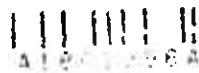UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

PEACEBUILDING AS A TOOL FOR PROMOTING PEACE IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING IN KENYA

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DECLARATION

This research proposal is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other university.

DINAH WAIRIMU

R52/83327/2015

Signature..................................   Date....23/11/2018.....................

Supervisor

This research proposal has been submitted for approval with my permission as a university of Nairobi supervisor.

DR. M. WANGAMATI

Signature..................................

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my mum for her continued support during this course.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This work was made possible through the support of my supervisor Dr. Wangamati. My sincere gratitude is also extended to other lecturers for their invaluable guidance and lecturers. I would also like thank my colleges for their guidance and support. Above all, to God who has sustained me during this period of training and academic work.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIC	African Inland Church
ADB	African Development BankAZ
CACO	Chief Academic Officer
CADO	Chief Administrative Officer
CHE	Commission for Higher Education
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CJPC	Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
CKRC	Constitution of Kenya Review Commission
COMESA	Common Market for East and Central Africa
COTU	Central Organization of Trade Unions
CPK	Church of the Province of Kenya
DC	District Commissioner
DO	District Officer
DP	Democratic Party
DVC (PA&F)	Deputy Vice-Chancellor; Planning, Administration and Finance
DVC (R&E)	Deputy Vice-Chancellor; Research and Extension
FO	Finance Officer
FORD	Forum for Restoration of Democracy
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GSU	General Service Unit
GTI	Government Training Institute
HELB	Higher Education Loans Board
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRD	Institute of Research Development
JAB	Joint Admissions Board
KACE	Kenya Advanced Certificate of Education
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KCPE	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
KCSE	Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education
KNUT	Kenya National Union of Teachers
KShs	Kenyan shillings
MMUST	Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology
MOHEST	Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MU	Moi University
MUCSO	Maseno University College Students" Organization
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NCST	National Council for Science and Technology
NYS	National Youth Service
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
OECD	Organization of Economic Development
PADASA	Planning and Development, Administration and Students" Affairs
PSSP	Privately Sponsored Students" Programme
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SDC	Students" Disciplinary Committee
SGC	Students" Governing Council
TSC	Teachers" Service Commission
UN	United Nations

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children"s Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VC	Vice-Chancellor

ABSTRACT

Among Kenya's development challenges, none are more pressing than its social and economic travails. With these development challenges, Kenya has a growing higher education sector. The number of students in universities has risen exponentially. Today, there are 10 more universities in the country than there were four years ago (68 compared to 58).The number of public universities tripled in 2013 (from seven to 22) after the government upgraded 15 university colleges into full-fledged institutions but the requisite infrastructure and human resource has never been provided, resulting in undue pressure on the existing facilities and personnel. There are a number of important challenges facing universities in Kenya. These include the demand for access and social equity, funding and the cost to students, governance and internal management, the changing roles of academics, demographic changes among academics, inefficiency, and ethnicity.

In addition, overcrowding; ever-growing demand; erosion of technical colleges due to acquisitions and takeovers by public universities in search of space; insufficient/declining public funding; curricula that are not responsive to modern-day needs of the labor market; declining quality; crumbling infrastructure; poor governance; rigid management structures pose major challenges to the provision of quality education in our universities. Due to this the students are exposed to problems related to transition, orientation, career choice, adjustment and displinary restrictions. The basic aim of this study therefore is to investigate the role of peace dimensions in promoting peace and its influence in the university. A cross sectional survey method was adopted as the research design for this study. The study will rely on questionnaires as the main primary data collection instrument with the stratified random sampling technique. The qualitative data from the respondents will be organized according to the population and analyzed. Permission will be sought for the study in the various universities that the research will be conducted from the University of Nairobi.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This introduction gives an overview of the study and helps to give clarity on what the research seeks to achieve through the main and specific objectives. The knowledge gained will offer peace-building dimensions as mechanisms of conflict management. To achieve the aforementioned, the study provided a background to the study, show the existing problem while at the same time showing the gap that exists in the already published academic material. The introductory section ultimately showed the research method that was employed in carrying out the said investigation.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Peace building is the process of creating self-supporting structures that remove causes of war and offer alternative to war in situations where wars might occur. Conflict resolution mechanism should be built into the structure and be present as a reservoir for the system itself to draw upon[1]. Peace building 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. This term thus involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords[2]. Peace building activities address the root causes or potential causes of violence create a societal expectation for peaceful conflict resolution and stabilize society political and socio-economically.

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[1] Galtung, J.,(2007) *A Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, New York: Routledge,
[2] John Paul Laderach, (1997)*Building Peace*, Washington D.C., United States Institute of Peace

As humans interact with the physical, social, cultural and economic environment, they are faced with a variety of challenges. These challenges vary from one individual to the other as influenced by such factors as age, gender, interests, social economic status, culture and educational level[3]. Education has brought about new needs such as career choices, transitions from one academic level to another, job placements, economic hardships, technological issues mental health issues, and social and personal developmental issues[4].

When students join universities and colleges for the first time, they are exposed to problems related to transition, orientation, career choice, adjustment and disciplinary restrictions.

Rapid change in work world and labour force, violence in the homes, schools and community, divorce, teenage suicide, sexual experimentation are all challenges that that have great negative effects on the personal, social, career and academic development of all learners[5]. It is for this reasons that there has been a lot of unrest in most educational institutions in Kenya today. This study therefore investigated what is causing this conflict among the students with specific regard to the students in institutions of higher learning. These changes are leaving the young people in a state of confusion, uncertain of what to do and alienated. Student conflict assessment may help the university administrators to know the student needs and thus develop strategies to address them[6].

We can therefore borrow the strategies of John Paul Laderach on peace building and conflict transformation. Conflict transformation is accurate because it is engaged in constructive change efforts that include, and go beyond, the resolution of specific problems. It is scientifically sound language because it is based on two verifiable realities: conflict is normal in human relationships, and

[3] Aluende. McEachern & Kenny. (2005). Counselling Needs and the United States of America: Contracts and Similarities. *International Journal for Advancement of Counselling.*

[4] Wangeri. Kimani & Mutweleli. (2012) *Transitional Challenges Facing First Year University Students in Kenyan Public Universites:* A Case of Kenyatta University. Interdisciplinary Review of Economics and Management. Retrieved November 21, 2013 from http://orientaljournals.org

conflict is a motor of change. Transformation provides a clear and important vision because it brings into focus the horizon toward which we journey the building of healthy relationships and communities, locally and globally. This goal requires real change in our current ways of relating[7].

In Comprehensive Peace building Framework, a peace process contains multiple initiatives at many different levels of society[8]. It emphasizes the importance of building right relationships and social structures through a radical respect for human rights and life. It advocates nonviolence as a way of life and work[9]. Incorporated are three dimensions personal, relational and structural. These dimensions can be useful in analysing these behaviours that the students engage in and the strategies to deal with conflict at these levels can be adopted in dealing with the students' behaviour.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Kenya is but one of the many African countries that have had to deal with university student unrest. South Africa and Nigeria, among others, have also had their fair share in recent years. Student unrest is of course not a new phenomenon in Africa; it goes back to the late 1960's and 1970's, at the time when universities were being established following independence from Europe. But the campus environment today is very different from that a few decades ago[10].

University students in Kenya face a myriad of problems in the campus and are exposed to many concerns that can affect their studies and careers if not dealt with care. The problems include sudden change of lifestyle, loneliness, academic pressure, addiction to drugs and alcohol, anger issues, poor time management and relationships. Though a lot has been researched on how to prevent this constant

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[7]Santrock, (2005) *A tropical approach to lifespan Development* (2nded). New York: McGraw Hill.
[8]Gysbers & Henderson (2006) *Developing and Managing your School Guidance and Counseling* Program (4thed.). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.
[9]Muola & Migosi, (2012) *Academic Advising Needs among University Students in Kenya.*
[10] John Paul Lederach.(1997) *Building Peace,* Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace

reoccurrence of this phenomenon there is inadequate information regarding how to curb the eruption of the unrest. Despite the existence of psychotherapy services in Kenyan universities students continue to engage in maladaptive behaviours such as strikes, drug and substance abuse, boycotts, criminal activities like kidnappings, stealing, murder and prostitution. This is truer for the fact that almost every student in university life has to coup-up with constant funds lacking and has to discover different means to fulfill their needs of housing, nutrition, entertainment and other activities[11]. It is with this that you find the students are in constant conflict with themselves or the administration in one way or another. These behaviours are personal, relational or structural related. It is against this background that the researcher sought after a different strategy to deal with these existing problems. This study investigated the positive effects of using peace-building dimensions that could remedy the situation in the Kenyan universities. Below are the objectives and questions that this research expected to answer.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What is the effectiveness of using the relational dimension of peace building among students of Institutions of higher learning?
2. What is the efficiency of using the structural dimension as an instrument of conflict management in Institutions of higher learning?
3. What is the efficacy of using the personal dimension of peace building among students of Institutions of higher learning?

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[11] Onjoro, V. (2012) *Problems university students face in Kenyan universities*

1.3. Objectives

1.3.1. Main Objective

To evaluate the role and influence of peace building dimensions as a tool in promoting peace in Institutions of higher learning.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

1. To assess the personal dimension as an instrument of conflict management in Institutions of higher learning.
2. To examine the relational dimension as an instrument of conflict management in Institutions of higher learning.
3. To explore the structural dimension as an instrument of conflict management in Institutions of higher learning.

1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Policy Justification: The findings of this study may be of importance to policy makers, university administrators, parents and students in the university. It will benefit educational policy makers, university administrators to know the personal, relational and structural needs that face their students and implement new policies that can meet their needs. The parents can also gain insight on how to advise their children on various issues and challenges of life in the university. The students themselves will know the various needs that exist amongst them and know how to deal with them accordingly.

Academic Justification: The information from this study will add knowledge to the field of peace building in relation to institutions of higher learning. This research is timely as it will contribute knowledge to a pressing issue that is affecting most institutions of higher learning in Kenya. It will also help bridge the academic gap by influencing the government to explore other methods towards conflict transformation and see the need of the law enforcers to get the necessary training on the skills

and the techniques in peace building. It will also help identify hitches that Kenya has made while trying to deal with unrest, address the shortfalls and spell out corrective measures.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The theory this study will use is Conflict Transformation Theory. John Paul Lederach developed this theory. He viewed peace building as a long-term process of systemic transformation from war to peace. Key dimensions of this process are changes in the personal, structural, relational and cultural aspects of conflict, brought about over different time-periods and affecting different system-levels. Lederach's theory places reconciliation at the heart of developing long-term infrastructures for peace building within societies. For Lederach, reconciliation comes from truth, justice, mercy and peace. Conflict transformation, focuses on change, addressing two questions: "What do we need to stop?" and "What do we hope to build?" Since change always involves a movement from one thing to another, peace builders must look not only at the starting point, but also at the goal and the process of getting from one point to another[12].

Transformation allows for an ebb and flow in conflict, and sees the presenting problem as a potential opportunity to transform the relationship and the systems in which relationships are embedded. It understands social conflict as evolving from and producing changes in the Personal, Relational and Structural dimensions of human experience. In the Personal dimension for change conflict changes individuals personally, emotionally, spiritually. Relational refers to people who have direct, face to face contact. When conflict escalates, communication patterns change, stereotypes are created, polarization increases, trust decreases. Structural Conflict impacts systems and structures—how relationships are organized, and who has access to power—from family and organizations to communities and whole societies. This theory is relevant to the study as it offers the insight needed to

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[12] J.P. Lederach et al (2007) *Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning, Monitoring, And Learning Toolkit*

understand the role and influence of these peace building dimensions on institutions of higher learning in Kenya[13].

1.7 Hypothesis

1. The personal dimension of peace building has not been factored in institutions of higher learning.

2. The relational dimension of peace building has not been used as a strategy in dealing with instability in institutions of higher learning

3. There are no sufficient structures to cater for peace building in institutions of higher learning.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter gives and overview of the literature that has existed before on peace building as a strategy of conflict management. The reader can gain insight on what various authors had to say on the discussion. It also analyses higher education in a global, regional and Kenyan perspective.

2.1. Peace building as a Strategy of Conflict Management

One concept of peace building reflects a complex and turbulent path of earlier international peace supporting activities during the previous decades. Peace building at its initial conceptualization was a response to the challenge of frozen conflicts created by prolonged peacekeeping operations. It was a response to complex reconstruction challenges emerged as a result if the peace agreements of the early 1900s after their protracted armed conflicts[14].

It is important to recognise that peace building should ultimately be considered a process rather than a goal and not from the perspective of achieving only a negative peace which would simply indicate the ending of armed conflict but rather a positive and sustainable peace which ensures security as well as socioeconomic structural political and cultural stability thereby reducing the likelihood of relapse into or the continuation of violence.

In order to achieve this it is important to bear in mind that, peace building is a multifaceted process accompanied by a wide range of challenges, from the creation of security environment and functional governance structure to responding to the basic needs of war affected communities. It

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[14] W. Andy Knight(2003) *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* Vol. 3, No.2, pp. 241-264

encompasses processes ranging from micro level changes in opinion and behaviour of communities to macro level institutionalisation changes that addresses the structural causes of conflict.[15]

In the process of growth and development, human beings experience many needs that need to be met in order to have optimal growth and development many young people globally are faced with numerous personal problems. Thus, the need to explore and understand oneself increases during adolescence and early adulthood. The lack of these needs can lead a person to being frustrated, which could lead to aggression. When people perceive that they are being prevented from achieving a goal, their frustration is likely to turn to aggression[16].

The closer you get to a goal, the greater the excitement and expectation of the pleasure. Thus the closer you are, the more frustrated you get by being held back. Unexpected occurrence of the frustration also increases the likelihood of aggression. Frustration does not always lead to aggression, particularly when we deliberately suppress it because either we know that it is wrong or we fear the social consequences of being aggressive (e.g. losing friendship, criticism from others[17]. As a result, we often displace aggression into other activity, such as sports, driving fast and so on.

Young people are faced with deciding who they are, what they are all about and where they are going in life, they confront many new roles from vocational to romantic, as they try to get their real selves. The ones who successfully cope with these conflicting roles and identities emerge with a new sense of self, both refreshing and acceptable. Those who do not successfully resolve the identity crises suffer role confusion.

15 Ozerdem, L(2016). *International Peace building; An Introduction.* (New York: Routledge)
16 Berk. (2005); *Child Development* (6thEd.). Singapore: Pearson Education.
17 Santrock (2005). *A tropical approach to lifespan Development* (2nded). New York: McGraw Hill.

Schooling and education similarly occur in stages. Each level of education presents itself with challenges, some of the university students are adolescents; they are trying to understand who they are, what their duty in the university is all about, and where they are going. As they adapt to the university life, they may face various challenges ranging from career issues, relationship issues, coping with academic loads, financial issues, negative emotions and challenges of identity[18].

Persons at this age face challenges in forming relationships. One is overwhelmed by the questions of whether he/she is ready to share live with another and the values and character to look for in the other person. Majority of the students are at young adulthood stage and their past experiences in their families of origin play a great role in answering these questions. Adulthood involves changes in family responsibilities. Availability of new careers options for women, increased educational requirements in the world of work and increased emphasis of personal autonomy has led many young adults to postpone marriage until their late twenties and thirties in order to build their careers[19]. Those that do not postpone are overwhelmed by marital roles, child rearing responsibilities and building of careers, which leave them exhausted.

The enormous changes that are taking place in the 21st century are as a result of the advent of formal education, technological development and foreign cultures. Education has brought about new needs such as career choices, transitions from one academic level to another, job placements, economic hardships, technological issues mental health issues, and social and personal developmental issues[20]. When students join universities and colleges for the first time, they are exposed to problems related to transition, orientation, career choice, adjustment and disciplinary restrictions[21]. Rapid change in work world and labour force, violence in the homes, schools and community, divorce, teenage suicide,

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[18] Nayak.T. *Guidance and Counselling*. (APH Publishing Corporate Delhi: 2007)
[19] Muola & Migosi. (2012) *Academic Advising Needs among University Students In Kenya*.

[20] Nayak, A.D (2007) *Guidance and Counselling*. APH Publishing Corporate Delhi
[21] Berk, G (2005) *Child Development*. Singapore: Pearson Education 6th Edition

sexual experimentation are all challenges that that have great negative effects on the personal, social, career and academic development of all learners. These changes are leaving the young people in a state of confusion, uncertain of what to do and alienated.

When we adopt the peace building perspective that emphasizes the importance of building right relationships and social structures through a radical respect for human rights and life. It advocates nonviolence as a way of life and work. We have seen that human community and relationships are not static but ever dynamic, adapting, changing[22].

We can analyze peace building from the conflict transformation approach. It addresses conflict differently, rather than problem solving and negotiation it is more than a set of specific techniques but about a way of looking and seeing. It provides lenses through which make sense of social conflict. These lenses draw attention to certain aspects of conflict and help us to bring the overall meaning of the conflict into sharper focus. Both conflict and change are a normal part of human life. Conflict is continuously present in human relationships and the fabric of these relationships is constantly adapting and changing. Before discussing practical approaches to conflict transformation one needs to understand the link between conflict and change[23].

When it comes to conflict or unrest it can impacts us in these three different ways: personally, relationally and structurally. Transformation understands social conflict as evolving from and producing changes in the personal, relational and structural dimensions of human experience. It seeks to promote constructive processes within each of these dimensions.

The unrest in these institutions of higher learning can be divided into these three categories and ultimately solutions can be brought out on how to manage these unrests from the suggestions in these

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[22] Lederach J.P & Maiese (2009) M. *Conflict Transformation*

broad dimensions. We will examine each category in depth and discover the root causes of these unrests and in the end the hope is they can be utilized in the universities[24].

2.2 Higher Education in the Global Context

With the world becoming increasingly "smaller" as a result of advances in technology, there is an increasing interdependence due to the flow of ideas, knowledge and information. Globalization is progressively shaping the nature of higher education. Knight identifies elements also referred to as catalysts for globalization that have far reaching implications and include a knowledge society, information and communication technologies, market economies, liberalization and governance. A knowledge society is also referred to as the knowledge revolution and the World Bank identifies indicators of this revolution which include: the doubling in the past two decades of published scientific papers; a steady increase in the number of patent applications; the absence of developing countries in the rankings of the *per capita* publications worldwide; and an increased use of personal computers and the internet[25].

The knowledge revolution implies a need for students not only to learn what is readily known but also to acquire the skills of learning. Overall, the implications of the effects of globalization on higher education are far-reaching and include the commercialization of universities and the emergence of private providers, like private companies and multinationals, alongside public providers of higher education. There is also an increase in the movement of students and scholars across borders and disciplines. ICT has ushered in a new era of international delivery methods, such as e learning, while the market economy has accelerated the commercialization of educational services and the emergence of the phenomenon of "importing" and "exporting" education.

[24] Lederach J.P. (2001) *Little Book of Conflict Transformation*
[25] World Bank (2007) *Higher Education in Developing Countries*. Peril and Promise, World Bank, Washington D.C.

With liberalization and improved government structures, the role of governments in the management of education is changing with the emergence of new actors and frameworks, such as regional and international dimension settings[26].

The World Bank and UNESCO commissioned a task force on higher education and society and its report provides a comprehensive analysis of the state of higher education, globally. The report notes that policies regarding funding and support for higher education since the 1980s have largely been informed by the economic view that "public investments in universities and colleges bring meagre returns compared to investment in primary and secondary schools, and that higher education magnifies income inequality" [27]

The balance of power is shifting from higher education institutions to students. In the United States, related issues are now being voiced by academics. Globally, the top-down model of a university driven by history and by external funding, particularly government funding, is shifting, as fiscal resources diminish. Today, there are a rising number of alternatives that bypass traditional content pathways. These include free and open courses, and alternative institutions providing courses that are low cost and transferable to traditional universities or have certificates of competency acceptable in job markets. Additionally, there are now microcredits of various types acceptable towards employment or academic credit.

Given open universities and similar programs, content acquisition is not the main issue. Issues of content are being weighed against other values that students see as important. This is critical since many students are no longer the traditional ones who, in the past, moved straight from secondary institutions to post-secondary institutions. Therefore, one must ask whether the demands for free and open access to traditional universities are surrogates for larger issues not clearly articulated or

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[26] Knight (2008) *The Internalization of Higher Education*: Complexities and Realities in International Higher Education. Boston College and Association
[27] World Bank (2000) *The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development* The World Bank 1818 H Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20433, U.S.A.

understood, perhaps even by the protesters themselves. Perhaps the global concerns of students, manifested in particular by South African students and students of colour, are symptoms of something bigger.

Violence at South Africa's universities has escalated from damage to statues and artworks and confrontations with security staff and police, to the burning of buildings and brutal clashes between student factions. It's the second year of conflict over tuition fees, shortages of student accommodation, low-paid staff and the language of instruction. Underlying youth anger are the legacies of racial discrimination and colonialism, high levels of unemployment and pronounced and increasing income inequality. While the form of campus protests is specific to South Africa, these fault lines have parallels in other higher education systems, including those of Britain and the US[28].

We see global concern about the low-paid and immigrant workers who provide essential campus services and the effects of inequality on participation in higher education. US campuses are riven by racial tensions, while Europe is witnessing a surge of xenophobia in the face of the refugee crisis. Due to this perception, higher education has since been receiving little attention in terms of donor support and funding which has led to a deterioration of standards in higher education. The report aptly captures this scenario: During the past two or three decades, however, attention has focused on primary education, especially for girls. This has led to a neglect of secondary and tertiary education, with higher education in perilous state in many, if not most developing countries. With a few notable exceptions it is underfunded by donors and governments. As a result, quality is low and often deteriorating, while access remains limited. Higher education institutions are politicized, poorly regulated and sometimes corrupt and as a consequence, new developments characterize higher education[29]. Firstly, higher education especially in developing countries is under great strain

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[28] Rooney, R (2011). Students protest during Swazi festival. *South Africa Press Association,*
[29] Ibid

because it has been severely underfunded while demand has escalated. Under-qualified staff and poorly trained students are common features. Due to the knowledge revolution there is an increasing demand and statistics indicate that this is especially true in developing countries, which account for half of the student population of higher education worldwide.

Secondly, notes that this has given rise to a sharp or rapid expansion of higher education that is characterized by the replication of traditional institutions. Private organizations have come in to meet the demand by establishing private universities while the existing ones have expanded in size - giving rise to "mega universities", such as the National University of Mexico with a student enrolment of more than 200,000.

Thirdly, this rapid expansion has ushered in a situation of degradation of standards. For example, the report notes that at faculty level there is little graduate training; teaching methods are outmoded; and lecturers are poorly paid. Employment practices discourage the recruitment of talented individuals while bureaucracy and corruption hinder the development of academic freedom. There has also been much political activity that often disrupts academic programmes.

Fourthly, the report notes that conditions make it difficult for students to study due to overcrowded classes, inadequate facilities and substandard living conditions. Cultural and infrastructural factors largely determine the courses undertaken by students, such as the humanities, which lead to the phenomenon of "educated unemployment". Furthermore, due to early specialization, there is a rigidity that makes it difficult for students to easily make choices of courses in order to increase their chances of employment[30].

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[10] Ozerdem, L (2016). *International Peace building; An Introduction*. (New York: Routledge)

Fifthly, the report notes that there is an acute shortage of resources. Most universities in developing countries depend on central government for their funding. These countries, despite the allocation of a large percentage of their fiscal budgets to education, actually spend lower amounts *per* student compared to developed countries. These budgets are controlled by bureaucrats in central government who have little understanding of the operations of universities[31].

It is often difficult to increase budgetary allocations beyond what was provided in the previous year. Also, due to the poor co-ordination of capital and operational budgets, physical facilities are constructed without any provision for maintenance or equipment and, therefore, a common feature is the existence of structures that are not used. Rigid budgetary practices have led to the rapid disappearance of a research agenda at higher education institutions.

Time is usually wasted, the report indicates that there is a widespread imbalance in higher education in developing countries between rural and urban settings; between the rich and the poor, and between the genders. These realities point to the fact that global policy forces have had far reaching consequences on the operations of institutions of higher learning in developing countries. As a result of the perceived lack of benefits accruing from higher education an acute under-funding policy was adopted by global funding agencies which, combined with an increased demand for higher education, seriously erode standards and undermine the core business of research and knowledge dissemination at the universities of developing countries[32].

In France, student protest was not only violent but became bloody in what has been christened "Bloody Monday". In 1968 France was on the verge of a total revolt and on May 6, 1968, the violence took

[31] World Bank (2000) *The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank* 1818 H Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20433, U.S.A.
[32] Ibid

another direction with 422 students arrested and 345 policemen injured. The next day, students outsmarted the police and barricaded the road and continued their protest[33]. The Velvet Revolution of 1989 in former Czechoslovakia which was predominantly a peaceful demonstration became violent when students began to protest. On November 17 and 18 1989 students demonstrating in Prague clashed with security forces and they were brutally suppressed with hundreds of students injured.

In China, the student protest had been gathering momentum since 1986 and reached its peak in 1989 amidst nationwide protest in China. The Tiananmen Square Massacre of June 4 1989 saw the killing of tens of students who alongside others attempted to block the military's advance towards Tiananmen Square. Although these instances of violent student protest across the world started for different reasons and took different directions, they had one thing in common, violence[34].

2.3 Higher Education in Africa

In the recent past higher education in Africa, as in other developing countries, has been undergoing far reaching transformation and meeting challenges that are associated with globalization and liberalization as well as the impact of a knowledge economy and the adverse implications of worsening social, economic and political realities[35]. Against the backdrop of weakened economies due to Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) advances in technology have forced the transformation of universities from traditional "development" ones to "market" universities that are struggling to remain relevant. Universities struggle to provide a relevant service in an environment of dwindling resources, increased demand for higher education, declining standards and a brain-drain as well as a slow pace of economic growth. Recent changes include the crumbling

[33] Ibid
[34] Kim, P (2008). Chinese student protests: Explaining the student movements of the 1980s and the lack of protests since 1989. *Berkeley Undergraduate Journal* 21(2):1-42
[35] Zeleza and Olukoshi (2004) Zeleza. PT 2012. The African struggle continues: The awakening of North Africa. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines*, 46(1):129-137.

of traditional disciplinary boundaries which has given rise to interdisciplinary configurations that imply new organizational forms of knowledge production, dissemination and consumption.

Zeleza observes that The Universities internal and external constituencies and competitors are more plural than ever as expectations of social access and accountability expand at the same time as the universities lose their monopoly of knowledge production and access to public resource, all of which recast their capacities to articulate a public voice and deliver public service. As a result, several issues confront or characterize challenges for African universities today. Firstly, African universities are being forced to develop new strategies to fund their operations. This gives rise to issues that confound these universities concerning their vision, priorities, governance and curriculum development.

Secondly, the emergence and existence of private universities is now a stable feature of higher education in Africa. Many of these universities are run by religious organizations for either profit or philanthropic reasons. This gives rise to questions about quality as well as access, equity, diversity and the secular foundation of the higher education system as a whole[36].

Thirdly new networks and strategic alliances are emerging at national, regional and global level. This has largely been the result of the World Trade Organizations" General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) -a move that was largely aimed at facilitating the trade in educational services between the North and the South. Fourthly, universities in Africa are under pressure to provide education to a large number of students under conditions of resource

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[36] Zeleza(2012)African struggle continues: The awakening of North Africa. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines.*

constrains which lead to issues of delivery of academic programmes as well as sporadic growth and development[37].

Fifthly, also associated with the effects of globalization are strategies employed by universities in order to deal with the shortfall in budgetary allocations. Universities are being forced to engage in activities that are not, generally, confined to their missions of research and knowledge creation in order to supplement dwindling budgetary allocations. These challenges that characterize African universities come into sharp focus when seen against the backdrop of declining social and economic conditions in the 1980s in the form of worsening terms of trade, an increase in oil prices, recurrent drought, rising debt burdens, a decline in development assistance, widespread corruption, questionable national policies and poor management of development programmes.

Atteh and Moja observes that globalization and the knowledge economy have had far reaching consequences as far as higher education is concerned. The commercialization of education is one of the emerging and significant realities of the knowledge revolution[38]. Another feature of higher education in Africa is the emergence of private universities. These universities have been established and developed for several reasons. Firstly, there has been excessive social demand for higher education that the public university sector could not accommodate. Secondly, the development has been because of a need to enhance access to higher education within limited fiscal allocations. Thirdly, the needs of specific population

[37]Zeleza(2012)African struggle continues: The awakening of North Africa. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines*

[38] Atteh,(1996) The Crisis in Higher Education in A *Journal of Opinion* Vol 24 No.1 Issue in African Higher Education

groups have given rise to this demand, such as the religion-based private universities, and lastly is the profit reasons[39].

Most of the private universities offer programmes at certificate, diploma and degree levels with a curriculum that emphasizes religious training and business-related courses, including marketing, accountancy, management, banking and finance which reflects an orientation towards a global market economy. Student fees, subsidies from sponsoring organizations, loan schemes and government support constitute some of the sources of funding for these universities. The fees charged by private universities are very high, often beyond the reach of most households. The issue of access, therefore, needs to be addressed by African governments[40]

According to an article done by Balsvik on student unrest in Africa is that since independence in African countries education is focused on transforming nations and addressing the aftermath of colonialism. Education in countries like Ghana, and Kenya, amongst others aimed at restoring the colonial legacy by creating a new world order marked by equality, mutual benefits and participation. The drive for equality, mutual benefits and participation has not been successful dues to a number of challenges and mostly lack of funding. The recent and most devastating challenge has been the wave of violent student protests that have swept across African universities over the past decade. These protests led to the destruction of university structures and public property, as well as disruption of educational processes. Although the differences have been vas in most of these African countries they have all ended up being violent in one way or another. In his article he continues to argue that the violent culture demonstrated by students and their associates is an inherited ideological trait that is gradually manifesting itself among students. In support of this argument, student protest is examined

[39] Thaver. (2004) Private Higher Education In Africa Six Country Case Studies in Zeleza (Ed) *African Universities in the 21st Century* .

[40] Chacha. (2004). Public Universities, Private Funding. The Challenges in East Africa in Liberalization and Internalization *Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa* : Dakar , Senegal

in the five regions of Africa; North, South, East, Central and West, spanning more than 20 different nations. He established that because the culture of violence is an inherited one, the process will continue unless urgent steps are taken to ensure conversion and decolonization. He suggested that the institutions of higher learning need to create an environment where the students can freely learn and this will eliminate the need for protesting.[41]

The occurrence of student protests in Africa and all over the world is definitely not new. In Africa the activism of student protests came to rise in the early 1940s as nationalism took different turn in the struggle to gain independence. Balsvik argues that students have played a dynamic role in the fight for liberation in Africa which he refers to as that of democratization. Adding to this is that student protest played a prominent role in fighting racial isolation and discernment in most parts of the world.

According to Radina in 2011 students in Chile held a protest that lasted seven months which had several violent confrontations between the law enforcers and students. The clashes finally lead to change in public education agenda. since the 1960s, there have been waves of student protest in almost all African nations in response to social, economic, cultural, political, and personal injustice. Teferra and Altbachl observe that these protests have been triggered by poor student services, delayed receipt of remunerations (where they are offered) and the termination of student benefits. Although the protests have taken different forms, most have been violent. The cases of South Africa, Cameroon, Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt, and Tunisia amongst others are practical examples of violent student protest that led to the death and imprisonment of some individuals. There were over a total of 110 reported

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[41] Balsvik, RR 1998. *Student Protest-University and State in Africa* 1960-1995. Forum for Development Studies 25:301-325.

student protests in Africa between the years 1990 and 1998 and because of the violent nature of these strikes, government responses to student protests were 'inhumane', 'brutal', and 'excessively cruel'[42].

Konings adds that the wave of political liberation in Africa that began in the 1980s led to an un expected upsurge of student protest in universities across West and Central Africa. These students were at the vanguard of the struggles for political liberalization they often used to receive support from other students from secondary school and other professional groups. In Egypt and Morocco thee were a fundamental part of the Arab uprising. Frustration with universities polices and controlling regimes lead to protest that were so violent that they led to death. In Nigeria for over 30 years the violent student protests has led to a change in the political and educational setting of the country. Pictures or images of the people who have died because of the cause have been displayed to demonstrate and support the cause they died for[43].

In Cameroon during the protests the students damaged property, destroyed university structures, and even attacked one another. The government response to this was positioning an array of law enforcers and the violence led to the injury and death of some students and even the law enforcers themselves. There has been perceptions to understand the causes and reason for this violent behaviour. One of the reasons used to explain is inherited ideological trait. However this alone is not the only reason for the violent nature of the student protests. It is rather a single attempt to explain the phenomenon on the African continent. In order to fully understand this trait it is important to start at the history of Africa.

The history of Africa is a complex one with almost the whole continent, except for Ethiopia and Liberia, having been colonized by European powers. From the late 1500s to early 1600, the Portuguese

[42] Federici. S & Caffentzis. G 2000. Chronology of African university students' struggles: 1985-1998. In: S Federici, G Caffentzis & O Alidou (ed.). *A thousand flowers: Social struggles against structural adjustment in African universities*. Trenton: Africa World Press.
[43] Konings P 2002. University students' revolt, ethnic militia, and violence during political liberalization in Cameroon. *African Studies Review*, 45(2):179-204.

began exploring the coast of Africa and other European powers followed[44]. The scramble for Africa officially began during the 1800s, which led to the Berlin West African conference of 1884 (where Europeans attempted to divide Africa amongst themselves) and eventually the colonization of Africa, although other nations like South Africa were colonized before this period. The struggle for independence in Africa began following the formation of the United Nations (UN) at the end of the Second World War. This struggle took different directions in different African nations. For some, independence was peacefully negotiated, while for others it was the bloodiest battle ever witnessed in Africa. Examples of the latter include the Algerian war of independence led by the National Liberation Front and the Cameroonian war of independence led by the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon. Nonetheless, across the continent, some form of armed conflict existed between the colonial masters and the colonised prior to independence. Kovac notes that resistance to colonial rule was mainly driven by the philosophical 'ideal' of Marxism. This ideology identifies two classes of people in society, the oppressed and the oppressor. The colonial masters were seen as the oppressors while the masses were identified as the oppressed[45].

Isaacman notes that in the stir of independence, a movement of being disillusioned flounced across the African nations. In different nations, such demand for improved socio-political conditions took different directions while some were protesting, others experienced waves of revolutions, coup d'états and civil wars. The number of revolutions and protest was exacerbated by the economic crisis that plagued Africa in the 1980s[46]. The African elite that assumed power was regarded as an extension of the Europeans, especially since many had studied in Europe and America. Majority of the citizens

[44] Asante. MK (2014). *The history of Africa: The quest for eternal harmony.* London: Routledge.
[45] Kovac, S (2016). *History of Africa. Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology* 1(1):203-205.
[46] Isaacman, A. (1990). *Peasants and rural social protest in Africa. African Studies Review*, 33(2): 1-120.

believed that their expectations had not been fulfilled. As a result of such cynicism, citizens in different nations started protesting as a way of demanding better socio-political amenities and realities.

Most Africans that are part of the proletariat see themselves as being oppressed by the superstructure and desire freedom and this desire amongst other things through community organizations' has led to the creation of "socio-political entities, with their own rules, forms of organization and internal hierarchies, constituting a node of resistance and defiance against state domination. African nations have a history of resistance and this history has repeated itself repeatedly whenever socio-economic or socio-political conditions within such nations were not encouraging. Hence, since the time of colonization, African nations have been struggling to free themselves from one form of bondage or another[47].

Marx and Engels argue that the ruling ideas of a given period are, those of the ruling class, the ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships or ideas, hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of their dominance. They maintain that ideology is the production of ideas, conceptions, and consciousness. It refers to all that people say, imagine and conceive about life. Abercrombie *et a* citing Marx and Engels, see ideology as the superstructure of a civilization or the conventions and culture that make up the dominant ideas of a society.[48].

Another author Zizek maintains that ideology is not an illusion, or a mistaken or distorted representation of society, and is not necessarily false. Rather, it can be true and quite accurate, since what really matters is not the asserted content as such, but the way this content is related to the subjective position implied by its own process of enunciation. He adds that ideology is a complex web

[47] Cheru, F (2002). *African renaissance: Roadmaps to the challenge of globalization. Cape Town*: New Africa Books.
[48] Marx, K & Engels, F (1980). Marx & Engels Collected Works, Vol 13. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

of ideas (theories, convictions, beliefs, and argumentative procedures), a doctrine, a composite of ideas, beliefs, and concepts that aims to convince us of its truth, yet serves unawed power interests. These definitions indicate that ideology is not innocent, but aims at serving a particular interest or purpose[49].

According to Magzan, he sees Marxism false consciousness this is because society is stratified into different groups or classes. In these groups which ever member a person is causes him or her to see and experience the world through a lens of the group you belong to. As propounded by Karl Marx regards ideology as a false consciousness. As such, it is almost impossible for an individual member of a group or class to form a conception of the world because he or she only sees the world through a tiny lens. Consequently, ideology shapes the way we think and see the world. Members of different social classes are taught and brought up to think and see the world through a lens that is appropriate for that class. Marx refers to this as the social construction of reality that is largely shaped by the social world we live in. If one were to change one's class, one would perceive reality differently.

Thus, Marxism propounds that it is often difficult to break free from the grip of the superstructure because its established institutions of socialization such as schools, churches and others indirectly ensure the continuity of the hegemony. Ideology prevents people from understanding the socio-economic realities in their society which can help them change class, thereby creating a new reality

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[49] Zizek (1999). The spectre of ideology. In: E Wright & E Wright (eds.). *The Zizek Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

which becomes the core of their lives. This new reality is a false consciousness which produces psychologically satisfying symbols and brings assumed order to the world[50].

In the modern world there has been an increase in poverty and misery as well as prices of commodities. Due to these factors students may find it difficult to cope with these conditions in which they find themselves. Some students may blame their families for this while some, may choose to creat their own ways of coping with the situation. While colonialism is said to have ended in Africa, neo-colonialism has taken over, and many African youths still feel colonized. The wave of revolts in Africa in the eighties and nineties brought about by several factors like poor service delivery in Nigeria, economic crisis in Cameroon, amongst others remain prevalent, which explains the wave of student protest across the continent in recent time's[51].

Another scholar Smith, was able to suggest the different ways by which genetics could ultimately connect to political attitudes and propose that central to this connection are chronic dispositional preferences for mass-scale social rules, order, and conduct which they label as political ideology. He further argues that heritability of specific issue attitudes could be the result of the heritability of general orientations toward bedrock principles. As such there is a link between genetics and ideology as well as the ideological dispositions of young adults and their parents[52]. In response to this criticism, Fowler and Dawes argue that genopolitics has already made a lasting role to the field of political

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[50] Magzan, (2009). *Social sense and effect of music: Prevailing ideology in music curricula in Croatia before and after its independence.* Zagreb: Verlag.

[51] Eaves, LJ, Eysenck, HJ & Martin, NG (1989). *Genes, culture and personality: An empirical approach.* San Diego, CA: Academic Press

[52] Smith, K, Alford, JR, Hatemi, PK, Eaves, LJ, Funk, C & Hibbing, JR 2012. *Biology, ideology, and epistemology: How do we know political attitudes are inherited and why should we care?* American Journal of Political Science 56(1):17-33.

science and advancing the field requires conducting open empirical studies that lay out the advantages and disadvantages of the methods used to measure the world. Other strong critics of genopolitics[53].

Shultziner on the other hand, argues that the results of twin studies in political science that supposedly disclose a genetic basis for political traits, is not justified. This is because identical twins tend to be more alike than non-identical twins. As such the former are more similarly affected by the same environmental conditions, but the content of those greater trait similarities is nevertheless completely malleable and determined by particular environments. As such the twin studies method, thus can neither prove nor refute the argument for a genetic basis of political traits. Although Joseph and Shultziner are both critics of genopolitics, they present contradictory ideas. Joseph argues that the premise that twins experience equal environments is unsustainable, while Shultziner argues that identical twins experience or are affected by the same environmental conditions. To Shultziner twin students can neither refute nor prove genetic basis. While the disagreement between the two is part of the gap genopolitics is trying to fill, genopolitics is not entirely based on twin studies[54].Hatemi and McDermott used several households with data generated over a period of forty years, spanning over five nations. The fact that the findings of their study was in favour of genopolitics and that this study is yet to be disproved empirical dictates the validity of its findings. Furthermore, the critics of genopolitics do reject the existence of such genes but rather debate its influence. While genes can be shaped by environmental factors, the existence of the gene itself cannot be questioned since Shultziner takes about its supposed influence having other explanations. In defense of genopolitics, therefore

[53] Fowler. JH & Dawes, CT 2013. In defense of genopolitics. *American Political Science Review* 107(2):362-374.

[54] Shultziner. D 2013. Genes and politics: A new explanation and evaluation of twin study results and association studies in political science. *Political Analysis* 21(3):350-367.

studies conducted after these criticism revalidate the claim that genetics influence political behaviour[55].

Beattie concludes his study with the view that political ideology is produced by the complex interplay of genetic and social environmental influences. Such criticisms rather than void the validity of the field, point to different pathways or pitfalls which need to be strengthened and which presently is being addressed, for all fields or areas of inquiry like qualitative research have once suffered serious criticism. To this effect, employing geopolitics as a lens within this study is a step in the right direction because the argument here is not the degree of influence of genes which socio-biologist and evolutionists are still busy with, but rather that there is an influence. The application of this lens to explain the culture of violence in student protest in African universities is not generalizing or going beyond the boundaries articulated but rather seeking an understanding. This would be done by exploring the phenomenon in the five regions of Africa; North, West, Central, East and South Africa[56]. North Africa is a made up of seven nations and a disputed territory, Western Sahara[57].

Zeleza argues that there are two major kinds of war or conflict in Northern Africa or in Africa in general. The first one involves using both rebel and conservative approaches to deal with conflicting forces. Well-established or centralized organizations and states adopted conventional approaches and, if defeated, embarked on guerrilla warfare. The uprisings in the 1950s and 1960s in places like Egypt, Algeria, and Libya, which led to Gaddafi's rise to power, as well as Morocco, Tunisia and Sudan were aimed at improving the socio-economic portion of the people in a society where they were denied

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[55] Hatemi, PK & McDermott, R 2012b. A neurobiological approach to foreign policy analysis: Identifying individual differences in political violence. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8(2):111-129.

[56] Bellei, et al (2014). The 2011 Chilean student movement against neoliberal educational policies. *Studies in Higher Education* 39(3):426-440.

[57] Ibid

their basic needs. Beissinger argues that there are several reasons for the recent revolutions in North Africa, including poverty, oppression and manipulation. He adds that the elite that hold power have enriched themselves and become the targets of envy or rivalry by other groups and the youth who want the piece what they possess. These elites have commercialized politics and made it a venture in its own right[58].

This partially explains why students were part of the Arab Spring which was one of the most violent conflicts Northern Africa has witnessed in recent times. Gorgas observes that students were an integral part of the revolution due to the scarcity of resources at universities, constant increases in tuition fees, deplorable living conditions and hunger. Anderson adds that more than 40% of protesters in North Africa during the Arab Spring were students. She adds that the basic expectation that children would grow up, begin to contribute productively to society, and then raise families of their own was not fulfilled for an entire generation of youth in the Arab world trapped in a period that is often referred to as "waithood". Indeed, the revolution in Tunisia was spearheaded by Mohammed Bouazizi, a young newspaper vendor who set himself alight in public in 2010[59].

These intense and violent start to protesting, led to hostile battles between the protesters and the law enforcement officers. Schools in Egypt were closed and different curfew was declared however the students resisted the order and continued to protest. They destroyed government property and took on government forces, as well as those supporting the government. In other countries such as Algeria, Sudan, Morocco and Libya, student protest took different forms though all involved one form of violence or another study postulates that in February 2011, hundreds of thousands of Moroccans turned out in major cities for what organizers termed a Movement for Change and the protests

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[58] Zeleza, (2012). The African struggle continues: The awakening of North Africa. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines.* 46(1):129- 137.
[59] Gorgas, JT (2013). The limits of the state: Student protest in Egypt, Iraq and Turkey, 1948-63. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40(4):359-377.

spawned the February 20 Movement a loosely organized, leaderless network that subsequently held large demonstrations criticizing Morocco's governance and promoting for political change.

Collado further adds that the protest became violent and security forces then resorted to violence and arrests to disband the demonstrators, most of whom were students. Moroccan police officers in plain clothes arrested 10 students outside the Ibn Tofail University in the city of Kenitra because of the violent nature of the protest. The protest erupted as a result of the increased cost of transportation from student dormitories to school. From the beginning of the academic year, Ibn Tofail University witnessed a series of student protests against the "Al-Karama" company which increased the price of bus tickets. Earlier in the year, in January, a student was killed in clashes with the police at the university when students held a protest against the high cost of food and accommodation[60].

In Sudan the situation was no different. According to Smith the split of South Sudan from Sudan was partly due to the demonstrations of students which took place across the nation. in 2011 students protested at the Red Sea University in Port Sudan due to the mass arrest of Darfuri student leaders; this led students to pledge open support for the Sudan Revolutionary Front. Furthermore, 700 student demonstrators at the University of Khartoum were arrested after a clash with the police, where several were killed and many wounded. These students continued to launch violent protests against the economic regulations planned by President Omar Al-Bashir. The riot police used tear gas and batons against the protesters who in turn threw stones at them. On 11 July 2012, Sudanese university students armed with sticks and stones staged one of their largest protests since the unrest began. Young people are likely to imitate their parents' behaviour either immediately or in the future. Smith maintains that specific attitudes like violence could be the result of the heritability of general orientations toward

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[60] Collado, P (2015). Protest avatars as memetic signifiers: Political profile pictures and the construction of collective identity on social media in the 2011 protest wave. Information. *Communication & Society* 18(8):916-929.

certain situations in life. In a region like North Africa where violent conflicts have been the order of the day, the youth are reproducing or imitating the violent footsteps of their forebears as the way to solve their challenges[61].

The cycle of violence which students' parents generated or inherited since they could have inherited this trait from their parents who also had a violent past in the form of the brutal tribal wars fought in Africa, violent wars to resist colonialism, European penetration into the hinterland, and Africa's involvement in the First and Second World War, amongst others has been inherited by the current generation; this is evident in every mass protest they engage in. Although in some parts of the world people have succeeded to live in peace despite their violent ancestral past like the Norwegians and Danes' peaceful existence despite their Norseman ancestry, this doesn't negate the existence of such genetic traits in them. It simply presupposes the regulation and domination of such traits by environmental factor. In Africa such traits are provoked to manifest itself by socio-economic challenges as well as political instability which has been the cause of these crisis. According to Mamdani the Revolution in Rwanda that occurred in 1959 was one of the major cause, amongst others, of the 1994 genocide. There would never have been a civil war without the genocide taking place. The ideological imprint of the 1959 Revolution led to the genocide. Subsequently, the culture of violence displayed by African students is the result of inherent ideological traits they picked up from their parents. The situation in West and Central Africa further supports this argument[62].

In West and Central Africa they too have witnessed violent mass student riots for a number of reasons in past decades. Omonij notes that there have been several student protests at Nigerian universities,

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[61] Smith K et al (2011). Linking genetics and political attitudes: Re-conceptualizing political ideology. *Political Psychology*, 32(3):369-397.

[62] Mamdani, M (2003). Making sense of political violence in postcolonial Africa. *Socialist Register* 39(2):132-151.

including the Universities of Nsukka, Nigeria, Lagos, Ilorin, Ibadan, Jos and Port Harcourt. This led to the temporary closure of these universities and the death of several students. Students at the University of Lagos shut down the campus on 6 and 7 April during protests due to fact they lacked basic amenities. They chased students from hostels, mounted barriers at the university gates and clashed with police until the Senate was forced to close the institution to allow the situation to normalize[63].

Abah and Folarin add that Senate noted that the problem of poor municipal services was a national issue that governments at both state and federal levels addressed. However, for them to foresee a further breakdown of law and order on the campus, the Senate made some decisions until the situation was controlled. These decisions included suspension of all academic activities on campus and closing the campus immediately. The statement ordered that students living on the campus to also vacate their halls of residence[64].

Ugbodaga reported that the violent nature of student protests at the University of Ibadan (UI), paralyzing activities on the morning of April 26, 2016. Thousands of students went on the rampage and shut down the school over management's victimization of a student who took part in a recent protest. The students, who stormed the school's main gate early in the morning shut it down immediately. They were also angry that power supply in the institution is still very unreliable and also there was no water in the hostels. The students, who were chanting 'aluta' songs, dared security men attached to the gate to do something stupid as they were ready to descend on any of them. They vowed that the school gate would remain shut until the school's management reversed its decision[65].

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[63] Omonijo, DO, et al (2014). Violent protest in private universities in Nigeria: Implications for educational development. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 45(4):352-359.
[64] Abah, C & Folarin, S 2016. UNILAG shut down over students protest. *Punch*, April 8. Lagos: Punchng.
[65] Ugbodaga, K 2016. UI students protest, shut down school. *The News*, 26 April.

As noted earlier, it is clear that students at African universities have inherited the culture of violence generated by the previous generation during the colonial era or the fight for independence. This is also confirmed by the situation in Ivory Coast where students were protesting over a lack of proper housing. The violent nature of the strike caused the government to shut down the university for two years; 18 months after it had reopened. The youth of today in Ivory Coast are reproducing its violent past compressed in 33 years of repressive rule by Félix Houphouët-Boigny, the numerous coup d'états after his death, and civil wars, amongst others[66]. Konings points out that between 1990 and 1996 there were a series of violent student demonstrations at the University of Yaounde 1 in Cameroon which not only caused the death of more than five students but the wanton destruction of property. The university was made ungovernable, forcing the government to split it into two; Yaounde I and II. The University of Buea was also created to depopulate the university and reduce the chances of student protest[67].

However Chimanikire reported that in 2003, students at the University of Buea took to the streets to protest against deplorable living conditions in the university environment. The strike soon became violent, leading to police intervention and the eventual deposition of the governor of the region where the university is located. About two weeks later students caught and burnt alive an alleged bandit who was amongst those making the university environment deplorable. In 2005, 2006 and 2008 students at this university launched several protests, leaving six dead and hundreds wounded and imprisoned. In 2005 and 2006 the administrative building at the University of Buea was destroyed as were several cars, police vans and an ambulance. In 2013, the violence was repeated and would have gotten out of

66 Martin et al. (2002) Levels of Consensus and Minority and Majority influence in Europe. *Journal of Social Psychology* Vol. 32
67 Chimanikire. DP (2009). *Youth and Higher Education In Africa: The cases of Cameroon, South Africa, Eritrea, and Zimbabwe.* Nairobi: African Books Collective.

hand had it not been for brutal police intervention. Since October 2016 there have been no schooling in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon due to student protest and constant clashes with the police[68].

In Liberia students of the University of Liberia gathered at the entrance of the Capitol Building to protest against a proposal to increase tuition fees. The students petitioned lawmakers to intervene and asked them to increase the University's funding in order to enable it to meet its growth and development agenda. They destroyed public property and fought with the police. While in Togo the government of shut down the University of Lomé after two days of continuous student protest against the introduction of educational reforms anchored on the Bologna process, and the constant presence of security forces on the University campus to curb student violence. Nine students were injured, two seriously[69]. Furthermore, there was substantial damage to university property. The students demanded the re-introduction of remedial courses and grants as well as a complete halt to the reforms. In shutting down the University, its leadership argued that the demands were "complex" and presented a "real problem"; it was impossible to meet them. The police who were brought in to curb student violence responded with teargas, turning the protest into a battle between students and the police[70].

In Gambia on 10 and 11th of April 2000, thousands of Gambian students took to the streets to protest against the death of a high school student, who was allegedly tortured by security force members, and the reported rape of a 13-year-old girl by a police officer. They gathered at the gate of the Gambia Technical Training Institute to march to the City Centre. Police ordered them to disperse as they had no permit to protest but the students refused. The police attempted to disband them by using teargas, but the students later regrouped, setting up barricades with burning rubber tires in the streets and threw

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[68] Maxfield, MG & Widom CS (1996). The cycle of violence: Revisited 6 years later. *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine* 150(4):390-395.
[69] Martin et al. (2002) Levels of Consensus and Minority and Majority influence in Europe. *Journal of Social Psychology* Vol. 32
[70] Karmo. H (2016). University of Liberia students petition legislature over tuition increment. *Front Page Africa*, 20 April.

stones at the police. The students attacked Government buildings, set a police station on fire and there was a lot of looting of stores. The police retaliated with live ammunition, killing at least 14 students and wounding more than 20 who had to be admitted to hospital, while countless others suffered light wounds.

In Mauritania students also boycotted classes at the University of Nouakchott. Police arrested 16 students during clashes between students and police on the campus. The national students' union has been a key force in organizing student protest action. The students' demands include quality of life issues, but the clashes added other demands to the list: the return of expelled students and "de-militarization" of the campus. As perceived mistreatment by the police becomes one of the protesters' chief complaints, the protests are taking on a self-perpetuating logic[71].

In Zambia Mfula reports that the University of Zambia and Copperbelt University were closed indefinitely by the Zambian government after student protests against non-payment of allowances turned violent. Scores of students were arrested. Higher Education Minister, Michael Kaingu justified this action in parliament by stating that, "the decision to close the universities had followed days of destructive protests during which public property was damaged". He added that some students burned tires and used logs to barricade roads, and vehicles were stoned. About 56 students were arrested. The minister appealed to student leaders to ensure that protestors were disciplined and non-violent. Much effort had been made to negotiate with students and persuade them to return to class, but this proved futile. The University of Zambia had assured students that the government was acting on their grievances, but they still resorted to damaging property. Kaingu told parliament that the permanent secretary of the ministry had intervened as soon as protests had begun, to no avail. The minister visited Copperbelt University and "offered to dialogue with students but they refused". Zambian President

[71] Halpern, M (2015). *Politics of social change; In the Middle East and North Africa.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Edgar Lungu was quoted by the Lusaka Times as saying that the closure of the two universities was "a good lesson for the students[72].

In the contemporary period, almost all countries in Africa have been plagued by revolts and protest. South Africa is no exception to violent student protest. The University of Johannesburg alone suffered damages amounting to more than R100 million because of violent protest actions. The violence at South African universities escalated from damaging statues and artwork and confrontations with security staff and police, to the burning of buildings and brutal clashes between student factions. This violence is a legacy of racial discrimination and colonialism, high levels of unemployment and pronounced and increasing income inequality[73].

Prosser and Sitaram claim that the student protests which reached their peak in 1990 in Swaziland and have since continued. It often started as a disorganized demonstration against campus issues such as poor food but soon turned into violent demands for democratic reform. The violence that ensued after soldiers swept through university campuses will always be a sensitive subject with government. The report of the commission set up to investigate the violence was kept secret for years, with a censored version finally released to the public in 1997. Two of the students who were seriously injured sued the government for damages, and their cases were settled out of court. In 2011 another violent student strike broke out in Mbabane where students protesting against the closure of their university threatened to derail a traditional festival. The students tried to breach a police barrier in Ezulwini at the start of the annual festival known as Umhlanga or Reed Dance, when thousands of women gather

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[72] Mfula. C (2016). Zambia closes two government universities after student protests. *Reuters Africa*, 4 February.
[73] Bawa. A (2016). *Universities SA condemns incidents of arson at public universities*. Pretoria: Universities South Africa.

to perform before King Mswati III. This violent confrontation led to the arrest of seven students and several others were injured[74].

In Lesotho students of Limkokwing University launched on-going protests against what they refered to as bad management and poor services. Other grievances include slow internet speed and delays in disbursing their allowances. The Moeketsi Pholo Student Representative Council at the University pointed out that, "We have been submitting these issues to our management but nothing has been done to solve our grievances. So, the only option we have is to protest and instead of solving our problems, the management is threatening us. As such we have no choice but to respond in kind"[75].

In Burundi, the government closed all universities in April 2015 following student protests against the announcement that the incumbent President, Pierre Nkurunziza, would run for a third term in the presidential elections. The protests soon became violent as the police clashed with students in an attempt to disband them. Widespread demonstrations in the capital, Bujumbura, lasted for more than three weeks. The conflict led to the death of several students and police and dozens of students were arrested.

In Djibouti between 2011 and 2015, students at the University of Djibouti took to the streets on several occasions to protest against their grades and the country's poor education system and to prevent the president from seeking a third term. The 2015 protests turned violent. Daniel McCurry, a US citizen living and teaching in Djibouti reported that they "have taken the form of rock throwing, destruction of property, and general mayhem. The police have responded with arrests, tear gas". Videos published by anonymous Djiboutian students on YouTube confirm these reports. The most violent

[74] Rooney, R (2011). Students protest during Swazi festival. *South Africa Press Association*, 25 August.

[75] Khama, K (2010). Limkokwing students strike. *Lesotho Times*, September 15.

confrontations were documented at the University of Djibouti, where only two out of 180 students had passed their exams. The students looted shops in downtown Djibouti City. Within the next few days, students from other universities joined the struggle. The police attempted to disperse them with teargas and students retaliated by throwing stones[76].

From all the above occurrences we can see the students in Africa have inherited the culture of violence exhibited during the struggle against colonialism. While colonialism is "over", the culture of violence used to fight it has not disappeared. Rather, it is increasingly manifesting itself across the African continent. At the 2016 Strini Moodley Memorial Lecture delivered by the then University of the Free State Vice-Chancellor, Professor Jonathan Jansen, several students accused him and his counterparts of abandoning the struggle for liberation and transformation and joining hands with the oppressors. At the same event, a student pointed out that when the students protest, burn buildings and destroy property, they consider it a victory. Violence has been used by generations in Africa as a way of resolving conflicts[77]. While this is a single incident and does not necessarily represent the views of students across the continent, the fact that these students were representing a student organization attests to the culture of violence they have inherited that is expressed in all facets of their lives.

African universities from Cape Town to Cairo are gradually becoming battle grounds where students wage war against one challenge or another in the fight for liberation. For this inherited ideological trait to be challenged and unpacked, different forms of engagement are required on different pathways for protest. Secondly, African universities need to create a culture to cater for student needs. Finally, when protests do occur, they should be addressed immediately, so as to reduce the potential for violent manifestations. The prevailing circumstances on the African continent as well as in African

[76] Lea. J (2013). Book review symposium: Steven Pinker. the better angels of our nature: A History of violence and humanity. *Sociology* 47(6):1226-1227.
[77] Smith KB et al. (2011) Linking genetics and political attitudes: Re-conceptualizing political ideology. *Political Psychology*. 32(3):369-397.

universities have strategically contributed in provoking this ideological trait. To deal with this, African governments and university structures must ensure that the educational landscape at African universities caters effectively for students' needs. Issues such as funding, basic social amenities, school management, and student representative council elections, amongst others, should be managed effectively so as to create the terrain for peaceful co-existence[78].

2.4 Higher Education in Kenya

In East Africa there has also been a trend of violent protests at its universities. To understand this we need to look into the history of higher education in Kenya. Higher education in Kenya has its origins in the establishment of Makerere College in Uganda in 1922. It was established in order to serve the three East African countries, i.e. Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika (now Tanzania) as well as Zambia and Malawi. In 1963 the Royal Technical College that had been established by the Asian community in 1956 became the University College of Nairobi following the establishment of the University of Eastern Africa, Makerere. The university offered the degree and certificates programmes of the University of London until 1966. Upon the dissolution of the University Of Eastern Africa in 1970, the University of Nairobi was established and became the first public university in Kenya[79] As demand for higher education grew, six other universities were established within a time span of slightly over twenty years. These include Moi University in 1984; Kenyatta University in 1985; Egerton University in 1987; Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology in 1994; Maseno University in 2001; and Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology in 2007.

[78] Moore, P (2015). Burundi student protesters seek refuge in US embassy. *Al Jazeera*. June 25.
[79] Jowi, J.O et al. (2008) *Higher Education in Africa: The International Dimension*. Centre for International Higher Education Boston College and Association of African Universities, Accra,

The physical expansion of universities has been spectacular. In most cases this has taken the form of a conversion of middle level colleges into constituent colleges and campuses. For example, between May and July of 2007 the following middle level colleges were converted into university colleges: Pwani, Chuka, Kisii, Kimathi Institute of Technology, the Kenya Polytechnic and Mombasa Polytechnic. Meanwhile, Kenya Science, Taita Taveta, Kabianga and Kitui which were already campuses were upgraded to constituent colleges of the existing universities, i.e. the Universities of Nairobi, Moi, Egerton and Kenyatta and Jomo Kenyatta University of Science and Technology[80]. In addition, between January and February 2008 another two middle level colleges, Narok Teachers" College and South Eastern College, were upgraded to constituent colleges of Moi and Nairobi Universities. By early 2012, there were fifteen constituent colleges affiliated to the seven public universities. The number of private universities also grew dramatically from one in 1991 to fourteen with four constituent colleges by the end of 2011. At this time universities with interim letters of authority totaled eleven while two had been registered prior to the setting up of the Commission for Higher Education and were awaiting the award of their charter, bringing the number of private universities to twenty-seven[81]. In total the country had 34 universities and 19 constituent colleges by the end of 2011.

The growth in student enrolment has also been phenomenal - from the small number of 571 at independence in 1963 to a total of 112,229 in public universities for the 2008/2009 academic year. The annual enrolment has been increasing steadily over the years with an average growth rate of 21.39% between 1985 and 2009. Surges in enrolment were recorded in the 1987/88 and 1990/91 academic years when enrolment rates increased at 89.81% and 63.75%,

[80] Otieno. W. (2004). "Student Loans in Kenya: Past Experiences, Current Hurdles and Opportunities for the Future." *Journal of Higher Education in Africa, 2.*
[81] Commission for University Education, (2012) The 5th Exhibition by Kenyan Universities, *Exhibition Catalogue. Nairobi* – Commission for Higher Education

respectively[82]. The impact of this sporadic expansion of university education has resulted in the prevalence of poor teaching and learning conditions; inadequate learning facilities; and the further dilapidation of an already inadequate infrastructure. The situation has been compounded by the gradual withdrawal of government financial support that began in earnest with the adoption of the World Bank supported Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in a cost sharing policy[83].

In grappling with diminishing resources, public universities resorted to a flurry of survival techniques, such as the introduction of Privately Sponsored Students" Programmes (PSSP) otherwise known as Module II programmes and non-teaching income generating ventures (IGUs). Moi University, for example, established the following income generating ventures: Consultancy, Research and Development; Business Unit; and Production Units and Service Units, while the University of Nairobi incorporated a limited liability company to supplement its income[84].

Nevertheless, issues of quality continued to be a critical area of concern in public universities in Kenya, resulting in a disruption of programmes because of boycotts by students[85]. Most universities were pushed beyond their capacities and, as a result, there have been extremely large classes which made it difficult to manage tutorials. Similarly, library facilities have been stretched beyond limits while congestion in the halls of residence has been a common feature[86].

[82] Hornsby, (2012). *Kenya: A History since Independence*. IB Tauris and Co Ltd. London and New York.

[83] Republic of Kenya. (1991) *Economic Survey 1991* Nairobi Central Bureau of Statistics.
[84] Wanjala (1996) Presidentialism. Ethnicity. Multipartisim and Democracy in Africa. *Law and the Struggle for democracy In East Africa*. Nairobi English Press Ltd
[85] Ntarangwi. (2003) The Challenges of Education and Development in Post- Colonial Kenya. *African Development Vol XXVIII Nos. 3&4*
[86] (Ojwang, (2009) *The Roots of Student Unrest in African Universities*. Man Graphics Ltd Nairobi

Sifuna notes that apart from the pressure on teaching facilities, the quality of teaching staff has also emerged as an issue of concern. While a PhD is the required qualification for securing a teaching position at universities, this requirement is no longer strictly enforced in all the public universities. Similarly, publication another requirement for university teaching is not emphasized. As such, a university's teaching staff is comprised of many academics who would otherwise not have qualified for such positions[87].

Coupled with the exponential expansion of higher education in Kenya has been the perennial problem of student unrest that has characterized Kenya's higher education in the past three decades. In Tharaka-Nithi County, Chuka University was closed indefinitely as a result of student unrest over disputed student union elections. The police arrested 15 students who were looting shops at the nearby Ndagani market and forcing other businesses to close. Students also set a university bus ablaze amidst other acts of violence. The University of Nairobi was also shut down indefinitely due to three days of student unrest. Students who had been looting and destroying property were asked to vacate the premises. News of the closure caught some students on Lower Kabete Campus off-guard and they again took to the streets to block roads opposing the move. Nairobi County Police Commander, Japheth Koome reported that eight machetes were found in a student's room on Chiromo Campus. This demonstrates the violent nature of student protest at Kenyan universities[88].

The prevalence of strikes in virtually all public universities has persisted amidst radical policy adaptation as well as the embracing and implementation of justifiably acceptable policy frameworks at institutional level. These policy frameworks and adaptations have been aimed at addressing the increasing demand for higher education in the country. For example, in 1995 the government

[87] Sifuna (1998) *Report of the Vice Chancellors Committee on the Causes of Disturbances/ Riots in Public Universities.* Jomo Kenyatta Foundation. Nairobi
[88] Ombati, C (2016). University of Nairobi closed indefinitely following three days of student protests. *Standard Media,* 6 April.

established the Higher Education Loans Board (HELB) to address the critical issue of financing higher education - especially for bright students from poor backgrounds

At institutional level universities introduced the Privately Sponsored Students" Programme (PSSP) to accommodate qualified students who failed to acquire government financial support for higher education. Despite these radical decisions, amongst others at both government and institutional level, the issue of student unrest in Kenya's higher education continues to puzzle policy-makers and decision-makers in government and at perennially adverse phenomenon in Kenyans higher education for over three decades. In a period spanning 30 years (1969–2000) sixty-nine cases of serious strikes were reported at Kenya's public universities with forty-seven of the incidents, i.e. 68% occurring within one decade between 1990 and 2000. Over the years, protests that initially started as peaceful demonstrations were rapidly transformed into violent confrontations with the police and the destruction of property, reaching unprecedented levels with serious injuries and deaths being reported[89].

The Report of the Vice-Chancellor's Committee on the causes of strikes at public universities in Kenya describes the violent nature of the strikes. The violent nature of the strikes is also aptly reflected in the Kenyatta University strike of 2009 where a computer laboratory and property worth hundreds of millions of shillings was destroyed and one student was killed. The violence witnessed during these strikes by students, as well as the disruption of the academic programme, is unprecedented. As such, this study sought to investigate the underlying factors behind the violent unrest in Kenya"s higher education both within and outside the institutions. The study was informed by the fact that the socio-political and economic dynamics, both within and outside the university, have an impact on the operations of any organization.

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[89] Office of the Vice Chancellor, Moi University, Press Release (2009), Subject: Brief on Students' Unrest and Closure of Main Campus in the *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, September 29

There is an active, dynamic and steady exchange or interaction between the university as an open system and its immediate and wider environment. Being a public institution, the university exists to serve the nation by training students in the various skills required for the overall development of the nation. Its graduates serve in various capacities in the public and private sectors and even internationally. The findings of research conducted by various sections of the university are meant to inform critical policy decisions, both locally and nationally. Public resources are used to support the university's programmes and to finance its operations. Being a system, the university has within it sub-systems components or elements with specific/specialized functions whose combined end-result is to give a unique functional meaning to the whole. There is, therefore, an interaction of components or sectors of the university's system which gives the university its distinctive characteristic features[90]. Poor conditions of service and low salaries for teaching staff have forced these academics into engaging in a flurry of income generating activities in order to supplement their meagre incomes. Abagi notes that 50% of the teaching staff at Kenya's public universities teach at their own institutions and at other outside institutions and that only 5% of teaching staff engage in research while the rest are involved mainly in consultancies outside their universities[91].

2.5 Student unrest

Going back at least as far as the turbulent 60's and 70's, universities have served as a focal point for confrontations over many of the key moral questions confronting society--racial inequity, gender discrimination, fair treatment of people with different sexual orientations, environmental protection, and workers' rights. When constructively handled, the policy changes that have emerged from these

90 Kiboiy L.K.(2013) *The Dynamics of Student Unrests in Kenya's Higher Education* : The Case Of Moi University (University of Pretoria)
91 Abagi (1999) *Resource Utilization in Public Universities in Kenya*. Enhancing Efficiency and Cost Recovery Measures IPAR Nairobi

conflicts have helped transform universities into institutions which are among society's most progressive. Unfortunately, there have also been cases in which such conflicts have been quite destructive. Miscommunication and misunderstandings portray inaccurate (usually negative) images of the positions and actions of others. Especially destructive are confrontations which have escalated to the point of property damage, physical injury, or even death. Destructive escalation processes can also lead to intense interpersonal animosities which replace any thoughtful examination of the difficult moral issues being addressed. Under such circumstances, opportunities for mutually beneficial compromise and institutional learning are usually lost[92].

Student unrest is a world-wide phenomenon. There is hardly a country free from it. There are many socio-economic factors causing this. The unrest among students is an outward expression of the resentment that the community feels towards the government, the society and the institutions that they study in. It is human nature that when a person, especially the youth, is alienated or his problems are not heeded to, or if he is unable to face the realities of life, he resorts to violent means to focus public attention. When the number of such students grows large, they unite on a common platform and together tread on the path of violence[93].

Actually education plays a vital role in moulding one's behaviour and in preparing a child to the world at large. This role, it seems, is not carried out satisfactorily by most institutions now a days. When a student steps into the world of reality, he is baffled to find himself a misfit. In this fast-changing society, he cannot perhaps keep pace. Hence there is unrest among the youth. The youth get frustrated when they see a great deal of disparity between the theory and its application. This causes them to

[92] Office of the Vice Chancellor. Moi University. Press Release.(2009) Subject: *Brief on Students' Unrest and Closure of Main Campus* in the Daily Nation. Tuesday. September 29.
[93] Kiboiy L.K.(2013) *The Dynamics of Student Unrests in Kenya's Higher Education* : The Case Of Moi University (University of Pretoria)

wonder whether all that they ever learnt would ever come in use or would go waste. Added to this is their economic dissatisfaction. All these factors blend together and give rise to a cult of violence[94].

It is only a beneficial educational policy and a better social order that can bring about a sobering effect on them. It is hence the duty of the sensible and responsible citizens of the society and the authorities that they should do all that they can to remove the irritants that cause such unrest. The youth should never be neglected. They are impatient, hasty and full of new ideas and vision. Their dreams have to be materialized and they like to see this happening as a result of their hard work and sometimes by force. However, they often lead the country to new horizons; because out of unrest emerges and a better society. Causes and reactions to racial unrest on campuses are concerns for higher education leadership. Those who do not listen to and engage with students to address concerns jeopardize the institution's health. During times of tension, a calm and trusted voice is critical[95].

There has been many studies on developing more constructive ways of handling the intractable conflicts that so often surround debates over questions of social justice and morality. Advice is offered from an impartial perspective which seeks to equally serve the interest of university administrators and protest groups. While some of the suggestions are more applicable to students and others apply more to administrators, the people involved in such disputes should confront them in a more constructive way, and to understand how each side can encourage the other to be more constructive in their response to the issue in dispute. Students also need to realize that these issues are not simple, nor are they easily solved. Most of these conflicts involve deep-rooted moral questions that people feel very strongly about. Policies are not. These are issues that will be considered, changed, reconsidered, and changed again. Everyone involved needs to know that progress, likely, will be slow.

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[94]Sifuna (1998) *Report of the Vice Chancellors Committee on the Causes of Disturbances/ Riots in Public Universities.* Jomo Kenyatta Foundation. Nairobi

[95] Office of the Vice Chancellor, (2009) Moi University, Press Release, Subject: Brief on Students' Unrest and Closure of Main Campus in the *Daily Nation.*

But individual disputes and their resolution are stepping stones to the long run goal of significant social change. So pursuit of these issues, even on a small scale, can eventually have significant social policy implications that go far beyond the local campus and community[96].

Regardless of whether or not a conflict is negotiated or mediated, before beginning it is useful for all sides to assess the conflict's readiness or "ripeness" for negotiation. In personalized and highly escalated conflicts, people may become so angry and distrustful that they will not negotiate in good faith, or they may refuse to negotiate at all. Students may make the assumption that the university administration "will not listen to them," or "doesn't care," and therefore negotiations are a waste of time[97].

Similarly, administrators may assume that the students have made their demands which the administrators may or may not view as reasonable and further assume that the students are not willing to consider alternative approaches. Sometimes this is true: the protesting group may believe so strongly in a moral issue that they are unwilling to compromise their basic beliefs. As a result, they may prefer a principled defeat to what they see as a "hollow compromise." In this case, they will likely refuse to negotiate or will reject any proposed agreement, preferring to continue the confrontation and paint the administration as the "bad guys." While the administration can try to exhibit an open mind and a willingness to discuss the issues, they should not feel they have to bend to unreasonable demands to avoid confrontation. They should just maintain a willingness to talk, if and when the students are ready.

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[96] Kiboiy L.K. (2013)*The Dynamics of Student Unrests in Kenya's Higher Education* : The Case Of Moi University (University of Pretoria)

[97] Kiboiy L.K.(2013) *The Dynamics of Student Unrests in Kenya's Higher Education* : The Case Of Moi University (University of Pretoria)

In an article done by Ravi the growing unrest and indiscipline among students is a matter of great concern. In recent years they have assumed alarming proportions. It is a worldwide problem.

There are agitations, strikes, boycotts of classes etc., in schools, colleges, universities and other educational and training institutions now and then. Student unrest is a great threat to our system of education, training programmes and development. The students indulge in violence, arson, destruction of property. They use unfair means to get through the tests and examinations, insult their teachers, threat their invigilators and abuse the staff on any pretext. They want more freedom, rights, both legitimate and illegitimate[98].

If these undesirable activities and indiscipline are allowed to go on unchecked, the whole education and training system would soon be paralyzed. It would eat into the very vitals of our national ethos and development. This unrest among the students reflects the prevailing dissatisfaction, disillusionment, frustration, dejection and hopelessness. The students are now a frustrated lot; they lack orientation and proper guidance. They feel insecure as far as proper employment opportunities are concerned. They are afflicted with aimlessness, indecision and crisis of character. They don't have role models to follow on national or regional levels.

But why do the students clash with the police, indulge in strikes, violence, stone-throwing, brick-bating, rowdies, rampage and drug-abuse? Why do they hero their Vice- chancellors, professors, head of the institutions etc.? Why do they resort to demonstrations and hooliganism again and again? These

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[98] Ombati, C (2016). University of Nairobi closed indefinitely following three days of student protests. *Standard Media*, 6 April.

are some of the very serious and crucial questions and must be addressed and answered with matching concern and seriousness[99].

The causes of this unrest are not far to seek. There are many factors which have contributed to this dangerous phenomenon. One of the main factors is our out-dated and defective system of education and examination: The prevailing system of education was introduced by the Bruisers with the sole aim of producing clerks and petty bureaucrats to run their administration. The British rulers never wanted to educate the Indians in the real sense of the term. They wanted to perpetuate their rule and the slavery of the Indian masses. This system of education does not cater to our national and social needs. Consequently, the students feel cheated, confused, frustrated and express these in the acts of violence and indiscipline. Similarly, the system of examination is rotten to the very core because of its many inherent defects. It places too much emphasis and premium on cramming, mechanical memory and elements of chance. It promotes such corrupt practices as copying in the examination, leakage of question papers for ulterior motives and payment of gratification to examiners etc. It encourages bookish knowledge and speculation. Examinations are not the real test of student's achievements, skills and abilities. They do not take into consideration their excellence in co-curricular activities, social service or strength of moral character and conduct[100].

The student unrest can also tie attributed to the rampant corruption among teachers and other members of the staff. The teachers are recruited on the basis of their political backing and patronage, and not on the basis of their academic achievements and merits. Appointments made on the basis of caste and political patronages have caused havoc in the field of education. In the matter of admission also these, nasty factors of casteism, nepotism, favoritism and bribery are playing their dirty role. As a result of

[99] Ibid
[100] Office of the Vice Chancellor, Moi University, Press Release, Subject: *Brief on Students' Unrest and Closure of Main Campus* in the Daily Nation, Tuesday, September 29 2009

these the deserving and meritorious students are left out. The ill-recruited, low paid and corrupt teachers have worsened the situation. The teachers themselves often resort to strike, dharma and gears to coerce the authorities to accept their legitimate and illegitimate demands. The student community is now in ferment which finds its expression in various acts of indiscipline. Modern students may be compared to a kind of Frankenstein who threatens to slay his own mentor and master. Students, by and large, are now a confused and demoralized lot. They have lost sight of direction, proper orientation, moral values, cultural heritage and sense of pride in common historical great achievements[101].

They are not sure of getting proper employment opportunities after completion of their education and training, and so find their future bleak, uncertain and insecure. What good can be expected from such a frustrated lot? A frustrated young man is always a dangerous man. Ill-equipped libraries and laboratories, overcrowded classes, ill paid staff, lack of job-oriented education, absence of moral and academic authority among teachers etc., have further worsened the situation.[102]The politicians and party-leaders have added fuel to the fire of student unrest and there is almost a conflagration. They are misusing and misguiding students to serve their own selfish and partisan political ends. These political professionals use the students as their tools and lead them astray. The student of today has become a casualty to all these corrupt, rotten and utterly selfish forces which have intruded the temples of learning.

Students are the real strength and future of a country. They possess vast energy which can do wonders if properly oriented and utilized. They should be kept busy in creative, fruitful, relevant, social and

[101] Otieno, W. (2004). "Student Loans in Kenya: Past Experiences. Current Hurdles and Opportunities for the Future." *Journal of Higher Education in Africa, 2.*
[102] Matemba C. (2012) *Student Unrest Challenges and Protests of Conflict Management and Resolution in Kenyan Public Universities* (LAP Lambert Academic Publishing)

academic activities. Their minds should never be allowed to remain idle. Proper employment opportunities should be created for them and there should be no political interference in- educational matters. The legitimate demands of the student community should be met without any delay. There should be a proper administrative mechanism to redress their genuine grievances these are some of the key remedies for the malady of student unrest and indiscipline. The students form the bedrock of our national health and progress. So, they should be treated accordingly with sympathy, affection and genuine concern for them[103].

In Africa Davies, Ekwere, Uyanga argued that there should be ways of monitoring expelled students such that they are not re-admitted into other institutions. This measure will greatly deter other students from getting involved in actions that can lead to students' unrest. There is need to deter students from cultism, either inhibiting identified members through punishment or by using the example of punishment by threats to deter in advance other potential members. Deterrence as penalty philosophy is more effective when punishment is certain. Academic staff should be encouraged to work in relevant peace and tranquility, not to dissipate all their energies in preparing papers to persuade the government to fulfill their role by funding institution appropriately and agitating for better conditions of service. Six month training on leadership strategies and conflict management should be provided for those willing and interested in becoming school administrators for effective productivity. On the whole, the Nigerian police should be constantly reminded that they are supposed to be friendly to citizens. They are meant to maintain peace in the community and not to complicate the crises situation. Most Nigerian police are confused and ignorant of what is expected of them when students are on protest. In view of this, there is a need for Nigerian police to be properly trained on human relation and to avoid brutality against students[104].

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[104] Davies, Ekwere, Uyanga (2015) *Factors Influencing Unrest In Institutions of Higher Learning* Nigeria

Kenya is but one of the many African countries that have had to deal with university student unrest. South Africa and Nigeria, among others, have also had their fair share in recent years. Student unrest is of course not a new phenomenon in Africa; it goes back to the late 1960's and 1970's, at the time when universities were being established following independence from Europe. But the campus environment today is very different from that a few decades ago. First, the student numbers are far greater. Previously an African university would have a couple of thousand of students; now most universities have tens of thousands of students, so the disturbances have more serious consequences. Second, the existing campus infrastructures, including student residences, lecture halls, libraries, etc., have not generally expanded to cope with the increasing student population, leading to greater frustrations and complaints from students. Third, the student profiles have changed. Previously universities would admit a few students from the more socially advantaged urban population. Now, with efforts to increase access to higher education, universities admit a greater mix of students from different social and ethnic strata, as well as from the rural areas, thus increasing the possibilities of tensions among students. Fourth, a significant number of students now have to pay tuition fees, so they are more demanding and want their money's worth. Fifth, technology, in particular mobile telephony, has increased the ease of communication among students, making it possible to better organize their protest for maximum impact.

Finally, many of the former student leaders, and even faculty, now occupy influential political positions, which they tend to use to their political advantage. It is therefore not surprising to continually hear of student unrest on African campuses. Such unrests of course occur in other regions of the world as well – in particular Asia and Latin America, but even Europe. However, the long term impact of student unrest on Africa is particularly disturbing. African universities, after years of neglect and under-funding, are undergoing a major revitalization process with international support. They can

ill afford the set-backs caused by campus destruction and closures. Africa right now needs vibrant and dynamic universities producing graduates and undertaking research to assist in the continent's much-needed development drive. In May 2010 the University of Nairobi in Kenya closed down indefinitely after violent unrest and looting in the streets by students over disputed student elections[105]. The disturbances were allegedly caused by external interference of local politicians in the students' elections. A year earlier, in March 2009, it was Kenyatta University, also in Nairobi, which closed down after students' protest over the set deadline for examination registration. The incidents resulted in one student dead and serious destruction to university property. Student unrest and rioting, leading to closure of several campuses, also occurred in Kenya during 2007/2008 in the wake of the disputed presidential elections[106].

One should first recognize that universities are a reflection of the social and political society in which they are located. There are perhaps two major factors causing student unrest – internal and external, although it can be argued that one invariably leads to the other. The internal factors result from poor living conditions, protest over examinations, tribal or ethnic differences, dissatisfaction with administration among others. Kenyan universities can learn from other parts of the world. Since the mid-1960's almost all US universities and colleges appoint a 'Campus Ombudsman', a respected external personality who listens to students' grievances and attempts to resolve a problem before it bursts into a major crisis. This will come below the personal dimension in the conflict management strategy[107].Once major student unrest has occurred on campus, university leaders must apply all the strategies of conflict management which include the personal, relational and structural dimensions, to limit the damages and to bring the unrest to a quick resolution[108].

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[105] Muola, & Migosi (2012). *Academic Advising Needs among University Students in Kenya.*
[106] Okumu, A. (n.d). (2014) *Introduction to Guidance and Counselling.* OER@AVU-Africa. Retrievd January 23,
[107] Muola. J. M and Migosi J.A (2012). *Academic Advising Needs among University Students in Kenya.*

[108] Wangeri, T. Kimani, E. and Mutweleli, S. M. (2012).*Transitional Challenges Facing First Year University Students in Kenyan Public Universites*: A Case of Kenyatta University.

2.6 The Personal Dimension to Peace Building

This aspect of conflict refers to changes affected in and desired for the individual. This involves the full person, including the cognitive, emotional, perceptual, and spiritual dimensions. From a descriptive perspective, transformation reminds us that we as individuals are affected by conflict in both negative and positive ways. The effects of conflict and unrest among the students Conflict causes a number of issues including, suspensions/expulsion/jail term whereby those caught to have committed offences and crimes during these strikes are severely punished by the institutions through suspension and expulsion while others are even jailed for their involvement in these unrest. There is also time wastage when the students are engaging the law enforcement officers or even when the institutions are closed indefinitely.

The closure causes wastage of time because at the time students should be continuing with their studies or even examinations. Time is also wasted when some of the students are suspended because they have to stay at home then come to cover what they were supposed to learn when they were suspended affects our physical well-being, self-esteem, emotional stability, capacity to perceive accurately, and spiritual integrity. Change must be viewed descriptively and prescriptively. Prescriptively, transformation represents deliberate intervention to minimize the destructive effects of social conflict and to maximize its potential for growth in the person as an individual human being, at physical, emotional, and spiritual levels[109]. So from this perspective to deal with the personal aspects that students present themselves with, according to this dimension the university has to increase awareness of student unrest patterns which will create a greater capacity to respond constructively and in a timely

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[109] Egbochuku & Akpan, 2008; Berk, 2005). *Assessment of Needs of Nigerian University Graduate Students. European Journal of Economics Finance Administrative Sciences.* 11 (2008) 66-73. Retrieved November 23, 2009.

manner to signs of potential fracas. Early response with dialogue and mediation skills will lower incidences of commotion[110].

2.7. The Relational Dimension to Peace Building

This dimension represents changes in face-to-face relationships. Here we consider relational affectivity, power, and interdependence, and the expressive, communicative, and interactive aspects of conflict. Descriptively, transformation refers to how the patterns of communication and interaction are affected by unrest. It looks beyond the tension around the visible issues to the underlying changes produced by conflict; this includes patterns of how people perceive, what they desire, what they pursue, and how they structure their relationships interpersonally, as well as inter-group and intra-group. These needs are critical in keeping relationships and maintaining friendships with other people. Prescriptively, transformation represents intervening intentionally to minimize poorly functioning communication and to maximize mutual understanding. This includes trying to bring to the surface explicitly the relational fears, hopes, and goals of the people involved. From this perspective to deal with the relational aspects that students present themselves with, according to this dimension the university has to build relationships between lecturers, administration and students through attendance at a series of meetings. Create cooperative teams and mechanisms for regular communication[111].

2.8 The structural dimension to peace building

The structural dimension of peace building focuses on the social conditions that foster violent conflict. It highlights the underlying causes of conflict and the patterns and changes it brings about in social, political, and economic structures. This aspect focuses attention on how social structures,

[110] Gysbers & Henderson, 2006) *Developing and Managing your School Guidance and Counseling Program* (4thed.). Alexandria, VA: American Counselling Association.
[111] Agatha (2006) *Academic, Career and Personal Needs of Nigerian University students.*

organizations, and institutions are built, sustained, and changed by unrest. It is about the ways people build and organize social, economic, political, and institutional relationships to meet basic human needs, provide access to resources, and make decisions that affect groups, communities, and whole societies. Transformation at the descriptive level involves analyzing the social conditions that give rise to conflict and the way that conflict affects change in the existing social structures and patterns of making decisions. At a prescriptive level transformation represents deliberately intervening in order to gain insight into the underlying causes and social conditions, which create and foster violent expressions of conflict. In addition, it openly promotes nonviolent means to reduce adversarial interaction and seeks to minimize and ultimately eliminate violence. Pursuing such change promotes developing structures that meet basic human needs (substantive justice) while maximizing the involvement of people in decisions that affect them (procedural justice)[112]

Many note that stable peace must be built on social, economic, and political foundations that serve the needs of the populace. In order to establish durable peace, parties must analyze the structural causes of the conflict and initiate social structural change. The promotion of substantive and procedural justice through structural means typically involves institution building and the strengthening of civil society[113]. Peace-building initiatives aim to promote nonviolent mechanisms that eliminate violence, foster structures that meet basic human needs, and maximize public participation.

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[113] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett et al; (2006) *Museum Fictions: Global Transformation,* Duke University press.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In the chapter the researcher describes the type of method the research use to collect data and how it will be analyzed. It also discusses the how the study population was chosen and the the location in which the study will take place.

3.1. Research design

Research methodology refers to relevant chosen strategies used in the study by the researcher to achieve a result. Given the research objectives, the study used cross sectional survey research method. A cross-sectional study involves looking at people who differ on one key characteristic at one specific point in time. The data is collected at the same time from people who are similar on other characteristics but different on a key factor of interest such as age, income levels and geographic locations. This study used mainly public and private universities as the study population. The university students tend to share similar views on life and society. A cross sectional analysis was best to cover the research population as they have general related characteristic but could differ based on age, gender and occupation.

3.2 Study Site

For purposes of gathering data the target population was selected in different towns in Kenya which include; Nairobi County, Thika County, Eldoret County, Kajiado County and Meru County. These five regions of Kenya have been selected due to their cosmopolitan nature and the fact that they all have key institutions of higher learning.

3.3 Study Population

The population of the study was students of 6 institutions of higher learning from both the public and private sector of academia. These six institutions where picked through purposive sampling method because they represent a broad population of graduates who contribute greatly to Kenya achieving its social and economic needs. These six institutions are a true representation of the diverse nature of the Kenyan higher education system. A fair share of both public and private universities have been selected because the students in these institutions tend to have different perspectives on issues of violence and instability in institutions of higher learning. The institutions selected include;

i)   The University of Nairobi

ii) Moi University

iii) Kenyatta University

iv) Strathmore University

v)   African Nazarene University

vi) Kenya Methodist University (KEMU)

3.4 Data Collection Method

The research used both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary source of data was collected through questionnaires, which assisted the researcher, get firsthand information on the problem area. A questionnaire is a set of printed questions with a choice of answers that are devised for the purpose of carrying out a survey or a statistical study. The study used a closed ended questionnaire to make sure that the respondents give relevant information for the study. The secondary data was collected from books, journal articles, conference papers, newspaper articles and other relevant academic sources.

3.5 Sampling & Sample Design

The study used simple random sampling method to select respondents from each of the six institutions of higher learning selected. With simple random sampling each individual in the population has a chance of being selected[114]. In every university the researcher selected 20 students who filled in a closed ended questionnaire. In total the researcher collected questionnaires from 120 students. The individuals selected had an understanding of the issue area.

3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

The quantitative data from the questionnaires was analysed through the aid of SPSS computer software that helped the researcher interpret the findings of the study. The qualitative data was analysed through content analysis. Content analysis classifies and ranks the data found in the research. The findings will be discussed in relation to the research questions and sought to test the research hypothesis.

3.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study covered six institutions of higher learning from five regions in Kenya. It looked into the nature and cause of conflict and instability in these institutions over the last five years. This is because there has been an increase in incidences of violence in major academic institutions of higher learning over the last few years.

A number of factors limited the researcher's ability to collect information for this study. The different locations of the institutions made it difficult for the researcher to access the respondents due to time and financial constraints. In this research study, the researcher considered the following ethical issues among others:

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[114] Creswell J. W. (2007) *Educational Research* Thomas Oaks

1. Requesting for permission to carry out the research from the responsible authorities such as National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI).

2. Obtaining informed consent by all respondents.

3. Making the outcome of the research available to all participants after the conclusion of the research.

CHAPTER 4

PERSONAL DIMENSION OF PEACE BUILDING

IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING IN KENYA

4.0. Introduction

This chapter will focus on the personal dimension of peace building in conflict management. The personal dimension looks into how conflict can be managed at an individual level. In institutions of higher learning this study will seek to investigate how the personal dimension of peace building has been used to manage strikes and riots.

4.1. Personal Impact of Violence and Conflict

Despite the growing number of armed conflicts and wars throughout the world, not enough attention has been paid to the local patterns of distress being experienced and the long-term health impact and psychosocial consequences of the various forms of political violence against individuals, communities, or specific ethnic groups. The short or long-term impact assessment on civilian populations of poor countries affected by war have been scarce, and studies focusing on experiences of collective suffering and trauma-related disorders among survivors are beginning to emerge in the scientific literature. The medicalization of collective suffering and trauma reflects a poor understanding of the relationships among critically important social determinants and the range of possible health outcomes of political violence[115].

According to Lederach, in the Personal dimension, Conflict changes individuals personally, emotionally and spiritually. From a functional perspective the psychological effects suffered after

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[115] Lederach J.P (2015)*Little Book of Conflict Transformation* (Skyhorse Publishing New York)

having faced traumatic experiences either directly or indirectly are understood in the terms of the process of experiential avoidance which refers to the difficulty (unwillingness) to remain in the constant with particular private experiences such as memories, emotions, though and body sensations. Avoiding ones experiences and the multiple events functionally related to them plays a key role in the maintenance of some clinical problems. Behavior and intersection styles become different like dissociation in ability to become involved in intimate relationships and also suicide attempts become some coping mechanisms based on the avoidance of emotional unease. The consolidation of this behavioral pattern has a series of negative consequences for individual and for society[116].

According to Dymond an increased complexity of the pattern of avoidance due to process like generalization derivation of behavior rules and the inflexibility of behavior can distance people from the possibility of coming into contact with new sources of learning, less problematic strategies of functioning and increase in personal realization.

4.2 Personal Strategies to Peace building

Peace building values the quality and sustainability of life. It aims to create societies that affirm human dignity through meeting human needs and protecting human rights, peace builders also have a responsibility to protect the environment. The introduction of human rights charters after World War II increased the expectation that governments should address 'human needs by protecting and promoting human rights laws. Humans have material social and cultural personal needs. These need to serve as a moral guide for people at every level of society. They give direction for making all types of decisions about how people can live with the least amount of violence and the greatest amount of common good[117].

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[116] J.P. Lederach et al. *Reflective Peacebuilding* the Joan B. (Institute for International Studies 2007)
[117] Lederach J.P (2015) Little Book of Conflict Transformation (Skyhorse Publishing New York)

Personal refers to changes effected in and desired for the individual. This includes the cognitive, emotional, perceptual, and spiritual aspects of human experience over the course of conflict. From a descriptive perspective, transformation suggests that individuals are affected by conflict in both negative and positive ways. For example, conflict affects our physical well-being, self-esteem, emotional stability, capacity to perceive accurately, and spiritual integrity. Prescriptively, transformation represents deliberate intervention to minimize the destructive effects of social conflict and maximize its potential for individual growth at physical, emotional, and spiritual levels[118].

According to Laderach, personal change generally occurs in two main categories, often linked. These are patterns or characteristics seen in individuals. These include attitude changes. Attitudes are predispositions, the ways that people think about (often unconsciously), and approach a given topic, situation or relationship. In conflict settings, relevant attitudes frequently have to do with ingrained views about themselves, others (particularly those they perceive as a threat), and the wider context they live in. Some attitudes that may affect conflict negatively: superiority, lack of respect, fear of contact with the other group, fear of sharing perspectives/views, prejudice or bias, and rigid, preconceived and narrow perceptions[119] Another aspect is behavior changes, behavior means the way people actually act, responses they give, ways they express themselves and how they interact with others. Examples of behavior changes that may improve the situation: reaching out to the other group, listening well, avoiding negative stereotypes in language, increasing contact with the other group, openness and transparency about feelings, expressing views without judgment, and reconsidering perceptions[120].

[118] J.P. Lederach et al.(2007) *Reflective Peacebuilding the Joan B.* (Institute for International Studies)
[119] Ibid
[120] Ibid

The personal dimension of peace building centers on desired changes at the individual level. If individuals are not able to undergo a process of healing, there will be broader social, political, and economic repercussions. The destructive effects of social conflict must be minimized, and its for personal growth must be maximized. Reconstruction and peace building efforts must prioritize treating mental health problems and integrate these efforts into peace plans and rehabilitation efforts.

In traumatic situations, a person is rendered powerless and faces the threat of death and injury. Traumatic events might include a serious threat or harm to one's family or friends, sudden destruction of one's home or community, and a threat to one's own physical being. Such events overwhelm an individual's coping resources, making it difficult for the individual to function effectively in society. Typical emotional effects include depression and post-traumatic stress disorder. After prolonged and extensive trauma, a person is often left with intense feelings that negatively influence his/her psychological well-being. After an experience of violence, an individual is likely to feel vulnerable, helpless, and out of control in a world that is unpredictable[121].

Building peace requires attention to these psychological and emotional layers of the conflict. The social fabric that has been destroyed by war must be repaired, and trauma must be dealt with on the national, community, and individual levels. At the national level, parties can accomplish widespread personal healing through truth and reconciliation commissions that seek to uncover the truth and deal with perpetrators. At the community level, parties can pay tribute to the suffering of the past through various rituals or ceremonies, or build memorials to commemorate the pain and suffering that has been endured. Strong family units that can rebuild community structures and moral environments are also crucial[122].

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[121] Michelle Maiese (2003) the *Beyond Intractability Project*, University of Colorado
[122] Ibid

At the individual level, one-on-one counseling has obvious limitations when large numbers of people have been traumatized and there are insufficient resources to address their needs. Peacebuilding initiatives must therefore provide support for mental health infrastructure and ensure that mental health professionals receive adequate training. Mental health programs should be adapted to suit the local context, and draw from traditional and communal practice and customs wherever possible. Participating in counseling and dialogue can help individuals to develop coping mechanisms and to rebuild their trust in others.

If it is taken that psychology drives individuals' attitudes and behaviors, then new emphasis must be placed on understanding the social psychology of conflict and its consequences. If ignored, certain victims of past violence are at risk for becoming perpetrators of future violence. Victim empowerment and support can help to break this cycle.

4.3 Personal Dimension of Peace Building in Institutions of Higher Learning

According to Wales, The balance of power is shifting from higher education institutions to students. In the United States, related issues are now being voiced by academics. Globally, the top-down model of a university driven by history and by external funding, particularly government funding, is shifting, as fiscal resources diminish. Today, there are a rising number of alternatives that bypass traditional content pathways. These include free and open courses, and alternative institutions providing courses that are low cost and transferable to traditional universities or have certificates of competency acceptable in job markets. Additionally, there are now microcredits of various types acceptable towards employment or academic credit. Given open universities and similar programmes, content acquisition is not the main issue. Issues of content are being weighed against other values that students see as important. This is critical since many students are no longer the traditional ones who, in the past, moved straight from secondary institutions to post-secondary institutions. Therefore, one must

ask whether the demands for free and open access to traditional universities are surrogates for larger issues not clearly articulated or understood, perhaps even by the protesters themselves. Perhaps the global concerns of students, manifested in particular by South African students and students of colour, are symptoms of something bigger[123].

In an article done by the Guardian, Violence at South Africa's universities has escalated from damage to statues and artworks and confrontations with security staff and police, to the burning of buildings and brutal clashes between student factions. It's the second year of conflict over tuition fees, shortages of student accommodation, low-paid staff and the language of instruction. Underlying youth anger are the legacies of racial discrimination and colonialism, high levels of unemployment and pronounced and increasing income inequality. While the form of campus protests is specific to South Africa, these fault lines have parallels in other higher education systems, including those of Britain and the US. We see global concern about the low-paid and immigrant workers who provide essential campus services and the effects of inequality on participation in higher education. US campuses are riven by racial tensions, while Europe is witnessing a surge of xenophobia in the face of the refugee crisis[124].

4.4 Personal Dimension of Peace building In Institutions of Higher Learning in Kenya

Strikes in institutions of higher learning in Kenya have had various personal implications on those involved. Those who have been caught committing the offences and crimes during these strikes are severely punished by the institutions through suspension and expulsion while others are even jailed for their involvement in this unrest. Time is usually wasted when the students are engaging the law enforcement officers or even when the institutions are closed indefinitely. The closure causes wastage of time because at the time students should be continuing with their studies or even examinations.

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[123] Abeles. T.(2016) *Treat the cause, not the symptom of student protests* Issue No.422 (University World News)
[124] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/04/south-africa-students-attack-police-protests-tuition-fees-escalate

Time is also wasted when some of the students are suspended because they have to stay at home then come to cover what they were supposed to learn when they were suspended.

This study sought to investigate the perception of Kenyan students in institutions of higher learning in regard to their understanding of the personal dimension to peace building in their universities. Six institutions of higher learning were selected, three of which were private and three public universities. In every university 20 students were selected to fill in a closed ended questionnaire.

According to the data collected the number of respondents who answered the questionnaire were mainly between the ages of 18-25. This is because they are mostly full time students at the bachelor degree level. 60% of the respondents were male and 40 % were female. The questionnaires were distributed to both public and private universities equally. Of the 60 students interviewed from private universities 80% of their funding comes from their parents and guardians while 20% percent were on scholarship. In public universities a majority of the students were government-sponsored students while a few were funded through their guardians and parents.

On the question of the nature of strikes and riots experienced in their universities, of the 120 students' interviewed, 60% of the respondents noted that they have experienced strike in the past 5 years. These strikes seem to be mainly experienced in public universities. Those in private universities have hardly experienced these strikes and therefore have not been affected.

Student Perception on Strikes and Riots
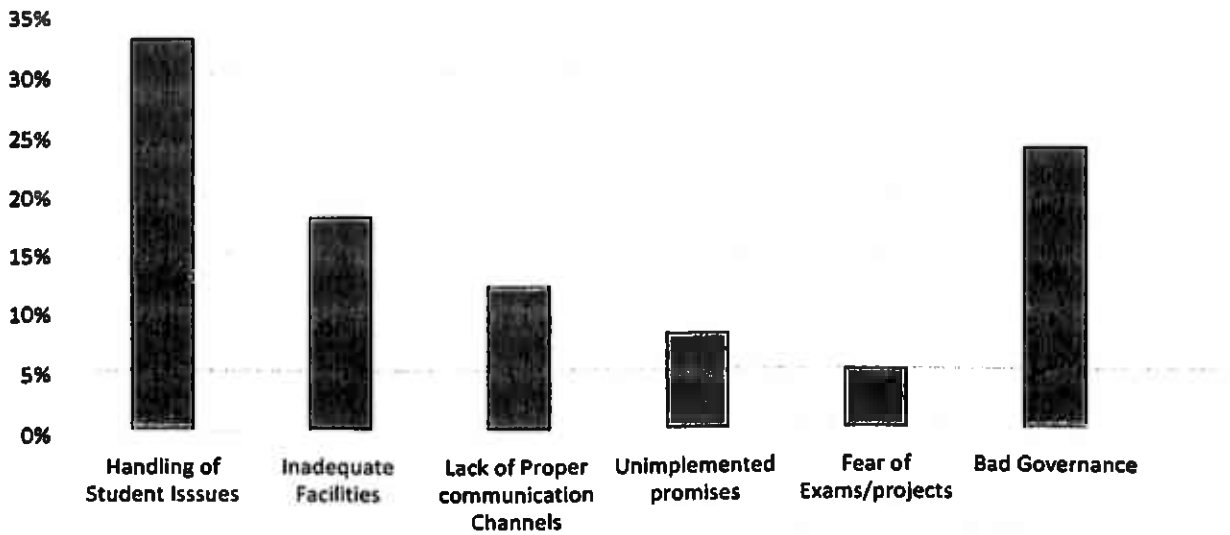
Figure 1: Students Perception to Strikes and Riots in Institutions of Higher Learning

The main reasons attributed to the emergence of this strikes varied based on different public universities as illustrated in Figure 1 above. Of the 60 respondents interviewed on some of the reasons, 24% believed bad governance by the administration, 33% poor handling of student issues, 18% inadequate facilities, 12% lack of proper communication channels, 5% fear of handling matters such as exams and project deadline issues and 8% lack of implementation of promises given earlier.

Those in private universities have hardly experienced these strikes and therefore have not been affected. Of the 60 respondents interviewed their reasons for not having strikes 59% said a well-structured institution that has been equipped with proper facilities 41% acknowledged a well-functioning administration. The private universities offer the student bodies the opportunity to air their opinion on what is required. An open door policy is used by the university administration; therefore the students can directly approach the administration at any level.

Of the 120 students questioned 17% of the students have been involved in a strike in their university. In addition 74 % of the respondents equally stated that they have been physically and emotionally affected by the strikes in their university. Some claimed to have received beatings from the police while others were emotionally affected to the extent of taking a semester break. Their universities assistance to these incidences varied. 6% of the respondents from some universities, received medical attention through the university clinic and 24% mentioned the university counselor counseled them.

Level of Perception on Strikes and Riots

⊡ Believe Strikes have an Effect on Personal Growth
⊡ Believe Strikes have no Effect on Personal Growth
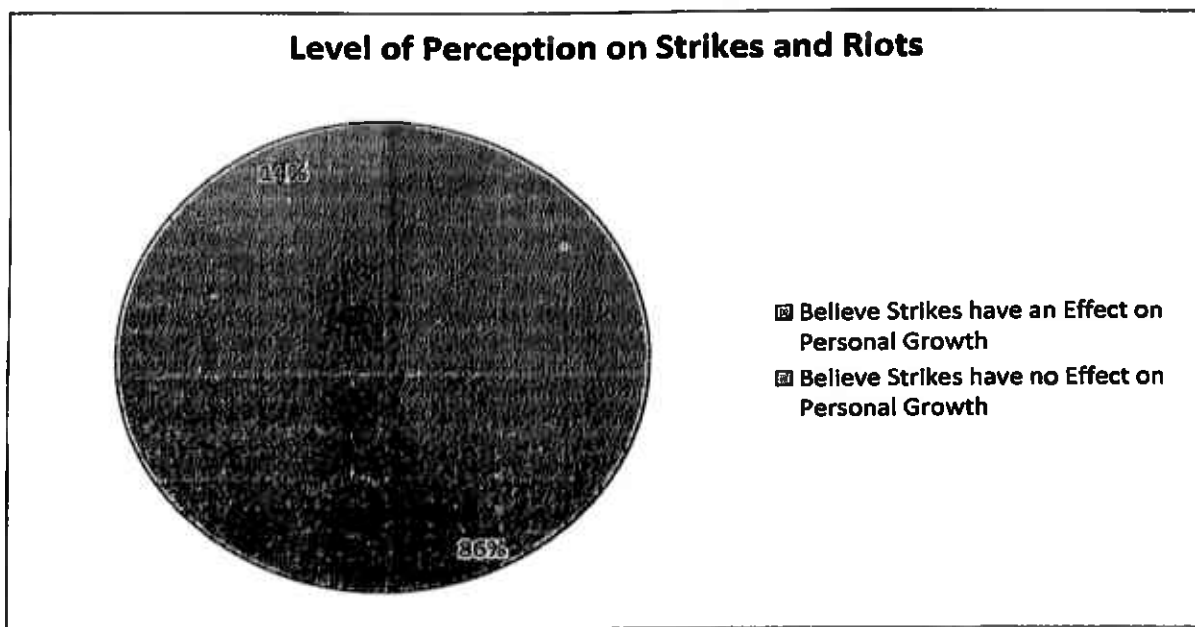
Figure 2: Level of Perception on Strikes and Riots in Institutions of Higher Learning.

Figure 2 illustrates the level of perception from the 120 respondents on strikes and riots. 86% of the students believe that riots and strikes in institutions of higher learning have an effect on the personal growth of a student. While 14% believe it doesn't have an effect. Of the 86% some of the effects the strikes have on the personal growth of the students 44% included delayed completion of their academic program, 39% low level of understanding their areas of specialty due to constant interruptions and 17% low level of confidence by employers in hiring of students from universities that constantly strike.

Of the 120 respondents 57% noted their institutions do not have a platform for students to freely air out their grievances in the university. Most students from private universities noted that they hold occasional meetings with the administrative staff to discuss various issues pertaining to their needs and wants.

From the information given by the respondents, the study agrees with Shafer who elaborates on the issues that students face and how they can be handled at a personal level. She shared that people should listen attentively to students and find out what's motiving them. Find out from them why they are doing it and what they are trying to get across. The most important thing is to be informed. The administration and government will inevitably face challenges and questions based on their own beliefs and the contexts in which they are working. It's difficult to craft a response that respects the multiple perspectives that members of the campus community faculty and staff, students, parents, school partners may have about this issue. But one helpful avenue is to show support for students' civic engagement[125].

School leaders can articulate that while they support students' civil rights including their right to engage in peaceful protest students' beliefs are their own. Schools can defend students' rights to express themselves, without taking a stand on the content of that expression. The school's mission statement can also be a helpful guide as leaders consider how to respond to protest incidents. The Universities core values can be seen as a set of guiding principles. These should be familiar to people and can provide an essential touchstone as you try to navigate among stakeholders with deeply divided opinions. The first time that people should be trying to talk about a controversial issue should *not* be when controversy has exploded within the university. That's not when people are going to be at their

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[125] Leah Shafer (2017) How school leaders can respond — by listening, helping to empower, and affirming students' rights. *Usable Knowledge* 13 Appian Way | Cambridge, MA 02138

best, for all sorts of reasons. Instead, it's important to have these types of conversations happening as a regular part of the university experience.

Lectures should be supported in having respectful but potentially quite vehement discussions in their own classrooms. It's also why it's important to have school newspapers or journalism of some kind — podcasts or YouTube channels — where dissenting voices are encouraged and where students, parents, and community members encounter different views about controversial issues. And this is also the reason that it's important to have a real student council, with some policymaking capacity, where kids learn to disagree. There are all sorts of places within curriculum and in extracurricular activities where respectful dissent should be part of the life of the school. These are pedagogical resources, resources of trust and mutual respect, and norms that people can draw on, explicitly or implicitly, when controversy hits.

It's incredibly important for all the adults to help protect students from inappropriate responses, while also educating students about constructive ways to respond to appropriately expressed criticism. While many people may celebrate students' choices to protest racial injustice, others will disagree with students who take a knee, viewing the students' choice as disrespectful. My guess is that a number of adults will also assume that students who take a knee are just copying the professional athletes — although in my experience, even very young children who take a civic or political stand are usually quite thoughtful about their reasons for action. Caring adults in students' lives will have to help students parse the critiques they encounter and figure out whether and how to respond[126].

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[126] Robert W. Cole (2008) *Educating Everybody's Children: Diverse Teaching Strategies for Diverse Learners*, Revised and Expanded 2nd Edition

Unfortunately, often these days the best response is no response, given the risks of being trolled. If there are members of the community who really take offense and get upset, however, school leaders could encourage the students who engage to think about how can they explain or express themselves in other ways, in addition to a sideline protest. As the take-a-knee controversy has been getting more and more play, in some ways the message has been getting stronger, but in other ways it's somewhat harder to parse and more obscure. School leaders could encourage students to express their views in a letter to the editor, a video, or another kind of statement. At the same time, everybody needs to be very clear about the limits on civil discourse, and to protect kids when they are harassed, bullied, or trolled. No matter what anyone thinks about the principles that are upheld or violated when students take a knee, our obligation to protect children from bullying and ostracism is inviolable[127].

2.4. Conclusion

In summary under the personal dimension to reduce strikes and riots among the students the administration must address the presenting issues and content of the strike also its underlying patterns and causes. When they do that they must proceed in an equitable way towards substantive change. The students must have access and voice in decisions that affect their lives.

[127]Amason A. (1996) *Distinguishing the Effect of Functional and Dysfunctional Conflict on Strategic Decision Making* Resolving a Paradox for Top Management Teams in Academy of Management Journal Vol 39 No 1

CHAPTER 5

RELATIONAL DIMENSION OF PEACE BUILDING

IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING IN KENYA

5.0. Introduction

This chapter will look into the nature of the relational dimension of peace building on the management of conflict in institutions of higher learning. A literature analysis will be covered to delve into the extent to which relationships affect the occurrence of strikes in these institutions. Finally a presentation of data collected from seven institutions of higher learning will be presented here based on questions answered in regard to the impact of relationships on the occurrence of conflicts.

5.1. Relational Dimension of Peace Building

Relational dimension of peace building refers to the nature of human being interact in a conflict management situation. When conflict escalates, communication patterns change, stereotypes are created, polarization increases, trust decreases. Usually, the students and the university should always have a good relationship with one another in order to work effectively towards the common goal of making the institution flourish. However, there have been a number of occurrence where distrust leads to a breakdown in relations between the administration and university students[128].

According to Maiese a second integral part of building peace is reducing the effects of war-related hostility through the repair and transformation of damaged relationships. The relational dimension of peacebuilding centers on reconciliation, forgiveness, trust building, and future imagining. It seeks to

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[128] J.P. Lederach et al, (2007) *Reflective Peacebuilding* the Joan B. Institute for International Studies

minimize poorly functioning communication and maximize mutual understanding. Many believe that reconciliation is one of the most effective and durable ways to transform relationships and prevent destructive conflicts.[129] The essence of reconciliation is the voluntary initiative of the conflicting parties to acknowledge their responsibility and guilt. Parties reflect upon their own role and behavior in the conflict, and acknowledge and accept responsibility for the part they have played. As parties share their experiences, they learn new perspectives and change their perception of their "enemies." There is recognition of the difficulties faced by the opposing side and of their legitimate grievances, and a sense of empathy begins to develop. Each side expresses sincere regret and remorse, and is prepared to apologize for what has transpired. The parties make a commitment to let go of anger, and to refrain from repeating the injury. Finally, there is a sincere effort to redress past grievances and compensate for the damage done. This process often relies on interactive negotiation and allows the parties to enter into a new mutually enriching relationship.[130]

One of the essential requirements for the transformation of conflicts is effective communication and negotiation at both the elite and grassroots levels. Through both high- and community-level dialogues, parties can increase their awareness of their own role in the conflict and develop a more accurate perception of both their own and the other group's identity. As each group shares its unique history, traditions, and culture, the parties may come to understand each other better. International exchange programs and problem-solving workshops are two techniques that can help to change perceptions, build trust, open communication, and increase empathy. For example, over the course of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the main antagonists have sometimes been able to build trust through meeting outside their areas, not for formal negotiations, but simply to better understand each

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[129] Michael Lund. (2001)"A Toolbox for Responding to Conflicts and Building Peace." In *Peacebuilding: A Field Guide*. Luc Reychler and Thania Paffenholz. eds. (Boulder. Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers. Inc)
[130] John Paul Lederach, (1997) *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. (Washington. D.C., United States Institute of Peace).

other.[131] If these sorts of bridge-building communication systems are in place, relations between the parties can improve and any peace agreements they reach will more likely be self-sustaining. (The Israeli-Palestinian situation illustrates that there are no guarantees, however.) Various mass communication and education measures, such as peace radio and TV, peace-education projects, and conflict-resolution training, can help parties to reach such agreements. And dialogue between people of various ethnicities or opposing groups can lead to deepened understanding and help to change the demonic image of the enemy group. It can also help parties to overcome grief, fear, and mistrust and enhance their sense of security[132].A crucial component of such dialogue is future imaging, whereby parties form a vision of the commonly shared future they are trying to build. Conflicting parties often have more in common in terms of their visions of the future than they do in terms of their shared and violent past. The thought is that if they know where they are trying to go, it will be easier to get there.

According to Lederach another way for the parties to build a future together is to pursue joint projects that are unrelated to the conflict's core issues and center on shared interests. This can benefit the parties' relationship. Leaders who project a clear and hopeful vision of the future and the ways and means to get there can play a crucial role here. But in addition to looking towards the future, parties must deal with their painful past. Reconciliation not only envisions a common, connected future, but also recognizes the need to redress past wrongdoing. If the parties are to renew their relationship and build an interdependent future, what has happened must be exposed and then forgiven[133].

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[131] Kathleen Stephens, (1997) "*Building Peace in Deeply Rooted Conflicts: Exploring New Ideas to Shape the Future*" INCORE.
[132] SAIS, "The Conflict Management Toolkit: Approaches," *The Conflict Management Program*, Johns Hopkins University [available at: http://www.sais-jhu.edu/resources/middle-east-studies/conflict-management-toolkit
[133] John Paul Lederach,(1997) *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. (Washington, D.C., United States Institute of Peace)

Indeed, a crucial part of peace building is addressing past wrongdoing while at the same time promoting healing and rule of law. Part of repairing damaged relationships is responding to past human rights violations and genocide through the establishment of truth commissions, fact-finding missions, and war crimes tribunals. These processes attempt to deal with the complex legal and emotional issues associated with human rights abuses and ensure that justice is served. It is commonly thought that past injustice must be recognized, and the perpetrators punished if parties wish to achieve reconciliation. However, many note that the retributive justice advanced by Western legal systems often ignores the needs of victims and exacerbates wounds. Many note that to advance healing between the conflicting parties, justice must be more reparative in focus. Central to restorative justice is its future-orientation and its emphasis on the relationship between victims and offenders. It seeks to engage both victims and offenders in dialogue and make things right by identifying their needs and obligations. Having community-based restorative justice processes in place can help to build a sustainable peace[134].

5.2 Relational Strategies to Peace building

Conflict is a natural part of all relationships. Peace building addresses the big conflicts between armed groups as well as the little, everyday conflicts occur in the course of living and working in organization's and communities. People working in the field of peace building, who are not able to learn and practice these skills in all of their relationships, are severely hampered in their ability to build peace.

According to Lederach "Relational" in this framework refers to people who have face-to-face relationships; that is, people who meet, interact, and are interdependent in everyday settings such as

[134] Hugo & Vienings.(2001) "Coping with Trauma." In *Peacebuilding: A Field Guide,* Luc Reychler and Thania Paffenholz, eds. (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers, Inc..).

family, school, and working together on—projects or goals that are important to both sides, and require cooperation. It also includes relationships that may not be "everyday" in nature but that are important in reference to a wider conflict setting like the meeting of key local or national leaders. The focus is on the actual relationship pattern that is structural in nature. Many aspects of direct relationship may affect conflict and peace building a few that are often most important in constructive transformation[135].

Under communication patterns the level of con tact between the two conflicting sides should be regular, open or avoiding restrictions. People should have the capacity to express themselves accurately in conversation without fear judgment or restriction. People should also listen to hear accurately to the concerns of others without judgment. In cooperation the level of collaboration, both initiating and working together on goals that are important to both sides. It requires cooperation from both sides for their success in decision-making. People should feel that they are adequately included in decisions that affect their lives and their communities information sharing should be open, accessible and equitable[136].

5.3 Conflict Handling Mechanisms and the Relational Dimension

When conflict arises there should be appropriate and effective mechanisms by which it is handled. According to Shirch, there are some important relational skills that one needs to establish in order to address conflict in a constructive way. These skills include: Self-reflection skills help people to gain insight into their own behavior pattern in relationships with others and to identify healthy life choices. These skills allow people to adapt to varying circumstances and contexts and to experience a sense a

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[135] J.P. Lederach et al.(2007) Reflective *Peacebuilding the Joan B.* Institute for International Studies 2007
[136] Ibid

peace within themselves. Active listening skills help people to use verbal and nonverbal ways to check understanding and to show attention and respect for other people's experiences and perceptions. Diplomatic and assertive speaking skills help people to communicate about important or potentially conflictual issues in tactful ways that are easier for others to hear and understand.

Appreciative inquiry skills help people to identify their strengths and successes as a way to build on what works well in their relationships with others. Creative problem-solving skills help people to brainstorm and to discover new ways to solve difficult problems. Negotiation skills help people to learn to assert their own needs while understanding that a sustainable solution also requires addressing the needs of others. Mediation skills help people to guide others through the process of negotiation to develop mutually satisfactory solution. Relational skills are the foundation of all democratic processes, where individuals can participate in making important decisions that affect their lives. They are like grease to wheels of peace building. Without them, peace building crumbles to interpersonal squabbles among peace builders, angry crowds shouting message of hate, and political decisions made purely on the basis of power rather than human needs[137].

5.4 Relational Dimension of Peace Building in Institutions of Higher Learning

An administrator-student relationship can be defined as a feeling of kinship or a caring connection between a youth and a school staff member that promotes healthy ongoing communication. These relationships should be considered a crucial prerequisite that can increase healthy social and emotional development, while building resilience to challenges or barriers that students may encounter.

Esquivel, Doll & Oades-Sese claim that, many schools are the sites of high-quality opportunities to interact with positive adult models and supportive peers, and school routines and practices can foster

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[137] Shirch L, (2014)*Little Book of Strategic PeaceBuilding* (Skyhorse Publishing New York 2014)

essential student abilities to maintain effective relationships, establish and work toward ambitious personal goals, self-regulate personal activities and behaviors, and manage emotions[138].

In sum, positive relationships with staff at school may serve as a protective factor for students at-risk for failure due to a variety of stressors (e.g. poverty, cultural adversity, poor parenting, emotional or behavior problems) by helping students build self-regulation skills. On the other hand, students who have minimal to no attachments to school or staff, are often poor self-regulators in that they are less prepared for tests, less able to concentrate during tests, more fearful of failing, less likely to ask for help from teachers, and place less priority on school work than students who have strong, secure attachments[139]. In order to create these healthy, secure attachments between students and school staff, Bergin and Bergin, assert that school personnel should have a strong understanding of the role of attachment in the classroom.

Attachment refers to the bond between two individuals that is present through time and in different contexts. The type of attachment that is desired for a student's healthy development is a secure attachment. When a student is securely attached, he or she feels comfortable and confident exploring his or her environment. It is also important to note that children can be securely attached while still appearing outgoing or shy. Unfortunately, children who have had negative and disadvantaged experiences in the past with caregivers upon entering school have difficulty forming secure attachments to teachers and other school personnel[140]. Failure to develop positive social, emotional, and relational skills with early caregivers can transfer into the school environment leading to poor school attachment. Low levels of school attachment and low levels of student engagement (i.e.

[138] Esquivel, Doll & Oades-Sese *Introduction to the special issue: Resilience in schools. Psychology in the Schools,* 48, 649-651.

[139] (Bergin & Bergin. 2009). *Attachment in the classroom. Educational Psychology* Review, 21(2). 141- 170. doi:10.1007/s10648-009-9104-0

[140] Ibid

students have poor relationships with staff and are not involved in school activities) are likely to contribute to students' decisions to drop out of school[141].

According to a survey study conducted by Johnson (2008), at-risk students stated that teachers who promoted resiliency and attachment engaged in the following behaviors made themselves available and accessible to students, engaged students by actively listening to their concerns and worries, took responsibility for teaching build their students basic reading, writing, and math skills, had empathy in helping students deal with adversity, advocated for their students, and they used their power to stop bullying and harassment in schools. Furthermore, Johnson points out that good teachers have been engaged in these behaviors for decades. However, more structured programs and initiatives to support these behaviors are necessary[142].

Ellerbrock & Kiefer reported that trusting, caring, and respectful relationships between students and teachers, provide emotional and cognitive support, and are crucial for students' development. Building a caring relationship includes maintaining a connection and a reciprocated relationship. Teachers can also exist as a bridge between the students and the school. Teachers play a major role in helping the students learn positive, caring attitudes towards their school, including their sense of caring towards their school community[143]. Teachers should also seek to create a supportive environment in which students feel they are important, respected, and cared for.

This remains true for adolescents; as older students begin to establish autonomy, they benefit substantially from increased confidence and self-esteem, which can be fostered by healthy adult student relationships. Ideally, it is important for school staff to minimize safety risks for students,

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[141] Davis & Dupper, (2004). Student-teacher relationships. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment.* 179-193
[142] Johnson 2008 Teacher-student relationships which promote resilience at school: a micro-analysis of students' views. *British Journal of Guidance and Counseling.* 36, 385-398
[143] Ellerbrock & Kiefer. (2010). Creating a ninth-grade community of care. *The Journal of Educational Research,* 103(6), 393-406

maximize protective factors (e.g. involvement in school, participation in the community, positive relationships with peers and staff), and provide early intervention when students display signs of emotional and behavior problems. Specific ways that staff can improve relationships with students and build resiliency involve several components, including emotional safety and trust, positive emotional involvement, a sense of closeness, teacher availability, and open communication. Leitao & Waugh have combined these elements into three larger constructs of connectedness, availability, and communication[144].

5.5 Relational Dimension to Peace building in Institutions of Higher Learning in Kenya

The relational dimension to peace building can be used to build the relationships between the administration and the university students and help them move towards repairing and restoring a damaged relationships. This study sought to investigate the perception of Kenyan students in institutions of higher learning in regard to their understanding of the relational dimension to peace building in their universities. Six institutions of higher learning were selected, three of which were private and three public universities. In every university 20 students were selected to fill in a closed ended questionnaire.

According to the data collected the number of respondents who answered the questionnaire were mainly between the ages of 18-25. This is because they are mostly full time students at the bachelor degree level. 60% of the respondents were male and 40 % were female. The questionnaires were distributed to both public and private universities equally. For those from private universities 80% of their funding comes from their parents and guardian while 20% percent were on scholarship. In public

[144] Leitao & Waugh (2007) *Teachers' Views of Teacher-Student Relationships in the Primary School.* Paper presented at the 37th Annual International Educational Research Conference. Fremantle, Western Australia.

universities a majority were government-sponsored students while a few were funded through their guardians and parents.

Figure 3 below illustrates the nature of the relationship between the students and their university administration. Of the 60 respondents from public universities 62% noted that university students tended to have a below average perception of their administration 12% found the relationship to be poor 15% average, 5% Good and 6% very Good. They further noted that this is because of the lack of a proper communication channel to air out their opinions on various issues. However 60 of those from private universities gave a generally positive view of their relationship with their university administration. 50% noted that there relationship was very good, 30% Good, 15% Average 3% below average while 2% said poor.
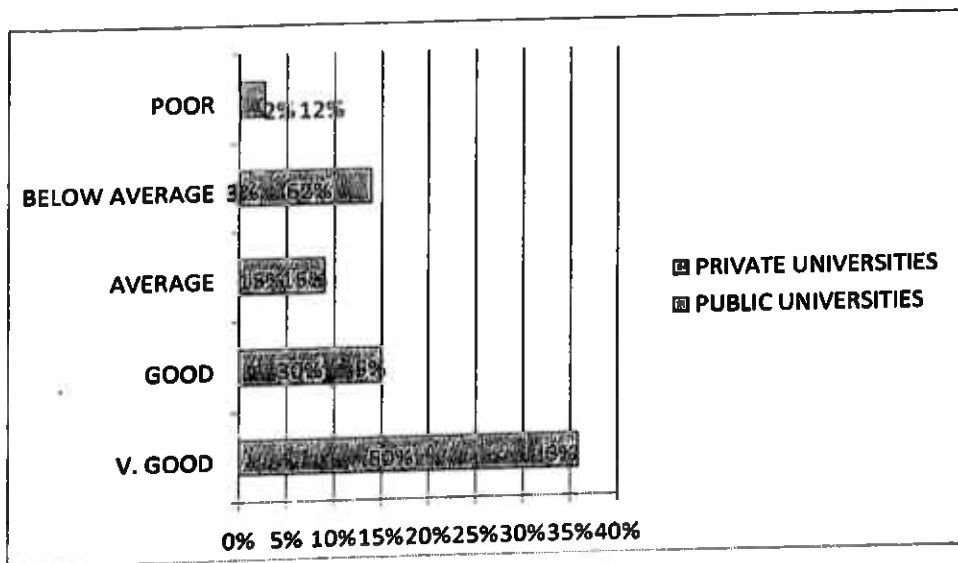
Figure 3: Student- Administration Relationship

Of the 120 students questioned a majority of the students recognized that riots and strikes caused by tended to have a negative effect on their relationship between the university administration and the

students. 66% respondents noted that these strikes and riots affect the pattern of communication and interaction with the university administration compare to 44% who noted that the communication patters in there university were sufficient and provide adequate interaction between the students and administration.

Figure 4 below illustrates that in regard to the nature of the response of the university to the strikes and riots 71% of the respondents think that the response of the university administration is not adequate. This is because they felt that the administration is not normally ready to negotiate with the students on the areas of grievances. On the other hand 20% only feel that they respond adequately while 9% did not have an opinion on the matter. This has therefore led to a culture of distrust and suspicion that has prevented the two major parties from seeking a long lasting solution.
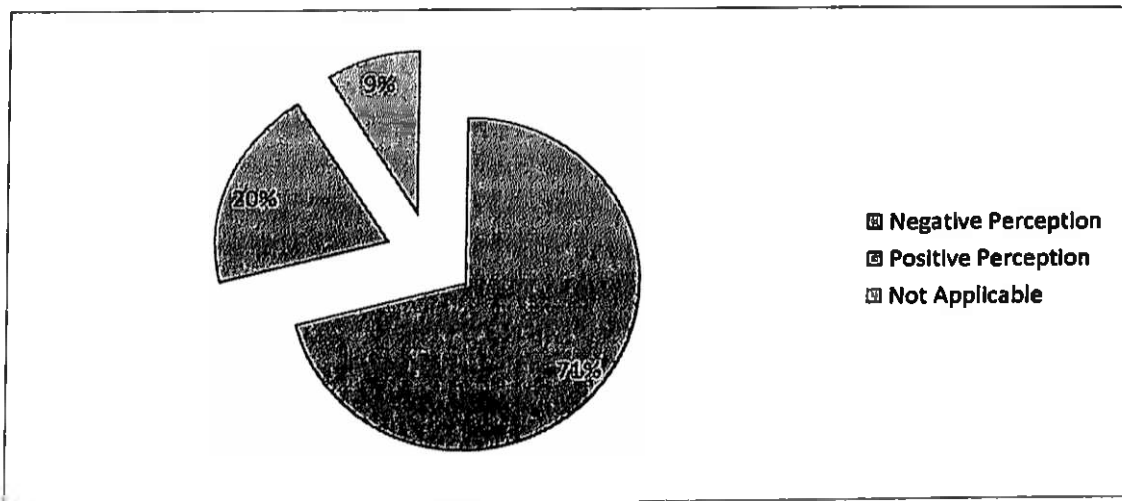
Figure 4: University Administration Perception to Strikes and Riots

In order to build a lasting relationship between the university administration and the students it is important for the administrators to try and create avenues to mend fences with the students. Figure 5 below shows that according to the study, it was noted that 56% of the 120 respondents felt that the

administrators of these institutions of higher learning have done little when it comes to building a long

lasting relationship with the students because they don't address issues. 28% note that they address

issues while 16% noted that they are indifferent towards the matter.
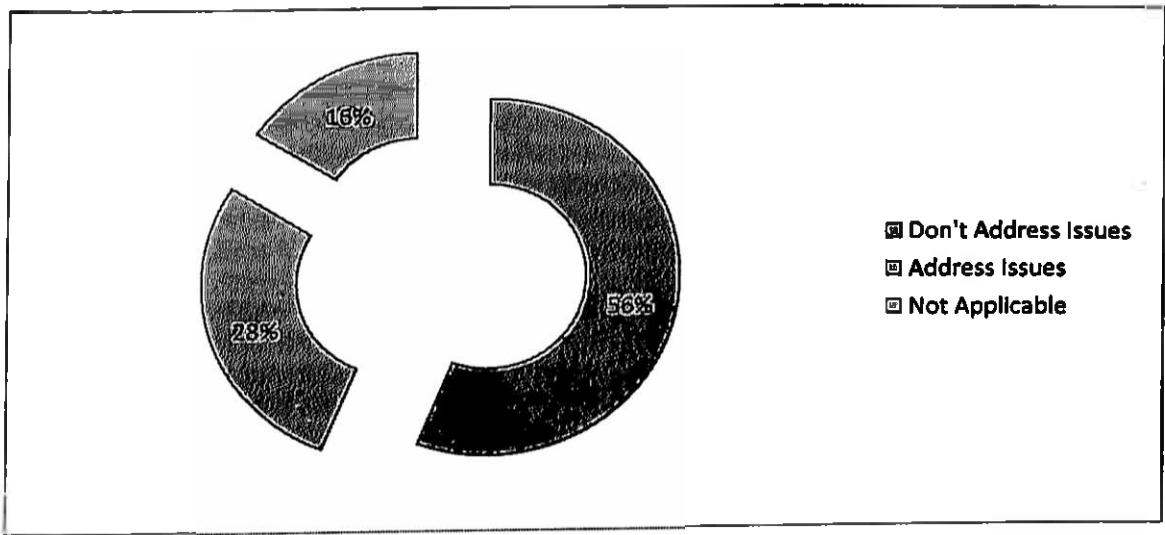
Figure 5: Level of Addressing Issues by the Administration
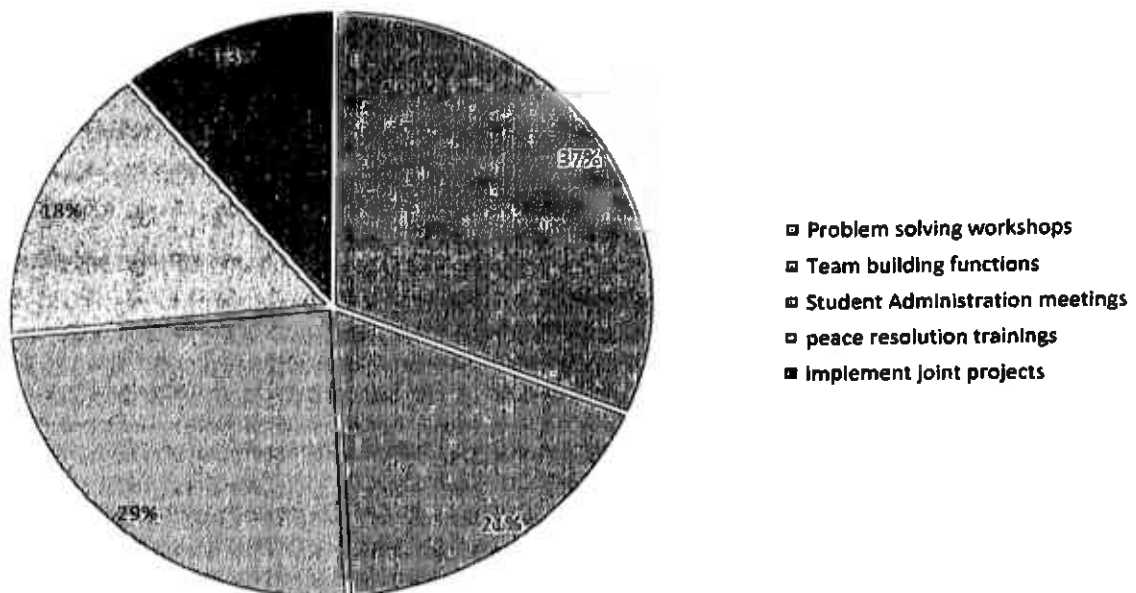
Figure 6: Suggestions for solving student- administration relationships

Figure 6 above demonstrates that from the 120 respondents, they advocated various aspects that in their opinion can create room for better dialogue. 37% suggested Problem solving workshops with student representatives, 21% team building functions, 29%occasional student-administration meeting, 18% peace resolution trainings and 13% implementation of joint projects.

From the study, we can agree with Burgress who did a study on reconciling relationships in universities between the students an administration. He suggested negotiation as a key tool to use to do this. This can be incorporated in under the relational dimension as it touches on effective mechanisms that can be used to fix these relationships. He argued that In complex or highly escalated conflicts, a lot of preparation must be done, both by the parties, and by the mediator (if there is one) in order to maximize the likelihood of success. Before substantive negotiations begin, the parties must decide who will be involved, what issues will be addressed, and how the negotiation process will be structured and run. Since such decisions must be agreed to by all sides, this is often referred to as "pre-negotiation"–it is a preliminary negotiation about how the actual, substantive negotiations on the issue in dispute will take place. It is generally agreed that all the parties to a conflict need to be represented in the negotiations. That does not mean, of course, that everyone involved needs to be seated at the table. But people who are generally seen as "leaders" or direct representatives of the interest groups need to be present. While ideally it is desirable to have the actual "decision makers" at the table, this is often not practical, especially for protest groups, which tend to be very amorphous and fluid in leadership and membership. No one person can speak for or bind the whole group—the best they can do is give a sense of the group's interests and concerns and then take any proposed agreements back to the group for its consideration[145].

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[145] Burgress V(2009)*Conflict: Human Needs Theory* (New York: St. Martin's Press)

When planning the scope of the negotiations, it is important to not try to do too much. The best that can be realistically expected is an incremental step toward social justice. Efforts to find a comprehensive resolution which would eliminate all such conflicts in the future are unlikely to succeed. If one starts with small goals, it is often easier to work out from there. If one goes for everything at once, the likelihood of complete failure, and the inability to agree on anything is more likely. Sometimes it is possible to start with a broad "agreement in principle" and use the negotiation as a mechanism for working out the details. In either case, issues which fall outside of the scope of the negotiation can be handled using the constructive confrontation processes[146].

This can be done with demands the students can back down half way, the administration can give in half way, and the dispute can be resolved. But Fisher, Ury, and Patton suggest that it is usually much more effective and successful if both sides explain the reasons underlying their positions—those reasons are their interests. Often, the parties will determine that they share at least some of their interests, so they can develop ways to meet those interests without having to give in on half of their positions or demands.

Interest-based bargaining, as opposed to positional, or demand-based negotiations provides a way for both sides to get more—even all—of what they want, rather than having to give in or lose face, as so often happens when positional bargaining strategies are used[147].Also critical to success are effective processes for involving broader constituency groups in the negotiation. While negotiators may "represent" their constituents, they generally do not have the authority to bind constituents to an agreement. This means that negotiators must make periodic and frequent reports to their constituents about the discussions. This is especially important when negotiators see that the process is producing

[146] Banning. J.H. & Mckinley. D.L. (1998).*Activism and the Campus Ecology*. In K. M. Miser (Ed.) Student Affairs and Campus Dissent. p 41-54). Washing. DC: •
[147] Ibid

a kind of "conversion" experience in which the negotiators' views of the dispute and their ideas for resolving it change substantially. The people who have not been directly involved in the negotiation—the constituents who are not at the table—must be fully informed of the process and substance of the discussion and "brought along" with the process. Otherwise negotiators will find that they no longer have the support of their constituents, and any agreement that they reach will be likely to fail[148].

The first step towards more constructive confrontation is a commitment by the parties to use persuasion and moral argument as the primary component of their strategy. All too often parties conclude that the other side will never seriously consider arguments which challenge their position. Therefore, they abandon persuasive arguments in favor of force-based strategies designed to compel opponents to make concessions. Students will try to use demonstrations or threats of disruption or violence to force the administration to comply with their demands, while the administration will try to use administrative or police force to compel the students to stop their power tactics without getting anything in exchange, or to accept less than they otherwise wanted in exchange for an end to the protest action[149].

In all of these cases, the conflict's focus becomes administrative, legal, political, or even violence based power strategies, rather than moral argument. However, the administration usually has more power, so such strategies, when used by students, usually fail. While the administration is generally more successful when it relies on power, the over-use of such strategies can leave the administration and the institution in a weak position publically if it is seen as being unreasonable or on shaky moral grounds. Thus, if the administration stonewalls students whose demands are seen as reasonable by the regents, the community, or the university's funders (the state legislature, for example, for public

[148] Brown. P.M. (1992). Those who make History: A Portrait of Contemporary Student Activists. *Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation*. University of Vermont, Vermont, USA.
[149] Keniston, K. (1997). The Sources of Student Dissent. *Journal of Social Issues*, 23 (3) 108-137.

universities), then such power ploys can harm the administration as well. In addition, the legitimacy of the overall process is eroded, since no one is really making the case that what they are advocating is the "right thing to do," but rather they are relying on the dictum that "might makes right[150]."A generally superior approach for all parties, we believe, is a commitment to research, analysis, debate, and dialogue. The University needs to provide many opportunities to help its community grapple with the difficult moral issues of the time. This is especially important for higher education communities which traditionally value reasoned argument so highly. It should also be clear that this commitment to persuasion also involves the willingness to be open to persuasion[151].

Rather than rejecting student concerns or belittling the importance of an issue, transforming a protest into an educational opportunity for students, faculty, staff, and administrators alike can have far-reaching positive effects. This might be done by structuring study groups to examine the problem or even by proposing new classes to look at the issue. Even if a solution does not result from this process, considerable learning is likely to take place and the parties may develop more respect for the other side and a better understanding of why this is a more difficult issue than it originally appeared to be. Also important for student protest groups is a clear distinction between destructive escalation and constructive mobilization of interest on an issue. Advocacy groups must be able to mobilize supporters and stimulate public interest in and support for their cause. Unfortunately, this is often done using destructive escalation which unfairly characterizes the positions and actions of opponents as dangerous, unjustified, and requiring immediate opposition. Disinformation and inflammatory sound-bites are common. In political terms, this is commonly referred to as "negative campaigning".

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[150] Sprinthall. N.A.& R.C. (1997). *Educational Psychology:* A development approach (4th Ed). New York: Ransome House Publishers
[151] Ekundayo H. T. Alonge H. O (2010) Managing Students' Crisis in Tertiary Institutions in Nigeria; *Journal of Research National Development.* Volume 8(1) 71-90.

It is also highly desirable for University administrators, police, and protest groups to work out protest plans ahead of time, to prevent inflammatory and potentially dangerous surprises. One of the common errors made by student protest groups is to put the University administration in a position where they cannot agree with the students' position even if they want to. When the students' interests are stated in terms of non-negotiable "demands," it is very difficult for the administration to meet those demands without looking like it is completely caving in to unruly students.

Even worse, students may threaten violence if they don't get their way. This makes it even more difficult for the administration to comply, or even to open negotiations, for fear of being charged with caving in to threats. If students want to be taken seriously, they need to state their case in a way that can be taken seriously. They must make it possible for the administration to work with them without losing credibility or public support.

5.6. Conclusion

The relational dimension of peace building in institutions of higher in Kenya has been used in both private and public universities. It has however been noted that the Public universities have a generally negative attitude towards the university administration. When it comes to solving difference a majority of the students from these institutions feel the administrators have done little to mend fences with the students. On the other hand students from the private universities have a more positive relationship with the school administrators due to the presence of a communication framework that encourages dialogue.

CHAPTER 6

STRUCTURAL DIMENSION OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING IN KENYA

6.0. Introduction

This chapter seeks to analyze the nature of the structural dimension of conflict management in institutions of higher learning. Structural Conflict impacts systems and structures and looks at how relationships are organized, who has access to power in family, organizations, communities and whole societies.

6.1. Structural Strategies to Peace building

The structural lens creates a change and focus that moves beyond direct relationship, to relational patterns that involve and affect whole groups. It involves a scope of inquiry that includes structural patterns—the way things happen over and over again—and existing structures. In other words, the time horizon includes both present and historical between or among groups, particularly where one group has been privileged and others marginalized. Assessment of institutions established to meet shared social goals and serve people. The success in fulfilling basic human needs of all people in a given setting. Under structural dimension, one should consider the social conditions, procedural patterns and institutional patters that dictate the management of a conflict. Social conditions are patterns that have contributed to perceived and actual disparity in access to resources and power. Procedural patterns involve equal access to information and understanding of decision-making. All groups should have equal say in the process that affect the wider community and how they are established and conducted. Finally institutional patterns which are are "stable, valued,

recurring forms of behavior". As structures or mechanisms of social order, they govern the behavior of a set of individuals within a given community. [152]

6.2 Structural Dimension of Peace Building in Institutions of Higher Learning

There is emerging international literature that posits that general education can transform the devastating effects of conflict. One aspect of peace building is peace education. Peace building is the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behavior 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[153].

According to Hamber, general education can serve as a "peace dividend" following conflict, in that demonstrable improvements in access to and the quality of education can provide an incentive for potentially aggressive parties to buy into peace. The term "education" in this context refers to any process, whether formal or non-formal that develops in people the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values leading to behavior change. The process of changing behavior, proceeds through a sequence of stages: becoming aware of the issue; becoming concerned about the issue; acquiring knowledge and skills pertaining to the issue; becoming motivated, based on new attitudes and values; intending to act; trying out a new behavior (for example, peaceful conflict resolution); valuating the trial; and practicing the recommended behavior. Peace Education can thus be seen as a field of reflection, a social practice, and a course of action that develops people's capacities to think and act positively and constructively, all of which are vital elements in any post conflict situation. In institutions of higher education Peace Education can be taught as a conflict management tool, targeting teachers/educators

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[152] Patring K & Booth C. LPI (2011)*Planning Monitoring Evaluation & Learning* (PME&L) Tool (Life & Peace Institute)
[153] Ellison C.S (2012). *The Role of Education in Peacebuilding an analysis of Five Change Theories in Sierra Leone* (Routledge Publications)

and students with the goal of enhancing learning and promoting harmonious relationships, thereby promoting a culture of nonviolence and peace among students and the larger society[154]. The term "reconstruction_" is often narrowly understood as involving the rebuilding of structures such as the hostels, canteen houses or repairing physical damage and suggests that the primar9y objective is to restore the conditions before the unrest. However the major task in conflict situations is to transform the minds of people. The truth is that those infrastructures and what they are meant for are only a small part of any reconstruction effort. Government building can be renovated but mentality of people is narrowed to the use of violence as the only option in the face of discontent. The ultimate focus should be on deconstructing violent attitudes.

According to Deetz efforts invested in reconstructing all important buildings will prove futile if the violence erupts again owing to political leaders' efforts to undermine or prevent the implementation of socio- economic policies in the context of self- serving power- sharing arrangements[155]. So this is where Peace Education (PE) comes in. People's knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors must also be "reconstructed" to facilitate post war era peace building efforts. Peace Education involves "breaking down and building up" in conflict- affected societies. This can be viewed as a two- step process: first, breaking down the structures or root causes that led to the conflict while constructing the pillars of peace to avoid reoccurrence, and second, attempting to do away with violent behaviors, while erecting positive and peaceful mindsets[156].

According to Martell, When procedures feel rigged it's no wonder people resort to action outside governance structures. Managers should respond to protestors by talking to them. Disciplinary procedures shouldn't be a substitute for dialogue. Managements should be accountable when things

[154] Brandon Hamber(2010) *Education and Conflict transformation* Fortnight Publications Ltd
[155] Deetz, S. (2009). *Reflections on the distinctive qualities of communication research in the social sciences* (pp. 32–52). New York: Taylor Francis.
[156] J.P. Lederach et al(2007) *Reflective Peace building* the Joan B. (Institute for International Studies)

go wrong for the university and good relations collapse. Governing bodies should be ready to act. An open, participatory university is the best response to protest[157].

Another scholar Dr. Chetty, an academic and administrator at a South African university, argued that it is important to not to take student protest lightly. It is a time for students to really express what they believe in and stand for while growing up in a learning environment. Of course this does not detract that these protests may get out of hand and elements within the student groups may want to resort to violent behaviour. University administrators should certainly learn to negotiate rules governing protests with student leadership and have the rules in place ahead of any protest action. This will contribute to minimizing the groups that wish to pursue a more violent form of protest or demonstrate behaviour that would ordinarily be unacceptable to society at large. Above all administrators should learn to engage and keep the channels of communication with protesting students and their leaders[158].

Parkinson argues that an effective response should be brought by the administrative bodies' institutions of higher learning. Dialogue and communication should be the first step towards responding to student protest. This dialogue should be based on the terms and conditions of the students. University management discussions have become far too distant from that daily experience of the students[159]. University officials are negligent for not adding their voices to campus protests.

Gill claims that the recent suspensions of students following various university protests has highlighted that, when a university decides to discipline students in accordance with their disciplinary regulations, two fundamentals are important. Firstly, the university should follow their own

[157] Martell L (2014). *The Slow University inequality, power and alternative Forum* (Qualitative Social Research 15 ISSN 1438-5627)
[158] Chetty G. (2009)*The influence and impact of the introduction of a quality agenda, inclusive of an external audit, on the development of an institutional ethos/culture*
[159] https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/blog/2013/dec/11/student-protest-how-should-management-respond

regulations which should be clear and fair. Secondly, the regulations provide a sufficient mechanism for unilateral decisions to be challenged. These are the fundamental principles of any just society. Singling out a few students to suspend with immediate effect is only going to further alienate a population and unite them in their cause. His experience in higher education law has shown all too often that universities respond to on campus events in an unreasonable manner. They can fail to diligently consider their internal regulations and in turn fail to ensure that what they are doing is in accordance with their own policies. There are regulations that allow vice-chancellors, university councils, registrars, university secretaries to exercise certain powers, but then no clear provision being put in place to allow for that power to be challenged. Some can fail to even follow the procedures set out in their own regulations and by the time such improper decisions are reviewed or overturned students have suffered significantly[160].

When protest occurs, it shows that there is a breakdown in university procedures. Protest is a way of influencing when all other avenues have been shut down. It needs to be recognized as being legitimate and requires universities to listen to students and staff and come to a compromise. Administering "precautionary" suspensions without evidence, only serves to heighten a feeling of mistrust and not being listened to. Through dialogue with student protesters and engagement with the students union prior to any disciplinary action, universities can take the lead on creating a true partnership with students and staff. True partnership does not mean forums with no communicable change afterwards but real results that are tangible for the community. We need to start exploring the meaning of democratic universities – with meaningful involvement of the community in decision-making. This form of governance will hold senior leaders accountable to their communities and enable them to make decisions that the communities are invested in.

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[160] ibid

According to an article in the Guardian universities can best engage with student politics by ensuring that the student body once organized and unified beyond a certain threshold has a legitimate mechanism to dismiss those on the senior management team or at least compel them to re-apply for their post. Students are the key stakeholders in any university making vice-chancellors the equivalent of CEOs. Yet, where teaching staff are selected and fired on their academic ability, administrative members of staff are often immune to any outside questioning of their ability or indeed, moral integrity. Just as parents are present on the governing bodies of schools, patients on hospital governing bodies, students should be involved in any interviewing or disciplinary process and have representatives with the power to influence appraisals and budgets[161].

6.3 Structural Dimension of Peace Building in Institutions of Higher Learning in Kenya

In Kenya there are some institutional factors that make the university vulnerable to, and fertile ground for, student unrest. Situations are not in themselves the direct cause of unrest, but rather only aggravated on an already bad circumstances. If, however, strong communication structures were in place it could possibly mitigate an impending strike or at least reduce its magnitude.

According to Koiboy, structural conditions are both formal and informal. Formal conditions refer to official structures and arrangements, such as the bureaucratic arrangements in the offices, which dictate the operations of the university in the performance of its core and peripheral business. Informal or non-formal conditions, on the other hand, refer to situations that arise out of the context of the official structured settings of the university. It refers to issues that emerge as individual members of the organization interact informally. For example, out

[161] The Guardian International Edition (2013) *How Should Universities Respond to Student Protests* Guardian News and Media Limited

of the class context students interact in the hostels; on the playing fields; and in clubs over weekends. Friends are made and relationships emerge as students undergo similar experiences, both pleasant and unpleasant. They share experiences in discussions and develop shared values and principles and survival strategies which govern and influence their behavior as members of the numerous groups that emerge naturally in such social settings[162].

Formal catalyzing conditions include weak communication structures, alienation, rigid academic and admission procedures and issues concerning student leadership. Non-formal conditions include the prevalence of factors that give rise to extreme behaviour, such as anonymity associated with groups and the prevalence of drugs and alcohol.

Frustration and disillusionment with university education has also contributed significantly to making the university student vulnerable to being manipulated into participating in disruptive behaviour. Inadequate communication mechanisms compound an already bad situation and spark off violent strikes. In the absence of effective communication, issues and problems affecting students which would, otherwise, be understood and appreciated by the students create some intolerance and seem to result in grave consequences. In such a scenario, there is the onset of rumor, high suspicion, a lack of trust and tension, which easily deteriorate into violent confrontation[163].

An effective communication facilitates the free flow of information, both vertically and horizontally, within the university. As such, issues that emerge within the student body can reach the decision-making bodies of the institution for the requisite action. The subsequent decisions will reach the affected parties in a timely manner and in an appropriate

[162] Kiboiy L.K (2013). *The Dynamics of Student Unrests in Kenya's Higher Education* : The Case Of Moi University (University of Pretoria)
[163] ibid

version. Clarification will be given, where necessary, thereby avoiding the occurrence of incorrect information in the form of rumors. Communication should not only be accurate, but it should also be timely.

A critical analysis of the role of communication in sparking off protests suggests that inadequate communication contributes to unrest in several ways. Firstly, inadequate communication frustrates the flow of information from the aggrieved party, often comprised of students, to the appropriate decision-making offices and bodies. As a result, the university management, or decision-making organs, remain largely unaware of critical issues that are of concern to the students who, contrarily, believe that the university is already aware of the situation. Secondly, ineffective/inadequate communication implies that whatever decisions are made by the appropriate authorities fail to reach the students at the appropriate time. In this scenario, the two sides are in the dark about each other's actions and intentions in a situation that breeds suspicion. The third and worst case is when the deliberate or accidental distortion of information on either side of the divide works to create heightened suspicion and tension. In such instances the worst incidents of student protests have been reported.

Student leaders, for example, represent the student body on the university's Council, Senate, Faculty Boards; at Department Meetings; and on the Students Welfare Committee and even on Senate and Council standing committees, such as the Students Disciplinary Committee, among many others. While these provisions have been made, quite a number of protests have cited the lack of representation as a perennial issue of concern amongst students. Most scholars contend that violent and disruptive behaviour constitute an effort to point out frustration, pessimism and apathy that is associated with a feeling of being left out of, or alienated from, critical decisions. In referring to this issue, Matemba observes, in the decision-

making process relating to university governance, programming of academic affairs and social welfare has for a long time been at the core of student unrest[164].

According to the field research conducted by this study it was noted that structural conditions in institutions of higher learning can either facilitate or hamper peace building. Structural conditions involve aspects such as the presence of a legal framework that defines how students should behave within the institution. Most institutions of higher learning have a code of ethics that dictates behavior while at the institution. Of the 120 respondents questioned the study found out that 86% of the participants are aware of the presence of a code of ethics in their institutions while 14% were not aware of them in both private and public organization. This code of ethics is normally shared to them during the orientation exercise conducted upon joining the program.

Figure 6 below illustrates the response of the 120 respondents questioned on whether this code of ethics prevents the emergence of strikes and riots 21% agreed while 63% disagreed that the Code of ethics helps prevent strikes. 16% didn't know whether it prevents or not. They argued that the document needs to be revised for it to confirm to the expectations of students in these instituitons. For instances the students recommended for the provision of a system of participation in the goverances of the institution of higher learning.

[164] Matemba C. *Student Unrest Challenges and Protests of Conflict Management and Resolution in Kenyan Public Universitites* (LAP Lambert Academic Publishing 2012)

Code of Ethics as a Prevention of Strikes
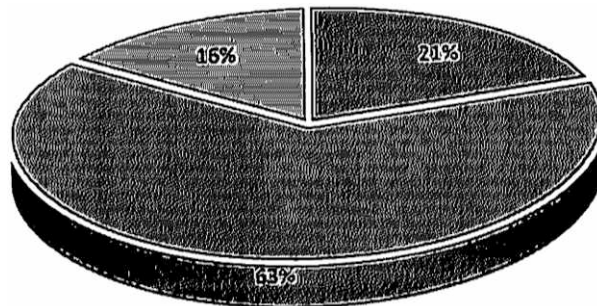
□ YES   □ NO   □ DON'T KNOW

Figure 6: The Influence of a Code of Ethics on the emergence of strikes

The institutional body set up to represent the views of students in institutions of higher learning have continued to act as an important structural tool for building peace. This study questioned the 120 respondents on their opinion on how effective they found their student bodies. 59% stated that their student bodies are effective in representing their views and opinions to the administration. They noted that the student representative bodies offer a platform for dialogue during disagreements with the administration. 51% of the respondents noted that these elected representatives acted on their own without proper consultation with the rest of the students. In public universities student leaders have been used to safeguard the interest of political leaders. They have therefore lost the trust of some of the students when it comes to their ability to represent their interest. However student bodies in private universities seem to be more representative and cater for the needs of their constituents.

Figure 7 below explains the nature of the response of administrative bodies in institutions of higher learning in trying to address the reasons behind riot/strikes over the years. Of 120 respondents questioned, they indicated that little has been done to address the eruption of strikes

and riots in their institutions. 53% of the respondents argued that there have been minimal communication channels, 7% said there has been a bad relationship between administration and students, 25% noted that the administration has not full filled its promises after previous strikes and 15% believed there has been general a breakdown in communication

Reasons behind Re-occurence of Strikes

☐ Minimal Communication Channels
☐ Bad Relationship between students and administration
☐ Unfulfilled promises By Administration
☐ Breakdown In communication

Figure 7: Reasons behind Re-occurrence of Strikes

Under the structural dimension, the study agrees with researcher Peter Schmidt who suggested, a guide that distills much of the currently accepted wisdom about how colleges can maintain order on campuses while respecting students' speech rights. In his article he suggested some recommendations for institutions of higher learning that can be integrated under the structural dimension of peace building in institutions of higher learning in Kenya. The best time to deal with campus protests is before they actually occur. Administrators should put in place a command structure spelling out who will make decisions, monitor developments on the ground, and respond to any news-media requests. They should decide in advance what developments will prompt them to summon outside law-enforcement agencies and who will work with the police.

Universities should establish speech policies that take into account their own mission, culture, setting, and student population, and should train their campus police force accordingly. Such training should be done in collaboration with crisis teams and various administrative units, such as housing and student-affairs offices, to help ensure that campus police officers know their institution and see themselves not as adversaries of students but as participants in the education process. Too often, campus regulations dealing with speech and assembly are scattered throughout separate documents, including governing-board policies and campus police forces' internal rules. The result can be regulations that conflict or otherwise cause confusion, leaving colleges at risk of inconsistent or discriminatory enforcement and resulting legal trouble. Colleges should consolidate and cross-reference speech regulations to ensure consistency. Any policy dealing with campus speech should balance the college's interest in maintaining order and preventing disruption against students' interests and rights[165].

Schmidt suggests that public colleges should avoid content-based speech regulations and instead focus on regulating the time, place, and manner of protest only as much as clearly necessary. They can establish "free-speech zones" for demonstrations or rallies but should remember that students may also have a right to protest on public land on or near the campus. Even within classrooms, students may have a right to engage in purely symbolic protests by, for example, wearing colored armbands or dissent that serves a legitimate educational purpose. Public colleges, especially, should use caution in requiring students to seek administrative approval of protest plans several days in advance, and should

[165] Peter Schmidt (2014) *The Chronicle of Higher Education.* Students are Students Are Protesting at Your College. Here's How to Keep the Campus Calm. 1255 Twenty Third St, N.W Washington D.C. 20037

make sure any such process moves quickly and focuses on safety considerations, not what the protesters plan to say[166].

There may be differences between public and private colleges. At public colleges, student protests that create actual or forecasted disruption on the campus are not protected. Disruption is material and serves as a substantial interference with the college's operations or educational mission. Disruption may be actual or forecasted by school officials; however, college officials must demonstrate how the protestors' activities "materially disrupts classwork or involves substantial disorder or invasion of the rights of others" to justify their actions of limiting or stopping student protests. The sources that college officials use to evaluate disruption must be "something more than a mere desire to avoid the discomfort and unpleasantness that always accompany an unpopular viewpoint." Furthermore, "undifferentiated fear or apprehension of disturbance is not enough to overcome the right to freedom of expression" In addition, as discussed earlier, there are four types of speech that are afforded low protections. Specifically, the Constitution does not consider violent expressions directed at or likely to incite violence, true threats, obscenity, defamatory statements, and commercial speech (e.g. ads) or solicitations as protected speech under the First Amendment.

Private colleges may grant more free speech rights; however, many follow practices of free speech and also might limit student protest activities that arise to disruption, incitement of violence, true threats, obscenity, defamatory statements, and commercial speech. In addition, private colleges may place additional restrictions, if those policies do not conflict with other laws such as state constitutions or local ordinances. Typically, public and private colleges have asserted reasonable "time, place, and manner" restrictions as permissible policies for student protests and other expressions. Time is often restricted to avoid disturbances too early or too late in the day. Manner reflects the format used to express and distribute messages, such as leaflets, display boards, leaflets, display boards, picketing

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[166] Ibid

signs, sit-ins, campus online venues, and sound amplification at a rally. In certain areas, sound systems may be permissible, whereas other areas near classrooms may not allow extensive sound systems for amplification, but may permit megaphones because the reach of the sound is less intrusive during instructional periods. The study however disagree with the article of For public institutions, a time, place, or manner policy must be narrowly tailored to serve the public college's legitimate, content-neutral interests. According to one federal court, a content-neutral policy may not be applied "because of disagreement with a message presented or a rule that has a substantial risk of eliminating certain ideas or viewpoints from the public dialogue are content-based. Further, if the time, place, or manner policy promotes a substantial interest of the public college and that interest would not be achieved as effectively without the policy, then the policy would meet constitutional standards[167].

6.4 Summary of findings

The study found that in cases where student leaders perceived alienation, their approach in addressing issues with management was confrontational and would, most likely, lead to strikes. In cases where the student leaders saw an open and accommodating system the approach would be negotiation and the likelihood of violent protests was minimized. Alienation in mainstream decision-making is caused in two ways.. A former student leader, for example, asserted that while these provisions were in place they were hardly aware of them. This is compounded by the fact that occasionally, on account of the university's busy calendar, these meetings may not be close to one another. For example, the Students" Welfare Committee - which is an important decision-making body in terms of the welfare of students - may meet once a semester or even once a year. Bearing in mind the short period of student leadership tenure, student leaders may attend such meetings once

[167] A Joint Publication with the Education Law Association & the NASPA Research and Policy Institute Responding to Campus Protests: *A Practitioner Resource*

during their tenure or they may not even have an opportunity as in cases where semesters are staggered or when such meetings take place during vacations. Whenever students do attend these meetings they feel alienated because, although decisions are often arrived at through consensus, they feel that due to their small contingent their views do not count. Nevertheless, some former student leaders feel that the university has an open door policy and that most of the issues they raised during their tenure were handled effectively. It emerged during the study that whenever former student leaders perceived alienation the approach in handling many issues was confrontational and the result was unrest. This is unlike in cases where student leaders perceived the system to be open and accommodated the students" views. In formal organizations alienation is critical in determining the strategies used by existing interest groups in demanding that policy should comply with their interests. Various interest groups emerge in organizations in line with, or according to, common values, attitudes and a perception of certain common issues). The more an interest group perceives itself as alienated insofar as critical policy and decisions that are made is concerned, the more aggressive the agitation for the incorporation of favourable policies within the organization.

The violent nature of the demonstrations described in the analyzed documents and the terse language in the written communication with the university authorities - complete with hardly workable deadlines - attests to the lack of trust on the part of students that the relevant authorities will adequately address issues affecting them. Available records and documents affirm the perception that a level approach is evident. As such, recommendations for "regular open forums between all stakeholders of the university are necessary to allow for the free flow of information and exchange of ideas relating to matters of decision-making at the institution. Strong suggestions in various reports to decentralize decision-making are an indication of the bottleneck of decisions in such a system as a factor informing the interests.

The instance, asserts that while there were many causes of disturbances and riots in the universities, the ways in which these were handled when they occurred varied with the university management style. A management style that is flexible, transparent and easily accessible appears to have fewer disturbances than a highly structured, bureaucratic management style.

The findings also indicate that in the event of the violation of the law there is hardly an effective system of ensuring that individual students, who perpetrate the crimes, are made to face the law and receive adequate punishment. Such criminal acts, often committed within and outside the university, involve the destruction of private and public property and are often incurred when students are in groups. A sense of invincibility develops amongst the students who, due to successive escapes from law enforcement, develop a habit of repeating this behaviour. A feeling of being above the law seems to inform repeated actions of the wanton destruction of property. This is also, variously, perceived as a gross disrespect of the law. Several incidents have been cited to support this apparent characterization of the typical Kenyan university student.

One factor is that in perpetrating such actions the students operate in groups where the phenomenon of groupthink as well as collective dynamics informs their actions. The characteristics of groupthink include the sharing of an illusion of invulnerability; the belief in the inherent morality of what it does; and the silence of dissent through direct pressure, among several other. These features of groups make it difficult for law-enforcement officers to penetrate or infiltrate the groups for purposes of identifying the perpetrators in order to prosecute them as there is a fear among the members of being labeled traitors in the event that they volunteer information. Whenever these groups, therefore, engage in extreme actions, which often constitute the wanton destruction of private and public property, authorities would hardly obtain any information that would facilitate appropriate law-enforcement.

Serious cases of degeneration into violent strikes seem to be attributed to the existence of a fluid or weak security system at the university. At public universities the security system is often a patchwork of both uniformed forces on secondment, private security firms and, occasionally, of locally recruited personnel. As such, there is often a lack of proper coordination and internal rivalry as well as a poor flow of intelligence that could facilitate appropriate proactive action. This state of affairs is compounded by a lack of adequate training as well as the lack of clarity regarding the authority of the various security forces. There is, therefore, an apparent reinforcement of violent student activities, which results in a sustained lack of manifested deterrent action by the authorities and probably interpreted by university students as invincibility.

The rigidity in university programmes manifests itself in two ways and it serves to further frustrate the students by creating a disillusion with their university education and making them vulnerable to manipulation and disruptive behaviour.

Former student leaders who participated in, or were questioned during the course of the study revealed the presence of strong-willed individuals who were often very clear in their minds about what they were getting into as student leaders and also what motivated them to assume leadership. For example, many indicated that they had been in leadership positions since primary school and they believed that they were up to the task. Some indicated that they were motivated by colleagues who urged them on. Generally, while they exhibited similar characteristics, the study established two distinct styles and approaches to leadership issues and how they addressed or confronted them. The first type of student leader was the humble and compassionate one who combined a friendly approach with powerful communication skills to negotiate with the authorities, avoiding confrontation at all times but being able to advance their courses tactfully and successfully. Some leaders perceived themselves as belong

to the first type. The other extreme is the strong-willed, non-compromising leader, highly idealistic who demands the operation of ideal situations with the understanding that if everyone does their part perfectly, then the system work and everything runs smoothly. The failure of a system is, therefore, most definitely the failure of an individual or individuals who should either be made to work or be replaced by competent people.

By examining the general trend of strikes at some University and the profiles of student leaders who served at the various times, the study has concluded that while there were pertinent and perennial institutional and national issues that caused students to engage in violent demonstrations, there was a general trend in these demonstrations during the tenure of zealous, idealistic and non-compromising leaders. For example, when student leaders adopted a confrontational approach - as in 1999 and 2003 on the Main Campus -the result was often violent rioting. Some former student leaders whose tenure was associated with such violence also mentioned that they were new and inexperienced in leadership and had not been given the requisite training[168].

The second SGC aspect concerning student unrest is the maintenance of close coordination with a national students" union which occasionally has ties with, and receives support from political leaders. The Kenya Universities Students" Association (KUSA) is a loose confederation of student unions at Kenyan universities and it is intermittently influential in orchestrating and coordinating protests whenever a common issue of student concern at the universities or a matter of national concern emerges. In 2003, for example, Dr Odhiambo Mbai - the Chairman of the Devolution Committee of the Delegates Conference that was deliberating on a new constitution for the country -was murdered in what was

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[168] Wangeri, Kimani & Mutweleli, (2012) *Transitional Challenges Facing First Year University Students in Kenyan Public Universites: A Case of Kenyatta University.* Interdisciplinary Review of Economics and Management. Retrieved November 21, 2013 from http://orientaljournals.org

perceived to be a government effort to frustrate the adoption of a new constitution that the same government had promised to deliver within a hundred days of assuming power. There were widespread protests all over the country. At the universities the protests were coordinated by the Kenya Universities Students" Association[169].

The third aspect of student leadership that the study found to fuel unrest was the political struggle for control and influence that was alive within the leadership as well as the student body. Within the student fraternity there is always a small group, or several small groups, of students who are active in student politics. Here student politics refers to the active competition for influence and power amongst students. These students are referred to as "activists" who are not, necessarily, members of the Students" Governing Council but their presence is particularly felt whenever there is a crisis affecting students that requires a very vocal intervention by the student leadership and the university administration. These students, who are often popular and influential among a majority of the students, may have been campaign agents for SGC candidates or may, themselves, have contested and failed elections -in which case they formed a group of losers calling themselves members of the official opposition.

They may, previously, have been members of the SGC and some may have been preparing to contest SGC positions in the future. These students engage in a plethora of activities in a bid to endear themselves to the rest of the student body. The most common engagement is to exert pressure on the SGC to deliver on its promises or effectively address the ever emerging academic and welfare issues affecting students. This is done through the publication of literature, often posted on notice boards as well as in the unofficial students" newsletter the Third Eye. The articles occasionally

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[169] Kiboiy L.K. (2013) *The Dynamics of Student Unrests in Kenya's Higher Education* : The Case Of Moi University.

make allegations of being compromised by the administration, while others allege corruption in the management of student resources. This pressure keeps the SGC on their toes which, in turn, goes into overdrive in trying to deliver by confronting the administration[170].

The incident that the former student leader relates demonstrates how student activists exert pressure on the student leaders, demanding immediate and tangible results even in complex situations, while all the time taking advantage of the situation that, in such circumstances, leads to explosive riots.

The major components affected the nature and development of students' unrest were related to laxity of management and scarcity of resources. Other factors were the absence of effective channels of communication, guidance and counseling services, early warning mechanism and late and delay in dealing with students demands, unmet promises made by the management and less involvement in decision making. Moreover, there were inadequacy, lateness and deny of students allowances from Higher Education Students Loans Board scheme. The root causes of students unrests were due to factors related to managerial and allocative, students' welfare, academic stresses, political and religious issues.

Precipitating factors included frustration, aggression, instigation, and managerial failures. Students' unrest had negative and positive effects. Disrupted academic programmes, destroyed property, led to punishments to students and staff, and partly put pressure to university administration consider and solve some student's demands. The strategies used by the university administration to manage and resolve students' unrest included authoritative techniques such as threats, coercive tactics, formulation of commissions of inquiry and disciplinary committees. Democratic ways were used but not regularly.

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[170] Kiboiy L.K. (2013) *The Dynamics of Student Unrests in Kenya's Higher Education : The Case Of Moi University.*

Effective communication between management and students, early warning system and the creation of guidance and counselling services are some of the best ways for the management of students' unrest. Alternative management of students' unrest included the participative leadership, adequate funding and timely by the sponsors. The crisis resolution included negotiation, bargaining, mediation, arbitration and reconciliation.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented different views on the nature of the structural dimension of peace building in institutions of higher learning. The structural conditions set up by this institutions of higher learning can either inhibit or fuel conflict in the organization. The study concludes that a majority of the structures set up by these institutions such as a code of ethics and a student representative body has done little to limit the emergence of strikes. Student bodies have been effective in organizing mass action but have failed in other relevant aspects such as organizing avenues of dialogue and other modes of communication.

6.5 Chapter Outline

This study sought to evaluate the role and influence of peace building dimensions as a tool in promoting peace in institutions of higher learning in Kenya. Three key dimensions of peace building where analyzed in relation to the occurrence of strikes and riots in institutions of higher learning. In Kenya, open animosity between the students, the university and the immediate community has increased over the years due to the emergence of strikes and riots. In many incidents students have destroyed and looted property in markets and offices near the university. The relationship between the students and the community at large has continued to be hostile as their behaviour continues to affect neighboring environment. The law enforcement officers have equally been accused of using excessive force to curb the violent acts of students. The lengthy or indefinite

closure of the university leads to a loss of precious time for the students whose careers depend on the successful completion of their degree programmes. Some students who were interviewed, for example, indicated that they missed opportunities that would have put them on different probably more lucrative career paths because they failed to meet their deadlines due to delays in completing their degree programmes. For some of the students a consequence of the strikes was that their education and career prospects were cut short when they faced disciplinary action some of which included suspension for varying lengths of time from the university while others were expelled.

The study employed qualitative methods in analyzing and explaining the results. Most of the students' unrests were caused by political factors. In the findings it was revealed that most unrests were caused by a combination of different types of causes and students' welfare dominated all the selected unrests at the university. The study's criteria used for the selection was availability of documentary evidence, the significance of the unrest, the involvement of many students in the unrest, the intensity and recurrence of the Unrest.

In the data collection, the study got information mainly from documentary review, questionnaires with the key informants. A three step analytical model was adopted from John Paul Lederach on conflict transformation namely the Personal Dimension, the Relational Dimension and the Structural Dimension. After the analysis of the selected unrests, the findings indicated that the causes of students' unrests included unsatisfactory academic and social services, lack of information or disinformation, lack of early warning mechanisms to detect student problems, lack of transparency, lack of opportunity to make free choice in religious matters, lack of autonomy, lack of crisis management machinery, students problems not dealt with fast enough, conditions which deny or delay student expected direct finances with regard to meals and accommodation allowances, lack of democracy, ineffective communication between students and management, impatience of students and

indiscipline, students conditioning and militant behaviour. Other causes were the intra management conflict, which divided workers and students, unmet promises by the management, weak students' government, and externalization of students cases before failure of internal efforts. These causes touched the students, university management, parents and the government.

The study also revealed that the students frustrations and thirsty of goal achievement augmented the crises. Furthermore, the study revealed that three parties had roles to play in managing and resolving the Students unrests. These are namely; university management, government and students body. The University Management for instance took slow steps in dealing with students grievances. In managing and resolving students' unrest, some universities employed threats and coercive strategies before unrests became worse. When the situation changed to violence, university administration used negotiation, diplomatic and reconciliatory techniques. The government has a role to play in the stability of students and higher learning institutions at large. The delay or denial of students allowances as meals and accommodation allowances from HELB was the government role. Likewise, the government and the university management had a role to play. Interviews and questionnaires revealed that students were impatient, militant, conditioned with violence before getting their rights.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0. Introduction

This chapter will cover a detailed analysis of the summary, the findings and the necessary recommendations for this study. It explored the causes and management of student unrest in the higher learning Institutions. The study equally analyzed the nature, causes and aftermaths of the students' unrest. Furthermore, it examined, the strategies employed to manage and prevent the unrests. The techniques used to collect data and information were mainly documentary analysis and interviews to the key informants

This study has revealed that the student unrests in higher learning institutions is the common phenomenon. It is something to be dealt upon. The cases selected indicated that all cases had negative consequences to the university administration and students. All the cases involved class boycotts, which affected the institutional academic routine, students' disciplinary suspensions, removal of management, loss of properties and unnecessary expenses in the process of curbing the unrests. Furthermore, regular unrests lead to loss of the future and credibility of the institutions.

Under the Personal Dimension to reduce strikes and riots among the students the administration must address the presenting issues and content of the strike also its underlying patterns and causes. When they do that they must proceed in an equitable way towards substantive change. The students must have access and voice in decisions that affect their lives. College and university presidents should adopt the practice of management by walking around. Ultimately, this is about being present, gaining student trust and listening helping campus leaders understand the community's pulse and prepare to take appropriate actions. Likewise, student affairs staff and faculty should listen to and engage students during conversations about their discontent. Sharing informal

breakfasts and lunches with students, joining student discussions on the lawn, in social and dining halls, and frequently conducting casual in-person gatherings across campus will help keep leadership informed. Know the facts, which may include vulnerabilities, about campus diversity. Hold campus forums among students, leadership, and faculty. While the leader of the student body does not need to lead all forums, he or she should set the tone at the start of the series, ideally in person, providing context and outlining upcoming events. The leader should check in at these forums periodically, referencing previous discussions and using campus publications and the website to reinforce the message. Explain the institution's rationale for decisions made regarding student recommendations.

The study has also indicated under the relational dimension that the root causes of student unrest was due to accumulation of the unsolved issues between the administration and students. A combination of causes and the recurrence of these cases have contributed to students' impatience. The analysis model used showed that in managing and resolving students' unrest, the involvement of university management, government and students' body is pertinent. The lack of early warning mechanism to detect problems and take immediate steps as soon as the symptoms of students' unrest emerged caught the university unaware of what would happen. The Relational Dimension of peace building in institutions of higher in Kenya has been used in both private and public universities. It has however been noted that the Public universities have a generally negative attitude towards the university administration. When it comes to solving difference a majority of the students from these institutions feel the administrators have done little to mend fences with the students. On the other hand students from the private universities have a more positive relationship with the school administrators due to the presence of a communication framework that encourages dialogue. The recommendations under the relational dimension are that the administration should

improve the level of involvement of staff and students in the decision making process and other university affairs and respecting staff and students interests and rights. Management, government and sponsors should honor their promises to students. If there are anticipated delays, should be put explicitly to those concern. If there are changes in policy, these should be articulated in advance. There is a need to improve communication system between the Students' Organization, students and the university administration. The Students Organization can be asked to write regular reports on students concerns so that can be given priority by the administration. The administration can conduct seminars and orientations to students, students and faculties to ensure forum and open discussions. Sponsors and trainers should communicate frequently and exchange notes on students' issues. The management should educate the students on procedures to follow when they want to forward their concerns. Internal machinery strategies of resolving problems seem to be more effective than externalization. Putting in place mechanism for identifying factors which may precipitate unrest. Offices such of the Dean of Students could handle such responsibilities very seriously and be accountable for such. Institutionalizing an early-warning system. This could be attained saturating the university community with students who could keep the system informed of what goes on beyond classroom.

The structural conditions set up by this institutions of higher learning can either inhibit or fuel conflict in the organization. The study concludes that a majority of the structures set up by these institutions such as a code of ethics and a student representative body has done little to limit the emergence of strikes. Student bodies have been effective in organizing mass action but have failed in other relevant aspects such as organizing avenues of dialogue and other modes of communication. The Government should fund the universities well so as to enhance managerial capacity in the following spheres of institutional administration, financial administration, student's

administration, welfare administration etc. The Government should look into the working conditions of lecturers because they need to be motivated to put in their best so that students are fully equipped. This is of great importance because students are the future leaders. A standing committee that is made up of conflict management and resolution experts be set up in the school for immediate intervention into conflict situations in the school. Peace education programmes should be introduced into school curriculum and environment for students and staff to understand the beauty of resolving their differences through peaceful means rather than violent ways. Basic facilities should be provided for students to make learning and teaching exciting and the environment conducive for such activities.

Active student's union bodies should be encouraged in the campuses in order to enhance student participation in some aspects of decision making as well as create effective communication network between students and managers of higher institution. A stiffer punishment should be meted out to students carrying out actions leading to students' unrest. Students caught in examination malpractice should be severely punished according to the University law. Also, Proper records of such students should be kept circulated to other institutions. The Administration should stand as one and be resolute. Decisions should not be made without appropriate investigation. This calls for an efficient administration and effective communication among other ingredients that go into a decision making. The University needs to establish and strengthen a student guidance and counselling services on the campus. The office should provide counselling to the university community to minimize possibilities of unrests. The relevant authorities should look and see to it that they carry out their responsibilities in time and avoid unnecessary accumulation of long standing students' problems.

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APPENDIX 1: Questionnaire

My name is Dinah Wairimu. I am a Masters student at The University of Nairobi; Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS). I am currently conducting a research on the role of Peacebuilding strategies in conflict management at Institutions of Higher Learning. The research targets students and staff of Institutions of Higher Learning in Kenya such as technical institutions, universities and colleges. You are among the group of students within the institutions that have been selected for this study. The information you will give will be tested in confidence and will only be used for the purpose of this study. Please tick where appropriate.

Section A: Background Information

1. Age?
   (i)   18-25   (ii) 26- 30   (iii) 30 and above
2. Gender?
   (i)   Male   (ii) Female
3. Who funds your education?
   (i) Self-sponsored (ii) Parents   (iii) Sponsorship   (iv) Higher Education Loans Board

4. What type of institution are you in?

   (i)Private   (ii) Public

5. What level of education are you pursuing?

   (i)Diploma   (ii) Degree   (iii) Masters   (iv) PhD   (v) other

6. Are you a member of any student body?
   i)   Yes   (ii) No

Section B: Personal effects of Instability and Violence in Universities

1. Has your institution ever had a strike in the past 5 years?
   (i)Yes   (ii) No
   If Yes, What was the reason for the strike or riot?

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2. If No, why do you think the students in your university have not been involved in any strike?

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3. Have you ever been part of a riot/strike at your institution?

   (i)Yes   (ii) No

4. Have you ever been physically or emotionally affected after a riot/strike?

   (i)Yes   (ii) No   (iii) Not Applicable

   If yes, what kind of assistance did you receive from your institution?

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5. Do you think riots in institutions of higher learning have an effect on the personal growth of a student?

   (i)Yes   (ii) No   (iii) Maybe

6. Does your institution have the right facilities to handle strikes/riots in your school

   (i)Yes   (ii) No

   If yes elaborate:

Section C: Relational Effect of Instability and Violence in Universities

1. In a scale of 1-5 , Kindly rate you relationship with your university administration

   (i)Very good   (ii) Good   (iii) Average   (iv) Below Average   (v) Poor

2. Do you think riots in institutions of higher learning affect patterns of communication and interaction with students?

   (i)Yes   (ii) No

3. Do you think the response of your university administration during riots is adequate?

   (i)Yes   (ii) No   (iii) Not applicable

4. Has you perception of the administration of the university changed after experiencing riots in the university?
   (i)Yes   (ii) No   (iii) Not Applicable

5. Do you think your administration has tried to address the unstable relationship between the students and administration after a riot?
   (i)Yes   (ii) No   (iii) Not Applicable

6. Is the government doing enough to help improve the relationship between students and the administration during and after a riot?
   (i)Yes   (ii) No

Section D: Structural Effects of Instability and Violence in University

1. Are you aware of your institutions code of ethics?
   (i)Yes   (ii) No

2. Do you think they address/ prevent the emergence of strikes and riots in the Institution?
   (i)Yes   (ii) No

3. If no, what do you think needs to be included?

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4. Is your student body effective in preventing the emergence of strikes / riots?
   (i)Yes   (ii) No

5. If yes, what mechanism have been put in place to assist the student body in achieving these goals?

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6. Do you think your university has tried to address the reasons behind riots/ strikes over the years?
   (i)Yes   (ii) No
   If Yes, explain

_____

_____

_____

If No, Explain

_____

_____

_____