PEACE EDUCATION AS A PANACEA FOR CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION IN KENYA

Joshua Manduku

University of Kabianga, KENYA, mandukujoshua@gmail.com

Abstract

Education systems and institutions around the world have undergone substantial transformations in the last five decades attributed to socio-political reforms prompted by demographic changes, social upheavals and demands for equal rights. In an increasingly interconnected world, education is at the centre of the on-going pursuit of coexistence in multiethnic and multicultural societies. In Kenya, the Ministry of Education as a way to foster peace and transform the warring communities to peaceful livelihood, introduced peace education in 2008 into the school curriculum. This move came after the infamous 2007/08 general election that left behind many deaths and displacements and other serious human rights atrocities, including violations on freedom of movement, assembly and opinion in several places in Kenya. It was envisaged that this move would prosper conflict transformation in the country. However there seems to be little progress in using peace education for conflict transformation in Kenya and available evidence is scant to robustly support the peace education-conflict transformation narrative. It is upon this premise that this study aims at analyzing the critical link between peace education and conflict. Specifically, the study seeks to examine the role played by peace education in the school's curriculum in conflict transformation and to investigate the potential pathways through which peace education has impacted peace in Kenyan schools.

The study will be informed by the Conflict Transformation Model advanced by Paul Lederach. This will be a mixed methods research, combining both critical review of the literature with in-depth interviews with key informants in the education sector. The study will be limited to the County of Uasin Gishu. This study aims at lobbying for the mandatory implementation of its findings to the Ministry of Education in its periodical reviews of peace education so then it may suit learners' needs. It is anticipated that the study will make a theoretical contribution to the body of knowledge related to conflict prevention and transformation with a particular emphasis on the role played by peace education in ensuring a conflict-free Kenya.

Keywords: Peace education, conflict transformation

1. INTRODUCTION

Although conflict has devastating impacts on education, education has the potential to prevent conflict. The role of education in conflict-affected countries has received increased attention during the past decade because of its significance for the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) related to

education. There has been an increasing awareness that Education for All (EFA) goals will only be achieved through success in accessing children in conflict affected contexts, who are among the hardest to reach (Save the Children Alliance, 2016).

Since the publication of a UN Special Report on children and armed conflict, attention has been given to assessing the impacts of conflict on education (Machel, 1994). These include the disruption of schools, attacks on teachers and pupils, forced recruitment of child soldiers, and the needs of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs). Numerous studies have subsequently been released on this topic, including two recent reports from UNESCO (O'Mally 2010; UNESCO 2010). The aim has been to expose the extent and nature of the abuses perpetrated against children and education systems in conflict-affected situations, as well as to explore strategies to prevent and address the effects of conflict on education.

The past decade has also seen an increased awareness of the 'two faces' of education, that is, how education may sometimes exacerbate or mitigate conflict. Research has identified a range of issues that may have such impacts, including factors related to access to education, the structure of schooling, teacher recruitment and training, and curriculum content (Bush and Salterelli 2013). While this has had the merit to highlight the need for 'conflict-sensitivity' in education programming, its emphasis has mainly been on the negative effects. Conversely, as expressed in the Inter-agency Network for- Education in Emergencies (INEE)'s Strategic Research Agenda, there continues to be a need to identify how education may make a positive contribution to peacebuilding (Woodrow &Ghigas, 2009).

The concept of 'peacebuilding' has also received renewed attention following the UN Secretary- General's call for the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) and the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) in 2006. These structures have emerged because of concerns to prevent relapses in the aftermath of conflict. They provide support to countries in the immediate post-conflict period mainly through funding for political, governance, security and macroeconomic reforms (OECD, 2014).

However, the new UN peacebuilding architecture also provides the opportunity to initiate social programming in areas that support peacebuilding (UN Report, 2011). In recognition of existing gaps in knowledge and practice, this study is an attempt to examine the role of peace education in peacebuilding processes in post-conflict contexts by exploring evidence on the role of peace education in peacebuilding, based on academic, programming and evaluation literature.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Education plays a key role in sustainable development and equips one with skills necessary in life. Similarly, the introduction of Peace Education Programme in the school curriculum is aimed at fostering peace and conflict transformation in Kenya in the long run. Tracing back since its inception in Kenya in 2008, PEP has experienced challenges in its implementation, provision of trained personnel and the nature of its implementation at the classroom level. Given the priority that was given by UNESCO and the Ministry of Education and the introduction of PEP, there exists a gap between the peace education curriculum and its impact in conflict transformation. A lot has been written on the introduction of peace education curriculum in Kenya. However, little has been written on the evaluation of peace education in the school curriculum and its relevance in building a culture of peace in Kenya. This study therefore seeks to analyze and examine the role of peace education in the school curriculum in conflict transformation since its inception in Kenya and whether having peace education within other subjects taught in school has had an impact on conflict transformation in the country.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

This study will seek to achieve the following objectives:

1. To identify areas of peacebuilding that peace education directly or indirectly addresses in Kenya.

2. To assess the significance of peace education in conflict prevention and allevistion in Kenya.

3. To critically analyze the impact of Peace Education Programme within the curriculum on conflict transformation in Kenya.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

This study will be grounded on the Conflict Transformation Model advanced by Lederach (1995).A distinctive theory of conflict transformation has emerged, that differs a great deal from the theories of conflict, conflict resolution and conflict management. as expressed by various theorists. Presently, conflicts have taken different forms and changes that have prompted various theories on conflict transformation. In Africa, conflicts have taken different directions, with traces of inequality of power and status, others are protracted, erupting into violence and thus defy most of existing conflict management cycles. Mwagiru (2006) observes that protracted conflicts disrupt the societies, economies, and regions in which they occur, thus creating complex emergencies fueled by internal and external as internalization of conflict.

Various theories of conflict transformation have been advanced by different theorists and each is significant in its own way. Conflict Management Theorists view conflicts as an ineradicable consequence of differences of values and interests within different communities (Miall, 2004). They see the propensity for violence as arising from present institutions and existing relationships and existing power distributions. To them, resolving such conflicts is seen as unrealistic, as they perceive the best way to resolve them is to manage and contain them and occasionally reach a compromise whereby violence is minimized and local politics resumed. In essence, conflict management is the art of appropriate intervention to arrive at settlements by powerful actors whom they refer to as mediators who possess the power and the resources to offset the conflict to appropriate channels.

According to Bloomfield and Reilly (2011) conflict management is the positive and constructive handling of differences and divergence. They advocate conflict management in terms of dealing with conflict in a constructive way, by bringing opposing parties to an agreement in a cooperative process, and design a practical, achievable and cooperative system in order to achieve management of differences (Bloomfield &Beilly, 2013).

Conflict Resolution theorists on the other hand differ from Conflict Management Theorists in the sense that they ignore the power-political view of conflict. They propose that in cases of communal and identity conflicts, people cannot afford to compromise on their fundamental needs. They argue that it is possible to transcend conflicts if only parties can be helped to explore, analyze and question and reframe their positions and interests.

According to Conflict Resolution Theorists, conflict resolution puts more emphasis on intervention by skilled, powerful or less powerful third parties, working under or without authority to foster new relationships in the conflicting groups. These third parties seek to unearth the root causes of conflicts and propose conflict solutions. Therefore, conflict resolution is about how parties move from zero-sum, destructive patterns of conflict to positive-sum outcomes. As Azar and Burton (1986) assert, the aim of Conflict Resolution Theorists is to develop a process of conflict resolution that appear to be acceptable to disputant parties, and that which is effective in resolving conflicts.Conflict Transformation Theorists is a group that argues that modern conflicts need more than the reframing of positions and the identification of win-win outcomes. To them, the structure of conflict parties and relationships are interwoven in a conflictual relationship that extends beyond the presentconflict in the eye (Miall, 2004). The process of transforming relationships, interests, discourses as well as societal constitutions that continue to propagate conflicts is conflict transformation. In conflict transformation, conflict parties, members of the society affected by the conflict, outsiders with knowledge about the conflict also play a key role in the long term process of peace building. Conflict transformation theorists thus propose a comprehensive and wide-ranging approach which emphasizes support of groups within the society in conflict. These theorists are also aware of the fact that conflicts are transformed gradually through a series of smaller larger changes and through specific steps where a variety of actors play different roles.

There also exists Integrative Theory of Peace (ITP) which is based on the concept that peace is a psychological, social, political, ethical and spiritual state with expressions at intrapersonal, intergroup and international areas of human life (Danesh, 2006). This theory purports that all human states of being are the outcome of the human cognitive, emotive, and connotative capacities which determine the nature of our world view. ITP draws from issues of psychological development and peace education and bears a developmental approach to conflict resolution. This theory further asserts that peace has its roots in satisfying human need for survival, safety and security, in a quest for freedom, justice and interconnectedness. To ITP theorists, peace is the ultimate outcome of transition from self-centered and anxiety ridden insecurities of survival to a universal and all inclusive state of awareness of our humanity. Critics of ITP theory see it as self-satisfying and egoistic and thus out to satisfy only the needs of the few warring parties, thus they deem it insufficient for conflict transformation in the long run.

The weakness of the conflict management theorists lies in the fact that they view conflicts as ineradicable and can better be resolved through managing and containment. They see use of mediators as the powerful people who possess the power to offset conflicts, which in most cases may fail considering the leverage on the side of the mediators. Moreover, these theories give limited attention to autonomous processes of change that transpires within the political system of the conflict-affected society. On the other hand, conflict resolution theories are ineffective in conflict transformation in the sense that they put more emphasis on the disputant parties. Lederach also criticizes these theories in his argument that conflict transformation must actively envision, include, respect, and promote the human and cultural resources from within a given setting. He proposes that this would involve a new set of lenses through which we do not view the setting and the people in the conflict as the problem and the outsider as the answer. Rather, Lederach proposes that there is need to understand the long-term goal of transformation as validating and building on people and resources within the setting.

Considering the weakness of the discussed theories, this research adopts the conflict transformation model by Lederach as he presents the most comprehensive model of conflict transformation suited to this study. Lederach sees peace-building as a long-term transformation of a war system into a peace system, inspired by desire for values of peace and justice, truths and mercy. Key dimensions in Lederach's model are the changes in the personal, structural, relational and cultural aspects of conflict, brought over different time periods, affecting different system levels at different times.

Peace building is thus seen as a structure process; an appropriate strategy that addresses issues of networking between leaders, embracing a vision of desired future and awareness of current crisis, addressing complementary changes at all levels.This model is strong as it widens its outlook from conflict and conflict parties and it indicates the scope for drawing peace-building resources from the wider society. Therefore, this model informs this study as it raises importance on sequencing, what type of action or intervention is appropriate, by whom and at what time. Therefore, conflict transformation is the comprehensive approach taken by this study as it addresses a wide range of aspect from micro to macro issues, local and global issues, grass-roots to elite, both short and long-term. It aims at developing capacity and structural development.

1.4 The Concept of Peacebuilding

The term 'peacebuilding' was coined by Johan Galtung in 1975 with the publication of 'Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding'. Galtung developed many of the core concepts that continue to be applied in peacebuilding work and definitions today, including in the UN's 2007 definition. Core concepts from Galtung's work include: negative peace, positive peace, structural violence, root causes of conflict and sustainable peace. For Galtung, peacebuilding involves addressing and removing the root causes of violence-the structural and (a later addition to his work) the cultural violence - that feeds into and enables direct violence. The goal of peacebuilding is positive, sustainable peace.

In Galtung's words, "... structures must be found that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur" (1976: 297). Galtung also emphasizes the importance of local knowledge, ownership and participation in peacebuilding. The work of John Paul Lederach has also been important for evolving definitions of peacebuilding. Lederach's emphases on peacebuilding as a process that is dynamic and social and involves transforming relationships have been important. In 1997, Lederach wrote that peacebuilding:

... is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and

sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Metaphorically, peace is seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition. It is q dynamic social construct (p. 84-85).

Transformation is an important concept within Lederach's work and the idea regarding the transformation of conflict and the relationships between conflicting parties continues to be important for peacebuilding definitions and practice. Many scholars, international organizations and community groups have taken these concepts and the ideas of peacebuilding that they inform forward in their work, approaching peacebuilding from a variety of perspectives and refining peacebuilding in conceptual and practical ways. In 1992, with the publication of An

Agenda for Peace by then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the idea of 'post-conflict peacebuilding' entered UN vocabulary.

1.5 The Role of Education in Peacebuilding

Education is perhaps the most important tool for human development and the eradication of poverty. It is the means by which successive generations develop the values, knowledge and skills for their personal health and safety and for future political, economic, social and cultural development. This may be one reason why the SDGs place so much emphasis on achieving universal, free and compulsory primary education through Education for All (EFA).

There are many impediments to the achievement of EFA. These include lack of priority to education on the part of national governments (such as insufficient spending as a percentage of GNP, or inequitable distribution of funding and resources), or lack of effective action by the international community in the use of development assistance. Within countries, poverty, child labour, distance from school, unequal access due to gender or cultural factors, and the existence of conflict are all barriers to the enrolment of children in school.

Research by Save the Children Alliance has highlighted that, "The number of out-of-school primary-age children in the world has fallen in recent years, but the situation in conflict affected countries has seen little improvement. These countries are home to only 13 per cent of the world's population, yet half of all the children out of school (37 million out of 72 million children) live there. More disconcerting is the fact that they receive less than one-fifth of education aid" (Save the Children, 2016). The most recent estimate by the EFA, Global Monitoring Report (2016) is that 28 million children live in conflict-affected countries (42 per cent of the world total of children out of school).

This section provides a brief summary of three ways in which we can think about the role of education in conflict-affected situations. In broad terms, they represent areas that have gained greater attention during the past two decades in international development discourses, although their roots go back to at least the Second World War. Each represents a slightly different perspective arising from a common concern about the way that violent conflict affects the lives of children and their right to education. The first represents a concern for the protection of children and a response to the negative impacts of conflict on their education. To some extent this is primarily a humanitarian motivation.

The second represents a concern that education is provided in a way that 'does no harm'. This approach can be defined as conflict sensitive education. That is, it is sensitive to sources of conflict in the society in which it is situated and is provided in a way that does not make antagonisms or animosities worse. The third represents a concern that education can 'do some good', for example, by contributing to transformations within conflict-affected societies that might make peace possible and more likely to endure-that is, education that contributes to peacebuilding.

Elements of these discourses have emerged and coexisted throughout a considerable period of time, although at times one perspective may have gained more prominence than another. Sometimes they interact, but separate development of these discourses has been more common than their integration. To some extent, this has also been reflected in the emergence of distinct communities of practice.

1.6 The Concept of Peace Education

Peace Education for many years now has been seen as the foundation for a culture of peace (Wessells, 2014). To achieve peace therefore, there is need for peace among people at interpersonal, individual and communal as well as at national level. Peace Education therefore includes-all efforts to facilitate development of peaceful people‖ (Harris, 2011). It may take place at schools, communities, churches, families and learning centers, clinics, workplaces.

Learners of Peace Education may thus be anyone: children, youth, teachers, professors, doctors, ministers and even the president. Harris (2011) identifies five types of Peace Education. Global Peace Education‖ includes international studies, holocaust studies and nuclear education. Conflict Resolution Programs‖ rotate around medication, negotiation and conflict skills. Violence Prevention Programs‖ emphasize on domestic violence, drug abuse, anger management and teaching violence. Development Education‖ teaches human rights,

environmental studies, and power and resource inequalities. Non-Violence Education‖ is based on ideas of Gandhi and other peace makers. An incorporation of all this aspects is what constitutes a Peace Education Program geared towards Conflict Transformation. It is therefore important to assumethat the goals of Peace Education are to develop the dispositions within people that will influence them to behave peacefully (Nelson & Christie, 2013). Therefore, particular goals of Peace Education are to develop caring and non-aggressive individuals who relate peacefully to others in their own lives, promote others welfare, and prevent societal violence in the world.

1.6.1 Peace Education in Kenya

Kenya has for the longest time been perceived as a haven of peace within East and Central Africa. However, the post-election violence that rocked the country in 2008 and cases of terrorist attacks have questioned the capabilities of the country in sustaining peace. As of 2008, a conference held in Kenya led to the adoption of the Peace Education Programme (PEP) at school level as a form of fostering peace (Garry, 2006). This set forth the genesis for Peace Education in Kenya. The Ministry of Education in Kenya through its permanent secretary in the ministry stated that the Kenyan Government is committed to peace building through its vision 2030 initiative aimed at transforming the entire society including the education sector. The initiative encompasses an all-inclusive education curriculum goal that fosternational unity, psychological intervention program peace education program and integrated co-curricular activities.

1.6.2 Peace Education and Peace Building in Kenya

The history and development of the term peace building has evolved over years to adopt various meanings from different scholars, policy makers and practitioners in different settings. The definitions have revolved around the purpose, the method, time, actors, process vs. actions and organizations. The concept of peace-building was popularized by Johan Galtung in 1975 in his pioneering work. The three approaches to peace: Peace keeping, peacemaking and peace building‖. As a sociologist, Galtung (1996) was interested in the causes of conflict in society and his work led to the conclusion that the root cause of all conflict is the nature of social and economic structures and he used the term structural violence‖ to describe the type of conflict that arises due to institutional structures. His work called for a structural change approach in creating a culture of peace‖ in society. Lederach (1997), another sociologist arguing along the same lines, proposed a grassroots approach to pace-building, where local leaders, NGOs and international players take part in creating peace. He further emphasizes the importance of building relationships among the involved parties, thus encompassing the psychological, spiritual, social, economic and political aspects of a community. In 1992, peace-building entered the United Nations language when the then Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali29 presented a report titled, 'An Agenda for Peace' in which he talked of the need of peace-building as a strategy to enhance the UN's peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts.

Following the contested 2008 elections in Kenya, the government, NGOs, and international actors felt the need to establish a culture of peace in Kenya in order to foster conflict transformation. Peace Building, a programme started by the National Cohesion and Integration Commission was put in place aims to strengthen conflict prevention, peace-building and social cohesion capacities both at the national and community levels in order to address potential risk factors and promote greater citizen and community participation in peace-building, as well as to mainstream conflict-sensitive development processes. This program works with other programmes at the NCIC, to supports and/or coordinates a national reconciliation project whose goal is providing policy analysis and influence on a range of issues vital to national cohesion, peace-building and reconciliation in Kenya. The programme seeks to include gender in reconciliation processes and disseminate the lessons learned from the Kenya Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission. The peace building programme adopts the strategies of Forgiveness in partnership with the Kenya Forgiveness Project, economic redress and reparations as a foundation for National Cohesion and Development in Kenya.

Moreover, the initiative focuses on the role of culture and tradition in promoting reconciliation in Kenya, and the role of memorialization in promoting reconciliation in Kenya. Other strategies for the programme include capacity building and training for key stakeholders on strategies for addressing community reconciliation and promoting national cohesion, strategies for supporting trauma healing and empowering women and youth to actively participate in promoting coexistence between ethnic, religious and racial groups in Kenya.According to INEE (2015), the Peace Education Programme in Kenya developed and endorsed by UNESCO, UNHCR, UNICEF

and INEE teaches the skills and values associated with peaceful behaviours. The programme is has been tailored to capacitate and encourage people to think constructively about issues, both physical and social and to develop constructive attitudes towards living together and solvingproblems that arise in their communities through peaceful means. In Kenya, this programme allows for learners to practice skills and learn their outcome so that they own them. This is achieved through a structured and sustainable education programme beginning from a tender age all through to higher education. Peace education materials for the curriculum are therefore provided to accommodate this goal.

A manual on peace education by Waihenya (2004) outlines the idea of creating a culture of peace-building in Kenya through the idea of creating peace clubs in both primary and secondary schools. This manual offers guidance on club activities to teachers and students directions on the peace club activities by motivating teachers, students and communities to perceive peace as tied to the curriculum through exploring the content at school and relate it to other settings like homes, school, and communities in the quest to establish a culture of peace in Kenya.

Other initiatives for peace-building in Kenya include the Initiatives for Nonviolence and Peace (INPEACE), an organization in Africa, an organization of peace education for peace in Africa. INPEACE conducts conflict transformation and peace-building workshops through people-focused, gender-sensitive human rights based and participatory action approaches especially for women. This organization has supported women in IDP camps in Kenya affected by the post-election violence in 2008 and has had partnerships with high school and college students to hold peace dialogues and create ways to sustain peace in individual lives, families, the community and the nation at large. Moreover, various organizations have been engaged in peace-building activities in Kenya not only through capacity building but also through community development programs aimed to foster peace-building and conflict transformation in Kenya.

1.7 Conflict-Sensitive Education

Throughout the past decade, an increasing number of studies have highlighted aspects of education that have implications for conflict (Bush &Salterelli 2013; Smith & Vaux 2013; Buckland 2014; Davies, 2014; and Tawil& Harley, 2014) and suggest a number of reasons why we should be cautious about how education is provided. Firstly, education may be perceived politically as a powerful tool for ideological development.

This can take many forms, ranging from the use of education in the development of liberal ideas, to nation building and, in extreme cases, political indoctrination. Secondly, education may be perceived as an instrument for providing the knowledge and skills necessary for economic development and societal mobility. However, this may or may not include equity concerns, thus further excluding certain groups from economic and social benefits that education can provide. Thirdly, education is a means by which social and cultural values are transmitted from generation to generation and, depending on the values concerned, these may convey negative stereotypes or encourage attitudes that explicitly or implicitly condone violence or generate conflict.

Thorough analysis of education systems from a conflict perspective is an underdeveloped area. It is relevant for a range of professionals, including politicians, policymakers, education administrators, teachers, parents, community activists, youth and development workers. There are many entry points to the various levels of an education system and the development of conflict-sensitive education systems involves analysis at each of these. This includes a critical analysis of the political ideology driving a system, as well as its legislative, structural and administrative features. These may have significant implications for non-discrimination and equal access to education.

The most contentious challenge in terms of international development is to find a way of raising critical questions about the form and content of education and its implications for relations between peoples, groups and nations. The difficulty will be in finding ways for this to be accepted internationally as a legitimate concern as part of improving the quality of education. The extent to which education is a tool for political or ideological purposes may be evidenced by political involvement in operational matters, such as education appointments, deployment of teachers or the determination of the curriculum. In many circumstances, political elites will want to use education for their own purposes.

Although decentralization of education systems may carry the potential to increase participation and ownership, it may also leave education open to manipulation as part of local politics. This highlights the need for analysis

that identifies the political and economic influences operating on and within the education system in post-conflict environments. Capacity building and training for those working within the public service may therefore be a necessary prerequisite for the success of any overall education sector plan that takes account of conflict.

At all levels of the education system, governance is a crucial issue (UNESCO, 2015). The arrangements that are in place for representation and participation in consultation (Lindblad et al. 2012), decision-making and governance may be potential sources of conflict, or they may be opportunities for inclusion and the resolution of grievances (Burde, 2014). Arrangements for transparency and accountability also reflect an education system's capacity to accept and address inequalities that might otherwise become sources of conflict.

In broad terms, the way in which education provision is implemented may compound inequalities and erode confidence in government's capacity to provide basic services (Pherali, Smith & Vaux, 2013). In, such a situation, grievances are likely to become increasingly politicized, making it easier to mobilize support for violent conflict (Spinner-Halev, 2013). For example, education may become a source of conflict depending on whether it promotes conformity to a single set of dominant values (assimilation) (Ahonen, 2011), permits the development of identity-based institutions (separate development) or encourages, shared institutions (integration) (Phillips, 2010). The extent to which any of these approaches make conflict more or less likely will be highly context-dependent.

At the practical level, there are many aspects of curriculum that have a bearing on conflict (Apple, 2012). When curriculum is conceived narrowly as the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next, it may be perceived as an extremely powerful tool to promote particular political ideologies, religious practices or cultural values and traditions. The contemporary trend in many countries is to 'modernize' the curriculum so that it is defined in terms of 'learning outcomes', where learning outcomes refer to skills, attitudes and values as well as factual knowledge. They may include the development of 'generic skills' that include communication skills, the ability to draw on multiple sources of information and evaluate conflicting evidence, the development of media literacy, critical thinking and moral development (EFA 2003). Within international development settings there is a particular emphasis on 'life skills' as a means of providing child protections, social and health education (id21, 2004) and the argument is that these are the type of skills that are also helpful for peace-building (UNICEF, 2015).

Additionally, in terms of 'content', every area of the curriculum carries values with the potentialto communicate implicit and explicit political messages. Many of these involve specialized areas of study. For example, the UNESCO position paper on language of instruction highlights the importance of sensitivity to majority and minority languages and distinguishes between 'official' and 'national' languages:

The choice of language in the educational system confers a power and prestige through its use in formal instruction. Not only is there a symbolic aspect, referring to status and visibility, but also a conceptual aspect referring to shared values and worldview expressed through and in that language. (UNESCO, 2013: 13-14)

Another area of curriculum is the teaching of history and the extent to which history education may become a vehicle for promoting particular versions of history, revising historical events or confronting the past in a critical way. Political dimensions in the way that geography is taught and the lexicon it uses for disputed territories can be problematic and the content of teaching material for areas such as culture, art, music and religious education often get drawn into controversy (Tawil& Harley, 2014). Such areas are sometimes referred to as 'national subjects', in many instances tightly controlled by governments and regarded as essential tools for nation building.

The values represented in textbooks and other learning resources are a further area of specialist concern. For example, the operation of a single textbook policy may offer a Ministry of Education a way of guaranteeing a 'minimum entitlement' for all pupils to basic learning resources, particularly important in low-income countries and where equal access needs to be demonstrated. However, questions may arise about who controls or benefits from the production of textbooks, and about their content. In contested societies, arguments regarding textbook content can also become cultural and ideological battlegrounds. Textbook review processes have a long history. For example, there were joint initiatives on French-German textbooks during the 1920s; German-Polish cooperation following the World War II; and a US Soviet textbook project in the 1970s (Hopken, 2013). They raise sensitive issues about what might be considered offensive and by whom. A project reviewing

Palestinian and Israeli textbooks has been underway for some years. Further examples include concerns raised by China and Korea about the treatment of World War II in Japanese textbooks and a critique of international assistance for the replacement of textbooks in Afghanistan (Spink, 2015).

However, there has also been a concern that an emphasis on conflict analysis highlights potentially negative aspects of education provision. From a practical perspective, some aid workers suggest that this makes it more difficult to persuade donors to invest in education in conflict-affected countries. Others suggest that it makes it difficult to maintain a positive relationship with local education officials and underplays the contribution that education can make to 'peacebuilding'.

1.8 Education for Reconstruction, Reconciliation and Peacebuilding

An early report on 'Education for Reconstruction' (Philips et al. 1998) distinguishes between 'physical' reconstruction of school buildings (including emergency repair strategies, the needs of refugee education and landmine safety issues); 'ideological' reconstruction that refers, for example, to democratization of an education system or retraining of teachers; and 'psychological' reconstruction that responds to issues of demoralization, loss of confidence and health-related issues of stress and depression. This contrasts significantly with a report on the World Bank's experience with post-conflict reconstruction, which suggests that the main priority during the 1990s was on the reconstruction of physical infrastructure (World Bank, 2009).

The report's main recommendations illustrate how the World Bank's position was to maintain a watching brief, but stop short of providing development assistance while conflict is underway. However, a later publication from the World Bank Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit acknowledges the need for a shift in position from an emphasis on postconflict reconstruction to 'a sensitivity to conflict' (World Bank, 2014). This is also reflected in a study undertaken by the World Bank on education and post-conflict reconstruction (Buckland 2004). The main objective was to review experience of education system reconstruction in post-conflict countries and to identify lessons that may assist in the achievement of EFA goals. These reports reflect a move away from the notion of thinking about conflict in discrete stages, to an appreciation that the analysis of conflict and 'conflict sensitivity' needs to be built into routine thinking as part of mainstream operations. There is also a growing appreciation that reconstruction is not simply about replacing the physical infrastructure of schools, but needs to include opportunities for rebuilding human relations and inclusive education systems.

The concept of reconciliation has received attention across a range of international contexts, but each conflict is quantitatively different in terms of the level of violence and number of casualties, and qualitatively different in terms of the social context and the nature of atrocities that may have taken place. These factors mean that those affected by conflict have different perspectives on what is reasonable or realistic in terms of attempts at reconciliation. This makes it extremely difficult to consider reconciliation as a generic concept with the same implications for different conflicts. The concept of 'reconciliation' is also problematic in terms of the difficult and controversial issues it raises. Hamber& van der Merwe (2012) suggest that the term embodies positive connotations about healing past conflicts. Despite research into the role of education in relation to truth and reconciliation processes in contexts such as Sierra Leone (Paulson 2006; Paulson 2011; UNICEF 2010), deeper understanding of the role of education in contributing to reconciliation processes has yet to be developed. Reconciliation may be necessary at many levels (between individuals, between groups in conflict, between peoples or nations at war).

There are implications for education in terms of facilitating reconciliation by addressing the legacies of conflict. These include the impact on the bereaved and injured, remembrance and commemoration; debates about forgiveness, expressions of regret, apology and symbolic events; understanding the role of amnesties, prisoner releases, alongside concepts of restorative and transitional justice. These are challenging, long-term tasks that link reconstruction programmes into the mainstream education sector and the longer-term goal of conflict prevention. Education for reconciliation may therefore be seen as a contribution to peacebuilding, concerned with conflict transformation within societies.

The concept of 'peacebuilding' has received renewed attention following the UN Secretary General's call for the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) and the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) in 2006. A review of the UN peacebuilding architecture is provided in Annex A. These structures have emerged because of concerns to prevent relapses in the aftermath of conflict. They provide

support to countries in the immediate post-conflict period mainly through funding for political, governance, security and macroeconomic reforms. However, Collier &Hoeffler (2012) recommend that "focusing on social policies such as education and healthcare, as opposed to macroeconomic reforms, is especially important for preserving peace in countries that have emerged from civil conflict."

Paris (2004) also highlights the limitations and sometimes negative effects of peacebuilding that focuses exclusively on electoral and economic reforms. The PBF has funds of US$360 million and is supporting more than 150 projects in 18 countries, but social programming, such as education, has received less than 14 per cent of its funds (PBF status as of November 2010). Renewed interest in peacebuilding may also be due to the greater priority that is being given to security as a consequence of global events during the past decade. This is evidenced by the focus of the most recent World Development Report (2011) on Conflict, Security and Development. It is also reflected in the EFA Global Monitoring Report (2011) in two main ways. Firstly, the GMR reports on an increasing number of attacks on education that use political and military violence against education staff, students, teachers' unions, government officials and institutions (O'Malley 2010). UNESCO has also produced a report on 'Protecting Education from Attack' that explores possible motives, responses and prevention strategies including armed protection, community defense, and strengthening international monitoring systems and humanitarian law (UNESCO 2010). Secondly, the report highlights concern about links between aid and security. It identifies 21 developing countries that are spending more on arms and the military than on primary schools, and presents evidence that the amount of aid to certain countries may be driven more by global security concerns rather than poverty.

The merging of national security concerns and international development policies is a significant challenge for those in both the development and peacebuilding fields. It highlights the use of education to 'win hearts and minds' as part of counterinsurgency strategy in Iraq and Afghanistan and raises concerns about the confusion of roles between military and aid personnel (Novelli 2010). The change in security context during the past decade also creates new challenges for aid agencies and development organizations. There are two main dimensions to this. Firstly, there is growing awareness among donors that a purely technical approach to programming is insufficient in the political environments present in situations of conflict. This has led to more emphasis on the need for political economy analysis of the education sector.

"There is increasing recognition that blockages for effective reform at the sectoral level (including for delivery, planning and procurement) can be political and that technical solutions alone may not be enough. Governance of a sector, and the way in which politics and institutions interact within that sector, will in practice have a critical impact on sector policies and services" (Foresti and Wild 2009). A number of donors have developed tools and approaches to political economy analysis (OECD 2008; World Bank 2008; DFID 2009) and these have been reviewed by Boak (2011). These build on early work by DFID on 'drivers of change' and approaches such as the Government of the Netherlands, Strategic Governance and Corruption Analysis (SCAGA), but there are very few examples in the literature of these being applied to the education sector or in post-conflict environments, although the European Commission is currently reviewing how political economy analysis can inform its programming in education.

Secondly, the changing context and increased emphasis on the global security agenda will require aid agencies to make more explicit choices about how they position themselves and their work. Humanitarian interventions suggest time-limited emergency responses to humanitarian crises and natural disasters, some of which will be caused by conflict. Development assistance that adopts a 'conflict-sensitive' approach has been encouraged by both the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) and the OECD DAC Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States (2007), and suggests only a degree of intervention that 'does no harm'. However, if agencies accept that 'conflict transformation' is the distinguishing feature of a peacebuilding approach, then this is likely to require a more interventionist stance.

Development informed by political analysis inevitably means making decisions based on judgments about what is best from a peacebuilding perspective, and these may not always be consistent with the views of national governments or the Paris principles. In terms of linkages between education and peacebuilding, the role of education is often stereotyped as 'peace education', perceived to involve working with children and youth on peace education programmes for personal development, inter-group contact and conflict resolution techniques (Salomon 2004). However, there have been a number of more recent initiatives that have reviewed research in

this area (Dupuy, 2008; Save the Children Alliance, 2010; Comic Relief, 2010; Global Monitoring Report, 2011) which provide a review of the education research literature and then an analysis of programme literature related to education and peacebuilding.

1.9 Research Gap

Education programming has given limited attention to sector reform during post-conflict reconstruction. In some cases, the immediate post-conflict period has provided an opportunity for greater inclusion of girls or minorities, or to introduce policy changes that might support peacebuilding, such as changes to the language of instruction or revisions to curricula. Opinions on timing and sequencing vary; some suggest that addressing these areas too early can reopen animosities, while others claim that failing to engage with reform processes as soon as possible misses a window of opportunity during the immediate post-conflict period. It is also argued that while security, political and economic reforms may receive priority during early peacebuilding efforts, the prevalence of relapses into conflict suggests that such macro reforms are not sufficient to sustain peace. Other necessary transformations include addressing structural violence that might have been the root cause or fuelled conflict (such as inequalities, exclusion or discrimination), or transformation of social relations (for example, from fear to security, from mistrust to greater trust, from antagonism to cooperation). These longer-term processes need sustained attention, but also need to begin early and to involve peace education.

1.10 Research Methodology

This study will adopt a mixed methods approach, by combining both a critical review of existing literature with in-depth interviews with key informants from the education sector. By employing qualitative approach in the study, the researcher will carry out a thorough investigation into a wide range of secondary and primary data and further diminish instances of inadequacies associated with primary data collection.

Data will be collected via the use of interview guide. An interview guide is the preferred mode of data collection as it allows for the collection of a lot of data over a short period of timeandwith minimum interruption to respondents schedules (Cooper & Schindler, 2000). The study will also rely on secondary data from textbooks, journals, and academic papers. For sensitive data collected, the researcher will ensure the safety of informants is not compromised. The study will focus on existing literature in school curriculum and will involve an exploration into the role of Peace Education syllabus in Kenyan schools in conflict transformation.

1.10.1 Data Collection Instruments

Data will be collected using an in-depth interview guide.A series of in-depth interviews will be undertaken with key informants. Interviews will last about an hour and will provide an in-depth discussion in regard to key research issues that will develop the framework for the research. Interviews have several advantages. The respondents are given time and opportunities to develop their answers and the respondents have the opportunity to take control, to define properties and probe the interview into areas, which they see as interesting and significant (Cooper & Schindler, 2000).This can trigger new and important insights for the researcher. If respondent feel free in the interview, they are more probable to open up and say what they mean. They are more probable to provide valid data. The researcher has more chance to pursue a topic, to investigate with any further questions, and ask the interviewee to qualify anddevelop their answers. Interview data therefore can have a lot more depth than the information obtained from questionnaires ((Cooper & Schindler, 2000).

1.10.2 Sampling Methods and Sample Size

The target population will comprise of teachers of secondary schools in UasinGishu County. The study will employ purposive sampling to select the respondents. Purposive sampling is found appropriate when the key informants have a specific type of knowledge or skill required in the study, when the researcher has adopted a case study research design and when the population is too small for a random sample (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The primary and secondary data will be qualitative in nature. Content analysis will be used to analyze the data. Content analysis is a methodology in social sciences for studying the content of communication. Content analysis determines the presence of certain words on concepts within texts or sets of texts. Researchers quantify and analyze the presence, meaning and relationship of such words and concepts, then make inference about the messages within the text (Baxter & Jack, 2008)

REFERENCE LIST

Ahonen, S. (2011). 'Politics of Identity through History Curriculum: Narratives of the past for

social exclusion - or inclusion?'*Journal of Curriculum Studies,* vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 179— 194.

Apple, M. (2012). Education and Power, Routledge, New York.

Baxter, P.&Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers. The Qualitative Report.

Boak, E (2011). 'Education in Fragile Situations: A review of political economy and conflict analysis literature and tools', CfBT Education Trust, Reading, United Kingdom, 2011.

Boutros-Ghali, B., An Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and

peacekeeping, Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the summit meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, United Nations, New York.

Burde, D. (2014). 'Weak State, Strong Community? Promoting community participation in

postconflict countries', Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.

Bush, K. &Salterelli, D. (2013). The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence.

Collier, P. &Hoeffler, A. (2012). 'Aid, Policy and Growth in Post-Conflict Societies', *European Economic Review,* vol. 48, pp. 1125-1145.

Crisp, J., Talbot, C. &Cipollone, D. (2011). Learning for a Future: Refugee Education in

Developing Countries, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva.

Danesh, H. (2006). "Towards an Intergrative Theory for Peace Building." *Journal of Peace Education*,

5: PP. 55-78.

Davies, L. (2014). Education and Conflict: Complexity and chaos, Routledge, New York.

Dupuy, K. (2008). 'Education in Peace Agreements: 1989-2005', *Conflict Resolution Quarterly,* vol. 26, no. 2,pp. 149-166.

Education for All (2009). Fast-Track Initiative, Education and Financing Strategies for Fragile States, World Bank₂ Washington, D.C., 2008.

Foresti, M. & Wild, L. (2009). 'Analysing Governance and Political Economy in Sectors: Joint donor workshop report', Overseas Development Institute, London.

Galtung, J., (1997). 'Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, peacemaking and

peacebuilding', in Peace, War and Defence: *Essays in peace research*: vol. 2, edited by J.

Hamber, B. & van der Merwe, H. (2012). 'What is This Thing Called Reconciliation?' Reconciliation in Review, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 36.

Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (2010). Minimum Standards for Education: Preparedness, response and recovery, INEE, New York.

Lindblad, S. &Johannesson, I. (2012). 'Education Governance in Transition: An introduction', *Scandinavian Journal of Education Research*, vol. 46, no. 3.

Lederach, J. P. (1997). 'Building Peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies', U.S. Institute of Peace Press, Washington, D.C.

Machel, G. (1996). UN Study on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children, UNICEF, New York.

Miall, H. (2004). Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task. Berlin: Berghof Research Centre for

Constructive Conflict Management.

Mwagiru, M. (2006). Conflict in Africa:Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management. Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research.

Philips, D., et al. (1998). Education for Reconstruction: The regeneration of educational capacity following national upheaval', Symposium Books, Oxford.

UNESCO (2011). International Institute for Education Planning, Paris, 2002. Smith, A.,

'Education and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland', in Education and Reconciliation: Exploring conflict and post-conflict situations', edited by J. Paulson, Continuum, London.

Smith, A. & Vaux, T. (2013). 'Education, Conflict, and International Development', Department of International Development, London.

Spink, J. (2015). 'Education and Politics in Afghanistan: The importance of an education system in peacebuilding and reconstruction,' *Journal of Peace Studies.*

Waihenya, N. (2014). "Peace Building: Every Little Effort Count: A Manual on Peace Education and Peace Club Activities in Primary and Secondary Schools in Kenya. Patron's/Matrons Guide." Lari Memorial Peace Museum.

Wessells, M. (2014). "The Role of Peace Educationin a Culture of Peace:A Social PsychologicalAnalysis." *Peace, education, and Environment.*,*5*(4) 39-54.

World Bank (2008). The Political Economy of Policy Reform: Issues and implications for policy dialogue and development operations', World Bank, Washington, D.C.

World Development Report (2011). Conflict, Security and Development', World Bank, Washington, D.C.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide for Key Informants

1. Describe nature of peace education in the curriculum?

2. How is it rolled out in a classroom setting?

3. How would you describe learner's perception towards peace education within the curriculum?

4. Describe peace education implementation in the school setting?

5. What challenges harbor its implementation?

6. How many times is it taught in a week?

7. Is peace education curriculum examinable?

8. In your opinion, how relevant is peace education to conflict transformation?

9. What aspects of peace education do you wish changed?

10. Does it build learners skill in crisis solving?

11. Describe the future of conflict transformation and peace education in Kenya.

12. In your opinion, what is the relationship between peace education and conflict transformation?