northern Kenya and Somalia from both a historical and a sociopolitical standpoint. This geographical region is the area in which the YPAP programme was most active during the period 2007 to 2010. The chapter also looks at attempts by governments and other stakeholders, particularly the nongovernmental players, to respond to the conflict and violence in these regions. Some local peace education initiatives are highlighted here as attempts by the NGO community to respond, albeit in the long term, to the conflicts in this part of the world. The effectiveness of these attempts to deal with such conflict is also discussed.

2.1 Nature, Extent and Causes of Violence and Conflict

Kenya and Somalia – a historical overview

Arbitrary colonial boundaries, marginalisation and what some scholars have called “politicized clannism” (Ahmed 2006:163) form the genesis for the conflict among the Somali people and between Somalia and Kenya. The colonialists divided Somali-inhabited territory into five parts: British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, French Somaliland, Northern Frontier District (NFD) in the British colony of Kenya, the Haud/reserve area and the Ogaden in Ethiopia. These colonial boundaries separated the cultural and economic similarities that the Somalis shared. However, once they became independent in 1960, the British and Italian colonies discarded the boundary dividing them. Unification with Kenya’s NFD was not possible despite a plebiscite showing that 62% of the NFD population endorsed joining Somalia (Samatar & Machaka 2006). Britain’s economic interests in Kenya superseded those it had in Somalia and it consequently did not honour the results of the plebiscite, stoking nationalist sentiments in Somalia.

As Kenya was celebrating independence, violence broke out in NFD (present-day North Eastern Province – NEP), with members of the Somali population in

the region taking up arms with Somali government support. Kenya responded ruthlessly to the rebellion in a war more popularly known as the *Shifita* war. It cordoned off the NEP and even signed a defence treaty with Ethiopia, which was itself concerned about the Somali republic's support for the Somali population in Ethiopia (Samatar & Machaka 2006). As Laitin (1977:75) puts it:

Somali leaders were routinely placed in preventive detention, where they remained well into the late 1970s. The North Eastern Province was closed to general access (along with other parts of Kenya) as a "scheduled" area (ostensibly closed to all outsiders, including members of parliament, as a means of protecting the nomadic inhabitants), and news from it was very difficult to obtain. A number of reports, however, accused the Kenyans of mass slaughter of entire villages of Somali citizens and of setting up large "protected villages" -- in effect concentration camps. The government refused to acknowledge the ethnically based irredentist motives of the Somalis, making constant reference in official statements to the *shifita* (bandit) problem in the area.

The later collapse of the state in Somalia and the civil war in that country forced hundreds of thousands of Somali to seek refuge in Kenya. Somalia's statelessness enabled gun merchants to use Somalia as a port of entry to East Africa and, together with the *Shifita* war, created suspicions and tensions between the Kenya government, the Somalia territories and the NEP residents. This led to the marginalisation, mistreatment and gross human rights abuses of the residents of NEP in Kenya. The Wagalla massacre of 1984 in Wajir characterised perhaps the high noon of this mistreatment and is one of the issues to be discussed by the recently formed Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) in Kenya. It is not uncommon for someone who travels to the NEP from other parts of Kenya to be asked "how is Kenya?" by residents of the NEP.²

Coupled with this marginalisation is the categorisation of the NEP in such terms as a “security zone”, “hardship area” or “low resource area” by the authorities and the media, which serves to further demonise the area (Omar 1997).

In Somalia the struggle for independence had promoted cohesion and shared values between the traditional religious leaders and the elites, with each of these contributing complementary moral, spiritual and social codes that allow Somali society to function. In post-independent Somalia things changed: the elite adopted colonial ideas, tried to impose a European modernity and forbade customary law. Every clan advocated for its stake in order to have sufficient representation in the government. Thus, in Somalia, the crisis has its origin in politicised clannism, which was introduced into Somalia by colonial powers and further promoted and perfected by governing elites (Ahmed 2006).

The logic of a politicised clannism, as explained by Ahmed (2006), lies in the exploitation of the clan and the kinship system to serve the power struggles of the elite. Politicised clannism is also fuelled by a school of thought (promoted by foreign sociologists, anthropologists and some social evolutionists) that interprets every facet of Somali society from “a purely tribalistic point” of view. It is argued that although the kinship system has its limitations “consistent with its nature”, it has also promoted both collective solidarity and individual identification and therefore does not threaten the existence of the state and national unity. Politicised clannism, on the other hand, is “subjective in nature” and loses sight of the “homogeneity that is apparent in Somalia” (Ahmed 2006:164–165).

The Siyad Barre’s military regime was initially welcomed owing to its simple political programme when seen against the discontent of the previous civilian government (Ahmed 2006). However, within a few years the situation reverted once again to one of corruption and clannism. Under this regime, reward systems were based on favouritism and clan members, rather than capacity and merit as power and resources, were dished out to clans in exchange for

their support. Political clannism permeated all fora in Somalia and, according to Ahmed (2006), all peace initiatives aimed at addressing the Somali crisis empowered the symbol of politicised clannism – warlords. Ultimately, the elite, both civilian and military, was paralysed by corruption and negative ethnicity leading to the eventual collapse of the state (Ahmed 2006).

Kenya and Somalia: sociopolitical aspects

Kenya

Kenya's political history during the early years of independence up to President Kenyatta's death in 1978 saw the constitution and legal changes fast tracked in order to allow for greater political expediency, stifling any political dissent and creating what has come to be commonly known in Kenya as an imperial presidency. Opposition parties such as the KPU (Kenya Peoples Union) were banned and their leaders incarcerated without trial. Former president Moi's tenure (1978–2002) as president was not very different. Eventually, in 1991, and after massive pressure from civil society and a world environment that saw authoritarian regimes crumble, section 2(A) of the constitution was repealed making way for the reintroduction of multiparty politics.

By 2002, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) – a coalition of political parties with heavy support from civil society – managed to seize power from KANU, the party that had ruled Kenya for 40 years. NARC brought into government many who had made careers in opposition politics and civil society as reformers organising around political, social and economic change reforms. Following the 2002 elections, civil society was left leaderless; its failure to map out its agenda post 2002 and internal leadership wrangles did little to improve things (Lind & Howell 2008).

The years between 2003 and 2008 saw many changes. Contention over desired constitutional changes led to a referendum defeat for the establishment's *Wako* draft against a more popular *Bomas* draft that had been shelved by the government. This referendum catalysed the fracture of an

already ethnicised civil society, leading to the splitting of the NGO council into Yes and No camps. At political-party level, the referendum which many advised against saying it would be adversarial (Abdalla, 2010) led to the breaking up of the original NARC coalition, grand corruption and, in 2007, a shambolic presidential election which resulted in widespread ethnic violence in which over 1 200 people were killed and 300 000 displaced.

The 2007/8 post-election ethnic violence was preceded in 1991/2 and 1997 with what has come to be known as “tribal clashes”. In 1998, a presidential commission of inquiry was established to investigate the so-called tribal clashes and the causes of the violence. The commission recommended further investigation and the prosecution of perpetrators, as well as ways to better prevent and control future inter-ethnic attacks. The 1999 report of the commission was finally made public in October 2002, three years later and only after the High Court had ordered its release. It confirmed that prominent ruling party politicians have fuelled multiple incidents of so-called ethnic clashes in Kenya since 1991. The attorney general sought to undercut the report by calling it biased and insisting that it be released together with government commentary disputing its findings³ (Human Rights Watch 2002 and the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Tribal Clashes in Kenya 1999).

Ny’ongo (2007) has argued convincingly that although there was a governmental change in Kenya following the 2002 elections, the regime change had actually not happened owing to what he calls the failure by successive governments to break the structures of inequality.

Today, Kenya’s grand coalition government has seen the re-emergence of the prime minister, sharing some executive power with the president under the National Accord agreement. This accord was signed between the President’s Party of National Unity (PNU) and the Prime Minister’s Orange Democratic Party (ODM) and was negotiated by Dr Kofi Annan former UN secretary general.

On 4 August 2010, Kenyans peacefully and overwhelmingly by a 67% vote approved a new constitution⁴ through a second referendum (Interim Independent Electoral Commission 2010) and among the offerings the new constitution makes is the recognition of traditional dispute mechanisms as a principle of justice in Kenya's judiciary system. All the same, the northern part of Kenya where the YPAP was more visible, has historically been neglected and marginalised as alluded to earlier and the imperial presidencies of Kenyatta and Moi did not help matters. In characterising the conflicts in Northern Kenya, the Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Tribal Clashes in Kenya (1999:208) identifies several factors that promote "fighting between Somali clans and between Somali clans and the Borana tribe and their cousins such as the Orma, the Burji and the Garre".

These are:

- Frequent droughts and the resultant fight for control of inadequate water points and grazing areas. In 2011, for example, four million people were in urgent need of aid in Somalia despite significant progress in pushing back the famine that was affecting 250 000 Somalis (Special report of the UN Secretary-General on Somalia January 2012).
- Cattle rustling where the victimised group engages in revenge missions that lead to theft of livestock, loss of human life and multiple injuries.
- Proliferation of firearms from Somali and Ethiopia enabling clans to establish "formidable clandestine 'militias' which make fighting almost a hobby". (Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Tribal Clashes in Kenya 1999:208)
- Fervent support of territorial hegemony for the purpose of securing water and grazing land and, of late, "political representation in Parliament and local councils". (Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Tribal Clashes in Kenya 1999:208)

The report also pinpoints the response, often short term and reactionary, that the authorities make in dealing with these conflicts – “arbitration by provincial administration officers and local elders” or “as a short-term measure, security personnel are deployed to quell the ensuing clashes” (Special report of the UN Secretary-General on Somalia January 2012).

Somalia

Somalia has been struggling to overcome 20 years of clan-based civil war since the removal of Said Barre in 1991. In December 2008, the deeply unpopular president of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was pressured to leave office. Ethiopia drew the curtains on its ill-fated two-year military intervention in Somalia, which had further radicalised the country and increased support for militant Islamist groups, including Al-Shaba'ab. The Djibouti peace process culminated in a peace accord between the TFG and the Alliance for the Re-Liberation of Somalia (ARS) faction led by Sheik Sharif Sheik Ahmed (even though another faction of ARS led by Sheikh Hassan Dahir Aweys rejected this deal). An expanded joint parliament overwhelmingly endorsed Sheik Sharif Sheik Ahmed as president shortly afterward, raising hopes that his Islamist credentials would enable him to reach out to erstwhile comrades who were opposed to the Djibouti process and its outcome.

Sheik Sharif Sheik Ahmed quickly relocated to Mogadishu and began exploratory talks with powerful insurgent leaders, using influential community leaders and regional Islamist leaders.⁵ However, after months of talks, sporadic attacks and counter attacks, it was clear that Mr Ahmed had misjudged the deep personal antipathy and mistrust that now animated many of his opponents. Militant factions buoyed by Ethiopia's troop pullout, successive military gains and their de facto control of large areas in southern and central Somalia had no incentive for compromise.

The lack of international consensus on the inclusion of militants in the peace process has also compounded the problem. According to some analysts, the international community needs to strengthen the peace process by reaching

out to the militants and making the required meaningful concessions to win them over (Kroslak & Stroehlein 2009).

In the meantime in October 2011, Kenyan forces invaded southern Somalia to fight the Al Shaba'ab militia and secure its border from a series of kidnappings blamed on the Al Shaba'ab, with other intentions allegedly being to establish another semi-autonomous region called Azania (or Jubaland) as a buffer zone next to the Kenyan boarder as discussed by Gitau Warigi (Warigi 2011).

Today, after years of conflict, a "window of opportunity" has opened up (*Africa Briefing* 2012) in Somalia. The international community is taking a renewed interest in the country; the mandate of the feeble and dysfunctional TFG expires in August 2012; and emboldened troops from the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), Kenya and Ethiopia are keen to deal the weakened (though still potent) extremist movement Al-Shaba'ab further defeats. This confluence of factors presents, according to some, perhaps the best chance in years for peace and stability in the south and central regions of Somalia. To achieve this, however, regional and wider international unity of purpose and an agreement on basic principles are required (*Africa Briefing* 2012).

Somaliland

Having broken away from Somalia and declaring its independence in 1991, Somaliland has made efforts to put in place certain structures that have seen this northern region of Somalia – although not yet recognised by the international community – enjoy a sustainable measure of stability, unlike its south-central neighbouring region (of Somalia). In May 2000, Somalilanders voted overwhelmingly in favour of the new constitution, which established a multiparty electoral system which retained an upper chamber of parliament whose 82 seats are distributed by traditional elders on the basis of clan – a form of council of traditional elders called *Guurti* (*Africa briefing* 2009). In 2003, Rayale was re-elected as president by a razor-thin margin of just 80 votes out of nearly half a million ballots cast. However, recent developments following the stalled electoral process have threatened to plunge Somaliland

into a serious political crisis. President Riyale's third term of office should have expired on 15 May 2008, but the election that was to have been held at least one month earlier was rescheduled at least five times, most recently for 27 September 2009.

The crisis was defused in late September 2009 when the parties – under strong external and internal pressure – accepted a memorandum of understanding (MOU) agreeing to a change in the National Electoral Commission (NEC) leadership and composition, use of a “refined” voter registration list and a delay of the elections to a date to be determined by the NEC. The MOU brought the parties back from the precipice and finally a presidential election was held on 26 June 2010. On 1 July 2010, the Somaliland NEC announced that opposition candidate Ahmed M Mahamoud Silanyo had won the presidential election, defeating incumbent President Dahir Riyale Kahin.

In the Sool Sanaag and Cayn, popularly known as the SSC regions (controlled by Somaliland since 2007), there have been tensions as clan loyalties, inequalities and marginalisation have made these regions more inclined to the Puntland state than to Somaliland⁶.

2.2 Consequences of the Conflict and Violence

This discussion on TYPAP region's broader contextual framework of operation show an area that is permeated with ethnic hostilities, developmental inequalities and conflicts of collective narratives. To some extent the region under study fits what Azar (1990) describes as ethnic hostilities traversed with developmental inequities that have a long history and a not a bright future.

Northern Kenya, for example, has the lowest development indicators and the highest incidence of poverty. Primary enrolment in schools in the North Eastern Province is still below 30% while secondary school enrolment in the Marsabit district bordering Ethiopia in the north is less than 5% compared to other regions of Kenya. It is for this reason that the Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands was created in April

2008 in recognition of the historical marginalisation of these areas. Thus, the consequences of the conflict seem not just political but also social and communal.

The area (south central Somalia in particular) is not just awash with direct violence (ethnic-based factional fighting) but also structural and cultural violence (Galtung 1990). These areas also show not just a failure to internalise and institutionalise western notions of democratic practices, but also deeper systemic tensions of nation-building and ethnic identities, modernity and traditional systems. There seem to be deeper symptoms of cultural violence (Galtung 1990) that perhaps education and, in particular, peace education may address in taking the region forward in the coming years. Consequently, from such areas, peace education encounters challenges related to conflict between collectives (rather than individuals), conflict rooted in collective narratives of painful past memory and conflict catalysed by grave inequalities (Salomon 2002).

The overall challenge for peace education in such areas therefore has to do with reconciling historical collective narratives and inequalities with a culture of peace.

2.3 Responses to Conflict and Violence

There have been several attempts at dealing with this conflict. The political processes in Kenya and, indeed, Somalia have focused on coming up with credible governance institutions that will ensure greater participation of the people in decisions that affect their lives. Constitutional changes in Kenya and the Somali peace process can be seen in this context.

Other attempts have focused on education generally and peace education in particular. This dissertation will now look at peace education in Kenya and Somalia as part of attempts at dealing with the conflict in this region.

Peace education in Kenya

In a report emanating from a meeting of the Africa programme of the University of Peace's working committee (whose main task is to take stock of the status of peace education in Africa) held in Addis-Ababa (Abebe & Gbesso 2006), it was established that many countries in Africa had in fact realised the need for peace education, as their curricula contained various components that could easily be labelled as belonging to this particular field. However, in almost all cases, there was consensus that there was a need to enhance the understanding of peace education from a perspective that brings out its interconnected and holistic nature and to adopt relevant methodologies that can engage learners effectively into appreciating it and benefiting fully from it.

It was noted in the report that Kenya, like many African countries, is ethnically divided and challenged with poverty, corruption and bad governance. Under such conditions violence and conflict are inevitable. All the same, since independence there has been a clear government policy to use education as a tool in development and for national cohesion. The report noted that components of peace education have always existed in the Kenyan curriculum in subjects such as Civic Education, Social Ethics, Agriculture, Health Science, Religious Education and, lately, Environmental Education. Coupled with a heavy emphasis on examinations, these subjects have also often been taught in isolation from one another and lack proper focus and appropriate methodology. Sometimes their contents have been censored and distorted to serve the interests of the government of the day. The report also cites the 2005 Sessional paper (Kenya Institute of Education 2005), which identifies several goals for education in Kenya:

- Development, management, organisation, and delivery of education and training services in Kenya will be guided by the philosophy of education and training for social cohesion as well as human and economic development.

- Emphasis will be on the provision of holistic quality education and training that promotes education involving both cognitive and affective domains.
- Critical values such as patriotism, equality, peace, security, honesty, humility, love, respect, tolerance, cooperation and democracy will be instilled through education and training.
- Quality and relevant education and training for Kenya will also address emerging challenges such as respect for human rights, drug and substance abuse, corruption, violence and social exclusion.
- Education for the 21st century will take a significantly different trend compared to the past, as it will address globalisation issues such as environmental concerns, technology and terrorism.

The report notes that the Sessional paper (Kenya Institute of Education 2005), which mentions major components of peace education, raises hopes for the development of a curriculum that borrows heavily from a peace education curriculum. With the recent post-election violence in Kenya the importance of peace education has become even more apparent. In an interview on 14 May 2010 with a member of the Elimu Yetu Coalition, an NGO that champions education rights in Kenya, the interviewee indicated that a peace education curriculum was hurriedly put in place after the 2008 violence but its implementation “has been limited”.

Peace education in Somalia

Education in Somalia/Somaliland under the milieu described above and the civil strife in Somalia since 1991 has had serious results. Consequently, education is to a large extent in the hands of private individuals, Islamic charities, communities and local nongovernmental organisations (LNGOs) with support from diaspora groups (Hoehne 2010:4). In a study on the educational sector in Somaliland, Hoehne concludes that, in post-conflict Somaliland,

... on the one hand, diasporic engagement in education up to the tertiary sector has a peacebuilding effect in so far as it provides

opportunities for a peaceful and potentially prosperous future for many youngsters and facilitates the transnational exchange of ideas and visions related to social development and tolerance. On the other hand, however, follow-up prospects for most graduates are currently missing. The structural transformation from a war-torn to a peaceful society in Somaliland, to which the re-building of the educational sector can contribute, is endangered by unemployment, poverty, and a lack of government planning.

Despite the severe difficulties, especially in the south-central region, several universities in the country, including Mogadishu University, have scored among the 100 best universities in Africa (Saggiomo 2007), highlighting the power and resilience of grassroots or community action.

Peace education in Somalia/Somaliland is thus undertaken mostly by LNGOs with support from international NGOs and UN agencies. UNICEF, for example, has been doing a lot with local communities, sometimes intervening directly through infrastructural support such as the construction of health centres, the sinking of boreholes and the introduction of other social amenities and peace schools. In Galkayo, the capital of the Mudug region in the north-east Puntland region of Somalia, UNICEF is sponsoring a school that not only teaches peace education but also draws its students, teachers and administrative body from rival areas in equal measure: 50% from the north and 50% from the south⁷. Accordingly, it is hoped that this will practically inculcate a culture of tolerance and peaceful coexistence. The idea for the school was born out of mediation talks led by UNICEF over poor living conditions and disputed water sources between the northern and southern clans (Saggiomo 2007).

In Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya (which houses 450 000 refugees, most of them from Somalia), the UNHCR supported a Peace Education Program (PEP) together with the Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE), which employed a rights-based approach for both formal and non-formal (community) learning. The programme was designed to promote skills

that build positive and constructive behaviours for peace and conflict prevention. The programme ran between 1998 and 2005 and again briefly in 2008 after Kenya's post-election violence.

The curriculum structure within the formal school PEP programme focuses on the first eight years of schooling and is designed to respond to the psychological and ethical development of the child. Accordingly, it is "activity centred" and participatory, including games and discussions, with most of the activities being based on a "what happens when/if" exploratory learning approach. It is argued that these activities enable learners to "do peace" through tangible indoor and outdoor classroom experiences.⁸

The non-formal community PEP programme was implemented through peace education workshops held with adults and out-of-school youth in refugee and returnee areas. The approach (rights-based) used in these workshops was structured and was similar to that used in the formal training, as the concepts and skills of both programmes complement one another and build on each other. The workshops were open to members of the community since the success of process-oriented initiatives such as peace education requires that the skills, attitudes and values that children learn in school be reinforced by the adults in their community.

Useful lessons learnt from the INEE programme include the following:-

- The goal in such peace education initiatives is to move from mere creation of awareness of peace concepts and values to catalysing constructive behaviour through activity-based learning.
- All school children should be targeted by the programme and self-selected participants should be involved in the community program so as to promote a bottom-up approach.
- Training of the teachers and facilitators is important to make the programme more effective.
- In a follow-up evaluation the programme was declared successful owing to the fact that the community was consulted from the outset and

the programme had “buy-in from elders and religious leaders” (Allen, LaParl-Green, Miyawaki, Monroe, Siripanlch & Thompson 2009).

The programme was interactive and activity oriented, so participants had an opportunity to internalise the attitudes needed to make changes in behaviour more likely. Without this internalisation, the transfer of constructive behaviour from the classroom to the world would not have been impossible (Allen et al 2009). Educators from PEP believe that peace cannot be taught, but it can be learnt if the participants have the opportunity to develop and practise the peaceful behaviours through sequential, structured activities. The school programme comprised a series of activities, games, songs, stories, and role plays with almost no theory or academic components.

In an earlier UNHCR-conducted evaluation of the PEP programme in 2002, the programme was found to have had a significant positive impact on peace in the camp. A baseline study was conducted before the programme started, so the follow-up evaluation was able to show change. According to Obura (2002), the evaluation report found the following positive effects:

- Resolution of small disputes
- Conflict escalation prevention
- Improved camp security and less crime
- Better inter-group interaction and integration
- Emerging spontaneous/unplanned effects: in the camps refugees started initiatives to follow up and spread PEP in the home country
- Increased confidence and skills of PEP educators

There seems to be a gap in knowledge of how intercultural peace education interventions for youth, using educational infrastructure in East Africa and the Horn of Africa are faring in terms of the challenges, successes, impacts and long-term viability. The few evaluative peace education studies cited in this chapter suggest some positive impact at least in terms of better interaction and resolution of disputes in the immediate time and space surrounding the programme. However, they do not say much in terms of long-term behavioural

changes. In addition there seems to be theoretical gaps in knowledge on how peace-building youth intervention models in East Africa are affecting youth behaviour.

To add to this, peace education generally, as a distinct field, seems to be lacking scholarship in theory, research and programme evaluation (Salomon 2002), and more so in areas of intractable conflict or post-conflict societies, and especially in Africa.

Insights from this current study may help shed more light on an emerging body of knowledge for this region. In the following chapter this dissertation will look at the relevant literature on and certain concepts related to peace education in more detail.

CHAPTER THREE

RELEVANT PEACE LITERATURE

This chapter investigates the socio-political origins of peace education, exploring the wide range of issues that peace education covers – from international education, human rights education, development education, environmental education to conflict resolution education. The chapter will then further attempt to explain violence and peace using Galtung's (1996; 2004) conceptualisations of direct, structural and cultural violence and the peace versus security discourse framework. To further strengthen and complement this peace literature review, the chapter will review peace education initiatives in South Africa, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burundi and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Throughout the chapter, insights are distilled in order to finally come up with peace education principles that will be used in chapter six to assess the YPAP in Somalia and Kenya.

3.1 Peace Education: Origins, Theory and Diversity

Social concerns in the past century over horrific forms of violence from genocide, nuclear and biological warfare, ecocide, ethnic and racial hatred and violence to domestic violence have prompted a corresponding growth in peace education (Harris 2004:6). But what is peace education? Harris (2004) refers to peace education as “teachers teaching about peace: what it is, why it does not exist and how to achieve it” and puts forward five postulates for peace education:

1. It explains the roots of violence.
2. It teaches alternatives to violence.
3. It adjusts to cover different forms of violence.
4. Peace itself is a process that varies according to context.
5. Conflict is omnipresent.

Postulates 1 and 2 “create a unifying mission for peace education”, while postulates 3 and 4 “diversify topics covered by peace educators” (Harris 2004:6). Giving examples in the USA, Harris (2004) explains how peace

educators at the beginning of the twentieth century presented in their classrooms the danger of modern warfare arguing for international institutions like the League of Nations. By contrast, at the end of the twentieth century peace educators were teaching lessons in violence prevention, helping children avoid the risks of drug abuse, sexual harassment and domestic violence (Harris 2004).

Thus, peace education varies as it is practised in different countries and cultures because people have different understandings of peace. Harris (2004:7) explains further:

Within the international sphere it can be construed as a peace treaty, a ceasefire or a balance of power. Sociologists study cultural norms that legitimize non-violence and condemn violence. Intercultural peace implies interfaith dialogue, multicultural communication and so forth. Peace within civic society depends upon full employment, affordable housing, ready access to health care, quality educational opportunities and fair legal proceedings. Psychologists concerned with interpersonal conflict provide awareness of positive interpersonal communication skills used to resolve differences. Environmentalists point to sustainable practices used by native cultures for thousands of years.

Harris (2004) thus discusses five theoretical assumptions behind five different ways in which peace education is being carried out at the beginning of the twenty-first century: international education, human rights education, development education, environmental education and conflict resolution education. This paper will briefly highlight each type to strengthen our understanding of peace education.

Peace education as international education

Here peace education is traced to European and American concerns about modern warfare. Harris (2004) explains that this type of peace education is based upon the work of the seventeenth century Moravian peace educator

Comenius (1969), who saw that the road to peace was through universally shared knowledge. This assumes that education is the key to peace, with the emphasis on teaching about different cultures to develop in the minds of citizens an outlook of tolerance that would contribute to peaceful behaviour. Many educators during this period were convinced that schools had encouraged and enabled war by indoctrinating youth in nationalism at the expense of truth.

The horrors of World War II created a new interest in “education for world citizenship”, with Read (1949) arguing for the marriage of art and peace education to help provide images that would motivate people to promote peace. During the 1960s and 70s, academics concerned about the war in Vietnam started peace studies programmes that had a unique international focus on imperialism. In the 1980s the threat of nuclear war stimulated educators to warn of impending devastation. Betty Reardon argued that the general purpose of this wave of peace education is “to provide the development of an authentic planetary consciousness that will enable us to function as global citizens and to transform the present human condition by changing the social structures and the patterns of thought that have created it” (Reardon 1988:x).

Global peace educators provide an understanding of how nation-states construct security for their citizens. This type of peace education is also known as world-order studies (Diaz, Massialas & Xanithopoulos 1999). At the beginning of the twenty-first century it includes helping students understand the positive and negative aspects of globalisation, which has led to the erosion of power of national governments. International education is thus a diverse field. Some researchers in this field look to the creation of a federal world state with laws and courts that can adjudicate conflicts between nations, so that they do not go to war to settle their disagreements (Suter 1995), while others look to alternative ways to structure the global economy so that debt does not further impoverish developing nations struggling with difficult conditions of structural violence (Moshirian 1995).

Educators involved in global peace education efforts teach about how global institutions can provide collective security. This approach to peace has received considerable support from the UN system that has provided mandates and supported peace education efforts throughout the world. One example is the 1975 UNESCO Statement of Purposes for Worldwide Educational Policy, which includes “an international dimension at all levels of education: understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, values, and ways of life” (Deutsch UNESCO Kommission 1975:8).

Peace education as human rights education

Here Harris (2004) explains that interest in human rights comes from attempts during the twentieth century to establish international organisations like the International Criminal Court that would address civil, domestic, cultural and ethnic forms of violence. This aspect of peace education is characterised as having a literal and broad interpretation. Peace educators falling within this tradition are guided by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (December 1948), which provides a statement of values to be pursued in order to achieve economic, social and political justice.

Various statements of human rights derive from concepts of natural law, a higher set of laws that are universally applicable and supersede governmental laws. Narrowly construed, the study of human rights is the study of treaties, global institutions, and domestic and international courts. This approach to peace is partly based on the work of the eighteenth-century philosopher Immanuel Kant, who in his book *Perpetual peace* (Kant 1970) established the liberal notion that humans could moderate civil violence by constructing legal systems with checks and balances based on courts, trials and jails. This approach to peace is known as “peace through justice” and rests on the notion that humans have rational minds capable of creating laws that treat people fairly.

Human rights education can be broadly construed in ways that honour the basic dignity of all people, with human rights institutions championing rights in terms of discrimination based on gender, disability and sexual orientation.

Hence, this aspect of peace education's goal is multicultural understanding aimed at reducing stereotypes and hostilities between groups. In peace camps in the Middle East with Israeli and Palestinian children, and other places where people are attempting to transform ethnic, religious and racial hatred, this kind of education hopes to eliminate adversarial mindsets by challenging stereotypes to break down enemy images and by changing perceptions of and ways of relating to the other group (Salomon 2002).

Peace education as development education

Peace research as a serious field of intellectual inquiry began in the 1960s under the leadership of the Norwegian Johan Galtung (1969), one of the founders of the International Peace Research Association (Harris 2004). Galtung made an important distinction between *negative* peace and *positive* peace. *Negative* peace, by averting war or stopping violence, implies the absence of direct, personal violence. *Positive* peace, on the other hand, is a condition where non-violence, ecological sustainability and social justice remove the causes of violence. Positive peace requires both the adoption of a set of beliefs by individuals and the presence of social institutions that provide for an equitable distribution of resources and peaceful resolution of conflict. Galtung also pointed out how structural violence, the inequitable denial of resources, causes violence, thus expanding the field of peace studies beyond the study of the interstate system that leads to war to the study of cultural violence, human rights and development. We will discuss Galtung's ideas in more detail later in this chapter

At the same time, as Harris (2004) explains, a Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire (1970), developed an educational methodology to help people address the sources of their own oppression. Freire stated that humans need to understand how to overcome oppressive conditions in order to be fully free. This process of understanding or *conscientisation*, leads to studying various forms of structural violence, developing non-violent alternatives and developing social institutions that would reduce the devastation of violence. Although not known as a peace educator per se, Freire saw that the right kind of education could liberate people from structural violence.

Development educators are, thus, concerned about the rush to modernity and its impact on human communities. Rather than “promoting top-down development strategies imposed by corporate elites” who see ordinary people as ignorant, peace educators promote “poor people’s involvement in planning, implementing and controlling development schemes” (Harris 2004:12). Inspired by Dr Martin Luther King Jr, Mohandas Gandhi and other non-violent activists, peace educators question the dominant patterns of development that have preoccupied the West for the past millennium, decrying the poverty and misery produced by an advanced capitalist economic order where an elite minority benefits from the suffering of a vast majority of people on this planet. They see that the path to peace comes from getting people mobilised into movements that protect human rights and the environment (Harris 2004).

Peace education as environmental education

Harris (2004) also discusses environmental education as peace education. With the rise of global warming, rapid species extinction and the adverse effects of pollution, peace educators are starting to realise that it is not sufficient just to talk about military security, but it is also necessary to promote a concept of peace based upon ecological security, where humans are protected and nourished by natural processes (Mische 1989).

Scientific growth based on rational modes of problem solving has created a damaged Earth that is losing many of its creatures to extinction. Instead of an anthropocentric culture, teachers concerned about problems of violence caused by the destruction of natural systems promote a way of life that acknowledges the important of traditional cultures that encourage humans to revere rather than despoil the natural world. The goals of environmental peace education thus include teaching environmental understanding so that a peace-literate person can become aware of the planet’s plight, its social and ecological problems, and has the commitment to do something about them (Harris 2004).

Environmental studies therefore lead to holistic thinking about how natural and human systems interrelate. Peace educators also emphasise preserving the habitat in which students are located, explaining the importance of bio-regionalism, where people within a particular region exist within the strengths of that region (Harris 2004).

Peace education as conflict resolution education

Conflict resolution educators provide the basic communication skills necessary for survival in a postmodern world. This approach to peace education is based partially on the work of Maria Montessori (1974), who stressed that the whole school should reflect the nurturing characteristics of a healthy family. In the period between the two world wars, Dr Montessori travelled throughout Europe urging teachers to abandon authoritarian pedagogies, replacing them with a structured curriculum from which pupils could choose what to study. She reasoned that children who did not automatically follow authoritarian teachers would not necessarily follow despotic rulers urging them to war. Montessori saw that the construction of peace depends upon an education that would free the child's spirit, promote love of others and remove the climate of compulsory restriction. She set up a school in a slum in Italy where teachers were encouraged to use their capacity for love to help students prosper in the midst of extreme poverty. Dr Montessori stressed that a teacher's method or pedagogy could contribute to building a peaceful world.

In-school conflict resolution education began during the Vietnam period. In 1974, the Quaker Project on Community Conflict in New York published *The friendly classroom for a small planet* (Prutzman, Stern, Burger & Bodenhamer 1988), a curriculum for teachers of young children who wanted to enable students to develop a sense of self-worth, build community and acquire the skills of creative conflict resolution. The preface from the first edition sums up its philosophy and states the three goals of many modern peace education programs in primary schools:-

1. To promote growth toward a community in which children are capable and desirous of open communication
2. To help children gain insights into the nature of human feelings and share their own feelings
3. To explore with children the unique personal ways in which they can respond to problems and begin to prevent or solve conflicts (Prutzman et al 1988:vii).

This curriculum attempts to deal with the roots of conflict as they exist within the psyches of young children by teaching them to be open, sharing and cooperative. Conflict resolution education thus can help individuals understand conflict dynamics and empower them to use communication skills to manage peaceful relationships. Here the focus is on interpersonal relations and systems that help disputing parties resolve their differences with the help of a third party. Conflict resolution educators teach children human relations skills such as anger management, emotional awareness, empathy development, assertiveness and problem solving. Research studies conducted on conflict resolution education in the USA show that it can have a positive impact on school climate (Johnson & Johnson 1996) and achievement (Bickmore 2001). Studies have reported a decrease in aggressiveness, violence, drop-out rates, student suspensions and victimised behaviour (Jones & Kmitta 2000). Conflict resolution education results include improved academic performance, increased cooperation and positive attitudes towards school (Bodine & Crawford, 1999).

A recent variation of this approach to peace education is violence prevention education, the goal of which is to get youth to understand that anger is a normal emotion that can be handled positively. To counter hostile behaviours learnt in the broader culture, peace educators teach anger management techniques that help students avoid fights in school and resolve angry disputes in their immediate lives. Cultural images of violence in the mass media have a particularly negative impact on communities of colour (Cortes 2000). Strong research connects the viewing of violence on television and higher rates of aggressive and violent behaviour (Bok 1998). Violent

behavioural patterns are learnt in families that practise corporal punishment and are neglectful of children.

Conflict resolution education concerns the aspects of violence that school personnel feel they have some control over, that is, the behaviour of their pupils. The emphasis in this type of peace education is on creating a safe school. Teaching students to be peacemakers involves creating a cooperative context that encourages disputants to reach mutually acceptable compromises and not dominate each other. Children need formal training in anger management, social perspective taking, decision making, social problem solving, peer negotiation, conflict management, valuing diversity, social resistance skills, active listening and effective communication in order to play these roles at school. Conflict resolution education provides students with peacemaking skills but does not necessarily address the various kinds of civil, cultural, environmental and global violence that take place outside schools.

The above definitions, discussions and variations of peace education help us to better understand the phenomenon that is peace education and will help us better evaluate the TYPAP. But how can we look conceptually at the context in which such interventions are carried out? In order to further complement and strengthen this literature review and conceptual framework, and to better appreciate the conflict in TYPAP regions, this dissertation highlights Galtung's (1990) direct structural and cultural violence in more details.

Galtung's direct structural and cultural violence

Johan Galtung's (1996) conflict triangle of direct structural and cultural violence works on the assumption that the best way to define peace is to define violence, its antithesis. This, then, reflects the normative aim of preventing, managing, limiting and overcoming violence (Galtung & Jacobsen 2000).

Galtung (1990), a pioneer peace expert, describes direct violence as the avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs or life which makes it

impossible or difficult for people to meet their needs or achieve their full potential. In this regard then, direct violence has to do with the use of physical force like killing, torture, sexual assault or beatings. It is the more visible aspect of violence compared with structural and cultural violence. Threats to use force are also recognised as violence by Galtung. In Somalia/Somaliland this could refer to the civil war, while in Kenya it would be the shifta war, clan clashes, and other atrocities such as the Wagalla massacre (Maliti, 2003).

Structural violence, on the other hand, is a form of violence based on the systemic ways in which a given social structure or social institution harms people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs. Structural violence exists when some groups, classes, genders or nationalities are assumed to have (and in many cases do have) more access to goods, resources and opportunities than other groups, classes, genders or nationalities. Their unequal advantage is built into the very social, political and economic systems that govern societies, states and the world (Maliti, 2003). These tendencies may be explicit, such as apartheid in South Africa, or more subtle, such as the tendency to award some groups privileges over others. In Kenya the structural violence of marginalisation in the NEP comes to mind (Samatar & Machaka 2006), while in Somalia/land the “politicised clannism” and patronage of the warlords suffice as an illustration (Ahmed 2006:163).

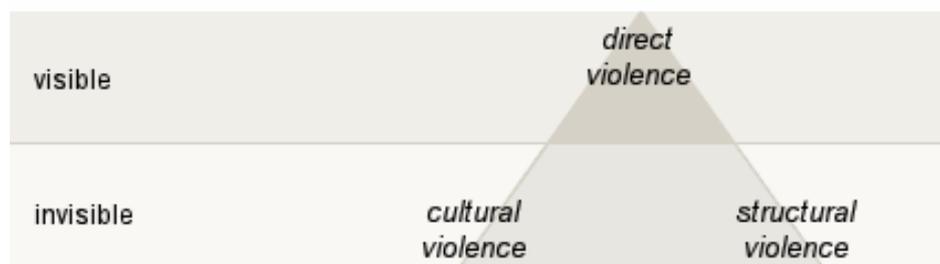
Galtung (1990) describes cultural violence as those aspects of culture – “the symbolic sphere of our existence” – exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science that can be used to justify or legitimise direct or structural violence. Cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right, or at least not wrong. Galtung (1990:292) further elaborates as follows:

One way cultural violence works is by changing the moral color of an act from red/wrong to green/right or at least to yellow/acceptable; an example being 'murder on behalf of the country as right, on behalf of oneself wrong'. Another way is by making reality opaque, so that we do not see the violent act or fact, or at least not as violent. Obviously this is more

easily done with some forms of violence than with others; an example being *abortus provocatus*.

Galtung further posits that if the opposite of violence is peace, the subject matter of peace studies, then the opposite of cultural violence would be “cultural peace”, meaning aspects of a culture that serve to justify and legitimise direct peace and structural peace.

Diagram 1: The relationship between direct, structural and cultural Violence



Source: Galtung (1996:196–201)

Peace education – discourses and frames

Johan Galtung (2004) further identifies two competing discourses: the peace discourse and the security discourse. These discourses inform our understanding of peace, security, conflict and violence, which are often key elements of any peace education programme undertaken in regions of “intractable conflicts” (Solomon 2002) like the TYPAP regions of Somalia, Somaliland and even Kenya.

The peace discourse addresses issues more comprehensively and addresses the root causes of conflict. It focuses on contradicting goals rather than on violence. The peace discourse makes use of tested conflict analysis techniques which broaden the scope of actors and stakeholders to take into account root causes and basic needs, and assume that solutions must be based on legitimate goals.

Security discourse, on the other hand, places its emphasis on violence, which it confuses with conflict. While conflict is a situation where two or more

individuals or groups try to pursue goals which they believe they cannot share (Ross 2005), violence is the use of force to achieve a goal. Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) observe that violence is only one possible response to conflict – a collective expression, or political tool to achieve ends – which can easily be self-defeating, nullifying any gains or even killing those who would have benefited from the achievement. Conflict is not necessarily negative, and may not necessarily lead to violence. Any change in the world can be understood as a conflict with the status quo, and change can have positive effects. The security discourse thus tends to gloss over the distinction between violence and conflict, and neglects the root causes of conflict.

The peace discourse believes that positive change is within our power; that there are alternatives to violence; that empathy is a key component of human relations; and that all are equal.

The table 1 below further elaborates the differences between Galtung's (2004) peace and security discourses as presented by Perez (2010:2).

Table 1: Galtung’s peace and security discourses

<i>Peace discourse (horizontal)</i>	<i>Security discourse (vertical)</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict that has not been resolved or transformed. • A danger of violence as one way to “settle the conflict”. • Conflict transformation which is empathetic, creative and non-violent, in turn producing: • Peace, which is the best approach to “security.” This approach works through acceptable or sustainable outcomes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evil party with strong capabilities and evil intentions. • A clear and present danger of violence, real or potential. • Strength to defeat or deter the evil party, in turn producing: • Security, which is also the best approach to “peace.” This approach works when evil/strong parties are weakened through defeat or deterrence, and/or converted into good parties.

George Lakoff, in analysing (American) politics, discusses peace in terms of frames, that is, the mental mechanisms by which we organise our thoughts, ideas and worldviews. He identifies two competing frames governing American politics via the family structure: the *nurturant parent* frame and the *strict father* frame (Lakoff 2005). The peace discourse and nurturant parent frame share many similar characteristics, as do the security discourse and strict father frame.

The table 2 below shows some of Lakoff’s (2005) frames, demonstrating how they impact on politics (Perez 2010:4).

Table 2: Lakoff’s nurturant parent and strict father frames

<i>Nurturant parent</i>	<i>Strict father</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The world is basically good and can be made better. It is our responsibility to work towards that. Both parents share responsibility for raising children and must nurture their children and raise them to be nurturers. • Nurturing equals empathy (feeling and caring how others feel) plus responsibility (for taking care of oneself and others for whom we are responsible). • Political values based on empathy: protection from harm, fulfilment in life, fairness, freedom, open communication, responsibility: competence, trust, commitment, community building. • Policies: government protection as social safety net and government regulation, military and police, universal education, civil liberties, equal treatment, accountability, public service, open government, economy that benefits all and promotes these values. • Role of government: provide infrastructure and services to enact these values. • Foreign policy: Promote cooperation and extend these values to the world. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The world is dangerous and difficult and children are born bad and must be made good. • Father is the moral authority, has to support and defend family, tell his wife what to do and teach children right from wrong. • This is achieved through painful punishment: physical discipline leading to internal [self] discipline and resulting in morality and survival. Must pursue your self-interest to become self-reliant. • Social programmes “spoil” people, giving them what they have not earned and keeping them dependent. • Role of government: protect nation, maintain order, administer justice (punishment) and promotion of business. • Business is how disciplined people become self-reliant and wealth is a measure of discipline. • Taxes take away from good, disciplined people what they have rightfully earned and spend on those who do not deserve it. • Foreign policy: maintain sovereignty and impose moral authority while seeking self-interest.

In Lakoff’s analysis every word evokes a frame. Even negation of a frame evokes a frame (for example when someone gives you a directive – don’t think of an elephant-it is a directive that cannot be carried out, and that is the point) and evoking of a frame also reinforces a frame (Lakoff 2004). The way

frames are transmitted is through culture and the greatest purveyor of culture is the media.

The peace discourse and nurturant parent frame share similar values. They both believe that positive change is within our power; that there are alternatives to violence; that empathy is a key component of human relations; and that all are equal (Perez 2010). Combining Galtung and Lakoff thus to transform the current dominant security discourses and worldviews, peace activists and educationist need to develop other vocabulary (Perez 2010).

For Lakoff, using the same conservative strict-father frame (or Galtung's security discourse) terminology and concepts, while at the same time contesting such concepts, is counterproductive and only serves to reinforce "unconsciously" the same frames and concepts. Thus reframing is needed. To clarify further, Lakoff (Perez 2010) observes that reframing is changing the way the public sees the world by changing what counts as common sense. Because language activates frames, new language is required for new frames. Thus, thinking differently requires speaking differently (Perez 2010).

Such theoretical dichotomous approaches, though simplified, help us better understand the issues around peace and peace education. Even though they emanate from a western context, they are useful in any conservative African political hierarchy where the authorities are in many respects an extension of the western metropolis (Wallerstein 1980). As for YPAP, it is perhaps sufficient to say at this juncture that the YPAP (and similar peace education programmes) could be seen as initiatives designed to change the discourses, frames and common lexicon in order to transform the world for the better by promoting social justice and a more peaceful vision. As we shall see later one of the YPAP's objectives is to raise the profile of children and youth as active partners, and peace as a value in public discourse in Somalia/Somaliland and Kenya.

Peace education – a tragedy

To further strengthen our conceptual understanding of peace education, it may be important to also see peace education as a tragedy! Jean McNiff (2003) argues that most current forms of peace education do not recognise the agonistic and tragic base of conflict. Too often peace education assumes the “rightness of what is known” and the “unambiguous moral positioning” of all participants and the “certainty of concrete situations” (McNiff 2003:5). McNiff further argues that too often peace education is distorted into a form of terrorism when the “values of freedom and truths of multiple ways of living are shoe-horned into culturally-specific ways of being” (McNiff 2003:5).

A more appropriate and beneficial basis of peace education may thus be to understand human living by and large as characterised by contradiction and conflict and to recognise that values are frequently denied in practice, and that people have to work long and hard in order to live up to those values. In addition to this, McNiff argues that values are themselves in conflict; for example exercising the freedom to drive a big car seriously diminishes other people’s freedom to enjoy clean air or their freedom to conserve limited environmental resources. In concluding her paper, McNiff (2003:6) suggests:

Peace education needs to recognize the inherently tragic nature of human living, so that it rescues itself from becoming a narrative that deals at a surface level with overcoming disasters and glossing over human frailty, and instead becomes a critically-engaged context for the expression of the deepest compassion for all as the basis of working for universal freedom and social justice.

3.2 Peace Education Programme Reviews

At this juncture this paper will review selected peace education programmes in South Africa, Liberia, Burundi, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sierra Leone. The aim is to further highlight the various questions, contexts and issues that peace education, especially in African post-conflict societies, is faced with. Moreover, these reviews will serve to generate valuable peace education ideas and principles that this study will use to evaluate TYPAP in chapter six.

South Africa

In a study titled “Educating for peace in the midst of violence: a South African experience”, Maxwell, Enslin and Maxwell (2004:103) explore the question: How do we educate for peace in a context of “pervasive social violence”? More specifically the paper examines the possibility of educating for peace when the responsibility of doing this is given to educators who themselves have been immersed in a context of violence.

The paper first discusses the context of South Africa pointing out that while South Africa as a country no longer suffers under the political oppression and violence which once characterised it under apartheid, there is no doubt that South Africa is still a very violent society. In the paper, Sighting (in Smith, 2001:3) and other scholars describe South Africa as one of the most violent countries in the world, due largely to the high incidence of criminal and domestic violence. They point out that “a South African is 12 times more likely to be murdered than the international norm” and that “no country is more violent towards its children than South Africa” (Smith, 2001:3).

Quoting Cairns (1996:6) the paper makes a distinction between political and community violence with the latter being essentially interpersonal violence and political violence being intergroup violence. Despite the political nature of South African violence and what Maxwell et al (2004) calls South Africa’s familiarity with violence, there is value in maintaining the distinction between the two to enable “differentiation between the different causes of each” and the “different types of solutions or responses that would be appropriate in each case”(Maxwell et al 2004:105). Citing Stavrou (1992:13–14) the paper thus identifies six emotional and behavioural consequences of children’s ongoing exposure to violence of any type. These are

1. lack of ability to trust and to love
2. loss of self-esteem and feelings of personal power
3. dehumanisation and desensitisation
4. adoption of “the culture of violence”

5. children becoming violent
6. self-destructive behaviour
7. healing the wounds

The seventh one – healing the wounds – was added because of its importance in the context of the political violence that South Africa was still experiencing during its time of transition, and South Africa's current criminal violence.

Thus, the paper explains that one of the consequences for children living in a violent society that emerges from the literature on this topic is an increase in levels of childhood aggression (Stavrou, 1992; Cairns, 1996; Duncan & Rock, 1997a). While a direct causal relationship between a violent context and childhood aggression cannot be assumed (Gibson, 1991), it has particular relevance for peace educators for two reasons. Firstly, it is possible that childhood aggression may develop into adult violence (Olweus, 1978; 1979) and intervening in this development process may be one way of reducing levels of future violence in society.

Secondly, a reduction in levels of aggression is one short-term outcome of peace education programmes (Nevo & Brem 2002) that is measurable in pre-school children and that may have long-term significance. Therefore, considering the difficulties in measuring the overall impact of peace education programmes generally, and at pre-school level in particular, a reduction in incidents of aggression became a key area of focus in Maxwell et al's (2004) study.

Maxwell et al (2004:106) outline and explain further challenges to peace education in South Africa, one of which is the poor quality of education that the current black teachers in South Africa grew up with under apartheid, which significantly affects the amount of education actually received by black learners. Maxwell et al (2004) state the following:

Under apartheid, education at all levels was strictly segregated and there were enormous inequalities in educational expenditure for black and white learners. In 1984–1985, for example, educational expenditure in South Africa for white learners was R1702 per capita and for black learners was R169 per capita. In the same period, the pupil: teacher ratio in white education was 18.7:1 and in black education was 41.2:1 (Fourie in Duncan & Rock 1997:54). These inequalities produced conditions in black schools that were not conducive to learning, including very large class sizes, poor facilities and under-qualified teachers, factors that were compounded by the poverty of many learners. Most of the current generation of black teachers grew up and were educated in this context of poverty, deliberately inferior education and educational boycotts.

There is a predominance of “an ethos and management system dominated by extreme authoritarianism” (Taylor & Vinjevold 2000:170), yet peace education is quite consciously an anti-authoritarian model (Bar-Tal 2002).

It is worth noting that “[s]chool personnel following the principles of peace education reform teach content and skills, respond to feelings, use a peaceful pedagogy, discipline in a non-punitive manner, motivate students to pursue peace, and administer schools democratically” (Harris 1996:387). Following these principles Maxwell et al (2004) explains that the introduction of peace education in South African schools requires a significant transformation of the curriculum, school ethos and structure.

The entrenchment of corporal punishment in South African schools is seen as another challenge to peace education by Maxwell et al (2004). These authors (2004) explain that although the high levels of corporal punishment (Mkhize 1999) is not unexpected, considering both the history of authoritarianism in South African schooling and society and the extent to which South Africa developed a culture of violence during the apartheid years, it cannot be denied that corporal punishment has been used to an excessive extent which has a number of implications for peace education in this context:

- Firstly, the majority of teachers who will be required to educate for peace have been subjected to this kind of punishment in their own years of schooling and may well still carry the psychological scars.
- Secondly, the extent to which corporal punishment has been entrenched in this society means that teachers now struggle to leave it behind and to have faith in other methods of discipline.
- Though corporal punishment was outlawed in the National Education Policy Act of 1996, its use is still widespread (Porteus, Vally & Ruth 2001:6). Considering that the use of corporal punishment is anathema to peace education, South Africa's history of extreme use of corporal punishment may complicate teachers' ability to adapt to more peace education-appropriate methods of discipline

In summing up these challenges, Maxwell et al (2004) points out that peace education in South Africa must take place in a context in which violence has reached critical levels, necessitating working with teachers who have themselves been exposed to violence, who are often under-educated and who are used to operating in an authoritarian educational environment in which corporal punishment has been an acceptable form of discipline.

Using both qualitative and quantitative methods, Maxwell et al (2004) examine a South African peace education programme at pre-school level. This is a pre-school curriculum and a teacher development course that was established by the Methodist Church of Southern Africa (MCSA). The programme was developed in 1998 in conjunction with a team of pre-school teachers from diverse backgrounds working in a variety of settings within two South African provinces. The key findings of Maxwell et al's study were as follows:

- Analysis of the structured observation data indicated a reduction in aggressive behaviour in the study schools which did not occur in the control schools. This was likely to be related to the implementation of

the peace education intervention in schools, since the decline could not be explained by maturation of the children or by exposure to a general pre-school programme.

- Analysis from teacher observation and journal keeping indicated a positive change in aggressive and pro-social behaviour. This kind of analysis cannot show a causal relationship, but it was clear from the teachers' appropriate use of the curriculum and the other techniques they chose to employ that, at the very least, the peace education curriculum and workshops provided important support for teachers in their task of assisting the children in their care.
- Analysis from the questionnaire data revealed a high level of enthusiasm about the peace education programme and a strong sense that both the workshops and the curriculum had an impact on the schools. The respondents largely reported finding the curriculum helpful and easy to use in its current form with suggestions made on improving the curriculum largely by translating it into other languages and providing more training on how to use it.
- Analysis of the interview data revealed a significant amount of convergence in participants' experiences of the intervention. There was a high level of enthusiasm expressed about the programme and a strong sense that it needed to continue. There was agreement that the workshops were helpful and that the programme as a whole had a positive effect on the schools and on the lives of the teachers.

One important issue that emerged from this research was that teaching *about* peace is not enough. "Education for Peace should permeate all aspects of school life, with implications for learners, teachers and administrators" (Evans, Laryea, Rawajfeh, Meenan-Waugh, Neary & Stobie 1999:3). Teaching methods, methods of discipline, decision-making processes in the classroom

and the school and all other aspects of the school environment are as much a part of educating for peace as the curriculum itself (Hutchinson 1996).

In conclusion, the MCSA study in South Africa indicated that peace education programmes were welcome and possible in that context and that they can facilitate a reduction in aggressive behaviour in early childhood, which might be a step towards a reduction in societal aggression. Moreover, educating for peace is possible in spite of the educators' own immersion in a context of violence and their underqualified status. All the same, teacher development in this field is of great importance "for the intertwined processes of developing the teachers personally (particularly considering this country's past) and equipping them to actually educate their children for peace".

Secondly, despite the awareness by South African authorities of the fact that peace education has a significant role to play in the development of a peaceful society, "peace education needs to be thoroughly researched, curricula need to be developed and teachers need to be trained" if it is to become a component of education that can realistically contribute to the development of a peaceful society in South Africa (Maxwell et al 2004:118).

Liberia

Vonhm Benda (2010) reports of a peace education programme in Liberia developed by the Center for Peace Education (CPE) in April 2009. The programme's curriculum was a product of a baseline survey in 14 junior and senior high schools located in Montserrado County. The research survey consisted of 600 grade school students who completed written questionnaires and an additional 500 who participated in focus groups discussions.

Schools that participated in the survey included public, private, and religious institutions. The baseline survey revealed that students are more receptive to "violent behavior than non-violent ways of life", hailed "warlords as role models" and lack the "prerequisite skills to diagnose the potential for conflict or resolve it peacefully when it arises".

Vonhm Benda's (2010:221) report describes the context of Liberia where the civil war between 1989 and 2003 "severely affected children who suffered sexual, emotional, and physical abuse". Vonhm points out:

During the height of the Liberian civil war, children were trained to become rebels and killing machines. Meanwhile, children who did not participate in war witnessed death or torture of family members and friends. They were displaced from their families, became refugees in strange lands, were falsely imprisoned, suffered torture, and other forms of abuse.

The CPE peace programme was taught in seven schools in Montserrado county of Liberia. Consequently, following its reported success in reducing the levels of violence in these schools, community leaders and elected officials from six of the 15 counties requested that CPE extend peace education teaching to their communities. CPE lessons are designed and taught in ways that un-teach violent behaviour using a therapeutic process of oral discussion, drama, dance, songs and written expression.

In all the schools in which CPE is taught, school headmasters have reported that the level of violence has decreased significantly since CPE started teaching peace education as a subject. This has been demonstrated by a decrease in the number of verbal insults among students or towards teachers, a decline in the number of fights among students, and a reduction in the number of students suspended or expelled for behavioural problems (Vonhm Benda 2010).

Burundi and the Great Lakes region

In Burundi and the Great Lakes region of Africa, Ndura-Ouédraogo (2009) chronicles findings from a qualitative study which examined educators' perceptions of their contributions to the quest for sustainable peace in the region. The study also looked at how educators representing different ethnic backgrounds and academic preparation, and currently employed at different

levels within the Burundi educational system, describe their experiences with ethnic conflicts and violence, the role that education must play in peace building and societal reconstruction processes, and their roles in the quest for a sustainable peaceful interethnic coexistence.

Ndura-Ouédraogo (2009) traces ethnic discord in this region to the divisive Belgian colonial policies which framed Hutu and Tutsi ethnic identities into bipolar racial identities with profound social, educational, economic and political consequences. Ndura-Ouédraogo (2009:38) further explains:

Such policies constructed the Tutsi as an alien superior race, and fostered Tutsi hegemony in all national sectors. For example, in the educational system in Burundi, pervasive post independence colonial policies and practices continued to be characterized by rampant inequity and discrimination for decades.

For Ndura-Ouédraogo (2009), the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and the earlier 1972 genocide orchestrated by the Tutsi government and the military in Burundi that left hundreds of thousands of Hutus decimated, all point to the failure of the countries in the region to reclaim their independence from the divide in order to conquer colonial policies that confined Tutsis and Hutus into two seemingly irreconcilable camps. Recent efforts to engage opposing parties in sustained peace talks and negotiations have produced only fragile moments of peace. Ndura-Ouédraogo (2009) wonders if the apparent weakness of the negotiations and their results may be due in part to the fact that political leaders and policy makers have pursued a narrow political lens in their attempts to solve their national and regional crises; neglecting to tap into the national educational systems in order to foster badly needed peaceful dispositions. Thus, the guiding rationale for the study was raising educators' consciousness of the critical role that education must play in peace-building and social-reconstruction processes in the post-conflict nation which would help them clarify their own roles as agents of positive social change (Ndura 2003).

The study was thus designed to answer one overarching question: What do educators perceive to be the role that educational programmes and practices must play in the peace-building process in the African Great Lakes region? To answer this central question, four questions were raised by Ndura-Ouédraogo (2009):

1. How do educators characterise their experiences of ethnic conflicts and violence?
2. How do educators characterise the role of education in the pursuit of peace?
3. How do educators characterise the role of education in the process of societal change and reconstruction?
4. How do educators characterise their roles in the quest for sustainable peace?

The study sample comprised 36 participants, consisting of 33 professional educators and three high-school students from three Burundi provinces. Twelve of the participants were female and 24 male. The educators included 11 administrators, 21 teachers, and one bookkeeper. Six major and recurring themes emerged from the data analysis: suffering and trauma from the conflict; material losses; rebuilding of education infrastructure; the critical role of education; educators as agents of peace and societal transformation; and challenges to the educators' task.

The data revealed that all of the participants had been significantly affected by the civil war. The participants were open in discussing their suffering and traumatic experiences brought about by the war. One of the participant quoted in the study stated (Ndura-Ouédraogo 2009:41):

We had a watchman ... sometime around one o'clock in the morning [in 1994], he warned us that he could hear vehicles, but could not see them. It was a procession of army vehicles ... at least 12 of them ... with their headlights off. They were ten metres away from our house. Around 3a.m., the watchman warned,

“please be careful. I can see some people ... silhouettes.” I ran through the fence. I hid far away in the bushes. [When I returned] 37 people, including my housekeeper, had been killed with hammers, machetes, bayonet or bottles filled with primus. They just crush your head

Many participants indicated that the educational system was strongly affected by the civil war. Physical destruction of school buildings and resources was apparent in the researcher’s observations and the war had a significant impact on teacher–student relationships, educators’ work, and students’ academic progress and performance. Several participants said that teachers were often intimidated into giving unearned grades to students, and scores of students were forced to interrupt their schooling for years at a time, or drop out altogether.

All of the participants stressed the essential role that education must play in the quest for peaceful interethnic coexistence and societal reconstruction. They believed that education shapes people’s ideas and actions, and the future of the nation. The data revealed startling agreement among the participants that all educators have to assume the imminent task of becoming role models for peace advocacy.

The study revealed that educators have a critical responsibility, playing a very important role because education was not like mathematics or chemistry or physics – students must learn how to manage their personal lives during and after their schooling. One participant was quick to suggest that growth and transformation must begin with educators themselves, as they must develop peaceful dispositions before they can effectively help their students become agents of peaceful interethnic coexistence. But how can educators’ foster peaceful coexistence in their practice? One participant argued that it is important to discuss ethnicity-related issues openly in the classrooms, illustrating this with an example from her own practice (Ndura-Ouédraogo 2009:45).

I like discussing ethnic issues when I teach the lesson on “ethnic stereotypes”. I ask the students, “Am I Hutu?” “Yes.” I call on a Tutsi student. “Are you Tutsi?” “Yes.” “Do you know your grandfather?” “I know him.” “Your father’s grandfather?” “I don’t know him.” “How do you know that you are Tutsi?” He can’t answer ...

The researcher’s own observations of the difficulties impeding teaching and learning in Burundi schools were confirmed by most of the participants. The most cited challenges were the lack of instructional materials and resources, educators’ poor living conditions, and student-related challenges such as overcrowding and poverty.

In portraying educators’ readiness to openly address the ethnic divide and how this has had an impact on their lived experiences, these findings show that they are ready to engage in a transformative discourse that would further peace through education. Thus, to Ndura-Ouédraogo (2009), educational policy makers and practitioners should develop and support appropriate professional development programmes to help educators develop the dispositions and skills necessary to further interethnic peaceful coexistence in their classrooms, schools and communities.

What are some of the key attributes and commitments that such educators should demonstrate? They should be citizens who support and defend social justice, reject politically correct discourses that promote individual and structural hypocrisy, courageously dedicate their talents, time and resources to eradicate all forms of oppression, and labour to build ethnically diverse communities devoid of fear, tension and suspicion (Ndura 2007). They should respect life and the dignity of each human being without discrimination or prejudice (Harris & Morrison 2003).

To this effect, professional development programmes and practices should help educators to unveil and understand their own narratives, and they should foster intergroup appreciation and validation (Quezada & Romo 2004). They

should help them explore and affirm the value of human interdependence (Hanh 2002) in order to openly and effectively deal with structural and social issues that lead to conflict and violence (Goldstein 2005; Johnson & Johnson 2006).

Overall, Ndura (2009) points out that professional development programmes and practices should empower educators to develop peaceful dispositions and take appropriate action to foster affirming peaceful coexistence as they grow to become active agents of social change (Johnson & Johnson 2006; Synott 2005; Tyler & Bretherton 2006).

In conclusion, Ndura-Ouédraogo (2009) asserts that reshaping and transforming educators' professional development programmes and practices is a precondition for societal reconstruction as Burundi and the African Great Lakes region slowly emerge from decades of devastating interethnic conflicts and violence: a monumental task that requires both individual and collective will and effort.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Danesh (2008) presents the conceptual foundations of the Education for Peace (EFP) integrative curriculum, reviews its contents, and briefly describes its impact on students, teachers, staff and parents/guardians. The curriculum was developed in 2000 with a comprehensive and inclusive pedagogical approach and unique conceptual formulation which defines conflict as the absence of unity and unity as the main prerequisite for peace. The EFP curriculum addresses the most important aspects of learning – critical thinking, emotional insight and creative experience, integrating insights from a wide range of disciplines on peace and education, including education, peace studies, conflict resolution, political science, law, religion, sociology, psychology and history.

Danesh (2006) put forward an integrative theory of peace (ITP), formulating the EFP Peace integrative curriculum on its main principles. ITP consists of four sub theories:

1. Peace is psychosocial and political as well as a moral and spiritual condition.
2. Peace is the main expression of a unity-based worldview.
3. Comprehensive, integrated, lifelong education is the most effective approach for developing a unity-based worldview.
4. A unity-based worldview is a prerequisite for creating both a culture of peace and a culture of healing.

Following these principles the EFP integrative curriculum is based on three premises:

1. Unity, not conflict, is the main force in human relationships.
2. Worldview is the main framework within which all human individual and group behaviour takes shape.
3. Peace is the main outcome of a unity-based worldview.

In the EFP curriculum, the concept of worldview is defined as the framework within which we understand the nature of reality, human nature, the purpose of life and the laws governing human relationships. The concept also includes issues of personal and group identity and narrative.

Danesh (2008) points out that in September 2000, the main elements of the EFP curriculum were incorporated in a comprehensive two-year pilot programme of Education for Peace (in three primary and three secondary schools) in three different Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) cities – Banja Luka, Sarajevo and Travnik. The pilot project involved 6000 students, 400 teachers and 10 000 parents/guardians from Bosniak (Muslim), Croat (Catholic) and Serb (Orthodox Christianity) backgrounds, representing the three main ethnic populations of BiH that engaged in the 1992–1995 civil war.

With the successful completion of the project, the programme was introduced to an additional 106 schools with a total of 80 000 students, 5000 teachers and school staff and tens of thousands of parents/guardians. The project now,

at the behest of the government of BiH and the international community in that country, is being gradually introduced to all 2200 plus BiH schools, involving 1.5 million students and 110 000 educators (Danesh 2008).

The EFP curriculum is unique in several respects. It is formulated on the principle that unity-building (and not conflict management) is the most effective and useful approach to peace education and that this goal could best be accomplished by helping students develop a unity-based worldview rather than the conflict-based mindsets that are prevalent in schools everywhere.

The curriculum takes into account the developmental nature of the concepts of unity and worldview, and demonstrates that peace is the final outcome of the maturation processes on both individual and group levels. The EFP curriculum focuses on the biological, psychological, social, political, ethical and spiritual aspects of peace and assists the participants to concentrate simultaneously on developing understanding and skills in creating intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup peace. The EFP curriculum aims to create environments conducive to healing from the destructive impact of conflict and violence on its members.

The EFP integrative curriculum is designed on the premise that the overarching precondition for peace is the consciousness of the oneness of humanity within the operation of a unity-based worldview. Thus, in the EFP curriculum, peace is not presented as simply one of many subjects of study; rather, the curriculum provides a framework within which *all* subjects are studied according to the principles of peace. With the help of teachers and other adults, students engage in the study of such diverse subjects as physics and history, biology and literature, sociology and chemistry, psychology and mathematics, sports and arts, geography and economics, and political science and religion – all with the principles and practices of peace (rather than conflict) in mind (Danesh 2006). This process calls for a critical self-evaluation by all educators – parents/guardians, teachers, school officials, etc. – regarding the impact of their own worldview on their pedagogical practices.

The nature, dynamics and prevention strategies of violence, as well as the need to create environments conducive to healing individuals and communities from violence-induced disorders, comprise two more important components of the EFP curriculum. Added to these are specially designed materials for children and youth, a manual for conflict-free conflict resolution, an essay on the unity-based family, and a teaching guide for teachers (Danesh & Danesh 2002a; 2002b; 2004).

Danesh (2008) points out that from the very beginning of the introduction of the EFP programme, evaluation procedures and research programmes were put into place. Among these measures were frequent first-person reports by a random selection of students, teachers and parents/guardians; observations by school administrators; occasional reviews by the staff of the pedagogical institutes; ongoing observations by the faculty of EFP International; external evaluations by peace education experts; as well as three systematic longitudinal research projects. Based on these evaluations, observations and preliminary research findings, there is considerable empirical evidence that the EFP programme has already demonstrated the efficacy of its unique approach.

The EFP-BiH programme has had three distinct but interrelated results. It has helped to create simultaneously in the schools a *culture of peace*, a *culture of healing* and a *culture of excellence*. Below are verbatim accounts of some of the EFP-BiH program participants (Danesh 2008:169)

Principal

The implementation of the EFP project has contributed to the democratisation of educational and upbringing process in our school. Talking to teachers, one can conclude that most of them have accepted the way of incorporation of the EFP program contents into the syllabi prescribed by the curriculums. The peace events have special impact on all participants, where pupils' creativity in preparation of the presentations becomes prominent ... The most important issue from the beginning of the EFP project implementation is that there is no skepticism among the

teachers, pupils and parents in relation to the implementation of the EFP program goals and the creation of the culture of peace.

Student

The biggest change that has happened is that there are no more walls between my city and the city where Bosniaks are the majority. Instead of saying 'them', we became 'we'. I felt that way through the games. We can socialise now and play as much as we like. No matter whether you're called Mirko or eljko, it's the same. It's important that he can hear me, that he can approach me, that we can spend time together. They have the same games like the Serb children, and they eat the same lunch. Now, I really don't know what the differences between us are.

Teacher

The most important detail I would mention is that during teaching lessons we constantly infuse the idea of peace through various principles. Although some objectives of the class, e.g., developing positive thinking, worldview, or developing positive attitudes toward what is different, etc., have been included in regular teaching, now we present these tasks to the pupils as peace principles, which had not been the case thus far. The pupils increasingly participate in free activities with a lot of creativity and their own ideas, all aiming at their better preparation for the Peace Events. A cooperative spirit is developed in them, which contributes to the pupils mutually exchanging their ideas and complementing them. In this way, the pupils train themselves for independent and creative work.

Sierra Leone

In Sierra Leone, Wessells (2005) demonstrates that peace education is an essential element in a holistic approach to the reintegration of former child soldiers and to the prevention of youth's engagement in violence and terrorism. In the post-2002 fighting in Liberia, children comprised nearly half the soldiers (Human Rights Watch 2004), while in Sierra Leone, where the

war ended in 2001, nearly half the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) soldiers were children, of whom 25% were girls (McKay & Mazurana 2004). Wessells (2005) first enumerates and discusses the various reasons why children become soldiers as follows:

- Forced recruitment such as in the LRA in Uganda: 75% of which consists of abducted children and youth (Human Rights Watch 2003). To terrorise villages and break the bonds between the children and the community, the LRA often forces children to kill family members or other villagers at the time of their abduction, making it impossible for the children to go home (Wessells 2005).
- Push factors, for example as a means of escaping an abusive family situation, such as forced marriages among girls or when children's families have been killed or when they have been separated from parents or customary caretakers. Orphans and separated children frequently decide to join armed groups as a means of obtaining food, security and health care (Wessells 2005).
- Desire for revenge also leads youth to join armed groups. A quote from a Philippines youth illustrates this: "I joined the movement to avenge my father's death in the hands of the military. When I was seven years old, I saw the military take away my defenseless father from our house" (UNICEF 2003:28).
- Power, glamour, and excitement also figure in children's decisions to join armed groups (UNICEF 2003). For youth who have grown up in poverty and who have been attacked and have felt powerless, the gun and the military uniform confer a measure of power and prestige that they could not have obtained through other means.
- Children also join armed groups out of disaffection with a political, social and economic system that has failed them. In Sierra Leone, youth cited lack of access to education as the primary reason why they

had joined the RUF, which promised and offered training that the government had failed to provide (Richards 1996).

- Ideology and political socialisation exert a strong influence over youths' decisions to join armed groups. Following 9/11, for example, when US forces attacked the Taliban, youth who had been indoctrinated in the *madrassahs* in Pakistan swelled the ranks of the Taliban (Rashid, 2000). For young people who adhere to powerful ideologies, terrorism is a natural extension of their participation in armed conflict. In Sierra Leone, the Small Boys Units participated in mutilations where the RUF cut off villagers' arms and hands as a means of terrorising and controlling villages.

These illustrations thus show that youth are not passive pawns in armed conflict but are actors who find meaning and identity in what they see as the struggle for justice (Wessells 2005). Wessells (2005) subsequently discusses a project by the Christian Children's Fund (CCF) to aid in the reintegration of child soldiers and young adult soldiers in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone. The CCF project used a holistic, community empowerment approach where education for peace was interwoven into the project by virtue of the way in which it was implemented. In particular, the project made extensive use of the principle that cooperation on shared goals is an effective means of reducing tension and improving intergroup relations (Johnson & Johnson 1989). It also built on the value of empathy and traditional reconciliation processes in reducing conflict and on community service as a means of helping former child soldiers achieve a positive social role (Wessells 2005).

The Northern Province had been the home of the RUF. Towards the end of the war, girl and boy soldiers had to return home to the villages they had attacked and, consequently, were feared, stigmatised as rebels or targeted for revenge. Girls who had been raped were regarded as damaged goods (Kostelny 2004).

In the first phase of the CCF project, each of 15 communities held open meetings to discuss the end of the war, its meaning, children's wellbeing, and how to move forward. These discussions helped people take a more positive future outlook, identifying villages' needs for schools or health posts that had been damaged or destroyed during the war. CCF's Sierra Leone staff helped to facilitate discussions in which the communities prioritised these needs and selected a project, such as building a school, which would benefit children. Issues of child soldiers and reconciliation were delicately woven into these discussions. Wessells (2005:367) further elaborates.

Because most villagers had viewed child soldiers as attackers who had not suffered, the CCF staff led dialogues on how children had become soldiers. These dialogues emphasized that suffering had led children to enter armed groups and showed also how children had suffered as soldiers. With empathy having opened the door for reconciliation, the CCF staff stimulated reflection on how to live together as one people. Villagers responded enthusiastically because they were very tired of war and knew that people from the same villages had fought against each other. Awakening older forms of nonviolent conflict resolution, villagers spontaneously offered proverbs, songs, or dances that evoked themes of unity, forgiveness, and reconciliation.

In the next stage, the village youth built the project – typically a school or health post – while earning a small stipend, which was crucial because many former youth soldiers would have returned to the bush without an income. The building was a cooperative endeavour by former child soldiers and village youth, who said they learnt to see each other as human in the process. This activity also transformed villagers' attitudes toward the former child soldiers, whom they now saw as people who had much to contribute to the community. Many villagers said that they experienced increased hope because they now saw concrete signs of progress and venues for supporting their children. As the building continued, additional dialogues looked into the possibilities for

reconciliation. As for the girls who had been violated and were seen as spiritually polluted, healers performed the cleaning rituals believed to remove the spiritual impurities thus restoring harmony with the ancestors (Kostelny 2004).

In the third stage, former boy and girl soldiers received training in skills such as carpentry, tailoring, and tie-dyeing that research had indicated were sources of jobs locally. The youth had frequent discussions about how to handle conflict without recourse to violence, about their role in the community, and about their hope for the future. Because conflicts occurred in the community over issues such as land and women, participants in the village meetings decided to create conflict resolution committees that worked locally to mediate disputes, referring difficult cases to appropriate legal or traditional bodies, and supported local norms of nonviolent conflict resolution (Wessells 2005).

This project was subsequently expanded into other provinces, enjoying considerable success, visible reductions of fighting and increased integration of former child soldiers into their villages. Over 90% of former child soldiers had gone home and have a civilian identity. Communities, too, said they see the former child soldiers not as troublemakers but as youth who have a spirit of community service (Wessells 2005).

The CCF initiative in Sierra Leone shows that peace education in a post-conflict setting is a collective, practical project that aids the reintegration of former child soldiers by stimulating empathy, cooperation, reconciliation, and community processes for handling conflict in a nonviolent manner (Wessells 2005). Wessells contends that the CCF initiative in Sierra Leone also shows that it is possible to break the ideologies of hatred, which the RUF had used to indoctrinate youth fighters. The project succeeded in part because it created for former fighters a set of positive life options and skills and values of nonviolence that they had not had before the war. Much youth violence is thus seen as preventable by creating positive life options and socialising for peace rather than war (Wessells 2005).

The tactic of reducing intergroup tensions through collaboration on shared goals applies as much to schools where rival groups exist as to war-torn communities (Wessells 2005). Even in schools that are free of fighting and intergroup rivalries, the findings of this study provide a useful starting point for activist and consciousness-raising work by students on addressing global issues of war and peace (Wessells 2005). In conclusion, Wessells (2005:363) points out that in a post-conflict context, “effective peace education has a stronger practical than didactic focus”, and it plays a key role in the prevention of children’s engagement in violence and terrorism.

3.3 Peace Education Principles

To conclude and summarise this chapter, this paper has discussed theoretical underpinnings, distinctions, definitions, variations and problematic of peace education. The paper has also illustrated how certain scholars have tried to resolve some of the problematic of peace education by broadening our comprehension of the world and the terminologies we use.

From the discussions and expositions above we can observe that it is not just the peace education curriculum that is important in delivering a viable outcome in any peace education initiative or project; the teaching and/or learning methodologies coupled with the school environment also play a vital role in the success or failure of its efficacy. We would like thus to outline some ideas and principles concerning these three aspects of peace education which we will use in chapter six to assess TYPAP.

Curriculum

Following discussions by Danesh (2008) in BiH we can deduce several principles that could constitute a viable curriculum for peace education. A viable curriculum should have the following characteristics as far as possible:

- Comprehensive – focusing not just on the biological, psychological, social, political, ethical but also the spiritual aspects of peace, assisting the participants develop understanding and skills in creating intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup peace (Danesh 2008).

- Integrated – integrating varied and diverse subjects with peace principles and practices (Danesh 2008).
- Focused on unity building rather than just conflict management.
- Aim to create environments conducive to healing from the destructive impact of conflict and violence.
- Have a teaching guide for teachers.

School environment

Following Maxwell et al (2004), Harris (1996) and the other scholars discussed in this chapter, we can deduce several principles that could constitute a viable school environment for peace education. School administrators eager to ensure that peace education succeeds in their schools should strive to

- respond to feelings
- use a peaceful pedagogy
- discipline in a non-punitive manner
- motivate students to pursue peace
- administer schools democratically
- ensure teachers and peace educators are trained in the peace curriculum or manuals or initiative
- ensure a safe school environment.

Teaching and/or learning methods

Following Wessells (2005) and other scholars discussed in this chapter, we can deduce several principles that could constitute possible teaching and learning methods for a viable peace education. Peace educators could strive to ensure that their methodologies

- promote cooperative-based learning to reduce tensions
- promote empathy and value for empathetic relationships
- employ traditional reconciliation processes
- value dialogue as a means of achieving reconciliation
- use art for achieving and creating peaceful dispositions.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter looks at the methodological approach and design of the research study, the data collection methods used to outline the strengths and weaknesses, the role of the researcher, documentation and interviews, reliability and validity issues concerning the study, triangulation, ethical considerations and the limitations of the study.

4.1 Methodological Approach

Qualitative methods investigate the *why* and *how* of phenomena and not just the *what*, *where* and *when*. According to Pellissier (2010), qualitative research deliberately attempts to collect data in the form of descriptions and meanings, especially in a way that is “phenomenologically sensitive, honouring the experiential component of all knowledge, participation and observation” (Pellissier 2010:14). Unlike quantitative approaches, which stress manipulation, control of subjects and deterministic reasoning, qualitative research involves cooperative inquiry (Heron 1996) in terms of which data observations are not collected *on* human subjects, but *with* human co-researchers. Miles and Huberman (1994) contend that qualitative methods generate data in the form of words rather than numbers; words have always been the staple of researchers in the field of social science and education.

Qualitative methods have been useful in peace education research in other parts of the world. For example, Wisler (2010), who discusses peace knowledge in Yugoslavia, Engstrom (2009), who looked at a non-governmental organisation, Seeds of Peace, for its peace education in the Middle East, and partially Maxwell et al (2004) in South Africa. A qualitative methodological approach in the form of a case study was therefore employed in this study for the following reasons:

- The phenomenon (peace education in post-conflict societies) is fairly complex and needs to be explored in more depth first hand in order to obtain a deeper understanding of it.

- The context in which this case is situated, and the phenomenon under study, are closely linked and, therefore, a case study is useful for answering questions about the participants and the context.
- The case selected (TYPAP) is multidimensional (having a peace radio programme component, as well as TYPAP's use of elders, creation of peace clubs and conducting of peace-building workshops), warranting a more holistic approach in order to decode reality as seen by the target population (Casey & Kumar 1995).
- Moreover the researcher, having worked for the Global Network of Religions for Children's (GNRC) TYPAP in Kenya and Somali/land for about four years, has had lengthy exposure to the phenomenon under scrutiny and has developed a good rapport with the participants, enabling him to obtain multiple perspectives on the objects of study.

4.2 Data Collection

In this study the following data collection methodology was employed:

Document analysis

A critical review of the TYPAP documents was undertaken. This involved analysing TYPAP documentation, such as correspondence, proposals, concept papers, manuals and reports. In addition, desktop/library research and internet searches were conducted for information on the historical and sociopolitical background of the areas in which TYPAP operates, that is, Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya.

The strengths of this method, document analysis, include the following:

- Document analysis, and in this case content analysis, helped to identify the dominant messages and subject matter of the texts. For example, in "Learning to Live Together" (LLT), the TYPAP peace-building manual, it was thus easy to identify the major content, principles and methodology of peace education. Moreover, an analysis of the TYPAP

proposal documents made it easy to identify the major goals and objectives of the TYPAP.

- Document analysis (content analysis) also helped the study in terms of the classification of the major themes or ideas within TYPAP. The feedback documents, in which peace club members had shared their experiences or views of peace-building workshops, showed patterns of enthusiasm about the peace education programme activities, information that this method helped to bring to light.

The limitations of this method included the following:

- The method often involved reading large amounts of text and large numbers of documents, which took a significant amount of time.
- Inferences could only be made on the manifest meanings of the text rather than on any latent meanings.
- One criticism might be that the categories or themes used were not objective; nevertheless, they were consistent with other categorisations found in similar studies of this nature.

Interview method

To complement the study, purposeful semi-structured interviews were conducted with some key informants and beneficiaries of TYPAP. These include some of the TYPAP facilitators, peace club members, TYPAP youth members (peace ambassadors) who had gone through TYPAP training sessions and TYPAP administrators.

The strengths of this method include the following:

- The questionnaire that was developed served basically as an interview guide, as it allowed for new questions to be brought up during the interview depending on what the interviewee said.
- The semi-structured questionnaire/interview guide also served as a general framework for the themes to be explored.
- The questionnaire/interview guide gave the researcher the freedom to tailor the questions to the interview context.

- The questionnaire/interview guide helped the researcher focus on the topic at hand and the study objectives without “restraining him to a particular format” (Lindlof & Taylor 2002:195).

The following limitations of this method were identified:

- Interviewer bias was a possibility during the interview, but the researcher kept this in check by keeping a diary in which he recorded some of his feelings and biases.
- Reliance on what is said/reported at the interview which may sometimes not be the true position or feeling of the interviewee. This limitation was counterbalanced by the use of participant observation (discussed in the following section).

Participant observation

A key principle of this method is that one may not merely observe, but must find a role within the group observed from which to participate in some manner (Douglas 1976). Being a staff member of TYPAP the researcher was able to observe and to have access to multiple insights, aspects and perspectives of the phenomenon under study – this was thus a major strength of this method.

Douglas (1976) further points out that overt participant observation is, therefore, limited to contexts where the community under study understands and permits it. In this regard, critics of overt participant observation argue that the method is subsequently restricted to the public fronts that are socially constructed by actors. In other contexts gatekeepers ensure that known researchers never go backstage, thus making covert participant observation necessary, especially when conducting studies on government entities or criminal organisations (Douglas 1976).

In this case the researcher was overt only to some of the peace club members who the researcher had selected for interviews, as well as the

workshop facilitators, but acted covertly with regard to all other peace club members and stakeholders of TYPAP. This allowed the researcher to access more reliable data/observations about the different aspects of the peace programme and its beneficiaries.

4.3 Role of the Researcher

The researcher was mainly responsible for the logistical and administrative support for the workshops, but played no part in the actual peace-building training, which was done by facilitators. However, on occasion the researcher acted as rapporteur for these workshops, taking down notes and producing a workshop report.

As indicated above, the role of researcher an insider thus gave the researcher easy access to documents, reports, proposals and correspondence which an outsider could perhaps never obtained. It also allowed the researcher to develop fairly good rapport with some of the peace club members and facilitators, who were able to share their insights and observations about the project openly and easily.

In addition, the prolonged observation gave the researcher the opportunity to see the effect TYPAP had on the intended beneficiaries and the youth. Accordingly, it was noted that some of the peace ambassadors started a peace magazine of their own volition, while others organised their own peace-building workshops without any support from the GNRC office. This type of observation could not, for example, have been achieved using a once-off survey as data collection tool.

A negative aspect of the researcher's insider role was that it sometimes created role conflict, especially on occasions when the researcher was caught between two roles, that is, as "peace activist" or "peace advocate" on the one hand, and as social scientist or researcher on the other. IN order to minimise such conflict and bias, the researcher kept a journal in which to record such instances.

Another negative aspect was the danger that the researcher might develop to close a rapport with some of the peace programme beneficiaries. The researcher guarded against this by cross-checking respondents' views against those of other respondents and also against other sources of data, for example information obtained from workshop feedback was compared with information from interviews and translations of radio programme content.

4.4 Documentation and Interviews

The documentary sources used in this study included the following:

- **TYPAP proposal documents** that were used initially to conceive the TYPAP, its goals objectives and its range of activities.
- **The Learning To Live Together manual**, sometimes referred as a “toolkit” for trainers and peace-building workshop facilitators. This manual served as the programme curriculum and was the main text used for the YPAP programme.
- **TYPAP reports**, including workshop reports, monthly reports, quarterly reports and yearly reports.
- **Feedback documents** obtained after peace-building workshops had been completed. After the workshops. peace club members were asked to write down their reactions to the workshop, both positive and negative, anonymously on a blank piece of paper.
- **Translations of Peace Radio programmes.** One example is where children were asked about peace and the meaning of peace and violence and their responses were used in a Peace Radio programme in Hargeisa.

Interviews

Overall, 50 interviews were targeted by the researcher but, owing to the vast area over which the TYPAP beneficiaries were scattered as well as other logistical constraints, it was not possible to conduct them all. Thirty-six peace club members from schools in the following towns were eventually interviewed: Isiolo, Garissa, Wajir and Mandera in Kenya, and Hargeisa, Bossaso and Mogadishu (in Somalia and Somaliland). The students' ages ranged from 12 to 18 years, except for two boys of 21 and 22 who had already left school by the time of the study took place. In addition to the students, four facilitators were also interviewed – two each from both Kenya and Somalia – bringing the number of interviews to 40. These interviews took place from late 2009 to late 2010.

The questionnaire that was drawn up also acted as an interview guide and was used to stimulate discussion. Interviews were conducted face to face, by telephone and also some using email. Participants who had been part of the TYPAP programme in Mogadishu and Bossaso could be reached by email only.

4.5 Reliability and Validity of the Study

The reliability and validity of the study was enhanced in the following ways:

- The researcher spent four years working with the YPAP programme (2007–2010), which helped to create rapport with the TYPAP beneficiaries and also helped the researcher gain and collect multiple perspectives about the phenomenon under study.
- To enhance these multiple perspectives, data for the study were collected from multiple sources including semi-structured interviews, websites, training manuals and other documents such as proposals, brochures, TYPAP activity reports, TYPAP correspondence, translated radio clips from radio programmes, feedback documents on peace building workshops.

- Member checking. The draft report was shared with some TYPAP participants whose input was used to further strengthen this final report.
- The researcher kept a journal to record his observations and to check any biases and assumptions he might make, as well as his interpretation of certain data and incidents.

These measures were to a certain extent successful, as there was some agreement between different sources of data, for example the data from the interviews and the feedback documents indicated some congruency in terms of enthusiasm and positivity towards the programme. Feedback from the member checking activity also showed that, to a large extent, this study's findings were consistent with the research respondents' views.

4.6 Triangulation

Cohen and Manion (2000:254) define triangulation as an "attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behavior by studying it from more than one standpoint". Therefore, the purpose of triangulation in qualitative research is to increase the credibility and validity of the results.

Using the data collected, a qualitative and interpretive analysis was undertaken during which triangulation was employed; accordingly, convergent themes and ideas from different data sources were compared in the light of the research questions and the study objectives. Pattern matching (linking data to research questions and objectives) and explanation building were the key techniques used here.

Ideas and themes identified during the interviews that could be corroborated with data and ideas obtained from both the feedback documents and the Peace Radio translations were systematically identified.

Finally, the research data collected from the various sources and aspects of the programme were brought together in an attempt to form a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

4.7 Ethical Considerations and Limitations of the Study

Consent was sought from the GNRC Africa coordinator who is legally responsible for the programme. Specifically, the coordinator's permission was requested to examine YPAP documents for purposes of this study. In investigating the beneficiaries of the peace education programme, the researcher used training session reports and evaluative/feedback documents. In order to fully satisfy the ethical requirements, this study report will be shared with all key stakeholders of the TYPAP programme.

This study is limited in the following aspects:

- i) *Time and space.* The study examined the YPAP from 2007 to 2010 in Kenya, Somalia and Somaliland. This period encompasses the years during which the YPAP activities were most visible in Kenya, Somalia and Somaliland, and hence, supplied sufficient data for this study. Moreover, the YPAP radio programme, which was an important component of the TYPAP, came to an end in 2010 (GNRC 2010).
- ii) The study concentrated on the content, design, reported impact, positive contributions made by the TYPAP programme and the challenges it experienced, but deliberately left out the somewhat mundane administrative and logistic aspects of the programme. This was important so as to focus more on the programmatic aspect and the key research questions. Funding challenges, for example, although mentioned, were not a key aspect of this study because most of the donor-driven programmes and projects in this part of the world seem to experience funding challenges at some point.

In the following chapter, the design, approaches, strategies, content, principles and methodologies of TYPAP are discussed. The chapter also looks at the TYPAP design in light of Galtung's peace concepts.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DESIGN AND CONTENT OF THE YOUNG PEACE AMBASSADOR PROGRAM

This chapter discusses the TYPAP in terms of its goals, approaches, strategies and content. TYPAP design is also examined in the light of Galtung's peace concepts. In the section headed TYPAP content, the *Learning to Live Together* (LLT) toolkit is discussed in terms of its themes, principles and methodologies. The chapter also discusses TYPAP beneficiaries' definitions of and ideas on peace alongside TYPAP's own peace vision. Finally, the chapter concludes by summarising the main issues.

5.1 What is- The Young Peace Ambassador Program?

TYPAP works with children and young people according to a model of intervention that is described as being preventative rather than curative. The programme involves children under the age of 18 years who are in grassroots dialogue on peace within the school-based peace clubs, as a strategy for creating a peaceful culture. The assumption is that through the debates and peace-building training in the peace clubs, a peace radio programme in which the children themselves are key participants, the use of a UN-approved ethics education training toolkit and guidance from elders, a child/youth network will emerge that values an ethos of peace. TYPAP methodology is geared to providing space for exchange, interaction, encounter, discovery, critical thinking, reflection and action (GNRC Africa 2005)

Background

The Global Network of Religions for Children (GNRC) is a network of religious leaders who are working for the wellbeing of children around the world. The organisation is divided into six world regions, namely GNRC Europe, GNRC Central Asia and the Caucuses, GNRC South Asia, GNRC Latin America, GNRC Middle East and GNRC Africa. The GNRC was inaugurated by the Arigatou Foundation, with cooperation from the Japan Committee for UNICEF

and the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP) on the occasion of its first Forum in May 2000.

Since its establishment in 2001, GNRC Africa has launched various peace-related activities and programmes, with the Education for Peace Program being its flagship in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar. Under Education for Peace Program, GNRC Africa has facilitated children and youth to form up to 40 Peace Clubs with over 500 active members. The Peace Clubs, whose activities revolve around preventing violence, peace building and developing a culture of peace, do so through debates, drama, peace camps, workshops, seminars and art. The activities are designed and run by the children themselves and are facilitated by the GNRC Africa leadership.

In a peace-building workshop in 2005, with the theme “Empowering children and youth in enhancing free, fair and peaceful 2005 Tanzania elections”, youth and children were introduced to various topics including democratic values and principles, good governance, principles of responsible government, the electoral legislation and process, and voter rights and obligations. The youth were also sensitised to their roles in society during election campaigns, as well as the lead up to elections and afterwards (Arigatou Foundation 2008).

Thus, the Young Peace Ambassador Program (YPAP) started in 2003/4 in Tanzania as part of the GNRC’s Education for Peace Program initiative in Africa. It was also established in response to the violence that followed the irregular elections in Zanzibar and Pemba held in 2000.⁹

In the Zanzibar presidential election, Abeid Amani Karume, the son of the former president Abeid Karume, defeated CUF candidate Seif Shariff Hamad. Unfortunately, the election was marred by irregularities, and the subsequent political violence claimed at least 23 lives in January 2001, mostly on the island of Pemba where police used tear gas and bullets against demonstrators. Hundreds were injured, and state forces were reported to

have attacked boats of refugees fleeing to Kenya. Some refugees had to flee all the way to Mogadishu.

In October 2001, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and the Civic United Front (CUF) parties signed a reconciliation agreement which called for electoral reforms and set up a commission of inquiry to investigate the deaths that occurred in January 2001 on Pemba. The agreement also led to the president appointing an additional CUF official to become a member of the Union Parliament. Changes to the Zanzibar Constitution in April 2002 allowed both the CCM and the CUF parties to nominate members to the Zanzibar Electoral Commission. In May 2003, the Zanzibar Electoral Commission conducted by-elections to fill vacant seats in the parliament, including those seats that had been vacated by CUF as a protest to irregular 2000 elections.¹⁰

By 2006/7 TYPAP had been introduced in Somalia and parts of northern Kenya, although the decision to do this had actually been taken much earlier in 2004 at a GNRC global forum. It was argued that the lessons learnt in Tanzania could be used to improve the lives of youth and children in Somalia, Somaliland¹¹ and Kenya. Since then GNRC Africa's Nairobi office has managed to carry out several activities in line with TYPAP. Peace-building and training workshops have been held in the northern Kenyan towns of Isiolo, Wajir, Garissa and Mandera. Other workshops in Bosasso in Somalia (Puntland) and Hargeisa in Somaliland have also been undertaken. Since then over 60 peace clubs have been formed, mostly in schools and orphanages, and about 1 500 peace club members have received the GNRC message of peace and ethics education. The objectives of these workshops were to provide peace-building training sessions to young people, remind them about the most common types of conflict and the various methodologies of resolution, and also to give young participants a desire to become role models in the area of peace building.

To achieve this, GNRC Africa's Nairobi office established several links and partnerships with youth and child-serving organisations. The Somali Organization for Community Development Activities (SOCDA) and the Somali

Association for Youth Salvation (SAYS) were instrumental in organising and facilitating TYPAP programs in Somaliland. While SOCDA works with TYPAP in the south-central regions and Bosasso (semi-autonomous Puntland), SAYS is a key TYPAP partner in Hargeisa and other areas of Somaliland. Other partners included the Children's Relief Fund (CRF) and the Kenya Council of Imams (muslim leaders) and Ulamaa (muslim scholars) (KCIU), which are active in Isiolo, Wajir, Mandera and the northern parts of Kenya generally.

The Young Peace Ambassador Program – statement of the problem

Since TYPAP works with children and young people, it noted the low level of sensitisation among this target group regarding the advantages of living in a peaceful environment as problem. The ready availability of young people to join the armed ranks of Somalia undermines any efforts that are being made in terms of disarmament. The ready availability of conscripts, many of whom are young adults and even some children, has ensured that the armed conflict continues, leading to yet more loss of life. Thus TYPAP saw young people as being a primary area of focus for its model of intervention, which is preventative than curative. The following quotation from one TYPAP proposal illustrates the thinking behind the programme (GNRC Africa 2006:7):

The peaceful spaces and avenues already created in the form of Peace Clubs provide crucial avenues for peace-building ... The children and young people who have been trained on conflict management, resolution and peace-building under the aegis of these GNRC Peace Clubs, are important resource that needs to be used and shared. The Young 'Peace Ambassadors' Program aims to do that. There are other school-based clubs in Tanzania that specifically focus on anti-corruption, ethics, environment, and media. There is need to create a synergy with these clubs so that they can work together with the Peace Clubs. Such a synergy will undoubtedly create, from a young age, a population that fully understands the effects of corruption, environmental degradation, violence and harmful media.

5.2 The Young Peace Ambassador Program: Goals, Approaches and Strategies

The Young Peace Ambassador Program objectives

TYPAP has the following objectives:

- to plant the seeds for collaboration between, and peaceful coexistence among, children and young people from diverse backgrounds and regions of Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya
- to raise the profile of children and youth as active partners, and peace as a value within public discourse in Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya
- to establish avenues/spaces in which children and youth from different backgrounds can meet and interact to build a culture of peace in Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya
- to enhance the opportunities for participation by children and youth in governance cultures in Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya
- to build a culture of peace and understanding among children and youth by seeking guidance from the elders, thus co-opting them as partners
- to understand issues affecting children and youth that can lead to breach of peace or its sustenance
- to sustain peace and education for peace as a poverty-reduction strategy at the grassroots
- to enhance the capacity of children and young people in Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya and to communicate effectively through the mass media – especially the radio
- to help children and youth of Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya appreciate the consequences of unresolved conflict leading to violence through visits to such places as the Genocide Museum in Kigali, Rwanda (GNRC Africa 2005)

The overall aim of the programme is to mainstream peace building as a key area for child and youth participation in Kenya, Somalia and Somaliland. The

purpose is to involve children and young people in a grassroots dialogue on peace – leading to national dialogue on peace – thereby contributing to the design of a peaceful future. This should, according to the programme, result in increased access by children and youth to the media and enhanced capacity to articulate their aspirations and form solidarities for peace. The long-term goals are to have a strong Somalia, Somaliland and Kenyan child/youth network for peace connected with other African countries, as well as building the youth's capacity for and knowledge of civic peace education, peace building and conflict prevention, and sustaining interaction through radio as the leading medium of mass communication.

TYPAP has the following key components:

- role of elders, mentors and role models in the programme
- role and use of the media
 - in skill development for the youth/child
 - in advocating for peace by the youth/child
- creation of peace clubs or peace councils, especially in schools and child centres
- conducting peace-building workshops, especially in schools and child centres
- use of the Learning to Live Together toolkit for peace building and ethics education (peace education)
- sports activities and visits to, for example, the Rwanda Genocide Museum

Among the foregoing, four stand out as the most prominent and strategic (GNRC Africa 2005).

5.2.1 Use of elders, mentors and role models

Elders, mentors and role models are identified and they are encouraged to have constant contact with peace club members. Youth who have left school, and therefore also the peace clubs, are used as role models for peace club members and are asked to volunteer whenever there are peace-building

workshops in the region. Partner organisations that help to implement TYPAP are also identified for example in Somalia TYPAP works together with the Somalia Organisation of Community Development (SOCDA), while in Somaliland TYPAP works with the Somali Association for Youth Salvation (SAYS). In peace workshops in northern Kenya (a region with a majority of Somali ethnic communities), this study observed the use of Somali traditional proverbs pertaining to peace being used by elders in workshops. Often these elders also double as religious leaders, who lead prayers and offer religious guidance to the youth. The youth seem to pay more attention when these religious leaders, as elders, address them.

5.2.2 Use of media

A peace education radio programme, sponsored by the GNRC, was used for TYPAP programme. In Kenya and Somaliland, the radio programme included children's voices, and the comments of religious leaders and elders on the LLT toolkit, sometimes providing broad themes of discussion.

Some general topics discussed in the Kenya radio programme included a general overview of the peace and security situation in Africa, causes of conflict in Africa, the effects of conflict in Africa on youth and children, the importance of peace, human rights and peace, and religious leaders and their responsibility in peace building.

Some general topics that were discussed on the Somaliland radio programme (see annexures II and III for more details include discussions on questions such as: "What is violence?" "What is peace?", "What is good in the world?", and "What is bad in the world?" In setting up the radio programme, the GNRC team hired a consultant who held a focus group discussion with resource persons from the media, civil society and political sectors to advise on the best way to implement the radio projects. These conversations were complemented by youth forum input from Hargeisa, Borama and Burao, where the youth expressed their aspirations for a peaceful future, recommending that their own voices be part of the radio programme itself. Translations of these radio programmes were used to obtain further details on

the TYPAP beneficiaries' ideas on peace. These are analysed in chapter six of this dissertation.

The TYPAP used a similar strategy to one that UNICEF had used in Somalia in 2002. In 2002, UNICEF, working together with the Center for Research and Dialogue, had begun a youth broadcasting initiative¹² that trained the youth to produce and broadcast their own radio programmes that were based on Somalia's strong oral culture and love of radio. Radio programmes have been shown to be very successful and effective in Somalia/land and in Africa generally. In Sierra Leone, Burundi, Mozambique and Somalia, award-winning radio programmes are produced and broadcast by the youth, bringing a cross-generational approach to education on the rights of the child, HIV/AIDS, peace-building and community issues (GNRC Africa 2005).

However, it is also important to note that the media alone has been seen by Francis Rolt (2005) as not being very effective over the long term, even though media can have a powerful short-term impact. Media (especially radio) are attractive to donors and agencies because they are cheap and easily transportable (Rolt 2005). In the long run, real long-term peace-building projects must incorporate and support media use with other strategies such as ordinary people working on the ground. This seems to be the route taken by TYPAP in this case.

5.2.3 Peace clubs and peace-building workshops

As alluded to earlier in the background of this paper, GNRC Africa's Nairobi office managed to form about 60 peace clubs (see annexure I), mostly in schools and orphanages, with a membership of over 1 000 children, students and youth. Peace-building and training workshops were held in the northern Kenyan towns of Isiolo, Wajir, Garissa and Mandera. Other workshops have also been presented in Mogadishu, Bosasso (Puntland) and Hargeisa (Somaliland).

The objectives of these workshops is to provide peace education and peace-building training sessions to young people, as well as to provide ethics

education, to remind participants about the most common types of conflict and the various methodologies of resolution, and to give the young participants the desire to become role models in the area of peace building. As mentioned earlier, to achieve these objectives, GNRC Africa's Nairobi office established links and partnerships with several youth and child-serving organisations.

The peace clubs formed the backbone for TYPAP with members who had completed high school becoming mentors and youth leaders for the younger members who are still in the school. To enhance diversity and coexistence, peace-building workshops generally invite peace club members from all the schools that had peace clubs in a particular town, always bearing in mind religious, ethnic and gender balance and sensitivities. In Kenya (even though most of TYPAP activity was witnessed in the North Eastern province which is mainly Muslim and Somali in character) a more interfaith stance was observed, while in Somalia and Somaliland a more inter-cultural TYPAP was visible.

5.2.4 Use of the Learning to Live Together manual/toolkit for peace building

Peace building trainers are hired for these workshops, but the LLT toolkit, which was developed by the GNRC, is used together with other materials to train the peace club members.

The LLT manual or resource book used in the peace-building programmes by GNRC members and facilitators is UNICEF and UNESCO approved. The LLT strives for intercultural and interfaith learning for ethics education, affirms diversity and promotes dialogue and communication.

The LLT describes itself as upholding, nurturing, and enabling the growth of shared values in children and young people. It also promotes and encourages universal values by including human rights instruments, such as the Convention on Rights of the Child (CRC), in its resource pages.

Below is a diagrammatic representation of the TYPAP design, showing the researcher's portrayal of the overlap of the four TYPAP strategies in the creation of the Kenya, Somalia and Somaliland youth network for peace.

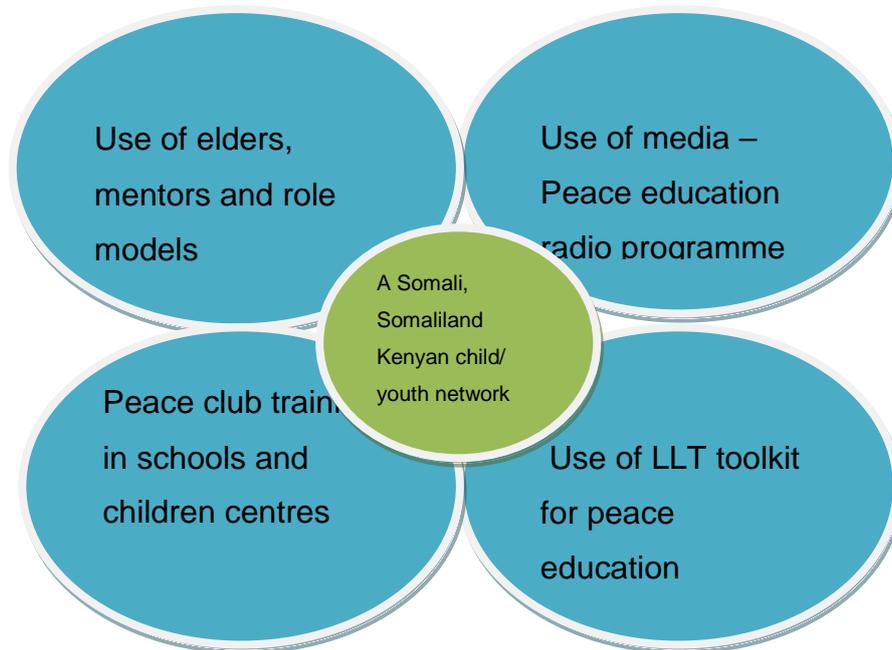


Diagram 2 TYPAP Design

5.3 The Young Peace Ambassador Program Design in Light of Galtung's Concepts

On the one hand, the LLT constitutes the international input, while on the other hand, the use of elders portrays the local input. The use of media and peace clubs suggests that these are the programme infrastructure in terms of which the content is delivered to the youth.

According to Galtung (1990), direct violence is the use of avoidable physical force, or the impairment of fundamental human needs or life, making it impossible or difficult for people to meet their full potential. Looking at TYPAP design, the use of peace clubs and the media can be primarily seen as an effort to engage with direct (and also structural) violence; however, over time these could also be used to promote a culture of peace.

Moreover, as stated earlier, Galtung's (1990) structural violence is violence in terms of which the social structure systematically prevents people from

meeting their basic needs. The peace ambassador network that is emerging from TYPAP can be seen as an effort to engage with the structural violence in which many of the participants find themselves consumed by. The teaching of human rights (child rights are prominent in the LLT toolkit), by raising awareness of children's rights for example, can be cited as another effort at minimising structural violence.

As for cultural violence, Galtung (1990) describes it as an aspect of culture that can be used to justify or legitimate direct or structural violence, making it look normal or at least not wrong. The use of elders in TYPAP, for the contribution they make in terms of their wisdom and cultural knowledge, suggests an attempt to counter cultural violence with cultural peace.

5.4 The Young Peace Ambassador Program Peace Education Content

A primary TYPAP content resource is the Learning To Live Together¹³ toolkit or manual as it is sometimes called. The LLT is a collaborative initiative of the Arigatou Foundation, as the umbrella and lead organisation, the Interfaith Council on Ethics Education for Children¹⁴ (ICEE) and the GNRC. The toolkit is a result of a journey that has been undertaken by the ICEE for children in a working partnership with friends from UNICEF and UNESCO, scholars drawn from religious, spiritual and secular traditions, NGOs, education institutions and the children themselves.

The toolkit seeks to nurture children and young people with positive values that will enable them to lead a peaceful life while appreciating diversity. The toolkit uses an interfaith and inter-cultural perspective in its approach and its main goal is to promote genuine cooperation between people of different religious and cultural traditions, to create an enabling environment in which they live together peacefully, respect others and appreciate human dignity. The LLT is guided by (Arigatou Foundation 2008:1):

... an overall pledge to safeguard human dignity. Its aims are to strengthen children's commitment to justice, respect for human rights, and to build harmonious relationships between individuals and within societies. Learning to Live Together provides youth leaders and educators worldwide with the tools for an intercultural and interfaith programme, by which children and young people are able to develop a stronger sense of ethics. It is designed to help the young understand and respect people from other cultures and religions and to nurture their sense of a global community.

The LLT toolkit used as the primary peace education content seems quite flexible because it can be applied in formal and non-formal learning settings and can be used by human rights advocates to provide human rights education and by peace-building advocates/educators for peace building and education. It allows facilitators to apply or develop their own materials and strategies without the risk of straying away from the guide.

The LLT tool kit is divided into two parts. The first part is divided into five main broad topics covering issues such as Children and Ethics Education, Ethics and Ethics Education, and A Common Humanity and Spirituality (Arigatou Foundation 2008:1).

The second part of the toolkit provides practical guidance for an intercultural and interfaith programme for ethics education, featuring and highlighting various tools and techniques to achieve this, such as skills for conflict transformation, interfaith cafés, debates, stories, roundtables, role playing, field trips and cultural evenings, among many others.

The toolkit outlines several themes in terms of which the concept of learning to live together is nurtured in children. This study wishes to highlight a few of these themes below.

5.4.1 Ethics, morals and values

Under this theme, the toolkit explores various definitions and sources of ethics, morals and values, but essentially puts emphasis on the primary question of “how valuable ethics are in helping us discern and respond to the connectedness of all life, how useful they are in fostering humane values, and in building and fostering a sense of community” (Arigatou Foundation 2008:8).

It further points out that (Arigatou Foundation 2008:8):

All religious communities consider ethics not as a cordoned-off area of life, but as applying to all of life: the individual, within the family, at work and in society. Islamic ethics, for example, comprises all the commonly known moral virtues. It concerns itself with the whole scope of a person’s individual and collective life – his or her domestic relations, civil conduct, and activities in political, economic, legal, educational and social fields. It covers each person’s life from home to society, from the dining table to the battlefield and peace conferences –literally from the cradle to the grave.

The African saying, a person is only a person in relation to others, is cited to show this ethical connection with community. Thus, this theme promotes ethical values that help children develop a sense of community across ethnic, national, racial, cultural and religious barriers, seeking to nurture mutual responsibility for one another in an interdependent world.

The LLT promotes four main ethical values (Arigatou Foundation 2008:122)

- respect
- empathy
- responsibility
- reconciliation

5.4.2 Common humanity and human rights

This theme underscores common religious beliefs and teachings that point towards working for humanity and not just for people from one's specific religion, but from across the religious divide. This theme also stresses and resonates with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. It particularly responds to Article 29 of the convention. The human rights charter on basic needs outlines all the rights a human being should enjoy, such as food, shelter, water, clothing; physical, mental, cultural and spiritual needs; right to identity; capacity and freedom to choose.

5.4.3 Spirituality

This theme discusses the innate capacity that children possess. It captures Takeyasu Miyamoto's¹⁵ dream, while establishing the ICEE:

... the road to peace was to ensure that every child grows up with full access to their innate capacity for spiritual development..."Spirituality here is not something that one thrusts upon a child but rather something that can be nourished and developed from a child's own specific religious or spiritual tradition through a process of teaching, critical reflection and practising positive relationships (Arigatou Foundation 2008:19)

The LLT explains this theme further (Arigatou Foundation 2008:19)

Spirituality and religion are not the same, and are at times at odds with each other. The emphasis placed by some on spirituality may arise from the desire for more openness so that not everything is confined within existing religious boundaries. Yet, there are also false spiritualities that lead people into egocentric preoccupation with themselves, or that destruct from the realities of the world in which they live. But spirituality is a way to channel emotions, feelings and compassion into engagement. Engagement, in turn, is the dynamic of liberation and empowerment.

5.4.4 Religious and cultural diversity

Under this theme, the tool underscores four dimensions of responsibility that religious traditions have to take into account:

- Fostering faith and values in children in ways that respect others.
- Ensuring that they uphold values that promote openness, honesty and compassion towards other people.
- Looking for common or overlapping values that could bring people together to act for the common good.
- Inter-religious education needs to be emphasised so that children appreciate not only their own religious traditions but also those of other religious traditions.

5.4.5 Learning to Live Together: principles and methodologies

The ethical principles and values promoted by the LLT are expressed in the mission of the Interfaith Council on Ethics Education for Children, which are aimed at fostering respect for people of different religions and cultures among children by

- promoting value systems that emphasise dignified and harmonious coexistence and solidarity among people of different class, ethnic, religious, cultural and ideological backgrounds
- promoting the practice of positive universal values such as the commitment to human rights that have been outlined and adopted by the international community
- fostering a spirituality that will naturally lead to respect for other religions and pursue mutual understanding and interaction among

different faiths, resulting in the enrichment of the religious culture rooted in each faith tradition

cultivating a culture of peace that equips children and young people to be agents of change as well as peace builders (Arigatou Foundation 2008:21).

These approaches are supposed to lead to methodologies that provide space for exchange, interaction, encounter, discovery, critical thinking, reflection and action.

The methodology of the envisions the individual in a self-driven learning process, conducted in relation to others. It also helps develop skills, enhance participants' knowledge and nurture attitudes that empower them to learn to live and act in a plural society.

LLT methods are designed to promote active participation, involvement and connection with others. Some of the methods espoused in this manual include the following:

- *Experience-based learning* which uses experiences and focused reflection to increase knowledge, develop skills and clarify values. Experience-based learning is presented as having three characteristics:
 - involvement of the whole person – intellect, feelings and senses
 - relation of learning to personal experiences
 - continuous reflection for transformation into deeper understanding

- *Cooperative-based learning* where learners are split into small groups that work independently to achieve a shared objective. The participants strive for mutual support so that all group members gain from each other's efforts. The LLT manual explains that, in cooperative learning,

there is a positive interdependence among students' efforts to learn, where they perceive that the goal can only be achieved if all members contribute to the assigned task. In the TYPAP this was demonstrated by the group work used with peace club members at the various peace-building workshops.

- *Problem-based learning* where a problem is used to help develop children's creativity, their critical thinking, and their capacity to analyse and reflect upon ethical values. Problem-based methodologies encourage participants to pose and answer questions, making use of their natural curiosity.
- *Discussion-based learning* where discussions are oral interactions among participants that seek to stimulate the exchange of ideas. They help to develop communication and listening skills and promote the understanding of different issues and points of view.

Introspection-based learning. Reflection can be considered to be part of all the methodologies mentioned above. They involve individual and collective reflection at different stages. However, there is another kind of reflection that goes beyond the intellect and helps children to assess their own state of mind and focus their attention on the learning. This kind of reflection refers to introspective methodologies that help to nurture the self and the spiritual dimension in children (Arigatou Foundation 2008:21).

The LLT toolkit also discusses useful techniques which can be used by facilitators and educators while conducting their ethics education (peace education) sessions. These include use of debates, field trips, role playing, sports, focus groups and even storytelling. The facilitator is advised to select the most appropriate methodology for the group, bearing in mind the context and age of the participants. Thus, it is an ongoing process of individual and

collective learning that promotes a constructive way of living together in a global and plural world.

In the next chapter a more critical analysis and assessment of the TYPAP is undertaken.

CHAPTER SIX

THE YOUNG PEACE AMBASSADOR PROGRAM: AN ASSESSMENT

In this section the study assesses the data collected from the interviews (cited throughout the paper and especially in this chapter), workshop feedback by TYPAP beneficiaries and radio programme translations (in which peace club members' thoughts on peace form a key component), some TYPAP reports and the researcher observations.

The chapter first revisits and reviews the political and social dynamics in the context of Kenya, Somalia and Somaliland, and the concepts of direct structural and cultural violence as they pertain to TYPAP. In this review an analysis is undertaken which focuses on features of TYPAP as seen in terms of earlier discussed peace education paradigms.

The chapter then moves on to assess TYPAP's consistency with the peace education principles discussed in chapter three, how far TYPAP has met its own objectives as enumerated in chapter five, and lastly, its impact according to interviewees in terms of contributing to a culture of peace in northern Kenya, Somalia and Somaliland.

6.1 Galtung's Concepts: the Context and The Youth Peace Ambassadors Program

Overall TYPAP makes use of interactive methodology with an emphasis on being preventive rather than curative. The rationale behind this seems to be that learning is a social process that takes place through the interaction among various groups. Thus, TYPAP logic suggests that, through interaction in their peace clubs, young people are able to share knowledge, practise using tools, improve skills and, finally, explore their desire for peace and make it a way of life.

Through the peace camps and peace clubs, seminars and peace-building workshops and youth peace education radio programmes it is expected that a strong network of youth and children will emerge that will value peace and

promote a culture of peace in the areas of northern Kenya, Somali and Somaliland in which TYPAP is present. Already in border towns such as Mandera, youth from Somalia and Kenya who study together have started to organise joint peace club activities. The content of TYPAP can be viewed as being geared not only to reducing and engaging with structural violence (e.g. the teaching of human rights), but also to some extent as minimising cultural violence; for example, the fostering of faith and values such as respect and compassion for others.

At this juncture we can note that the historical and sociopolitical realities of the conflicts in the region are not discussed in the LLT content manual and seem only to have been marginally discussed in the Kenyan segment of the YPAP radio programme. As mentioned earlier, the skills needed for critically analysing the structural arrangements that produce and legitimate injustice (Harris & Synott 2002) form a major component, as well as a challenge, in peace education. As for the YPAP, this area may perhaps need some strengthening.

This analysis suggests that the YPAP regions of northern Kenya, Somali and Somaliland show that conflict is not just a phenomenon of direct violence but, as mentioned in chapter three, also an indication of the failure to internalise and institutionalise western democratic practices and deeper systemic tensions of nation-building versus ethnic identities. In Kenya, for example, earlier direct violence (*shifto* war in NEP) led to present-day structural violence in terms of the marginalisation of the NEP, although a new constitution may provide some hope in reversing this form of violence by devolving some power and resources from the national government to county governments (Government of Kenya 2010). In Somali and Somaliland, initial “politicised clannism” (structural violence) has led to direct violence (the war) and even more cultural violence in the name of the “warlord” as a stakeholder in Somali politics. To many youngsters in Somalia, war and violence have become a way of life. Therefore, it is not just direct and structural violence that are at issue here, but also the deeper symptoms of cultural violence which need to be addressed in order to take the region forward in the coming years.

The historical nature of the conflicts gives credence to the idea of intervening at the youth level, as it is the youth who are least affected by collective narratives, who can still deposit and retrieve more positive or peaceful experiences and who are most likely to adopt new ideas (Galtung 2003). All the same, the historical and sociopolitical contexts and explanations of the conflicts themselves, which may help the youth appreciate their region better, seem to be lacking in the YPAP.

Revisiting direct, structural and cultural violence

As mentioned in this dissertation, while direct violence has to do with physical force that impairs human needs such as the need to live, structural violence is the use of social institutions or structures to harm people or prevent them from realising their full potential. Cultural violence, on the other hand, is the normalisation of direct and structural violence (Galtung 1996:196–197). How do these concepts marry with the TYPAP?

Overall, we could say that the entire TYPAP is a peace initiative designed to change youth discourse and the common lexicon in order to promote a more peaceful society. More specifically, peace club membership (as opposed to, say, militia membership) and the peace-building workshops could be identified as interventions to engage with and reduce direct violence. Activities such as the teaching of human rights (child rights), which is a key aspect of the LLT toolkit, could be viewed as an intervention aimed at combating structural violence. The peace education radio programme could also be viewed as having been designed to tackle both direct and structural violence and, with time and in conjunction with other YPAP approaches on the ground, it may promote a culture of peace.

As for the cultural violence, use of elders and mentors can be mentioned as an way of engaging with cultural violence. The elders often use local proverbs and sayings that promote a culture of peace but greater African cultural input and resources into the LLT toolkit was observed as being limited and could perhaps be increased in the future.

The sociopolitical and cultural contexts, analysis and exposition in this research study seem to point to the conclusion that conflicts in Kenya and the Horn of Africa have their genesis in disputed colonial boundaries, inter-state tension, governance challenges, marginalisation, politicised clannism/tribalism, and vested foreign strategic interests. In Kenya, for example, despite the recent regime change, the structures of inequality still exist. As such, conflicts are coloured by collective narratives and pronounced inequalities.

The overall aim of TYPAP was to involve children and young people in a grass-roots dialogue on peace – leading to national dialogue on peace and thereby contributing in the design of a peaceful future. Accordingly, children and youth were given increased access to the media and their capacity to articulate their aspirations and work together to form a strong Kenya-Somalia youth network for peace was enhanced. This TYPAP goal would seem to address the creation of a loose peace-promoting structure in contrast to the structural violence in the environment. This goal may need to be complemented with an injection of some of the cultural aspects of peace. For example, Somaliland's Guurti and its role in stabilising the region politically could be incorporated in future peace education initiatives.

Another example is that of TYPAP peace club in Mandera (NEP), which, of its own accord, started a peace magazine to sensitise youth to the importance of a peaceful future. The YPAP (together with local partners) thus suggests that there may be potential for awareness creation on peace issues and perhaps for cultivating the seeds of a culture of peace. The long-term stability of the region will definitely depend on the fundamental issues or the “root causes” of conflict being addressed and peace education initiatives like TYPAP that are inter-cultural and multidimensional in approach could help change mindsets and tilt the discourse from one that is “security” centred to one that is “peace” focused. However, the historical and sociopolitical exegesis of the conflict areas should themselves at least be part of the learning so as to make the

youth appreciate the gravity of the situation and enrich their educational encounter.

Table 3 below categorises the YPAP's contexts, programme (intervention) and outcomes in terms of Galtung's typology of direct structural and cultural violence.

Table 3: The Youth Peace Ambassador Program categorised by Galtung's typologies

Galtung's Typologies of violence	YPAP Region (context)	YPAP Programme (intervention)	YPAP Outcomes and outputs
Direct violence	-Shifta war in NEP -Somali civil war -Killings and clan clashes	-Peace-building workshops -Peace club membership	- Over 1500 active peace club members -Over 60 peace clubs -Possible reduction of direct violence with time
Structural violence	-Marginalisation of NEP in Kenya -Isolation of Somalia (especially south central) -Politicised clannism	-Teaching human rights in LLT toolkit -Peace education Radio programmes (LLT is an input)	-Peace magazine produced by peace club members in Mandera, NEP of Kenya. -"Peace ambassador" network emerging
Cultural violence	-Proliferation of militia groups -Idea of the "warlord" as stakeholder in Somalia -Cultural aspects for peace e.g. Guurti of Somaliland	-Involvement of elders in peace building -Fostering in children of faith and values that respect others. -Promoting honesty and compassion towards other people	-increased use of culture of peace lexicon e.g. "respect", "together" -Peace discourse of "empathy", and "common humanity" taught. -Promotion of common "ethical codes".

6.2 The Youth Peace Ambassador Program's Consistency with Peace Education Principles

Curriculum

To a large extent, TYPAP LLT manual, which in this case is both the peace education curriculum and the facilitator guide, was consistent with the peace education principles of unity building and inclusivity. The TYPAP LLT manual had, as one of its principles, the promotion of dignified and harmonious existence and solidarity among people of different ethnicities, cultures and religions. This marries well with Danesh's (2008) unity building or unity-based worldview.

The promotion of human rights education in the LLT is also in line with the views of peace scholars, such as Kant (1970) and Solomon (2002), as discussed in chapter three.

TYPAP LLT manual was, however, criticised by local East African facilitators for not having enough African input in terms of local religious and cultural traditions. The researcher was advised (author interview 5/5/10 Nairobi) that when exploring the concept of free will for example, the LLT toolkit should complement the Jewish traditional approach with evidence from other religious traditions to enrich the subject matter (Arigatou Foundation 2008:11).

Teaching and learning methodology

At the time of undertaking this study, TYPAP did not have an adequate facilitator training strategy for the region, which, if properly incorporated into TYPAP could make the programme more effective (author interview 5/5/10 Nairobi). This limited the efficacy of TYPAP's teaching and learning methodology to some extent.

However, from the researcher's observations of the peace-building workshops, facilitators employed dialogue, participation and a generally cooperative learning approach. Participants were often divided into groups

and given simple tasks to work on and present to the workshop. In addition, the LLT manual promotes four values, that is, respect, empathy, reconciliation and responsibility. These values, together with the facilitators' cooperative learning approach, suggest that TYPAP teaching methodology was, to a limited extent, in line with peace education guidelines in this respect.

School environment

TYPAP peace clubs were designed so that they formed the entry point from where the peace education content was delivered to the students and children. Every school that participated in TYPAP was encouraged to form a peace club.

A peace club would typically consist of about 30 to 50 students representing all streams in that school. Several peace clubs would be trained in peace building at a single workshop. This brought several schools together in one venue. The assumption here was that the peace clubs would be the focus point for learning, dialogue and skills development, and the attitudes towards peace created by the clubs would filter through to other members of the school community.

The advantage of this approach was that it bypassed school bureaucracy, that is, school administrators and teachers, the majority of whom were not trained as peace education teachers or facilitators. The disadvantage was that it was difficult to gauge how much of the attitudes created in the peace clubs had filtered through over a certain period of time. All the same, it was noted from the feedback documents that the peace club members certainly intended to pass the peace messages on to their fellow students. A TYPAP beneficiary wrote the following on her feedback document.

Thank you for giving us this opportunity. At the first session it was so interesting as a lot of students contributed to this activity.... conflict seems to be reflecting to people in our community (Isiolo) and it [the workshop] educated me as [an] individual on resolution, how the conflict[s] arise and it was so fantastic that I am promising you that we

as our Isiolo girls students we will pass the information to our colleagues (TYPAP workshop feedback response of Kenyan female learner age 15).

The facilitators hired for the peace-building workshop were consultants from former local civil society organisations, peace-building institutions and human rights groups. Most TYPAP beneficiaries indicated appreciation and enthusiasm for the trainers/facilitators. In 2009 one TYPAP beneficiary expressed her satisfaction with the peace-building workshop and trainer as follows:

I would like to appreciate the workshop. It was smashful, marvellous, realistic to our day to day lives. Issues that were a hard nut to crack became easy and openly. The trainer and all programming officers were innovative and realistic. They are also future-oriented to the children ...

(Interview with Kenyan female learner age 16)

Another challenge for TYPAP on the matter of peace principles concerned the school environment, as there is a generally violent climate in the schools both in Kenya and Somalia and Somaliland. Corporate punishment was and still is widespread in Kenya (Human Rights Watch 1999; Mweru 2010) despite its ban in 2001 by the enactment of the Children's Act of 2001 (Government of Kenya, 2001). Thus, despite TYPAP being fairly consistent as far as its own facilitators/trainer and the workshop environment were concerned, it had little control over the entire school environment. All the same, as Maxwell et al (2004) suggest, educating for peace is still possible in spite of the educators' own immersion in a context of violence and their underqualified status. Perhaps it would have been more worthwhile for TYPAP to work out a way to train all the teachers in the schools selected for peace building.

The ultimate aim for a viable Peace Education discourse is not just to be another school curriculum (examinable or not), but rather to transcend the

generally rigid formal education system to transform and mainstream its major aspects – economic, political, social and aesthetics.

6.3 The Impact of The Youth Peace Ambassador Program

The GNRC's TYPAP programme is a unique initiative in the Kenya Somalia Somaliland region that strives to combine multiple approaches and methods in peace education; for example an interfaith/intercultural approach, a peace radio programme, school-based peace clubs, elders as role models and peace-building workshops focusing on children and the youth. Despite a charge of trying to promote a kind of "religious relativism" (author's interview with Kenyan TYPAP facilitator, 15/1/10), a claim not supported by official TYPAP documents and which could not be observed in the youth beneficiaries (most of whom adhered to the Islamic faith), the study recognises that the LLT toolkit (which forms the basis of TYPAP's peace education content) seems to be a product of a substantial amount of research work where several methodologies, teaching aids and strategies have been employed to enable facilitators to deliver effectively the contents and intended information to the children and young people.

The LLT resources section, which has examples of tools such as role plays, makes the toolkit very participatory when used in workshops. The toolkit also makes suggestions for facilitators, who may be faced with various challenges during the implementation of the ethics/peace education programme. The toolkit creatively addresses such challenges and makes various recommendations for tackling them.

The low educational levels in the historically marginalised regions of Northern Kenya and the war-torn Somalia and Somaliland posed a challenge. Primary school enrolment in the NEP, for example is still below 30%, while secondary school enrolment in Marsabit district (of Northern Kenya) is less than 5%. Moreover, Northern Kenya has the lowest development indicators and the highest incidence of poverty¹⁶. This scenario seems to have limited the impact of TYPAP's (school-based) peace club strategy in reaching the wider community. All the same TYPAP seems to have managed to reach a

substantial number of people outside their primary target of school-based peace club members by incorporating a peace education radio programme in its peace club strategy. In a final report on the TYPAP peace radio programme there is an indication that it had managed to attain a listenership of about 200 000 people in Somaliland (GNRC Africa 2010).

The Youth Peace Ambassador Program's peace compared to TYPAP beneficiaries' peace

The LLT toolkit defines peace as a consequence of reflections on one's own attitudes and relationships with others in order to nurture an inner self-worth while strengthening the capacity to transform the world. In sum, peace is a primary responsibility that begins with the individual and can be enhanced through ethical and moral conditioning. Ethics education is thus a central feature in the TYPAP. Therefore, the radio programmes that form part of TYPAP are referred to as ethics education radio programmes.

In a culturally plural world such as ours, the LLT appreciates the difficulty in coming up with ethical criteria to be used by youth in such a diverse setting. The toolkit (Arigatou Foundation 2008:10) thus states:

The enormous diversity of religions, cultures and ways of life represented in the world makes common agreements and their implementation a difficult task. Yet, there appears to be a common consensus that we as a human community, must strive towards a common ground on ethical principles, for the sake of future generations. A central dimension of building a better future is helping children develop ethical values. The values developed globally, however, must also have relevance locally, as communities in different places and cultures are of course best placed to determine what they consider the core values to be fostered in their children. We may, however, be surprised by how much independently arrived-at ethical codes have in common.

Thus, it is this commonality of ethical codes that TYPAP seems to strive to promote through training sessions and encounters, media contact via radio programmes and sharing with like-minded others in the hope that this may lead to a more peacefully inclined individual and a “peace ambassador”. How does this definition compare with the definition of peace from the point of view of the beneficiaries of TYPAP?

Several definitions of peace emerged from translations of TYPAP radio programmes. Peace is seen as “something very expensive” that “makes us live, eat, drink, sleep and wake up”. Peace is “where there is no violence”, brings “people together”, the “best thing in life” and if there were no peace “people would be fighting and there would be chaos”. To further understand peace from the children’s point of view, violence was described as something that “takes away peace” and “brings a lot of problems to the person”. Peace was seen as something good in the world because it “creates respect and good communication” and if it was not there, the “world would not be the same” (Somali male learner aged 13 on 12 October 2009 translated TYPAP peace radio programme).

The participants seemed to recognise that peace is something that children in Somalia (where the first radio programme was recorded) needed. One of the questions asked in this radio session: “What is good in this world?” received the response: “following Islam”, perhaps indicating the Islamic influence in the region. In Kenya’s NEP, Somalia and Somaliland, where Somali clan differences are more prominent, Islam is often more of a unifying force than ethnic identities. Another TYPAP beneficiary responded (Somali female learner aged 12 on 12 October 2009 translation TYPAP peace radio programme) to the same question as follows:

In Islam it is not a must for everyone to follow Islam because everyone has his/her own religion but the important thing is making something for yourself and being content in it, being united and living in peace.

These responses seem typical of what would be expected from children in any other part of the world, but TYPAP beneficiaries see peace as something very important and urgently needed by Somali children. The essence of peace advocated by TYPAP and discussed above was somewhat similar to that expressed by TYPAP beneficiaries. If this study were to pinpoint a difference I would say that while TYPAP peace places emphasis on moral conditioning, ethical codes and commonality – a more holistic peace definition – the beneficiaries' ideas of peace seemed to indicate an immediate concern about direct violence. Peace was where there was no violence.

It was not possible to judge whether the beneficiaries' ideas on peace were as a result of TYPAP or were obtained from other educational encounters, but it was easy to see the enthusiasm and appreciation the beneficiaries showed for TYPAP-related activities, be they peace-building workshops or radio recording sessions. It was apparent that the youth were using some of the lexicon promoted by TYPAP, such as *together* and *respect*. It is also important to note that all TYPAP beneficiaries interviewed had never been involved in a peace education project before the TYPAP.

The Youth Peace Ambassador Program: “broadening the scope”

Many of TYPAP beneficiaries called for more workshops and more educational encounters, yet the budget for this was often limited. Many commented that the workshops produced a learning experience that had touched their daily lives. Many of the participants – for some it was their first time attending such workshops – felt that more skills and materials were needed. Many indicated they would have loved to have been given some sort of certificate of participation so that they could develop peace building further as a career. Others commented on TYPAP as follows:

I loved the seminar, lecture and facilitators and I think that this is quite a wonderful project which should continue...I think the theme of peace and conflict is quite important in today's world. I think that I have gained and learnt more and more about the theme
(Interview with Kenyan female learner age 15).

Another described his learning experience as follows:

I have learnt a lot what I haven't expect to happen to me. I have know lot about my right. I have realized a lot of things that bring conflict to us ... I have known much about peace. I have learnt and understood many things from different ideologies. I have learnt what may happen to me and get result from it (Interview with Somali male learner age 17).

A TYPAP beneficiary who has since started his undergraduate studies at the University of Nairobi talked of TYPAP as having “broadened the scope” of his thinking such that he can now better “accommodate other people’s views when dealing with issues”. He felt that TYPAP would have benefitted from more “follow up” and more “guidance”. Local leadership from the community was also important and he called for GNRC peace clubs to spread all over Kenya (Interview with Kenyan male learner age 21).

Another beneficiary of TYPAP now a student with the Kenya Medical Training College talked of TYPAP activities having given him the courage and capacity to influence “people on positive changes”. For him TYPAP had helped him have “solution oriented thinking”. He believed that TYPAP beneficiaries should be linked countrywide through the social media to encourage greater communication, information sharing and exchange of ideas.

This beneficiary (Interview with Somali male learner age 22) stated:

TYPAP moulded me to be able to mingle with people of different religions and cultures harmoniously without difference ... [i] have attained different skills such as facilitation skills, proposal writing, group formation and coordination lastly leadership and management skills whereby am now a leader in our college – Auditor General for student representative council and also am a pioneer of a peace club which I started in my high school.

The Youth Peace Ambassador Program: elders and role models

The YPAP's use of elders and role models seems to have had a positive impact by helping the programme establish local links and ownership, at the same time helping connect community knowledge, culture, history and wisdom with the youth. As stated earlier, TYPAP participants from various peace clubs seemed keener to listen to the elders than even the workshop trainers/facilitators.

Below is an extract of a report of one of the peace-building workshops in Hargeisa in 2008. It shows how elders and Somali proverbs were used in the programme (GNRC-SAYS: 2008:10).

... the facilitator presented some Somali proverb relating to the peace building and consultation sharing. He said "***Waddad arimiya, waayeel taliya iyo wiil aqbala***". This proverb means, if the people take the advice from each other, they will keep the peace together. "***Hadii laba maroodi is dilaan dooguunbaa dhamaada***" mean if people fight with each other, the environment destroys. "***Dagaal wiil ayuunbaa ku dhintee wiil kuma dhaso***" mean that only souls lost in the fighting with no worthwhile result.

Then, one of the famous Somali elder, artists and poet named Ahmed Suleiman Bide visited the workshop and the facilitator invited him for a word in the session. The artist highly encouraged the young participants the importance of their role in the building of peace and government. Mr. Bide mentioned that peace is important to all living things over the world. Finally he concluded with this wisdom statement "***Markaad nabad samaysid ayaa naar laga badbaaddaa***" [if you create peace you save yourself from hellfire] which shows the necessity of peace in people's life.

6.4 The Youth Peace Ambassador Program Objectives and the Extent to which they were Achieved

Finally, and to sum up this chapter on the assessment of TYPAP, the study will singly out each of TYPAP objectives, as mentioned in chapter five ,and will briefly discuss how far they were achieved during the period of study.

- a. To plant the seeds of collaboration between, and peaceful coexistence among, children and young people from diverse backgrounds and regions of Somalia/land and Kenya*

This objective could be said to have been broadly achieved, at least at the level of TYPAP peace club members. A total of 39 peace-building workshops were undertaken between 2007 and 2010 in Garissa, Isiolo, Mandera and Wajir in Kenya and Hargeisa, Bossaso, Burao, Borama and Mogadishu in Somalia. In border towns such as Mandera, peace club members from both Kenya and Somalia had come together in joint peace club activities.

This was not without difficulties however, as TYPAP operated in some of the most troubled and marginalised areas in East Africa and the Horn of Africa. In a global study on interreligious dialogue initiatives around the world by and for the youth commissioned by UNESCO, TYPAP is mentioned as a good practice that operates in a difficult milieu, especially Somalia and Somaliland (Cisneros 2010). Add to this the ongoing crisis in war-torn Somalia and it is easy to see the challenges facing such a programme.

In some parts of Somalia, for example Mogadishu, TYPAP could only manage to hold workshops when the security situation permitted. The prolonged conflict and the war against terrorism waged by western powers made residents of the country suspicious of anything new. Local support has thus been crucial in this respect but this has also made oversight and monitoring difficult as GNRC administrators have had to rely on third-party reports from local partners.

- b. To raise the profile of children and youth as active partners, and peace as a value within public discourse in Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya*

This was achieved in a limited sense through the peace radio programme that was aired in Somalia and Kenya, but its impact was limited because the radio programme only ran for six months.

- c. To establish avenues/spaces in which children and youth from different backgrounds can meet and interact to build a culture of peace in Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya*

This was achieved through the establishment of peace clubs in various schools in towns in northern Kenya and Somalia. Annexure II gives a list of all the peace clubs in existence at the time of the study.

As mentioned, a peace club in Mandera, a border town in the NEP of Kenya and Somalia, of its own accord and inspired by TYPAP, started a peace magazine with the help of local elders. It was also observed that some peace club members in Mandera and Garissa continued with peace activities after the GNRC had withdrawn. These examples show that TYPAP at the very least seems to have created awareness of peace and related issues. Could this be the seeds for a culture of peace in this region?

An interfaith or intercultural approach, such as TYPAP, seems to have been useful in peace building and peace education as it encouraged diversity and unity building. In Somalia and Somaliland where the only religion is Islam, TYPAP focused on an inter-cultural or inter-clan approach. Workshop organisers were encouraged to invite participants from different regions so as to ensure diversity. In Kenya, where Christianity and Islam are the dominant religious traditions, a more interfaith TYPAP has been observed. Ultimately perhaps a good peace education initiative in East Africa and the Horn of Africa should endeavour to pursue value systems that emphasise dignified and harmonious coexistence and solidarity among people of different class, ethnic, religious, cultural and ideological backgrounds.

d. To enhance the opportunities for participation by children and youth in governance cultures in Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya

This was not achieved as to the extent that TYPAP administrators would have wished. It was difficult to catapult peace issues and children rights and agendas from a local level to a more regional and national level. The YPAP engaged few government functionaries at the national level but did sometimes invite district children officers or area district officers during their peace-building workshops.

e. To build a culture of peace and understanding among the children and youth by seeking guidance from the elders, thus co-opting them as partners

Elders were often used at the workshops and, as illustrated earlier, they helped bring a sense of seriousness and wisdom to the workshop. From observations it was easy to see that the children were more attentive to what the elders were saying rather than the other facilitators. Elders often included proverbs and other cultural resources in the workshops. Thus, this objective was achieved within TYPAP.

The question of cultural resources, symbols, methods, approaches and philosophies is an important one, as it offers an alternative to the failed paradigms that are predominant today (Richards 2011) and as seen in the Sierra Leone peace initiative (Wessells 2005).

The elders may well be the entry point for infusing greater cultural resources in traditional methods of peace building in Africa. While a universal peace education manual like the LLT seems desirable, some facilitators suggested that each region should be given greater autonomy in using their religio-cultural resources to achieve the desired outcome – a culture of peace. To be fair, the LLT ethics education toolkit used by TYPAP is flexible and allows the facilitator to develop his or her own materials and strategies without running

the risk of straying from the guide. Traditional African methods of peace building and peacemaking, such as ubuntu in southern Africa, the Gachacha court system in Rwanda or the Guurti in Somaliland (which is a council of clan elders and is already incorporated in the Somaliland legislature as mentioned earlier in this study), the Mato Oput reconciliation system of the Acholi of Northern Uganda (Odora-Hoppers 2005) should thus receive special mention in any peace education strategy or discourse in Africa.

f. To understand issues affecting children and youth that can lead to breach of peace or its sustenance

This was also partially achieved, at least among TYPAP participants. During a visit to an orphanage organised by peace club members on International Children's Day in Hargeisa in 2008, YPAP peace club members, accompanied by GNRC members and other children, were shown the real situation of orphans and children whose parents had been lost as a result of the crisis in Somalia and Somaliland. They saw where the children slept, what they ate and how difficult it is to live without parents. Children introduced themselves and narrated their stories. One of the oldest children, Farhan, told the visitors that he had spent 17 years in the orphanage. He (GNRC 2008:7):

I was brought here when I was three. Now, I studied primary education and a few other diplomas including computer studies. I was helped by some relatives and the orphanage. Still I need to do secondary education and to get a good job. Life in the orphanage is very difficult and you can see it. Imagine, eating the food you saw every morning.

It was through such encounters that this objective was perhaps partially met. Nevertheless, many TYPAP beneficiaries called for more workshops and more educational encounters. However, the budget for this was often limited.

- g. To sustain peace and education for peace as a poverty reduction strategy at the grassroots.*

In the short term, this objective was partially achieved, at least among some TYPAP members. As already mentioned, some TYPAP participants started their own peace projects, perhaps indicating a commitment to a peaceful disposition. In the longer run this study cannot tell with any degree of certainty whether this objective has been achieved. It is recommended that the TYPAP or a similar peace education programme should be integrated in all schools in the region.

- h. To enhance the capacity of children and young people in Somalia and Somaliland and to effectively communicate through the mass media – especially radio*

This was achieved through the peace radio programme in Somaliland and Kenya. Again, the impact was limited given the relatively short time that the radio programme was on air.

- i. To help children and youth of Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya appreciate the consequences of unresolved conflict leading to violence through visits to such places as the Genocide Museum in Kigali, Rwanda (GNRC Africa 2005)*

This was not done but several peace club members were sponsored to visit the Zanzibar Film Festival (ZIFF) where there was a peace camp sponsored by the GNRC.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.1 Conclusion and Recommendations

In conclusion this study shows that the conflicts in the region are couched in collective narratives and pronounced inequalities. Following Galtung's peace theories, this study suggests that it is not just structural violence, but also the deeper symptoms of cultural violence that we may need to address in taking the region forward in the coming years. The study traces the historical and sociopolitical realities of the conflict in East Africa and the Horn of Africa as having their genesis in disputed colonial boundaries, inter-state tensions, governance challenges, marginalisation, politicised clannism/tribalism, vested foreign strategic interests, failure to internalise and institutionalise western notions of democratic practices and deeper systemic tensions of nation building and ethnic identities, modernity and traditional systems. The challenge for peace education in such areas thus has to do with reconciling historical collective narratives and inequalities with a culture of peace.

It is therefore argued, throughout this study that the long-term stability of the region will definitely depend on the fundamental issues or the "root causes" of conflict being addressed. This study suggests that peace education initiatives such as TYPAP may help change the mindsets and tilt the discourse from the current one, which is "security" centred to one that is "peace" focused. However, the historical, cultural and sociopolitical realities of the conflict areas must themselves be part of the educational encounter in order for it to be more viable.

This study also recommends the need for further detailed research, focusing especially on long-term attitudinal and behavioural changes of beneficiaries of peace education initiatives in the region.

This chapter concludes this dissertation by briefly assessing TYPAP as a case study of a peace education project in the following ways:

a) Its consistency with peace education principles

TYPAP seems to be consistent with peace education principles in its curriculum/content and teaching methods, but seems challenged in terms of school environment peace principles. Thus, there is a need for any future peace education initiatives in the region to be more comprehensive and more integrative, with a view to influencing the entire school/educational bureaucracy to achieve better results.

b) How far it has met its own objectives

TYPAP managed to meet most of its objectives especially among its member beneficiaries but seemed not to have met its other objectives. Accordingly, it managed to meet the following objectives:

- To plant the seeds of collaboration between, and peaceful co-existence among, children and young people from diverse background and regions of Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya
- To raise the profile of children and youth as active partners and peace as a value within public discourse in Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya
- To establish avenues/spaces in which children and youth from different backgrounds can meet and interact to build a culture of peace in Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya
- To build a culture of peace and understanding among the children and youth by seeking guidance from the elders, thus co-opting them as partners
- To understand issues affecting children and youth that can lead to breach of peace or its sustenance
- To sustain peace and education for peace as a poverty reduction strategy at the grassroots

- To enhance the capacity of children and young people in Somalia and Somaliland and to communicate effectively through the mass media – especially radio

TYPAP seems **not to have managed to meet the following** objectives:

- To enhance the opportunities for participation by children and youth in governance cultures in Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya
- To help children and youth of Somalia, Somaliland and Kenya appreciate the consequences of unresolved conflict leading to violence through visits to such places as Genocide Museum in Kigali, Rwanda (GNRC Africa 2005)

c) The impact of the Youth Peace Ambassador Program, according to interviewees, in contributing to a culture of peace in northern Kenya and Somalia

Finally, using a qualitative case study methodology employing content analysis, interviews and observations, this dissertation shows that the YPAP – a multifaceted peace education initiative working with local partners – has the potential not just to create awareness on peace issues but also to cultivate the seeds of a culture of peace. To strengthen such peace initiatives, cultural resources within the region may be needed to complement them and perhaps make their discourse more organically valid. From such encounters educationists could perhaps help move society from the present individualising tendency catalysed by fear and dominance to a more cooperative agenda based on dialogue, human dignity and partnerships.

Notes

1. See for example <http://allafrica.com/stories/200909141544.html> (accessed 10/1/11)
2. See Report of the Presidential Special Action Committee to Address Specific Concerns of the Muslim Community in regard to Alleged Harassment And/or Discrimination in the Application/Enforcement of the Law Presented TO: President Of Kenya, 31 March 2008 which details some of these injustices towards Muslim communities in Kenya. The Somali of NEP are a major segment of the Muslims in Kenya
3. See <http://www.hrw.org/news/2002/10/31/kenya-report-politicians-fueled-ethnic-violence> accessed 7/8/2012
4. See <http://www.iiec.or.ke/final-referendum-results-are-gazetted> (retrieved 15/10/10)
5. See <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=6157&l=1> (accessed 14 January 2010).
6. See <http://www.raxanreeb.com/?p=82656> retrieved 14 February 2011 for more details on these tensions between the SSC regions and their clan related tensions with Somaliland.
7. See http://www.unicef.org/somalia/education_3732.html accessed 5/6/2011
8. See www.ineesite.org/edcon/peace.asp (accessed 20/1/10).
9. See for example http://www.zanzinet.org/police_brutality.html.(accessed 13/6/09)
10. Ibid
11. Somalia and Somaliland are sometimes referred to as Somalia/land in this study as many south central Somali communities do not recognise the semi autonomous region called Somaliland while those in Somaliland would like to be identified as living in Somaliland.
12. See <http://www.unicef.org/magic/users/children.html> (accessed 6/4/10)
13. See <http://www.ethicseducationforchildren.org/ltl/index.html> (accessed 27/8/09) for the full LLT toolkit.
14. See <http://www.ethicseducationforchildren.org/en/council/mission/background.html> (accessed 27/8/09) for background on ICEE

15. Rev. Takeyasu Miyamoto is the President of Arigatou Foundation and inaugurator of GNRC. He is also the leader of Myochikai- a Japanese religion that teaches a lay form of Nichiren Buddhism which promotes an ethic of common virtues such as endurance, repentance, and thanksgiving. See <http://www.bookrags.com/tandf/founder-miyamoto-mitsu-tf/> (accessed 13/12/10).

16. See for example http://www.northernkenya.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=136:northern-kenya-education-trust&catid=76:projects&Itemid=219 accessed 6/8/2012

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Annexure I: List of peace clubs

City	Peace clubs	Contact person and partner
Isiolo	Isiolo boys high school peace club Isiolo girls high school peace club Al-Falah children's center peace club	Ahmed Seith-Al-Falah center
Wajir	Wajir High School Peace Club Furaha Mixed School Peace Club Waberi Boys Peace Club Wajir Girls Secondary Peace Club Sabunley Secondary School Peace Club	Feisal Mohammed-KCIU
Mandera	Mandera Intergraded Academy Peace Club Moi Girls Sec School Peace Club Mandera secondary school Peace Club Border Point Peace Club Jowhar Al-Islam Peace Club Arabia Secondary School Peace Club Sheikh Ali Peace Club	Abdillahi Ibrahim -KCIU
Bosasso	Laanta-Hawada Village Peace Club New Bosasso Village Peace Club Biyo Kulule Village Peace Club Hafatul Arab Village Peace Club Raf iyo Raaxho Village Peace Club Raf & Raho village peace	Yusuf Hajj Nurr of SOCDA

	club Balade village peace club Dawladda Hoose peace club	
Hargeisa	Fadumo-Bihi Peace club Ali Jama Peace club Alifdoon Peace club Ma'alin Daud Peace club Shiek Ali Osman Peace club	Said Mohammed of SAYS
Borama (Somaliland)	Sheikh Ahmed Salan primary school Sheikh Ali Jawhar, secondary school Adaam Isaq secondary school Sheikh Muse Hodon primary school Al-Aqsa Secondary School. Aloog Primary school Garissa High School,	Said Mohammed of SAYS
Garissa	Umu-Salama Girls Secondary School, Young Muslim Secondary Sch North Eastern Province Girls School, County High School.	Sheikh Ibrahim of KCIU
Mogadishu	Imam Shafi,i Primary Imam Shafi Secondary School Fowz Primary School Ma'Mur Primary and Mamur Secondary School Mogadishu Primary Mogadishu Secondary Hamar Boarding School Al-Masal School	Yusuf Hajj Noor of SOCDA
Embu	Nguvio secondary school	Mohamed Said Hani

Garbatullah	Garbatullah boarding school (primary) Matagaro primary school Naga primary school Da'wah primary school Garbatullah high school Sayyidah Fatimah primary school	Mrs zuleikha Omar (CRF)
Nairobi	Nairobi school peace club	Ahmed Luqman (member of peace club)

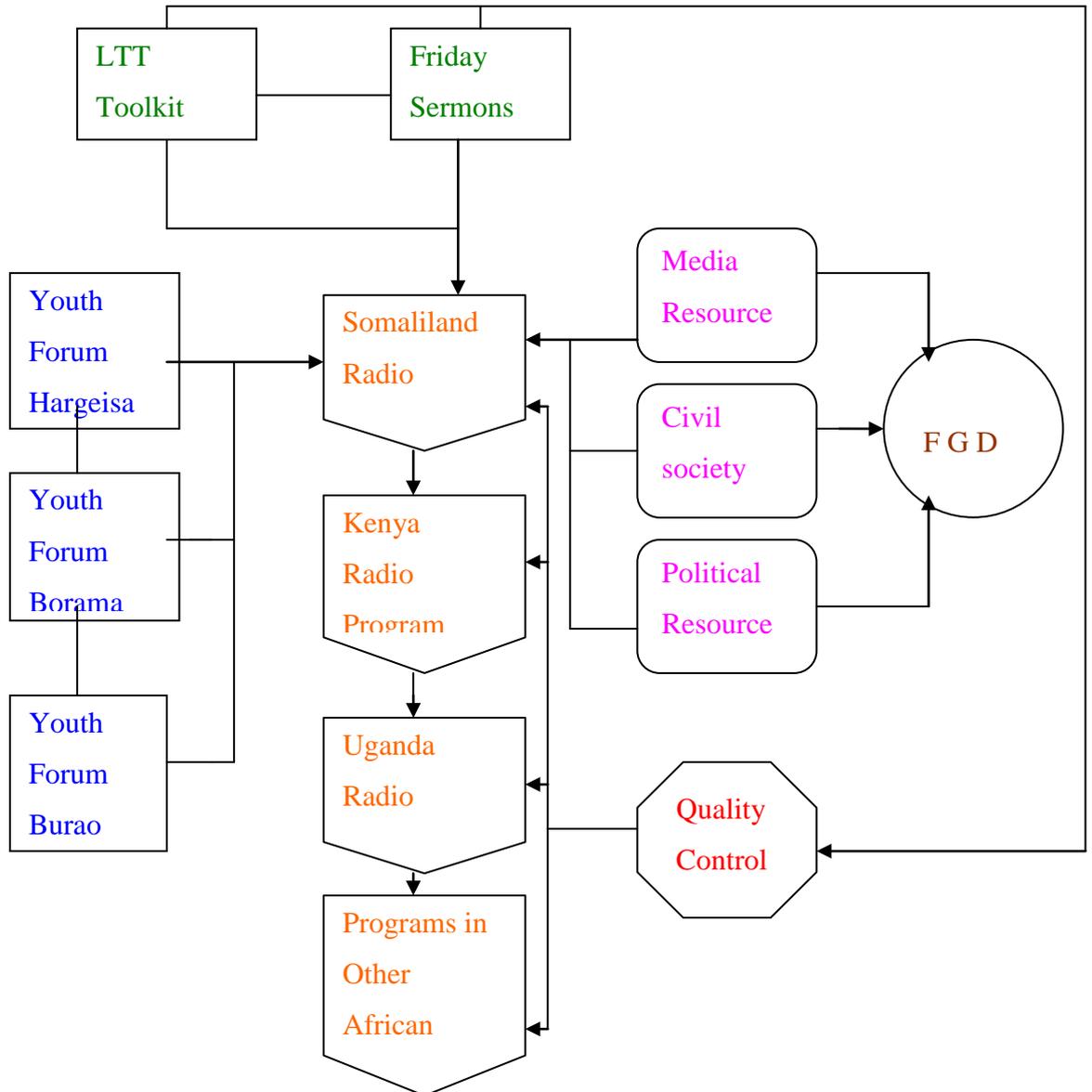
Annex II

Broad themes and sub themes used in the peace education radio program in Hargeisa Somaliland

1. Person
 - a. The Self I
 - b. The other Boy/ Girl
2. Violence
 - a. What is it?
 - b. What does it do?
3. Peace
 - a. What is it?
 - b. Where is it?
 - c. What does it do?
 - d. How do we get peace?
4. The World
 - a. What is good in the world?
 - b. Why do you think so?
 - c. What is bad in the World?
 - d. Why do you think so?
 - e. How do you know about that?
 - f. How did you know about all these?
5. Relationships
 - a. Who do you know in the world?
 - b. How do you know him/her?
 - c. What do you know about him/her?
 - d. Why do you know that about him/her?
 - e. How is he/her related to you?
 - f. Is he/her good?
 - g. Is he/her bad?
 - h. How do you know that?
 - i. How do you think the relationship can be spoiled?
 - j. How do you think the relationship can be improved?

Annex III

TYPAP Ethics/Peace Education Radio Program East and Horn of Africa Basic Layout



Key

FGD- Focus Group Discussion. (which was to enable the civil society, media and political resource persons, the GNRC team and the consultant to come up with the basic parameters of the radio program).

Annex V

Brief **Questionnaire/interview guide** on The Young Peace Ambassador Program (TYPAP) for Kenya Somalia and Somaliland

1. What would you say are the :-
 - a) Strengths of the TYPAP

 - b) Weakness of the TYPAP

2. The overall aim of the TYPAP is to mainstream **peace-building** as a key area of children and youth participation in Kenya and Somalia/land. The purpose is to involve children and young people in a grassroots dialogue on peace (through workshops, peace clubs, media) leading to national dialogue on peace, thereby contributing in the design of a peaceful future. To what extent do you think this goal has been achieved?

3. Kindly comment on the approaches and strategy that TYPAP is employing in your country and how best to improve on them to achieve the objective sighted in question 2 above.

4. Kindly share with me how you think **peace** is **defined** within TYPAP in your country?

5. What recommendations would you give on the **future** of peace education in Kenya and Horn of Africa (Somalia and Somaliland)?

Thank you

Warm regards

Said Abdalla

Note: This guide was mainly for generating discussion on TYPAP.
