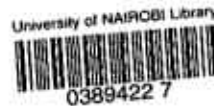


**TOWARDS A GLOBAL CULTURE OF PEACE: UNESCO'S PEACEBUILDING  
EFFORTS IN SOMALIA //**

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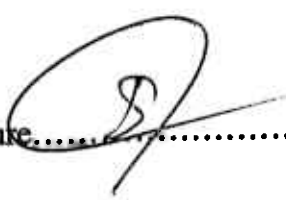
This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree to any other university.

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University supervisor.

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## **DEDICATION**

**To my late brother and friend, Mark Mutethia for your love and inspiration**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank God for his unending grace that has seen me through life and enabled me successfully complete this course.

Secondly, I would like to thank my mother, Caroline Mukami for her unconditional love and support, my grandmother, Leah Terah for her prayers and all my friends for their encouragement.

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Fourthly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Ibrahim Farah for his patience, guidance and encouragement in conducting this study.

Fifthly, I convey my sincere gratitude to my employer, the East Africa Association of Grantmakers for the cooperation extended to me during my period of study.

Finally, I would like to thank all my fellow course participants for their assistance and encouragement throughout this course.

## **ABSTRACT**

This study examines UNESCO's peace-building efforts in Somalia since the UN Declaration and Plan of Action on a Culture of Peace Programme in 1999. The main objective of the study is to critically assess how UNESCO's peace-building efforts in Somalia have contributed to building a culture of peace as envisioned in the Culture of Peace Programme. The key question that the study seeks to answer is; what programmes has UNESCO initiated in Somalia to address the threat to global peace and security posed by the conflict? The study will also seek to examine UNESCO's strategy in managing conflicts in the context of war-torn societies. The study utilized the theory of conflict transformation as the theoretical framework. In addition, the study employed the concept of positive peace as defined by Galtung in reference to the objectives of UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme. The study solely utilized secondary data collection methods. The main sources of data used included textbooks, journals, newspapers, magazines, archival records, online publications and reports. The Somali conflict remains one of the largest civil wars that has had devastating effects on the social, economic, and political structures. The effects of the conflict are not confined within the borders but continue to threaten regional and international peace and security. The causes of the conflict seem diverse and deep-rooted. Through internationalization the conflict has attracted numerous external actors; some as party to the conflicts while others seek to end the conflict. There have been numerous efforts to end the conflict including peacekeeping, peace enforcement, mediation and post-conflict peace-building. Despite this, the situation in Somalia remains characterized by insecurity, poverty and social fragmentation a problem that has not only worsened the situation but also exacerbated criminality and threatened the realization of universal human rights. These aspects have inhabited cultures of violence at all levels of the society. In enhancing global peace and security, the UN has mandated UNESCO to develop and implement programmes that advocate for non-violent management of conflict across the world. Towards this end, UNESCO has initiated various peace-building initiatives in Somalia which are significantly dependent on educating people to further tolerance, respect for human rights, peaceful conflict resolution, equality and cooperation. The lack of effective governing institutions and insecurity in Somalia has hindered the programme. In terms of conflict transformation the aspects addressed by UNESCO under the UN Declaration and Plan of Action on a Culture of Peace Programme remain relevant to the transformation of cultures of violence to cultures of peace. However, the success of the programme is highly dependent on other social, economic and political systems.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AMISOM</b>	- <b>African Union Mission to Somalia</b>
<b>AU</b>	- <b>African Union</b>
<b>BBC</b>	- <b>British Broadcasting Corporation</b>
<b>CSO</b>	- <b>Civil Society Organization</b>
<b>IDP</b>	- <b>Internally Displaced Persons</b>
<b>IGAD</b>	- <b>Intergovernmental Authority for Development</b>
<b>KDF</b>	- <b>Kenya Defence Forces</b>
<b>NGO</b>	- <b>Non Governmental Organization</b>
<b>PEER</b>	- <b>Programme of Education for Emergencies and Reconstruction</b>
<b>SALW</b>	- <b>Small Arms and Light Weapons</b>
<b>SNF</b>	- <b>Somali National Front</b>
<b>SNM</b>	- <b>Somali National Movement</b>
<b>SSDF</b>	- <b>Somali Salvation Democratic Front</b>
<b>TFG</b>	- <b>Transitional Federal Government</b>
<b>TNG</b>	- <b>Transitional National Government</b>

- UN** - **United Nations**
- UNOSOM** - **United Nations Operation in Somalia**
- UNEP** - **United Nations Environment Programme**
- UNESCO** - **United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization**
- UNDP** - **United Nations Development Programme**

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### 1.0 Introduction

The signing of a peace agreement doesn't necessarily result to peace. Intra-state conflicts leave a period of dire poverty, ongoing cultural based rivalry including inter group rivalry such as ethnicity, clannish, religion, the proliferation of arms, governments struggling for legitimacy<sup>1</sup> and failed institutional structures all pose tremendous threats that can easily lead a country back into war. Simultaneously and despite the overwhelming challenges, the post conflict period is also a period of hope and opportunity. Coming after years or even decades of fighting, it is a time—albeit brief—when interventions from internal and external actors are crucial to help address the root causes of war and shape the future of a nation. Nation-building is a complex and long-term process which requires massive transformation at all levels of the society.<sup>2</sup>

Most contemporary methods in peace processes are designed to end violence and inadequately incorporate local initiatives, and have focused more on abstract, top-level solutions. Over the years, it is becoming increasingly evident that such an approach isn't equipped to address the problems of conflicts which are often entangled in complicated cultural issues, in that it does almost nothing to build trust and tolerance where it is most needed – in the local community. Thus far, the emphasis on state diplomacy and

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<sup>1</sup> I. R. Robert (ed.) (2004). *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

<sup>2</sup> H. Jeong. (2006). *Peace Building in Post Conflict Societies: Strategy & Process*. New Delhi. Viva Books.

realpolitik has not demonstrated a capacity to control protracted conflicts, much less lead them toward constructive, peaceful outcomes.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, what is also required is a sphere in which relationship-building, tolerance, cooperation and reconciliation embedded on a culture of peaceful conflict resolutions mechanisms as central to peace agreement and peace building models. Based on this requirement, an approach which focuses on the grassroots, starting with the people, is slowly beginning to take command in enhancing sustainable peace.<sup>4</sup>

There are universal cultural principles that promote peaceful coexistence and present in all societies. To a large extent, culture shapes how societies perceive and react to conflict situations. Despite this acknowledgment, there have been very few attempts to explore existing aspects of peace within the Somali culture and efforts made to promote these aspects among the Somali clans. Therefore this study seeks to explore peace building efforts made by UNESCO in Somalia.

### **1.1 Background to the Study**

The Somali civil war and subsequent state failure remain the most pronounced intractable conflict of any country in Africa and the world at large. The country has suffered a devastating war since 1991 after the overthrow of the then Prime Minister Siad Barre. Since then, clans have failed to come to a consensus on who is best suited to replace Said Barre plunging the country into lawlessness and inhabiting the rise of warlords and clan

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<sup>3</sup> P. Thania (2006) *Community-based, Bottom-up Peacebuilding. The Development of the Life & Peace Institute's Approach to Peacebuilding and Lessons Learned from the Somalia Experience (1990–2000)*. 2nd ed. Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute.

<sup>4</sup> J. Galtung, (2000). *Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means*. New York: United Nations. 2004 *Transcend and Transform: An Introduction to Conflict Work*. Pluto Press.

warfare.<sup>5</sup> The conflict is a multiple complex web of economic, political, cultural, and psychological causes. The conflict continues to not only ravage economic and political structures but progressively frays the social fabric of the Somalia communities. These circumstances have further had ramifications on economic and environmental sustainability in what is largely a pastoralist society. This was symptomatic of the 1991-93 famine which led to competition for resources exemplified in fighting over grazing land and water between communities, frictions which still remain unresolved.<sup>6</sup>

Clannish in Somalia presents the problem of ethnicity and tribalism which represents the cultural fragmentations of the Somali communities. Each of the clans is subdivided into sub-clans lineages and extended family. Within the Somali clan politics there exist the religious leaders, clan chiefs, businessmen and intellectuals. According to Mahmood, the relationship between religious and clans chiefs is mutually interconnected. The role of the religious leaders is to teach Islamic values and moral ethics without interfering with the role of clan leaders.<sup>7</sup> This has helped religious and clan leaders share the responsibility of enhancing peace and security among the clans. According to Kamudhayi, the two types of leadership are the only recognized and respected leaders in Somalia.<sup>8</sup> The rest who include rich businessmen, warlords and intellectuals compete for legitimacy and have so far not managed to command substantial influence in the Somali Society.

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<sup>5</sup>I. Farah, H. Abdirashid, and L. Jeremy.(2002). “*Deegan, Politics and War in Somalia.*” In scarcity and Surfeit: The Ecology of Africa’s Conflicts, edited by Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sturman. Pretoria: Africa Centre for Technology Studies and Institute for Security Studies

<sup>6</sup>H. Wolfgang (2006). *Building the Peace. Experiences of Collaborative Peacebuilding in Somalia 1993–1996.* 2nd ed. Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute.

<sup>7</sup> O.O Mahmood, (2011), *The Root Causes of the United Nations' Failure in Somalia: The Role of neighbouring countries in the Somalia crisis*, Bloomington, iUniverse Inc

<sup>8</sup> O. Kamudhayi (2004), *The Somali Peace Process*, in Makumi M. (ed), *Africa Regional Security in the Age of Globalisation*, Heinrich Boll Foundation, Nairobi.

Various actors both internal and external have made efforts to end the protracted civil war. Since 1991 various peace agreements have since been signed among parties to end violence and build peace in the country.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, these efforts have not yielded much. Nevertheless, the establishment of the Transitional Federal Government, the current Somalia Peace Process offers an opportunity to transform the country's social, economic and political structures into structures that embrace peaceful management of conflicts. This however is not without challenges. Efforts towards building trust, promoting reconciliation and tolerance at the community level has been challenged by Somalia Sectarian nature. This is contrary to the assumptions of most scholars on Somalia's unique homogenous cultural traits. In addition, apathy towards the Transitional Government and persistent warlord domination of Somalia's polity has undermined the ability for existing cultural resources and structural support mechanisms to bind people towards a shared and cooperative social interaction.

Moreover, interventions made prioritize a top bottom approach and to a large extent ignored cultural dynamics of the conflict especially in developing and implementing the peace agreement.<sup>10</sup> While Somalia embarks on the road to peace, there is a chance for them to strengthen shared values and positive cooperation in dealing with the challenges

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<sup>9</sup> K.. Sabala, A. Ahamad, E. Rutto. (2008) *The Somali Peace Process from Arta to Eldoret to Mbagathi; Opportunities and challenges*. In Nhema A. & Zeleza P. T(eds), *The Resolution of African Conflicts; The Management of Conflict resolution & Post-conflict Reconstruction*, Unisa Press, Pretoria

<sup>10</sup> F Ibrahim, A. Hussein, and J. Lind. (2002). '*Deegan, Politics and War in Somalia.*' In scarcity and Surfeit: *The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts*, edited by Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sturman. Pretoria: Africa Centre for Technology Studies and Institute for Security Studies

they face. The total collapse of Somalia provides an opportunity to build new inclusive institutions and systems that promote a culture of collective pursuit of goals to bring an end to the conflict. Mahamood recommends that any successful intervention should consider traditional mechanisms implemented by legitimate leaders in order to meaningfully establish lasting peace among the people.

The United Nations is conferred the sole responsibility of maintaining global peace and security and to that end exclusively extends the mandate of fostering cultural aspects of peace-building to the United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO). Through its Culture of Peace Programme UNESCO set to enhance a global Culture of Peace based on peaceful coexistence to manage conflicts. In what ways has UNESCO contributed to peace building in Somalia?

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

The conflict in Somalia seems to be intractable and has had both domestic and regional consequences. Worse still, in what seems to suggest the inadequacies of the external response, recent events indicate that the situation is further worsening as the conflict internationalizes causing jeopardizing regional security. The situation is epitomized by a growing influx of refugees, piracy, small arms trade, terrorism and a black market economy that's seems to destabilize a fragility of an already unstable region. Therefore, solving the conflict in Somalia is priority for not only its people but also neighboring states and international community.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> P. Chinenye (2011), Somalia conflict: An African indigenous approach towards a peaceful resolution, *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution* Vol. 3(4), pp. 63-70



The significance of culture within the Somalia conflict is undeniable.<sup>12</sup> The conflict has seen competing clans and sub-clans violently engage over social, political and economic resources. At the local level which is largely relies on a pastoralist economy, claims over water and pastoral land has long characterized the dynamics of social political relations. Warring clans in Somalia perceive violence as the most effective means of attaining their goals, therefore considering cooperation as detrimental to their interests.

Despite several peace and reconciliation efforts, the outcomes have frequently failed to enhance a long-term solution.<sup>13</sup> The main approach has been a top-down model with actors and an agenda that take into consideration of cultural aspects unique to the conflict.<sup>14</sup> Lederach who has done extensive study in Somalia Conflict and peace building initiatives describes the case of Somalia as complex and deep rooted characterized by unfathomable animosity and severe stereotyping. For that reason changing these perceptions between clans cannot simply be achieved without addressing relational concerns which by far and large influences social and political relationships. The contribution of clan leaders, religious leaders and elders finding a solution to the

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<sup>12</sup> A.A Osman, (2007) Cultural diversity and the Somali conflict: myth or reality. *African Journal on conflict resolution* 7(2) 93–134

<sup>13</sup> I. Farah, , A. Hussein, and J. Lind. 2002. "Deegan, Politics and War in Somalia." In *scarcity and Surfeit: The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts*, edited by Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sturman. Pretoria: Africa Centre for Technology Studies and Institute for Security Studies

<sup>14</sup> K. Sabala., A. Ahamad, E. Rutto. (2008) The Somali Peace Process from Arta to Eldoret to Mbagathi; Opportunities and challenges. In Nhema A. & Zeleza P. T(eds), *The Resolution of African Conflicts; The Management of Conflict resolution & Post-conflict Reconstruction*, Unisa Press, Pretoria

Somali conflict is indispensable for they are not only the custodians of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms but also legitimate authority.<sup>15</sup>

An approach that focuses on indigenous actors and traditional mechanisms that promotes a culture of tolerance, and cooperation is a key tenet of this the UNESCO Culture of peace programmes. Despite this, UNESCO continues to receive little attention yet its mandate remains important to finding a lasting peace that the Somalia people long for.<sup>16</sup> In addition very little consideration has been put in promoting cultural aspects of peace exhibited by the Somali traditional systems. The increased prioritization of macro approaches to Somali peace building has not produced a sustainable outcome, violence and social disintegration continues to characterize the realm.<sup>17</sup>

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The broad objective of the study is to examine UNESCO's peace-building efforts Somalia.

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<sup>15</sup> Chinenye P. (2011), Somalia conflict: An African indigenous approach towards a peaceful resolution, *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution* Vol. 3(4), pp. 63-70

<sup>17</sup> T. Paffenholz, (2006) *Community-based, Bottom-up Peacebuilding. The Development of the Life & Peace Institute's Approach to Peacebuilding and Lessons Learned from the Somalia Experience (1990–2000)*. 2nd ed. Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute.

### **1.3.1 Specific Objectives**

- a) Give an overview of existing elements of Culture of violence in the Somali conflict;
- b) Explore UNESCO programmes in Somalia;
- c) Explore opportunities and challenges for UNESCO culture of Peace Programme;

## **1.4 Literature Review**

### **1.4.1 Introduction**

This chapter will review relevant literature on the culture of peace in the Somali conflict. The literature will be divided into four sections. The first section will review the various definitions of peace. Here the interest is not in the interpretation of peace *par se* but on the use of it in order to find possible models for reflecting on the research question. The second section will assess aspects of culture and provide a brief overview of the influence culture has on peace and conflict. The third section will review efforts made by the United Nations and primarily UNESCO in managing the Somalia conflict. The last section will focus of UNESCO's culture of peace programme and how it has been implemented in Somalia since its launch in 1994. The literature review will also incorporate debates on issues relevance to the research topic including theoretical debates.

### **1.4.2 Defining Peace**

Although traditional definitions such as those offered by Boulding, Liddell Hart, Arie Marcelo describes peace as the absence of war or violence,<sup>18</sup> new approaches to peace observe that the absence of war or the threat of it does not necessarily mean that a society

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<sup>18</sup> R. Anderson, (2004) A definition of peace. *Peace and Conflict*, 10, 1, 101–116

is peaceful. Burton argues that although conflicts are inherent in human interaction, they do not necessarily have to be violent. Despite this reality, he notes that peace is an ongoing process that commits to resolve conflicts in nonviolent ways.<sup>19</sup> The differences in the definition of peace among scholars are constructed on a continuum of war and social justice. Further definitions offered by peace researchers like Galtung and Lederach give a more comprehensive approach to the definition of peace. Lederach observes that a state of peace changes war systems characterized by mistrust, hostility and social injustice to interdependence, mutual cooperation and tolerance. In this sense, efforts towards peace should not only focus on the cessation of hostilities but also incorporate relational aspects at all levels of the society.<sup>20</sup>

Further to this, Galtung categorizes peace as either negative or positive.<sup>21</sup> He describes negative peace as the absence of violence or physical conflict and positive peace as achievement of social justice. According to him, positive peace is not a situation but an ongoing process that encompasses a complete transformation in all levels of the society including the individual, group and systems. In addition, Curle achieving positive peace should be a focus of any conflict intervention.

Galtung reveals the defining relationship between conflict and peace and the relevance of understanding violence in building an appropriate description of peace. He conceptualizes violence in 3 distinct features; direct violence, structural violence, and

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<sup>19</sup> J. Burton, (1990). *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention*, New York: St. Martin's

<sup>20</sup> H., Jeong. (2006). *Peace Building in Post Conflict Societies: Strategy & Process*. New Delhi. Viva Books.

<sup>21</sup> J. Galtung. *Theories of Peace*. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute (September 1967), p 5-6.

cultural violence. Firstly, direct violence involves identifiable actors with determined to cause intentional harm on those they perceive as opponents.<sup>22</sup>

Secondly, structural violence on the other hand, is based manmade social structures that result from human interactions and which cripple fundamental human rights.<sup>23</sup> Lastly views cultural violence as the existence of particular cultures in the form of religion, language, art etc that are used to justify both direct and structural violence. These three typologies to him are mutually reinforcing noting that cultural violence does act as blind fold that conceals the existence of other form of violence.

### 1.4.3 Culture and Peace

The constructivist approach views culture as a source of identity that can breed harmony or disunity among or between societies. Lederach in his effort to explore culture, conflict and their relationship noted that cultural differences play a major role in conflict.<sup>24</sup> He adds that conflicts are based on what people know and how they perceive the situation they are in and these perceptions by far and large are dictated by culture. According to Lake & Rothschild individuals have no control over cultural influence.<sup>25</sup> This means that the way individuals act and react to situations is controlled by social systems and not their own personal judgment. Therefore the changes in social systems can have a great impact on how individuals and groups relate to each other.

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<sup>22</sup> J Galtung, 'Cultural Violence' (1990) 27(3) *Journal of Peace Research* pg291.

<sup>23</sup> K Ho, 'Structural Violence as a Human Rights Violation' (2007) 4(2) *Essex Human Rights Review* 1, 4.

<sup>24</sup> J. Lederach. (1996). *Preparing for peace: Conflict transformation across cultures*. Syracuse:Syracuse University Press.

<sup>25</sup> D.A Lake, D. Rothschild, (1998). *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict*. Princeton, NJ.Princeton University Press. Pp 6

However, Horowitz, a proponent of the primordialist approach<sup>26</sup> posits that cultural differences are inherent in man and that identity is a major justification for how people perceive other outside their cultural enclaves. To him, individuals and groups instinctively use cultural identity as a platform to ensure their survival especially to secure scarce resources.<sup>27</sup> Although these two views differ, they do acknowledge the significance of culture in conflict situations. Avruch postulates culture as dynamic and determinant of the context in which conflicts occur, what resources are worth competing for and to what extent individuals are willing to go to find the resources.

Understanding culture and conflict is important in unlocking the complexity of human interactions. Since culture seats deep in conflict there is a need to focus on cultural aspects of the society in preventing managing and transforming conflict societies. Similarly, since perceptions are guided by culture which is a key determinant of human interaction, changing these perceptions can go a long way in developing a culture that supports non violent mechanisms of resolving conflicts. Lederach just like Burton suggests that conflict plays a functional role in the society. The function being to manifest a need for change in the way things are done. Therefore the focus should not be

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<sup>26</sup> D.L Horowitz, (1971). Three Dimensions of Ethnic Politics. *In World Politics* (pp. 232-244).

<sup>27</sup> T. Rebecca (2009) "Explaining Ethnic Peace: The Importance of Institutions," *Res Publica -Journal of Undergraduate Research*: Vol. 14 Available at: <http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/respublica/vol14/iss1/12>

in suppressing the conflict but transforming the conflict situation to avoid violence to better society.<sup>28</sup> The concept of building a peaceful culture advocates for this approach.

#### 1.4.4 A Culture of Peace

According to Adams the principles embodied by a culture of peace promote alternative avenues of expressing discontent as opposed to violence. As Boulding simply put it, a culture of peace is ‘*a culture that promotes peaceable diversity*’<sup>29</sup> and continues to describe the concept as based on a world where diverse cultures are a source of cooperation and appreciation as opposed to violence and competition. This then envisions a situation where the culture of violence is replaced by the culture of peace; a long term sustainable model for positive peace. Federico mayor notes that the culture of peace provides a more tolerant society by transforming violent alternatives to non violent solutions.<sup>30</sup> As Irwin posits a culture of peace promotes values and attitudes based on non-violence and respect of human rights; tolerance; transparent and open communication; participation and gender balance.<sup>31</sup> Lederach acknowledges that all cultures have certain elements that promote peaceful coexistence and therefore it is utterly necessary interventions should seek to empower such mechanisms.<sup>32</sup> He notes that although there are universal principles that embody what peace is, a culture of peace is

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<sup>28</sup> N. Ropers, (2012) *From Resolution to Transformation: The Role of Dialogue Projects* (Germany: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management)

<sup>29</sup> E. Boulding, (2000). *Cultures of peace: The hidden side of human history*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press. Pp 6

<sup>30</sup> D. Adams. (2001). Toward a global movement for a culture of peace. *Journal of Peace and Conflict*, 6(1),259–266.

<sup>31</sup> R.A Irwin (1988). *Building a peace system*. Washington, DC: ExPro Press.

<sup>32</sup> Paffenholz, Thania (2006) *Community-based, Bottom-up Peacebuilding. The Development of the Life & Peace Institute's Approach to Peacebuilding and Lessons Learned from the Somalia Experience (1990–2000)*. 2nd ed. Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute.

exemplified uniquely and varies from one society to the other. For that reason external efforts should reflect cultural perceptions of peace and consult with the communities in building peace initiatives.

The success in achieving a culture of peace however does not exist in a vacuum. Merle acknowledges the difficulty of pushing for a culture of peace in a society full of mistrust and despair, an aspect categorical of war torn and post-conflict societies.<sup>33</sup> This according to her is the case since parties and actors want assurance that non violence will bring forth change as fast as they perceive violence can in order to find confidence in the process. However, Sharp gives nonviolent forms of attaining goals as most favorable and successful as opposed to use of force by justifying with examples of the large impact that nonviolent movements have achieved.<sup>34</sup>

These views have not gone without criticism. Realists term the notion of a culture of peace as utopian and unachievable.<sup>35</sup> One of the greatest challenges in advocating for a culture of peace is demonstrating to stakeholders that it can work given the outcome is manifested in a long-term sequence. Although a proponent of the idea of a culture of peace Adams acknowledges that it cannot be sustained in one country if other nations maintain a culture of violence. It is with this backdrop that UNESCO was tasked with

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<sup>34</sup> Sharp. G. (1973). *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Boston: Pentes Sergent.

<sup>35</sup> J. De Rivera (2004). Assessing cultures of peace in the contemporary society. *Journal of Peace Research*, 41(5), 531-548



facilitating a culture of peace globally in all aspects of its mandate. Consequently, all states are obligated to observe and promote these principles at the national level.<sup>36</sup>

#### **1.4.5 UN in Somalia**

For more than 17 years now, Somalia has been a failed state. William Zartman defines state failure as a situation where legitimate power and authority structures are destroyed.<sup>37</sup> Andy Knight notes that among the multiple causes of the Somalia conflict lays a long standing history of factional divisions among clans, and lack and failure of legitimate authority to deal with real political, economic and sociological problems that existed in Somalia even before the break of the civil war.<sup>38</sup> This vacuum has legitimized external third party interventions in managing the Somali conflict. A Case in point, from 1992- 1995 the United Nations was involvement in Somalia focusing on reconciliation, humanitarian aid, peacekeeping and peace enforcement. Samatar considered early UN missions in Somalia (UNOSOM I and II) as a failure that redirected UN major strategies to focus mainly on humanitarian relief and development through its various subsidiaries and agencies.<sup>39</sup> United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR),

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<sup>36</sup> D. Adams. (2001). Toward a global movement for a culture of peace. *Journal of Peace and Conflict*, 6(1),259–266.

<sup>37</sup> I. W. Zartman, (1995) *Introduction: Posing the Problem of State Collapse, in Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority* (I. William Zartman, ed.) Boulder, Colorado, Lynne

Rienner,: Chapter 1: 1-11.

<sup>38</sup> L., David & S. Samatar, (1987). *Somalia: A Nation in Search of State*. Boulder:Westview Press.  
Knight, W. Andy (2001). *Adapting the United Nations to a postmodern era: lessons learned*. Newyork, Palgrave Macmillan

World food Programme (WFP), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Office for coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), and United Nations Education and Culture Organization (UNESCO) remain the major global actors in the conflict.<sup>40</sup>

However, Somalia remains in The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) agenda due to the sanctions imposed on the state. In addition the United Nations Security Council has passed several resolutions endorsing the Regional organization like the Africa Union (AU) and IGAD including neighboring states interventions in the Somali conflict.<sup>41</sup>

#### 1.4.5.1 UNESCO

As a specialized agency of the United Nations, UNESCO (United Nations Education, Science and cultural Organisation) was established in 1945. Currently it has 193 member states and 5 associate Members. The agency's main concern is peace, security and human nature in the context of culture, education and science globally.<sup>42</sup> Therefore promotes cooperation among members pursued through UNESCO's programmes in Education, Natural Sciences, and Social and human Sciences, Culture, Communication and information.

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<sup>40</sup> W. Knight, W. Andy (2001). *Adapting the United Nations to a postmodern era: lessons learned*. Newyork, Palgrave Macmillan

<sup>41</sup> J. Huxley, (1948) *UNESCO: its purpose and its philosophy*, public Affairs Press

<sup>42</sup> [www.unesco.org](http://www.unesco.org)

Besides, member states have established National Commissions for UNESCO that act as national communication point and help facilitate implementation of UNESCO's Values and goals and integrating them to national policy. Huxley notes that it is not enough for UNESCO to raise the general welfare of man but also equally important for the organization to ensure the condition that raise the highest level attainable by man.

Firstly, Education is a key focus area for UNESCO<sup>43</sup> aimed at eradicating literacy and providing quality education for all. Education in the sense termed to mean conferring knowledge, skills, and habits from one individual to another and from one generation to the next to help realize optimum potential that must contribute to the development and good of individuals and society.

According to Huxley,<sup>44</sup> UNESCO tenets lie in ensuring non discriminatory application of it obligation despite of race, sex, economic or social background. It lays emphasis of equality, dignity, and mutual respect. During the Dakar World forum on Education, conflict was identified as one of the greatest challenges in attaining global education. Although UNESCO was formed to foster preventative action to enhance peace through Education as one of its focus, it continues to be greatly involved in conflict and post conflict situations, through its Post-conflict education for emergency response programmes (PEER). Science is another core concern of the UNESCO. Science is considered as an activity taken in pursuit and application of organized knowledge.

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<sup>43</sup> A. Macleish , (1948) *How Can Unesco Contribute to Peace?*, 34(3) Assessed on 5 September 2012 URL: <http://www.istor.org/stable/40220309>

<sup>44</sup> J. Huxley (1948) *UNESCO: Its purpose and its philosophy*, public Affairs Press pg 17

Huxley championed the significance of including science as a mandate of UNESCO for its role in uplifting human welfare.

Lastly, UNESCO is the only UN agency entrusted with the Culture mandate. It continues to promote cultural diversity and understanding among cultures in enhancing tolerance, cooperation and peaceful co-existence.<sup>45</sup> This aim is to not only preserve heritage but goes further as a tool for social cohesion. In its declaration on the principles of international cultural co-operation (1966) article (1) reaffirms the value of dignity of all cultures and advocates the need to respect and preserve cultures around the world.<sup>46</sup> This has been a consideration for UNESCO's interventions in conflict area.

According to Adam the concept of a culture of peace was first described in the 1986 Seville statement read during an international conference in the Ivory Coast that had brought together scientist who come together to address the myth that violence is inherit in all humans.<sup>47</sup> Nullifying this theory, the conference recommended that UNESCO takes lead in developing a peace culture based on universal values of respect for life, freedom, tolerance, gender equality and human rights. This statement was later adopted by UNESCO in 1989 acted as the foundation for UNESCO's culture of peace programme

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<sup>45</sup> Brunauer E. C. & Thomson. C. A.(1947) UNESCO: Its Background and Its Rôle in Building for Peace, *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, 33(1) pp. 29-42 Assessed on 10<sup>th</sup> August 2012 URL: <http://www.istor.org/stable/40221181>. pp 34

<sup>46</sup> UNESCO, (1995). *UNESCO and a Culture of Peace: Promoting a Global Movement*. New York: UNESCO

<sup>47</sup> D. Adams,. (Ed.). (1991). *The Seville statement on violence: Preparing the ground for the construction of peace*  
. General Conference of UNESCO, November 16, 1989, Paris. New York:UNESCO.

formed in 1994.<sup>48</sup> The United Nations defines the culture of peace as ‘*a set of values, attitudes, traditions, models of behavior, ways of life*’<sup>49</sup> and ways of life that rejects violence and prevent conflict by providing alternative mechanisms of non violent resolution of conflict through dialogue and negotiation at the individual, group and state level.<sup>50</sup>

The UN Resolution A/RES/52/13 outlined the major component of the culture of peace programme as ; Education, especially through peace education, enhancing sustainable development, promoting human rights, Gender Equality, fostering tolerance and understanding among cultures, assuring free flow of information and promoting international peace and security. <sup>51</sup>

Bar-Tal notes that the components are interdependent. Giving an example of peace education in intractable conflict, he noted that physical insecurity would undermine outcomes of education.<sup>52</sup> Murshed, Adams and True support this view.<sup>53</sup> According to Rivera promotion of violence is directly addressed by education which lays emphasis on gender equality and human rights, enhancing sustainable development, promoting

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<sup>49</sup> UNESCO *Monograph on Culture of Peace*: <http://www.culture-of-peace.info/history/introduction.html>

<sup>50</sup> E. Boulding, (2000). *Cultures of peace: The hidden side of human history*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

<sup>51</sup> J. De Rivera, (2004). A template for assessing cultures of peace. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 10(2), 25–46.

<sup>52</sup> D. Bar-tal, (2002)The Elusive Nature of Peace Education, in *Peace Education: the Concept, Principles, and Practices Around the World*, Gavriel Salomon, Baruch Nevo, (eds), Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, New Jersey

<sup>53</sup> D. Adams, & T. Michael (1997). ‘UNESCO’s Culture of Peace Program: An Introduction’, *International Peace Research Newsletter* 35(1): pp15–18.

understanding and tolerance, enhancing international peace and security is a web necessary for conflict prevention.

Although literature confirms the existence of indigenous cultures of peace very little had been documented on how UNESCO's culture of peace programme promotes this practices. Most of the literature pays attention on prevention and post conflict environment with very little emphasis on war torn societies especially Somalia.

### **1.5 Justification for the Study**

The study will examine the role of the UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme in managing the Somali conflict. The study aims to contribute to academic work presented by exploring how the concept of culture of peace has been applied in managing the intractable civil war. The study will review indigenous cultural practices among the Somali communities and approaches to peaceful coexistence already in place. In addition to this the study will also explore how UNESCO's efforts have interact with the Somali peace processes and to what extent the programme has contributed to the process.

The UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme being a new study area, findings of this research will be used as a basis for academic reference and a source of recommendations for further research. From the literature review there hasn't been extensive academic research conducted on building a culture of peace in Somalia especially with regard to UNESCO. The case of Somalia provides a unique case study to explore opportunities for culture of peace in the context of failed states. This is in a situation where the national

authority and its structures are incapacitated to implement UNESCO's goals. The study will also seek to understand the approaches taken in such conditions and lessons learnt in the implementation of the programme.

Despite the numerous peace initiatives applied in Somalia, the conflicts continues to persist. Literature from the preceding sections, acknowledges existence of effective cultural practices within the Somali communities that embrace the culture of peace and actors who have earned respect from the communities. Given UNESCO's principles of exploring indigenous efforts for peace and appreciation of cultural diversity, the study is important in analyzing how interventions by the UN through UNESCO influence adoption of non violent mechanism.

The Somali conflict is a regional concern that has not only attracted international community's attention but gravely affected regional stability. Given UNESCO's call for all actors to promote peaceful cultures, recommendations on building a culture of peace in Somalia may use the finding as a basis for formulating and implementing related programmes in respect to Somalia. In addition the documented the findings can be of use to actors involved in countries with a similar context as Somalia. The study will assess programmes implemented by UNESCO in relation to the basis of a culture of peace as presented in the literature review and ways in which the programmes has coordinated with actors at the macro and micro levels.

## **1.6 Theoretical Framework**

This study will be guided by the theory of conflict transformation as a guiding framework in examining the concept of the application of the Culture of Peace by UNESCO in Somalia.

Lederach advocates for transformation as an integrated approach to building sustainable peace as opposed to conflict resolution or management.<sup>54</sup> He notes that while resolution is short-term, it also assumes conflicts as negative. Transformation on the other hand not only acknowledges the inherence and functionality of conflicts but also aims to change how conflict is manifested and how people react to it.<sup>55</sup> Conflict transformation incorporate not only incorporates aspects of management and conflict resolution, it also goes further to address relational aspects of the conflict which proponents of conflict transformation like Galtung, Lederach and Curle consider longterm and sustainable.

Lederach proposed interventions that explicitly focus on strategic networking or ‘web-making,’ a term used to describe the building of relationships at all levels of the society. By capitalizing on key social spaces, they are able to spin a web of sustainable relationships and influence the course of peace at both the top and local level.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> J. Lederach, (1996). *Preparing for peace: Conflict transformation across cultures*. Syracuse:Syracuse University Press.

<sup>55</sup> J. Lederach, (1998) *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington DC: United States’ Institute of Peace Press, p.26

<sup>56</sup> P. Thania (2006) *Community-based, Bottom-up Peacebuilding. The Development of the Life & Peace Institute’s Approach to Peacebuilding and Lessons Learned from the Somalia Experience (1990–2000)*. 2nd ed. Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute.



In support of the conflict transformation approach Galtung opines that the vicious cycle of conflict/violence triangle can be broken to and turned into a virtuous cycle with a joint action of the '3R's': reconstruction of people and places, reconciliation of relationships, and resolution of issues and animosities. If you do only one of these three without the other two you will not even get that one'<sup>57</sup> According to Galtung there is no limit to work under the heading of reconstruction and he divides reconstruction in 4 subcategories: rehabilitation, rebuilding, restructuring, and reculturation.<sup>58</sup>

Rehabilitation mainly refers to trauma healing through psycho-social support project, rebuilding (e.g. infrastructure, buildings, networks, institutions) corresponds to the recreation of pre-war entities which are seen as desirable to keep, restructuring corresponds to a democratization, in other hand to the modification or elimination of pre-war structures which have been determined<sup>59</sup> to undermine the search for positive peace and the creation of new entities that will contribute to building positive peace. Reculturation is the transformation of a culture of violence into a culture of peace.

One way in which reculturation can be pursued is by training people at all levels of society in subjects such as human rights and non violent conflict management mechanisms. The second R, reconciliation, is a long process, which includes healing and

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<sup>57</sup> J. Galtung, (1998a). "After Violence: 3R, Reconstruction, Reconciliation, Resolution: Coping with Visible and Invisible Effects of War and Violence," Transcend: A Peace and Development Network, July. <http://www.transcend.org/TRRECBAS.HTM> p8

<sup>58</sup> Ibid<sup>52</sup>

<sup>59</sup> D. Bar-Tal, (2000). From intractable conflict through conflict resolution to reconciliation: *Psychological analysis Political Psychology*, 21, 2, pp351–365

closure of hostilities. What is also required is to rebuild psychologically healthy environment between parties involved in the conflict, to break the vicious cycle of hate, deep suspicion, resentment, and revenge. As opined by Burton, in his proposed human needs theory advocating for resolution is unless you satisfy all these needs conflicts will erupt.<sup>60</sup>

In conclusion the major principle of conflict transformation is its integral approach that prioritizes all levels of peace building and demands intense participation at individual, group and state in managing conflicts. This approach is best suited for the study as it explicitly addresses relationships including perceptions from those that foster violence to those enhance nonviolence which is a key feature of building a culture of peace.

## **1.7 Hypothesis**

The study will test the following hypothesis

- i) Does UNESCO's peace-building programme in Somalia seek to enhance a culture of peace
- ii) UNESCO Culture of Peace Programme is not relevant to protracted conflicts
- iii) UNESCO Culture of Peace Programme seeks to transform the Somalia conflict not resolve it

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<sup>60</sup> J. Burton. (1990). *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention*, New York: St. Martin's

## **1.8 Methodology**

The study will dominantly apply a qualitative approach. The study will employ only secondary data collection methods. Secondary data collection will include a review of documented information. Here the main sources of data will be textbooks, journals, Newspapers, magazines, archival records, review papers and online publications.

### **1.8.1 Scope and Limitation**

The study will only review initiatives undertaken under the UNESCO since the declaration of Action Plan for Culture of Peace and Nonviolence 1999 with a focus on the 8 aspects stipulated in the plan. The Limitation of this study is the short period allocated for the study and challenge of accessing Somalia due to the current insecurity and limited funding to cover costs for travel. However, this will not limit the diversity of sources that will be analyzed since most secondary resources including latest reports are assessable from the UNESCO Somalia Office. Fortunately, Nairobi hosts most of the United Nations Somali Offices including UNESCO. This covers some of the inadequacies the limitations presents.

## **1.9 Chapter Outline**

**This study is structured in the following manner**

- i) Chapter One introduces the topic of the research study, statement of the problem, objectives, literature review, methodology, theoretical framework, hypothesis and chapter outline**
- ii) Chapter two examines the Somali conflict after the over throw of Said Barre, aspects of culture of peace within the Somali culture and also gives a review of UNESCO's culture of peace programme**
- iii) Chapter three analysis the effects of the Somali conflict, gives case study of UNESCO's peace-building efforts in Somalia since 1999 and reviews opportunities and challenges for a UNESCO's Culture of peace programme in Somalia**
- iv) Chapter four critically reviews the research topic by discussing key emerging issues. In addition to this the chapter sort to apply the theoretical framework to examine the objectives and test the hypothesis as indicated in chapter one.**
- v) Chapter five finally summarizes the research study by underscoring key finding and making recommendations for further research and policy development.**

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **THE BACKGROUND OF SOMALI CONFLICT AND A REVIEW OF THE UNESCO CULTURE OF PEACE PROGRAMME**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

Chapter one introduced the topic of the research by examining the background of the study, statement of the research problem, literature review, justification of the study, theoretical framework, research methodology, hypothesis and chapter outline. Chapter 2 will review literature pertaining to Somali and UNESCO's concept of culture of peace. Divided into three sections, the first section will focus on the background of the Somalia conflict since the overthrow of Said Barre giving the social economic and political aspects of the conflicts. The second section will attempt to review various facets that manifest a culture of peace within the Somali culture. The third section will review components of UNESCO's culture of peace programme as declared in the 1999 Program of Action on a culture of peace and non-violence.

#### **2.1 Overview of the Somalia Conflict**

The Somali conflict stands out as one of the longest civil war and one that has had tremendous impact on the social, economic and political structures of the state. Termed as the worst humanitarian crisis in the world, the war has led to thousands of deaths, rapes, and continues to hatch serious insecurity internally, regionally and globally including illegal arms trade, piracy, and terrorism and grey/illegal economies.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> S. Shonali. (2005). *Conflict in Somalia. Drivers and Dynamics*. Washington: The World Bank.

Since the collapse of Said Barre's regime in 1991, the country had been without a functioning government until the formation of the Transitional Federal Government in 2004 which promised an opportunity to rebuild the state and restore security in the country through a centralized governance system. Despite the optimism, the system never gained control of various warring factions and presently struggles to find legitimacy among the subjects.<sup>62</sup>

The causes of the Somalia conflict have been internal including social, cultural, economic and political factors and external causes with the geo-political position of Somalia and economic and security strategic desire from actors in and outside the regions.<sup>63</sup> There have been diverse explanations for the causes on the intractable war which still remain inconclusive. While Samatar views the origin of the conflict as arising from a lack of strong governance structures and poor leadership<sup>64</sup> most of the literature that examines the conflict focuses on ethnicity and contested identity as major causes of the protracted civil war.<sup>65</sup>

Mamdani argues that although ethnicity provides a conducive environment for the violence, it does not adequately explain why warring clans engage in violence.<sup>66</sup> Chineye notes that the causes of the Somalia conflict are not exclusive to Somalia alone. He stresses that the breakdown of social order in Somalia manifested by increased

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<sup>62</sup>Crisis Group, (2011), *Somalia: The Transitional Government on Life Support*, Africa Report N°170, 21 February 2011

<sup>63</sup> Ibid<sup>1</sup>

<sup>64</sup> A. Samatar, (1993). Under siege: Blood, Power, and the Somali State, in Nyong'o, P. Anyang', *Arms and Daggers in the Hearts of Africa*, pp 67-100. Nairobi: Arrucian Academy of Science.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid<sup>1</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Mamdani, Mahmood 2001. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

criminality, stems from the political and economic problems inherent in the sub-Saharan region and Africa in general which are largely a reflection of the disrupted traditional mechanisms of governance and peacemaking.<sup>67</sup>

The Somali conflict is a complex web of several conflicts with different causes and levels of actors. The conflict drew the attention of numerous third party interventions but despite the steps taken, there has been very little to show of it. This frustration continues to necessitate the need for creative alternative solutions to end the conflict.

## **2.2 Somalia After 1991**

The background of the Somalia conflicts stems from colonial legacies, dictatorial regimes and vested interests of warlords. From 1969-1991 Somalia was a dictatorship and the reign of President Said Barre who advocated for socialism and nationalism by denouncing existing clan polity and clan governance structures.<sup>68</sup> With time Somalia's growing democracy deteriorated to a one party repressive state. Under the influence of the Soviet Union, who supplied arms to Barre's government the regime steadily militarized and this strengthened centralized power. With limited accountability and transparency, resource mismanagement, corruption, dependency on foreign aid, increased debt weakened the country's economic and political structure.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Davie-Odigie, P. C (2011), Somali Conflict: An African Indigenous approach towards a peaceful resolution, *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution*, 3(4), pp 63-70

<sup>68</sup> A. Samatar, (1988). *Socialist Somalia. Rhetoric & Reality*. London: Zed Books.

<sup>69</sup> K. Menkhaus. (2008) Understanding State Failure in Somalia: Internal and External Dimensions, In Harneit-Sievers A and Spilker. D, *Somali: Current Conflicts and New chances for State Building*, 30-51, Heinrich Boell Foundation, Nairobi:

In contrast to Barre's advocacy for nationalism as opposed to clannism, his government unfairly favored some clans and rewarded and punished them for their loyalty or lack of it. He allocated strategic government positions to the Darood clan, Marehan (his clan), Ogaden (his mother clan) Dulhante which increasingly reduced his popularity.<sup>70</sup> The government policies manipulated the clanship systems and this increased competition for resources and power among them. Acquisition of political offices was seen as the only way to protect resources and acquire favor.

Despite this, most Somalia supported him since he promised to unite all Somalis in other inhabiting other neighboring countries including Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti – a stand that threatened regional stability. Even so, Barre could not keep his promise as he was defeated in his irredentist ambition and therefore many of his strong supporters saw no point in holding up his regime.

It was not long before opposing fronts formed a coalition to challenge the regime's legitimacy. 1970 saw the formation of the Somalia Salvation Democratic Front followed by the Somalia National Movement which was largely dominated by the Isaaq clan. Facing political threat Barre resulted to eliminating members of the opposition movements. However the withdrawal of the Soviet Union support massively weakened the government military and economic power. In desperation Barre attempted to turn clans against each other and clans that opposed his rule were targets for discrimination and persecution.

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<sup>70</sup> L. Terrence, and A. Samatar. (1995). *Somalia: State collapse, multilateral intervention, and strategies for political reconstruction*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.



This strategy by the regime is viewed as the ignition point of Somalia's protracted clan wars.<sup>71</sup> It created suspicion and mistrust among clans which continues to challenge Somalia's stability to date. Clans have since adopted violence as a means of acquiring resources and with the high militarization of the society; conflicts have become deadlier and destructive.<sup>72</sup> The economic decline in the 1980's dug the frustration of Somali communities deeper and worsened competition between groups and violence went out of control.<sup>73</sup>

In addition to these quandaries, Barre lost support from his allied clans when he committed his government to give up on irredentist claims of the Ogaden region in Ethiopia.<sup>74</sup> This was as a result of an agreement between him and Ethiopia which sort support to protect his government from the rebellious Somalia National Movement in exchange of its territorial claims in Ethiopia. To the Ogaden clan, this was total betrayal. Meanwhile the Somalia National Movement continued challenging the regime and by then had managed to conquer Hargesia and Busao in the north west of Somalia. Although the conquest was short lived with Barre successful retaliating, more clan based opposition movements including the Somalia Patriotic Movement dominated by the Ogaden clan were formed. All these opposition movements formed a coalition on January 1991 that successfully overthrew Said Barre's regime.

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid<sup>1</sup>

<sup>72</sup> K Menkhaus, (2003). State collapse in Somalia: Second thoughts. *Review of African Political Economy*, 30( 97)

<sup>73</sup> M. Lewis,(1969), The Politics of the Somali Coup. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 10(3), pp383-408.

<sup>74</sup> N. J. Fitzgerald. (2002) *Somalia: Issues, History, and Bibliography*. California; Nova Publishers. pp.19

Ironically, this change did not bring the anticipated unity and stability in Somalia. It was a transformation to a different kind of civil war when the movements which were representatives of clans turned against each other<sup>75</sup> to control Mogadishu and southern part of Somalia as part of a provincial government to replace the fallen regime. Unfortunately this marked a new era of statelessness and intense conflict. The civil war led to an enormous famine that caused thousands of deaths, IDPs, and a worrying influx of refugees to neighboring countries. Another setback for the country's unity was the declaration of Somaliland located in the Northwest as an independent state.<sup>76</sup> Although not yet recognized as so by the international community, the region created its own governance structures and has since maintained relative stability.

Through the early years of the civil war as Somalia struggled with a deteriorating economy and immense famine, warlords took advantage of the situation to control any relief supplies. They also seized food from farmers to buy weapons and loyalty. With the weakening traditional structures and the lack of central government, communities fought over grazing lands, and water sources without any form of intervention. This was worsened by the rate of environmental degradation and insecurity that crippled the community's economic stability.

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid 13

<sup>76</sup> A. J Ahmed. (1996) *Daybreak is Near: Literature, Clans, and the Nation-State in Somalia*. Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press.

The incidents attracted both regional and global attention and formed the basis of increased humanitarian and military intervention. United Nations involvement in Somalia after 1991 was mainly on peacekeeping, peace enforcement (UNOSOM I & II) and humanitarian relief through its various agencies.<sup>77</sup> UN's efforts towards nation building that sort to adopt a bottom-up approach in Somalia failed. The process considered local leaders with an aim of incrementally building governance and administrative structures from the local level to a more central national level. This did not go well with the warlords who chose a top-down approach and therefore rejected the plan and ignited a wave of violence that forced UNOSOM and USA to exit.

With the withdrawal of the two dominant third party actors, warlords stirred intense violence. The worrying statistics of refugees and fatalities however forced the Security Council to mandate a UN peace enforcement led by USA to control warlord hostility and create a buffer zone for relief effort. But in an embarrassing defeat to the warlords, the mission failed.<sup>78</sup> In 1995 the UN and USA left Somalia and have since cautiously addressed the Somali conflict. The fighting continued over a decade. In 1998, Puntland, now a relatively stable region in Somalia declared autonomy from Mogadishu.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> K. Menkhaus. (2008) Understanding State Failure in Somalia: Internal and External Dimensions, In Harneit-Sievers A and Spilker. D, *Somali: Current Conflicts and New chances for State Building*, 30-51, Heinrich Boell Foundation, Nairobi:

<sup>78</sup> J. L. Hirsch, & R. B. Oakley. (1995). *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope: Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*. Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid 13

With the withdrawal, UN mandated regional organizations in maintenance of peace and security at the regional level. Organizations like IGAD and the AU actively sort solutions to the Somalia crisis by supporting peacekeeping operations and peace processes. In 2000, after several inconclusive peace plans Somali leaders finally agreed on a promising peace agreement that saw the formation of a Transitional National government (TNG) brokered by IGAD during the Arta Peace Conference in Djibouti. As a result of continued talks the TNG was replaced by a more elaborate Transitional Federal Government in 2004. This was seen as an opportunity for Somalia to rebuild the country, establish security and reconcile warring groups.<sup>80</sup> Today, TFG is barely functional and has no control over the state. Warring factions still dominate most of the regions; the people have apathy towards the state and consider the government illegitimate.<sup>81</sup>

The challenges for the transition government are many. At the time of its formation national institutions had been ruined as warlords and factional leaders fragmented the country into clan fiefdoms. Informed by their history, most Somalia had lost confidence in any central governance systems and state credibility had been destroyed because of its failure to guard common interests. The state was also blamed for eroding the social solidarity and values that guided social interactions. In other words nationalism had become a mirage to the people.

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<sup>80</sup> O. Kamudhayi, (2004). The Somali Peace Process. In M. Mwangi (ed.) *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalisation*, 107-124. Nairobi: Heinrich Boell Foundation / Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies / National Defence College of Kenya.

<sup>81</sup> K. Menkhaus, (2007) "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping." *International Security* 31(3) pp 74-106.

This situation created an environment that bred criminality and compounded economic problems including famine, environmental degradation and underdevelopment. The economy collapsed into illegal trade dominated by warlords and business elites who engaged in arms trade, money laundering, smuggling and piracy.<sup>82</sup> The instability has also paved way for a section of Islamic extremists and terrorist factions not to mention including al-Qaida supporters and Alshabaab militia who have threatened global and regional security.<sup>83</sup>

Efforts to build peace have been stifled by factions who depend on the ongoing violence to finance their activities. Solutions offered to the conflict also have lacked grassroots support and have largely focused on top-down approach and power politics. Critics of the approach to the Somalia peace-building efforts including Lederach have faulted the over emphasis of a top-down approach for the failure to find sustainable solutions to the conflict.<sup>84</sup>

Humanitarian crisis and internationalization of the conflict resulted in a number of third party interventions at both state and non state levels. Since 1995, the United Nations'

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<sup>82</sup> International Crisis Group, 'Can the Somalia crisis be contained?' Africa Report no. 116 (10 August 2006), pp. 5–6, Assessed on August 25<sup>th</sup> 2012 Source: [www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4333](http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4333)

<sup>83</sup> International Crisis Group. (2005b). *Somalia's Islamists*. Africa Report No. 100. Brüssel/Nairobi: International

Crisis Group.

<sup>84</sup> P. Thania (2006) *Community-based, Bottom-up Peacebuilding. The Development of the Life & Peace Institute's Approach to Peacebuilding and Lessons Learned from the Somalia Experience (1990–2000)*. 2nd ed. Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute.

direct involvement in Somalia nation-building has been minimal.<sup>85</sup> However through its many agencies the UN has contributed to Somalia conflict management process. The reputation of the UN nations among the Somalia people remains tattered.

The promising election in Somalia and AMISOM's peacekeeping and military interventions<sup>86</sup> that aims to end insurgencies against central government and fasten regional peace provides an opportunity for the United Nations' active re-entry into Somalia and offers prospects for alternative approaches that involve the legitimate leaders in Somalia and are sensitive to Somalis context of nation building.

### **2.3 Aspects of Culture of Peace within the Somalia Conflict**

Zartman notes that traditional societies in Africa are equipped with mechanisms to maintain social order and manage conflict. He notes that traditional African cultures are embedded with customs developed from years of practice and as such are acceptable by the respective members of the society. With modernization, most of the customs on conflict management were disrupted and replaced by different systems of governance.<sup>87</sup>

The Somalis are grouped in Clans, sub-clans and families. Although the society is largely considered homogenous, clans have several linguistic differences. The Somalia clans originate from 2 main lineages; the Samale dominantly farmers and consider themselves

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<sup>85</sup> K. Menkhaus. ,(2008) *Understanding State Failure in Somalia:Internal and External Dimensions*, In Harneit-Sievers A and Spilker. D, *Somali: Current Conflicts and New chances for State Building*, 30-51, Heinrich Boell Foundation, Nairobi:

<sup>86</sup> [www.somaliamediamonitoring.org](http://www.somaliamediamonitoring.org)

<sup>87</sup> I. W. Zartman , (2000)*Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts: African Conflict "Medicine"*, Boulder; Lynne Rienner Publications. Pg 1

superior, and the Sab mainly nomads. These two clans are further sub-divided into 6 clans; Digil and Rahanweyn from the Sab while Darod, Hawiye, Isaq and Dir descend from the Samale clan. There are further social divisions which are dynamic and formed through alliances depending on the perceived grievances and are further divided into sub-clans and families.<sup>88</sup>

The complexity of the Somali conflict is based on several armed conflicts that break out mainly along clan lines. However, the fact that clans and sub-clans in Somalia continue to vie for dominance and political control does not necessarily mean that the society is inherently violent. Identities are dynamic and manipulated purposefully to gain resources and power. As instrumentalists posit, warlords and divisive Somalia leaders create differences among clans and propagate loyalty against competing clans largely for selfish goals.<sup>89</sup>

The high militarization of the Somalia conflict since independence aided by easy access to small arms and light weapons augments Somalis to reliance on weapons to settle differences. Crocker points this as one of the major reasons why the conflict became so complex for external interventions to succeed.<sup>90</sup>

The weakening traditional mechanisms of conflict management and weak governing arms do not guarantee an environment that offers effective alternatives to violence. Before

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<sup>88</sup> Somalia: History, Geography, Culture and Government – Infoplease.com, [www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0107979.html](http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0107979.html)

<sup>89</sup> N. J. Fitzgerald. *Somalia: Issues, History, and Bibliography*. New York: Nova Publishers. 2002. 111pp.

<sup>90</sup> A. C. Crocker,. "The Lessons of Somalia: Not Everything Went Wrong." *Foreign Affairs* 74.3 (1995): 2-8. pg 5

Said Barre rule, clans were a strong source of deterrence and offered guidance in reconciling conflicting communities and fostering cooperation in resources management. Nevertheless Statelessness and state failure did not take away clan systems but significantly transformed their functions. Notten notes that after 1991, the people had grown a deep resentment and mistrust of the modern central governance to an extent that most of them were ready to return to previous forms of governance based on clan law but the culture of violent competition instilled by Barre's rule threatened the will.<sup>91</sup>

Despite these challenges there are several aspects of culture of peace within the Somalia culture that offer alternative mechanisms of resolving conflicts among different groups. Features that interventions should help build as potential channels for peaceful coexistence and nation building.

The Somali society posses an efficient and elaborate traditional governance system referred to as *Xeer*. *Xeer* is a highly respected set of agreements on how societal matters related to conflict, resource distribution and the rule of law are interpreted. The system has been in existence since the pre-colonial period and is the longest serving structure in Somalia. Its dominance and development was however hampered by the rise of Islam and arrival of colonial power who introduced Sharia and constitutional laws respectively.<sup>92</sup>

Although most of the rules found in sharia law easily blended with *Xeer*, those that clashed were purged as *sharia* law took precedent. The Colonial power on the other hand

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<sup>91</sup> V. Notten & V. Michael. (2003), *From nation-state to stateless nation: the Somali experience*, 58(2), pp. 147-157 Assessed on 9 September 2012 Source: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40761688>

<sup>92</sup> L. Sage & André (2005) *Stateless Justice in Somalia: Formal & Informal Rule of Law Initiatives*, A Report for the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Geneva



did not officially accommodate the *Xeer* system as part of its governance process. Although the clash of all these 3 systems bewildered the Somalia national governance, through the process known as *Suluh Somali shari'a* courts integrate Islamic, traditional and statutory laws into a single workable decision for a case.

The *Xeer* system has worked effectively for the Somalis.<sup>93</sup> The sole objective of building a central government might not be a long term solution for Somali's governance problems. Given the people's apathy for central governance,<sup>94</sup> *Xeer* is a fundamental element for unity despite the egalitarian nature of the system, *Xeer* still maintained cultural solidarity among communities. The system for years managed to promote non violent approaches to goal pursuit. Failure to integrate such traditional structures to modern governance has constantly undermined nation building. Furthermore, *Xeer* system has served remote rural communities when other systems of governance failed to reach all corners of the country.

An important aspect of culture of peace - democracy is characterized by participation, decision making and representation. According to Burton<sup>95</sup> one of elements in hierarchy of needs that a structure should meet, is right to participation. The Somali culture, *Xeer* system, has a representative framework that promotes consultations in decision making at all levels of the society. Clans are legitimately presented by reputable clan chiefs and

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<sup>93</sup> H. M. Spencer (2007), *The Rule of Law without the State*, Mises Daily: September 12. Assessed on 10 September 2012 <http://mises.org/daily/2701>

<sup>94</sup> K. Sabala, A. Ahmad, & E. Rotto. *The Somalia Peace Process from Arta to Eldoret to Mabagthi; Opportunities and challenges*, In A. Nhema, & P. Zeleza, (2008), *The resolution of African Conflicts; The Management of Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, pp 135-156, OSSREA, Addis Ababa

<sup>95</sup> G. Tillett, (1995) "The Ideas and Ideals of John Burton" *Evatt Papers*, 3(2) pp106-114

decisions are commonly known as *Guddoon*. These clan chiefs make their decisions informed by opinions from sub-clan leaders known as *Nabaddoon* who in turn consults with male adults on the issues at hand. To this extent the *Xeer* system and Somali culture in general encompass an elaborate democratic system of government.

*Xeer* is not written law.<sup>96</sup> It is adopted as customary law pass on from one generation to the other. Translation of the law is done by reputable and respected clan elders who are also considered as custodians of the *Xeer* codes. These custodians are known as *Xeer begti*.

This notwithstanding, the *Xeer* law is complemented by the *sharia* Law based on the Islamic religion largely practiced across Somalia. Since the *sharia* Law is codified, it covers some inadequacies of *Xeer*. The legitimacy of the *Xeer* therefore is not only based on the Somalis sense of ownership but also on its compatibility with the Islam religion that most clans observe. Legitimacy ensures that despite the lack of institutional mechanisms of enforcing *Xeer*, most people voluntarily abide to the custom.

Within the traditional culture, values of peaceful coexistence, tolerance and information transfer among communities is conducted through the *Nabad-doomo* (congregations). This helps groups realize and strengthen a culture of nonviolence and through information sharing dispel suspicions among them. This is done by the religious leaders also known as the *Ulimo* and clan elders.

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<sup>96</sup>A. Sage.,(2005) *Stateless Justice in Somalia/ Formal and Informal Rule of Law Initiatives Report*, July, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

Ineffective structures in the statelessness paved way for continuation of *Xeer* system. After the collapse of Barre's regime in 1991, the *Xeer* system was the most rampant and prevalent mechanism for pursuit of justice and peace. This continuous to be the case in various areas of Somali and in Somaliland the system of governance has greatly contributed to its stability. Like modern judiciary courts the *Xeer* system has a customary court with a judge known as the *Garsoor* who is nominated by clan elders. In addition, the *Xeer* justice system accommodates an attorney general (*Xeer beegti*) who reviews viability of cases presented and the issues at hand. Decisions made are binding. This seeks to protect clan members from injustices.

Resource scarcity especially land and water has been a historical cause of group wars in Somalia. *Xeer* system has set out rules on the use of land and water especially in times of conflicts. According to *Xeer* rules, newcomers who seek refuge in a certain community should do so in peace and are only welcome if they come in peace. Guided by *Xeer* law communities agree on resource distribution.<sup>97</sup> Interestingly, *Xeer* enhances a culture of collective responsibility on issues of resources, and security for the well being of the common good of the community.<sup>98</sup> Clans observe "*Qaaraan*" where all members pull their resources together which are used for the good of the community.

Conflict management is a key component of the *Xeer* law which advocates for peaceful settlement of disputes through dialogue, mediation (*Masalaxo*) and justice. The aim is to find a lasting solution to conflicts among different groups. Parties to a conflict are invited

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<sup>97</sup> I.M Lewis,(1961). *A Pastoral Democracy*,(Oxford University Press, London: pp1-296

<sup>98</sup> V. M. Notten. (2005). *The Law of the Somalis: A Stable Foundation for Economic and Social Development in the Horn of Africa*. Trenton NJ: Red Sea Press.

for dialogue in an open arena also referred to as ‘*Shir Beeleed*’ where traditional elders facilitate negotiations to find solutions to the disagreements guided by the *Xeer* rules. If no solutions are applicable through the *Xeer* system, elders resort to Sharia law which in the future is integrated as *Xeer* rule.

Like all law systems *Xeer* has weaknesses that negate a global culture of peace. For instance *Xeer* is not coded and gravely undermines right of women in key decision making structures. Women cannot represent clan interests which have since suppressed aspects of gender equality contrary to the culture of peace concept.<sup>99</sup> In fact Samatar notes that it was the weakness of the traditional system and the clan divisions that were responsible for the protracted chaos after state collapse.<sup>100</sup>

In Mogadishu, *Xeer* law and the role of traditional elders was less authoritative. Coupled with the intense instability and strengthened warlord culture, *Sharia* laws filled the vacuum. Islam is the dominant religion among Somali with at least 85% of Somalis being *Sunni* Muslims and has a strong outreach in most parts of the country and many Islamic teaching promote a culture of peace.<sup>101</sup>

Aside from few ideologies conflicting with the traditional Somali culture, Islam’s was acceptable to Somalis as it complimented aspects of the traditional system. ‘*Suluh*’ an

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<sup>99</sup> A. Sage. *Stateless Justice in Somalia/ Formal and Informal Rule of Law Initiatives Report*, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, July 2005

<sup>100</sup> A. I Samatar, (1992). “Destruction of State and Society in Somalia: Beyond the Tribal Convention.” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 30 (4):pp 625-41.

<sup>101</sup> N. J. Fitzgerald. (2002), *Somalia: Issues, History, and Bibliography*. Newyork:Nova Publishers. 38 pp.

Islamic concept that promotes peace and reconciliation became increasingly dominant after state collapse. When clans turned against each other and groups found no legitimate authority to manage conflicts people turned to Islam for social order. *Suluh* complimented by traditional *Xeer* systems became an overriding system of conflict management which later formed what is now referred to as Islamic Court Units.<sup>102</sup> The basis of their formation was primarily to promote justice and security and was most common in urban areas. Radical Islamist groups and external interests have transformed Somalis' civil war. Now politics rather than religion has undermined authority of the legitimate religious leaders (*Ulema*) and challenged the reputation of Islam as a unifying factor and source of social order in Somalia.

There have been incidents of different Islamic factions fighting each other and cross clan wars that have continuously hindered efforts of peace under non-Islam government by violently pursuing an Islamic state contrary to Islamic teaching of tolerance, and nonviolence. In addition, most of the courts have been hijacked by opportunists using them for selfish advancement. Despite the potency of Islam courts as a source of stability and unifying factor, internal and external spoilers have painted a negative picture of the judicial system. Furthermore, the war against terror that depicts negative Islamists in Somalia has further undermined the potency of Islam based central governance.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> M. Zuin, "A Model of Transitional Justice for Somalia" in PRAXIS: The Fletcher Journal of Human Security

<sup>103</sup> P. Lauren, (2010) *Countering terrorism in East Africa; the US Response*, November 3, Congressional Research service, Washington

Lately, peace processes and the TGT under President Sheikh Sharrif have accommodated Islam leaders and courts. Some scholars claim that despite the negative aspects of Islamic extremism characterized by its links to terrorism, Islam could be the hope for a stable Somali statehood.

At the global level various Islam leaders have affirmed Islam's commitment to the global movement towards a culture of peace. Various declarations including 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Islamic Summit Conference have called for intercultural dialogue to promote justice, tolerance, cooperation and respect between Muslims and other cultures.<sup>104</sup> Islam also fundamentally promotes women's education and leadership roles which has greatly enriched the *Xeer* traditional systems that limited women's right to education and decision making processes. Islam promotes information sharing and declares knowledge as a religious duty, an aspect which complements the advancement of a culture of peace as envisioned by UNESCO.

#### **2.4 A Review of UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme**

The role of UNESCO is to ensure global peace and security by enhancing understanding, tolerance and cooperation among different cultures. As discussed in the previous chapter, peace is not defined merely by the absence of physical violence. As essential as violence prevention and dispute resolution is, the United Nations felt that it was equally important to also focus of deep rooted aspects that harbor conflicts.

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<sup>104</sup> D. R. Macer (ed), (2001) *Asian Arabs Philosophical dialogues on Culture of Peace and Human Dignity*, UNESCO Bangkok

The aim was to develop ties among humans that encourage co-operation to the extent that war eventually becomes unnecessary.<sup>105</sup> To achieve this, appreciating cultural diversity, promoting science that offers solutions to human life, encouraging tolerance and understanding through information sharing and education became part and parcel of global peace efforts. It is in this context that UNESCO was formed. Brunauer and Thompson summarize UNESCO's functions as "to promote mutual understanding, popular education and advancement of knowledge" to establish global peace. The aim is to transform violent action to a culture of peace and non violence action.<sup>106</sup>

After several incremental developments in the quest for UNESCO's strategy for a culture of peace, the General Assembly in 1999 launched the UNESCO Program of Action on a culture of peace and non-violence.<sup>107</sup> The document laid out a guiding framework of UNESCO's programmes in promoting a global culture of peace. The action plan identified 8 broad areas of focus; education, sustainable development, respect for human right, gender equality, democratic participation, understanding, tolerance and solidarity, free flow and sharing of information and international peace and security.

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<sup>105</sup> Macleish A. (1948) *How Can Unesco Contribute to Peace?*, 34(3) Assessed on 5 September 2012 URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40220309>

<sup>106</sup> E. Brunauer & C. Thomson.(1947) UNESCO: Its Background and Its Role in Building for Peace, *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, 33(1) pp. 29-42 Accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> September 2012 URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40221181>. pp 34

<sup>107</sup> S. Ilcan. and L. Phillips. (2006), Governing Peace: Global Rationalities of Security and UNESCO's Culture of Peace Campaign, *Anthropologica*, 48(1), pp. 59-71 Accessed on 10 September 2012 URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25605297>

D'rivera posits that these components form the basis of promoting a culture of peace as envisioned by UNESCO at the time of its creation.<sup>108</sup> In addition to this he notes that although broad the components accommodates efforts of all other actors and compliments other UN agencies to form a global movement of peace that includes governments, civil society, families, professionals, and regional organizations as implementers.

### **2.4.1 Education**

Education in its broadest sense forms a major component of UNESCO culture of peace campaign as it cuts across all other aspects. The programme reaffirms the value of both formal and informal education in socializing people to appreciate and adopt alternatives to violence by inculcating norms and values that emphasis on cooperation as opposed to competition. According to Adams and True education should foster the transformation of violent cultures to peaceful cultures.<sup>109</sup> Contrary to the realist pessimistic of this possibility, scholars like McGregor, Galtung and Boulding envision a culture based on values, behaviors and institutional arrangement that support cooperation in goal accomplishment and equitable distribution of resources as a source of positive peace as opposed to power struggle. Transformation of these values however requires qualitative education among civilizations.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> J. De Rivera, (2004) Assessing the basis for a culture of peace in contemporary societies. *Journal of Peace Research*, 41(5), pp531-548.

<sup>109</sup> D. Adams & M. True, (1997). 'UNESCO's Culture of Peace Program: An Introduction', *International Peace Research Newsletter* 35(1): pp15-18

<sup>110</sup> J. De Rivera,(2009). Introduction. In J. de Rivera (Ed.). *Handbook on building cultures of peace*. NY: Springer. (pp. 1-8).



Among the objectives of the programme is to firstly, train decision makers and leaders at all levels skills that promote peace. Secondly, it aims to encourage cultural diversity by promoting tolerance in pluralism, cultural heritage and cultural tolerance programmes. Thirdly, the programme develops methods and tools for nonviolent conflict management and disseminates the publications to multilevel peace builders and institutions.

The fourth objective is to enhance multilevel cooperation among different stakeholders in educations development to ensure education systems advance capacities for the transmission of culture of peace. Lastly, UNESCO supports formal education by assisting in the development of school curriculums by producing relevant non-bias educational materials especially in science, history and cultural studies.

Furthermore, educating children and youth on the culture of peace is core to UNESCO's programme. Through various platforms; sports, theatre, music, art UNESCO peace programmes to promote cultural awareness and tolerance among people of difference groups and nations.<sup>111</sup> In addition the programme supports families, teachers, and governmental and nongovernmental institutions in developing programmes that protect children from violent cultural influences.

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<sup>111</sup> S. Ilcan.and L. Phillips. (2006), *Governing Peace: Global Rationalities of Security and UNESCO's Culture of Peace Campaign*, *Anthropologica* 48(1), pp. 59-71 Assessed on 10 September 2012 URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25605297>

## 2.4.2 Sustainable Development

Spring defines development as ‘*economical, technological and cultural progress from self sufficient rural society to a more complex global network*’.<sup>112</sup> However, through the many years development has not necessarily translated to alleviated poverty. It can be argued that in some cases the benefits of world development have not been relative to global peace. Inequality as noted by Galtung has continuously contributed to conflicts among groups and nations. Slightly more than 1/5 own more than 80% of the world’s wealth, with millions of people dying of hunger as another sizable population of the world lives in extreme poverty.<sup>113</sup> World progress so far has not been relative to global peace.

Sustainable development on the other hand is a concept that integrates economic growth with environmental and social concerns. D’Rivera relates sustainable development to the concept of human security which balances human needs at the present time without compromising those of the future. Promoting sustainable development is important in advancing a culture of peace.<sup>114</sup> The objective is to eradicate poverty and enhance human development by fostering cooperation at both national and international levels to reduce economic and social inequalities.<sup>115</sup> The programme also supports the protection of environment by empowering groups to develop economic activities that are sensitive to

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<sup>112</sup> Spring, O. U,(2009) sustainable Development, In J. de Rivera (Ed.). *Handbook on building cultures of peace*. NY: Springer. Pp 212

<sup>113</sup> [www.inequality.org](http://www.inequality.org)

<sup>114</sup> Ibid<sup>52</sup>

<sup>115</sup> J. de Rivera, (2009) Building cultures of peace that protect human rights. *Psyke & Logos*, 30 (1) pp14-27.

the environment but at the same time eradicating poverty. In addition to this, the programme calls for the reduction of the effects of poverty especially for vulnerable groups like children and women. The programme looks to work closely with other specialized agencies and governments to meet these goals.

### **2.4.3 Promoting Respect for Human Rights**

The transformation from a culture of violence to a culture of peace requires establishing effective justice systems and institutional capacities that promote and respect human rights. This is reflected as a component of the programme.<sup>116</sup> Its objective calls for measures of protecting people from selfish interests and disregard of basic principles of human rights. Galtung notes that without respect justice based on the respect for human rights peace cannot prevail.<sup>117</sup> The culture of peace programme aims to eradicate sources of injustice by providing moral and political principles for human rights development as per the Universal declaration on human rights. Through education UNESCO hopes to create multilevel avenues for human right education. In addition the programme develops educational materials that integrate human rights values in school curriculum including training key personnel at national and regional levels of promoting and protecting human rights.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> J. de Rivera, (2004). A template for assessing cultures of peace. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 10 (2), pp125–46

<sup>117</sup> J. Galtung, (1969). Violence, peace, and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), pp167–191.

<sup>118</sup> E. Mayor, & T. Forstenzer, (1995) *The New Page: Culture of War and Culture of Peace*. Paris: UNESCO.

#### **2.4.4 Gender Equality**

An important component of the programme, gender equality cuts across all other components of culture of peace campaign and is fundamentally reaffirmed in the UN charter.<sup>119</sup> The concept advocates to equal rights and opportunities for both men and women. The universal declaration on human rights further equates women's rights to human rights.<sup>120</sup> Consequently the culture of peace programme acknowledges women's contribution to peace and war and the achievement of the culture of peace as highly depended on gender equality. Giddens argues that any form of inequality or exclusion distorts sustainable social coexistence.<sup>121</sup>

This notes the culture of peace programme calls for women empowerment; economically, socially and political through education, health provision, eradication of gender violence, promoting women participation in decision making and access and management of resources. Through education UNESCO seek to eliminate stereotypes and social structures that stifle gender balance across economic, social, cultural and political sectors.<sup>122</sup> This is mainly through advocacy and developing educational manuals that promote equal roles for both women and men including facilitating more roles for women in conflict management.

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<sup>119</sup> A. Winslow,(Ed). (1995). *Women, Politics, and the United Nations*. CT: Greenwood Press. Westport

<sup>120</sup> E. Melander, (2005a). Gender Equality and Intrastate Armed Conflict. *International Studies Quarterly*, 49(4), pp695–714

<sup>121</sup> A. Giddens, (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford,CA: Stanford University Press

<sup>122</sup> I. Breines, D. Gierycz, & B. Reardon, (Eds.).(1999). *Towards a Women's Agenda For a Culture Of Peace*. Paris: UNESCO

### **2.4.5. Fostering Democratic Participation**

Democracy is one of the most important principles of a better world. Although there hasn't been any exclusive model of democracy, the basic principle that UNESCO promotes is an informed citizenry that has a capacity to strive for good governance through equal participation.<sup>123</sup> Through the culture of peace programme, UNESCO seeks to educate people on their rights, strengthen national institutions and processes to enhance participatory decision-making based on an inclusive policy. Since conflict in the society are functional and almost inevitable, participation and democracy offer channels for cooperation and expression.

Through civic education on peace, human right, tolerance and understating, the programme intends to promote citizen participation in governance and development. Burton identifies the participation as one of the human needs that if unmet can breed conflict in the society and defines participation as the need to be able to actively partake in and influence governance and civil society<sup>124</sup>. It is the only way to reduce authoritarian structures of power that sustain culture of war by limiting avenue for non violent expression.<sup>125</sup> The programme of action calls for the mobilization civil society, promotion the rule of law, and enhancement of a free and independent media.

The programme further facilitates the development of curricula that at all levels enlightens their rights and how to take part in decision making and encourages dialogue

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<sup>123</sup> K. Fierbeck, (1998). *Globalizing democracy: Power, legitimacy, and the interpretation of democratic ideas*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

<sup>124</sup> H. Milner. (2001). *Civic literacy: How informed citizens make democracy work*. Hanover NH: University Press of New England.

<sup>125</sup> J. Galtung, (1996). *Peace by peaceful means*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

and consensus as opposed to hierarchical authoritarian structures. The programme therefore calls for an environment that supports freedom of expression and tolerance to diverse voices and opinions by enhancing individual and institutional capacities through education. ‘*The uneducated man or the man with limited education is a different political actor from the man who has achieved a higher level of education*’<sup>126</sup>

Salamon in evaluating the relationship between civic culture and education argues that the two are largely symbiotic. Education raises the benefits of political activity when participation is based on informed and objective goals.<sup>127</sup>

#### **2.4.6 Participatory Communication and Free Flow and Sharing of Information**

The programme advocates for freedom of speech, expression and right to information as fundamental factors of a culture of peace. The aim is to reduce the secrecy and manipulation of information that characterizes a culture of violence. UNESCO culture of peace programme seeks to support an independent media in promoting peace, non-violence and effective communication among society’s members. UNESCO enhances information by supporting new technologies that augment flow of pluralistic and independent information even to the most remote areas.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> G. Almond, and S. Verba (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. London: Sage Publication. pg 315

<sup>127</sup> G. Salamon (2001), *Peace Education: Its Nature, Nurture and the Challenges It Faces*, In J. D’Rivera (ed) *Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace*, Springer, Newyork

<sup>128</sup> United Nations (1999). *Declaration and programme of action on a culture of peace*. UN A/ RES/53/243, A, B

Martin and Varney note that communication is a major component of non violent action. Building a culture of peace and non violence therefore relies heavily on open interactions and non manipulative information channels.<sup>129</sup> Communication provides avenues for people to express their grievances, share goals and exchange ideas on finding solutions for a better life. Independent media offers opportunities for participation and enhances transparency without which propaganda and suspicion could degenerate efforts towards peace.

UNESCO builds the personal capacities of journalists through training or unbiased reporting and production of programme that support the culture of peace campaign. UNESCO also facilitates the implementation of media programmes that seek to create tolerance and understanding among cultures. In addition to this UNESCO's culture of peace programme calls for press freedom by assisting governments design media laws that protect the media from intimidation and manipulation.

#### **2.4.7. Promoting Understanding Tolerance and Solidarity among A Peoples and Cultures**

A constant perception in conflict societies is the image of the "enemy". Fragile societies especially post conflict societies are divided into opposing groups who view each other in the context of competition and rivalry.<sup>130</sup> War damages social fabrics creating victims and perpetrators who see no avenue for cooperation, the culture of peace can only be

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<sup>129</sup> S. Loewenberg, (2001) *Open Communication*. In J. D'Rivera (ed) *Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace*, Springer, Newyork

<sup>130</sup> W.P Vogt, (1997), *Tolerance and education. Learning to live with diversity and difference*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

realized if such perceptions are transformed to those that promote understanding, tolerance and solidarity.

The programme advocates for the promotion of dialogue among civilizations regardless of social, economic or political composition. UNESCO notes that misunderstanding among cultures has leads to conflict. By facilitation understanding and tolerance among cultures, Galtung affirms that such efforts enhance social cohesion and therefore would serve to fulfill UNESCO's objectives to achieve both negative and positive peace.<sup>131</sup>

Of the fundamental principles in promoting a culture of peace is the need to understand traditional cultural practices that contribute to peace.<sup>132</sup> The programme seeks to support and include such practices in peace building and development policies. Such practices are valuable peace promoters. Through this action, the programme seeks to promote tolerance to cultural diversity by preserving cultural heritage founded on aspects of art, music, literature, theatre etc. In complement, the world Commission on Culture and development places value on supporting intercultural initiatives to promote understanding among people of different cultures.

It calls for support of exchange programmes that aim at strengthening tolerance and cultural pluralism. In a world with thousands of ethnic groups and cultural practices there is competitive aspiration and need for some form of autonomy or recognition which have

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<sup>131</sup> J. Galtung,, (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), pp167–191.

<sup>132</sup> J. De Rivera, & D. Paez, (2007). Emotional Climate, Human Security, and Cultures Of Peace. *Journal of Social Issues*, 63(2), pp233–254.



often led to conflicts and deadly wars.<sup>133</sup> These tensions stem from lack of understanding and intolerance. In addition weak governance structures, economic strain and modernization have intensified anxiety as groups mobilize to manipulate the associations in justification of violence and hostilities. The culture of peace programme seeks to increase Multi-cultural education which helps people recognize, accept and value diverse and pluralistic societies.<sup>134</sup>

#### **2.4.8 Coordination of Peace and Security**

Peace and security is considered mutually reinforcing aspects to a culture of peace.<sup>135</sup> The programme proposes peaceful mechanisms of conflict management including preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, mediation, inclusive dialogue, voluntary disarmament and demobilizations and reintegration of combatants. The programme call for a reduction of conditions that readily offer people options for violence; DDR programmes, advocacy against landmines, excessive Arms accumulation, enhancing international humanitarian law.<sup>136</sup> . Towards this the programme accommodates efforts of other actors including governments, other UN agencies and regional organizations to foster security and stops violence.<sup>137</sup> Other components of the programmes mentions earlier are highly dependent

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<sup>133</sup> D. Helly, R. Barsky, & P. Foxen, (2003). Social cohesion and cultural plurality. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 28(1), pp19–42.

<sup>134</sup> J. H de Rivera, (2004b). Norms for Nonviolence. Poster presentation at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>135</sup> UNESCO, (1995a) *UNESCO and a Culture of Peace: Promoting a Global Movement*. Paris: UNESCO

<sup>136</sup> N. J Goldring. (2001), International Security, In J. de Rivera (Ed.). *Handbook on building cultures of peace*. NY: Springer. Pp 197-210

<sup>137</sup> UNESCO, (2002a) *Mainstreaming the Culture of Peace*. Culture of Peace, Coordination Unit of the Bureau of Strategic Planning. Paris: UNESCO

on security and yet again security remains conditioned by other components of a culture of peace.<sup>138</sup>

The eight proposed actions for a culture of peace are broad and interrelated. They address root causes of conflict and are applicable at all levels of conflict cycle. However, due to the complexity of their objectives accomplishing these goals requires comprehensive and coordinated efforts among different actors at all levels of the society. The aspects focused seek to transform society's cultures of violence to culture of peace for sustainable peace through non-violent means.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

All cultures have respected universal aspects that promote social cohesion and cooperation.<sup>139</sup> The Somali society too is no exception. There are various traditional and religious components of its cultures that have enhanced both peace and violence. UNESCO through its culture of peace programme seeks to promote cultures that enhance values, norms and structures for sustainable peace. Mainly through education, UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programmes aims to inculcate other alternatives to violence based on a Global Movement that involves all levels both internationally and nationally. Aspects of Culture of peace touch on all aspects of human interaction because they are interrelated and interdependent and therefore the objective seeks complete transformation of the social, economic and political structures enough to negate a culture of violence.

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<sup>138</sup> D. Adams, (2001). Toward a global movement for a culture of peace. *Peace and Conflict*, 6(1),259–266.

<sup>139</sup> B.D Bonta,(1996). Conflict resolution among peaceful societies: The culture of peacefulness. *Journal of Peace Research*, 33(4), 403–420.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **TOWARDS A GLOBAL CULTURE OF PEACE: UNESCO'S PEACE-BUILDING EFFORTS IN SOMALIA**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

The second chapter gave a background of the Somalia conflict, aspects of culture of peace within the Somali culture and an overview of the components of UNESCO's culture of peace programme. The third chapter will underscore aspects of the Somali conflict that contribute to a culture of violence and relate the issues within the context of UNESCO's envisioned culture of peace. The chapter will be divided into 4 sections. The first section examines economic, social and political effects the Somali conflict has had. The second section will examine ways in which UNESCO has contributed to solving the various issues raised in section one particularly after declaration of the Action for a culture of Peace in 1999. The third section will review various challenges experienced by UNESCO in Somalia and opportunities that exist for UNESCOs Culture of peace Programme. And finally the fourth sections will be a conclusion of the key issues indentified.

#### **3.1 The Effect of the Somali Conflict**

Osman<sup>140</sup> notes that in Somalia, socio-cultural norms are linked with economic structures through the ideology of kinship which creates a web of social, economic and political institutions. These institutions played a major role in maintaining social order which fitted well with the pastoral and subsistence means of production prevalent in pre colonial

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<sup>140</sup> Osman, A.A., Cultural diversity and the Somali conflict: myth or reality. *African Journal on conflict resolution* 2007 (7) 2,pp 93-134

Somalia. Like many African states Somalia has not been spared from the distortion of its social and political indigenous governance structures.<sup>141</sup> With colonization and the introduction of modern institutions such arrangements were diluted and others replaced with modern governance systems. According to Samatar, these structures encouraged elitism and corruption to the disinterest of the aspects of the Somali culture which Lewis described as largely communal.<sup>142</sup>

The state collapse in 1991 and consequent civil war depreciated efforts of adapting these new changes. The conflict fragmented Somalia's social, economic and politics structures leaving room for insecurity, poverty, environmental degradation, displacement and injustice. Although clan structures remained strong their political function was transformed by elites to act as tools of manipulation into violence, and embezzlement of public resources. In addition to this, Menkaus notes that the rise of unregulated Islamic courts who apply rigid Sharia laws continues to pose a challenge to traditional and secular political leaders who Islamists see as power competitors.<sup>143</sup> This at times undermines the functions local polities have performed for the years in guiding social interactions even in statelessness.

The Somali economy remains one of the poorest in the world.<sup>144</sup> The largest economic share is based on pastoralist and subsistence farming which is constantly disrupted by

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<sup>141</sup> A. S. Reyner, (1960) Somalia: The Problems of Independence, *Middle East Journal* , 14( 3) pp247-255 viewed on 15 September 2012 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4323254>

<sup>142</sup> World Bank, (2005). *Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamics*. World Bank, Washington, D.C., USA.

<sup>143</sup> K. Menkhaus, (2004). *Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Global Terrorism*. New York:Oxford University Press.

<sup>144</sup> UNDP (2010). *Human Development Report 2001-Somalia*. New York: UNDP.

civil war and environmental concerns. Although Somalia's climate is arid and semi-arid with inadequate rainfall, environmental damages from the civil war including the destruction of infrastructure and irrigation points significantly contributed to a series of deadly famines. Further to this, lack of an effective ecological support system and the dwindling effect of the traditional social, cultural coping mechanisms greatly undermined the economic instability.<sup>145</sup> Famine and conflict caused an influx to urban area characterized by rampant displacement. According to the UN in 2011, 2.2 million Somalis were in need of humanitarian assistance in al-Shabaab-controlled areas that restricted humanitarian intervention. In 2000, the numbers of internally displaced Somalis were estimated at a total of 300,000 who according to Gurdel constitute 60% of Somalis who were considered to face starvation.<sup>146</sup>

Land disputes in urban areas are a major problem. Increased cases of land grabbing and weak land laws have encouraged a culture of exploitation.<sup>147</sup> This legacy only worsened during the country's civil war, as communities and clans vied with one another for access to grazing lands, watering holes and access to lucrative fisheries.

With no central governance systems, the provision of social services remains a challenge in most parts of Somalia. Nevertheless, limited social services available are controlled by the private sector and with a modest boost from the few nongovernmental organizations

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<sup>145</sup> S. Anna (1994), Somalia and the Dissolution of the Nation-State, *American Anthropologist*, 96(4), pp818-824, viewed on 12 September 2012 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/682445>

<sup>146</sup> J. Gundel, (2002). The Migration-Development Nexus: Somalia Case Study. In *International Migration* 40 (5). Blackwell Publishers, UK.

<sup>147</sup> NRC / UN-Habitat / UNHCR (2008): *Land, Housing and Property in Somalia*. Oslo: Norwegian Refugee Council.

still operating in the country. Conversely, the choice of social services when it comes to the private sector is guided by profitability leaving out essential non-profitable sectors like water and sanitation, and infrastructure.<sup>148</sup> The unregulated privatized economy has such as port management harbors grey and illegal economies whose effects stretch out regionally and internationally.

The country's economy relies on remittances<sup>149</sup> from the few fairly performing industries in telecommunication, imports, transport and real estate development. These sectors however are mainly located in the large cities. This has not only increased rural –urban inequality but has further increased a competitive struggle for control of resources among groups.

The rights to free speech and media independent in Somalia are constantly threatened by high rate of insecurity, lack of domestic capacity building for journalism and an efficient regulating body. Many journalists have died and media houses destroyed even as late as 2011.<sup>150</sup> The working environment undermines the quality of information and outreach of news media across Somalia. During the civil war a lot of media outlets mushroomed in Mogadishu. Without a regulatory body, they lacked standardized editorial guidelines and integrity. With the different warring factions scrambling for media outlets as channels for

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<sup>148</sup> T. Nenova, (2004). *“Private sector response to the absence of government institutions in Somalia.”* Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

<sup>149</sup> M.M Munzele (ed) (2006): *Remittances and Economic Development in Somalia. An Overview.* Social Development Papers. Conflict and Reconstruction. No. 38. Washington: The World Bank.

<sup>150</sup> National Union of Somali Journalist (NUSOJ), (2012), *The State of Press Freedom in Somalia – Incidents in 2011*, NUSOJ, Mogadishu. Viewed on 18 September 2012 [http://en.rsf.org/IMG/pdf/nusoj\\_annual\\_report\\_2012-2.pdf](http://en.rsf.org/IMG/pdf/nusoj_annual_report_2012-2.pdf)

them to spread their dominance, most have been used to manipulate people into violence, terror and crime.

Moreover, as at 2008, Somali had no local media agencies which undermined information flow to and from the rural communities.<sup>151</sup> Despite this, media and journalism is on the rise in Somalia, and Somalis have tremendously developed a literate culture, many striving to listen to radio stations about the war and peace making process.<sup>152</sup>

Human right abuses are grave in Somalia. All parties to the conflict have been responsible of violating human right. Forces including Al-shabaab, Warlords and Militias, TFG and allied forces and AMISOM have supported indiscriminate attacks, extrajudicial killings, unlawful detention, rape and unlawful recruitment of children in combat. All parties to an armed conflict, both regular and irregular forces are required by international humanitarian law to strive to reduce unnecessary suffering and protect civilians.

The situation in Somalia continues to undermine this objective. In Southern Somalia in 2000, an estimated more than 4,000 civilians were casualties of the war which included over 1000 deaths. In complete disregard of this law Alshabaab continue to undertake extrajudicial killing as punishment for alleged crime often with no legal process. This continues to chip away at Somalis' confidence in the judicial system as Al Shabaab

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<sup>151</sup> [http://www.somaliareport.com/index.php/post/3350/Mediamania\\_Grips\\_Somalia](http://www.somaliareport.com/index.php/post/3350/Mediamania_Grips_Somalia)

<sup>152</sup> Policy Brief, (Nov 2011) The Media of Somalia; A force for Moderation?, BBC World Service Trust, London Viewed on 14 September 2012  
[http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust/pdf/bbc\\_world\\_service\\_trust\\_pb4\\_english\\_web.pdf](http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust/pdf/bbc_world_service_trust_pb4_english_web.pdf)

forcefully enforces discriminate Sharia principles. In addition, these militia forces forcefully recruit child soldiers.

This is in contrast to Somalis culture that acted communally acted as a custodian and protector of children's interests as all culture all children were considered Gifts from God.<sup>153</sup> This has damaged the values and norms of those affected. According to Skinner, the practice of recruiting child soldiers spells a generational concern for Africa's future.

Despite the immense critic of Said Barre's regime it is in his rule that education in Somalia began to grow drastically. He supported the scripting of local language and two major national literacy campaigns nationalizing private school and declaring free and compulsory education for all children.<sup>154</sup> At the time development of text books for school in Somali language took priority and saw various guiding syllabus in the field of mathematics, physics and socialism published. Under the principle of serve reliance the governments after independence also encouraged communities to build schools which saw a drastic improvement in school enrollment. However, the fall of the Barre government followed by breakdown of law and order destroyed almost all systems and infrastructure set in place.

As violence later declined, international organizations stepped in to rehabilitate a number of schools which ultimately later collapsed after UNOSOM withdrawal in 1995. In addition the lack of a coordinated national coordination authority to guide the formulation

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<sup>153</sup> J. Gardner, and J. El-Bushra, (eds.) (2004) *Somalia, the untold story: the war through the eyes of women* CIIR/Pluto Press, London

<sup>154</sup> Africa Muslims Agency. (1997) *Education in Somalia: Past, Present and Future*, Mogadishu, Somalia



and implement an education plan disabled further development in the sector.<sup>155</sup> There is inadequate qualified teaching staff due to increased displacement and recurrent harassment from the militant forces has forced a close down of most institutions.

The series of challenges facing the Somali education system, lack of effective authority to promote national education has denied two generations of Somali children a chance for education putting them in a difficult circumstance that potentially limits their social, economic and political capability.<sup>156</sup> Of special attention are the children who come from displaced, child soldiers, pastoralists and poor families who lack social integration mechanisms which are a crucial component in rebuilding post conflict society.

The conflict has changed the social construction of women and men. Shukuria notes that traditionally women were always placed at a lesser position with limited rights and privileges than men because the Somali clan system proscribes personal and socio-political paths that are quite distinct from those of men. Significant decision making processes were taken by men. Earlier military regime initiated the Family Law of 1975 that gave equal rights to both women and men. Interestingly, during Barre's regime women public participation increased notably; women enrollment to school, job opportunities and military positions broadened. However the impact was short-lived.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3099835.pdf>

<sup>156</sup> L. Cassanelli, and F.S Abdikadir, (2007). "Somalia: Education in Transition." *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies*, vol. 7(1), pp. 91-125.

<sup>157</sup> Academy for peace and development, (Dec 2002) *Womens' Rights in Islam and Somali Culture*, UNICEF, Hargesia Viewed on 16 September 2012 [http://www.unicef.org/somalia/SOM\\_WomenInIslam.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/somalia/SOM_WomenInIslam.pdf)

With the emergence of the war, subsequent conflicts, lack of a central government to protect women's rights, women have repeatedly been victims of poverty, famine, discrimination and displacement, rape and murder recognized as war crimes.<sup>158</sup> In addition to this, heavy fatalities on men forced women take up lead roles in families and communities, traditionally set out for men in an environment that lacked sustainable livelihood moreover with declined rights due to the re-emergence of traditional modes of social organizations.

In support, O'Connell opines that when men are absent, the full weight of the family survival falls on women who are compelled to take roles that were excluded from them in peaceful times.<sup>159</sup> The personal cost of this on women therefore brings in about both physical and emotional stress requiring special attention in peace building. However, despite the tireless humanitarian efforts, Somali women continue to suffer from lack of sanitation, education, health, livelihood and psychological support systems.<sup>160</sup>

For example, the Beel Conference system, that alienates women from the formal clan deliberations and similarly excluded them from major political power sharing structures. In the face of the universal declaration on Human rights and the adoption of Elimination of All forms of discrimination Against Women, women right in Somalia remain arbitrary. This only means that women have very limited avenues to address issues that affect them. Optimistically, external support and an increasing civil society on issues on the Somali

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<sup>158</sup>S.F Martin, & J. Tirman (Eds) (2009) *Women, Migration, and Conflict: Breaking a Deadly Cycle*, Springer, Newyork

<sup>159</sup>H. O'Connell, (1993) *Women and Conflict*, Oxfam UK, Oxford

<sup>160</sup>J. Gardner, and J. El-Bushra, (eds.) (2004) *Somalia, the untold story: the war through the eyes of women* CIIR/Pluto Press, London

conflict and various NGO's mostly headed by women have drawn interest to women rights to political participation and policy formulation. <sup>161</sup>

Forced migration and displacement of women and children in Somalia exposes them to substantial risks like rape and trafficking. Human right reports note that there have been several incidents of rape of Somali refugees in refugee camps and on route to safety in Kenya which were noted to not only have a gender but also an ethnic dimension. <sup>162</sup>

Piracy along the coast is another regional and international concern which Eichstaedt notes originates from the Somalia itself. <sup>163</sup> Fisher men and Somali pirates harass, and hijack global shipping companies along the Gulf of Eden, Somali coast line, a problem that demands aggressive response. In the year 2008, a total of 111 vessels were attacked by Somali pirates along the gulf of Eden. <sup>164</sup> These incidents have grown both in tactic and magnitude into a well sophisticated and organized crime.

Although Somali pirates initially were organized according to clan bases with loose networks the crime has recently grown lucrative attracting more internal and external actors who have reinforced the piracy by resourcing, providing communication systems, arming and coordinating hundreds of workers in other parts of the country and region. Criminality and violent culture has increased in Somalia filling in the governance gap

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<sup>161</sup> B. Sorensen,(1998). *Women and post-conflict reconstruction: Issues and sources*. The War-Torn Societies

Project, Occasional Report No. 3. Geneva: UNRISD.

<sup>162</sup> A. Kumar, (2002), *Human rights; global perspective*, Sarup & Sons, New Delhi

<sup>163</sup> P. Eichstaedt. (2010) *Pirate State: Inside Somalia's Terrorism at Sea*, Chicago Review Press, Chicago

<sup>164</sup> R. Geiß,& A. Petrig, (2011) *Piracy and Armed Robbery at Sea: The Legal Framework for Counter-Piracy*, Oxford University Press, Newyork

that is largely crippled by insurgency. In many instances external interventions to this problem have focused on military operations to curb the problem. Previous UNSC resolutions and agreements with the Transitional Somali government allow the use of force to counter piracy. <sup>165</sup>These increased financial and military efforts largely depend on the stability of Somalia and strength of a governing body.

TGT is the only form of central governance system in Somalia. However, it lacks any meaningful control over most parts of the country. Despite regional and international efforts for Somalia state building, TGT's authority is frequently challenged by numerous spoilers including by the Islamic radical groups who advocate for pure Islamic state, terrorism, a continued fragmentations within the government itself and businessmen who fear an organized governance structure is detrimental to their commercial activities. <sup>166</sup> These obstacles to peace have further worsened Somalia's democratic and judicial space creating an environment of suspicion, oppression and restricted communication and conflict resolution mechanism. The rise of the Islamic courts replaced denounced civil society groups and community security patrols, suppressed customary law by subjective application of Sharia, and marginalized traditional elders, civic leaders and those businesses that seem not to support their reign.

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<sup>165</sup> *Somali Piracy; Causes and consequences*, Nov 2009, VOA News Viewed on 20 September 2012 <http://www.voanews.com/content/a-13-2009-04-10-voa36-68814227/413057.html>

<sup>166</sup> Ibid<sup>29</sup>

Menkhaus warns that “*the worst-case scenario for Somalia is if the Islamists succeed halfway—dismantling the many coping mechanisms devised by local communities but then proving unable to replace.*”<sup>167</sup>

Currently there is one particular form of governance structure in Somalia that effectively ensures the rule of law, justice and security. The various competing authorities that exist are also prone to manipulations and take up a top-bottom approach that is people insensitive. This therefore takes away people’s confidence to alternative for violence. Various scholars including Leeson challenges the argument that Somalia is better of stateless noting that the lack of a functioning central government has not deteriorated the Somalia.<sup>168</sup> However the improvements he refers to do not include security or education which is critical to positive peace but largely based on economy which has not adequately translated to sustainable peace among the people.

Long years of anarchy and war contributed to the prevalence of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) which has further entrenched a culture of violence in Somalia. The militarization of the Somali society is enormous and at all levels from religious authorities to criminals who retain arms for either offensive or defensive purposes.<sup>169</sup> There is limited statistics on the military hardware among Somali community, which

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<sup>167</sup> K. Menkhaus, (2007) *Governance without Government in Somalia; spoilers, state building and the politics of coping*, 31(3), pg 76

<sup>168</sup> P. Leeson, (2006) “Better Off Stateless: Somalia Before and After Government Collapse.” *Working Paper*. West Virginia University.

<sup>169</sup> K. Sabala, A. Ahmad, & E. Rotto, *The Somalia Peace Process from Arta to Eldoret to Mabaghi; Opportunities and challenges*, In Nhema, A. & Zeleza P. T, (2008), *The resolution of African Conflicts; The Management of Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, pp 135-156, OSSREA, Addis Ababa.

makes it difficult for the planning and implementation of DDR programmes. Moreover, without strong governance structures that people find confidence in and serious mistrust among communities as disarmament is further complicated. DDR programmes have been undermined by recurrent violence and lack of commitment by various factions who view each other with suspicion and apathy.

The Civil war in Somali has had a major impact a lot of social, cultural, political and economic structures that form the norms and values of the country. Most of these problems are deep rooted and so solutions should not ignore the root causes of the conflict. Issues of inequality, marginalization, weak governance and authoritarian leaderships, fragmented socio-cultural fabric and poverty remains core issues that need to be addressed in peace building. In addition, the impact of Somalia instability is not exclusive to Somalia. The conflict has been internationalized and is a threat to global peace and security.

### **3.2 UNESCO's Peace Building Efforts Somalia Since 1999**

The long devastating civil war in Somalia has tremendous impact on the social, economic and political structure of the country. Characteristic of war torn societies and those emerging from conflict, the situation in Somalia continues to threaten the development of education, science and culture which are the fundamental pillars of UNESCO crucial for human development. UNESCO has made various contributions to the peace building in Somalia. Its interventions have mainly focused on preventing conflict cycles by providing technical and advisory assistance to national authorities, professionals, and civil society

in order to come up with long term sustainable reconstruction frameworks in the three areas.

The tattered education structure of Somali drew UNESCO's attention. Currently there is no efficient organized system of learning in Somalia.<sup>170</sup> Millions of children, youth and adults only have access to random, informal and unregulated education. According to Abdi, social norms taught in Somalia's informal system during the civil war seem to legitimize violence which further detracts any meaningful peace solutions.<sup>171</sup>

Youths are adopting a culture of violence based on thuggery, terror and war. Without education, prospects for peaceful avenues for personal advancement based on values of co-existence and non-violence are under threat. As of 2007 only 9-22% of children were enrolled to primary schools and by 2006 the adult literacy rate was at 37% with a lesser percentage being women.<sup>172</sup>

Promotion of education has been a major area of focus for UNESCO in Somalia since 1993 largely under the PEER programme. The programme mainly focused on development of curriculum for formal education which included publishing of textbooks, developing and revising syllabus and building capacity of educators. Traditionally, UNESCO's education programme did not involve conflict resolution and peace building

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<sup>170</sup> A. Abdi, (1998). Education in Somalia: history, destruction and calls for reconstruction. *Comparative Education*, 34(3), pp327-340

<sup>171</sup> Ibid<sup>103</sup>

<sup>172</sup> Formal Private Education Network in Somalia (FPENS). *Annual Report 2003*. Mogadishu, Somalia, 2004.

yet the consequences of insecurity significantly challenge any meaningful attempt to promote education in fragile and war torn societies.

Kagawa notes that most programmes around the world only focused on classical traditional education with little emphasis on programmes that promoted a culture of peace including educating on human right, democracy, and environmental sustainability. Consequently, 2000 Dakar framework for action<sup>173</sup> recommended various strategies for education in emergencies as not only to meet education needs for those affected by conflicts but also incorporate peace, tolerance and mutual understanding to the education programmes offered by UNESCO.

UNESCO has since incorporated conflict resolution into its PEER programmes and in partnership with various relief organizations, and UN agencies focused on building the capacity delivering efficient education programmes in Somalia at all levels.<sup>174</sup> At the primary school level quality education programme took precedence.<sup>175</sup> The highest priorities since have been given to curriculum development, provision of learning materials, promoting school environments, teaching educators, developing certification programmes and most important to peace building was the introduction of peace education in schools. As a result, a number of schools were constructed, and capacity of education management improved.

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<sup>173</sup> UNESCO (2000b) *Dakar framework for Action: Education for all; meeting our collective commitment*, UNESCO, Paris

<sup>174</sup> UNESCO, (1999). *Annual Report: UNESCO PEER*, UNESCO, Paris

<sup>175</sup> UNICEF (1999 ) Somalia, UNDP Somalia & UNESCO PEER. *Somalia: Year 2000 Education For All Assessment Report*. Nairobi: n.p.,



In Somalia, most of development agencies in education focused on primary education. This left a lot of gaps for primary school children's transition to secondary and tertiary institutions. There are very few secondary schools in Somalia. This has come at a cost for the countries as most youth after primary school end up as herdsmen or work in basic jobs with limited technical skill to contribute to economic reconstruction of the country. UNESCO supports development of secondary and tertiary education through the Integrated Programme for Strengthening of Secondary School Programmes (IPOSSP) in Somalia.<sup>176</sup> The objective of the programme is to train teachers, provide teaching material, offer scholarships especially to women and provide assessment and certification of secondary education. The programme has had its share of successes. In 2006, Female enrollment increased by 23.3%.<sup>177</sup>

With a very low rate of adult literacy UNESCO has been implementing basic and vocational education for women, youth and ex-combatants through various local NGO's. The project's main objective was to provide basic skills for employment and managing challenges of daily lives including health and HIV/AIDS programmes. In 2000, PEER Somali programme organized peace education workshops for Somali teachers within Somalia and those living in refugee camps in Yemen, Djibouti and Aden.<sup>178</sup> Using the Peace Education Package PEP UNESCO's objective was to contribute to a culture of

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<sup>176</sup> UNESCO, (2001) *Peer Projects*. Assessed on September 6<sup>th</sup> 2012 [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=34373&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=34373&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

<sup>177</sup> UNESCO, (2009), *Survey of Secondary Education in Somalia, Regional Programme for Education for emergencies and reconstruction (PEER)*, April 2008, UNESCO, Nairobi

<sup>178</sup> 2002a *Mainstreaming the Culture of Peace*. Culture of Peace, Coordination Unit of the Bureau of Strategic Planning. Paris: UNESCO

peace at the school, community and national level. The idea was to help teachers become daily peacemakers in the society and impact the same ideas to students.

Since the collapse of Barre's regime, polarizations of arms across Somalia, outburst of free lance militia mainly composed of youths, lawlessness, child soldiers and thugs affiliated to various warring factions have posed a major security problem. A DDR programme for ex-combatants was identified as a major component of the peace agreements.<sup>179</sup> UNESCO not only acknowledges Somali youth as easy targets of recruitment to militias but also as agents of development and potential resources of peace. Consequently, UNESCO's PEER programme incorporate the Enterprise Based Training (EBT) to its Somali projects that provides basic and vocational education demobilized ex-combatants.<sup>180</sup>

Having trained 450 Ex-militia in Mogadishu, the pilot project was extended to also cover Puntland. It is seen as one of the most effective ways of providing skills and employment for many youth engaged in violence across Somalia. The concept of this project is to offer alternatives to violence by promoting livelihood and social space for the target group. In Puntland the project also targeted youth IDP's hosted by other communities as a way of supporting both economic and social integration. Without offering lifestyles for youth accustomed to constant warlike environments, disarmament and demobilization is ineffective.

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid 34

<sup>180</sup> Ibid 104

Generally, UNESCO in its Education for All global campaign is instrumental in coordinating development of education in Somalia.<sup>181</sup> It hosts the Somalia aid Coordination Body (SACB) which was established immediately after the beginning of the Civil War to guide emergency education programmes. The body is made up of Donor Representatives, UN Agencies, International and Local Organizations involved in the rehabilitation and advancement of education in Somalia. At the local level SACB has Community who promote community engagement in resource mobilization, management and evaluation of school programmes at the lowest level.

UNESCO in 2001 sort to provide education on human rights freedom of expression, gender equality and development to adults in an effort to sensitize the people on these key aspects of enhancing a culture of peace in Somalia. Co-funded by the EU and Government of Italy the objective of the project was to use community based information systems to promote values of peace, democracy and development.<sup>182</sup> The project also established eight resource centers that hosted capacity building workshops for various groups. Medium of communication was through Somali radio; “*Muuqaalka Nolosh*” “*Geedka Nabada*” and also used print media “*Hamaa Dhawr*” which was distributed to various communities. The project was established with a view of re-knitting fragmented social fabric on Somalia by facilitating interactions and exchange of information from the lowest level.

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<sup>181</sup> UNICEF Somalia, UNDP Somalia & UNESCO PEER. *Somalia: Year 2000 Education For All Assessment Report*. Nairobi: 1999.

<sup>182</sup> Communication and Information Sector's news service, (2007), *Free Expression Groups' Forum launched in Somalia*, UNESCO, 26 January. Assessed on 26<sup>th</sup> September 2012  
[http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=23870&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=23870&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

UNESCO being the only UN agency mandated to defend freedom of speech and press freedom has initiated several projects in Somalia, a country considered as one of the most dangerous states for journalism. In many intakes UNESCO has condemned journalist killings and facilitated platforms for journalists to raise their concerns. In 2007 together with the National Union of Somalia journalist UNESCO launched a freedom of expression group forum that brought together over 30 Somali media organizations, civil society and human rights group to deliberate on the obstacles and solutions to the promoting of freedom of speech in Somalia.

In addition, UNESCO has made continuous commitment to training Somali journalists on conflict sensitive reporting, ethics, journalism safety, production, interviewing and managing debates on radio station which are the most popular media channels in Somalia. The aim is to ensure objective media facilitation of dialogue and sharing information across different conflict communities without igniting further fears, hatred or violence in a society that is in dire need for reconciliation.<sup>183</sup>

Promoting culture of the Somali people has been part of UNESCO peace building efforts in Somalia and among Somalis. Every Africa Refugee Day as is in the past UNESCO with assistance from UNHCR organizes Cultural events at refugee camps where Somali refugees get to share their cultural practices; songs, dances, and poems.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> *Centres of excellence in Journalism Education; Nurturing excellence in journalism education in Africa*, UNESCO. Assessed on 29<sup>th</sup> September 2012. <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/intergovernmental-programmes/ipdc/special-initiatives/centres-of-excellence-in-journalism-education>

<sup>184</sup> UNESCO, 1999. Annual Report: UNESCO PEER, UNESCO, Paris

Furthermore, UNESCO and BBC are committed to producing various shows in Somali including the “Tree of Peace” popular Soap Opera among the Somali that addresses issues of women’s rights, humans rights, health and acts as part of UNESCO’s civic education programmes that aims to foster culture of tolerance, participatory development and equality. <sup>185</sup> The Somali society is unique in that there is not only an eager interest in media especially Radio stations but also has an ‘oral society’ where poetry and Somali oral literature is an efficient channel of communication.

Although environmental problems in Somalia can be traced way before independence, mismanagement of the environment including land degradation is a key issue closely linked to desertification, drought, and unsustainable agricultural and livestock production. In addition poor management of waste, lack of marine and coastal management and disaster mitigation policies Somalia’s problems have sunk even deeper. Sustainability of economic programmes has been exemplified by recurrent food crisis. UNESCO provides environmental education programmes that enable people to understand skills and attitudes needed to understand the relationship between human beings, their culture and the environment. <sup>186</sup> With an influx of displaced people and refugees, the programmes focus is on preventing, mitigating and rehabilitating negative impacts related to migration related impacts of the environment.

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<sup>185</sup> IRIN News, (2001), *SOMALIA: BBC/UNESCO collaboration on radio soap opera*, AllAfrica, 19<sup>th</sup> March. Assessed on 28 September 2012  
<http://allafrica.com/thread/comment/main/main/pkey/aans:post:200103190314.html>

<sup>186</sup> UNESCO-UNEP International Environmental, Education Programme, *Environmental Education Activities For Primary Schools: Suggestions For Making And Using Low-Cost Equipment*, (2) Unesco, Paris

UNESCO PEER incorporates an Environmental Education Programme into refugee and peace education programmes. The programme is in response to the situation in refugee camps which is characterized by weak ecosystems and scarce resources. E.g. the North Eastern Kenya which is arid and host to largest refugee camps.<sup>187</sup> The aim is to create awareness on conservation, resource management and sustainable development to avoid conflicts. UNESCO with the assistance of the UNHCR Environment Trust Fund developed teaching materials and revised existing educational materials, teaching training programmes in order to incorporate environment education.

In promoting gender equality especially democratic participation and peace building UNESCO launched the Women's' Peace Mission in Somalia.<sup>188</sup> The project was a follow-up to Beijing Platform for Action and UNESCO program of Action for a Culture of Peace that recognized Gender equality and women role in peace building and reconciliation. The objective of the project was to provide Somali women with a platform to share and discuss strategies for peace building, amplify the woman voice in the peace process, and aid in mobilizing resources for the promotion and protection of women in the Somalia conflict.

UNESCO's involvement in Somalia since the declaration of the Culture of Peace Action Plan, reflects the concept of a culture of peace. Most of its programmes apply people-centered while at the same time running across all other levels of Somalia. Education is

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<sup>187</sup> <http://www.unesco.org>

<sup>188</sup> UNESCO, *Towards a culture of peace; UNESCO's Trans-disciplinary Projects*, No. 48. UNESCO, PARIS <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001146/114693mo.pdf>

core to UNESCO's programmes and cross cuts all the other aspects of a culture of peace as envisioned at its launch. Though long-term, success of such programmes contributes to a gradual shift from a culture of violence to a culture of cooperation and tolerance. In addition, UNESCO's focus areas cover the vulnerable groups in the society including women, youth and children by promoting equal social, economic and political equality. Despite these efforts, the success of UNESCO's programmes heavily relies on other peace building aspects including security and social, economic and political state structures.<sup>189</sup> However, very little effort has been put in place to incorporate Somali traditional social cohesion practices in its PEER programmes.

### **3.3 Opportunities and Challenges of UNESCO Culture of Peace Programme in Somalia**

In several meetings held in Sana'a, Yemen (1995), Paris October (1995) and Addis Ababa (1996), representatives of several Somali groups requested UNESCO to help create a culture of peace in Somalia.<sup>190</sup>

A culture of peace as described in previous chapters is based on Peace and security, gender equality, education, tolerance and understanding, communication, freedom of speech and free flow of information, sustainable development and democracy and civic participation. Following this request, UNESCO has been keen to expand its programmes in Somalia under the PEER Programme. In addition, it encourages both internal and

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<sup>189</sup> S. Ilcan. and L. Phillips, ( 2006) *Governing Peace: Global Rationalities of Security and UNESCO's Culture of Peace Campaign*, *Anthropologica*, 48(1), pp. 59-71

<sup>190</sup> UNESCO. "Towards a *Culture of Peace in Somalia* – Final Report Symposium on The *Culture of Peace in Somalia*." UNESCO Publishing, *Yemen:1995*

external actors in the Somali Conflict to implement the aspects of the Culture of Peace Action Plan.

The fragility of Somalia economic, social, cultural and political environment presents a variety of opportunities for realization UNESCO mandate. Furthermore, the recent developments; New Government<sup>191</sup> and neutralization of Al Shabaab extremists, should lead to stability which will create a favorable environment for UNESCO programme outreach and community support. The defeat of Al Shabaab militia promises a chance for stability that is essential in building relationships among Somalis.<sup>192</sup>

Without violence, outreach of UNESCO programmes is made easier. Initiatives that promote dialogue, cultural development including recreational activities, sports programmes and informal education now have a chance to prosper without much fear. This also therefore means that the efforts made in state building could contribute to increased involvement of the Somali Government in the coordination and support of its programmes which UNESCO's programmes heavily rely on. The chances for stability also reduce the financial and military expenditure that goes towards state building and security and so could redirect such resources to people-centered programmes in development and reconciliation.

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<sup>191</sup> Associated Press,(2012) *Somalia's new president officially takes power after assassination attempt*, 16 September, The Guardian

<sup>192</sup> C. Ombati. ( 2012) *Alshabaab Strong Hold Kisimayo Falls*, 28 September, The standard Media, Viewed on 29 September 2012 [http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000067139&story\\_title=Al-Shabaab-stronghold-Kismayu-falls](http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000067139&story_title=Al-Shabaab-stronghold-Kismayu-falls)



The rich Somali culture manifested in a strong Somali language,<sup>193</sup> passionate love for poetry,<sup>194</sup> remarkable interest in acquiring information largely advocated by the Islamic religion<sup>195</sup> presents a strong platform for UNESCO to enhance free communication and incorporate peace education Programmes. Failure of UN interventions<sup>196</sup> left many Somalis with a negative attitude towards its legitimacy in Somalia peace building.<sup>197</sup> This gives UN through UNESCO a second chance to make a lasting impact to the Somali community by identifying existing aspects of culture of peace within the Somali culture and facilitating its development. It also promises a safer environment for journalism and problem solving initiatives. The new military and political order provides a chance to halt further displacements and reassuring environment for returnees.

MacLeish remarks that it is important for UNESCO to have a voice in all aspects of policy formulation, stating that ‘*No matter how noble UNESCO’s objective are, it is important to give those standards words*’.<sup>198</sup> She notes that unless UNESCO represents its interest in a platform with other international peacemaking efforts; its contribution however righteous will not strive to be priority. With the formation of a new Somali governments and consequent peace processes, UNESCO should strive to be part of the negotiations in order advocate for policies that promote a culture of peace. UNESCO

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<sup>193</sup> A. Warsame, (2001) How a Strong Government Backed an African Language: The Lessons of Somalia, 47(3/4) pp. 341-360 Viewed on 22 September 2012 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3445349>

<sup>194</sup> M. J Arnoldi., (1984), The Artistic Heritage of Somalia, *African Arts*, 17(4), pp 24-33, Viewed on 23 September 2012 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3336154>

<sup>195</sup> , M. H. Mukhtar (1995) “Islam in Somali History: Facts and Fiction,” in Ali J. Ahmed (Ed.) *The Invention of Somalia*, Red Sea Press, New Jersey

<sup>196</sup> A.J Ahmed., (1995) “Daybreak is Near, Won’t You Become Sour?” in Ali J. Ahmed, (Ed.) *The Invention of Somalia*, The Red Sea Press, New Jersey

<sup>197</sup> K. Menkhaus. (2008) Understanding State Failure in Somalia: Internal and External Dimensions, In Harnett-Sievers A and Spilker. D, *Somali: Current Conflicts and New chances for State Building*, pp30-51, Heinrich Boell Foundation, Nairobi: Pg 30

<sup>198</sup> A. MacLeish. (1948) *How Can Unesco Contribute to Peace*, *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*- 34(3) pg. 544

office can be relocated to Somalia and in addition establish a Culture of Peace Network to oversee formulate and implementation Culture of Peace programme for Somalia that covers all levels.

In addition, DDR Programmes previously stifled by increased volatile factions, interested parties, weak government structure and lack of financing have an opportunity to expand its implementation after AMISOM victory. DDR programmes should immediately follow collapse of Al Shabaab and other insurgent groups to demobilize combatants which increases the scope of UNESCO's efforts in reintegration programmes.

UNESCO has faced various challenges that are largely particular to Somalia. Firstly the aspect of a failed state and a government without control of its governance programmes across the country has stifled implementation of UNESCO programmes. This is mainly due to UNESCO policy that is based on close working relationship with host governments.<sup>199</sup>

Secondly, the insecurity within Somalia especially in Mogadishu and its environs challenges community outreach. The fact that militia oppose NGOs,<sup>200</sup> destroy educational structures and forcefully instill rigid Islamic cultures makes it very difficult for UNESCO to implement its programmes through these institutions.<sup>201</sup> In addition,

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<sup>199</sup> Hochwalt. F. G, (1947) Building Peace with UNESCO, *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 28 (6) pp261-262 viewed on 5 September 2012 Source [www.jstor.org/stable/20331498](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20331498)

<sup>200</sup> Civil Society in Somalia (SOCDA). (2002). *Concept and pursuit of common concerns in a failed state*. Nairobi, Kenya. December.

<sup>201</sup> International Crisis Group. 2005b. *Somalia's Islamists*. Africa Report No. 100. Brussels/Nairobi: International Crisis Group.

displacement of people, high rates of fatalities, poverty and militarization manifests an environment of fear for freedom of expression, dialogue and reconciliation. Which forms part of major objectives of UNESCO' programmes.

Thirdly, the lack of accurate data for proper planning is a major challenge to UNESCO's programmes. In various reports UNESCO indicated that because of the circumstances in Somalia, data collected was either not sufficient due to the upheaval in different parts of the country.<sup>202</sup> In addition public data that is essential for the planning of development (e.g. demographic and educational data) have not been systematically collected and analyzed.

Fourthly, the withdrawal of funding to UNESCO by USA has had a grave effect of its financing capacity. USA being one of the largest UN funders, UNESCO has had to cut down on its programmes and seek new funding avenues a task that has not been easy. As more opportunities for UNESCO emerge in Somalia, the challenges will be on how to finance them since the Somalia Government does not have a sound economy to make a significant contribution.<sup>203</sup> Another challenge UNESCO faces are convincing donor to fund long-term programmes whose impact takes ages to identify. Most funder has opted for short-term projects, yet the transformational aspects of UNESCO's programmes require continuous and long-term support.

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid 34

<sup>203</sup> C. Lynch, (2012), *UNESCO votes to admit Palestine; US cuts off funding*, The Washington Post, viewed on 20 September 2012 [http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/unesco-votes-to-admit-palestine-over-us-objections/2011/10/31/gIQAMleYZM\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/unesco-votes-to-admit-palestine-over-us-objections/2011/10/31/gIQAMleYZM_story.html)

### **3.4 Conclusion**

The civil war in Somalia significant damaged social, political and economic aspects that held the Society together. UNESCO has implemented various programmes to mitigate the effects of the civil war. This has however been undermined by insecurity, lack of effective governance frameworks and overemphasis on state building as opposed to people-centered nation building measures. There is a high optimism as Somalia embarks on a road to peace.<sup>204</sup> The country is in dire need for a transformation process that promotes reconciliation, cooperation and tolerance at all levels of society. UNESCO's culture of peace is therefore an important aspect of Somalia peace process.

The expression of interest by the various Somali groups on the need for UNESCO to initiate more culture of peace programmes shows the Somalia's recognition of the need to transform its society from violence to sustainable peace through peaceful mechanisms and including as stipulated in the Plan of Action for a culture of Peace. This also expresses Somalia's commitment and interest in UNESCO's vision.

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<sup>204</sup>L. Barasa,(2012), *Kibaki commends Kenya forces over Kismayo Victory*, Saturday Nation, Viewed on 29<sup>th</sup> September 2012 <http://www.nation.co.ke/News/Kibaki+commends+KDF+over+Kismayu+victory/-/1056/1520274/-/10jb9e2z/-/index.html#comment-665529313>

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF UNESCO'S PEACE BUILDING EFFORTS IN SOMALIA**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

Chapter two and three critically analyse the concept of the Global culture of peace, UNESCO culture of peace programme and how UNESCO has applied the concept in its peace-building efforts in Somalia since 1999. Various issues emerged in relation to the research objectives stipulated in chapter one. It emerges that the Somalia conflict has multiple causes and conflicting intervention. At a closer look there seems to no exclusive mechanism of dealing with the conflict. It also emerges that emerges that the attitudes and culture of Somali people and organization has been conditioned to violence and injustice for lack of legitimate and acceptable alternatives to violence.

Chapter four examines the issues emerging from the previous chapter in relation to the research topics. The chapter will also apply the theoretical framework. The chapter is sectioned into three main parts identifying the main emerging issues. The first chapter examines the institutional hindrances to building peace in Somalia and group relations and legitimacy of the governance structures. Section two reviews the effects of external actors and methods of thrid party intervention in relation to how they affect culture of peace and local capacities of peace building. Finally section three will seek to apply examine the theoretical applicability of the eight aspects of UNESCO culture of peace programme to the case of Somali as an integral part of peace building.

#### **4.1 Structural Challenges to Peace in Somalia**

The Somalia conflict has largely been termed as an identity based conflict commonly referring it to a clan-based violence. However previous chapters show that the conflict was not a result of clan divisions but as a result of weak governance systems that not only manipulated the social structures but also triggered the civil war and continue to sustain protracted the conflicts. Huntington notes that a society with weak institutions fails to curb excesses of personal and elite desires which in turn heighten insecurity because there are no effective systems capable of implementing rules of the society.<sup>205</sup>

Consequently, the modern structures in Somalia failed to peacefully address the peoples' social, economic and political concerns which enhanced the perception among groups that political positions were the ultimate assurance for survival. The result of this was group competition for power and political control by all means. This to ensure they are positioned to gain contested resources. Competition and scramble for public resources has weakened the efficacy of governance in the country. As Collier and Hoeffler opined grievances related to unequal resource distribution, unjust policy frameworks and greed for ecological resources are major factors of the prolonged conflict.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> S. P. Huntington, (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

<sup>206</sup> P. Collier and A. Hoeffler (2000) *Greed and Grievance in Civil War*. The World Bank. [http://www.worldbank.org/research/conflict/papers/greedgrievance\\_23oct.pdf](http://www.worldbank.org/research/conflict/papers/greedgrievance_23oct.pdf). Website Accessed on 28 September 2012.

Environmental conflict, characterized by scarcity of natural resources and environmental conflicts has shaped socio-political relations<sup>207</sup> among Somalis. In what is a largely pastoralist economy characterized by nomadic and agro-pastoralist society, communities in Somalia operate in a fragile ecosystem struggling for suitable land and water resources to sustain their livelihoods. This was as a result of environmental degradation including desertification, population growth and the global challenge of climate change. These factors as explained by Brown threatened the future and welfare of the Somali communities<sup>208</sup>.

Traditionally Somali culture had a rich mechanism of coping with the environmental challenges and managing resource conflicts. Egalitarian in nature, these systems regulated relations between and among communities, providing a framework for coexistence, cooperation, resource sharing and acting as a reference to the rule of law. The mechanism referred to as the *Xeer* system defined the rules and responsibilities for individuals, families and groups. These systems of governance was highly appreciated and respected and despite the challenges the communities faced the system managed to maintain social order. D'rivera notes that all societies have aspects of a culture of peace among them and failure to appreciate these aspects further threatens peace.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> T. Homer-Dixon, (1994) 'Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict'. *International Security*, 19(1), pp. 5-40.

<sup>208</sup> UNEP (1999). S. Daniel S. and S. Ashbindu, *Environmental Conditions, Resources, and Conflicts: An Introductory Overview and Data Collection*. UNEP pg. 6

<sup>209</sup> J. De Rivera (2004), Assessing the Basis for a Culture of Peace in Contemporary Societies, *Journal Of Peace Research*, 41( 5) pg531-548

Conversely, the advent of new models of social control which included Islam and colonial systems, the *Xeer* was bound to the dictates of the alien order. Although Islam accommodated some of the *Xeer* codes, the constitutional laws imposed by the colonial completely obstructed the *Xeer* codes. The colonial rule further converted the egalitarian system into a central governance structure which was completely ignorant to the existing political realities of the people. Moreover to stamp its authority, the colonialists created loyal chiefs to replace traditionally legitimate elders.

The chiefs were not accountable to the community but loyal to and represented colonial interests. In return the colonial local representative looted and selfishly acquired public resources for their own gains. This was the beginning of a long distorted governance culture in Somalia and an ignition of peoples' apathy to central government. This development strained efficacy of the government and heightened mistrust among groups. The social cohesion eases the resolution of distribution of resources and in addition the likely hood of conflict over resources.<sup>210</sup>

After independence Somalia went into a dilemma of what an effective governance structure to adopt effectively.<sup>211</sup> Although Said Barre's socialist government initially managed to consolidate people's support, it turned into a corrupt and totalitarian entity that applied marginalized policies against some clans. It emerged that government

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<sup>210</sup> N. E. Friedkin (2004), Social Cohesion, *Annual Review of Sociology* , Vol. 30, pp. 409-425, Accessed on 12 October 2012 Source Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29737700>

<sup>211</sup> M. V Hohne, (2006) Political Identity, Emerging State Structures and Conflict in Northern Somalia *The Journal of Modern African Studies* , 44(3)pp. 397-414 Accessed on 9<sup>th</sup> October 2012 Source;<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3876301>



officials also used their positions to loot public resources which were a complete contrast to the Somali values that had earlier emphasized on communal goals accomplishment and cooperation. With the collapse of the government, *Xeer* system revitalized. However, the altered system could not survive the intense social disorder and challenges of modernization. An attempt by the UNISOM 1 to rejuvenate communal approach to governance was sabotaged by spoilers; warlords and militia whose activities were safely harbored by the lawless state. The UNISOM 1 approach too undermined the aspects *Xeer* system. Since then, Somalia has been without an effective governance structure to manage the social, political and economic concerns of the people.

*Xeer* system highly complements Sharia law. There entry of Islam was welcomed with less friction. Sharia law promotes peaceful coexistence but has been diluted by extremist groups. The year 2006 saw the rise of Somalia Islamist groups like the Al Shabaab who took it upon themselves to marginalize other forms of governance which they view as a threat to their power. In fulfilling their objective to push for a purely Islamic governance structure, Islamist movements denounced the legitimacy of traditional leaders, civil society and the TGT and replaced them with Islamic courts. The same groups have committed various injustices to the people and defied the rule of law and negate various aspects of a global culture of peace.<sup>212</sup> However, regardless of their some scholars have acknowledged the milestone the Al Shabaab militia has made in establishing cross-clan

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<sup>212</sup> International Crisis Group. 2011. Somalia: the transitional government on life support. Africa Report no. 170. Brüssel/Nairobi: International Crisis Group.

pacts.<sup>213</sup> In addition to these views, the TGT has so far incorporated Islamic courts to its governance structures although in effective and marred with subjective application of Sharia law.

Presently, the TGT is in no position to ensure national security and consequently human security. The government is accused of heightened corruption and struggles for selfish gains among various clans represented in public office. These leadership gaps have led to the current political and military crisis. This factor has left the country without strong institutions to ensure security, justice, economic recovery and rebuild relationships fragmented during the civil war.

As Easlery noted, poor institutions in Africa are to blame for the rampant inability to resolve conflicts.<sup>214</sup> The shortcoming is even worse in a socially fragmented post conflict Somali society. Furthermore these institutions have been bruised by corruption which is considered highly collated to governance. Kaldor's explanation of what she calls '*New Wars*'<sup>215</sup> attributes the growth of identity conflicts in this case equated to clannism and islamist struggle as a result of vacuum created by poor leadership, and structural systems that fail to promote nationalism and enhance policies that ensure equal distribution of resources.

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<sup>213</sup> P. Thania (2006) *Community-based, Bottom-up Peace building. The Development of the Life & Peace Institute's Approach to Peace building and Lessons Learned from the Somalia Experience (1990–2000)*. 2nd ed. Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute.

<sup>214</sup> W. Easterly, (2006) *Social Cohesion, Institutions, and Growth*, working paper 94, Centre for Global Development

<sup>215</sup> M. Brzoska, (2004) 'New Wars' Discourse in Germany, *Journal of Peace Research*, 41(1) pp. 107-117  
Accessed on 5<sup>th</sup> October 2012 Source: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4149660>

Somalia captures some of the components of Kaldor's description by the fact that the conflict has rallied parties on identity politics. Although Somalia is considered a homogenous society, social diversity is manifested in the clan structures. She further notes that new wars create groups of people with economic interest in the continuation of the war. This in the Case of Somalia is evidenced in the presence of 'spoilers' frustrating efforts of the fragile governance institutions and the implementation of various components of the peace process.<sup>216</sup>

Kaldor definition of new wars captures the complexity of the Somalia conflict and the challenges of governance. The prolonged civil war conspicuously among groups within the state fought by loosely knit groups of warlords, insurgents, terrorist cells and Islamist groups within little central authority. This complexity of new wars makes it difficult for external institutional models that lack local legitimacy to counter the conflict.<sup>217</sup> Kaldor notes that new wars largely target civilians and cannot be countered by conventional methods.

Efforts to use force to halt effects of the conflict have been rather inefficient. It is with this background that any meaningful efforts should enhance human security for a more comprehensive approach to peace in Somalia with a particular focus on Human security centered on people, human rights and legitimate governance systems. Human security

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<sup>216</sup> K. Menkhaus (2007) *Governance Without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping*. *International Security* 31(3), pp74–106.

<sup>217</sup> S.N. Kalyvas, (2001), "New" and "Old" Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?, *World Politics* , 54(1) pp. 99-118 Accessed on 18<sup>th</sup> October 2012 Source: <http://www.istor.org/stable/25054175>

cannot prosper in social instability which in turn requires nurturing of institutions to address people's concerns by providing non violent conflict resolution. Unfortunately, the TGT has manifested as another faction in the struggles for power and resources as opposed to a platform for furthering reconciliation and development.

The lack of efficient institutions to enhance security, sustainable development and protect human rights makes internal and external conflict triggers operational.<sup>218</sup> Galtung suggests a complete transformation of structures from those that limit human capacity to those that maximum human potential at all levels; individual, community and national. Be that as it may, in the modern world the efficiency of other levels of socio-economic and political structures is dependent on the cessation of hostilities.

With the apathy present towards a system of central government among Somalis, the challenge has been establishing authority for structures and justifying the national ownership required to find an inclusive approach to sustainable peace. Legitimacy is important in strengthening institutional functionality. The various groups competing for dominance can complement each other to form a system that provides an environment for the cultivation of a peaceful culture. Applying Spenser's theory of structural functionalism,<sup>219</sup> the diverse Somali's socio-political structures are mutually useful only if they complement and accommodate their interests in pursuit for their goals.

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<sup>218</sup> S. M. Murshed,(2002) Conflict, Civil War and Underdevelopment: An Introduction, *Journal of Peace Research* , 39(4), pp. 387-393 Accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> October 2012 Source <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1555273>

<sup>219</sup> R.L. Carneiro,(1973), Structure, Function, and Equilibrium in the Evolutionism of Herbert Spencer, *Journal of Anthropological Research* , 29(2)pp. 77-95 Accessed on 9<sup>th</sup> October 2012 source: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3629984>

Furthermore most of these informal and local polities have proven to provide effective levels of public order e.g. parts of Somaliland as compared to most neighboring countries. Internal and external impediments to institutional progress in Somalia have held hostage any meaningful reconciliation and development efforts. Further Galtung notes that social fragmentation and lack of social cohesion further contributes to conflicts and alienate chances for human security.

#### **4.2 External Actors and Third Party Interventions**

Although the Somali conflict is an intrastate conflict, it continues to threaten regional and international security thus making the peace-building process in Somalia of international interest and giving it a multiplicity of interventions.<sup>220</sup> The internationalization of the conflict has exacerbated regional security, cross border illicit trade, terrorism and increased SALW trade.<sup>221</sup> It is not conclusive to affirm the actors and issues of the conflict as internal because it is seen to be internal, regional, proxy and also shaped by international ideologies as external actors have also stepped in the conflict supporting various factions.

The Involvement of external factors makes the conflict unpredictable and attracts a multiplicity of interventions. Thus in an effort to end the civil war it has received a significant external response through political settlement, peacekeeping, military and humanitarian intervention by both regional and international actors. These actors come

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<sup>220</sup> Caleb Carr, (1993), The Consequences of Somalia, *World Policy Journal* , 10(3) pp. 1-4

<sup>221</sup> K. Sabala, A. Ahamad, E. Rutto, (2008) The Somali Peace Process from Arta to Eldoret to Mbagathi; Opportunities and challenges. In Nhema A. & Zeleza P. T(eds), *The Resolution of African Conflicts; The Management of Conflict resolution & Post-conflict Reconstruction*, Unisa Press, Pretoria

in with diverse interests and strategies which have further complicated the conflict. Regan notes that there are always interests behind any intervention including; territorial acquisition; regional stability; protection of the intervener's diplomatic, economic, or security interests; ideology; and as an intervener's responsibility to uphold universal human rights.<sup>222</sup> A successful intervention in a violent conflict first seeks to end violence and later helps the country find long lasting solutions to the deep rooted conflict which requires a more concrete approach.

Many intervention strategies in the Somali conflict have focused on a track 1 approach aimed mainly on finding political solutions to the conflict through power sharing negotiations, unfortunately with no significant success.<sup>223</sup> In a society where anarchy, chaos, violence and criminality had prevailed for over 15 years, over 14 peace processes focused on power sharing have failed to gain legitimacy from various factions. After the ousting of Said Barre and the consequent civil war, Djibouti attempted to negotiate a peace agreement which failed.

The UN formally engaged in formal diplomacy in Somalia 1992. Until 1994 UN was mainly focused on peace keeping, humanitarian intervention, and humanitarian relief. Peace keeping and enforcement efforts under the UN have failed to end the scourge of violence and disarm the communities.

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<sup>222</sup> P.M Regan. (1996), *Conditions of Successful Third-Party Intervention in Intrastate Conflicts*, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 40(2) pp. 336-359 source: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/174356> Accessed: 14/05/2012

<sup>223</sup> P. Thania (2006) *Community-based, Bottom-up Peacebuilding. The Development of the Life & Peace Institute's Approach to Peacebuilding and Lessons Learned from the Somalia Experience (1990–2000)*. 2nd ed. Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute.

They were considered insensitive to the context of Somalia.<sup>224</sup> An attempt to engage the local authorities in governance and peace building also failed to accommodate key actors in the conflict. Since the failures during this period UN remained less engaged in Somalia.<sup>225</sup> As a global institution mandated to maintain global peace and security, UN's reluctance undermined the coordination of external interventions. As different actors stepped in, the conflict became more complex.

Nonetheless, the UN declaration to empower regional organizations<sup>226</sup> to coordinate peace and security facilitated the entrance of new regional bodies including AMISOM and IGAD as heterogeneous third party actors. Their efforts have since seen the adoption of a more inclusive peace plan and establishment of a central authority. Although there have been negotiations on cease fire and a long term peace building process, the implementation has been flawed by spoilers and lack of sufficient external commitment. In addition negotiations have focused mainly on a top-down approach with limited local input. This therefore has undermined ownership of peace processes which Lederach notes as a major hindrance to sustainable peace.

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<sup>224</sup> J.H Lebovic , (2004)Uniting for Peace? Democracies and United Nations Peace Operations after the Cold War,*The Journal of Conflict Resolution* , 48 (6) pp. 910-936

<sup>225</sup> Clark, Jefferey. "Debacle in Somalia." *Foreign Affairs* (1992/1993): pp109-123.

<sup>226</sup> I.Taylor, (2003), Globalization and Regionalization in Africa: Reactions to Attempts at Neo-Liberal Regionalism, *Review of International Political Economy* , 10(2), pp. 310-330 Accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> October 2012 Source: Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4177462>

Lederach proposes a conflict transformation which engages actors at all level and in different stages of the conflict cycle.<sup>227</sup> The civil society in Somalia is seen to constantly face challenges from warlords and other factions in the conflict. As much as the peace agreements are based on agreed upon declarations to end violence and support reconciliations, some parties continue to frustrate efforts of community based peace building approach in which a development of a culture of peace is also fundamental. Lederach and Galtung call for an inclusive and coordinated approach to conflict transformation.

Sustainable peace building calls for indigenous engagement and intervening actors must be willing to leave the interventions to the local communities. However, the Somalia case continues to be driven by external actors to a point that the central governance system proposed is constantly objected to and has developed a feeling of apathy towards the government. In addition to this, the failure of the externally proposed governance institutions to curb corruption and clannish politics has further legitimized identity politics in governance. Interventions should seek to promote the rule of law and accountability to regains trust. The irony is when third party actors support and negotiate with top politicians and leaders who are responsible for gross crimes in Somalia. This justifies a culture of violence and weakens people confidence and urge for change.

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<sup>227</sup> J. Lederach, (1996). *Preparing for peace: Conflict transformation across cultures*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.



Zartman argues that perception of the 3<sup>rd</sup> party towards the conflict can significantly affect the outcome of peace negotiations or mediation processes. Once the perceptions of the mediator's diverge from those of parties there can be a significant change in the outcome. The Somali peace process negotiations were conducted under the mediation of endogenous parties who come from inside the conflict and in this case Kenya facilitation by the USA which has its own interest in the conflict and perceives parties as a direct threat to its national interest.<sup>228</sup>

This case according to Zartman can give conflicting visions about the mediation process<sup>229</sup>. Furthermore this could be a contribution to the constant rejection of the peace process by the Somali people where the TGT is seen to be a project of external factors as opposed to a representative of the people of Somalia. As much as IGAD is a heterogeneous actor considered less impartial, it heavily relies of Kenya and other exogenous actors with very insignificant clout on its own.

Intervention by the USA led peace enforcement failed to recognize the internal context of Somalia civil and opted for a narrow objective that did not fit into a sustainable peace intervention. Additionally, USA's involvement in supporting various factions in to oppose fundamental Islamist groups was based solely on the USA national interest but with the victory of Islamist faction, the threat of terrorism became more manifest.

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<sup>228</sup> I.W Zartman, and J.L Rasmussen, eds. (1997). *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

<sup>229</sup> M. Makumi (2006), *Conflict in Africa; Theories, Processes and Institutions of Management*. Nairobi, Centre for conflict Research

The concept of conflict systems denotes the distinction between domestic and international conflict. Internationalization of conflict through population displacement (refugee), cross border conflicts, state interdependence, declaration for all nations to protect human rights, ethnic relations across borders and the introduction of other non state actors to international relations shows that effects of intrastate conflicts are not exclusive within borders.<sup>230</sup>

The secessionist's claims of neighboring states are part of a wider conflict system, and therefore interventions that don't reflect these realities face future threats in the implementation of agreements. This also means that aspects of disarmament critical to building a non-violent culture in neighboring state are threatened by proliferation of arms in a conflict state.<sup>231</sup>

All these factors and missed opportunities to find a lasting solution to the civil war further hinder the process of reconciliation, and conflict transformation for insecurity significantly challenges efforts for peaceful mechanism of conflict management, coordination and dialogue.

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<sup>230</sup> M. Makumi (2006), *Conflict in Africa; Theories, Processes and Institutions of Management*. Nairobi, Centre for conflict Research

<sup>231</sup> Denise Garcia, (2011), *Disarmament Diplomacy and Human Security: Regimes, Norms, and Moral Progress*, New york; Routledge. pg 118

### **4.3 Conflict Transformation; From a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace**

Conflicts are endemic in any society. As different individuals, groups and states develop their interaction patterns conflicts become an inalienable reality.<sup>232</sup> This is not to say that conflicts are all negative. Conflicts play a functional role in pursuit of party's goals. Conflicts help reexamine relationships and also warn of their degeneration. On the other hand, conflicts can also fragment relationships and break down social order especially when conflicts turn violent. What Mwagiru calls dysfunctional conflicts.

The difference between functional and non functional conflicts lies on perception, response and management of the conflict. Conflicts should be perceived as functional and part of life as opposed to negative occurrences. Mwagiru notes that the way in which people perceive conflicts in a society is largely anchored on a socialization process. If understood conflicts can be tamed and benefit society development. Once societies view conflicts as so, it becomes easier to manage their differences peacefully and develop acceptable and effective conflict management mechanisms.<sup>233</sup>

Subjectivists view physical violence as a manifestation of negative violence. This view alleges that efforts to find peace should focus on reducing and stopping violence. Objectivists on the other hand view violence not only as physical but also structural. They argue that it is actually possible for people to be in conflicts without realizing it.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> J. Burton. (1990). *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention*, New York: St. Martin's

<sup>233</sup> M. Makumi (2006), *Conflict in Africa; Theories, Processes and Institutions of Management*. Nairobi, Centre for conflict Research

<sup>234</sup> Ibid

This is what Galtung defines as structural violence emphasizing that violence can also be embedded in social structures that limit human potential. Structural violence is classified into psychological confined to individuals, social and economic example inequality in education, governance and political representation, natural resources distribution, health provision, gender and employment. The concept is only applicable if the inequalities are in relationship to a group.

In compliment the relative deprivation theory notes that the higher the inequality of one group/s in relation to a reference groups the higher the intensity of conflict. In the case of Somalis clans that were favored by the Barre regime and those that exploited public resources for their own use are considered as what ignited emotions of frustration and injustice as other clans struggled to fight for what they perceive as rightly fully theirs. Instrumentalists have explained that mobilization of groups to violence is pegged in believing that only power for one of their own can secure their interest. Even if in reality this has not been the case, elites have been the immediate beneficiaries of the struggle.

According to Galtung positive peace can only be assumed if efforts in peace building focus on a complete multilevel transformation of structures in the society to adopt structures that promote social justice for all. Contrary to primordial explanation, the Somali is not an inherently 'war like', chaotic, violent or barbaric society.<sup>235</sup> Violence is a culture that is nurtured and conditioned by the environment and not a characteristic of

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<sup>235</sup> I.M Lewis, (1969), The Politics of the Somali Coup. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 10(3):383-408.

any human nature.<sup>236</sup> This therefore means that should the environment change to accommodate a culture of peace the society can adopt to the changes to obviate violence. This is what has since informed UNESCO preamble ‘ ‘ *since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed*’,<sup>237</sup>

By promoting peace through science, education and culture, UNESCO is instrumental in changing the way people perceive and manage conflicts, a major component of conflict transformation and a movement towards positive peace as advocated by conflict transformation theories.

The distortion of various social political structures that surrounded the Somalis created an environment that praised corruption, marginalization and dialogue and communication. Further destabilization of the economic and justice structures undermined the potential of Somali people and sustainable development.<sup>238</sup> Despite external interventions to enhance security, provide relief, and build a central government, effects of social fragmentation, mistrust, inequality and competition for resources have blurred alternative forms of a non violent approach to finding positive peace.

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<sup>236</sup> M. Makumi (2006), *Conflict in Africa; Theories, Processes and Institutions of Management*. Nairobi, Centre for conflict Research activist theory

<sup>237</sup> S. Ilcan and L. Phillips.(2006), *Governing Peace: Global Rationalities of Security and UNESCO's Culture of Peace Campaign*, *Anthropologica*, 48(1), pp. 64

<sup>238</sup> Galtung, J. (1996) *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace, Conflict, Development and Civilization*, London: Sage

Reconciliation and trust building of Somalis is constantly frustrated by insecurity and lack of political will from both internal and external actors. Even with the few efforts to build the state of Somalia corruption and clan politics increase apathy towards the state-building and implementing peace agreements especially when it comes to DDR programmes, peace dialogues and reconciliation programmes.

Conflict transformation addresses different structural limitations to positive peace across all level of interactions (individuals, groups and state)<sup>239</sup>. UNESCO's culture of peace is a multidisciplinary approach to conflict transformation that is embedded in both traditional and human security by advocating for non-violent approaches to structural transformation.

Education is a core component of developing a culture of peace at all levels of the society and has been a key mandate of UNESCO's efforts to maintain global peace and security. As earlier mentioned socialization shapes how people perceive a conflict and consequently how they respond to it. Its focus has not been only in enhancing formal education but also informal education and through its programmes encompasses peace education that develops conflict resolution mechanisms.

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<sup>239</sup> P. Thania (2006) *Community-based, Bottom-up Peacebuilding. The Development of the Life & Peace Institute's Approach to Peacebuilding and Lessons Learned from the Somalia Experience (1990–2000)*. 2nd ed. Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute.

Beyond restructuring institutions for peace Galtung proposes a reculturation of the society from a culture of violence to peace by supporting indigenous cultures of peace.<sup>240</sup> The process also included building a culture of peace where there is none. A situation which Galtung terms as a pathological where norms and values no longer have no compelling force on the people. Somalia's state is characterized by immense insecurity, criminality and massive human rights violations, and distorted rule of law exemplifies a pathological state. Since the beginning of the civil war two generations of Somalia children have gone without education to help them participate effectively in development or become responsible citizen. Currently without a stable education structure a large majority of children are also losing out on the same and growing up without being socialized to adopt conflict resolution mechanisms.<sup>241</sup>

As these generations become adults they adopt cultures of violence that they learnt from the environment they grow in and become a risk to the society if they take up roles in the society. As UNESCO's global efforts to programme the minds of men into peacefulness, education of children is critical to achieving this goal. The idea of building a culture of peace through education is not to educate individuals but also affect the whole society by sensitizing sections of the society of the need to develop an environment for peace

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<sup>240</sup> J. Galtung, (1998a). *"After Violence: 3R, Reconstruction, Reconciliation, Resolution: Coping with Visible and Invisible Effects of War and Violence,"* Transcend: A Peace and Development Network, July. <http://www.transcend.org/TRRECBAS.HTM>. pg 39

<sup>241</sup> A.. A Abdi. (1998), Review: Education in Somalia: History, Destruction, and Calls for Reconstruction, *Comparative Education*, 34(3) pp. 327-340 <http://www.istor.org/stable/3099835>

through education. Bar-tal adds that “*Peace education in schools without a wider society campaign is fruitless*”<sup>242</sup>

Mcgregor considers education as a viable way of developing cultural arrangements that resolve conflicts in a non-violent way and notes that peace education should have a ripple effect of all social structures.<sup>243</sup> Galtung acknowledges the importance of school in transforming the society noting achievement in the education sector translates into benefits for peace and development in the larger society.<sup>244</sup> Education empowers individuals to fulfill their potential and collectively cooperate to advance societies goals and this is a major contribution dismantling structure of violence.

For this to happen education cannot be view in isolation to other institutions for it contributes to their effectiveness and on the other hand education relies on the effectiveness of other social systems. Through education Somalis have a chance to transform the way they perceive each other, their institutions and leaders which consequently forms a foundation that collectively builds legitimate institutions that negate structural violence and enhances reconciliation. Education has been core to UNESCO’s peace-building efforts in Somalia by implementing programmes that educate individuals, communities and government institutions on developing an environment that promotes a culture of peace despite the financial and security limits. Challenges to the achievement of the

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<sup>242</sup> D. Bar-Tal. (2002). The elusive nature of peace education. In G. Salomon & B. Nevo (Eds.), *Peace education: The concept, principles and practice in the world* (pp. 27-36). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. Pg 27 (pg 31)

<sup>243</sup> M. Cromwell & W. Vogele, (2009), *Nonviolent Action, Trust and Building a Culture of Peace*, In J. de Rivera (Ed.). *Handbook on building cultures of peace*. NY: Springer. Pp 231-244

<sup>244</sup> J. Galtung,(1975) *Schooling and Future Society*, *The School Review*, 83(4) pp. 533-568



PEER programmes include the sociopolitical context of Somalia characterized by protracted conflicts.

According to Bar-tal, protracted conflicts encompass Contradictory collective narratives, charge negative emotions, and sever inequalities that further fuel conflict and control identity constructions.<sup>245</sup> Salmon adds that these sociopolitical relationships significantly negate messages of peace programmes that aim at promoting the peacefulness of societies.<sup>246</sup>

Bar-tal argues that there needs to be an education structure and institutions that fulfill the missions of peaceful societies through schools and which command authority, legitimacy, means and favorable conditions to carry this out. He adds that these institutional arrangements are required to set the objective of the education system, coordinate development of curriculum, generate and distribute learning materials, train and provide teachers and also mobilize student participation.

In the case of Somalia, the Ministry of education is not been capable of ensuring meeting these expectations. Currently, the general governance challenges in Somalia have translated to ineffective education institutions to meet the needs of the people. UNESCO

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<sup>245</sup> D. Bar-tal (2002)The Elusive Nature of Peace Education, in *Peace Education: the Concept, Principles, and Practices Around the World*, Gavriel Salomon, Baruch Nevo, (eds), Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, New Jersey pg

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<sup>246</sup> G. Salomon. (2002) The nature of peace programmes; not all programs are created equal, In G. Salomon & B. Nevo (Eds.), *Peace education: The concept, principles and practice in the world*, (pp. 7-14) Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum

has therefore been instrumental in strengthening the education system within and without Somalia to not only provide formal education but also incorporate conflict resolution programmes.<sup>247</sup> Although peace education under the PEER programme has been largely restricted to schools UNESCO culture of peace programmes also seeks to apply social ethos of peace through media, literature and dialogue with different institutions.

This makes communication and information flow critical to building a culture of peace in Somalia. UNESCO contributions to peace building in Somalia have additionally targeted development of independent media as a tool of enhancing a culture of peace among the people. Somalis have an impressive audience for Radio stations and heavily depend on this medium to keep updated on the social, economic and political developments of Somalia. This can be evidenced by the factions continued dependence on radio stations in advancing their influence.

Moreover, the continued intimidation of press freedom including cold blood killings of independent journalists and destruction of media houses shows the effect of media on the sociopolitical landscape of Somalia and the threat it poses to warlords, militias and other criminals who intend to continue benefiting from the instability. Therefore the same way the media is used to propagate violence the same can be said of media's role in enhancing peace.

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<sup>247</sup> D. Bar-Tal, (2002). The elusive nature of peace education. In G. Salomon & B. Nevo (Eds.), *Peace education: The concept, principles and practice in the world* (pp. 27-36). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Loewenberg acknowledges the importance of media development as essential to the development of open communication because it acts as a primary vehicle of information between the state, institutions and citizen.<sup>248</sup> Transformation of the society to peace requires constant, accurate, open information flow especially to enhance values of peace, reconciliations, cooperation and collective dispute resolution not only through news but also other programs including theatre, music, poetry, art etc.

This background forms a basis for the concept of Peace Journalism which goes beyond conventional definitions of tradition journalism that view journalists merely as observers reporting of what's happening. Peace journalism considers journalism as part of the conflict resolutions process. Peace journalism envisions journalism that; helps society identify, understand, and explain the root causes of the conflict, reports accurately, fairly and without bias, provide diverse and balanced views from all parties, representing public in issues critical to peace and creating a platform for dialogue and discussions.

Galtung views peace journalism as an essential component of conflict transformation by contrasting it to the conventional media that is based on elitism, propaganda and violence.<sup>249</sup> He recommends that journalism be a source of societal ethos by transferring solution oriented attitudes that embrace violence to providing information that aimed at finding lasting solutions to conflicts.

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<sup>248</sup> S. Loewenberg, (2001) Open Communication. In J. D'Rivera (ed) *Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace*, Springer, New York pg 167-180

<sup>249</sup> J. Galtung, (1975) Schooling and Future, *The School Review*, 83(4), pp. 533-Assessed on 15 Oct 2012 source: <http://www.istor.org/stable/1084556>

The culture of peace programme requires tolerance and understanding among cultures. The media has a responsibility to inform and educate people on the various cultures and issues. UNESCO noted that the misunderstanding among cultures and groups are a major contribution to violence.<sup>250</sup> People don't accommodate the differences among them if they don't even understand what the cultures are all about. Lack of clear information and proper channels of communications encourages manipulations from those who opt to use propagate violence to their advantage.

Chakraverti proposes the promotion of what he refers to as deliberate dialogues which he defines as moderated public debates and dialogues aimed as educating and providing people an unbiased space to deliberate of various social, economic and political issues of the conflict with an aim of managing it. He notes that this arrangement very useful in times of protracted conflicts and post conflict societies where a culture of violence has prevailed for a long time and people cannot unproductive debating.<sup>251</sup> The effectiveness of this concept of deliberate dialogue relies heavily of the willingness of the parties and facilitator. The media can be a great platform to moderate dialogues that lay a foundation for problem solving. For this the people need to have trust in the media's independence and fairness.

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<sup>250</sup> D. Adams, (Ed.). (1997). *UNESCO and a culture of peace: Promoting a global movement*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing, Culture of Peace Series.

<sup>251</sup> M. Chakraverti, (2001) Deliberate Dialogue. In J. D'Rivera (ed) *Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace*, Springer, Newyork pg159-272

Conflict transformation does not seek to eradicate conflict but to transform how parties react to it.<sup>252</sup> Communication therefore can foster a collective approach to conflicts by providing space for sustainable conflict management processes.<sup>253</sup> It is no wonder that UNESCO gives priority to building the capacity of journalist in Somalia by training and advocating for a secure environment for journalists to operate in.

The telecommunication industry in Somalia is viewed as one of the sectors that have prevailed even in difficult time. Further technological advancement of this to strengthen channels of communication achieves a greater outreach and encourages participation of all who access it in the socio-political and economic issues of the nations. Young people from the Diaspora, refugees, and those still living in Somalia can easily engage in various issues in regards to Somalia and also draw international attention to the conflict especially by giving an unbiased facts about the causes, actors and constituents.

In addition, free flow of information and communication is considered a key element in furthering a democracy and what helps enhance a culture of peace. It empowers people with information to efficiently participate in nation building. It is also an important facet in educating people of their human rights and responsibilities. If a population does not clearly understand what is expected of them and their institutions, they cannot effectively demand what they deserve. Open communication and free flow of information denounces

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<sup>252</sup> J. Galtung, (2000). *Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means*. New York: United Nations. Transcend and Transform: An Introduction to Conflict Work. Pluto Press.

<sup>253</sup> C.Blake, (1998), The Role of Peace Communication in Conflict Resolution in Africa, *Journal of Black Studies*, 28(3), pp. 309-318 Source <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784735> .Accessed: 15/09/2012

secrecy which often leads to suspicion by creating trust and enhancing transparent institutions.<sup>254</sup>

Although some scholars dismiss peace journalism as utopia and subjective, there is a general consensus that the media can make an immense contribution to the transformation of conflict and more specifically to the advancement of a global culture of peace.<sup>255</sup> Transforming relationships and enhancing reconciliation requires constant, open and transparent communication and information sharing.

Conflict transformation in protracted conflicts and post conflict societies is faced with the challenge of fragmented social relationships among individuals and groups.<sup>256</sup> It is therefore important to build confidence and trust in the society by providing an environment that upholds human dignity and human rights. The development of justice systems that ensure that the rule of law is applied to all and at the same time protecting rights of all people offers people an alternative channel to air grievances. Somali civil war has witnessed unimaginable atrocities including killings, rape and torture.

Moreover the justice system in place is continuously compromised by different factions, has failed to hold criminals accountable and applied laws subjectively. Without judicial and administrative system groups are left on their own resulting to self-help cultures. This

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<sup>254</sup> Ibid<sup>230</sup>

<sup>255</sup> S. Loewenberg, (2001) Open Communication. In J. D’Rivera (ed) *Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace*, Springer, Newyork pg 176

<sup>256</sup> D. W Brinkerhoff, (2007) *Governance in Post-Conflict Societies: Rebuilding Fragile States*, Newyork: Routledge publishers

exemplified the different judicial systems governing systems in different parts of the country; Xeer, Islamic courts.

This therefore means that no matter how much effort is invested in enhancing non-violence, reconciliation and tolerance, the lack of an effective and legitimate justice system to address those who disregard the law sets a bad precedent for those willing to change. Through education at all levels UNESCO aims to emphasize the importance of human rights and justice as a core element of peace.

Women rights are human rights.<sup>257</sup> Somali community informed by their traditional system has over the past discriminated women in decision making process and ownership. It is a culture acquired through generation that regards women and girls as property. This is a form of violence can be explained using concept of cultural violence. Galtung defines cultural violence ‘*as those aspects in the society exemplified by religion or traditions that are used to justify or legitimize direct and structural violence.*’<sup>258</sup>

The Xeer system passed from one generation to another legitimized gender inequality and although with the modernization, advocacy, role changes due to the civil and entry of Sharia law that encourages education for women, Somali women are discriminated especially in political participation and governance. According to Galtung, the societies

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<sup>257</sup> C.M. Stephenson (2001) Gender equality and a culture of peace. In J. D’Rivera (ed) *Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace*, Springer, Newyork pg123-138

<sup>258</sup> J. Galtung, (1990) Cultural Violence, *Journal of Peace Research* , 27(3) pp. 291-305 1 Reviewed on 10 October 2012 Source: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/423472>

are ignorant of the structural and direct violence that arises from cultural violence to an extent that it even feels right or at least not wrong.

Transforming a society from a culture of war to a culture of peace requires societies to advance gender equality and dismantle all form of gender inequality. This begins with educating the society especially children on gender sensitivity and balance to transform perceptions held that gender discrimination was acceptable.

The lack of security has hampered Somalia economic development and undermined the environmental governance, natural resource management and equity. Without sustainable livelihood, as noted earlier Galtung and Burton, people tend to result to conflict and violence as a way of seeking alternative systems that they hope will ensure their need are met.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

The Somali people unlike many African nations belong to the same ethnic group and share a common religion.<sup>259</sup> This should at least be a reason for them to readily adopt a collective approach to address their concerns. Although ethnicity has taken the form of clan and sub-clan subdivisions, tribe does not form the basis for identity based conflicts common to neighboring countries.<sup>260</sup> Other external factors beyond the differences of the Somalia groups have maintained and changed the dynamics of the civil war which makes

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<sup>259</sup> M. Michaelson (1993) Somalia: The Painful Road to Reconciliation, *Africa Today*, 40(2), pp. 53-73  
Assessed on 16 October 2012 Source: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4186905>

<sup>260</sup> A..A Osman, (2007) Cultural diversity and the Somali conflict: myth or reality. *African journal on conflict resolution* , 7(2) pp93–134



the conflict a threat to international peace and security. These factors may have complicated peace building process in Somalia as different parties push for solutions they find favorable to sustaining their interests. Managing the conflict requires a wholesome effort to transform Somalia culture of resource distribution and management and build peoples trust in nonviolent approaches to resolving conflicts at all levels of the society. The UNESCO Culture of Peace Programme outlines a long lasting and comprehensive approach to transforming the conflict in Somalia that accommodates different actors at all levels as well as complimenting a global Peace culture.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

#### **5.0 Summary**

Chapter one introduced the research topic, statement of the research problem, objectives, literature review, hypothesis, theoretical framework, methodology and chapter outline.

Chapter two gave an overview of the Somali conflict highlighting some cultures of violence prevalent in Somali culture since the civil war in 1991, aspects of culture of peace within the Somali culture and then gave a description of UNESCO's culture of peace programme. Chapter three focused on the case study of the research. To achieve his objective the chapter utilized secondary sources of data including UNESCO's programme reports on various projects undertaken in Somalia. The chapter specifically reviewed programmes implemented by UNESCO since 1999 in order to capture initiatives that were undertaken soon after the Declaration of the Action Plan for culture of Peace and Non-Violence. Chapter four critically reviewed the topic of this research by discussing key emerging issues. In addition to this the chapter sort to apply the theoretical framework to examine the objectives and test the hypothesis as indicated in chapter one. The aim was to understand the relevance of UNESCO's programmes in Somalia in building a culture of peace.

Chapter five finally summarizes the research study by underscoring key finding and making recommendations for further research and policy development.

## 5.1 Key Findings

The research study demonstrates that there is a relationship between how parties perceive a conflict and the way the conflict is managed. It is also evident from the study that various groups view each other with extreme mistrust and suspicion. In a country faced with scarcity of resources, groups have resulted to competition and clan cleavages as a way of security their lively. Ironically, leaders continuously manipulate these perceptions to their own selfish advantage.<sup>261</sup>

A majority of people in Somalia are faced with extreme poverty which has in turn crippled their social, cultural and political capabilities. The lack of education and other basic needs continues to threaten human security. Galtung<sup>262</sup> notes that these factors are manifested as structural violence conflicts which cultivate direct violence.

Chapter one and two describe a culture of peace as a sustainable model of achieving positive peace based on cooperation and social justice. Galtung emphasizes the peace sort by building a culture of peace is a process rather than an end. The aim of conflict transformation is to convert cultures that promote violence to those that enhance peaceful coexistence among diverse people.

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<sup>261</sup> Menkhaus, Ken . 2007. Governance without government in Somalia: Spoilers, state building, and the politics of coping. *International Security* 31(3) pp 74–106.

<sup>262</sup> Galtung, Johan, (2000). *Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means*. New York: United Nations. 2004  
*Transcend and Transform: An Introduction to Conflict Work*. Pluto Press

Chapter three describes UNESCO's culture of peace programme as a trans-disciplinary effort that aims to build cultures of peace.<sup>263</sup> In chapter three it emerges that Somalia bears numerous cultures of violence that have intensified since the civil war began. They include intolerance among groups, gender inequality, and insecurity, lack of a proper education system, poor and manipulative information channels, poverty and an extremely militarized society.

As noted by D' Rivera all societies possess aspects of a culture of peace.<sup>264</sup> Moreover despite the various cultures of violence prevalent in Somalia, there is evidence that the Somalia culture embodies various aspects of culture of peace that UNESCO's programme seeks to build.<sup>265</sup> They include Islam teaching and traditional rules of the *Xeer* system which over years have enhanced social cohesion, resource distribution and dispute resolution by emphasizing on respect of human rights, justice, rule of law and co-operation. In addition, chapter three and four hails Somalis for their cultural practices that have helped them enhance effective information channels including poetry, art, music and their attention to radio programmes.

Chapter four notes that conflicts are inevitable in any society.<sup>266</sup> Therefore the aim of building a culture of peace is not to eradicate conflict but to transform the conflict and

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<sup>263</sup> Adams, D & Michael T (1997). 'UNESCO's Culture of Peace Program: An Introduction', *International Peace Research Newsletter* 35(1): pp15-18.

<sup>264</sup> D'Rivera, J. (2004). Assessing cultures of peace in the contemporary society. *Journal of Peace Research*, 41(5), 531-548

<sup>265</sup> D'Rivera, J. (2009). Using the tools to build the UN bases. In J. de Rivera (Ed.). *Handbook on building cultures of peace*. NY: Springer. (pp. 379-385)

<sup>266</sup> Makumi. M. (2006), *Conflict in Africa; Theories, Processes and Institutions of Management*. Nairobi, Centre for conflict Research pg 12

change the way parties perceive the conflict by adopting peaceful mechanisms of dealing with conflicts that arise. Throughout the chapters we note that culture has been viewed not only as a characteristic of a group of people or society but as a culture of an organization, religion or nation. Chapter one notes that cultures are learnt and informed by the environment as opposed to an inherent characteristic of society. Therefore changing the environment and teaching societies to adapt to peaceful and nonviolent mechanisms of solving conflict can transform a culture.

Chapter three and four have evidenced that building a culture of peace is a wholesome process that is applied at all levels. Lederach opined that transforming violent society to a peaceful one requires a multi-level approach to achieve meaningful success.<sup>267</sup> Galtung adds that transformation requires a complete change from all forms of violence; direct, structural and cultural violence towards structures and environments that promote social justice. Furthermore, the culture of peace programme as envisioned by UNESCO adopts a multilevel and trans-disciplinary approach that covers all aspects of the society. Despite the challenges UNESCO faces in implementing this vision, it has sort to work in collaboration with other institutions at the global, national and local levels.

Chapter three and four clearly show that although the eight aspects of culture of each are inter-dependent, in the UNESCO's mandate education cuts across all aspects.<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> P. Thania (2006) *Community-based, Bottom-up Peacebuilding. The Development of the Life & Peace Institute's Approach to Peacebuilding and Lessons Learned from the Somalia Experience (1990–2000)*. 2nd ed. Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute.

<sup>268</sup> UNESCO, (1995). *UNESCO and a Culture of Peace: Promoting a Global Movement*. New York: UNESCO

Education is critical in changing people's and institutional perceptions and attitudes towards peace. UNESCO in Somalia has been dedicated to enhancing communication and information to advocate for peaceful coexistence and nurturing children to embrace peace by offering them a chance to fulfill their potential and adapt non-violent relations through education. Galtung notes that it is through education that cultures can be transformed from violence one to peaceful societies.<sup>269</sup>

Chapter two and four traces Somalia's social fragmentation and challenges of reconciliation from the institutional and leadership cultures embraced by the colonial and post independent modern centralized governance systems that contrary to the strong communal practices of Somalis based on cooperation and equal resource distribution sort to adopt marginalization policies and corruption. This is also a reason for Somalis apathy towards modern governance structures which has weakened any form of peace processes. This in turn has had serious ramification on security and the overall processes of peace building. According to Lederach<sup>270</sup> a key element of the success of building a culture of peace is ownership. Adams<sup>271</sup> notes that external actors only facilitate the process by enhancing aspects that already exists and helping communities change those that manifest a culture of violence<sup>272</sup>. It is not an external process but principally internal.

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<sup>269</sup> Galtung, Johan, (2000). *Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means*. New York: United Nations. 2004  
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Finally, from chapter four, it is evidence that although UNESCO has various programmes in Somalia that generally build up to a global culture of peace, the organization has not established a Culture of Peace Programme specific for Somalia.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

This study set out to assess the role of UNESCO's peace-building efforts in Somalia. Specifically, the study also focused on UNESCO's contribution to the development of a culture of peace in Somalia as envisaged in the 1999 Declaration of the Action Plan for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence. Further, the study was conducted with a view to enrich academic discourse by addressing the knowledge gap identified during the literature review, and provide guidelines on the Somali peace-building process particularly in respect to building a global culture of peace.

The objective of the study provides an analysis on the general peace-building initiatives undertaken by UNESCO in Somalia and their relevance to advancing a culture of peace in Somalia. It does not evaluate the effectiveness, extent of coverage, implementation processes or even give a comparative analysis to other similar initiatives by UNESCO. Hence, the study area should be complemented by other studies that examine issues that were purposefully omitted because they were not captured in the scope of the study or not given an in-depth examination.

Arising from the study it emerged that the social fragmentation of Somalia has contributed to further identity groups, issues and interests. This factor has come with different cultures of violence of global concern including terrorism, and piracy. This has led to constant transformation of violence and unpredictability of the conflict as more Somalis adopt culture of criminality. There is need for further research on the contribution that UNESCO can make to regional and international efforts focusing on antipiracy and counter-terrorism.

Over fourteen negotiated peace agreement based on power sharing have failed to reconcile the warring communities. Part of the problem as indicated in previous chapter was the lack of an inclusive framework. Although the UN recognizes the significance of building on the eight aspects of the culture of peace, peace agreements in Somalia have ignored various vulnerable groups including children and women. There is need to conduct further research on UNESCO's efforts in pushing for representation of Women's and children's interests in the formulation and implementation of current and consecutive peace agreement.

Having reviewed the various aspects of building a culture of peace, the notion of horizontal and vertical multilevel coordination of all actors is a key prerequisite for its success. It is thus equally important to explore the extent of UNESCO's coordination and interrelation with other governmental and nongovernmental organization in realizing a culture of peace in Somalia.



Finally with the successful military interventions by AMISOM forces in the Somalia and the subsequent swearing in of a new Somali president, there are echoes of hope on finally finding a long lasting solution for the deep rooted causes of the conflict. With the Islamist factions and militia weakened, the government of Somali has a chance to increase its control across the country and oversee the reconciliation and post-conflict reconstruction processes. This study has given a broad overview of opportunities for UNESCO's culture of peace programme in Somalia. There is an academic rationale in exploring ways in which UNESCO can incorporate culture of peace as envisioned by the Declaration of Action Plan on Culture of Peace and Non-violence in constitution and institutional structures that will be established by the government.

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