Reducing Fragility and Supporting Peacebuilding Through Youth Facilitation of the National Education Curriculum Framework in Somalia

Achievements, Challenges, and Lessons Learned

unicef unite for children

Authors:
Neven Knezevic, PhD (Education and Peacebuilding Specialist, UNICEF ESARO)
W. Glenn Smith, PhD (Institut Supérieur de Gestion & European Management Centre, Paris, France)

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acronyms

ABE	Accelerated Basic Education
AET	African Educational Trust
AS	*Harakat Al-Shabaab al-Mujahedeen* (Al-Shabaab, Mujahidin Youth Movement)
BRMS	Basic Requirements and Minimum Standards
CA	Conflict Analysis
CEC	Community Education Committee
CEWERU	Somalia Conflict Early Warning Early Response Unit
CFC	Child-Friendly Centres
CFS	Child-Friendly Schools
CO	Country Office
CoC	Code of Conduct
CPD	Continuous Professional Development
CPSA	Conflict, Peace and Situation Analysis
CSF	Child Safe Facilities
CSZ	Central South Zone (Southern Somalia between Kenya and Puntland borders)
CtC	Child-to-Child
DGE	Director General of Education
DEO	District Education Officer
DfID	Department for International Development
EC	European Commission
EEPCT	Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition
EMIS	Education Management Information Service
EFA	Education for All
ESARO	Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
FP	Focal Point
FRS	Federal Republic of Somalia
G2S	Go-to-School Campaign
GoN	Government of the Netherlands
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
HLTF	High Level Task Force
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons

IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
KAP	Knowledge, Attitudes and Practice
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoE	Ministry of Education (Puntland, Somaliland)
MoECHE	Ministry of Education, Culture and Higher Education
MoHDPS	Ministry of Human Development and Public Services
MP	Member of Parliament
NEZ	North East Zone (Puntland region)
NFE	Non-Formal Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
NWZ	North West Zone (Somaliland region)
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PB	Peacebuilding
PBEA	Peacebuilding Education and Advocacy
PBF	Peacebuilding Fund
PSG	Peace and Statebuilding Goals
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
REO	Regional Education Officer
RO	Regional Office
SZOP	Schools as Sub-national entities of Somalia of Peace
SfCG	Search for Common Ground
SSC	Sool, Sanaag and Cayn provinces
SWAp	Sector Wide Approach
SWES	Somalia-Wide Education Synergies
ToT	Training of Trainers
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
UAM	Un-Accompanied Minors
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSOM	United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia
WFP	World Food Programme
YEP	Youth Education Pack

Document Overview

Purpose and Intended Use of the Case Study

As part of a global pilot programme attempting peacebuilding through education services, UNICEF ESARO has generated evidence between the linkages of education and peacebuilding in fragile and conflict affected settings. This case study provides an overview of the Peace Building, Education and Advocacy (PBEA) youth interventions in Somalia, focusing on youth participation in facilitating community consultations to develop a draft national education curriculum framework.

On the basis of a conflict analysis showing youth marginalisation at the root of radicalisation of youth and conflict in Somali society, with many unemployed and struggling to build futures, UNICEF sought a way to connect youth and their communities in more positive ways, while improving the ongoing curriculum framework development process and strengthening the legitimacy of nascent national institutions by fostering inclusive and participatory government decision-making processes.

This study explores the value of using curriculum development as an entry point for understanding and addressing the critical conflict drivers of youth marginalisation, erosion of cultural values, struggles over resources and weak governance systems, while promoting a relevant quality national curriculum. The study identifies processes through which youth can be 'empowered' in assuming new constructive roles vis-à-vis their communities and State institutions and offers lessons for constituting effective social services in a manner that will support bottom-up peacebuilding and promote inclusive forms of governance. The report is to be used as a learning document by UNICEF, implementing partner organizations, government policy-makers, and practitioners broadly in the fields of education and peacebuilding. It is hoped that this work will contribute to strategies for using social services to promote equity, inclusive governance, and constructive citizenship among adolescents and youth at risk of alienation, marginalization or recruitment to armed groups.

Executive Summary

The PBEA programme aims to contribute to building foundations for sustainable peace and development in Somalia after years of conflict—in some areas still ongoing—which have weakened traditional conflict management systems and local capacities for peace, resulted in extremely fragile national governance systems, made communities vulnerable to different forms of violence, and created numerous pressures for conflict between groups, clans and communities. This document suggests linkages between education and peacebuilding outcomes and how bottom-up participatory processes engaging communities and youth with national education curriculum development processes can be utilized to strengthen effective social services while simultaneously increasing the legitimacy and inclusiveness of nascent national governance system. As it does not represent an *ex post facto* study, the extent of outcomes may only become apparent once all programme activities have been completed.

This case study provides an overview of the PBEA programme in Somalia, focusing on a key activity, the youth facilitations of community consultations to develop a draft national curriculum framework, and to what extent desired outcomes for engaging youth, preventing marginalization, and supporting bottom-up peacebuilding are being achieved through education sector mechanisms. The programme Theories of Change (ToCs) informing the design of activities and desired outcomes are:

a) By taking into account the findings of the Conflict Analysis when preparing key education strategies, the education sector will be more conflict sensitive and become a better enabling environment for peacebuilding through education service delivery.

c) If youth are given a voice and an active role to engage with communities and decision makers across clan, social and cultural lines then this will give rise to a sense of constructive citizenship and improve social cohesion within and between groups,

contributing to a reduction of violence in target locations / intervention groups.

Based on the ToCs above, the youth-led community consultation for informing the national curriculum framework was designed to address several conflict drivers among those identified in a University of York conflict analysis conducted in 2013 (Barakat et al. 2014):

- Marginalization of youth (political and economic);
- Loss of traditional values and a culture of violence (or the normalization of violence);
- Access to / conflict over (natural) resources;
- Closed governance systems/lack of 'space' for youth participation; and
- Curriculum that does not support adolescents and youth in gaining productive livelihoods.

Methodology. The case study methodology adhered at all times to UNICEF's guidelines on research ethics. This study was informed by a literature review on the history of conflict and role of youth in Somalia. Fieldwork was conducted over a period of one week during two visits to Bosasso and Galkayo (Puntland, Somalia) in September 2014. The data gathering methods included conducting qualitative semi-structured interviews and structured remote interviews using guided questioning techniques; analysis of quantitative survey data; and analysis of secondary documents including AET programme implementation reports and PBEA annual reports. Approximately 30 individuals participated in the case study, including local Somali youth, and PBEA's implementing partner AET. Additional data analysis included reviews of internal implementation reports from implementation partners and youth facilitator field diaries. This allowed for a better understanding of the implementation process and the identification of progress toward achieving desired programme results. UNICEF's Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office (ESARO) also provided extensive support in reviewing and finalizing the writing of this report.

Observations on Tentative Results being Achieved

The report identifies several peacebuilding results and progress toward achieving PBEA Outcomes 1, 2 and 3. The preliminary findings are also contrasted against lessons learned from other countries to suggest a possible trajectory of results being achieved and the extent to which strategies have been informed by broader understandings of peacebuilding.

Including Youth in Decision - Making Processes

- The youth-led consultations created space for youth to participate in a national decision-making process that will potentially affect most households across Somalia.

- At the end of youth trainings, AET asked 240 youth participants whether they "felt a sense of inclusion in public decision-making processes". *While needing further confirmation, AET reports suggest that nearly 100% responded in the affirmative.* Nevertheless, the majority of youth facilitators selected by AET come from the educated strata of society and thus may be those who are 'least' vulnerable to marginalization and alienation.

- Case study findings show that education officials have begun to incorporate the findings of youth-led consultations to inform the national education curriculum framework – thus demonstrating that the role played by youth has been highly valuable, and valued.

- Clan elders and other community leaders felt that the youth were very good at their work, felt comfortable leaving youth to manage discussions, and believed that youth should assume more leadership roles – but this will likely be a gradual process given entrenched systems.

- Findings are inconclusive about whether the initiative is redressing the broader problems of youth marginalization. However, the evidence is fairly conclusive regarding successes with creating space for youth to participate in decision-making processes (*i.e., PBEA Outcome 2 related to creating institutionalized mechanisms to support youth participation*).

- Traditional leaders, clan elders, and religious leaders almost entirely supported youth-led consultations. Community leaders, especially clan elders, participated in the selection of youth facilitators, as well as actively participated in local consultations. When calculating the number of locations visited and community leaders involved, this translates into a *99% level of support among community leaders for the youth-led consultations*. The high level of support is validated by analysis of field diary entries of the youth facilitators, roughly 87% of which report "*no challenges noted*" with implementing community consultations.

Preparing Youth for Positive Leadership Roles

- There have been clear achievements with developing a positive form of agency among youth that helps to prepare them for constructive leadership roles in society.

- Trainings embedded into the youth cover a range of leadership and management skills that are transferrable to other areas such as: planning and coordination, logistics, negotiation skills, presentation skills, dispute resolution, teamwork, working with diverse groups, and report writing to name only a few.

- During consultations the youth applied a range of 'soft skills' effectively, such as: 'patience', 'tolerance', 'commitment' and 'drive'. Strengthened leadership and management competencies is demonstrated by the fact that they reached 5863 community members. Moreover, an evaluation conducted by AET after the first round of consultations shows that 95% of youth facilitators reported youth-led consultations helped them to better appreciate the divergence of views among different stakeholder (*i.e., PBEA Outcome 3 for increasing levels of tolerance and respect for diversity*).

- Qualitative case study data shows that one impact for youth has been an improved sense of 'self', which may in turn generate more positive forms of youth agency.

- These gains did not occur in a haphazard fashion, but were the product of a structured and systematic strategy designed to engage youth in a bottom-up peacebuilding process.

- Participation in a national decision-making process provided youth with a social space to engage constructively in civic life, facilitate common understandings among

participants and acceptance of differing views as demonstrated by analysis of field diary entries, in which roughly 87% of the entries show that no serious challenges were encountered with managing the community consultations.

Strengthening Inclusive Forms of Governance through the Education Sector

- Many areas visited by youth are classified as 'high risk' of experiencing environmental shocks or conflict and in which local communities experience high rates of deprivation across a range of indicators. The consultations thus reached people who, based on MDG equity frameworks, are 'the hardest to reach'.

- The community consultation mechanism applied suggests an effective approach for supportive the development of a more inclusive and responsive form of governance in which the views of local communities were being used to inform a government decision-making process.

- Drawing on the lessons of bottom-up state building from countries like Guinea, national government thus has the potential to become more 'legitimate' by using inclusive decision-making mechanisms that strengthen the relationship between state and society.

Fostering Trust toward Government and Education Services

- Youth-led consultations gave communities with an opportunity to provide inputs into the national curriculum development process. This was hailed as a major sign of progress by community participants who expressed their appreciation for the opportunity.

- A question commonly asked was: "why had it taken so long for them to be allowed to take part in these sorts of discussions?"

Strengthening Social Cohesion and Inclusion

- Baseline KAP survey findings in 2014 show that social cohesion in Somalia is low due to the absence of social and civil mechanisms that promote group interaction.

- In this regard, the most immediate impact of the youth-led community consultations was to build cross-cutting social networks and positive relationships across different groups and among youth.

- Consultations provided youth with access to a wide cross-section of communities and different lifestyles and clans they had never before met.

- Similar benefits were derived by local communities. Discussion of curriculum became a 'connector' around which communities came together. AET reports suggest that the interactions promoted community bonds that might not have existed previously.

- The objective of ensuring gender-balanced youth facilitation teams was well-achieved, with 56% male and 44% female. With a few minor exceptions, this gender-balance was effective at soliciting equitable representation of males and females in community consultations.

- MoE officials also suggested that the 'role modelling' provided by youth facilitators may translate into household changes where parents might actively support girls' empowerment.

Introducing Peacebuilding Tools into the Community

- The community level peacebuilding approach applied via curriculum consultations focussed on achieving practical goals related to bringing communities together and promoting constructive dialogue, understanding one's neighbours and being tolerant to different points of view, beginning

to embrace human rights concepts, notions such as 'citizenship', and improving the 'relevance' of the curriculum.

- By facilitating community engagement in the development of a national curriculum framework, the strategy helped to reduce the 'vertical space' between state and society.

Peacebuilding through Equity and Inclusion – Strengthening the Relevance of the National Education Curriculum

- 'Relevant' curriculum is a critical component of education frameworks promoting social inclusion and equity through education, including UNCEF's Equity in Education strategy paper released in 2010. UNICEF's Equity in Education strategy paper makes important linkages between social inclusion, socially and economically relevant education curriculum, and improved learning for children and communities.

- The youth-led consultations for gaining community inputs to the national curriculum framework were thus strongly aligned to UNICEF's equity in education strategy.

- Communities provided inputs to strengthening the national curriculum framework, which included its 'cultural' and 'economic' relevance. MoE officials welcomed those inputs and began to use them to update the curriculum framework in areas related to: 'access', 'relevance', 'teaching and learning environment', 'teacher education and development', and 'school governance' and included specific recommendations that are commonly identified in strategic frameworks for promoting equity, quality, and relevance of education.

- The bottom-up community consultations provided inputs to MoEs that are helping to strengthen the national curriculum framework and education policy (Outcome 1 level result related to policy). Secondly, as noted by UNICEF Somalia staff the MoEs,

while not yet formalizing community level youth-led consultation mechanisms, have begun this process. Once formalized, this would demonstrate achievement with *PBEA Outcome 2 level results for increasing institutional capacity to provide conflict sensitive education services*.

Lessons Learned and Recommendations

There are a number of lessons learned that are useful for future education programmes in Somalia, as well as donor-funded state building initiatives that aim to support peacebuilding. These lessons are reviewed along a 'framework' of lessons drawn from other countries and are further related to progress with achieving PBEA Outcomes 1, 2 and 3.

Lessons Learned with Engaging Youth and Communities for Peacebuilding through Education

Inclusive peacebuilding (contributions to PBEA Outcomes 1 and 3)

- The peacebuilding strategy applied via the youth-led community consultations proved highly inclusive and offered traditionally excluded groups an opportunity to contribute to a national development process. For most community members, this proved the first time that they ever had such an opportunity. While the intervention was primarily geared toward addressing youth marginalization, the positive impacts for communities should not be ignored.

- The process for conducting the curriculum review introduced an approach that has the potential to address historical legacies of authoritarian national governments and 'top-down' governance systems. The inclusive and participatory nature of consultations created a strong sense of ownership among communities with the national curriculum framework, a framework which balances

regional sub-national dynamics by focusing on broadly acceptable competencies that can be used across the entire country.

Balancing national and local ownership through bottom-up state building (contributions to PBEA Outcome 1…and more)

- Managing the tensions between 'national ownership' and 'local ownership' is difficult in many post-conflict or conflict-affected settings. The successes with the bottom-up state-building approach applied via youth-led consultations offers a useful strategy for other development partners to employ.

- By using educational curriculum as a 'connector', actors at different levels (including local clans) found agreement on common areas that balanced local, sub-national, and national considerations. Strengthening education policy or institutional capacities to provide conflict sensitive education services thus seems secondary to the model of engagement applied by the PBEA programme.

- More importantly, the process speaks to the potential of a more inclusive and responsive form of governance. The strategy applied by PBEA and AET offers a model of state-building that utilizes sectoral services as a 'transformative peace dividend' that can strengthen inclusive forms of governance and promote forms of 'social justice' that address a range of conflict drivers identified in the 2014 CA.

Potential for Promoting legitimacy of national governance systems through sectoral services (contributions to PBEA Outcomes 2 and 3…and more)

- Difficulties with promoting inclusion have been known to undermine the legitimacy of state and reinforce (or create) a 'disconnect' between state and society. Youth-led community consultations have had several tangible benefits in this regard.

- The mechanism for allowing direct community inputs into the development of the national curriculum framework was welcomed by the majority of community members (*Outcome 2 result for strengthening institutional capacity to deliver conflict sensitive education*).

- The positive form of agency demonstrated by traditional leaders and the constructive manner in which communities participated in consultations reflected improving attitudes toward government (*Outcome 3 results promoted through changing attitudes supporting peaceful conflict resolution*).

- The collaborative nature of the process in which key segments of society from national, sub-national and local levels worked together to support the consultations also demonstrated improving 'state-citizen' relations. This is noteworthy as improved 'state-citizen' relations has been identified as an effective 'pathway' toward peace and sustainable development in other fragile and conflict-affected settings.

- However, the sustainability of such change depends on whether consultative community-level mechanisms are institutionalized, and taken to scale, so as to support bottom-up community participation in national level decision-making processes.

Empowering youth to become 'constructive citizens' (contributions to PBEA Outcome 3)

- In many fragile settings there are weaknesses with engaging youth in a systematic manner. In Somalia, engaging youth in a 'constructive' fashion is complicated by a context in which traditional systems, clan hierarchy, vested business interests, and cultural authority remain the main foci of decision-making.

- Youth-led community consultations focused on building upon the potential for positive youth agency by facilitating their participation in decision-making processes and strengthening their leadership and marketable skills.

- Findings are inconclusive about whether increased youth participation is actually addressing deep-seated problems of youth alienation. However, an 'exit evaluation' conducted by AET after the first round of youth-led consultations found that some 95% of youth facilitators reported that their participation in the consultation process had assisted them in appreciating the divergence of views among different stakeholders (*i.e., PBEA Outcome 3, changing attitudes and behaviours to support peaceful conflict resolution*).

- Evidence is more conclusive regarding successes at creating space for youth to be involved in decision-making processes.

- At every level observed (government, community, traditional authority, clan) the role of Somali youth (both male and female) was accepted and perhaps equally important, valued. When calculating the number of community leaders involved in local consultations, their level of support was roughly 99% (*i.e., PBEA Outcome 2 related to creating institutionalized mechanisms to support youth participation in decision-making processes and delivering conflict-sensitive education services and PBEA Outcome 3, changing attitudes and behaviours to support peaceful conflict resolution*).

- The support demonstrated by local community leaders for youth-led community consultations suggests that, if provided space to participate in such processes, traditional authorities can support inclusive governance processes.

- These achievements did not occur haphazardly, but were the product of a systematic strategy designed to engage youth in a bottom-up peacebuilding process. This demonstrates how UNICEF has applied important lessons learned from other countries.

- It is too early to determine whether the attitudinal changes among youth and adults will be sustained. Following consultations, no formalized structures were established at community level to build upon the gains made over a period of some nine months. Nevertheless, the gains made in such a short period show that 'quick peacebuilding wins' are attainable if managed and applied effectively.

Strengthening Social Cohesion (contributions to PBEA Outcome 3)

- Interventions that create 'relationships and coalitions among local actors' (what the PBEA might refer to as 'strengthening social cohesion') has been identified in several studies as an effective pathway to address 'fragility' and strengthen resilience in fragile settings.

- In the Somalia context, KAP findings show that one of the greatest obstacles to strengthening social cohesion is the lack of inclusive community level mechanisms that connect communities of different backgrounds.

- In this regard, a more immediate impact of the *youth-led community consultations acted as a community-level mechanism strengthening social cohesion* by bringing together people who otherwise never would have come together. This helped to establish cross-cutting social networks and positive relationships across a number of different social groupings, and thus validates the TOC underpinning this initiative.

- Two important lessons emerge here. *First*, community consultative mechanisms bring with them a strong potential for strengthening social cohesion in fragile and conflict affected settings – so long as they are managed well. *Second*, to ensure that improving levels of social cohesion are sustained and built upon, the government needs to institutionalize community level mechanisms that can provide a social space for groups to come together to inform national development strategies in a constructive manner.

Promoting equity through education and inclusive forms of governance (contributions to PBEA Outcomes 1 and 3)

- A key case study finding is that the equity strategy advocated by UNICEF is strongly aligned to bottom-up state building processes that promote inclusive forms of governance in fragile and conflict-affected settings. Additionally, equity strategies for promoting participation and inclusion work to empower local communities and support sustainable peace and development in fragile settings by strengthening the relationship between state and society, while at the same time ensuring that education services are better suited for equipping children and young people to become constructive members of society.

- While the sustainability of results achieved for promoting youth empowerment remains a question mark, it is likely that results with strengthening the curriculum framework and in turn promoting inclusion through a relevant and inclusive curriculum will be sustained. This may yield long-term benefits for future generations of Somali children and youth. This further validates a guiding TOC which suggests that conflict sensitive education policies create an enabling environment conducive to peacebuilding.

Gender Sensitivity and Marginalized Groups

- The objective of ensuring gender balanced youth facilitation was effective with some 56% male and 44% female youth facilitators. This gender-balanced approach helped to solicit equitable representation of males and females during community consultations.

- However, a gender-balanced approach was problematic because of local cultural restrictions prohibiting them from interacting privately with males. This suggests that gender-balanced strategies need to be sensitive to such matters and adhere to Do No Harm.

- Including people with disabilities proved challenging, with youth facilitators noting that people with disabilities were not adequately represented.

Managing implementation challenges

- The handling of implementation challenges experienced at different phases of the youth-led consultation demonstrated a high level of flexibility in responding to the priorities and schedules of government partners. This suggests that, rather than working to UNICEF's agenda and prioritizing 'efficiency' over sustainable peacebuilding outcomes, *the PBEA programme applied lessons learned about ensuring government and local ownership of peacebuilding programmes in order to support a bottom-up state building process*.

Recommendations

There are practical entry points for addressing issues of political structure and the management of public services in a way that can promote more inclusive forms of governance and address a number of factors creating risks for young people in Somalia. In light of the findings presented in this case study, these include peacebuilding through education, youth empowerment, and strengthening inclusive forms of governance to support bottom-up state building. Several recommendations are provided along these lines.

Governments of Somalia and partners

- **Support bottom-up state building through participatory planning and policy development processes.** To sustain and further capitalize upon the gains of youth-led community consultations, the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) should formalize community-level participation mechanisms in all public sectors;

- **MoEs should continue to address issues of equity by promoting a relevant and inclusive curriculum.** Over the long-term this will help to attack root causes of marginalization, thereby better addressing the needs and conditions of future generations of Somali children;

- **Include conflict analysis modules in the curriculum at appropriate levels.** At the outset, these analyses should be of inter-clan and inter-ethnic conflicts in other countries (not Somalia) and how these conflicts

impact upon peace and development;

- **Make education inclusive of all minority groups,** including those people with disabilities;
- **Encourage research into and teaching of Somali traditions** of peacebuilding, religion and culture, which are at odds with the violent, extremist and unjust practices that sparked and maintained Somalia's wars, divisions and lack of equitable development;

UNICEF Somalia Education Team

- **Maintain contact with the trained youth facilitators.** There should be some kind of follow-up to maintain the momentum for change among those who have proven themselves to be talented facilitators;
- **Ensure that education is both inclusive and relevant to local needs.** Supporting decentralized models of education that ensure economic and cultural relevance of learning, while still ensuring universal standards and transferability between regions;
- **Share curriculum framework tools.** UNICEF along with other agencies could present best practices, such as the inclusion of conflict sensitivity, life skills, gender equality, and other components, for building a curriculum framework that promotes social cohesion and resilience;

- **UNICEF global policy documents on equity should reflect the linkages between its equity agenda and peacebuilding in fragile settings.** This case study shows strong linkages between the different dimensions of equity in education with quality and relevance of learning, and bottom-up peacebuilding processes. UNICEF Global policies should be updated to reflect those linkages;

- **Consistently apply conflict sensitive monitoring tools to education programming supported by UNICEF.** No clear evidence was found that such a system was being applied by AET with the youth-led consultation. Better application of conflict sensitive monitoring tools will allow for much stronger analysis of change processes and dynamics related to conflict and peacebuilding.

Peacebuilding Education and Advocacy

1. Programming Context in Somalia

1.1 PBEA Background

The Peacebuilding Education and Advocacy (PBEA) programme is a four-year, $150 million initiative established in 2012. Funded by the Government of the Netherlands (GoN), the programme aims to strengthen resilience[1], social cohesion[2] and human security in fragile and conflict-affected contexts by improving policies and practices for education and peacebuilding.[3]

PBEA represents a continuation of the work of UNICEF and the GoN to implement education programming in conflict-affected and emergency settings. Specifically, PBEA followed the Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition (EEPCT) programme, carried out from 2006 to 2011 in 44 countries.[4] However, the specific focus on peacebuilding means that the PBEA programme is the first within UNICEF that explicitly aims to work on factors giving rise to conflict by utilizing social services such as education to support peacebuilding. The global PBEA programme is based on an overarching theory of change (ToC) adapted to specific country contexts to ensure that programme activities address specific conflict drivers.

Figure1. UNICEF PBEA Implementing Countries

PBEA TARGET COUNTRIES				
West and Central Africa	**Eastern and Southern Africa[5]**	**Middle East and North Africa**	**South Asia**	**East Asia and Pacific**
Chad, Cote D'Ivoire, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone	Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya (via Dadaab refugee camp), Somalia, South Sudan, Uganda	Palestine, Yemen	Pakistan	Myanmar

---

1 Resilience denotes "an ability to recover from or adjust easily to misfortune or change" (Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary). Programmes such as PBEA are aimed at improving social resilience, which has been aptly defined by Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013) as comprised of three dimensions: "1. Coping capacities – the ability of social actors to cope with and overcome all kinds of adversities; 2. Adaptive capacities – their ability to learn from past experiences and adjust themselves to future challenges in their everyday lives; 3. Transformative capacities – their ability to craft sets of institutions that foster individual welfare and sustainable societal robustness towards future crises."

2 Social cohesion has been defined in various ways. A recent report by the OECD (2011:53) "calls a society 'cohesive' if it works towards the well-being of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalisation, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust, and offers its members the opportunity of upward social mobility." The report cites the similar definition of the Club de Madrid (2009) "Socially cohesive or 'shared' societies are stable, safe and just, and are based on the promotion and protection of all human rights, as well as on non-discrimination, tolerance, respect for diversity, equality of opportunity, solidarity, security and participation of all people, including disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and persons."

3 UNICEF (2014) 'About.' *Learning for Peace*; http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/about/learning-for-peace/.

4 The goal of EEPCT was to support countries experiencing emergencies and post-crisis transitions in the process of sustainable progress towards provision of basic education for all.

5 Kenya is also included via support to the Dadaab refugee camp to address cross border conflict risks associated with Somali refugees.

PBEA Programme in Somalia – overcoming fragility through education and peacebuilding. The renewed interest in the resilience agenda following the Horn of Africa crisis in 2011 led UNICEF to begin shifting from a strategy revolving around frequent emergency-based operations (i.e., constantly responding to cyclical emergencies) to one that seeks longer-term resilience. Recognizing violent conflict as a key determinant undermining the resilience of communities and contributing to cyclical humanitarian crises, in 2012 UNICEF formally launched the PBEA programme as a pilot initiative to support strengthening resilience and social cohesion. Within the framework of resilience in Somalia, this pilot programme seeks to reduce the impacts of shocks when they do occur and to support a more sustainable upward development trajectory for children and young people by addressing factors that undermine societal resilience against violent conflict.[6]

PBEA arrived at an auspicious time when the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) adopted a Compact as part of the New Deal for Fragile States to determine the priorities of Somalia for 2014-2016. The process, based on the Busan New Deal principles, was initiated in December 2012, by the FGS and the international community. In March 2013, the FGS and representatives of the Somali Federal Parliament, Somali civil society, the United Nations and the lead donor representative (European Union) established the High Level Task Force (HLTF) to guide and support this endeavour, on the basis of mutual accountability. All three sub-national entities of Somalia (NEZ, NWZ and CSZ), donor countries and UN agencies agreed on priority actions for the 2013-2016 period. The PBEA intervention contributes to Peace and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs) 4 (Economic Foundations: Generate employment and improve livelihoods) and 5 (Revenue and Services: Manage revenue and build capacity for accountable and fair service delivery).[7]

The PBEA programme commenced in Somalia in September 2012 with the launch of a Fast Track approach to reach children in newly accessible areas pending the completion of a conflict analysis. Based on the findings of the conflict analysis presented in November 2013, the programme was refined and made relevant to the local context through several technical reviews through which inputs were provided to the management team from field offices in Somalia and UNICEF's Regional Office, allowing fully fledged programme implementation to begin in 2014. A key activity introduced to address conflict drivers related to risks of youth alienation and marginalization, weakened traditional conflict resolution systems, and the weakness of nascent national governance systems, was the engagement of youth in facilitating community level consultations for strengthening the national curriculum development process to promote bottom-up and inclusive state building. It is this youth participation in the curriculum consultation process that the present case study explores.

Other activities under the PBEA programme were linked to the goals of improving education service delivery and at the same time empowering youth. Together with the Somali Federal Government, foundations were laid for a joint UNDP/ILO/UNSOM/UNICEF initiative on Youth Political and Social Empowerment. A Schools as Sub-national entities of Somalia of Peace (SZOP) pilot involved 1800 primary school children in Puntland, using performance art and community outreach to promote conflict resolution at community level that aims to strengthen social cohesion.

---

6   UNICEF (2015, forthcoming), *Programming for Sustainable Results in Fragile and Conflict Affected Settings through Education – PBEA Lessons Learned*, UNICEF ESARO

7   Members of the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding ("the Dialogue"), comprised of the g7+ group of 19 fragile and conflict-affected countries, development partners, and international organisations, met in Busan, Korea, 29 November – 1 December 2011. They agreed that a "new development architecture and new ways of working, better tailored to the situation and challenges of fragile contexts, are necessary to build peaceful states and societies", which they presented in the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States (the "New Deal"). They agreed to use the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs) to guide work in fragile and conflict-affected states, and subsequently a set of indicators for each goal were developed by fragile states and international partners in order to track progress at the global and the country level (International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding 2011). The EU has pledged to support Somalia in the framework of the "New Deal" (Harper 2013).

Figure 2. Map of Somalia

Economic and social inclusion of youth is also an objective that PBEA is working toward through the Youth Education Pack (YEP) modules, which provide literacy, numeracy and skills training to 500 disadvantaged youth in CSZ (4 locations) and 450 youth in NEZ (3 locations). Another 1000 children are being supported in transitioning from Accelerated Basic Education (ABE) to upper primary school in NEZ. Measuring the peacebuilding impacts of these interventions on increasing social cohesion and resilience is also being attempted through case studies and the implementation of a Knowledge, Attitudes and Practice (KAP) survey. Monitoring capacities of UNICEF's office and its partners were also strengthened by a comprehensive M&E framework supported by ESARO and Search for Common Ground (SfCG).

PBEA interventions in Somalia also build upon existing 'system strengthening' initiatives within the education sector in a way that will ensure conflict sensitive education service delivery by the government, thus supporting peacebuilding processes broadly. Capacity development in the Ministries of Education in the three sub-national entities of Somalia—Puntland/North East Zone (NEZ), Somaliland/North West Zone (NWZ) and Central South Zone (CSZ)—made possible the Primary and Secondary School Censuses in Somaliland and Puntland and a second School Survey conducted in 16 districts of Banadir region in CSZ. This support helped to provide data for evidence-based sector planning and policy development that will address issues of inequity, which were identified in the 2014 conflict analysis as critical factors contributing to pressures for conflict across the three sub-national entities of Somalia of Somalia. The Education Management Information Service (EMIS) data obtained, it was hoped, would start informing equitable programming from 2014 through Education Sector Strategic Plans, Joint Education Sector Reviews, and school resource distribution plans. These latter initiatives introduce conflict sensitive approaches to education sector planning. PBEA interventions also build upon the recent successes of national Go-to-School campaigns (G2S). The latest round of the G2S campaign (2013-2016) and donor initiatives converge to support responsible government in ways that bode well for the future sustainability of education in the three sub-national entities of Somalia of Somalia (MoHDPS 2013:4-5):

- The call for the G2S Initiative was made by the three Ministries of Education (MoEs) and are being led and coordinated by the federal ministry;

- In 2012, the three MoEs were supported in the consultative process of developing Education Sector Strategic Plans (2012-2016), a major milestone for all three administrations. The G2S Initiative is fully aligned with the respective Education Sector Strategic Plans (2012-2016);

- Harmonisation has been enhanced by local education coordination mechanisms, reducing duplication and improving transparent use of resources in the sector;

- The importance of education for economic growth has been recognized across the three sub-national entities of Somalia, evidenced by slowly increasing education budgets;

- Three years of capacity development have improved planning, policy development and implementation capacities in the three Ministries;

- Development of an effective Education Management Information Service (EMIS) enabling improved evidence-based planning, improved quality assurance systems, and in the northern regions limited financial reforms;

- Growing donor confidence to support MoE-led programming (rather than projects), multi-year predictable funding from the EU, Government of the Netherlands funding for PBEA, UNICEF initiatives for pastoralist education, DfID funding for girls education, and Global Partnership for Education (GPE) funding for teacher management systems all provide programme synergies, and put Somalia on track towards establishing an Education SWAp.

Case Study Methodology and data sources. The case study methodology adhered at all times to UNICEF's guidelines on research ethics and procedure for quality assurance in UNICEF research.[8] This case study was first informed by a literature review on the history

---

8   UNICEF ERIC Compendium at http://childethics.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/ERIC-compendium-approved-digital-web.pdf.

of conflict and role of youth in Somalia. A mixed methods research approach was utilized for this case study drawing upon primary qualitative and quantitative data sources as well as a review of primary documentation related to programme implementation. This approach was used to ensure triangulation of findings across the different data sources.

Semi-structured and structured key informant interviews. Fieldwork was conducted over a period of one week during two visits to Bosasso and Galkayo (Puntland, Somalia) in September 2014. The data gathering methods included conducting semi-structured interviews and remote follow-up interviews with programme staff, youth, and implementing partners inside Somalia. All participants were informed of the purpose of the research and consented to participate. Questions were designed to explore the experiences of youth about the training they underwent, the conduct of consultations with communities including the reactions of communities, and their own personal reactions and the benefits they felt in relation to 'empowerment' and skills development. Follow-up structured interviews using guided questioning techniques were used for remote discussions with key informants to fill information gaps that emerged during initial report writing phases and later report revisions. In total, 30 key informants participated in the case study interviews, including local Somali youth, UNICEF staff and those from PBEA's implementing partner AET. This included interviews with 16 UNICEF staff at Country and Field Office levels, partners, experts, and curriculum development consultants in Nairobi, Kenya and in Somalia (CSZ, NEZ and NWZ); interviews with 9 youth taking part in and leading community-level consultations inside Somalia, and interviews with five government authorities in Somalia with whom the PBEA project interfaces.

Primary document sources. The PBEA programme and its implementing partner AET provided access to all available programme documents that outlined progress and challenges with different phases of implementation. These included AET monitoring and implementation reports and PBEA Annual Reports and monitoring data. The

documents were reviewed to gain an accurate understanding of the process for implementing youth-led community consultations and their achievements at different stages of the process. Secondary data was also provided in the form of Field Diaries completed by youth facilitators. These diaries were designed to act as a monitoring tool that could be drawn upon to understand how the community consultations were implemented and identify challenges or successes in the field. All available diaries were reviewed and, where more pertinent, drawn upon to inform qualitative analysis of the case study. A simple content analysis of journal entries was also completed to identify the extent to which youth engaged effectively with communities. This was done by coding entries such as 'no obstacles encountered'. The study also drew on 'exit surveys' conducted for youth facilitators by AET that asked several questions related to changes in their attitudes as a result of their participation in the programme.

KAP survey and quantitative data analysis. In May 2014 a Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices (KAP) survey for social cohesion was administered across the different regions of Somalia where PBEA was implementing (or about to start) programme activities. Initially developed in South Sudan, the survey was designed with a range of variables to construct a composite indicator for social cohesion based on five discrete domains commonly referred to in academic literature. These were developed in order to measure peacebuilding impacts being achieved with programme beneficiaries. The domains of the composite indicator, each treated individually but given weighted values,[9] include:

- **Trust and Tolerance** – the extent to which respondents exhibit trust and acceptance of others in their community (15%);
- **Civic and Social participation** – the extent to which respondents contribute time and effort to civic and social activities that cut across identity lines (30%);
- **Inclusion in governance processes** – the extent to which respondents report a sense of 'empowerment' in government decision-making processes (20%);

---

9 Domains in the analytic platform were weighted to account for biases with subjective survey questions balanced with more objective questions, particularly those around group interactions and civic engagement.

- **Attitude toward Social Services** – the extent to which respondents are satisfied with the quality and relevance of education (or other social) services (20%), and
- **Constructive dispute resolution** – the attitudes and practices of respondents about non-violent dispute resolution (15%).

The survey was later adjusted to the contexts of Somalia, South Sudan, and the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya. Due to perceived challenges of conducting surveys in Somalia, the adapted instrument in Somalia incorporated a smaller number of variables compared to other countries, which brings with it certain limitations with creating robust composite indicators. In an effort to develop comparable cross-country datasets, the KAP instrument was also subsequently aligned to surveys being conducted by the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative in Uganda and Burundi, where population-based surveys were launched in late 2014 to measure social cohesion.

In Somalia, the sampling method utilized simple randomized technique using as its sampling frame the lists of direct and indirect programme beneficiaries of three programme streams. These included a NRC-supported Youth Empowerment Programme (YEP) (698 respondents), AET Youth facilitators for curriculum review (419 respondents), and community level respondents via a Schools as Sub-national entities of Somalia of Peace Intervention (242 respondents). Across the different programming streams the survey covered a cross-section of society: educated youth, unemployed youth, adolescents in and out of school, and community members (a total 1359 people - 51% male, 49% female). The survey was implemented by local Somali youth trained as enumerators who used mobile technologies and paper-based surveys to collect data, with data integrated into an online analytical platform with pre-set analytics and filter options to allow users to conduct simple analysis of survey data that was developed by Echo Mobile.

Limitations. The following limitations should be taken into consideration when reviewing this report:

- All face-to-face meetings were held in the UN compounds due to security concerns. The meetings required a high level of organisation due to poor infrastructure, long distances,[10] availability of transport,[11] and a variety of security issues;
- Restriction to the UN compounds meant it was not possible to visit communities, government offices, schools, or meet with youths, parents or local leaders at consultation locations within local communities[12];
- As PBEA programme interventions are still underway, the analysis of the programme and its impacts is necessarily partial.[13] This study was being written up as the second round of community consultations was being completed, where youth facilitators presented the draft curriculum frameworks incorporating the findings from the first community consultations;
- The KAP survey data utilized in this report is highly representative of direct and indirect programme beneficiaries, but cannot be taken as a nationally representative sample. As such, the survey has inherent sampling biases and requires additional population based weighting to adjust. With these caveats in mind, KAP data in its current form provide a very useful snapshot of key variables related to social cohesion which are used where appropriate in the body of the report. Preliminary findings drawn from the Echo mobile platform are presented to highlight the user functionality of the platform and different findings of the overall survey and differences between the groups surveyed, and;
- To mitigate the above constraints, extensive desk research and contacts were maintained by telephone and e-mail with programme participants to monitor the impacts PBEA was having. UNICEF's Eastern and Southern

---

10   AET staff travelled 8 hours to and from the regional Puntland capital Garowe to meet the consultant in Bossaso.

11   A problem with the landing gear of the turboprop plane on which the consultant was traveling to Galkayo almost caused the second trip to be cancelled entirely, though all the meeting participants had been assembled as planned. Fortunately, the meetings could be reconvened when a transportation solution was found.

12   Following the killings of two UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime) investigators in Galkayo in April 2014 (Siddique 2014), UN compounds were required to substantially reduce staffing, leaving very few spots available for consultant visits.

13   See Annex A for a description of the results and activities for the PBEA programme.

Africa Regional Office (ESARO) also provided extensive support in reviewing and finalizing the writing of this report.

1.2   Somalia Profile

Education. Prior to the introduction of a few Western schools in towns during the colonial period, Koranic Schools were the only sources of education in Somalia, providing Islamic religious education. Modern western-style education expanded during the early and middle period of the socialist military government (1969-1980), but suffered later as the military expanded due to the cold war and internal conflict, squeezing the education budget. Prior to the outbreak of civil war in 1991, "Somalia's public education system had already virtually ceased functioning in the mid-1980s" due to diversion of public finances for social services such as education to military use, the departure of teachers and administrators seeking better remuneration elsewhere, and the fact that education alone was not providing gainful employment (UNDP Somalia 1998:68-69). This is not surprising when considering the generally low quality of education that was not "well-aligned" to local economic realities or pastoral livelihoods.[14] Primary school enrolment was estimated at 18% for boys and 6% for girls in 1987, among the lowest in the world (Somali Democratic Republic and UNICEF 1987), essentially creating a first 'lost generation' of youth who had never received any formal education.

The collapse of education in Somalia came with the onset of the civil war in 1991, when almost no formal education took place for at least two years, from 1991 to 1992 (Bekalo et al. 2003:462-464).[15] As Somalis are finally re-emerging from decades of conflict, they are reaffirming their beliefs in the value and necessity of general education, particularly now for opening up spaces for youth, preparing them for the emerging roles created by new economic forces, and helping to harness Somalia's culture and tradition for the benefit of all.[16] The 'aspirational hope' that Somalis place in education is demonstrated by a PBEA KAP survey conducted in 2014, which found that over 96% of all people surveyed (n = 1359) feel that education is important for their future (PBEA Somalia KAP Survey 2014).

While Somalis place much aspirational value in education, decades of conflict have left the country with one of the world's lowest enrolment rates for primary school-aged children. A second 'lost generation' of youth resulted from the outbreak of civil war in 1991, which meant very limited funding was available for repairing damaged or destroyed schools, paying teachers, or simply ensuring that the majority of children in the country could access education. In the early 1990s, nearly all children were out of school.

From the mid-1990s, international donor aid began to flow in focusing on Education for All (EFA) goals, leading to small gains with increasing children's access to education. While beyond the scope of this case study, the extensive support provided to education in Somalia arguably led to marginal improvements for children's access to education. The 2005/2007 UNICEF Primary School Survey found a Gross Enrolment Rate of only 27.9% of school-aged children (22.1% for girls) for primary schools in Somalia (UNICEF 2006). Today, still only 42% of children are enrolled in school (47% boys, 37% girls). Yet, the net attendance ratio (in 2006) for primary school was only 25% (male) and 20.8% (female). The secondary school net attendance ratio (in 2006) was a meagre 9.5% for boys and 4.6% for girls (UNICEF Somalia CO 2015a). The number of out-of-school and at risk children and youth aged 6-18 years has been estimated at 4.4 million, out of a total population of 9.2 million (or over 50%). Meanwhile, 68% of youth in the 14-29 age group were unemployed (MoHDPS 2012).

---

14 As Bekalo et al. (2003:463) note, "colonial education was designed for the administrative and low-level technical needs of the imperial power".

15 An estimated 90% of all schools were either completely or partially destroyed in the aftermath of the civil war. Many were occupied by IDPs (Sesnan and Milas 1995, cited in UNDP Somalia 1998:70).

16 Sagal Isak, Director of the Constitutional Development Department, Ministry of Constitutional Affairs and Reconciliation, has contributed to the Davos World Economic Forum blog calling for guaranteed youth education and youth empowerment through employment and granting of political space.

Conflict and Fragility. While some may argue that with the formation of a Federal Government and military gains against Al-Shabaab security has improved in Somalia and has supported a transition to a 'post-conflict' phase, the risks of violent conflict at localized levels remains severe. In the Central South Zone (CSZ) some rural areas remain under the control of the Al-Shabaab (AS) group, despite tangible gains of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) offensive. At the same time, longstanding interregional political disputes have still not been resolved, despite the relative 'calm' experienced in 2014.[17] Additionally, Al-Shabaab continues to actively target the UN in Somalia. On 20 April 2015, between 7 and 10 workers, including 4 UNICEF staff, were killed when a suicide bomber attacked a van transporting them in Garowe, NEZ. Conflicts also still occur due to local and regional clan-based disputes, generally over access to resources, and escalate owing to easy access to weapons. As this case study was being finalized, the Saudi Arabia-led coalition of nine Arab states began Operation Decisive Storm in Yemen against the Houthis and forces loyal to former President Ali Abdullah Saleh. Somalis represent 95% of the refugee population of Yemen, or an estimated 236,000 (UNHCR 2015a). Earlier victims of war and people trafficking in Somalia, numerous Somalis have been flooding back across the Gulf of Aden to NWZ and NEZ in small boats to flee the war in Yemen, creating further pressure in a country still struggling to recover from decades of conflict and fragility.

1.3 Historical Overview of Conflict and Post Conflict Reconstruction in Somalia

For the last twenty-five years, most news reports and information coming out of Somalia have depicted extreme anarchy and lawlessness in which warlords, piracy, terrorism and corruption flourish amid famine, drought and population displacement.[18] Indeed, since the inception of the Fragile States Index in 2005, Somalia has scored no "better" than seventh, and every year from 2008-2013 was considered the world's most fragile state.[19] In many ways, however, these depictions underplay significant changes taking place in Somalia in recent years. Even during the most difficult times of the last two decades, many of Somalia's communities have been surprisingly resilient. In some areas of the country, relatively 'stable' forms of governance are emerging (on Somaliland, see Renders 2012) and in some sectors of the economy, life and business have gone on, even thrived (Little 2003, Mubarak 1997, Powell et al. 2008).

Somalia is a land of contradictions. On the one hand, it is a vast land unified by a shared ethnicity and language (Somali), religion (Islam), and dominant traditional livelihood (nomadic herding). The area occupied by the Somali ethnic group, including Somali-majority areas in the border areas of neighbouring countries,[20] is often considered one of the most culturally homogeneous regions of Africa, even though such characterizations gloss over significant minority populations (OCHA 2002). On the other hand, Somalis are divided by politics and by clan identities, the two often coinciding (United Nations Security Council 2014:8). Political economic and ecological changes have transformed pastoralism, on which over 65% of the population depend (Hosken 2011). In 2011, nearly a third of the country's 9 million population was in crisis due to drought, with estimates suggesting that well over 200,000 people died (the majority being children and adolescents under the age of 18) while in some communities 80% or more of the livestock died.

Unlike other self-governing units of Somalia, the former British colony of Somaliland (or North West Zone, NWZ) declared outright independence from Somalia in 1991. Though it still does not have international recognition, Somaliland has the most stable and secure governance structures of any of the three regions of Somalia. As early as 1993, the

---

17 For a map showing the approximate control of Somalia's territory as of 14 October 2014, see Dahl 2014.

18 Two recent books have the evocative chapter titles "Into the Pirates' Lair" (Bahadur 2011) and "An African Stalingrad: The War Against al-Shabaab" (Fergusson 2013).

19 Somalia went to second position when South Sudan took the top spot in 2014 (http://ffp.statesindex.org/rankings-2014).

20 Greater Somalia includes the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, the North eastern Province of Kenya, and South eastern Djibouti.

Borama Conference or clan council (*shir*) set up democratic representative institutions for Somaliland (Prunier 2010, Renders 2012). Three presidential elections have been held since 2003, and the next is scheduled in 2015. Many observers agree that Somalia could learn much from Somaliland about creating a functioning polity (Harper 2012:125-141).

Puntland (or North East Zone, NEZ)[21] was declared by its leaders to be an autonomous state in 1998. The western provinces of Sool, Sanaag and Cayn (SSC) are disputed, claimed by Puntland, Somaliland and the Dhulbahante-based political organization Khatumo that is pursuing the creation of a state within Somalia separate from Somaliland and Puntland.

The southern part of the territory that became Somalia soon after Independence (the former Italian Somalia), or the Central South Zone (CSZ), includes the capital Mogadishu, and is considered the most fragile and violent of modern Somalia. Supporting the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS), AMISOM forces together with Raskamboni militia are engaged with AS fighters in the south.[22] Complicating this continuing campaign is a bitter conflict begun in 2013 and still ongoing involving clan militias of the Biyamal (Dir) and Habar Gedir (Hawiye) in Lower Shabelle and the Abgaal (Hawiye) and Shiidle (Bantu/Jareer) in Middle Shabelle (United Nations Security Council 2014:8). Meanwhile, numerous other clan-based conflicts exist in the CSZ.[23] Despite being less secure than NWZ and NEZ, the situation in CSZ is improving steadily. In March 2015, Qatar announced a new air link with Mogadishu, the second international carrier to fly to the Somali capital since Turkish Airways began flying to Mogadishu in early 2012. In the same month, the United States announced it was reopening its embassy for the first time in over twenty years.

Efforts to understand what lies behind the success and failure of peacebuilding and development in Somalia have received a boost from recent reappraisals of history, social structure, and the role of kinship. Traditional academic studies of Somalia tended to accentuate the rigidity of the clan, sometimes presenting 'essentialist' or 'culturalist' readings of Somali culture that suggested immutability, permanence of violence, and clannism, and underestimating the role of colonialism and globalisation (e.g., Lewis 1999 [1961]). Recent studies have made understanding Somalia much more complex and nuanced, highlighting the diversity of the country's people and showing how the notion of clan has been manipulated for personal gain, reinvented in response to external forces, or incorporated in innovative governance structures (Renders 2012, World Peace Foundation 2013). Many are of the view that externally imposed top-down formulas are rarely the solution to Somalia's problems,[24] but the complex parameters of these Somali solutions and the paths taken to reach them have not often been analysed in depth.[25]

Youth and clan are two keywords that could well be analysed more effectively together than separately. On the one hand, Somalia's youth (usually considered as between the ages of 14 and 24) are exalted, on the other excluded. The Somali Youth League (SYL), initially known as the Somali Youth Club (SYC) and established in 1943 in Mogadishu, was the country's first political party and it played an instrumental role in Somalia's independence. The 13 original members of the SYL, belonging to four of the five major clans, refused to disclose their clan affiliations as a statement of unity. Al Shabaab (which means "The Youth") also exalts the role of youth, and its recruitment strategy has targeted youth.[26] Yet despite the glorification of youth in Somalia's

---

21 Puntland's official name is the Puntland State of Somalia.

22 Despite reductions in the territory controlled by AS, vanquishing the terrorist group will be a long drawn-out struggle. The group has a reservoir of financial and ideological support in Somalia and in neighbouring countries among Somali minorities; force of arms will not be enough. Effectively countering AS will require national and local reconciliation processes at all levels of Somali society, facilitating local clan dialogue and reconciliation (as outlined in the National Stabilisation Strategy, NSS), focusing on local political grievances and new approaches to local and regional administrations (ICG 2013).

23 For detailed mapping of the conflicts in CSZ, see Somalia CEWERU 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2013.

24 "We conclude that it frequently is better to allow for bottom-up, organic, disjointed negotiation of indigenous governance solutions (even though they probably will not conform to Western ideas of liberal democracy) than for the international system to impose top-down answers." (Leonard and Samantar 2011)

25 For exceptions, consult Renders 2012 and Ridout 2012 on Somaliland's path; for CSZ, see Leonard and Samantar 2013.

history and politics, youth have generally been given little place in society, and usually find themselves relegated to minor supporting roles, serving elders who retain most positions of any authority. An exception was during the height of the civil war (from 1991-1995) when youth seized the forefront as "cannon fodder" and armed support for warlords and gained a reputation for extreme violence (Mohamed-Abdi 2001/2:69). They were still most likely manipulated by the elders of their respective clans, who used them to extend their power bases and expel other clans from their territory, paying youth in cash and khat (*Catha edulis*) for their services. They were often strongly incited by their families (fathers, uncles, grandfathers, themselves active members of political parties or sympathizers) to take part in armed struggles, and pillage (Mohamed-Abdi 2001/2:76). These youth may be compared to the traditional adolescent boy who has come of age, the *gaashaanqaad* (shield-carrier, warrior), who will as a herder, farmer or artisan, defend the clan. In both cases, the roles are similar, of subalterns, though in traditional society there was at least the possibility of assuming increasingly important roles in decision making with age. Youth have had to overcome the negative image many of them earned during the long period of armed conflict between 1977 and 1993 when "armed youth constituted a serious destabilising factor: militiamen, child soldiers and young people, having lost all hope of their own, frustrate the hopes of others" (War-torn Societies Project 1998:20).

Today, youth are still at risk of recruitment in clan-based conflicts, which feed on a sense of inequity or exclusion. An example in late 2014 in Awdal region, to the west of Somaliland, is a political entrepreneur who has been able to muster clan-based support from local youth to start a militia vying for the secession from Somaliland and pledging allegiance to the FGS. The sense of exclusion and lack of opportunity also puts youth at risk from traffickers, who promote illegal emigration (*tariib*) from Somaliland and Puntland.

1.4 Contemporary Conflict Drivers and Their Impacts on Education and Youth

To identify the specific entry points that UNICEF programming could use to support peacebuilding through education, a study was commissioned to explore the linkages between education and conflict in the three sub-national entities of Somalia of Somalia. A research team from the University of York trained Somali researchers to gather, review and analyse field data from the three sub-national entities of Somalia between March and December 2013, through a participatory methodology called Conflict, Peace and Situation Analysis (CPSA). This case study will look primarily at programme linkages between education, peacebuilding and youth based on the early feedback received from participants. Brief references to conflict will be made only to illustrate how identified conflict drivers have changed or emerged since the York University conflict analysis was completed.[27]

UNICEF CO (2013a, 2013b) has chosen for its programming needs to focus on four key drivers among the many identified through CPSA for each region of Somalia (see Barakat et al. 2014).

- Marginalisation of youth;
- Loss of traditional values and a culture of violence;
- Access to / conflict over (natural) resources;
- Weak education sector management and governance systems.

Marginalisation of youth (and communities)

Marginalisation of youth stems in part from the rigidities of the clan system, which entrusts most decision making power and influence in the hands of clan elders, but at the roots of youth marginalization and frustration are also found complex historical, cultural, political economic and environmental factors, a history of centralized and authoritarian governance structures lacking transparency and accountability, to which must be included the steady erosion of the national education system from the end of the 1970s (Mohamed-Abdi 2001/2).

---

26 "At the beginning, the concept was to recruit young people (e.g. the name of the organisation) and use mostly religious discourses to convince them [to join the] Jihad. The war situation and the Ethiopian/US/AMISOM presence enlarged the possibility of recruiting disenfranchised and frustrated youth who could be indoctrinated ideologically thanks to a strong cadre of committed fighters and commanders" (Marchal 2011:5).

27 Readers interested in more detailed information and analyses of conflict dynamics in different parts of Somalia are encouraged to consult the York University study directly.

Among the conflict drivers affecting youth:

- *Unemployment*, leading youth to join militia groups or AS, or engage in illegal trade (charcoal, ivory, drugs), piracy,[28] or legitimate businesses set up with ill-obtained finances. Youth accept manipulation and assume high risks due to the lack of alternative employment. Youth become increasingly disillusioned and some turn to radical ideologies proposing "solutions" to their marginalization;[29]

- *Clan conflicts* invariably involve youth as they escalate to physical violence. Youth from an urban-based underclass as well as nomadic/pastoral youth were called by clan leaders to take part in the civil war in Mogadishu, revealing class and rural-urban tensions that some argue are equally valid explanatory factors in Somalia's predicament as are primordial clan hostilities (Ahmed 1995, Little 2003:53-54, Samatar 1992).

- High levels of public sector corruption combined with weak transparency and accountability mechanisms in Somalia work to reinforce clan-based rentier systems in war or peace;

- *A war economy* develops as violent conflicts persist. Youth are used to enforce rentier systems in war;

- *Ideological lure of terrorism* (on motivations for supporting AS see Hansen 2013:3-12). Although ideological attraction appears to be a much weaker motivation than unemployment for most Somali youth, poverty and personal insecurity are correlated with religious attitudes. AS capitalised on an ideological vacuum, the humiliation of many Somali diaspora groups characterised by relative deprivation, and other psychological factors working particularly upon youth, both in-country and among the diaspora. Some recruitment is forced, and even when voluntary youth are particularly vulnerable due to their age and lack of religious knowledge (Marchal 2011:39);[30]

- *Freelance crime.* A source of conflict in many areas is provided by freelance youth, who engage in livestock raiding (sometimes cross-border with Ethiopia) or set up roadblocks to extract levies, without clan sponsorship;

- *Expatriation* deprives the country of potential, and puts youth at grave risk.

Unemployment and youth marginalization is increasingly being seen as the most important conflict driver in Somalia. A conflict mapping exercise in Bakool, CSZ (Somalia CEWERU 2012a:20) found that 75% of those who joined AS did so to find employment, food, shelter, and social contact, or to evade hard labour of farming or animal herding, at a time when government forces were not paid or given food rations. In this regard, the lack of 'social contact' emerges as a critical factor. Instructive here is the PBEA KAP survey conducted in 2014.[31] The survey found that weakest domains of social cohesion are with 'Civic and Social Participation' and 'Attitude toward Social Services'. At the same time, for community members surveyed via the Schools as Sub-national entities of Somalia of Peace intervention (and most likely to be representative of broader societal levels of social cohesion), the domains of 'Civic and Social Participation' (.05) and with 'Attitude toward Social Services' (2.22) were much weaker when looked at in relation to the overall dataset. This suggests that a key weakness with social cohesion relates to a lack of community level mechanisms that help to bring people together in a constructive manner (i.e., for civic and social engagement), as well as poor quality of services.[32]

28 Piracy has been decreasing since 2013 due to the posting of armed guards on many ships passing through the Gulf of Aden. However, in March 2015 an Iranian trawler was seized in what was the first successful hijacking in three years (Horseed Media 2015). There is fear that illegal fishing by foreign trawlers could revive piracy in the waters off Somalia.

29 The most important factor in the decision to join such groups would appear to be (at least in Somalia) for employment or simply survival, but some individuals could be attracted by what they see as a sense of mission, or provision of community and fictive kinship (Atran 2010).

30 For an extensive discussion of AS recruitment strategies and youth, see Marchal 2011:39-51).

31 PBEA Somalia, KAP Survey 2014.

32 While full analysis of the survey data has not been conducted, this is consistent across several PBEA countries that implemented similar surveys (Ethiopia, South Sudan, and Kenya-Dadaab). Worth noting is that levels of social cohesion for Somalia are almost certainly overstated because of the sampling biases. For example, demographic data related to educational attainment shows that of the total sample, some 27% have completed a university degree (n = 1359) – which is much higher than representative national data. Rates reported here on 'how much government listens when planning' or 'to what extent schools help people in their daily lives', while already fairly low, are in reality probably even lower.

Figure 3. Social Cohesion by domains

Social Cohesion Composite Indicator with Weighted Domains, overall (n = 1359)

Domain	Score
Social Cohesion Weighted Score	2.93
Constructive Dispute Resolution	3.85
Attitude Toward Social Services	3.4
Inclusion in Government Processes	3.87
Civic and Social Participation	0.99
Trust and Tolerance	4.01
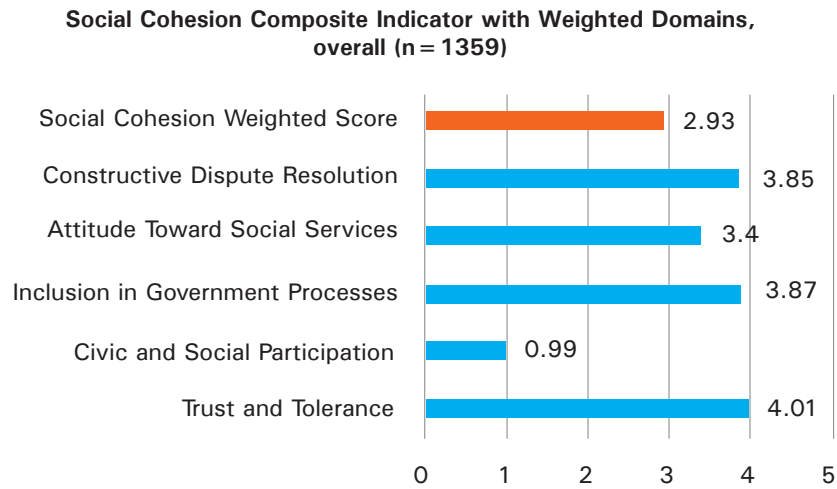
Figure 4. Social Cohesion for Community Sample

Social Cohesion Composite Indicator with Weighted Domains, SZOP (n = 242)

Domain	Score
Social Cohesion Weighted Score	2.52
Constructive Dispute Resolution	4.18
Attitude Toward Social Services	2.22
Inclusion in Government Processes	3.16
Civic and Social Participation	0.90
Trust and Tolerance	3.65
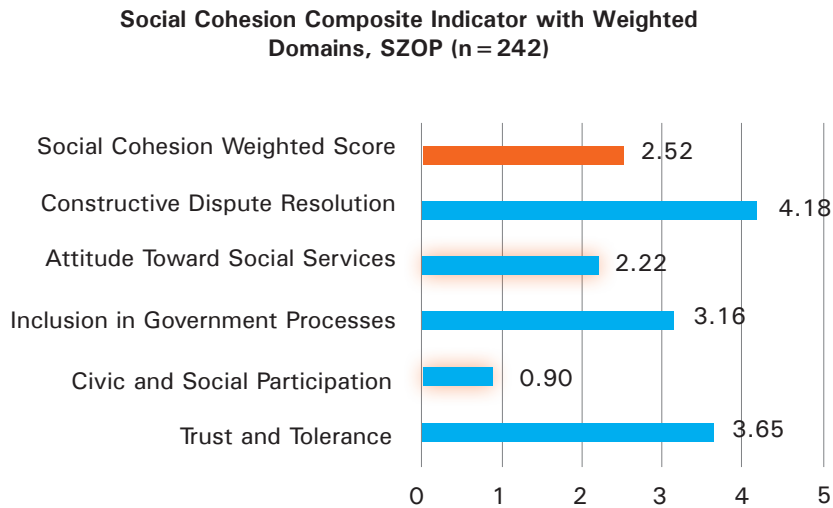
Figure 5. Type of Group Interaction – AET vs SZOP Samples

Are you a member of a community group? (%)

	Yes	No
AET	63.7	36.3
SaZOP	36.4	63.6
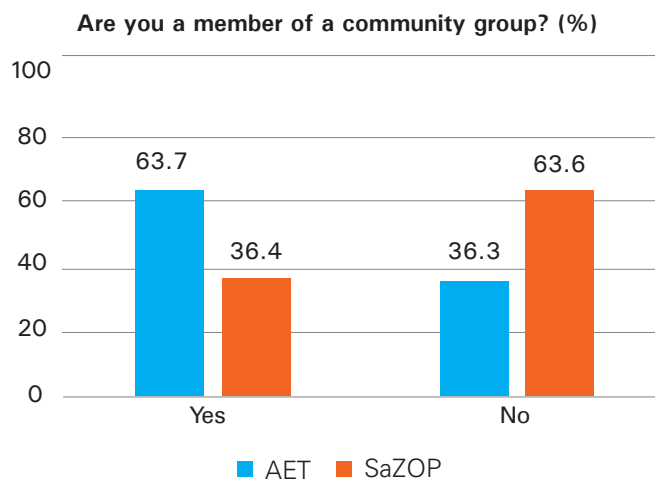
PBEA Somalia KAP Survey

Figure 6. Inter-clan relations

Percentage of those who are in groups which include people from other clans (%)
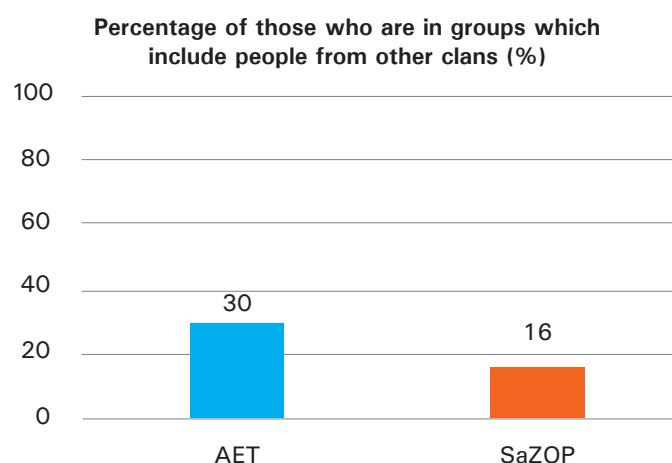
PBEA Somalia KAP Survey

'Civic and Social Participation' of community members also seems very 'inward' and does not, on the whole, foster interactions across group or identity lines. For example, 64% (n = 242) of community level respondents answered that they are not a member of any type of community group.[33] Of the remaining 36% who were members of some type of community group, only 48% reported that the group membership included people from different clans. Put differently, from the overall sample, only 18% of community level respondents belonged to a group that includes people from other clans. Data for youth participating in the AET youth-led consultations, on the other hand, was somewhat better with only 36% (n = 419) reporting that they are not a member of some type of community group. However, less than half (48.6%) reported that the membership of

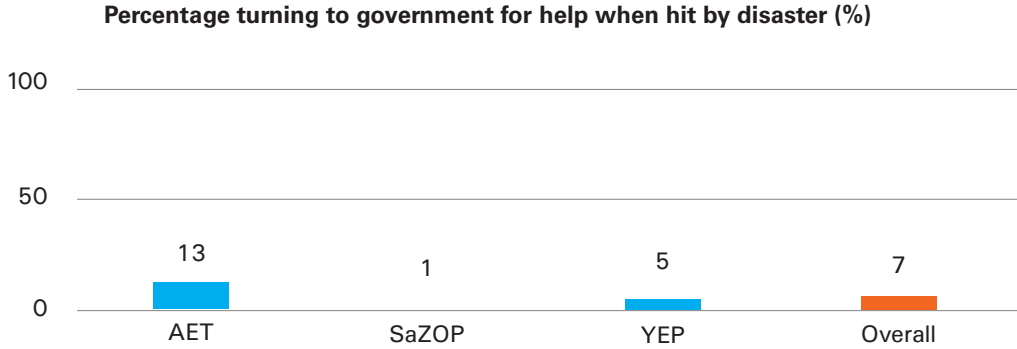their groups included people from other clans.

Another major weakness relates to 'attitudes toward government services', and perhaps the national government more broadly. The survey underlined several weaknesses relating to the perceived usefulness of government services and the ability of government to support communities during times of stress (or crisis). When asked 'to whom they turned' the last time they experienced some type of disaster, overall only 7% of respondents answered that they turned to government for help. However, this was lowest for community level beneficiaries via the SZOP intervention, with only 1% (n = 242) answering that they turned to the government.[34] At the same time, only 32% of community respondents felt that government would listen to them when planning some type of education project (or policy) (28% for women and 36% for males).

---

33 Future analysis of KAP survey data would provide useful insights by comparing results across the different sub-national entities of Somalia.

34 AET beneficiaries surveyed also reported low levels, with only 13% (n = 419) saying they turned to the government for support.
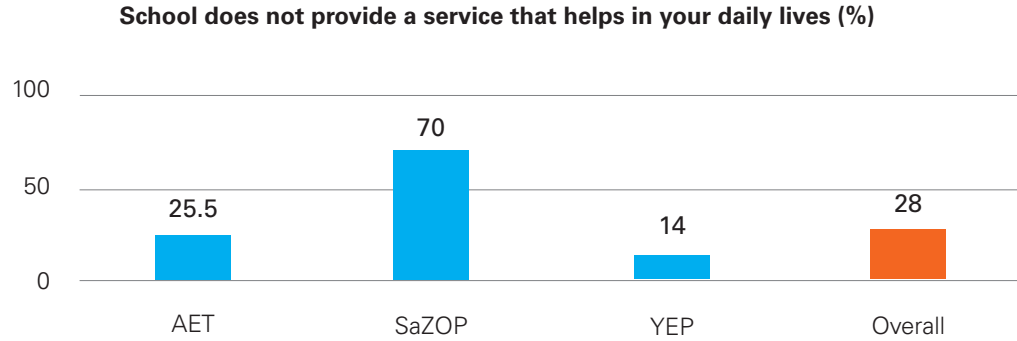
Figure 7. Percentage of respondents who turn to government for help during a crisis

Percentage turning to government for help when hit by disaster (%)

	AET	SaZOP	YEP	Overall
	13	1	5	7

PBEA Somalia KAP Survey

Figure 8. Relevance of Education Services (%)

School does not provide a service that helps in your daily lives (%)

	AET	SaZOP	YEP	Overall
	25.5	70	14	28

PBEA Somalia KAP Survey

In relation to the 'quality' and relevance of education services, overall 28% of respondents noted that schools do not provide services that are useful for their daily lives.[35] Interestingly, those who most answered that school is useful for their daily lives were adolescents and youth who had never attended school, or who were out of school and were receiving vocational training support via the NRC-supported YEP programme (only 14% reported that school was not useful for their daily lives). However, those who most frequently answered that school is not useful for their daily lives were community level respondents via the SZOP intervention (70%).

Such findings, however, are not surprising. As noted in Section 2.1, a major challenge in fragile and conflict affected settings is the gap between 'state and society', which is often reinforced by the low quality or availability of public services or government support mechanisms. Somalia thus seems little different in this regard.
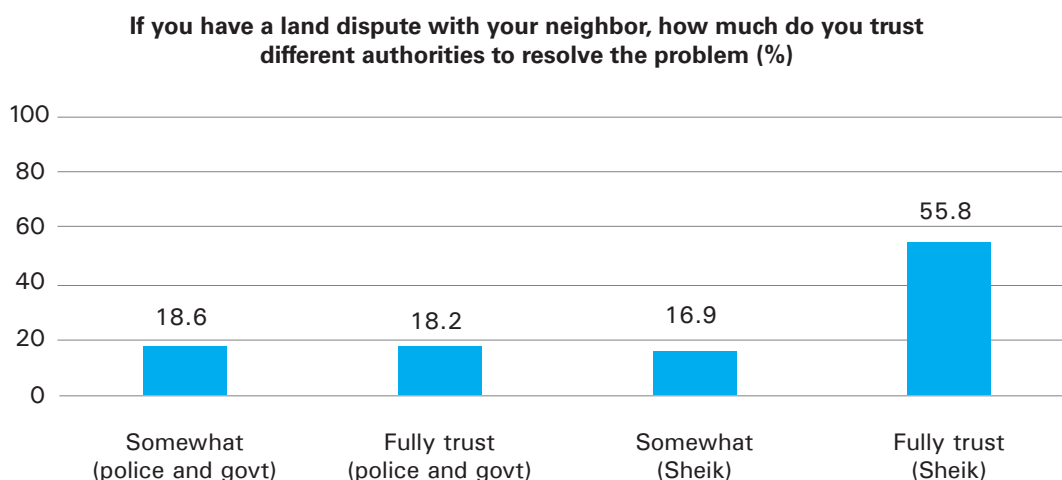
---

35 While there are potentially weaknesses around the 'meaning' of the question, it was geared toward identifying to what extend respondents felt that education services helped equip communities with skills based on their economic and cultural realities.

Loss of traditional values and a culture of violence

"Traditional values," "culture of violence" and other terms, such as "identity", are often used to pack up a number of specific causes of conflict and violence for particular ethnic or sub-ethnic (e.g., clan) groups, especially for external audiences and policy-makers. Following the trend in contemporary academic social science, where use of such terms is more circumspect, the York University conflict analysts use the terms sparingly, explaining them with reference to specific phenomena. So long as these terms are unpacked at some point (in texts, trainings, or educational modules, for example), and "traditional" is defined more rigorously, the terms serve a useful purpose. To avoid giving the impression that these values are timeless or permanent, that they define the ethnic group or clan and become stereotypes, UNICEF and AET regard them as more temporary attributes that have emerged due to structures, incentive arrangements, political economies, environments and so on, and that can be changed through positive changes in the latter. The importance, and ongoing strength of traditional authority, as opposed to state authority, is also underlined by the PBEA 2014 KAP survey. For example, several KAP survey questions, which ask to what extent communities would trust different authorities in helping to resolve a land dispute, consistently show much higher levels of trust in traditional authorities as opposed to state authorities. Only 37% of community respondents reported that they would trust government (fully or somewhat combined), compared to 63% of the overall sample. Conversely, 72% of community respondents said they would trust (fully or somewhat) their 'Sheik', or clan elders, compared to the combined sample of 1359 that showed 92% of respondents would trust their sheik). Levels of trust among community members towards authority figures tend to be lower than those youth who were surveyed, but across all key programme beneficiary groups trust appears much higher toward traditional community level leaders when compared to government institutions.

Figure 9. Community levels of trust toward state and traditional authorities

If you have a land dispute with your neighbor, how much do you trust different authorities to resolve the problem (%)

PBEA Somalia KAP Survey (n = 242)

Access to / conflict over (natural) resources

That control over natural resources often lies at the source of conflicts in Somalia is not new. Youth play vital and traditional roles in guarding over family herds of cattle and camels, and preserving farmlands and livelihoods. Access to key resources such as water, livestock, pasturelands, good agricultural lands, and firewood is constrained, thus control over the access to such resources can often become a source of rentier income. Various groups, including AS, have sought to control charcoal production and export, for example in CSZ, and youth are useful for policing smuggling networks from the source woodlands to the coast.[36]

Education sector management and governance systems

All of the above conflict drivers are exacerbated by the lamentable state of the public education system in the three regions, which is reflective of the broader governance challenges facing the newly constituted federal authorities.

- **Access to education** for the last 25 years has been either non-existent or unequal, leading to a "lost generation" lacking basic literacy and numeracy skills, as well as the 'softer' civic and social skills engendered through education. *Moreover, the lack of education services had a hugely detrimental impact upon communities by denying the majority of Somalis a mechanism at community level (i.e., schools) that could foster civic and social participation through community participation in children's education.* Virtually no schooling was possible in the country in the early 1990s. Between 2000 and 2007, less than 25% of children had access to primary school, and 6% to secondary school (8% for boys, 4% for girls; UNESCO 2015);
- **Illiterate youth are particularly vulnerable** to exploitation and manipulation as they are unable to access basic information

processing, critical thinking, numeracy and other communication and social skills and are stuck in a 'poverty trap', or are pushed to the fringes of the social economy and fall prey to radical and criminal groups who can offer them food, employment and an illusory liberation from their disempowerment;

- **Lack of sufficient classrooms and teachers for many schools** means teaching is done in shifts, which leads to student absenteeism and difficulty for teachers to cater to individual needs of students (Omar 2014);
- **Low teacher salaries and motivation,** resulting from high teacher:pupil ratios leads to poor quality of education, high levels of early school leaving, and difficulty recruiting teachers or preventing high levels of teacher absenteeism[37];
- **Inability to pay fees for secondary school keeps** youth from completing their education, even when they have been fortunate enough to obtain access to free primary education;
- **Education is devalued in the eyes of youth** when they see politicians and officials with little or no educational qualifications in positions of authority. Reflecting the impacts that weak governance and virtually non-existence of transparency and accountability mechanisms, youth will logically surmise that education is not the best route to wealth, power and security (Omar 2014);
- **Gender gaps are compounded by social inequalities:** secondary education completion rates are poor and gender gaps wide in enrolment throughout Somalia; moreover social inequalities compound the difficulties (for example, young women from affluent backgrounds have far better access to education than do other young women);
- **Potential 'ideological conflict' between secular and religious education systems.** In the absence of functioning governmental structures following the onset of civil war, rebuilding some semblance of education provision was left to various NGOs and private individuals (Abdinoor 2008). As a result, over the years as the international

---

36 Recent reports suggest this lucrative charcoal trafficking is continuing apace, allegedly benefiting from corruption in high places (Okoth 2015). The need to help youth obtain employment and livelihoods, even when they are out of school, is behind PBEA's investment in non-formal education. PBEA interventions under this outcome (PBEA global outcome 4: increasing access to conflict sensitive education) support youth efforts to gain independent livelihoods, in order to decrease the likelihood that they will feel socially marginalized and economically despondent, conditions that leave them vulnerable to recruitment into extreme ideologies or armed groups.

37 A Somaliland education analyst noted these problems with teachers and teaching quality brought on by paucity of schoolrooms and teachers (Omar 2014).

community increased its support to Somalia the reconstruction efforts have promoted two systems: a secular education system that uses the Somali language as medium of instruction and receives aid from UNICEF, UNESCO, major donors and other international development actors, and an Islamic-based education system that primarily uses Arabic as language of instruction and is often supported by non-state actors from Arabian countries (Elmi 2010:108).[38]

38 A convincing argument has been made for 'widening the focus of Koranic schools to include primary education as envisioned by the Somaliland white paper on education. Koranic schools have the advantage of high coverage, low cost and willingness of parents to pay.' (Morah 2000:305)

English

Inspector walked
...e two men, When they
...hey began to run,
...ried to catch them
...an too quickly
...d power to his so...
...e tall one and I wi...
...hort one.
...sa chased the two
...ht them.
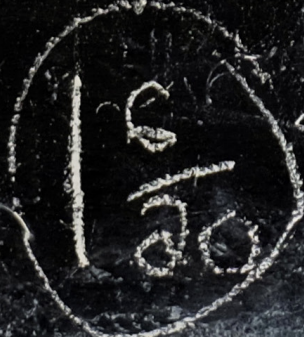
2. Curriculum Development as Bottom-up Peacebuilding

2.1 Theory of Change – Addressing Youth Marginalization through Curriculum Development

The brief overview above identifies how education has been affected by history, culture, politics and governance. The review also demonstrates that education is a key 'actor' in the promotion of conflict or peace and directly impacts upon the prospects of youth to become constructive members of Somali society by facilitating the skills required for achieving sustainable livelihoods and interacting peacefully with a broader polity, or through the perceptions and attitudes created toward the State (see below). As suggested by the York Conflict Analysis completed in 2014, education services have historically contributed to pressures for conflict in a number of ways:

1. **Low relevance and quality** deskilling adolescents and youth, fuelling economic and political marginalization;

2. **Weak governance and corruption,** fuelling predatory governance dynamics of state, which in turn promote negative and sometimes violent or criminal behaviour among youth;

3. **Content of curriculum,** did not promote an inclusive or empowering national identity uniting Somalis because it was based on a 'modernist' curriculum and competency framework. Essentially reproducing various forms of 'cultural violence', it was not well-suited toward the realities of the majority of Somalis who adhere to pastoral lifestyles;

4. **Inequities** produced/reproduced by the education system and the distribution of resources and facilities;

5. **Lack of space for communities,** especially young people, to participate in the development of education policy and curriculum.

For PBEA programming in Somalia, the overarching programme *Theory of Change (ToC)* was adapted to reflect the priority interventions for peacebuilding based on Somalia's history of conflict, a recent conflict analysis, and country specificities that include addressing risks of youth marginalization and weak governance and education sector service delivery systems (UNICEF Somalia CO 2013a).[39] The design of activities for youth participation in facilitating community consultations for the national curriculum was further informed by lessons learned with post-conflict reconstruction efforts in other countries. The lessons related to promoting inclusive and participatory governance systems to support bottom-up state building processes, and thus help to address the legacies of authoritarian or 'top down' regime types.[40] While the literature on bottom-up state building in post-conflict settings is extensive (often framed as governance reforms and decentralization), two recent pieces are worth highlighting so as to demonstrate the linkages between youth marginalization, conflict, closed governance systems, and the potential peacebuilding impacts of the PBEA youth intervention through national curriculum development.

A review of four different country case studies completed by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation identifies a series of relevant lessons learned with bottom-up peacebuilding processes. In referring to a separate Somalia case study that was part of their review, the authors note that.

---

39 See Annex A for a complete list of the ToC points.

40 For example, see: Jarat Chopra (1999) *Peace-Maintenance: The Evolution of International Political Authority,* New York: Routledge; Jarat Chopra (2002) 'Building State Failure in East Timor', *Development and Change* 33(5), pp. 979-1000; UNDP (1997, March) *UNDP and Governance: Experiences and Lessons Learned,* New York: Management Development and Governance Division, UNDP. On 'regime types' see: Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (1996) 'Political Science: The Discipline', in G.R. Goodin and H. Klingemann (eds.), *A New Handbook of Political Science*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 17-20; and J. Kaveli Holsti (1997) *Political Sources of Humanitarian Emergencies*, Helsinki Finland: United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research, UNU/WIDER.

> The Somalia case study provides evidence that locally owned peacebuilding processes have the best chance of success. A brief review of history shows that internationally led peace initiatives…[in Somalia]…have not succeeded in part because both neighbouring countries and international actors have pushed for outcomes that fulfil their own agendas. Somaliland and Puntland are presented on the other hand as examples of regions within Somalia where peacebuilding initiatives have been successful because they were locally led… The Somalia case makes the point that the international community can advocate for the formation of national independent commissions that promote local peacebuilding within the framework of national peacebuilding and statebuilding priorities. In any instance, a delicate balance is needed to ensure that local peacebuilding instruments are strengthened, but not at the expense of national statebuilding objective (Gruener and Hald. 2015: 2-4).

The authors also point to several weaknesses common to peacebuilding processes including:

- Peacebuilding interventions have tended not to be inclusive and/or transparent, leaving certain segments of the population feeling excluded and thus resulting in a lack of local ownership;
- All four of the case studies highlight a tension between "national and local ownership", a disconnect and "sense of exclusion", creating societal tensions needing to be managed carefully to avoid "further stressing state-society relations in an already fragile context";
- Barriers to promoting inclusion highlighted the weaknesses with the legitimacy of governments and leaders;
- Top-down approaches create gaps with the communities that are the focus of assistance. Women and other marginalized groups interviewed as part of the Somalia case study noted a sense of 'exclusion' and stated that "the top-down approach to peacebuilding, primarily focused on statebuilding, will not lead to sustainable peace";
- Indigenous structures and traditional or religious leaders are often overlooked, thus leaving underutilized their potential to support peacebuilding, while sometimes creating pressures for renewed conflict;
- Even though comprising a critical cross-section in all the case study countries, systematic inclusion of youth in peacebuilding processes appeared lacking.

At the same time, the review notes several 'good practices' and lessons learned to apply to peacebuilding interventions in fragile settings. These include:

- Take a supporting role to local level initiatives, empower local communities, and build on the strengths of traditional local structures and authority;
- Recognise that local ownership is more important than efficiency;
- Promote community consultations to support inclusion in government decision-making processes, thus reducing the 'gap' between state and society;
- Ensure that excluded groups are provided an opportunity to participate in consultative processes to avoid new patterns of exclusion, particularly for women and youth (Gruener and Hald. 2015: 2-4).

The potential peacebuilding results that can be achieved by applying such principles are also demonstrated by a recent study from Guinea. The study examines the extent to which donor-funded sectoral service delivery has reduced fragility by strengthening local governance through "collaborative governance between local officials and communities" and improving "state–citizen relations" as one "pathway" toward peace and stability in fragile settings. The study found that by focusing on

Citizen engagement with local officials, coupled with transparency and mutual accountability, [the intervention] led to better services, changed attitudes and increased trust [among communities toward the State]. Individual agency and leadership [also] emerged as important success factors. (Arandel et al. 2015: 985-1006)

While the study notes challenges with sustainability due to weak state capacities, a

highly promising lesson relevant for initiatives like those promoting youth participation in curriculum development is that "supporting stability-enhancing governance through incremental interventions that create relationships and coalitions among local actors" is a potentially effective pathway to addressing pressures for conflict and strengthening resilience at local levels (Arandel et al. 2015: 985-1006).

These different sources of information and conceptual understandings were used to inform key aspects of the Somalia PBEA TOCs, specifically those related to addressing youth marginalization and increasing state-society relations. Of the five PBEA outcomes and their related TOCs, two particularly relevant to the Youth Consultations activities are examined below:

a) By taking into account the findings of the Conflict Analysis when preparing key education strategies, the education sector will be more conflict sensitive and become a better enabling environment for peacebuilding through education service delivery.

c) If youth are given a voice and an active role to engage with communities and decision makers across clan, social and cultural lines then this will give rise to a sense of constructive citizenship and improve social cohesion within and between groups, contributing to a reduction of violence in target locations / intervention groups.

In adjusting the PBEA ToCs for the specific context of Somalia, the CO has been working to address the more pertinent conflict drivers identified in the 2014 conflict analysis, i.e., the role of marginalized youth in fuelling conflict and patterns of exclusion being created by weak governance systems. Youth have traditionally been excluded from community-level decision-making due to clan structures, while communities more broadly have also been excluded from 'top down' decision-making processes of national governments in the past, and even recently with the top down nature of New Deal Statebuilding strategies that prioritize constituting federal authority.

A proposed solution is thus to involve youth in activities that will restore in them a sense of constructive citizenship. This will validate their place in their communities, while

allowing communities to appreciate the valuable role that can be played by youth. The assumption is that long-term impacts from such activities could include reduced risk of violence by youth, who will have become less marginalized, and higher levels of social cohesion in communities that are able to integrate and appropriately value educated youth and appreciate the skills they contribute. In seeking community inputs to national curriculum framework, the programme also addresses youth 'unpreparedness' for employment by strengthening the relevance of formal curriculum frameworks, promote access to education and public services, and increase tolerance – critical areas cited in the 2014 Conflict Analysis. Moreover, the consultative participatory community dialogues for informing national curriculum frameworks, it is hoped, will help to strengthen state-society relations by empowering local communities and giving them voice in a national decision-making process that directly affects their households.

Case study research findings are explored below to test the degree to which these ToC assumptions are substantiated.

2.2 Government, UNICEF and AET Working to Promote Inclusive Governance

AET and UNICEF Support for Developing the National Curriculum Framework. AET arrived and began working in Somalia in 1996, when many other international NGOs were leaving Somalia after the aborted UN Peacekeeping mission. AET has successfully operated through local staff and institutions through successive cycles of drought, famine and conflict (AET 2015a). AET has a long history in supporting both primary and secondary education. According to the PBEA technical advisor on curriculum, one AET activity that clearly stands out is the support for national examinations in the three regions. AET is clearly seen as a trusted partner in education by most Somalis. AET is well-known for its extensive experience in curriculum and educational development in a number of African countries. Given its ongoing support to the national curriculum development processes and extensive local networks, AET was a logical partner for the PBEA in Somalia.

By establishing offices in the main towns and recruiting personnel in the regions, AET has developed social capital with key and influential leaders in government, business and civil society. It also has good working relationships with other NGOs working in the education sector. In Puntland, the AET offices are housed within the Ministry of Education compound. The MoE involves AET staff in its activities, including inspection and examinations. District and Regional Education Officers (DEO, REO) confirmed the positive roles AET is playing in developing education in Puntland. The PBEA technical advisor has received similar praise for AET from Ministers of Education and DGEs in the three sub-national entities of Somalia. All trainings were opened and closed either by Ministers of Education or Director Generals of Education (DGEs). This demonstrates the political goodwill that AET has garnered so far in the regions.

AET has been working with the MoE on two European Union (EU) funded programmes to develop a new national curriculum framework and road map for future development and implementation: the Somalia-Wide Education Synergies (SWES) programme, worth 5 million euros and the Integrated Capacity Development in Somali Education Administration (ICDSEA) programme. Like PBEA, both cover the three sub-national entities of Somalia of Somalia. SWES focuses on education issues which are better addressed on a Somalia-wide basis for reasons of transferability, such as examinations, curriculum, scholarships and networking between the regions. SWES and ICDSEA both involve training and sensitisation of key ministry personnel and relevant education stakeholders, exploration of key curriculum issues and the development of a framework outline.

Governments in all three sub-national entities of Somalia of Somalia, UNICEF and partner organisation AET set a goal of promoting education that is responsive to local and national needs and aspirations and that is locally owned. At the same time, there is a keen desire among all partners to develop curriculum frameworks in the three sub-national entities of Somalia that ensure academic portability and transferability, made possible by an essential similarity between the contents of the three curriculum frameworks. The engagement with Somaliland provides a good example of how the partners together approached the political challenges of curriculum development across the three sub-national entities of Somalia.[41]

Somaliland Government, AET and UNICEF – developing a locally owned and relevant education curriculum framework. In 2012, the MoE recognised the need to review the school curriculum to make it responsive to the changing needs and aspirations of people in Somaliland. It sought the technical expertise of AET to support and set in motion a process of curriculum reform. A curriculum development road-map was agreed upon. Somaliland's bid for political independence, however, has raised a challenge of developing a curriculum that might not create a sufficiently inclusive framework that accommodates sensitivities across the different sub-national entities of Somalia. To overcome this challenge, the strategy adopted was to move forward with a "transformational" curriculum that makes no reference to any of the regions. Somaliland was the first zone to organize a curriculum framework conference along these lines. AET and UNICEF were able to accommodate this request, while still ensuring transferability that is necessary for regional academic and professional integration and development.

Consequently, the Ministry of Education conducted a needs assessment exercise in all regional centres of Somaliland to seek views of a cross-section of stakeholders with regard to challenges and shortfalls of the existing curriculum and solicited their needs, expectations and aspirations. As follow-up, a national conference was organised which brought together technical experts and a cross section of stakeholders to discuss education reforms that Somaliland needed so as to achieve quality education. There was general consensus that the existing curriculum was not responsive to the contemporary needs and aspirations of Somaliland and that curriculum reform was a matter that demanded urgent attention. The findings from the needs assessment exercise and recommendations emanating from the national conference culminated in the drafting of a curriculum framework for both primary and secondary education. This was a major milestone as the

Ministry of Education had for the first time developed a document that provides guidance on the scope of the curriculum and how it should be delivered.

Two high level meetings involving MoE officials from Curriculum Department, Quality Assurance Department, Examination Board, Primary Education Sector, Non-Formal Education Sector and Higher Education Sector, guided by the Director General of the Somaliland MoE and AET's Technical Adviser on curriculum, were then convened to focus on two salient issues in the perspective of designing outcome based education (OBE):

• Review of the national curriculum activities (successes and challenges);

• Defining the nature and appropriateness of curriculum reforms and their implications.

At these two meetings, a shared understanding of the kind of reforms needed and the adoption of outcomes based education (OBE) were achieved. OBE was seen to address weaknesses in curriculum through setting clear learning outcomes to be attained by learners, focusing on:

• A clear definition of what students should learn;

• Students' progress must be based on demonstrated achievement;

• Multiple instructional and assessment strategies;

• Provision of adequate time and assistance so that each student can reach his or her maximum potential.

Recognizing the importance of a responsive and relevant curriculum framework the meeting made the following salient recommendations:

1. **A cross-fertilized curriculum:** It was noted and observed that new curriculum was not necessarily a quantum leap. Accordingly, it was agreed that curriculum framework should incorporate some aspects of the exiting curriculum that are deemed relevant and adopt and customize salient features of an Outcomes Based Education curriculum.

2. **National curriculum:** All schools in Somaliland shall implement a unified national school curriculum as prescribed in the draft curriculum framework.

Concomitantly, teachers shall have the latitude to illustrate or facilitate learning through the provision of authentic learning experiences.

3. **Development of textbooks and Teachers' Guides:** It was agreed that MoE leads the process of developing instructional materials using available expertise within and outside the Ministry. However, in the long term a framework will be created that allows for the involvement of private publishers in the provision of instructional materials.

4. **Departmental coordination:** A mechanism should be developed to enable different organs concerned with curriculum to work as a team. The office of the Director General shall facilitate this process.

5. **Incremental curriculum implementation:** It was agreed that the implementation of the new curriculum would begin with lower primary education beginning with class one and systematic monitoring mechanism would be put in place to provide feedback (Refer to the road-map below).

6. **Formulation of an assessment strategy:** An assessment strategy that supports the curriculum's orientation should be developed and teachers should be oriented and trained accordingly.

7. **Regular continuous professional development (CPD) for teachers and quality teacher education:** The training of teachers was identified as central to the effective implementation of the new curriculum; as such CPD and teacher education should be reviewed, strengthened and aligned to the new curriculum's orientation and philosophy.

8. **Regional and international standards:** Curriculum Framework should set education standards that compare favourably with other education systems at a regional and international level.

9. **A realistic curriculum development and implementation road-map:** The original curriculum development and implementation road-map should be revised so as to focus on agreed processes/stages and coordination procedures that accelerate the implementation of the school curriculum.

10. **Resource mobilization:** The oversight committee and relevant departments of the MoE should begin mobilizing resources to support curriculum implementation activities.

This and similar engagements on developing the curriculum framework demonstrated clear achievement of PBEA Outcome 1 objectives for informing education sector policies with a 'conflict sensitive' lens, and Activity 1.1 (Conduct workshop to review all curriculum work so far and agree a participatory process as part of road map). The government also seemed to embrace the inclusive nature of the consultation process:

> The selection of curriculum consultation sites was guided by the principle of inclusivity and broad representation. This consultation exercise covered all seven regions of Somaliland namely: Togdheer, Awdal, Sanaag, Gabilay, Saahil, Sool and Maaroodijeh. The target communities are largely populated by rural and nomadic communities. This was an attempt to include the often marginalized sections of the society into key national decision-making processes. **(AET 2015d:6)**

While agreements were reached for moving forward with consultative community-level dialogues for strengthening the national curriculum, during their initial phases of implementation the SWES and ICDSEA programmes were not able to foster broad-based community dialogues to gain local inputs. As a result, the inputs to the curriculum development that were provided during the early phases of these respective programmes were drawn primarily from education experts and the 'usual' stakeholders (clan leaders, religious and business leaders).[42] Work up to that stage thus tended to mirror historically top-down governance and public sector management processes, which did not promote a genuinely inclusive and bottom-up participatory process.

Following its redesign in early 2014, the PBEA programme moved to address this weakness by partnering with AET and the respective ministries to begin a youth-led consultation process to gain inputs from a wide spectrum of social and economic groups—including often excluded groups, such as out-of-school youth, girls and the disabled—to promote a more inclusive process that would help to further strengthen the local level relevance of the national curriculum framework, while at the same time constructively engaging youth and communities in a national decision-making process.

2.3 The Youth-Led Community Consultation Strategy

To address challenges with promoting a broad-based consultative process at community level for strengthening a relevant and locally owned national curriculum, the PBEA programme initiated a youth consultation process (also referred to as the Participatory Curriculum Framework Review). The initiative was designed to complement the "Somali Wide Education Synergies" project by putting together a consultation process implicating a number of livelihood groups and stakeholders who are often left out of curriculum development. As outlined in the table below, the initiative was designed so that youth would be given a strong role in supporting the national curriculum development process by consulting groups that typically have been left out of important policy and government decision-making processes—in-school youth, out-of-school youth, women, handicapped persons, minority groups, nomads, informal sector workers, and in some instances traditional leaders at community level, to name a few—and give them a voice on a subject that affects them directly, the curriculum that they and their children will be provided to prepare for active life. This wide range of groups were asked to contribute notions and ideas of what positive values, competencies, skills and knowledge should go into the future curriculum and form the basis of what educated Somalis will learn in generations to come. A second innovation was in choosing youth (male and female) to play the most prominent role in leading the consultations, and obtain experience and marketable skills in the process.

---

42 Drawn from AET project implementation reporting.

Figure10: The Youth-Led Consultations Process and Objectives

Results/ Activities	Description
Result 1	**Findings from consultations led by youth on values and competencies for curriculum framework development are available.**
Activity 1.1	Conduct workshop to review all curriculum work so far and agree a participatory process as part of road map.
Activity 1.2	Develop and trial focus group discussion formats and tools.
Activity 1.3	Train youth facilitators to conduct consultations with target groups.
Activity 1.4	Conduct first set of consultative discussions by trained facilitators at community level, and at national level with influential groups who have a stake in education.
Activity 1.5	Conduct second set of consultative discussions by trained facilitators at community level, and at national level with influential groups who have a stake in education.
Result 2	**An enriched curriculum framework arising out of youth led consultations is drafted.**
Activity 2.1	Facilitate and guide curriculum developers on incorporating consultation feedback from the different groups into the draft framework.
Result 3	**Curriculum framework that is responsive to stakeholder needs is developed through an inclusive, consultative process**
Activity 3.1	The new curriculum framework is validated
Activity 3.3	Train the same youth facilitators to lead validation exercise.
Activity 3.4	Disseminate results and impact of consultations and validation of curriculum framework through an event covered by media.

Drawn from: AET Monitoring and Results Framework

The intervention thus sought to address a number of mutually reinforcing conflict drivers identified in the 2014 conflict analysis: youth exclusion, perceived loss of positive traditional values, closed governance systems, and an education curriculum of limited relevance to local contexts. Two rounds of consultation were planned: one to collect inputs from regions across Somalia, and a second to validate the draft framework including the inputs from the first consultation.

Selection of youth facilitators. Three sets of criteria were used to select youth for the community consultations that included: 'literacy', 'location' and 'acceptability', with adherence to these criteria determined by local community leaders where the consultations were to occur and local MoE officials. First, youth facilitators were expected to have *reading and writing skills* as the assignment required that they read documents and record discussions with community members. This meant, in effect, the selection of university students, secondary school graduates, or secondary school students in their final year. Second, *location* was critical, as the project sought to cover all geographical areas of the regions concerned. Youth facilitators were thus recruited from those areas to help gain access and facilitate a level of trust from communities that might not otherwise emerge if facilitators were not recruited locally. Nevertheless, the goal of reaching all areas was not reached due to security risks in some of the most dangerous rural areas, typically those controlled by Al-Shabaab. Third, community leaders were involved in the selection process to ensure that the youth were *acceptable to local communities*. While this last criterion facilitated trust, it was also designed to help navigate local cultural barriers and clan dynamics to ensure that communities would participate in the consultation process effectively. To the extent possible, the youth involved came from the communities where the consultations took place. This way, youth were not seen as 'outsiders' but rather as 'local

sons and daughters' with an appreciation for the local environment and community sensitivities.[43] At the same time, given the criteria for the selection of youth facilitators, many came from better-off backgrounds compared to the majority of Somalis (e.g., 53% had completed university while another 36.4% had completed secondary school, while only 10% reported that they were 'unemployed').[44]

Training of youth for leading community consultations. Following the selection of youth and the development and piloting of data collection tools, the first batch of 180 youth (NEZ: 37 F, 33 M; CSZ: 42 F, 68 M) were trained by AET jointly with representatives of the Ministries of Education. This translated into a highly gender-balanced selection with some 56% male and 44% female youth facilitators – *a highly gender-balanced process observed in Somalia*. The youth were introduced to the rationale of the programme and trained in interview techniques, ethics and data recording. It was planned that this 'ToT' method would allow AET to reach and train youth in the more remote areas of the three sub-national entities of Somalia where direct access was much more difficult and hazardous.

The rationale behind the training of youth facilitators was to provide them with the necessary competencies to conduct curriculum consultations effectively, particularly the ability to plan and to use data collection tools and acquire skills in planning, cooperation, coordination, representation, decision-making and problem solving that they could also use during the consultations but also in their everyday lives following the consultations. Plans for developing and trailing focus group discussion format and tools and training of youth facilitators were completed with an exceptionally high level of quality. AET reports showed that by the end of trainings the youth facilitators were able to:

- Explain what a curriculum framework entails;
- Describe components of a curriculum framework;
- Explain the role or importance of a curriculum framework;

- Describe different types of data collection instruments for quality assurance purposes (including a Focus Group Discussion Guide; an Interview Guide; and a Consultation Checklist);
- Acquire skills for interviewing and conducting FGDS;
- Plan for consultations and rehearse implementing consultation sessions;
- Understand and follow appropriate reporting channels as they conduct consultations;
- Record their consultation experiences using reflective journals to monitoring purposes to provide data for assessing the effectiveness of the overall process.

Youth were subsequently equipped with skills for validating the consultation findings and reporting based on key thematic education areas (access and retention, relevance, teaching and learning environment, teacher education and development, school governance and roles of stakeholders). The training approach included presentations, group work and rehearsals – an approach that provided youth with as much of a 'real life' experience as possible. Based on available reporting from AET, the overall strategy provided highly successful with youth being able to effectively solicit a wide range of community inputs and validate consultation findings with local communities, community leaders and local officials in a manner that was regarded very positively by virtually all participants (African Educational Trust 2015c).

2.4 Community-Level Consultations Promoting Inclusive Governance

Partnering with AET and the ministries provided for effective synergies across the various programmes for developing a curriculum framework.[45] AET was instrumental in obtaining the buy-in from governing authorities in the three sub-national entities of Somalia of the country for this expanded consultation process.

Governments and community leaders were engaged in dialogues to gain agreement for

---

43 Drawn from AET implementation reports. Other criteria taken into account when selecting youth were: their contribution to balance of clan and community representation, good handwriting, punctuality, patience, and respectfulness of others.

44 PBEA Somalia KAP Survey, 2014.

Figure11: Second Youth Led Consultation meeting review, Somaliland

a youth-led consultation process. Moreover, participating youth (women and men identified to act as the facilitators of the dialogues) were directly selected by the communities themselves. In the results presented below, implementation reports in field diary entries written by those youth facilitators will be cited to demonstrate the extent to which youth were interacting productively with local groups consisting of older or higher status leaders at community level. Of equal importance, the government endorsed this process by attending all meetings that analysed the outcomes of the consultations and subsequently incorporated the consultation findings into the draft curriculum framework. High ranking government officials typically provided speeches at technical meetings, which reflected a general consensus that the role of youth was valuable, and valued (see further below).

Youth participation in the curriculum framework development process thus filled several critical gaps related to bottom-up state building and supporting the emergence of inclusive governance systems. Not only did youth participation bring with it the potential of addressing key conflict drivers related to youth marginalisation (discussed further below), the consultative community level approach worked to reduce the 'vertical distance' between state and society, thus empowering communities in a national decision-making process. Based on the Field Diary entries of youth facilitators and the resounding levels of endorsement provided by government officials, the consultation process *has contributed to higher level programme objectives* of "Enhanced social cohesion through positive interactions between institutions and communities (children, youths, parents and community leaders."[46]

---

45 The EU also funds a 3.5 million euros education programme in the refugee camps at Dadaab, Kenya, where over 350,000 Somalis are currently sheltering (UNHCR 2015b).

46 On government and traditional authority endorsement see Sections 2.5 and 3.1.

2.5 Community Consultations – Reaching the 'Hardest to Reach' in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Settings

Planned for all three sub-national entities of Somalia, at the time of the in-country interviews for this case study (September 2014) the consultations had only been completed in South Central and Puntland. Though data is provided on the numbers of people consulted in the three sub-national entities of Somalia to-date, since those youth and their AET mentors, as well as government officials interviewed could best provide accurate information on the work in their sub-national entities of Somalia, these two sub-national entities of Somalia thus form the basis of the analysis of results being achieved with this intervention.

The community level consultations began in early August 2014 in Puntland and the Central South Zone. The total number of community members consulted across the sub-national entities of Somalia reached 5863 people (African Educational Trust 2015c). This included: the first consultations NEZ 1341, CSZ 1988; in the second consultation: NWZ 1534, NEZ 1000, CSZ.[47] The NWZ MoE, having already conducted wide consultations in a government-led process had a draft curriculum framework ready – hence validation consultations in NWZ were aligned with validation consultations in NEZ and CSZ held from January-February 2015.[48] Among the 5863 people who consulted by youth were local education service providers (head teachers and teachers), stakeholders (parents, local authorities, women's groups, NGOs, disabled persons, women's groups, religious leaders, local government representatives, business community) and 'clients' (in-school learners, out-of-school youth), thus involving a number of livelihood groups and stakeholders who, up to that time, had been left out of the national curriculum development process.

In the case of Puntland, the MoE had supported the process by helping to prepare the ground for the arrival of youth by holding by a Needs Analysis Consultations with community leaders in each of the seven regions of Puntland. The typical meeting brought together 27 or 28 local community leaders. This was followed by the youth-led consultations, and as outlined above, touched a much wider audience beyond the local community leaders. For NEZ, the 71 youth facilitators (37 female and 34 male were trained) were also assisted by local officials to reach at least 1470 community members through the consultations (approximately 200 persons reached in the seven regions of NEZ), and consultations held with three different communities in each of the seven region. Indications from AET implementation reports and follow-up discussions are that the target number of 1470 community members was easily met and most likely surpassed.

Reflecting the genuine commitment of each of the MoEs to this bottom-up and inclusive process, following the first round of consultations and with sufficient time for youth to produce preliminary findings, adjustments of the draft curriculum frameworks were already initiated by MoE officials. For example, the Puntland MoE began adjusting the curriculum frameworks during internal technical committee meetings, which drew on findings of the community consultations. At the same time, further curriculum adjustments were expected after the formal validation of the consultation findings. MoE officials also noted that findings from the second round of community consultations expected to occur in May – June 2015 would be used to incorporate further adjustments and to strengthen the syllabi (African Educational Trust 2015b:8, 2015c).

2.6 Overcoming Challenges to Youth-Led Community Consultations

As would be expected in a context such as Somalia, a number of challenges were encountered with the youth-led curriculum consultations that are worth reviewing briefly, as well as their solutions.

---

47 These figures were not gender disaggregated (African Educational Trust 2015c). Final count on community members reached was pending at the time of this report completion.

48 AET staff in the three sub-national entities of Somalia were contacted remotely as these return validation consultations were beginning.

At the level of AET–MoE collaboration several challenges emerged that required prudent action and sensitive strategies for engaging with ministries.

- **Initial MoE** resistance over PBEA–SWES. When the programme was first proposed to the MoE, some Ministry officials had reservations as they did not appreciate the connection between the PBEA and the on-going SWES programme under which curriculum frameworks are being developed. This was resolved through face-to-face meetings between AET and Ministry of Education officials in which the linkages between community participation with promoting effective education services were outlined. While this in part contributed to a delay in the actual field commencement of the project, at least in Puntland, it also had the clear effect of increasing the knowledge and capacity of ministry officials for delivering conflict sensitive education services.

- **Logistics and scheduling.** Planning meetings bringing together diverse stakeholders proved a constant challenge in Somalia. On several occasions activities were delayed by the respective MoEs, which posed challenges for the PBEA programme in adhering to its own implementation and funds absorption schedules. Such delays also created significant problems for the PBEA technical advisor on curriculum, who was teaching at university full time in Malawi. However, during interviews the technical advisor noted that, "given the circumstances on the ground, changing time schedules is understandable. It is important not to 'push' some activities but rather to allow stakeholders (MoE officials) the latitude to suggest times for activity implementation in view of their circumstances."

- **Last-minute review of tools.** "Although data collection tools were initially availed to Ministry of Education officials for their input, we encountered a situation where the DG in Mogadishu selected a group of government officials to review the tools on the eve of a training program for youth facilitators. This was allowed."[49]

- More positively, several of the challenges listed above and UNICEF's handling of

those challenges demonstrated a high level of flexibility in working to the schedules and priorities of government partners. This therefore suggests that **the PBEA programme effectively applied lessons learned about ensuring government and local ownership of peacebuilding programmes to support a bottom-up state building process**, rather than working to UNICEF's agenda and prioritizing 'efficiency' over sustainable peacebuilding outcomes.

Dealing with Religious and Moral Authority. In a country where elders monopolize most positions of secular, religious and economic authority, the youth-led consultation was designed to improve the image of youth and demonstrate their ability to assume positions in society commensurate with their education and training, including leadership positions. Given the relatively high profile, and potential prestige associated with being a consultation facilitator, it was expected that there would be some resistance among traditional authority figures to giving such roles to youth who have generally been in a relatively 'subordinate' role in the clan systems of Somalia.

A few religious leaders, though not the majority, expressed the opinion that issues related to values and principles primarily fell within their domain of authority, since such moral issues belong to Islam and only Islamic scholars such as themselves are capable of leading such discussions (or rather discussion of issues that are not already determined by religious text). For the most part, youth were able to overcome such resistance through dialogue with religious leaders basically noting that the community consultations would review educational curriculum matters that do not concern religion directly and that, as key figures in society, religious leaders were also key informants invited to give their inputs on all curriculum issues to be discussed. Nevertheless, there remained a very small number of religious leaders (2-3) in Puntland and Somaliland who declined to take part in the community consultations.

Managing Gender Sensitivities. While recruitment of youth facilitators achieved a level of gender balance rarely seen in Somalia, gender emerged as an issue in some of the

---

49 The quote was from a PBEA consultant.

community consultation meetings. As a facilitator in Bossaso explained:

> Some women's groups say: 'Why are you—a boy—coming to ask me all these questions about the condition of women? The questions that deal with women should come from women. The question concerning the boys should be asked by the boys!' (Interview, 10 September 2014, Bosasso).

The women sometimes asked for two girls to be the facilitators rather than having a boy present. Such a request only arose in a few consultations in Puntland due to the close parity (37 female and 33 male). This underlines the importance of the nuances of promoting gender balance among youth facilitators in some instances in a society such as Somalia where women are at times prohibited from speaking about sensitive matters with a male who is not their immediate spouse, and might require re-thinking for future consultative exercises when the subjects being covered are gender sensitive. A balance needs to be found that takes legitimate privacy (and potentially security) concerns for women into account to ensure Do No Harm, while bringing into the public sphere potentially sensitive issues such as GBV, FGM, *qaat*[50] chewing, polygamy and other societal issues that concern both men and women.

As was expected, some communities opened up more than others. Youth in Bosasso (where interviews were conducted on 10 September 2014) explained in these ways:

- Maybe in some cases, one guy will talk more than the others. You ask some questions and people say they don't know or refuse to answer. Sometimes it was difficult to get people to open up. Some refuse to be recorded.
- Mainly the parents and elders are talking more than the younger ones. But the students who are there, you can understand them through discussions.
- For those who do not understand, we explain again so that they understand more. The teachers are experts for that.

One of the Puntland girl facilitators met in Bosasso admitted that she rarely spoke during consultations, as she was very shy in public. A boy who was her partner for consultations said she did all of the note taking while he asked the questions; "she was too shy to ask questions." Another boy had a different experience regarding a girl he was working with: "she was asking the questions to the girls and boys, and was excellent at it. The girls are good at communication; their communication is high [-level]." A third boy said "they are more attractive [competent] and more active for asking questions to people." A final example was given in Bosasso of a girl who took notes for a boy who was asking all the questions. Sometimes the groups worked this way: if one person was good at public speaking and the other good at note-taking, they would divide tasks this way. The coordinators, who had seen all the different arrangements youth made in their consultations, said that most pairs would switch tasks regularly. The three youths and AET coordinator met in Galkayo said they did not encounter the situation mentioned in Bosasso where a community would ask that boys question males, and girls question females:

- One [youth facilitator] writes, one talks: we switched when we went to another place.
- When we go to the women's group we ask questions that concern them, and same for businessmen, religious leaders, and so on.
- There are no sensitive questions. Gender-based violence is not considered a sensitive question.

Security and threats of attack. Security concerns were factored into programming, training and consultation activities. Although it was planned that all regions would be visited in each of the three sub-national entities of Somalia, areas where AS was active were deliberately avoided. This concerned primarily CSZ, where the AS controlled rural areas are well-known. In Puntland, AS infiltration was assumed due to the pressure on the group in CSZ as a result of AU/AMISOM offensives. The tragic 20 April 2015 attack in Garowe, in which four UNICEF staff were among those killed, served as a reminder that even relatively safe sub-national entities of Somalia are not immune. This attack has had a tremendously

---

50 Consumption of the mild narcotic *qaat*, or khat (Catha *edulis*), concerns about a third of Somalia's youth (UNDP Somalia 2012:89).

negative impact upon the morale of UNICEF personnel who have been coming to terms with the loss of their colleagues. Moreover, it remains unclear how that attack will impact the direction of UNICEF programming over the medium term.

Access. Accessibility of communities was a key challenge and major consideration in the selection process for youth facilitators. Some areas are easier to access by persons of the same clan or sub-clan, or who possess local contacts. Outstanding regional boundary issues were not a barrier to the conducting of consultations. For the SSC provinces claimed by Puntland and Somaliland, for example, consultations were carried out in Las Anood by the Somaliland teams.

"

There are various areas where we cannot go: for example, Sool area, but we were supposed to get three districts from each region, so we have chosen those districts where we could go. Like there is a conflict between Somaliland and Puntland, like Las Anood in Sool. It is governed by Somaliland, but Puntland is saying it is our town. We cannot go there, because Somaliland team is coming. So the consultations were done there. (Interview, AET staff, September 2014, Galkayo).

The PBEA technical advisor on curriculum also noted similar arrangements in some regions with accessibility problems. In Galguduud, for example, a decision was made to drop El Bur (Ceelbur) district from the project and in its place Balambale district, which was accessible by the REOs and youth facilitators.

Gender also played a part in accessing different locations as girls were less able to travel than boys. As an AET Puntland coordinator explained:

"

And also for travel, for the ladies, girls, parents are not allowing them to travel to other areas. That is why they must stay in their home [town]s, or if they are working they must work in their areas. If their parents are there, they can go. They come to the training, and then back to their home. It's not possible to travel to any other area without their parents. Just with parents, or brothers or another uncle, they can travel. (Interview, 10 September 2014, Bosasso)

Despite the difficulty of travel for girls, the consultations were, most often, able to proceed and adhere to the requirement of fifty-fifty gender ratio for facilitators during community consultations.

Aside from security and gender concerns, access to some areas was made difficult due to the rarity of transportation options. A youth interviewed in Bosasso described what he called "tough areas" as places that might have security risks or that might simply be difficult to reach due to the lack of regular transport. With few available cars and slack demand in out-of-the-way places, drivers would wait until they had a full load of passengers before embarking on a long trip.

"

When you go to the tough areas, there was a lack of cars for access to some areas. Sometimes you had to wait one or two days for a car to go to the next place. Lack of car requires you to stay longer, paying for hotels, food. (Interview, 10 September 2014, Bosasso)

The distances were such that only car transportation was possible. Very often, the youth would have to travel over 200 km between two places. Bosasso is 450 km from the Puntland capital, for example. In northern Puntland, a few hardy young men were designated to do most of the long traveling, meeting up with a young woman based in the town having the consultation.

Language. One of the general challenges faced in programming and training in Somalia has to do with language. Outside programming and curriculum experts and consultants often find their Somali counterparts and programme participants lacking in advanced English skills, while outside experts and consultant have either limited or no Somali language skills. The PBEA technical advisor on curriculum remarked, for example, that the

current system of translating texts sometimes results in approximate translations that distort meaning. This could create misunderstandings or inaccuracies at critical stages of the consultation and drafting process. A solution would be for organizations such as AET to pay more attention to such issues as part of their programme design and implementation strategy. Moreover, this would reassure communities that when English translation is part of the curriculum development process it will not create distortions that could impede local ownership of the process (Elmi 2010:114).

Managing political sensitivities. The PBEA programme has sought to impress on communities that it represents a non-political and neutral contribution to developing appropriate education for the benefit of all. However, some local voices suggested at various points that the PBEA programme can promote alternative avenues for youth to those proposed by Islamist groups. Such suggestions, which essentially proposed that the PBEA become involved in a sort of 'ideological struggle' for the 'hearts and minds' of youth in opposition to AS, created significant risks that PBEA personnel, schools, teachers, students and local partners would be directly targeted by AS in response. To mitigate this very real threat, PBEA personnel and key local partners consistently underscored that the purpose of PBEA was not to engage in such struggles, nor should it be. Such perceptions were avoided and corrected immediately, lest they provide excuses for attacks against schools, learners, teachers and others associated with the programme (i.e. through the development of message cards easily understood by local communities).[51]

---

51 In the past AS has demanded schools not use textbooks or curriculums produced with the support of the UN, calling them anti-Islamic (Ibrahim 2009).

3. Observations on Results being Achieved

While several preliminary peacebuilding results through the youth-led consultations have been suggested above, this part of the report looks more closely at areas where there has been some observable progress with achieving desired PBEA Outcomes. This part also explores some potentially more meaningful impacts related to promoting inclusive and participatory forms of governance that, if built upon, bring with them the ability to support sustainable peace in Somalia. Where possible achievements of the PBEA intervention are also tested in relation to the lessons learned cited earlier about bottom-up peacebuilding drawing from the case of Guinea and country case study review of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (see Section 2.1 above).

3.1 Including Youth in Decision-Making Processes

Empowering youth, both male and female, in social and governmental decision-making processes to become constructive citizens in the evolving polities of Somalia, and thus overcome the risks of alienation and marginalization, violence, and other ills, is arguably only one pathway to supporting sustainable peace and development.

In Somalia, empowering youth in a 'constructive' fashion is also challenging because of a context in which traditional systems, clan hierarchy, vested business interests, and cultural authority remain the main foci of power and decision-making. There have, however, been clear points in Somalia's history when youth groups have demonstrated very positive agency to coalesce in constructive ways (such as in the 1930s),

while more recent examples demonstrate more forms of agency.[52] Even those more qualified and education youth in Somalia find it difficult to gain decision-making positions in society. One of the youth facilitators for the curriculum consultations, and a holder of a university degree, when asked about this issue noted that:

- Yes, it is so difficult.
- The big ones, the older ones are there [they have the jobs].
- The older people they are still there, so the younger people they don't have any advantage.
- They don't even retire; there is no law for retiring! Even when they are 80, even 90, they don't retire!
- AET adult coordinator: Still he's working. He's going in the jet![53]

The issue of measuring change is also challenging. The PBEA programme has applied an evaluative tool to address this challenge (KAP Survey on social cohesion and resilience) which will generate some potentially powerful data to identify change.[54] For example, at the end of youth trainings, AET drew on KAP survey questions and asked 240 youth participants *whether they "felt a sense of inclusion in public decision-making processes". AET reported that virtually all youth facilitators, or 100%, responded in the affirmative* (African Educational Trust 2014:10).[55] At the same time, the majority of youth facilitators selected by AET, very clearly, come from the more educated strata of Somali society and thus perhaps seem least vulnerable to marginalization and alienation or engaging in other forms of violence due to economic pressures. The KAP survey notes that 60%

---

52 The issue of 'empowerment' is perhaps nuanced. Some may argue that the youth of Al-Shabaab have moved to empower themselves and their acts of violence against perceived, or real, forms of oppressions and exploitation are evidence of this. Nevertheless, most reasonable observers would note that this is a highly negative and destructive manifestation of 'agency'.
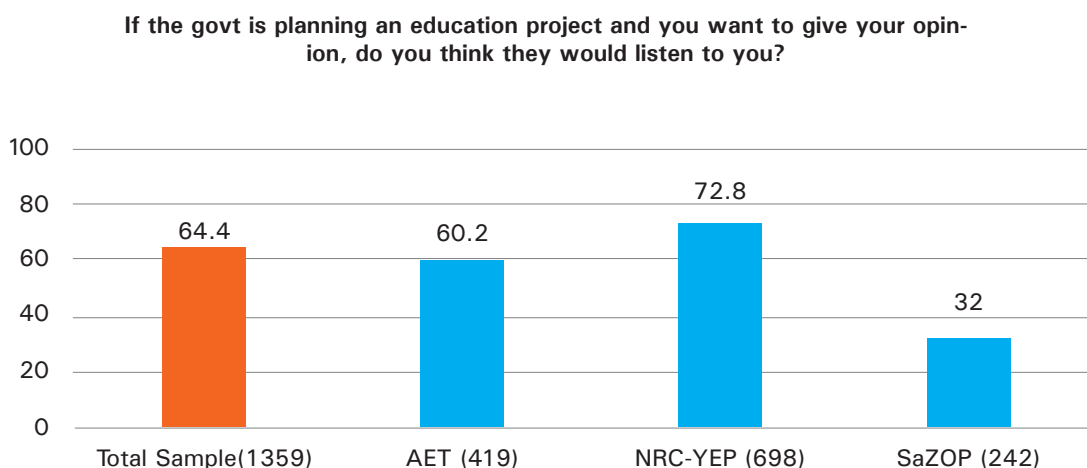
53 Interviews were conducted in Bosasso on 10 September 2014.

54 Once end line data is available, it would be sensible to review and update this case study to validate preliminary qualitative findings with more robust quantitative measures.

55 It is highly unlikely that the real figure is as high as is being reported by AET. While the assumption is that there has been good progress, it will be telling to identify more reliable rates of change with the end line KAP survey.

Figure 12. Inclusion in government decision-making processes (%)

If the govt is planning an education project and you want to give your opinion, do you think they would listen to you?

PBEA Somalia KAP Survey

AET youth facilitators, prior to participating in the initiative, felt that government would listen to them when planning an education project. This figure was much lower for community members surveyed as part of the Schools as Sub-national entities of Somalia of Peace intervention (only 32%).[56]

Such considerations, however, for the time being may be secondary. Descriptive sections of this case study outlining the process of engaging youth demonstrate strong successes in creating space for youth to participate in an important initiative that will affect the entire country and potentially most households in Somalia. Evidence from the two sub-national entities of Somalia, upon which this analysis is based, demonstrates that every official in the MoEs, though initially reluctant, became highly supportive of involving youth. Education officials also provided support to ensure that the youth facilitators were able to take up this role. Moreover, the evidence suggests that education officials have begun to incorporate the findings of youth-led consultations to inform the national education curriculum framework – thus demonstrating that the role of youth has also been highly valued.

Increasing acceptance of youth role. In both sub-national entities of Somalia at local community level, traditional leaders, clan elders, and religious leaders almost entirely

supported the role of youth in facilitating community dialogues, as shown by the field diary entries of one facilitation team:

16/8/2014, Kakar Team. The team met with religious leaders in Gardho. We were very happy to receive religious leaders who were also very receptive. We observed that religious leaders are very knowledgeable about Somali education system and they contributed lot of relevant ideas to improve education quality. Religious leaders were active participants in the discussion which was impetus to successfully complete the session in productive manner.

12/8/2014, Waaya. Meeting with religious leaders in Waaya. We met with religious leaders at office of local authority in Waya. The religious leaders were collaborative and contributed a meaning full discussion. They were able to answer all questions and we were able to complete out task without any challenges.

---

56 It is again worth noting that, given sampling biases, these figures probably overstate the extent to which communities more broadly feel that 'they would be listened to' by government when planning projects or policies. At the same time, it is interesting that out-of-school adolescents and youth who were being given vocational and life skills training opportunities via the NRC-supported YEP initiative reported the highest on this question.

"

30/08/2014, Baladweyn. A group of four youth leaders have visited the office of the local authority to discuss and make FGD on curriculum and peace education at large. in fact the local authority has deeply welcomed the youth leaders and showed happiness the way the work is going on, finally the local authority suggested different issues which has noted in the form- but anyway the conversation end nicely.

"

26/08/2014, Dharkenley/Mogadishu. We met business people in the community of Dharkenley which we have invited before time, we invited to meet them in one of the villages at Dharkenley, the business were very happy to meet us youth leaders and ask them different questions about the current situation. The businessmen in the community have welcomed the initiatives- no major constraint.

Local level community authorities also demonstrated their support by participating in the selection of youth facilitators and participating in discussions. When calculating the number of locations visited and community leaders involved in the meetings (roughly seven regions per zone and three locations in each of the regions with around 27 community leaders per location, and including those identified cases in which religious leaders refused to participate), this translates into a **99% level of support among community leaders for the role of youth**. This high level of community-level support is further validated by quantifying results of the field diaries prepared by youth facilitators. While the field diaries present several weaknesses with documenting the consultation process (i.e., generally tending to offer little information in terms of positive community reactions), the majority of field diary entries report **"no challenges noted"** – **roughly 87% of the available entries** – thus further demonstrating the role of youth was widely supported and accepted at community level.

AET coordinators and government officials also noted that, based on their experiences with youth facilitators, there is clearly room for youth to play more useful roles in society and state building processes, especially at local level. An AET coordinator in CSZ pointed to very positive reactions from adults after the first round of consultations. Clan elders and other community leaders felt that the youth were very good at their work, felt comfortable leaving youth to manage discussions, and believed that youth should assume more leadership roles. It was even suggested that youth should become more involved in facilitating reconciliation and peace consultations, and that an instituted role for youth should be established to support peacebuilding processes more broadly. However, it was also noted that many youth are afraid of participating in such processes due to insecurity and the risks of being targeted by AS (and potentially other hard line groups) – a concern that was also raised by the various other stakeholders. At same time, while there was generally a wide level of support for youth taking up more active roles in society, there still remain entrenched power structures that are somewhat reluctant to relinquish their influence over youth.

Findings are inconclusive about whether an increased level of participation in decision-making processes is redressing the problems of youth alienation, the evidence is much more conclusive regarding the successes of creating space for youth to be involved in decision-making processes (**i.e., PBEA Outcome 2 related to creating institutionalized mechanisms to support youth participation in decision-making processes**). At every level observed (government, community, traditional authority, clan) the role of Somali youth (both male and female) was accepted and perhaps equally important, valued. While some segments of the Somalia community are still ambivalent about changing traditional hierarchies and power relationships, results with the youth-led community consultations for informing the national education curriculum framework suggests that, if such processes are replicated more broadly in the structured manner applied by AET and PBEA, there is much potential for building upon the positive agency of youth across Somalia.

3.2 Preparing Youth for Positive Leadership Roles

There are equally clear achievements with developing a positive form of agency among youth that helps to prepare them for constructive leadership roles in society, at least among those youth who participated as facilitators. These observable gains were also the result of the systematic strategy applied for engaging youth throughout the consultation process.

Increasing leadership and management skills among youth. While much of the AET trainings to prepare youth for conducting dialogues was geared toward informing curriculum development at the national level, a review of the training content (listed earlier) shows that the trainings embedded a range of critical leadership and management skills that are transferrable to other areas. These skills included: planning and coordination, logistics, negotiation skills, presentation skills, dispute resolution, teamwork, working with diverse groups, and report writing to name only a few. There were also a range of soft skills that youth applied with a high level of success and that included 'patience', 'tolerance', 'commitment' and 'drive'. The extent to which youth increased their management and leadership competencies is best demonstrated by the fact that the consultations were implemented successfully with 5863 community members. Field diaries produced by youth also highlight that they were often able to manage community dialogues effectively and provide valued inputs to the MoEs. The skills of youth were also demonstrated on several occasions by their ability to negotiate with local religious figures and clan elders and engage them effectively in the consultations. These following journal entries (unedited) from Karin Dabeyl Weyn in Sool are worth citing as an example of how youth were able to overcome challenges and effectively manage community level consultations, which were first led by the community's teachers and religious groups before they could assert their facilitating role as taught in the trainings.

//

9/10/2014, Karin Dabeyl Weyn. Today is the first day to start work. We have met many challenges, like:

- Provide us what the project intended to provide to our community
- Bring all people from the district in one place and declare your purposes there, so that this community will have one decision for what you have. It is not culturally acceptable to meet one group after another.

Using the techniques learnt from the training we convinced the people to accept our plan and the first two consultations took place. Thank God that we have succeeded our mission.

//

10/10/2014, Karin Dabeyl Weyn. It is the second day of our consultations. Today is totally different from the first day. We understand each other and they worked with us nicely. Most questions asked were around what the community will receive in exchange of the consultations. We used to encourage them that their consultations will reflect in the curriculum and evaluation of their district depends on how well they work with us.

It is worth highlighting that these gains did not occur in a haphazard fashion, but were rather the product of a structured and systematic strategy designed to engage youth in a bottom-up peacebuilding process. As such, this demonstrates how UNICEF has applied important lessons learned from other countries where peacebuilding strategies have not engaged with youth in a systematic or strategic manner (see Section 2.1 above).

Positive sense of 'self' among youth. Several of the more qualitative pieces of data available for this study demonstrate that the strategy of systematically engaging youth in decision-making processes has led to an improved sense of 'self', which may in turn generate more positive forms of youth agency. For example, one of the youth interviewed was moved by a community that, at the end of the consultation process in one town, announced that they had composed a poem for the two youth facilitators. Considering the importance of poetry in Somali society, this was regarded as a significant compliment from the community and one that builds constructive forms of civic engagement.

Female youth facilitators also point to the positive impacts that engaging with communities had for their sense of 'self'. As noted by one female facilitator in Galkayo:

"

I've never talked to communities like this before. Me myself, at the beginning it was difficult because I didn't understand myself about these [curriculum] questions. But after the training I understood and could explain and ask questions to the stakeholders. I want to go back to school, to get more education. I think I feel a little more confidence in the future for education. (Interview, Youth Facilitator, 18 September 2014, Galkayo)

Providing space for youth to become constructive citizens. In addition to generating a 'resilient' sense of 'self' that may lead to positive youth agency, the mechanisms for promoting youth participation in decision-making have provided a social space for youth to engage constructively in civic life.[57] In this regard, youth experiences with facilitating consultations serve as validation of their own worth.

"

Male youth from Beyla district (Puntland East Coast): No problems, we never had any problems [being taken seriously]. They respected the

young people because they are the future of the country. (Interview, 10 September 2014, Bosasso)

The FGDs conducted by the youth often brought together community members with very different views. Through the ensuing discussions youth were able to facilitate common understandings among participants and acceptance of differing views. While the training that youth received helped them to manage community debates effectively and respectively, to have been able to actually do this at community level demonstrated a strong inherent capacity of youth to engage positively with communities, at the same time facilitating constructive civic dialogues between community members. The analysis of field diaries cited earlier tends to support this finding, noting that roughly 87% of entries suggested that community level consultations did not encounter any significant obstacles. While success was in part due to the support provided by leaders at community level and government officials, one cannot understate the role that youth played in achieving that level of success. During an evaluation conducted by AET after the first round of consultations (African Educational Trust 2014:10), some 95% of youth facilitators reported that their participation in the consultation process assisted them in appreciate the divergence of views among different stakeholder (i.e., increasing levels of tolerance and respect for diversity). As much as anything else, the high level of tolerance for difference demonstrated by youth facilitators appears to be a critical factor underpinning the success of consultations. Moreover, this suggests that a structured and systematic approach for facilitating youth engagement in peacebuilding processes can support a form of 'constructive citizenship' and mitigate the risks of alienation and, potentially, engaging in violence or other negative practices.

3.3   Strengthening Inclusive forms of Governance through the Education Sector

Several noteworthy points stand out with the implementation of consultation process for

---

57 For example see: Muthiah Alagappa (1995) 'Introduction', in A. Muthiah (ed.), *Political Legitimacy in Southeast Asia. The Quest for Moral Authority,* California: Stanford University Press.

soliciting community inputs to the development of a national curriculum framework. First, that the process even worked tends to amaze. In a context of ongoing AU offensives against Al-Shabaab and increasing risks of reprisal attacks against the FGS, there is a general consensus that many of the rural areas in which consultations were conducted remain 'high risk' of experiencing environmentally induced shocks of violent conflict. Moreover, many of the areas visited are those where local communities experience extremely high rates of deprivation and vulnerability across a range of indicators.[58] The process thus worked to reach those who, even in a 'normal' development context, were often regarded in pre-SDG equity frameworks as 'the hardest to reach'.[59] Additionally, the active support provided by government officials to the consultation process, and the manner in which community consultation findings were being taken up by government officials, demonstrated *progress with achieving PBEA Outcomes 1 and 2 results by strengthening education policy as well as the institutional capacity of government to provide conflict sensitive education services*.
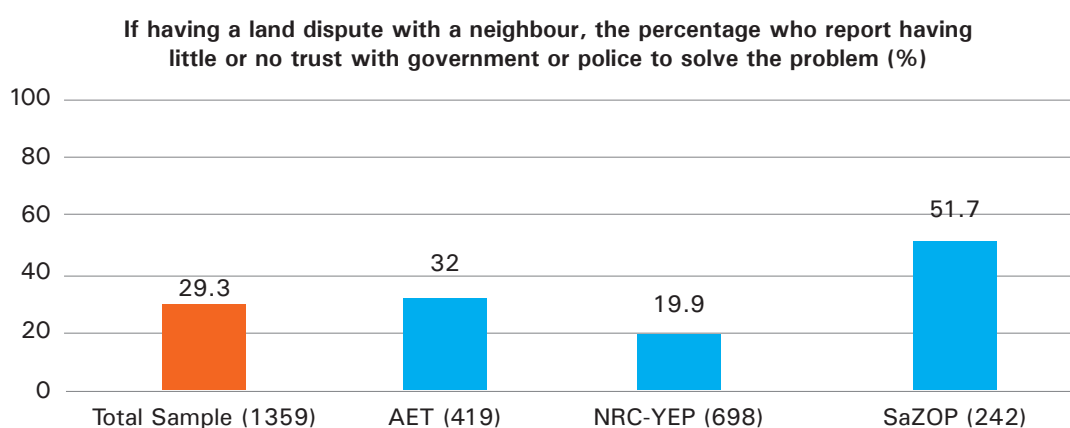
Perhaps more importantly though, the process also speaks to the nascent emergence of a more inclusive and responsive form of local governance in which the views and aspirations of local communities are being used to inform government decision-making processes. Drawing on the lessons of bottom-up state

building processes from countries like Guinea (cited earlier), one can thus observe a process in which social services not only become more effective and responsive to local needs, but that government has the potential to become more legitimate in the eyes of communities by using inclusive decision-making mechanisms to the relationship between state and society.

3.4 Fostering Trust Toward Government and Education Services

KAP baseline survey findings, even when considering for sampling biases, show that the overall levels of trust among communities toward state institutions is fairly low, especially in comparison to groups who may be 'better off' in Somali society. For example, when asked about the what extent they would trust either the police or the courts to resolve a land dispute with a neighbour, 51.7% of community respondents via the Schools as Sub-national entities of Somalia of Peace answered they had little or not trust with the government or police. At the same time, the PBEA KAP survey suggests that the 'gap' between government and communities remains high, with only 32% of community members saying they felt government would listen to them when planning education projects (or policies) (see above) - by gender, the finding was 28% for women and 36% for males.

Figure 13. Trust toward police and government authority (%)

If having a land dispute with a neighbour, the percentage who report having little or no trust with government or police to solve the problem (%)

PBEA Somalia KAP Survey

---

58 Several studies looking at multiple forms of deprivation have been produced by the UNICEF Somalia Country Office that that identify the highest levels of deprivation being found in the harder to reach and conflict-affected areas of Somalia.

59 This is the rationale presented in most UNICEF equity strategy and discussion papers. For example see: UNICEF (2010) Narrowing the Gaps to Meet the Goals, United Nations Children's Fund, New York, pp. 1-4.

Youth-led consultations thus provided communities with an opportunity to provide direct inputs into—and thus ownership of—national curriculum development. That communities were being consulted was hailed as a major sign of progress by many participants in all areas where consultations were conducted. Moreover, many community members noted to the youth facilitators that it was the first time they were directly consulted by government on educational matters, which to them signalled important changes in their relationship to government, and thus perhaps increasing the perceived 'legitimacy' of government in the eyes of communities. According to an AET coordinator in Puntland, adult community members also felt they were helping their children by inputting into the curriculum process, which seemed to have engendered a stronger level of community ownership over the entire process. It was also reported by youth that community members generally expressed their appreciation at the opportunity to provide inputs to the development of the national curriculum framework – though many community members also wondered "why had it taken so long for them to be allowed to take part in these sorts of discussions?"

3.5   Strengthening Social Cohesion and Inclusion

Building social networks. PBEA KAP survey findings measuring levels of social cohesion in Somalia show that the area of greatest weakness is found with social and civic mechanisms that promote group interaction (see Section 2.1 above). Not surprisingly, this is a consistent finding across several other countries in the region and speaks to the importance of developing societal mechanisms that can promote peaceful community relations (South Sudan, Ethiopia, Dadaab/Kenya). In this regard, perhaps one of the most significant and immediate impacts of the youth-led community consultations is that it built cross-cutting social networks and positive relationships across a number of different social groupings – or put more simply, the consultations brought together people who otherwise never would have come together. This benefitted youth as well as communities broadly.

As suggested by KAP survey findings, prior to their participation in the consultations many of the youth facilitators had never travelled far beyond their immediate communities, others had rarely (if ever) engaged with people beyond their immediate networks, while others had no experience of working cooperatively in large and diverse group contexts. Consultations thus provided youth with access to a wide cross-section of communities and different lifestyles: coastal fishing communities, migrating herding communities, urban centres, small towns, border communities, upland, riverine or forest communities, and so on. They met people from clans they had never visited before, but of whom they had heard about, affording an opportunity to compare perceptions and realities. Almost none had ever led a discussion outside of school, particularly of a group composed of older people. As noted by one of AET's Puntland coordinators:[60]

"

Youth were from secondary and university level. [From PBEA] they gained understanding of their community's problems. In working in groups of youths, they exchanged views on cultural issue and met a wide variety of people with different opinions. The youths had to work together and learn from each other both during the workshop and the community consultations. The youths can [now] look at issues from the standpoint of [other] Somali societies and not simply through the eyes of a sole clan. They have received various cultures since they met various [members of] society and they have developed more self-assurance. (Interview, 0 September, Bosasso).

Community participation with curriculum development appears to have had a similar effect for communities as for youth. Curriculum became a 'connector' around which

---

60   The English has been modified slightly to improve understanding.

communities were able to come together, share views, and meet with members of their own communities, government officials, and youth. AET reporting suggests that the interactions created through youth consultations promoted community level bonds on a number of occasions that might not have existed prior to the youth-led consultations.

While it is expected that end line KAP survey will provide further data on how this experience has impacted youth and communities, it seems clear that the youth-led consultations addressed a critical weakness related to levels of social cohesion in Somalia by providing a forum for groups of different backgrounds to coalesce. Moreover, this has been done in a manner that is supportive of a bottom-state building process that offers the potential of strengthening national systems.

Promoting Inclusion for those with disabilities? While there have been numerous achievements with youth-led consultations, promoting inclusion for people with disabilities does not feature prominently as one of those. Although the consultations aimed to ensure that the voices of all marginalized groups were heard, which in some cases occurred (as outlined further below), it remains unclear how many people with disabilities were able to participate effectively across the different sub-national entities of Somalia. In fact, all eight youth facilitators who were interviewed in Puntland were of the view that, on the whole, people with disabilities were not adequately represented in the consultations.

> Youth: When we speak of handicapped [including the poor], we speak of how they don't have good houses and shelter. When you are talking about the handicapped in the curriculum, they [community members being consulted] don't understand well what the need is. We are thinking only about how to get a better life [for us able-bodied people, in normal schools]. It's not a priority for the people we have met [in the consultation process]." (Interview, 18 September, Bossaso)

> Adult (government official): Because it is very rare to meet a disabled person in the administration. Students do not like those who are disabled. For this group there is a real problem. They are not respected in the curriculum. (Interview, 18 September, Bossaso)

Several reasons may explain the ongoing marginalization of people with disabilities, not least of which is the overall level of deprivation faced by most people in Somalia leading to an almost 'survival of the fittest' environment. Another is the lack of large scale government 'welfare' or social safety net schemes that are sufficiently funded and geared toward people with disabilities (beyond several safety net initiatives primarily supported by international organizations). There is also a challenge with how disabled groups are viewed, with most only receiving support from local charities, thus rendering those with physical and mental disabilities dependent on handouts without necessarily empowering them. Extracts from youth field diaries are thus telling as they demonstrate how youth managed to solicit inputs from people with disabilities, while at the same time highlighting the impact that a generally disempowering social environment has had upon such groups.

> 11/08/2014, Sool Team, meeting with disabled persons. Things were going well until we decided to meet with disabilities (sic). We asked ourselves how we can meet with disabilities without providing anything to them. But using our techniques we faced them, the worst came when they said, "we see you now that you are empty handed so when will you bring what you allocated for us." We told them that we brought their needs, interests and the needs and interests of their children and their community to the government. We told them that we are consulting with the communities and they are part of the communities. We convinced them and they left satisfied.

"

16/8/2014, Garowe Team, meeting with disabled persons. The disabled group initially resisted to cooperate with us because they thought that we were cheating them and not giving incentives for the group which they expected from the program. However, we were able to convince them through clarifications of our role and purpose of the activity. Finally the disabled group cooperated and answered all questions. They emphasized that major problem for them was lack of motivation because there is no supportive mechanism in society.

At least one useful observation emerges based on analysis of field diary entries. First, it would in fact seem that very few people with disabilities were reached via the consultations as, based on the available records, there are no further references to meetings conducted with such groups. This may simply be due to the poor quality of a large number of journal entries that provide sparse information, often only noting "no challenges encountered". However, this observation would be consistent with the views of the Sool and Garowee youth facilitation teams that were directly interviewed.

Promoting inclusion for girls. The curriculum consultation process was designed to be inclusive of both females and males among the youth. The objective of ensuring gender balanced youth facilitation teams seems to have been achieved quite effectively with, as noted earlier, some 56% male and 44% female youth facilitators – perhaps one of the most gender balanced processes recently observed in Somalia. With a few minor exceptions noted earlier, this gender-balanced approach seems to have been effective at soliciting equitable representation of males and females during consultations. Available journal entries which provide information on male and female participation consistently make reference to a

gender-balanced level of participation with no reference to challenges with receiving inputs from females, as demonstrated by a small selection below. Interesting to note also is that some MoE officials viewed the consultations positively and suggested that the 'role modelling' provided by the gender-balanced youth facilitators may translate into household changes where parents, it was suggested, might actively support girls' empowerment.

"

14/8/2014, Bari Team. The area was calm. The sitting arrangement was half circle. The participants were both male and female. We were welcomed nicely…

"

15/8/2014, Karkar Team. We met with out-of-school youth members who included female and male members. The group was very collaborative and answered all the questions. We were able to complete our mission without any challenges.

"

16/8/2014, Goldogob Team. We met 8 students who included four girls and four boys. The students were a bit late because it was Thursday which is usually flexible day of the week for them. The students cooperated with us and answered all questions…

"

An adult MoE official present added to the girls' comments: It could be that this changes the outlook of women to be seeing a young woman leading a discussion, and think this would be a possible model for their own daughters.

3.6 Introducing Peacebuilding Tools into the Community

More 'traditional' peace education programmes have been developed in a number of UNICEF COs and National Committees for UNICEF since the early 1990s (Fountain 1999).[61] However, by bringing discussions of curriculum to a variety of social groups—clan elders, women, youths, businesspeople, religious leaders, etc.—on which occasion reference was made to conflict resolution, peacebuilding, life skills, and the content of education curriculum, the youth consultations advanced a more holistic peacebuilding through education approach by engaging communities directly on issues of equity, quality learning, and content of curriculum.

The community level peacebuilding approach applied via curriculum consultations, while avoiding thorny areas such as 'contested histories', focussed primarily on achieving practical goals related to bringing communities together and promoting constructive dialogue, understanding one's neighbour's and being tolerant to different points of view, beginning to embrace human rights concepts and notions such as 'citizenship', and improving the 'relevance' of the curriculum (discussed further below). Moreover, by facilitating community engagement in the development of a national curriculum framework, the strategy helped to reduce the 'vertical space' between state and society. According to the Puntland AET coordinator and government officials met in Bosasso, peacebuilding per se was not a part of the consultations (though conflict resolution and analysis, and life skills were included). Peacebuilding was however always present in the answers from the communities, i.e.: it was a common request from the communities themselves to receive peacebuilding education.

> The people have a general acceptance in their answers: they say peace education they accept it, all of the groups, and they want to add civics— this means institutions—theoretical and

pride of the nation; they want to add whatever, and peace education. Did you meet anyone who didn't want the peace education? [he asked the other adults and youth present. "No!" replied all of the people in the room.] It was in all the answers. It was a common request. And also the Islamic religion: it is talking about two things: peace and food. [A student chimed in at this point: "First is peace, and second is food."] You can't eat food; you can't have lunch, without peace. Those are the religious words. (Interview, 10 September 2014, Bosasso)

The realization that prosperity, even normal life, depends on peace is widespread, and little surprising, given that local leaders, traders and women have often been at the forefront of local peace negotiations and security arrangements (Little 2003:152-153). A demand for more formal peacebuilding training was often expressed in the consultations in Puntland.

3.7 Peacebuilding through Equity and Inclusion – Strengthening the Relevance of the National Education Curriculum

'Relevant' curriculum (or education more broadly) is a term that is often misunderstood by many. Yet, it is a critical component of educational frameworks promoting social inclusion and equity through education, including UNCEF's Equity in Education strategy paper released in 2010 (Epstein, HQ Education Section, 2010). UNICEF's strategy paper notes that

> An inclusive, relevant, and participatory education is… an imperative for people to…develop their capabilities to participate fully in society. This means that a quality education is just as important as access to one. A quality education means that students

---

61 "Peace education in UNICEF refers to the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level." (Fountain 1999:1)

are learning the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary to participate in the labour market and as informed and engaged citizens (Epstein, HQ Education Section, 2010: 3).

The strategy paper goes on to list several 'position statements', one of which makes linkages between social inclusion, socially and economically relevant education curriculum, and ultimately improved learning for children and communities.

"

Position Statement 3: Educational inequity can be reduced by addressing issues of inclusion, relevance, and participation in schools—a social justice approach—which subsequently increases educational access, quality, retention, and completion (Epstein, HQ Education Section, 2010: 5).

In this regard, effective 'relevance strategies' aim to address issues of curriculum that have the effect of excluding "people from the labour market and alienat[ing] particular groups…from the broader society" (Epstein, HQ Education Section, 2010: 6). The strategy paper goes on to note several ways that education services can overcome 'patterns of exclusion' (or perhaps in the context of this case study, address 'alienation and marginalization' of young people) including:

"

Address patterns of local and national governance that exclude children and their families from having a stake in their local schools and from forms of [constructive] citizenship[.]… [Moreover] Any understanding of what is the most appropriate action to take in order to increase education equity must draw on the kinds of capabilities that learners, parents, communities and governments have reason to value in each context. It must also itself be the product of processes of public debate and dialogue at different levels (Epstein, HQ Education Section, 2010: 6, 16).

In this light, it is worth noting that the youth-led consultations for gaining community inputs to the national curriculum framework was very strongly aligned to UNICEF's equity in education strategy. As noted earlier, communities highly appreciated participating in the consultations and, as will be seen below, provided extensive inputs to strengthening the national curriculum framework, which included strengthening its 'cultural' and 'economic' relevance. Moreover, government officials welcomed those local level inputs and actually began to use them to update the national curriculum framework and make it more 'inclusive' and 'relevant' to the realities of local communities.

Community inputs for strengthening the quality and relevance of curriculum. With 5863 community members consulted, a very diverse range of livelihood groups provided their views on how the national curriculum framework can be strengthened to support future generations of Somali children and adolescents.

Among the inputs most often received from the community members were that religion, civics, local culture and history need more emphasis in the curriculum, that training should be better geared to finding employment, and that the learning environment should be made more conducive for learning (teachers frequently use violent forms of punishment). The results were still being finalized at the writing of this case study to further inform the curriculum development process, but a selection of community inputs that speak to promoting equity and inclusion are drawn from the latest draft AET implementation report (African Educational Trust 2015c: 21-22) and summarized under the following heading: 'access', 'relevance', 'teaching and learning environment', 'teacher education and development', and 'school governance'.

Access:
- Government to ensure that schools are affordable for the poor and disadvantaged;
- Government should facilitate free and inclusive education for children with disabilities;
- Early marriage and forced marriage is an obstacle to girls education – parents to be sensitized to appreciate the importance of education;

- Education for pastoralists and Koranic teachers should be revitalized for nomadic communities;
- Government should allocate more funding to ensure access to education for all children;
- Schools should provide feeding programmes.

Relevance:

- School curriculum should cater for national subjects such as history and geography;
- Curriculum should include elements of life and technical skills;
- Somali language dictionaries should be produced to support literacy attainment;
- Curriculum should be strengthened to support local and traditional livelihoods;
- Review and strengthening of the Arabic and Islamic language;
- Schools should be forums for peace promotion and the curriculum should instil good social values.

Teaching and learning environment:

- All schools should apply principles of child friendly and inclusive schooling;
- Corporal punishment and psychological stress should be removed from schools;
- Learning and teaching resources should be applied to all schools to support learning;
- School locations and constructions should be planned well, transparently, and support access for marginalized communities;
- Counselling services should be offered to the children to address issues of conflict-related trauma.

Teacher education and development:

- Proper and adequately trained teachers should be distributed fairly to schools;
- Teacher support and supervision should be provided by the ministry;
- Gender balance should be enforced as there are very few female teachers.

School governance:

- MOE should manage all schools to ensure quality;

- School committees and parents should receive training to support school management and children's learning.
- MOE should rotate school leadership to inject new ideas into the system, as well as provide training to head masters on school management;

At the time of completing this report, community inputs to strengthening the national curriculum framework were being finalized by AET and had not yet been formally incorporated. However, many of the preliminary inputs drawn from youth-led consultation were already being taken up by the MoEs, as noted earlier in the report. A quick review of the selection of community inputs listed above also suggests that the recommendations provided by communities cover a range of important areas that are commonly identified in strategic frameworks for promoting equity, quality, and relevance of education.[62] It thus seems that, when given the opportunity through effectively facilitated community dialogues, local communities in Somalia are capable of providing effective inputs to national development processes that will help strengthen the quality of sectoral services, while at the same time ensuring national ownership.

In the context of PBEA, the inputs provided by communities speak to complementary results achieved, or that may soon be achieved. First, the bottom-up community consultations provided inputs to MoEs that are helping to strengthen the national curriculum framework and education policy (**Outcome 1 level result related to policy**). Secondly, UNICEF staff note that the Ministry of Education, while not yet formalizing community level youth-led consultation mechanisms to solicit community inputs on a regular basis, has begun this process. Once formalized, this would demonstrate achievement with **Outcome 2 level results for increasing institutional capacity to provide conflict sensitive education services**.

---

62 Ibid, see page 18. UNICEF' 'Action Framework' for promoting equity includes: Inclusion strategies; Relevance strategies; Participation strategies, and Drivers of change.

4. Lessons Learned and Recommendations

4.1 Lessons Learned with Engaging Youth and Communities for Peacebuilding through Education

There are a number of lessons learned with the youth-led community consultation process that are useful for future education programmes in Somalia, as well as donor-funded state building programmes that aim to support peacebuilding. These lessons are reviewed along a 'framework' of lessons drawn from other countries reviewed in Section 2.1 and are related to the achievement of desired PBEA Outcomes 1, 2 and 3.

Inclusive peacebuilding (contributions to PBEA Outcomes 1 and 3)

The peacebuilding process applied via the youth-led community consultations proved highly inclusive and offered many traditionally excluded groups an opportunity to contribute to a national development process. For most community members, this proved the first time that they ever had such an opportunity. While the intervention was primarily geared toward addressing issues related to youth alienation and related risks of violence, engaging in violence or criminality, or other negative behaviours, the broader community participation engendered should not be understated.

The process by which the curriculum review was conducted introduced an approach with the potential to address historical legacies of authoritarian national governments and 'top-down' governance systems, which are often implicated in the failure of the Somali state in 1991 and the chronic nature of conflict and fragility in the country since then. This inclusive approach also provided a platform for clan elders to contribute to this 'bottom-up' process in which they played an integral part in facilitating at local level. The inclusive and participatory nature of consultations appears to have created a strong sense of ownership among communities with the national curriculum framework, a framework which balances regional sub-national dynamics by focusing on broadly acceptable competencies that can be used across the entire country.

Balancing national and local ownership through bottom-up state building (contributions to PBEA Outcome 1…and more)

Managing the tensions between 'national ownership' and 'local ownership' is often a challenge in many post-conflict or conflict-affected settings. This tension is perhaps particularly acute in Somalia where various attempts since 1994 to constitute a strong (or 'centralized') form of national authority have generally met with failure. The successes with the bottom-up state-building approach applied via youth-led consultations offers a potentially useful strategy for other development partners.

By using educational curriculum as a 'connector', actors at different levels (including local clans) seemed to find agreement on common areas that balanced local, sub-national, and national considerations. Strengthening education policy or institutional capacities to provide conflict sensitive education services thus seems secondary to the model of engagement applied by the PBEA programme.

More importantly the process speaks to the nascent emergence of a more inclusive and responsive form of local governance in which the views and aspirations of local communities were being used to inform government decision-making processes. Drawing on the lessons of bottom-up state building processes one can observe a process in which by using bottom-up processes to social services such as education, government has the potential to become more legitimate in the eyes of communities and to the relationship between

state and society. The engagement strategy applied by PBEA and AET in this pilot initiative thus offers a model of state-building that utilizes sectoral services as a 'transformative peace dividend' that can strengthen inclusive forms of governance and promote forms of 'social justice' that address a range of conflict drivers identified in the 2014 CA.

Potential for Promoting legitimacy of national governance systems through sectoral services (contributions to PBEA Outcomes 2 and 3…and more)

Difficulties with promoting inclusion have been known to undermine the legitimacy of state authority and reinforce (or create) a 'disconnect' between state and society. Youth-led community consultations have had several tangible benefits in this regard. The systematic strategy and mechanisms for allowing direct community inputs into the development of a national curriculum framework were welcomed by the majority of community members (**Outcome 2 result for strengthening institutional capacity to deliver conflict sensitive education services**). Not only did community leaders including clan elders and most religious leaders voice their appreciation for being able to provide inputs, they actively participated in supporting the process at all stages.

The positive form of agency demonstrated by those leaders and the constructive manner in which communities participated in the consultations reflected an improvement of attitudes toward national level development processes and, by extension, national government (**Outcome 3 results promoted through changing attitudes supporting peaceful conflict resolution**). Claiming that the process has increased state legitimacy would be premature. However, the collaborative nature of the process in which key segments of society from national, sub-national and local levels worked together to support the consultations demonstrated improving 'state-citizen' relations. This is noteworthy as improved 'state-citizen' relations has been identified as an effective 'pathway' toward peace and sustainable development in other fragile and conflict-affected settings. However, the sustainability of such changes depends on whether consultative community-level mechanisms are institutionalized, and taken to scale, so as to systematically support bottom-up community participation in national level decision-making processes.

Empowering youth to become 'constructive citizens' (contributions to PBEA Outcome 3)

In many fragile settings where peacebuilding is attempted, there are often numerous weaknesses with engaging youth in a systematic or strategic manner. In Somalia, empowering youth in a 'constructive' fashion is further challenged by a context in which traditional systems, clan hierarchy, vested business interests, and cultural authority remain the main foci of power and decision-making. There have, however, been clear points in Somalia's history when youth groups have enabled positive forms of agency to coalesce in constructive ways, although some more recent and high profile groups (e.g., AS) demonstrate negative forms of agency.

This study suggests that the form of agency youth adopt can be guided constructively, with many young people in the country hoping for a peaceful and prosperous future. Youth-led community consultations thus focused on building upon the potential for positive youth agency by facilitating their participation in decision-making processes and supporting their leadership and marketable skills. The level of support demonstrated by local community leaders for youth-led community consultations also suggests that, if provided space to participate in such processes, traditional authorities can be very supportive. Findings are inconclusive about whether increased youth participation is actually addressing deep-seated problems of youth alienation. However, an 'exit evaluation' conducted by AET after the first round of youth-led consultations found that some 95% of youth facilitators reported that their participation in the consultation process had assisted them in appreciating the divergence of views among different stakeholders (**i.e., PBEA Outcome 3, changing attitudes and behaviours to support peaceful conflict resolution**).

Evidence is more conclusive regarding successes at creating space for youth to be involved in decision-making processes. At every level observed (government, community, traditional authority, clan) the role of Somali

youth (both male and female) was accepted and perhaps equally important, valued. When calculating the number of locations visited and community leaders involved in local consultations (including those small numbers of religious leaders who refused to participate), this translates into a 99% level of support among community leaders for the role of youth (**i.e., PBEA Outcome 2 related to creating institutionalized mechanisms to support youth participation in decision-making processes and delivering conflict-sensitive education services and PBEA Outcome 3, changing attitudes and behaviours to support peaceful conflict resolution**). Moreover, this suggests that a structured and systematic approach for facilitating youth engagement in peacebuilding processes can support a form of 'constructive citizenship' and mitigate the risks of alienation and, potentially, violence or other negative practices.

If such a process is replicated more broadly in the sort of structured manner applied by AET and PBEA, there is much potential for building upon the positive agency of youth across Somalia. These early gains did not occur haphazardly, but were rather the product of a systematic strategy designed to engage youth in a bottom-up peacebuilding process. As such, this demonstrates how UNICEF has applied important lessons learned from other countries where peacebuilding strategies have not engaged with youth in a systematic or strategic manner.

It remains too early to determine whether the attitudinal changes among youth and adults will be sustained. Following their participation in leading community consultations, many of the youth facilitators went on to seek new opportunities, while others remained engaged with MoEs in different capacities. No formalized structures were established at community level to build upon the very impressive gains made over a period of some nine months. In itself the gains made in such a short period impressively show that 'quick peacebuilding wins' are attainable if managed and applied effectively. However, to increase the likelihood of achieving sustainable results, government would need to institutionalize community-level consultation mechanisms

with a more formalized role for youth and community leaders being agreed, which also specifies how those mechanisms can be utilized by local communities to feed into national decision-making processes.

Strengthening Social Cohesion (contributions to PBEA Outcome 3)

Interventions that create 'relationships and coalitions among local actors' in fragile settings (what the PBEA might refer to as 'strengthening social cohesion') has been identified in several studies as an effective pathway for addressing issues of 'fragility' and strengthening resilience at local levels. In the Somalia context, KAP findings show that one of the greatest obstacles to strengthening social cohesion is the lack of inclusive community level mechanisms that connect communities of different backgrounds. In this regard, a more immediate and observable impact of the **youth-led community consultations acted as a community-level mechanism strengthening social cohesion** by bringing together people who otherwise never would have come together. This helped to establish cross-cutting social networks and positive relationships across a number of different social groupings. Consultations provided youth with an opportunity to engage with people beyond their immediate networks, work cooperatively in large and diverse group contexts, and build relationships with a wide cross-section of livelihoods, including people from other clans. On a psychological level (or 'psychosocial forms of resilience'[63]), there appear to be important strides made by the youth to better understand themselves and understand the connectedness that links them to peers and to their communities.

Facilitation of inter-community / inter-clan contacts. The process brought together people from different walks of life to discuss common issues, something that is not easily accomplished, but is vital for post-conflict recovery. Curriculum discussions became a 'connector' around which communities were able to come together, share views, and meet with members of their own communities, government officials, and youth. These

---

63 For example, see: Joel Reyes (2013) *What Matters Most for Students in Contexts of Adversity: A Framework Paper,* Education Resilience Approaches (ERA) Programme, World Bank, Washington.

interactions supported the emergency of community level bonds on a number of occasions that might not have existed. It thus seems that the youth-led consultations addressed a critical weakness related to levels of social cohesion in Somalia by providing a forum for groups of different backgrounds to coalesce. Findings related to results being achieved with supporting youth to become 'constructive citizens' and increasing social cohesion thus validate the Somalia PBEA TOC, which notes:

> If youth are given a voice and an active role to engage with communities and decision makers across clan, social and cultural lines then this will give rise to a sense of constructive citizenship and improve social cohesion within and between groups, contributing to a reduction of violence in target locations/intervention groups.

Two critical lessons learned seem pertinent here. First, community level mechanisms for dialogue bring with them strong potential for strengthening social cohesion in fragile and conflict affected settings – so long as they are managed well. Second, to ensure that improving levels of social cohesion are sustained and built upon, the government needs to institutionalize community level mechanisms that can provide a social space for groups to come together in a constructive manner.

Promoting equity through education and inclusive forms of governance (contributions to PBEA Outcomes 1 and 3)

A key case study finding is that the equity strategy advocated by UNICEF, a strategy which has been advocated for the past five years, is strongly aligned to bottom-up state building processes that promote inclusive forms of governance. Additionally equity strategies for promoting participation and inclusion work to empower local communities and support sustainable peace and development in fragile settings by strengthening the relationship between state and society, while at the same time ensuring that education services are better suited for equipping children and young

people to become constructive members of society. **There is, in other words, a very clear link between promoting equity in education and strengthening forms of inclusive governance that will support bottom-up peacebuilding processes in fragile and conflict-affected settings**.

Perhaps equally important, while the sustainability of results achieved for promoting youth empowerment remains a question mark, it seems likely that results with strengthening the curriculum framework and promoting inclusion through a relevant and inclusive curriculum will be sustained. As improvements to the curriculum framework will be integrated, and thus 'institutionalized', this may yield long-term benefits for future generations of Somali children and youth. Key findings such as this validate the PBEA Somalia TOC that notes:

> By taking into account the findings of the Conflict Analysis when preparing key education strategies, the education sector will be more conflict sensitive and become a better enabling environment for peacebuilding through education service delivery.

Gender Sensitivity and Marginalized Groups

The objective of ensuring gender balanced youth facilitation was effective with some 56% male and 44% female youth facilitators. With a few minor exceptions, this gender-balanced approach helped to solicit equitable representation of males and females during community consultations. However, a gender-balanced approach was also problematic in at least a few cases where some women (in 'women only' meetings) asked for only girls to act as their facilitators because of local cultural restrictions prohibiting them from interacting privately with males. This suggests that gender-balanced approaches may need to be more sensitive to such matters and adhere to Do No Harm to avoid placing such women at risk. Irrespective of this challenge, government officials who participated in the consultations felt that the positive 'role modelling' provided by the gender-balanced

approach may translate into household changes where parents might actively support girls' empowerment.

While there have been positive achievements with providing space for girls to input to the national curriculum, progress with including people with disabilities proved challenging. In fact, youth facilitators felt that people with disabilities were not adequately represented.

Managing implementation challenges

Several of the challenges implementing the youth-led consultations and UNICEF's handling of those challenges demonstrated a high level of flexibility in responding to the priorities and schedules of government partners. This therefore suggests that, rather than working to UNICEF's agenda and prioritizing 'efficiency' over results, **the PBEA programme effectively applied lessons learned about ensuring government and local ownership of peacebuilding programmes in order to support a bottom-up state building process**.

4.2   Recommendations

Government can do a great deal to influence positive changes in economy, society and culture. As noted above, there practical entry points for addressing issues of political structure and the management of public services in a way that can promote more inclusive forms of governance and address a number of factors creating risks for young people in Somalia. In light of the findings presented in this case study, peacebuilding, education and youth empowerment, and inclusive forms of governance supporting bottom-up state building can be significantly. Several recommendations are provided along these lines.

Governments of Somalia and partners

- **Support bottom-up state building through participatory planning and policy development processes.** To sustain and further capitalize upon the gains of youth-led community consultations, the FGS should move to formalize community-level participation mechanisms in all public sectors. Traditional authorities, clan leaders, and religious authorities have a critical role to play with ensuring the success of such

mechanisms and should be engaged in a collaborative fashion at all stages;

- **MoEs should continue to address issues of equity by promoting a relevant and inclusive curriculum.** Over the long term this will help to address root causes of alienation and marginalization that youth experience today and better prepare the education system to address the needs and conditions of future generations of Somali children. A critical first step will be to formally integrate recommendations made by communities for strengthening the national curriculum framework;

- **Include conflict analysis modules in the curriculum at appropriate levels.** At the outset, these analyses should be of inter-clan and inter-ethnic conflicts in other countries (not Somalia) and how these conflicts impact upon peace and development. Countries to study could include contemporary Ireland and historical Scotland, contemporary Indonesia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Albania, and others. If results from such analyses are positive, and if there is broad consensus that Somalia's clan conflicts need to be analysed, a good place to start would be on historical (colonial) factors to avoid apportioning blame on current actors. Conflict analysis at the school level should not deal with issues best left to a national truth and reconciliation commission;

- **Make education inclusive of all minority groups,** including those people with disabilities;

- **Encourage research into and teaching of Somali traditions** of peacebuilding, religion and culture, which are at odds with the violent, extremist and unjust practices that sparked and maintained Somalia's wars, divisions and lack of equitable development;

UNICEF Somalia Education Team

- **Maintain contact with the trained youth facilitators.** Even in the relatively isolated, insulated, conservative region of Somalia that is Puntland, the PBEA programme has begun empowering youth, creating articulate and self-confident spokespersons. While some will return to school, and a few will find work on their own, likely many will face unemployment despite holding diplomas. There should be some kind of follow-up to maintain the momentum for change among

those who have proven themselves to be talented facilitators, and Phase Two of the programme might be an ideal opportunity to do so while providing additional experience to this new generation. Youth could be involved, for example, in remote education service delivery, or in oversight and monitoring;

- **Ensure that education is both inclusive and relevant to local needs.** Supporting decentralized models of education, while still ensuring universal standards and transferability between regions, will enable students to graduate with marketable skills relevant to their local economy;

- **Share curriculum framework tools.** Education authorities expressed a desire to obtain curriculum frameworks from other countries to use as examples and for comparison when drafting their own frameworks. An online clearinghouse that would provide these examples would fill this need, and potentially benefit other countries undergoing curriculum reform. On such a site, UNICEF perhaps along with other agencies could present best practices, such as the inclusion of conflict sensitivity, life skills, gender equality, and other components, for building a curriculum framework that promotes social cohesion and resilience;[64]

- **UNICEF global policy documents on equity should reflect the linkages between its equity agenda and peacebuilding in fragile settings.** This case study shows strong linkages between the different dimensions of equity in education with quality and relevance of learning, and bottom-up peacebuilding processes. Moreover, UNICEF's equity approach has the potential to promote inclusive forms of governance that address deep-rooted structural factors which sometimes underpin patterns of alienation, marginalization and violent conflict. UNICEF Global policy papers should be updated to reflect those linkages more strongly so as to provide a 'narrative' that positions education as a critical peacebuilding entry point in fragile and conflict-affected settings;

- **Consistently apply conflict sensitive monitoring tools to education programming supported by UNICEF.** No clear evidence was found that such a system was being applied by AET with the youth-led consultation. While field diaries were produced by youth facilitators, these diaries were light on detail, seemed to miss much more than they captured, and by design were not geared toward capturing key information related to 'conflict sensitivity'. Better application of conflict sensitive monitoring tools will allow for much stronger analysis of change processes and dynamics related to conflict, thus facilitating remedial action by education services.

---

64 A more ambitious alternative would be to provide certification for or grading of national curriculum frameworks on the basis of their conformity with best practices. As this would likely raise political issues that could defeat the very purpose of curriculum reform, it is not recommended.

Bibliography

Abdinoor, Abdullahi. 2008. Community assumes the role of state in stateless Somalia. International Education 37(2, Spring):43–61.[65]

African Educational Trust (AET). 2014. PBEA: *Participatory Curriculum Framework Review Q2*, 8 October 2014.

African Educational Trust (AET). 2015a. 'Our work in Somalia.' http://africaeducationaltrust.org/somalia/.

African Educational Trust (AET). 2015b. PBEA: *Participatory Curriculum Framework Review Q3*, 18 February 2015.

African Educational Trust (AET). 2015c. PBEA: *Participatory Curriculum Framework Review Q4*, 26 May 2015.

African Educational Trust (AET). 2015d. *Somaliland: Preliminary Report on Curriculum Consultations*. Nairobi: UNICEF Somalia CO.UNICEF. 2014c. 'About.' Learning for Peace. http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/about/learning-for-peace/.

Ahmed, Ali J. 1995. Preface. Pp. ix-xv in Ali J. Ahmed, ed., The Invention of Somalia. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press.

Muthiah Alagappa (ed). 1995. *Political Legitimacy in Southeast Asia. The Quest for Moral Authority*, California: Stanford University Press.

Arandel C., Brinkerhoff D. W., Bell M.M. 2015. Reducing fragility through strengthening local governance in Guinea. *Third World Quarterly* Volume 36, Issue 5:985-1006, at: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/01436597.2015.1025741

Atran, Scott. 2010. *Talking To The Enemy: Religion, Brotherhood, and the (Un)Making of Terrorists.* New York: Harper Collins.

Bahadur, Jay. 2011. *The Pirates of Somalia: Inside Their Hidden World.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Barakat, Connolly, Hardman, Lewis, Lineker, Menkhaus, Rzeszut and Shanks. 2014. *Beyond Fragility: A Conflict and Education Analysis of the Somali Context.* York: Post-war Reconstruction & Development Unit, The University of York; Institute for Effective Education, The University of York; UNICEF. http://www.york.ac.uk/iee/assets/UNICEF%20Beyond%20fragility.pdf.

Bekalo, S.A., M. Brophy, A.G. Welford. 2003. The development of education in post-conflict 'Somaliland.' International Journal of Educational Development 23(4):459–475.

Bueger, Christian. 2013. The decline of Somali piracy – Towards long term solutions. *Piracy-Studies.Org, Research Portal for Maritime Security.* Dated 1 September. http://piracy-studies.org/the-decline-of-somali-piracy-towards-long-term-solutions/.

Chopra, Jarat. 1999. *Peace-Maintenance: The Evolution of International Political Authority,* New York: Routledge.

Chopra, Jarat. 2002. Building State Failure in East Timor. *Development and Change* 33(5):979-1000.

Dahl, James. 2014. 'Political Map of Somalia' (as of 14 October 2014). http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somalia#/media/File:Somalia_map_states_regions_districts.png

Elmi, Afyare Abdi. 2010. *Understanding the Somali Conflagration: Identity, Political Islam and Peacebuilding*. London: Pluto Press.

---

65 All Internet links in this bibliography were last consulted in June 2015.

Epstein A., UNICEF HQ Education Section (2010), *Making the Case for an Equity Focus in Education,* UNICEF, HQ Education Section, New York.

Fergusson, James. 2013. The *World's Most Dangerous Place.* Boston: Da Capo Press.

Fountain, Susan. 1999. *Peace Education in UNICEF*. Working Paper, Education Section Programme Division. New York: UNICEF.

Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (GCPEA). 2014. *Education Under Attack 2014.* http://www.protectingeducation.org/education-under-attack-2014.

Goodin E. and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. 1996. 'Political Science: The Discipline', in G.R. Goodin and H. Klingemann (eds.). 1996. *A New Handbook of Political Science*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hansen, Stig Jarle. 2013. *Al-Shabaab in Somalia: The History and Ideology of a Militant Islamist Group*, 2005-2012. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harper, Mary. 2012. *Getting Somalia Wrong? Faith, War and Hope in a Shattered State*. London: Zed Books.

Harper, Mary. 2013. "Somalia 'New Deal': EU pledge at Brussels conference". 16 September. BBC News, Africa. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-24108025.

Holsti J. Kaveli. 1997. *Political Sources of Humanitarian Emergencies*, Helsinki Finland: United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research, UNU/WIDER.

Horseed Media. 2015. 'Somalia: Somali Pirates hijack vessel for first time in 3 years.' http://horseedmedia.net/2015/03/26/somalia-somali-pirates-hijack-vessel-for-first-time-in-3-years/.

Hosken, Andrew. 2011. 'Somali famine "not far off."' BBC Radio 4, 13 July. http://news.bbc.co.uk/today/hi/today/newsid_9536000/9536334.stm

Ibrahim, Mohamad. 2009 (20 September). 'Somali rebels tell schools to scrap U.N. textbooks.' Reuters. http://in.reuters.com/article/2009/09/20/idINIndia-42580320090920.

ICG (International Crisis Group). 2014 (26 June). *Somalia: Al Shabaab – It Will Be a Long War.* Africa Briefing No. 99. Nairobi/Brussels: ICG.

ICG. 2013 (19 December). *Somalia: Puntland's Punted Polls.* Africa Briefing No. 97. Nairobi/Brussels: ICG.

International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding. 2011. "A new deal for engagement in fragile states." http://www.newdeal4peace.org/wp-content/themes/newdeal/docs/new-deal-for-engagement-in-fragile-states-en.pdf.

Leonard, David K. and Mohamed S. Samantar. 2011. What Does the Somali Experience Teach Us about the Social Contract and the State? *Development and Change* 42(2):559–584.

Leonard, David K. and Mohamed S. Samantar. 2013. Reconstructing Political Order Among the Somalis: The Historical Record in the South and Centre. *IDS Bulletin* 44(1):44-52.

Lewis, Ioan. 1999 [1961]. *A Pastoral Democracy: A Study of Pastoralism and Politics Among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa*. Hamburg: Lit Verlag & Oxford: James Currey.

Little, Peter D. 2003. *Somalia: Economy Without* State. Oxford: James Currey.

Marchal, Roland. 2011. *The Rise of a Jihadi Movement in a Country at War. Harakat al-Shabaab al Mujaheddin in Somalia.* Report. Paris: Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales, Sciences Po.

Ministry of Education, Culture and Higher Education (MoECHE). 2011 (May). *National Education Plan.* Mogadishu: MoECHE, Somali Republic.

Ministry of Human Development and Public Services (MoHDPS). 2012. *Go-2-School Initiative 2013-2016: Educating for Resilience.* Mogadishu: MoHDPS.

Mohamed-Abdi, Mohamed. 2001/2. *De gaashaanqaad à mooryaan: Quelle place pour les jeunes en Somalie? Autrepart* 18:69–84.

MoHDPS 2012. *Go-2-School Initiative2013-2016: Educating for Resilience.* Joint Strategy Document. Mogadishu: Somalia Federal Republic, Ministry of Human Development and Public Services. http://www.unicef.org/somalia/SOM_resources_gotoschool.pdf.

Morah, Erasmus U. 2000. Old institutions, new opportunities: the emerging nature of Koranic schools in Somaliland in the 1990s. *International Journal of Educational Development* 20(4):305–322.

Mubarak, Jamil A. 1997. The 'hidden hand' behind the resilience of the stateless economy of Somalia. *World Development* 25(12):2027–2041.

OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. 2002. 'A study on minorities in Somalia.' http://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/study-minorities-somalia.

Omar, Mohamoud Dahir. 2014. 'Poor Somaliland: Quality vs free primary education.' Hargeisa: Somaliland Education Network. http://somalilandedu.org/education/17/03/2014/poor-somaliland-quality-vs-free-primary-education/

Powell, Benjamin, Ryan Ford and Alex Nowrasteh. 2008. Somalia After State Collapse: Chaos or Improvement? *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 67(3-4):657–670.

Renders, Marleen. 2012. *Consider Somaliland: State-Building with Traditional Leaders and Institutions*. Leiden: Brill.

Reyes, Joel. 2013. *What Matters Most for Students in Contexts of Adversity: A Framework Paper,* Education Resilience Approaches (ERA) Programme, World Bank, Washington.

Ridout, Timothy A. 2012. Building Peace and the State in Somaliland: The Factors of Success. *Journal of the Middle East & Africa* 3(2):136–156.

Samatar, Abdi. 1992. Destruction of state and society in Somalia: Beyond the tribal convention. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30(4):625–641.

Sesnan, B. and S. Milas. 1995. *Evolution of UNICEF Assistance to Basic Education in Somalia*. Nairobi: UNICEF Somalia.

Siddique, Haroon. 2014. 'Briton among two United Nations workers shot dead in Somalia.' *The Guardian* dated 7 April. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/07/united-nations-workers-shot-dead-somalia.

Somalia CEWERU (Conflict Early Warning Early Response Unit). 2013. *From the Bottom Up: Southern Regions - Perspectives through Conflict Analysis and Key Political Actors' Mapping of Gedo, Middle Juba, Lower Juba, and Lower Shabelle.* Version 2, re-released December 2013. Mogadishu: Somalia CEWERU. http://www.theatm.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/CEWERU-FINAL-Report.pdf.

Somalia CEWERU. 2012a. *Conflict Analysis: Bakool, Somalia*. Mogadishu: Somalia CEWERU. http://www.somaliaceweru.org/images/pdfreports/bakool_report_print_final.pdf.

Somalia CEWERU. 2012b. *Conflict Analysis: Bay, Somalia*. Mogadishu: Somalia CEWERU. http://www.somaliaceweru.org/images/pdfreports/bay_report_print_final.pdf.

Somalia CEWERU. 2012c. *Conflict Analysis: Middle Shabelle, Somalia*. Mogadishu: Somalia CEWERU. http://www.somaliaceweru.org/images/pdfreports/middle%20shabelle_report_print_final.pdf.

Somali Democratic Republic and UNICEF. 1987. *Women and Children in Somalia: A Situation Analysis*. Mogadishu: Somali Democratic Republic and UNICEF.

UNDP. 1997 (March). *UNDP and Governance: Experiences and Lessons Learned,* New York: Management Development and Governance Division, UNDP.

UNDP Somalia. 1998. *Human Development Report: Somalia 1998*. Mogadishu: UNDP.

UNDP Somalia. 2012. *Somalia Human Development Report 2012: Empowering Youth for Peace and Development*. Nairobi: UNDP Somalia. http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/242/somalia_report_2012.pdf.

UNDP. 2014. *Human Development Report 2014*. New York: UNDP.

UNESCO. 2015. "Somali distance education and literacy." Effective Literary Practice. http://www.unesco.org/uil/litbase/?menu=4&programme=100&language=en

UNHCR. 2015a. "2015 UNHCR country operations profile – Yemen," UNHCR Yemen. http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e486ba6.html

UNHCR. 2015b. *UNHCR Bi-Weekly Update, 16-28 February 2015*. Dadaab Refugee Camps. http://data.unhcr.org/uploads/uploadshorn/images/documents/dt_horn_1544.jpg.

UNICEF ERIC Compendium at http://childethics.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/ERIC-compendium-approved-digital-web.pdf

UNICEF. 2005. 'EC and UNICEF join hands to support education in Somalia.' http://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/ec-and-unicef-join-hands-support-education-somalia.

UNICEF. 2006. *Primary Education Survey Somalia 2005/06*, Executive Summary of Main Findings. Nairobi: UNICEF.

UNICEF. 2010. Narrowing the Gaps to Meet the Goals, United Nations Children's Fund, New York

UNICEF (2015, *forthcoming*), *Programming for Sustainable Results in Fragile and Conflict Affected Settings through Education – PBEA Lessons Learned,* UNICEF ESARO.

UNICEF Somalia CO. 2013a (November). *Somalia Country Office 2014 PBEA Proposal*. Nairobi: UNICEF Somalia CO.

UNICEF Somalia CO. 2013b. *Operational Matrix PBEA Somalia 2014-2015*. Nairobi: UNICEF Somalia CO.

UNICEF Somalia CO. 2015a. *PBEA Programme 2014 Annual Report*. Nairobi: UNICEF Somalia CO.

UNICEF. Forthcoming 2015. *Responding to a Conflict-Induced Humanitarian Crisis through Education in South Sudan*. UNICEF.

United Nations Security Council. 2014. *Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea pursuant to Security Council resolution 2111 (2013)*: Somalia. New York: UNSC.

War-torn Societies Project. 1998. *Northeast Somalia Regional Reports: North Mudug Region*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

World Bank. 2013. *RES-Research (Resilience in Education Settings Research): Training Facilitator Guidance Notes 1 & 2*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

World Peace Foundation. 2013. *Patterns of Violence in Somalia: Notes from the Seminar.* Seminar held on 26-28 September. Medford, MA: The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. http://fletcher.tufts.edu/~/media/Fletcher/Microsites/World%20Peace%20Foundation/Patterns%20of%20Violence%20in%20Somalia.pdf.

unicef
unite for children