

**The governance of schools for internally displaced learners in Puntland,
Somalia: A top-down or bottom-up approach to education peacebuilding?**

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Abstract

This study examines educational governance in schools for internally displaced learners in Puntland, Somalia. Many Somalis have been internally displaced from the south and central of Somalia and neighbouring regions because of armed insurgence, as well as climate and ecological disasters. Communities of internally displaced Somalis who have settled in the north-eastern region of Somalia, together with the Ministry of Education and non-governmental organisations such as Relief International, have established schools for internally displaced learners. The study uses interviews with teachers, school principals and school committee members to examine their experiences of how schools are governed, specifically in terms of the bottom-up and top-down approaches to peacebuilding education.

This research study is the first of its kind to examine the experiences of education actors in internally displaced person schools in Somalia. It provides crucial, new information on northern NGOs and how they shape the governance of knowledge and resources in Somali schools and how Somali education actors interpret and respond to these interventions. Drawing on education studies and international relations, it develops a transdisciplinary framing of peacebuilding education and specifically focuses on the top-down and bottom-up approaches to peacebuilding education provision. It weaves these two disciplinary perspectives together to help establish the implications of the security sector in education and broadly post-conflict reconstruction. The study finds that donors, international NGOs and government actors use a top-down approach to education, which may sit at odds with local needs and priorities. It finds that Somali knowledge and values are marginalised in the curriculum and teachers' professional development and that the distribution of resources such as teacher salaries and school feeding programmes is fragmented, opaque and lacking in accountability. The study emphasises that the exclusion of local voices may further contribute to the causes underlying conflict.

List of acronyms

ABE	Alternative Basic Education
BriCE	Building Resilience in Crisis through Education
CEC	Community Education Committee
CIE	Centre for International Education
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
GTEC	Garowe Training Education College
IDP	Internally displaced person
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NPE	Normative Power Europe
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
PDRC	Puntland Development Research Centre
RI	Relief International
STEM	Science, technology, engineering, and mathematics
TASS	Tadamun Social Society
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WFP	World Feeding Programme
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The educational system and the infrastructure [in Somalia] were destroyed in the mayhem; for example, schools became refugee camps. In addition, the children, who once had free education offered by the state, became child soldiers and easy prey for terror groups, warlords, and pirates (Aden, 2017, p. 22).

The conflict in Somalia has lasted over 3 decades and has affected many sectors, such as education. The conflict started from the outbreak of armed opposition to Siad Barre's administration in 1991, resulting in continued political instability. The 3 decades of conflict have left an estimated two million Somalis internally displaced and without access to secular education as funding for public schools collapsed due to the prolonged conflict (Hoehne, 2015, p. 12; Lewis and Winn, 2018, p. 501). Internal displacement is defined as 'the involuntary movement of persons within a country, usually avoiding armed conflict, war, situations of violence, human rights violations, and environmental or human-made disasters' (Weiss and Korn, 2006). The predominant characteristic of internal displacement is the involuntary or forced movement of persons. Second, unlike refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) do not cross internationally recognised state borders but instead flee to other parts of their home country in a quest to find safety (Cohen and Deng, 2012, p. 17; Weiss and Korn, 2006, p. 16).

According to Hoehne (2015), IDPs from the South and the Central territories of Somalia, and refugees from surrounding countries such as Ethiopia, Yemen and Syria flee to Puntland, in the north-eastern part of Somalia, where they either settle in camps or integrate into host communities. The state of Puntland is primarily concerned with providing order, stability, and protection from armed incursions (Johnson and Smaker, 2014, p. 13; UNHCF, 2017). However, sustained stability in Puntland remains uncertain as there are ongoing border disputes with Somaliland and non-state armed groups living in the region (Hoehne, 2015, p. 15; Marchal, 2010, p. 26).

Hoehne (2015) argued that Puntland was established in 1998 with the intention of being an autonomous state with its own president and administration led by clan leaders and does not seek sovereign independence from the rest of Somalia, unlike Somaliland. Marchal (2010)

argued that the rationale for forming the state of Puntland is often described as a "Somali process", meaning the state was established based on clan identity. Although the term 'clan identity' is highly contested, it is nevertheless widely accepted that the term 'clan' refers to patrilineal and kinship identity (Adam, 2008, p. 10; Mamdani, 2009, p. 115; Warah, 2019). Similar to race and ethnicity, 'clan identity' is fluid and historical and has previously been used to govern access to resources and power (Mamdani, 2009, p. 68; Osman, 2008, p. 12). Somalia consists of six main clans that are further divided into dozens of subclans and minority groups (Marchal, 2010, p. 14; Warah, 2019). In respect of this, Puntland is predominantly home to the Harti, a subclan of the Darood clan.¹ This identification and acknowledgement of the Daarood clan are important as during the Siad Barre administration, the Darood clan and its subclans were given preferential treatment as they had better access to resources such as education and land, while other clans and subclans were excluded (Osman, 2008, p. 75). The politicisation and preferential treatment based on clan identity currently impact the lives of IDPs and refugees in Puntland who are not from the dominant Darood/Harti clan, such as the Rahanweyn and the Hawiye. As they are often excluded from the state processes and citizenship, whilst members of the Darood/Harti clans tend to be better positioned because of their local kin relations and clan protection (Hoehne, 2015).

Lindley (2013) noted that in Somalia, relations based on clan and identity ties and access to economic resources are crucial factors that shape the experiences of IDPs. Therefore, some IDPs do not consider themselves displaced or stay in IDP camps. For this reason, Lindley (2013) argued that displacement in Somalia is uniquely complex and should be understood differently to the way that it has been conceptualised by existing United Nations institutions and guidelines. In addition, Lindley argued that the official policies for IDPs aim to protect them from violence and further displacement. However, the actions of authorities fall short and instead are a major source of insecurity. Lindley further argued that the international humanitarian regime impacts the settlement of IDPs because IDPs' settlements are targeted by

¹ The Darood are commonly divided into three major groups referred to as Ogaden, Marehan, and Harti. The Harti is composed of the Majerteen, who now are found in Puntland mainly, and the Dhulbahante and Warsangeli, who mainly live within the borders of Somaliland. Puntland almost entirely overlaps with the Majerteen clan family. Therefore, the disputes with Somaliland are over border issues related to clan identity (Hoehne, 2015, p. 19; Marchal, 2010, p. 14).

non-state actors wanting to control the aid economy. For example, non-state actors may want to control the food the NGOs bring into the camps, impacting where IDPs decide to settle. Lindley's work highlights that very little is known about how IDPs in Somali territories use their agency to deal with challenges, such as land disputes in camps and the distribution of aid resources in camps.

In Puntland, IDPs are the poorest and most vulnerable segment of society. Therefore, communities and NGOs have established schools in the camps because most internally displaced children do not have access to schooling in the host community due to high fees and large distances between host communities and IDP camps. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), donors, and the Ministry of Education in Puntland provide support to the schools in IDP camps. However, little is known about the roles and extent of the support each of these actors plays in providing education. This knowledge gap is especially important since international donors and NGOs have increased educational support and funding to countries such as Somalia as part of emergency and humanitarian aid (Lewis and Winn, 2018).

Lewis and Winn (2018) argued that education is perceived to play an important role in the post-conflict reconstruction of nations. Commenting on this, Pherali and Sahar (2018) argued that the role of education in conflict-affected societies is contested and can be weaponised. As a result, some international donors and NGOs see education as a way to reduce conflict, while others view education as a tool to further states' and global actors' political and security agendas. As a result, education is also seen as a tool for international peacebuilding, which aims to facilitate peace, social justice, and the democratic process.

However, it is important to bear in mind that the definition and nature of peacebuilding are contested because peacebuilding is broad and entails a wide range of activities. De Coning (2016) argued that international peacebuilding or liberal peacebuilding is theocratic and underpinned by the "liberal peace project". The liberal peace project refers to the idea that conflict-affected states and fragile states in the Global South should adopt liberal and neoliberal state practices. As a result, it is believed that liberal societies tend to be more peaceful, and democracies do not go to war with each other, mainly because of the democratic limitations on leaders. In addition, it is believed that a war will disrupt economic integration with other countries and disrupt economic and trade relations (De Coning, 2016; Newman, 2004). The legitimacy of international peacebuilding is sometimes seen to be declining amid challenges

such as a lack of local ownership, local consultation, elements of overt or subtle coercion and the lack of accountability in some forms of peacebuilding (Newman et al., 2009, p. 13).

1.2 Overview of education in Somalia

Somalia has a long history of learning through oral and written religious texts. Traders and pilgrims have used its strategic location for centuries and for many generations, which has largely contributed to the development and spread of education in the region (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 2008, p. 92). During the colonial period, many Somalis were forced to learn English or Italian to acquire employment in the colonial system. However, many kin, clan and religious leaders resisted these colonial policies, so the question of what kind of education Somalis should have access to became a site of contestation amongst Somali leaders. Furthermore, the pre-independence implemented schooling system differed from region to region depending on whether the colonial administration was Italian, French or British (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 2008, p. 95).

However, after independence, Siad Barre's government removed exclusive and elitist educational policies and replaced them with free and compulsory education for all children between six and fourteen (Osman, 2006, p. 74). In addition, Somali was transcribed for the first time in the Latin script and was made the only language of instruction. The combination of these policies increased the literacy rate from about 20% to 70% (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 2008, p. 100).

Despite these advances, the education system collapsed after the advent of the civil war in 1991. Gardner and El Bushra (2004) argued that the origins of the civil war lay in a complex set of issues related to the distribution of power and resources. Furthermore, academics have also suggested that the catalyst for the civil war was likely Barre's failed Ogaden war in Ethiopia (Hesse, 2010).

The Ogaden war was part of Barre's vision to gain control of "Greater Somalia", which included all regions where ethnic Somalis lived and that had been annexed to other countries. Osman (2006) argues that Barre's government then tried to divert attention away from his administration's failure in the war by unequally distributing resources based on clan and region. Supporting this argument is Adam's (2008) contention that the government supplied arms and encouraged war between "loyal clans" and "enemy clans" to instigate and catalyse internal

fighting over rural and urban land. Therefore, the powerful clans controlled the resources, and the marginalised clans faced repression (Adam, 2008, p. 141).

Within this context, the banning of political parties, the decline of the economy, divestment from healthcare and education, and increased poverty resulted in increased instability and conflict (Hesse, 2010; Osman, 2006b, pp. 74–75). Consequently, the 1991 civil war resulted in the fall of Barre and fragmented the country into areas controlled by warlords and armed clan-based militias. This period in Somalia was characterised by the “widespread rape of women, mass executions, destruction and expropriation of agricultural land, looting of grains stores and livestock, and the destruction of water supplies and homes [which] led to massive displacements in other parts of Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia and Yemen” (Gardner and El Bushra, 2004, p. 5).

The 1991 Somali Civil War had devastating effects on the Somali educational system (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 2008). The international community tried to provide educational support in the early post-civil war stages. However, this assistance eventually stopped due to the political instability in the country. By early 2004, Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen, or the ‘Mujahideen Youth Movement’, had emerged in Mogadishu as an Islamist non-state actor. Al-Shabaab has attempted to create a parallel state, which is gaining legitimacy by adopting a variety of strategies such as the provision of social services, tax collection and Somali nationalism (Mwangi, 2012, p. 512; Sheikh, 2018).

While aid flowing to education initially increased over the last decade, there has been a pronounced decrease over the last 3 years. For example, education aid in Somalia in 2018 was \$34.6 million; however, it decreased to \$32.2 million in 2019 (Federal Government of Somalia, 2019). In addition, the United Kingdom, Somalia’s second-largest donor, announced it would be cutting its funding by 60% in 2021 (Geoghegan, 2021). Furthermore, donor funding for education has always been much lower than in other sectors such as peacekeeping and transport, with approximately only 3% of aid spent on education (Federal Government of Somalia, 2019). Lewis and Winn (2018) argued that the EU’s involvement in Somalia is largely based on the liberal peace agenda and security issues related to terrorism, migration, and conflict. As a result, education aid in Somalia is dominated by donor policies that take a top-down approach to peacebuilding education.

According to Bush and Saltarelli (2000), like peacebuilding operations, peacebuilding education should be a “bottom-up” approach rather than a “top-down” approach. The bottom-up approach in peacebuilding education refers to policies and practices designed and driven by the direct actors in the education system, such as teachers, learners, and the experience and observations of education researchers. While the top-down approach refers to decision-making undertaken by non-direct education actors such as donors and international NGOs that set policies and practices at the “top”, removed from the field with the expectation that it will trickle down and work for direct education actors. Therefore, the bottom-up approach provides more context-specific solutions, unlike the top-down that can provide solutions that are abstract ideas and far removed from the needs of the people.

Bush and Saltarelli (2000) argued that education has “two faces”, also known as the negative and positive approaches that can either fuel or mitigate conflict. Bush and Saltarelli (2000) argued that inequality and segregation of students, manipulation of textbooks, history and discrimination are examples of the negative face of education. In contrast, the positive face of education includes inclusive citizenship, equality, disarming of history and unbiased peace programmes. Lewis and Winn (2018) noted that in the Somali education system, teachers and learners are unhappy about the suppression of Somali identity, culture and values, and learners claim that there is clan-based discrimination and preferential marking against students of certain clans. Brandt (2019) argued that very little is known about how IDP schools operate because they are not often included in the secular education system of host communities. As a result, very little is known about IDPs schools and the education interventions happening in the schools and how these contribute to quality education. In addition, given the decrease in education aid investment in Somalia and donors’ interest in meeting targets, it means that very little is known about IDP education governance.

This study aims to examine the role of education actors and governance in IDP schools in Puntland, Somalia. By looking at the experiences of principals, teachers, and school committee members in IDP schools, the study aims to understand how knowledge such as curriculum and teacher professional development is governed and how resources such as time, teacher salaries and school feeding programmes are governed. In addition, the study seeks to understand what these governance experiences can inform us about the top-down and bottom-up approaches to peacebuilding education.

1.3 Research questions

The main question that guides this study is: What are the governance experiences of teachers, principals, and school committee members in schools in IDP camps, specifically in terms of the bottom-up and top-down approaches to peacebuilding education?

As a way of answering this question, I focus on three interrelated sub-questions:

- 1) What are the roles of different actors involved in governing schools, such as the Ministry of Education, NGOs, and donors?
- 2) How is knowledge governed in schools in terms of curriculum and teachers' professional development?
- 3) How are resources governed in schools with respect to teachers' salaries, school feeding programmes and time?

In question one, I examine the roles these various actors play in governing schools through understanding the extent of their involvement. I also look at how their involvement impacts the governance of the school in general and the governance of knowledge and the governance of resources. In the second question regarding how knowledge is governed, I draw on the bottom-up and top-down approaches to peacebuilding. Here I examine four issues: 1) which actors select the contents of the schooling curriculum? 2) whose knowledge is represented and whose knowledge is excluded? 3) what role do teachers and community members play in shaping the content of the schooling curriculum and the teacher professional development programmes? 4) who governs the teacher professional development programme? The third question seeks to unpack the governance of resources in schools, such as time, teacher salaries and school feeding programmes. Here I examine three issues: 1) who is responsible for the distribution of resources? 2) How are resources distributed, and 3) how does this distribution of resources impact the livelihood of the concerned parties – the children or teachers and schooling programme? This allows me to examine the dynamic of epistemic governance in terms of the top-down and bottom-up approaches to peacebuilding education.

1.4 Thesis outline

In chapter one, I presented an overview of education in Somalia, the aims of the study and detailed the research questions. The literature review in chapter two provides an analytical

framework for education governance. According to Dale (2005), education governance happens at four levels: 1) education practices, 2) policies, 3) the politics of education, and (4) educational outcomes. I commence by looking at each of the four levels using the analytical framework to discuss what is happening at each level in relation to the context of the study. I then highlight the key research gaps in education governance in conflict-affected societies, specifically in schools for IDPs.

In chapter three, I provide an overview of the methodology that the study used. In this chapter, I begin by reflecting on the research process using the conflict-sensitive approach. The conflict-sensitive approach looks at power relations, positionality, and challenges the researcher faced. Next, I provide an overview of the research context and the qualitative methods used for the study, such as interviews, data collection, thematic analysis, and limitations of the study.

In chapter four, I present the findings from the interviews with the principals, teachers, and school community members from three different schools. In addition, I aim to present their experiences of governance in the schools in which they are located. The main findings of the study are related to the research questions on the role of actors and the governance of knowledge, focusing on curriculum and teacher professional development and the governance of resources, mainly looking at the regulation of time, teacher salaries and school feeding programmes.

Chapter five analyses the findings discussed in chapter four, and I draw some conclusions from the teachers' experiences of education governance. It is argued that education actors such as the Ministry of Education and international NGOs tend to take a top-down approach, and as a result, there is a lack of accountability as to the governance of resources. This leads to undesired outcomes such as the feeding programmes being paused and stopped in schools B and C. In addition, I look at the implications of how knowledge such as curriculum and teacher professional development is governed and draw conclusions on the governance of resources such as time, teacher salaries and school feeding programmes. In chapter six, I conclude the study by looking at the outcomes and significance of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is a review of the literature that provides an analytical framework for this study identifying the key research gaps. In this chapter, I initially discuss the analytical framework for the study. The analytical framework provides a way of investigating what is happening at the four different levels of education with set questions for each level. In addition, the analytical framework will be used to review and integrate literature from two sectors – literature from education in conflict-affected societies and literature from security studies.

Once the education governance framework is in place, I will look at three levels of education governance: first, examining education practices from interventions in IDP settings; second, considering the education policies of the European Union (EU) towards Somalia; and third, focusing on the politics of education on the global scale and how powerful actors influence it in the security and development sectors. Lastly, I examine the fourth level, education outcomes in IDP schools and literature gaps from the different levels of education governance.

2.2 An analytical framework for investigating governance in schools

Generally, governance refers to the process and procedures that are structured to ensure responsibility, openness, fairness and inclusion, empowerment, and broad-based engagement (Baghdady and Zaki, 2020, p. 2). Governance is defined in different ways, and Smith, Datzberger, McCully (2009, Mayntz, 2009, p. 25) follows this definition:

the sum of all concurrent forms of collective regulation of social issues: from the institutionalised self-regulation of civil society, through the diverse forms of cooperation among state and private actors, to the action of the sovereign.

According to Smith et al. (2016), definitions of governance highlight three distinct aspects. The first aspect is related to policymaking processes and the political environment, regime and values underpinning the implemented policies. Policymaking processes include agenda setting, policy considerations, decision-making, implementation and evaluation (Mayntz, 2009). Therefore, when an issue emerges, contributions from the public are submitted and researched to create a policy that directly addresses the issue in question and provides a substantive solution to it (Burns and Köster, 2016). However, this is not the case everywhere, as this is the

ideal scenario, and reality says otherwise. The second aspect is related to the technical capacity and the ability to implement policies. Technical capacity is concerned with the knowledge, training, and experience required to achieve policy outcomes. In contrast, the implementation of policies is related to the specific activities undertaken for the implementation stage (Smith et al., 2016, pp. 25–26).

The third aspect of governance is related to the control and responsibility of national governments in relation to global governance (Smith et al., 2016, pp. 25–26). Global governance refers to the global system where transnational actors such as states, multilateral corporations, NGOs, and organisations collaborate or compete to address global challenges causing instability and threatening global peace and security (Mundy, 2007). Generally, these transnational actors claim that these interventions are for the “common good” of countries and the international community. The “common good” is related to the advancement of democratic and liberal values, which are not universally accepted but are imposed by powerful actors (Mundy, 2007; Smith and Ellison, 2015). These aspects, according to Smith, drawing from Dale (2015), are the foundation of an education governance framework.

Education governance refers to the authority and decision-making processes within an educational system (Baghdady and Zaki, 2020, p. 2). Dale (2015) argues that:

[E]ducation governance is concerned with how the funding, provision, ownership, actors and regulation of education and training systems are coordinated, and at what level; local, regional, national and supranational.

Drawing from Dale (2005), Smith (2016) noted that an education governance framework looks at the activities at different, focusing on “who is doing what, where, with what outcomes and by whom” (Smith et al., 2016, pp. 24–25).

According to Baghdady and Zaki (2020), there are four key aspects of effective education governance. First, education governance relies heavily on the broad structural ability to formulate and enforce evidence-based education policies and services incorporated with larger national planning strategies. Second is the ability to set priorities, expectations, and incentives and keep key players accountable. Third, to efficiently oversee at all levels, from individual schools to system-wide functions, and, lastly, to publish reliable and relevant data for policymakers, administrators, and the public to hold key education actors accountable.

Baghdady and Zaki (2020) argued that many countries lack the institutional capacity, and the inclusion of new actors increasingly involved in education governance results in varying power, authority, influence and accountability.

Hence Dale's (2015) framework can help us examine education governance by asking the right questions at the four different levels he proposes. Using the framework presented by Dale (2015) allowed me to think more deeply about education governance in IDP schools in Puntland. The framework aims to look at power relations and what is happening at the four different levels to help us establish the gaps that need to be addressed and what this can tell us about quality education. The following sections use the framework to analyse the four levels that include education practices in Puntland, education policies designed by peacebuilding education actors, the politics of education, and educational outcomes.

2.3 The first level of governance: educational practices

The first level of Dale's (2015) education governance analysis concerns educational practices. This level includes a cluster of questions: who is taught, why, under what circumstances, and what outcomes? For this study, educational practices focus on education actor roles in governance and knowledge governance, such as curriculum and teacher professional development. In addition, it examines educational practices related to the governance of resources within schools, such as teacher salaries, feeding programmes and time.

This study focuses on an education intervention in Puntland, Somalia operating in schools established by communities and NGOs in camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs) in various parts of Puntland. Due to the ongoing conflict and lack of resources, the IDP camp schools in Puntland receive support from communities and international and local NGOs (Renders and Knezevic, 2017). Lewis and Winn (2018) argued that foreign and international actors dominate the education sector in the IDP setting. However, very little is known about how these actors govern funding, knowledge training related to curriculum and teacher professional development, how resources such as time, teacher salaries and feeding schemes are regulated, and education outcomes in IDP schools.

In contrast, education actors in non-IDP or host schools vary from NGOs and private actors such as diaspora funders, faith-based groups, private companies, private individuals, radical Islamic education actors, and American organisations (Aden, 2017). Somalia is a federal state,

and Puntland has some control over the governing schools in their regions. However, the central and state governments are battling over the governance of curriculum, examinations and qualifications. In addition, since the taxation system is contested, there are very limited funds directly from the government of Puntland and the national government for education (Warsame, 2019).

Lewis and Winn (2018) argued that learners in IDP schools are taught curriculum content far removed from their daily realities because the curriculum is borrowed from neighbouring or other conflict-affected countries. However, very little is known about how knowledge such as curriculum is governed in IDP schools. For the purpose of this study, I will look at the formal schooling curriculum; the conceptual definitions and dynamics of the curriculum are based on lots of theoretical literature. However, for this study, the formal curriculum is defined as a framework for learning based on knowledge from different areas of knowledge (Sayed and Bulgrin, 2020). Aden (2017), drawing on his research study on schools in Mogadishu, in the South Central part of Somalia, argued that there is an explicit or formal curriculum, an informal curriculum and a hidden curriculum, resulting in competing narratives and ideological clashes. The explicit curriculum is “curriculum elements that are taught” (Aden, 2017, p. 32). The informal curriculum is teaching and learning that happens at home, while the hidden curriculum is “elements that are hidden, but taught, such as a curriculum that promotes certain political or ideological positions” (Aden, 2017, p. 32). He found that the curriculum content was not promoting peace or Somali culture and values (Aden, 2017, p. 93). While the study by Williams and Cummings (2015) noted that the curriculum provided by the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) included content about Somalia and borrowed content from Koranic schools as an attempt to merge the different types of curriculum in a fair and balanced way. Koranic schools operate as low-cost early childhood education centres that children attend before attending secular schooling (Williams and Cummings, 2015). However, in IDP schools, very little is known about how the formal curriculum is governed, who is responsible for the curriculum, whether different curricula are integrated, and how teachers feel about the curriculum content. Similar to education, curriculum content can be weaponised; therefore, it is a site of contestation of power and control (Lewis and Winn, 2018; Novelli and Sayed, 2016).

Furthermore, there is no research on teachers’ professional development in IDP camps in Puntland. Teacher professional development refers to different skills training that targets curriculum subject content training or general training and upskilling and child handling

services (Sayed and Ahmed, 2015; Williams and Cummings, 2015). There are heated debates about the role of continued professional development in relation to teachers' autonomy in research on teacher professional development from other African countries. In addition, Sayed and Bulgrin's (2020) study in ten African countries such as Kenya, Uganda and South Africa, presents three key findings related to teacher professional development. The first finding is that teachers are not involved in the policymaking process. Second, the global policy and curriculum borrowing make it difficult for teachers and learners to engage the curriculum content (Sayed and Bulgrin, 2020). The third finding was that teacher professional development "remains patchy and uneven" (Sayed and Bulgrin, 2020). In addition, they concluded that there is a need to establish monitoring and evaluation systems that track and establish teacher professional development programmes' efficacy as there is misalignment or lack of trust in the needs assessment in some contexts (Sayed and Bulgrin, 2020).

For this study, the governance of resources focuses on time, teachers' salaries and school feeding in IDP schools. Time as a resource focuses on how education actors manage time and use the resources (Kalu, 2012, p. 115). Williams and Cummings' (2015) research highlighted that schools could sometimes operate twice a day, with two shifts of class and sometimes adult literacy classes. In addition, seventeen days were allocated for teacher professional development (Williams and Cummings, 2015). As a result, how time is governed in relation to teaching time allocation and teacher professional development attendance. This is a theme I am particularly interested in because it is not often discussed in education. Brandt (2019) argued that teacher governance in IDP settings remains a "black box" as there is so much that is unknown about how resources such as teacher salaries are governed. Brandt's (2019) research looked at how IDP teachers' salaries are governed in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). He argued that government officials and other groups such as pastors put pressure on IDP teachers to return to their "homes" so that they could stop paying their salaries and benefit from the aid economy by redirecting funds to themselves. They use their salaries as incentives, as the teachers do not earn much, and they use food programmes to get teachers to return. Furthermore, Renders and Knezevic (2017) argued that teachers could be motivated by incentives such as salaries and access to other resources to keep teaching. The governance of salaries in Puntland is unknown as very little research has been conducted on teachers' salaries.

Drawing from research on school feeding programmes in South Africa, the National School Nutrition Programme focuses on school feeding, nutrition education and school food gardens. The programme manages to feed over 9 million learners, therefore contributing to positive education outcomes as learners' performance, attendance and health were positively impacted (Devereux et al., 2018, p. 32). However, there are some food safety concerns about school food programmes in South Africa, although it is evident that such programmes have positive outcomes for learners, local farmers, and suppliers (Devereux et al., 2018, p. 35). Moussa (2002) argued that while historically, feeding programmes were started during the Boer war in 1908 to keep children well-nourished and healthy and to recruit them as soldiers eventually, he hopes the objectives today have changed. Today school feeding programmes consist of regular food distribution in the form of dry snacks, wet meals or take-home rations. Moussa (2002) argued that for the success of school food programmes in conflict-affected and displacement settings to succeed, there has to be "solid cooperation between partners". Drawing on Sierra Leone, Moussa (2002) noted that the collaboration was not only with the NGOs but also with local and host communities that provided labour and utensils and the collaboration and monitoring provided the overall effectiveness of the programme. Kostelny and Ondoro (2016) argued that IDP children in the central and north of Somalia are out of school because of poverty and food insecurity. Poverty and the lack of access to food led many children to seek employment opportunities in markets and households (Kostelny and Ondoro, 2016). In the context of the current study, very little is known about how school feeding programmes are governed in schools for internally displaced learners.

Therefore, the current study aims to examine the governance of education practices as it is clear that very little is known about the roles of education actors and the governance of knowledge such as curriculum and teacher professional development and the governance of resources such as time, teachers' salaries and schooling feeding programmes in IDP schools in Puntland. The lack of empirical research on education practices in IDP settings means that very little is known about education and if it will reach its established goals.

2.4 The second level of governance: education policies and new barbarism framework by the EU

The second level of education governance is concerned with educational policy. This level investigates the policy issues such as who decides on education intervention policies, why they are decided, and how are they governed and problematised (Dale, 2015). This study draws from

an education intervention funded by the EU and implemented by Relief International (RI) with the purpose of providing quality education to learners and teacher professional development training. Lewis and Winn (2018) argued that peacebuilding interventions funded by the EU prioritise gender outcomes at the level of learners and deprioritise other dynamics that might drive conflicts, such as economic inequality and clan-based discrimination. As a consequence of funders' priorities, little research is conducted on the governance of curriculum, teacher professional development, and resources distribution and how these factors may possibly impact conflict.

According to Lewis and Winn (2018), the new barbarism framework is evident in educational interventions and foreign policy towards countries in Africa's horn, such as Somalia. A new barbarism framework refers to "violence that omits political and economic interests and contexts when describing that violence and presents the violence resulting from traits embedded in the local culture" (Umar, 2017). Therefore, Somalia is understood as a "failed state" and "a chaotic and ungovernable region" (Jones, 2013; Umana, 2013) because of the ongoing conflict and armed actors such as Al-Shabaab, which has established a parallel state. Western actors and media have labelled Somalia as a failed state, failing to contextualise Somalia's political and economic context and realities (Lewis and Winn, 2018; Umar, 2017). As a result, the EU's involvement in conflicted-affected societies' education sector is mostly related to their security concerns related to migration and terrorism (Ehrhart and Petretto, 2014; Rutazibwa, 2010). Western donors, such as the EU, have often been preoccupied with "Islamic radicalisation and a corresponding funding focus on education and development as a weapon in the War on Terror" (Lewis and Winn, 2018, p. 504). The response to Islamic radicalisation and the War on Terror is because al Qaeda links to al-Itihaad al Islamiya, a militant group operating in the Somali region of Ethiopia since the 1990s (Rutazibwa, 2010). The War on Terror is the United States' central global military counterterrorism campaign in response to September 11, 2001, also known as the 9/11airplanes hijackings and World Trade Centre crashes by al Qaeda (Malito, 2015; Møller, 2009). Hence, the EU and other actors' policies towards Somalia reflect a new barbarism framework. A new barbarism framework refers to "violence that omits political and economic interests and contexts when describing that violence and presents the violence as resulting from traits embedded in local the culture" (Tuastad, 2003, p.591). The labelling of Somalia as a "failed state" and "a chaotic and ungovernable region" (Jones, 2013; Umana, 2013), is an example of new barbarism framing.

International donors such as the EU justify their security concerns and interests in the regions such as Somalia through the new barbarism framework and use a Normative Power Europe framework to conceptualise what statehood, government, and liberal values should look like or be. Umar (2017) argued that normative power European values are not universally accepted values; therefore, the EU and its states function as a “mini-government” towards the Global South to push and achieve their agendas. Normative power Europe refers to the norms central to the EU’s foreign policy and relations with other states (Umar, 2017, p. 26). Lewis and Winn (2018) argued that the EU’s policies focus on their member states’ internal and external security rather than development in Somalia. While their concerns are framed as development policies and intervention, they are security concerns that attempt to suppress terrorists, strengthen borders, and limit migration to the union’s member states. Normative power Europe is the ability to influence western states’ values. It is closely aligned with the concept of soft power, where education is seen as achieving the ideals of western liberal values. Nye (2009) argued that states are concerned about power in this context of global governance. Power in this context refers to how states get what they want; however, power is most important to legitimacy. Nye (2009) argued that transnational actors use two forms of power to gain legitimacy – hard and soft power in the global governance setting. Soft power is defined as “the ability to get what you want through attraction or to co-opt rather than coercion or payments”, unlike hard power that relies on the heavy military, coercion and payment (Nye, 2009).

Education interventions are a form of soft power, and the EU uses normative power Europe to advance their interests by weaponising education to gain political and cultural legitimacy. The involvement of the EU in Somali education directly and through the Global Partnership for Education, where the EU accounts for more than half of the contributions to the Global Partnership for Education (European Commission, 2021). The Global Partnerships for Education was created in 2002 at the Dakar World Education Forum and the Millennium Summit. The purpose of the partnership is to deliver on the commitment to ensure inclusive, quality, equitable education by bringing together education actors such as the countries, donors, international organisations, the private sector, foundations and civil society groups (European Commission, 2021; Menashy and Dryden-Peterson, 2015). Winthrop and Matsui (2013) argued that education actors have different interests ranging from humanitarian, security, development and economic; however, these can either fuel or mitigate conflict.

2.5 The third level of governance: the politics of education and the security-first agenda

The third level of education governance analysis, according to Dale, focuses on the politics of education. The politics of education interrogates the kinds of conditions globally that encourage actors to get involved, how they do it, and their interests in the given context of education in conflict-affected societies. This level of education governance is related to broader global concerns such as economics, globalisation and sovereignty. Therefore, “where the rulers of the games set limits to what is possible and desirable in education” (Lopes Cardozo, 2018, p. 26). Traditionally, this level would play out on the national level, with the involvement of the state and/private actors. However, in conflict-affected societies, education politics happen globally as the state cannot provide the function (Mundy, 2007; Mundy and Verger, 2015). As a result, education is linked to greater global concerns and is included in peacebuilding interventions.

Peacebuilding refers to “a form of post-conflict reconstruction involving rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife” (Boutros-Ghali, 1992, pp. 7–8). As a result, peacebuilding operations aim to “identify and support the structures which tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse into conflict” (Boutros-Ghali, 1992, p. 11). This is unlike peacekeeping and peace-making operations that aim to prevent, monitor and stop conflict through the use of military and diplomatic support; peacebuilding aims to address the root causes of conflict and rebuild stronger institutions (Boutros-Ghali, 1992, p. 11). However, peacebuilding is a contested term with different and evolving meanings and aims, depending on actors’ strategies and interests (Novelli et al. (2017). Novelli et al. (2017) argued that peacebuilding education has increasingly become entwined in powerful security and development agendas and strategies. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2020) defines development as economic growth and well-being; however, it has recently expanded this to include capabilities, opportunities, and choice, while the security sector in international relations is concerned with the mutual survival and protection of states through military and international relations approaches. The development and security sectors, therefore, use different remedies to address threats. Usually, security threats are often immediate interventions. In contrast, development threats are often addressed as long-term solutions that are often related to sustainability.

The merging of security and development concerns in conflicted-affected societies can be traced to the 1990s. Kaldor (2013) argued that the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War altered the nature of wars and conflicts from “old wars” to “new wars”. Literature on “the new wars thesis” suggests that the context of globalisation and state failure implicates several state and non-state actors and leads to a process of privatisation of violence (Novelli, 2013; Pherali and Sahar, 2018). The main distinguishing features are that new wars are characterised by threats emanating from within the state itself, with non-state actors attempting to achieve political and national control and fighting based on identity policies instead of ideology like in the old wars. In addition, non-state actors and networks finance conflicts and guerrilla warfare (Kaldor, 2013). Lastly, there are increased and deliberately targeted attacks on civilians, including women and children (Kaldor, 2013).

Newman (2004) argued that the new wars thesis exaggerates the significance of contemporary conflicts as these features existed in “old wars” and concludes that Kaldor’s findings are not new (Newman, 2004, p. 185). International peacekeeping missions during the 1990s were mainly concerned with maintaining peace through the military and restoring state intuitions rooted in the state-centric approach through traditional security. The state-centric approach encompasses protecting a state’s interests through traditional security, which uses the military internationally. In the development community, it was apparent that this approach was inadequate to address the human insecurity caused by the new wars. The development community under the UNDP started focusing on human security. Human security is defined as issues affecting daily livelihoods such as health, education, shelter, and food (Annan, 2000; Cohen and Deng, 2012). Thomas (2001) argued that human insecurity is a direct result of the existing power structures which determine security agendas. However, human insecurity is not an inevitable consequence. There are things like natural disasters and conflict that undermine human security but maintaining human insecurity results from powerful actors and agendas (Thomas, 2001, p. 160). The 9/11 attacks prompted an increase in global education partnerships by international donors such as the EU and the United States of America because of their counter-campaign in the War on Terror and education organisations (Shah et al., 2020). These partnerships have resulted in increased peacebuilding education inventions in conflict-affected societies.

Peacebuilding education, according to Lewis and Winn (2018, p. 502):

aims to critically engage with the position of education in a country's socio-political and economic landscape to address how the structure, systems and content of education impact violence in society.

Novelli et al. (2017) argued that peacebuilding education is weaponised by actors to advance their agendas. Peacebuilding education actors govern either through the top-down approach or the bottom-up approach. The top-down approach to peacebuilding refers to policy decisions or laws made by authoritative or powerful central actors, such as governments, foreign donors and international NGOs, that want to produce their desired outcomes (Williams and Cummings, 2015)). The expectation is that decisions made at the top will trickle down and effectively be implemented to produce the desired outcomes. The top-down approach is critiqued for not addressing immediate realities because often, it does not trickle down to the most vulnerable and marginalised populations and the policies often do not represent the needs of the people on the local level (Novelli et al. (2017).

In contrast, the bottom-up approach to peacebuilding aims to carry out people's and organisations' desires at the local level (Williams and Cummings, 2015). The expectation is that those on the local level, such as vulnerable and marginalised people, who partake in decision-making directly impact policy and law-making levels (Williams and Cummings, 2015). The way that the security sector conceptualises governance is different from the educational sector. For the security sector, governance prioritises a top-down approach, where the countries paying the bills have a greater say in how interventions will be carried out. In addition, it happens through a security-first approach, meaning that all policies are centred around fighting and Normative Power Europe (NPE). Therefore, donor organisations and NGOs strictly use the top-down and bottom-up approach, unlike the education sector, which views a bit more holistically governance about evidence-based policies, holding actors accountable. Hence, I argue that these two sectors fight to dominate the space of education in IDP settings.

2.6 The fourth level of governance: outcomes and research gaps

The fourth level of education governance focuses on education outcomes and their implications for individuals, the private sector, government and the consequences these outcomes have for equity, democracy and social justice. Similarly, a political economy analysis is concerned with distributing power, wealth and resources across class, race, ethnicity and geographical areas

(Lopes Cardozo and Hoeks, 2015; Pherali and Sahar, 2018). Looking at education outcomes through a political economy lens helps to understand further how outcomes fuel or mitigate issues in the context.

For example, Graça Machel's (1996) report on the "Impact of Armed Conflict on Children" drew international attention to children living in conflict-affected settings. The report reflected that children and youth were the primary victims of conflict, and rebel groups targeted recruitment (Machel, 1996). While education access was prioritised and increased, education was seen as a tool for conflict reduction and stability to provide children and youth with knowledge and skills. The aim was that education would produce outcomes linked to preventing and stopping conflict and provide knowledge and skills to prevent victims of war (Lopes Cardozo and Hoeks, 2015). However, the international community became aware that it was not meeting outcomes because while education is good, it can be weaponised to fuel or mitigate conflict, known as the "two faces of education" (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000)). For example, education in Afghanistan is a space for conflicting actors as it is weaponised. Actors want to influence curriculum and textbook content in their favour (Pherali and Sahar, 2018). Therefore, how the curriculum content is designed and delivered can fuel or mitigate conflict.

In IDP schools in Somalia, it has been noted that little is known about education governance practices in IDP schools, leaving some research gaps in practices and outcomes. Lewis and Winn (2018) argued that the lack of empirical work on governance, curriculum and teacher professional development is because donor organisations are focused on gender mainstreaming, and gender quotas and issues such as clan-based preferential treatment in marking and resource allocations have been largely ignored. This issue is important because clan identity became central to Somali society during the civil war when this identity became a fallback option for political order and security (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 2008; Elmi, 2010; Hoehne, 2015). Given this context, clan identities have become an essential means of political governance, but at the same time, they have also been used as a tool to exclude people from politics and the unequal distribution of resources (Adam, 2008, p. 117; Hoehne, 2015, p. 16). In addition, the state not granting IDPs citizenship means that they are excluded from the statehood process, IDPs can be discriminated against, IDP children can be excluded from enrolling in school, and the actors can determine their access to resources. Since so little is known about the outcomes, the current study aims to build to contribute to the broader research gap by linking the study's findings in chapter five and analysing what this means for the broader

outcomes and the consequences that governance could have for equity broader goal of SDG4. Moreover, education actors through the 2030 Sustainable goals aim to achieve inclusive, equality and equitable education.

2.7 Conclusion

In the literature review in this chapter, I presented an analytical education governance framework comprising four different levels. The first level of education governance looked at the educational practices in schools in camps for IDPs in Puntland, Somalia. The second level discussed education policies developed by the EU using a new barbarism and normative power Europe framework. In the third level of education governance, I discussed the politics in the global development and security sector that shape education. Governance in the security and education sectors differs as security uses a security-first approach, whereas education uses a more holistic approach. Lastly, I discussed the fourth level on the limited research on education governance and the research gaps in the governance of knowledge and resources of IDP settings.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the research methods that informed this study. I first discuss the conflict-sensitive approach as a methodological strategy, which acknowledges the research challenges and ethical considerations. I use this approach as a tool to reflect on the research. Next, I present the research context, which identifies the different actors, their roles in the project, and what a tracer study is. In addition, I give a brief background on the sample of schools chosen for the study and discuss some of the ethical considerations drawing from the conflict-sensitive framework. Following this is a discussion of the qualitative aspect of the research, such as the design of interview instruments, interviews and data collection processes. Lastly, I discuss the research limitations and the trustworthiness of the data.

3.2 Reflection: the conflict-sensitive approach

Often vulnerable groups of people and communities such as those living in conflict-affected societies are constantly interviewed, probed and studied repeatedly by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), journalists and researchers. The intention is often to provide relief and exposure to their plight. However, the methods used to extract information and observations present ethical issues and challenges that may endanger the lives of communities, research participants and researchers. As an attempt to minimise the potential harm that people, communities, research participants, and researchers could potentially face, a conflict-sensitive framework is applied throughout the research design processes. The conflict-sensitive approach simply focuses on “what is being done and how things are being done”. Gabriel and Goetschel (2017) elaborated that the approach has a three-step approach with questions that stimulate discussions to unpack what is being done. They further elaborate on the following:

Conflict sensitivity does not mean avoiding conflicts. It means being aware of the cleavages, different interests and conflicts in the local context, and how the activity interrelates with these. Decision-making is then geared towards the needs of the context while recognising the role of the practitioner or, in more academic terms, the positionality of the researcher in the same context (Gabriel and Goetschel, 2017, p. 12).

The conflict-sensitivity framework requires considering the context in which the research is taking place by understanding the key issues, power and social dynamics, and roles of the research stakeholders (Gabriel and Goetschel, 2017, p. 12). Therefore, in my research, I used the conflict-sensitive approach as a reflective tool for my research journey.

Using the three steps helped my research journey. The first step includes understanding the context in which the study is taking place. In this step, it is important to get as many different perspectives as possible. As preparation for this research, my supervisor requested that I read Mamdani's (2009) book – *Saviours and Survivors: Darfur, Politics on the War and Terror*. While the book was not directly about Somalia or education, it broadened my perspective on how Global North NGOs and liberal peacebuilding organisations operate, how identity can be politicised and how communities move around and land issues. After reading that book, it was very clear that I would learn and unlearn many things. The study required a renewal of thinking and investment in learning about Somali history, life and politics. Audre Lorde (2012 cited in Byrd et al., 2009; Keguro, 2021) says:

[W]e must listen to each other to see how we impede and hurt each other with our unlistening, and that we must learn to listen even when it is difficult, even when doing so demands we unlearn something we had taken for granted about ourselves and our politics".

Therefore, I think that quote best summarises my experience and approach to learning, unlearning, listening, and understanding the local research context.

In addition to reading and researching, I used Twitter to follow Somali thinkers. I read Somali newspapers and watched documentaries on Somalia. These methods proved very useful as I could stay up-to-date with what was happening in Somalia and learn about politics, culture, lifestyle and challenges facing the country. Compared to the available literature, I found these sources very enriching, current and trendy. I was aware that I would not be able to go to the field physically and actively conduct research. Therefore, it was important for me to find other ways to learn more about the field outside of just books and field notes to identify the key issues, dynamics and actors of the research country and intervention.

In *Assistants, Guides, Collaborators, Friends: The Concealed Figures of Conflict Research*, Sarah Ann Jenkins (2018) argued that often academic research accounts hide or exclude people who have assisted with the research. Jenkins (2018) looks at assistants, guides, collaborators,

and friends who helped her navigate her research field. These figures helped her gain access and build connections in the field she was researching or with people she interviewed regarding gaining their trust. The people who assisted me in navigating the context and the research were my supervisor and the research consortium partners at Puntland Development Research Centre (PDRC) and the University of Sussex. Therefore, for me, the assistants and collaborators helped me navigate “my field” and gain a better understanding. Therefore, this work was not done in isolation but instead in a community where I could constantly ask questions and gain clarity and understanding.

3.3 The research context

The data for this study is from a larger project called Building Resilience in Crisis through Education (BRiCE), a four-year project funded by the European Union (EU). The project mainly aims to provide teacher professional development and learner programmes in schools for internally displaced and refugee children in fragile and emergency settings. The broader hope is that it contributes to quality education.

Relief International (RI) is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) responsible for designing and implementing the programme intervention in Puntland from 2019 to 2022. The work of RI, which is located in various locations with its main headquarters in Washington, D.C., is primarily involved in projects targeting learners, teachers, communities, and governments that aim to provide quality and sustainable educational services, teacher training, and implement programmes that promote social cohesion and resilience (Relief International, 2021).

For the research component, the EU awarded a research grant to the Centre for International Education (CIE) at the University of Sussex to conduct an independent study of the project. CIE at Sussex University focuses on education and development in the Global South. The CIE was established in 1989, supporting the idea that education is a fundamental human right that ties to development and social justice, equity, and poverty reduction (University of Sussex, 2021). The CIE collaborated with the PDRC to independently conduct a tracer study of the project by RI. The PDRC in Puntland was established as a product of the War-Torn Societies Project International (1994–1998), which worked to support international communities and national and local actors to address and respond to the challenges of rebuilding war-torn and post-conflict societies (Menkhaus, 2000, p. 8). The PDRC adopted the War-Torn Societies’ methods of participatory action research. The research centre plays an essential role in the

Puntland community as it is dedicated to peacebuilding, promoting democracy, and advocating for human rights (Menkhaus, 2000, p. 39). The research collaboration between CIE and PDRC aims to encourage knowledge exchange, mutual learning and skills development.

The CIE and PDRC are conducting an independent tracer study of the project to critically examine teacher professional development and learners' access to quality education. The tracer study follows a group of Grade 3 learners and their teachers over 3 years in 10 schools for children displaced by conflict in Puntland, Somalia. Tracer studies are designed to track changes over time and are often used within the education sector to evaluate and monitor projects that intend to be long-term and sustainable (Cohen, 2004, p. 32; Schomburg, 2013; Simister, 2017). Tracer studies can provide valuable information on how an intervention impacted a group of people that can influence decision-making or policy formulation using empirically-driven feedback (IPEC, 2011, pp. 2–3). A tracer study in Puntland Somalia focusing on internally displaced learners and educators may face a few challenges. Lindley (2013) stated that IDPs sometimes return to their “homes” or move from internal displacement camps to other places due to political and social issues.

Furthermore, while mobility and displacement patterns in the Somali territories are a symptom of conflict, some nomadic pastoralist groups are part of cultural practices and livelihood systems hence moving extensively (Lindley, 2013, p. 294). Brandt's (2019) research noted that the government-controlled teachers' salaries determined whether they stayed in the camps or returned home. Essentially, resources and opportunities play a significant role in whether IDPs decide to move to other regions or stay in host communities (Diaz, 2017). When conducting a tracer study with teachers and learners, these factors need to be considered as they can impact research design and sampling. For example, if teachers are not being paid or not being paid enough, they may seek better economic opportunities in other regions or schools. Therefore, this provides challenges and necessary implications for the research because principals, teachers, and children interviewed during different research phases may move. The participants that the study is supposed to follow may drop out, relocate to different regions, change schools, or retire over the 3 years. At the same time, the COVID-19 pandemic has affected funding as most of it is being redirected from education aid towards pandemic assistance programmes (Geoghegan, 2021). Therefore, how resources, such as salaries and school feeding programmes, are governed becomes of interest as it affects teachers' and students' livelihoods.

3.4 The school context and sampling

A purposive sample of three out of the ten schools was selected for this component of the research study. A purposive sample refers to a sampling method where a limited number is selected for a study due to the aims and research design. Two of the three schools selected for my study are located in the capital of Puntland, Garowe. The government and multiple international NGOs such as the United Nations and Save the Children are in this relatively peaceful and modern capital city. Garowe hosts IDPs displaced by conflict from the southern part of Somalia and IDPs displaced by climate disasters. In addition, the city hosts refugees from Ethiopia and Yemeni that have managed to create opportunities by establish businesses such as restaurants, interior decorating, and tailoring.

School A was originally established in 1998 by a group of women to support adult literacy for women. However, it was later changed to an IDP primary school for local climate refugees. The schools still provide adult literacy classes during the afternoons and holidays. At present, RI, Save the Children, Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), and one local NGO called Tadamun supports the school.

School B was founded in 2012 by community members. The school was originally a venue for viewing films, primary classes for children during the day and adult classes at night. The teachers are from the camps and are currently supported by the Ministry of Education, RI, Save the Children, Tadamun and some salaries from the World Bank and World Trade Organization (WTO). Infrastructurally, the school has five classrooms, an office and reading room and four toilets. Furthermore, the school has learners from the host community and Ethiopian refugees.

School C is the only school located in the north-eastern part of Puntland called Bosaso. The city hosts a large population of IDPs and refugees as it is Somalia's economic hub because of the port used by Ethiopian refugees to travel to Yemen and Saudi Arabia. The city is a strategic location because of the port and mountainous border and has become home to two non-state actors that want to control the area, resulting in civilian casualties. School C is supported by the Ministry of Education and RI only. In addition, some of the teachers are from the host community and the IDP camp in which the school is located.

Table 3. 1: Summary of information about the schools

School	State	School type	IDP/Mixed	Foreign NGOs or local NGOs
School A	Garowe	Public	Mixed	Both: RI, Save the Children and Tadamun
School B	Garowe	Public	Mixed	Both: RI, Save the Children and Tadamun
School C	Bosaso	Public	Mixed	RI

3.5 The conflict-sensitive approach: research ethics

The second step in the conflict-sensitive approach focuses on understanding the interactions between the research partners and the governance of the research and project by looking at things such as the involvement of local stakeholders in the design of the research agenda, allocation of tasks, funding, communication, and flexibility (Gabriel and Goetschel, 2017, p. 14). As mentioned above, the education intervention has multiple stakeholders with different roles, namely, the research consortium led by the University of Sussex in collaboration with the PDRC (a local Somali stakeholder), RI (the NGO implementing the project), the EU (the funding partner), and the research participants.

As part of research ethics, ethical approval was granted from the University of Sussex, the PDRC and the Ministry of Education in Puntland. The ethical approval process is for the researchers to demonstrate that the ethical standards of research will be adhered to (Kirk, 2007, p. 1252). Furthermore, the ethical approval process can be problematic as it is often about the higher learning institutions rather than the participants.

In addition, informed consent was received from the principals, guardians of the children and the children themselves. There are many concerns about data mining from the South and safeguarding the rights of children and vulnerable people (Maglio and Pherali, 2020, p. 6). For example, a school declined to participate because it felt it was very extractive. Other schools asked several times to be given feedback on the findings. In these cases, the participants rarely receive feedback after such studies.

The fact that the project is funded by the EU is also of ethical significance. In the literature review, I mentioned that the EU funds education projects in Somalia to stop migration and advance their global policies. Therefore, it is important to understand how fund distribution and allocation work. I listened to weekly meetings between the research partners, which helped me understand more about the conflict context and the research project. According to Gabriel and Goetschel (2017), research partnerships in conflict-affected interventions can include either private or public partners or a mixture of both. Often these partners share the same interests in carrying out an intervention and the research. However, there are different stages in terms of the research aspect, such as setting the agenda, interacting with stakeholders to carry out their objectives, and clarifying responsibilities between actors. The conflict-sensitivity approach acknowledges the hierarchy in decision-making between actors and stakeholders within research partnerships at various points in the research process, mostly to ensure ethics and prevent potential harm (Gabriel and Goetschel, 2017, p. 17). I was involved in drafting and coming up with the interview instruments both as an observer and contributor. The process was reflective, and the instruments were continuously shared with PDRC and other researchers, including myself. The process was a bit frustrating for me initially because of my positionality and background. As a black South African woman who has studied politics, it was odd that questions about race, discrimination and preferential treatment could not be included in the interview instruments. While in my context, those kinds of questions are “normal” and can be brought up as part of the inquiry, however, those questions could potentially put the fieldworkers at risk in the context of this study. Overall, the process of being part of a research consortium that forms part of a larger project means that there are hierarchies to making decisions because there is a set objective, agenda and schedule that must be followed.

3.6 Development of interview instruments

The research consortium, made up of CIE and PDRC, developed the interview instruments. The interview schedules and questionnaires were informed by another project that CIE conducted in Rwanda and South Africa that focused on engaging teachers working in peacebuilding interventions in conflict-affected societies (Sayed et al., 2018). The schedules were divided into thematic clusters of questions to ensure that the overarching research question was answered and rich and nuanced information could be extracted. The main interviews focused on getting the views on governance, learning and professional development and the teacher interviews focused on getting views on teaching, learning and professional

development, and the interviews with the committee members focused on their roles in governance and how they support the schools

The instrument development process was lengthy as it was an iterative process. An iterative process involves revisiting interview questions, data and testing because it makes room for new insights, refined focus and understanding to emerge (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002; Srivastava and Hopwood, 2009, p. 77). For example, PDRC was given a chance to comment and make revisions and suggestions once the draft schedules were finalised. In addition, the interview instruments were tested in a pilot school and edited based on the pilot findings. This process helps test the questions and skills of field workers, and the feedback helps determine what works and what does not work. For example, the instruments must be adjusted if field workers cannot get through the set questions in the allocated time.

3.7 Interviews

The tracer study project uses a mixed-methods approach, which combines survey data with interviews, focus groups and documentary analysis. For this study, I used the interview data collected between January to March 2020. Interviews can provide in-depth information and give great insight into the nature of social life as they can help us extract information about social life that surveys cannot capture. They give us nuances and explanations (Barriball and While, 1994; Wessells, 2013). Interviews offer a good way to get that information for a study that aims to probe deeply into the experiences of teachers, principals, and school committees of school and intervention governance.

The current study used semi-structured interviews from three out of the ten schools that were interviewed. There are three different kinds of interviews: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 335). Semi-structured interviews are a combination of structured and unstructured interviews; the interviewer asks predetermined questions and asks other “probing” questions. Probing provides an opportunity for the researcher to ask for clarification or to ask new questions based on the information provided by the respondent (Barriball and While, 1994, p. 331). Therefore, the advantages of semi-structured interviews are that they allow researchers to build up multiple perspectives, and they provide an opportunity to explore topics raised by different respondents (Stuckey, 2013, p. 57). However, it is also a disadvantage as some respondents are not asked the same probing questions (Barriball and While, 1994, p. 331).

3.8 Data collection and translation process

For this research, the PDRC team led the data collection process. They have taken various roles to guide the larger CIE team and me by better navigating the research setting throughout the research process.

The PDRC fieldworkers went through a series of workshops and training provided by CIE, which focused on the ethics of researching vulnerable people, data privacy, and child protection policies to prepare them for the data collection process. While fieldworkers might therefore have deep contextual knowledge about important social and political dynamics, there is still an obligation that they are equipped to work with sensitive and vulnerable populations to ensure that no harm is done to the participants (Creswell and Zhang, 2009). The fieldworkers ensured that respondents and participants understood the study, the purpose of the study, their rights, and the potential risks and benefits of participation and ensured that participants granted their consent voluntarily (Shahnazarian et al., 2009).

The PDRC researchers and fieldworkers translated the interviews, and all interviews were recorded using audio recording equipment. The interviews were transcribed first in Somali and then translated into English. Furthermore, audiotapes reduce the potential for interviewer error, such as recording data incorrectly or cheating or logging an answer to a question that was not asked. The collected information is stored on Dropbox, an online storage tool that stores files and documents in “cloud storage” (Beddall-Hill et al., 2011, p. 76). A network of virtual servers is generally hosted by third parties, allowing access to and from multiple devices at any given time. Dropbox accounts are protected with passwords and encrypted (Beddall-Hill et al., 2011, p. 76).

Having researchers and fieldworkers from PDRC was beneficial because they got to interview the participants in Somali, therefore, limiting language barrier issues as participants did not have to speak English. In addition, data collection was sometimes complicated because of insecurity in the region. The schools’ security situation was carefully monitored. However, when PDRC went to some schools, security had to be hired because their safety was at risk due to the instability in the area at the time. Sometimes, instability in Puntland is a result of the contested borders that it shares with the Southern side of Somaliland and the fighting between non-state armed actors (Hoehne, 2015, p. 16; Marchal, 2010, p. 27). Therefore, stability in Puntland depends on to whom you are talking and the events of the day.

3.9 Thematic analysis

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis involves analysing data either from interview transcripts or other text to find common themes, topics, ideas, and patterns that are reoccurring and relevant research or subject. The advantage of thematic analysis is that it allows flexibility in identifying the themes and interpreting the data (Clarke et al., 2015). As a result, the researcher plays a pivotal role in identifying the themes and patterns. Therefore, to a large extent, the themes are curated by the research and do not “emerge” automatically from the data. However, this approach’s disadvantage involves the risk of missing nuances in the data because it relies on the researcher's knowledge and judgment, which can be subjective (Clarke et al., 2015).

For this research, the themes that stood out were those related to principals, teachers and school committee governance experiences and the bottom-up and top-down approaches to peacebuilding. The term theme refers to something important about the data concerning the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data (Blackstone, 2018). Braun and Clarke (2006) identified the inductive and deductive approaches as the primary ways to identify themes. The inductive or latent approach involves the researcher identifying themes that are “strongly linked to the data themselves”. This approach mainly removes the researcher’s interest as a deciding factor for what is considered a theme. Instead, it requires the data to be coded without privileging preconceived ideas of the themes. The deductive analysis provides an alternative approach to analysis and tends to be “driven by the researcher’s theoretical or analytic interest in the area” (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Therefore, the approach allows the researcher’s theoretical interest to be more prominent in deciding what constitutes a theme.

This research made use of both the inductive and deductive methods. The research instruments were set according to themes, so the themes were already predetermined in the formation stages. The deductive method allowed me to interpret the theme and make connections to the theoretical literature and other themes, for example, the governance of time and feeding programmes which were themes that emerged later.

3.10 Limitations and trustworthiness of data

The study sought to examine educational staff as principals, teachers, and school committee members' experiences of education governance in IDP schools in Puntland, Somalia. The study has several limitations. The participants interviewed provided great insight into my study's objectives; however, because my research is part of a larger research consortium, there were many other objectives, so my objectives could not be the only ones.

My study did not include or look at the interviews with NGOs and the Ministry of Education actors about their roles in education governance. This would have been useful in understanding governance from their perspectives. The best part is that the overall project is a tracer study, which can be included in further research as it forms part of the gaps in my research. Second, the inability to go to the field further complicates the research as I did not physically experience the field. As a result, I relied on the team for data and feedback. So, the idea of inserting myself physically into the study was very different for me, as was the process of unlearning.

In addition, using English as the recognised language of the programme and academic writing is a big limitation. English limits the participants' voices as the translation and interpretation processes are inadequate to capture the true sentiments of the participants' views expressed. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (2018) argued that English fails to capture some of the expressions, phrases, and meanings offered by African languages. Therefore, the translated English versions have not been further edited, altered, or paraphrased as I did not want to manipulate further or edit the participants' voices. Lastly, working in a consortium was an interesting experience as it has some advantages, such as efficient learning and support. Still, it also comes with its limitations, such as multiple partners with their interests and objectives. Hence, while it was great to get some insight and knowledge to help me understand the complex environment, it also meant that some of my initial research questions could not be included as they did not fit the scope or they made the interviews too long

In addition, there were time constraints related to data collection in difficult circumstances as the research team did not want to draw attention to themselves in areas more prone to conflict, and their safety was prioritised in the research. This means that in these places, they were quicker; consequently, the data might not be as rich in those sites. Lastly, failing to incorporate the participatory research element could have been a limitation to the data.

3.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined the various stages of the methodological approach used in the study. First, I introduced the conflict-sensitive approach as a tool to unpack the challenges, implications, and research implications as an attempt to highlight some of the practices and theoretical challenges experienced throughout the research. Then I discussed the research context to highlight the overall project and the current study. The current study takes data from a larger project that is a study that tracks the overall project over time. I then looked at the qualitative methods used for the study, such as interview instruments and storage systems such as Dropbox and audio recorders. Lastly, I discussed the thematic analysis and the limitations of the study.

Chapter Four: Findings

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the finding from interviews conducted with the participants working in internally displaced person (IDP) schools in Puntland. It draws on interviews with the principals, teachers, and school committee members from three schools in Puntland. The schools are in Garowe and Bosaso, both cities with growing economies and home to many IDPs and refugees.

I commence by presenting brief school profiles and information about the participants. The participants have been anonymised to protect their identities and location. I then discuss findings in terms of each research question. The first finding focuses on the roles of the different actors and how principals, teachers and committee members understand and observe their role in governance and their relationships. The second finding focuses on issues of how knowledge is governed, concentrating on knowledge in the form of professional development programmes and curriculum content. Finally, the last finding looks at the distribution of resources such as time, teacher salaries and school feeding programmes.

4.2 Profile of schools and participants

Table 4. 1: School A's participants

Participants	Position/Role	No. Years at school
Principal A0	Principal (standing in)	5 years
Teacher A1	Maths Teacher	1.5 years
Teacher A2	Somali Language Teacher	10 years
Committee Member A3	Committee Member	8 years

School A is in the eastern part of Garowe and was established in 1998 by a group of women who initially wanted to increase adult literacy rates. The school is in the middle of the camp called Tsunami, which refers to how the camp hosts IDPs affected by the 2004 tsunami in the coastal villages in Puntland. During the day, the school is used by learners and in the afternoons and holidays, the school provides adult literacy classes. The principal has worked in the school

for 5 years. The principal was as a committee member for 3 years, then a teacher and deputy principal for a year, she has been a principal for 2 years. The Maths teacher (A1) has been at the school for 1.5 years, and in the past, she has taught history and science. Teacher A2 has been a Somali language teacher, at the school for 10 years and a committee member, while participant A3 has been on the committee for 8 years.

Table 4. 2: School B and participants

Participants	Position/Role	No. Years teaching at school
Principal B1	Principal	7 years
Teacher B2	Maths Teacher	3 years
Teacher B3	Somali Lang. Teacher	6 years
Teacher B4	Social Sciences Teacher	2 years
Committee Member B5	Committee Member	2 years

School B is also located in the capital of Puntland, Garowe. The school was established in 2013. Initially, it was a film screening venue. Currently, it is a primary school for children during the day and at night serves as a venue for adult classes. The majority of the learners and teachers are IDPs fleeing from conflict in the Southern and Somali/Ethiopian regions. The participants include the principal who has worked in the school for 7 years, the maths teacher for 3 years, the Somali language teacher for 6 years, the social sciences teacher and a committee member for 2 years each.

Table 4. 3: School C and participants

Participants	Position/Role	No. Years teaching at school
Principal C1	Principal	3.5 to 4 years
Teacher C2	Arabic Language Teacher	3.5 years
Teacher C3	Social Sciences Teacher	2 years
Teacher C4	Maths Teacher	2 years
Committee Member C5	Committee Member	X

School C is located in Bosaso, between an IDP camp and a host community. Therefore, the school is used by both communities and provides morning classes for host children and afternoon classes for IDP children. The school was established in 2010, firstly only as a school for girls, but it has come to welcome all children over time. The participants include the principal (C1), who has worked in the school for close to 4 years, , the Arabic language teacher (C2), who has been at the school for 3.5 years, while the social sciences teacher (C3) and maths teacher (C4) have each been at the school for 2 years. Lastly, it is unknown how long the Committee member (C5) has been a committee member. She noted that she used to assist with sanitation issues; her children had attended the school, and then she became a committee member.

4.3 Finding 1: What are the roles of different actors involved in governing schools, such as the Ministry of Education, NGOs, and donors?

4.3.1 Role of governance actors

The participants in this study indicated that a range of different actors is involved in the governance of IDP schools. These actors include the Ministry of Education in Puntland, and various non-governmental organisations (NGOs), notably Relief International, Save the Children, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and one local NGO called Tadamun. The participants indicated that these actors have different roles that contribute to the governance and support that the schools receive. Committee member A3 and Principal A1 said the following about the role that the Ministry of Education in Puntland plays:

The ministry plays an important role in the school. It is in charge of the school curriculum. This is a public school, not private, and it therefore comes under the ministry. The role of the ministry directly affects the teachers, for the school acquires teachers through the ministry. This also impacts students since recruiting proficient teachers is better than recruiting untrained teachers. In addition, the ministry administers student exams and accredits the students with school-leaving certificates. So, I can say that the ministry is the mother of knowledge (Committee Member A3, 2020).

The role of the Ministry of Education in school is the most important role. It is the overall institution that connects schools and the NGOs. Without it, we could not move

forward. Firstly, it manages the curriculum. Monitoring of educational progress is another key role. The ministry maintains supervision to know the needs of the school so it can properly address however it can. Also, the ministry report to the NGOs on the particular needs of the schools. In addition, it administers the centralise, and partly contributes to equipping the schools (Principal A1, 2020).

The Ministry of Education's role is to: manage the curriculum and final exams, assist with the appointment of teachers, monitor schools' needs, and connect NGOs to schools based on the conditions required. However, it is unclear how they decide to pair the schools and the NGOs.

In addition, the participant points out that the IDP camp schools are not classified as private schools. Therefore, they are solely under the governance of the Ministry of Education. In addition, Principal B1 from School B notes that the Ministry of Education provided the land for their school, meaning that the ministry has control over some of the land in the camps.

4.3.2 Tensions and contradictions between the international NGOs and local schools

The teachers from School A indicated that NGOs such as Save the Children and RI have assisted with building the classrooms and providing resources such as textbooks. The NGOs provide funding, feeding programmes and training programmes like teacher professional development and child protection services. The three schools have indicated that they receive support from RI. Principal B1 from School B stated the following about RI's role:

Our relationship with RI is strong. RI is an NGO that has significantly changed the school's situation. Few examples are the Dry Food and Children's feeding programme in 2018 to 2019. RI has been supporting the school for 5 years now. It is the school's backbone and has so far supported us in many ways, such as teaching materials, professional capacity buildings and maintenance of the school. It is an NGO that we cannot compare to any other NGO ... there are no weaknesses in our relationship (Principal B1, 2020).

Most of the participants made similar comments about RI's role and maintained that there were no weaknesses in their relationships. On the surface, participants were quick to stress that everything was running smoothly, however, the tension was quite clear as participants mentioned some grievances about RI not having "special meetings" for the teachers to discuss their suggestions and that RI stopped providing feeding programme aid. There seem to be some

strategic silences because the participants shy away from critiquing RI . After all, there might be an assumption that the research impacts the support that is being provided. While it is a valued concern, participants should be assured that the findings will be anonymous and used to evaluate and not to punish.

Schools A and B indicated that they receive support from Save the Children and a local Somali NGO Tadamun, popularly known as TASS (Tadamun Social Society). Tadamun was established in 1992 by Somali professionals to aid education, health, social services and protection. The NGO works closely with the government of Puntland and tries to maintain its autonomy. Principal B1 explained:

We know only Tadamun as a local NGO. The rest are international organisations works in Child Protection, a programme that protects children from potential risks by educating teachers, parents and community members on protecting children. Most of the time, Tadamun educates mothers because women are often the caretakers of children When it comes to comparing local and international organisations, say that each one has a unique role. They all perform important tasks. However, Tadamun, as a local NGO, is particularly concerned with Child Protection, while international agencies work on other school needs (Principal B1, 2020).

Furthermore, the local NGO collaborates with the school on relevant and relevant programmes that involve the parents and students. The NGO does not seem to be involved much in the governance of the schools but rather in the programmes they run. Participants noted that communities play an essential role as some are involved as committee members, and others offer protection services to the school because it is their property. A participant explains the following:

The community has members on both school committees. They are members who connect the community with the school and who also advocate for the school. They also deal with disputes within the school, connect children who have no education to the school, and conduct awareness programmes (Principal C1, 2020).

When asked if there is ever any disagreement between different actors such as the Ministry of Education, community and NGOs, one participant elaborated the following about Alternative Basic Education (ABE) and the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC):

We do not often hear of things, but there are some projects that overlap, such as ABE [Alternative Basic Education] project. The ABE project was previously supported by NRC [Norwegian Refugee Council]. RI started the same project in the school in 2019. When RI began, ABE, NRC started to gradually discontinue its support of the (similar) project until it eventually pulled out and stopped supporting the teachers altogether. We heard that NRC said that it cannot operate the same school that RI and Save the Children are working in. The reason, I think, is that the projects overlapped (Principal B1, 2020)

Alternative Basic Education (ABE) is a promising avenue in terms of reaching pastoralist children in Somalia. Its flexible approach is adapted to the nomadic lifestyle and offers a second chance for out-of-school children who missed out on the opportunity to enrol in formal primary school (Williams and Cummings, 2015). With support from United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), ABE has been successfully piloted and adopted by the Ministries of Education in Puntland and Somaliland but is still in its infancy in Central South Somalia (Hirda Africa, 2021). The ABE's flexible approach includes an accelerated curriculum, flexible class hours and school calendar, mobile schools, libraries and interactive radio instruction.

4.4 Finding 2: How is knowledge governed in schools in terms of curriculum and teachers' professional development?

4.4.1 Who selects the contents of the curriculum?

As mentioned in the previous section, the Ministry of Education is responsible for IDP schools' curricula. I pointed out in chapter two that the schools in Somalia use curricula adopted from neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen (Aden, 2017; Williams and Cummings, 2015). Lewis and Winn (2018) argued that the consequence of the new barbarism framework in Somalia impacts teaching and learning as the curriculum is not representative of the Somali culture, values and lifestyles. One of the teacher participants mentioned the following about the Ministry of Education and the official Somali curriculum:

We do not currently have the official curriculum from the Ministry of Education. It would be good to incorporate patriotism into the curriculum and to teach the students the natural resources of their country. It is also a good idea to educate students about the traditional culture of Somalia, especially in the elementary schools, and take them on trips to the rural areas (Teacher A2, 2020).

Furthermore, the Mathematics teacher from school 3 mentioned the following about the curriculum:

The ministry also gave us a syllabus. Textbooks are provided by RI. So far, we have textbooks for Grades 1, 2, 3 and 4 (Teacher C4, 2020).

Curriculum refers to the set subject content. Therefore, it gives out the objects, the contents and methods that will be used to teach. The Ministry of Education usually sets curricula, and the teachers use the curriculum to make the syllabus. The syllabus refers to the schedule of assessments, assignments and projects that need to be completed concerning meeting the curriculum outcomes. Usually, the teachers make the syllabus. Therefore, it is interesting because then, what curriculum are the children being taught and are they using an unofficial curriculum? Relief International (RI) provides the textbooks. Whether they are from neighbouring countries or not is unclear. It would be interesting to know the curriculum content as the literature review has some examples of UNICEF collaborating to make Somali textbooks.

4.4.2 Whose knowledge is represented?

In chapter two I pointed out that the curriculum content does not represent Somali culture and values. Principal B2 explained there is very little of it and that it is not enough:

Somali culture is taught in the Somali language. It includes and teaches everything we do in the countryside, and our heritage as nomads, the local vegetation, animals, etc. It is important to incorporate the Somali culture into the school subjects. Components of the Somali culture must be included in all of the school's classes, including the Somali languageIt is now one subject, and the Somali language is predominantly literature and some mixed-language skills. The Somali tradition and culture are covered in a concise way. I would say this material should be given a preference over others I would say that the Somali language should be strengthened, and I would suggest that the Somali culture and the geography of the country should be included in the Social Science. I also recommend that all schools be taught in Somali language, at least in the primary grades. Learning in Arabic or other languages eliminates one's conscience and awareness of children's culture as Somali speakers (Principal B2, 2020).

In addition, Teacher B3 indicated that the content taught in the Somali language curriculum is not necessarily relevant and that the language used is a bit outdated for the learners to understand. Therefore, linguistically the curriculum needs to be updated, stating the following:

I find that teaching in Somali language can be difficult to this young generation – referring to the millennials compared to the previous generations – as they don't read or understand in similar way as the previous generations – prior to the civil war. The major difficulty is finding similar meaning for words in the books to make the young pupils understand. This makes me use other forms or channels to locate the best and closest meaning for a word that these young generations can understand I asked from the principal that those are not trained well or are weak in delivering standard level of teaching should be prioritised to be included in the trainings I would love to share my opinion that teachers' training programmes should focus on teaching methodologies and to be trained teachers the best ways to deliver teaching. One thing to mention is that how we (myself and other older colleagues) learned in our school years and how this generation receives education are not the same, and that should be recognised (Teacher B3, 2020).

Furthermore, Teacher C3 mentioned the following, “I would like to get materials and pictures that support me in teaching topics such as environment, social science, culture, to deliver lessons better”. The teacher mentions materials and pictures as part of the curriculum support needed for children to understand better and visualise the things discussed in class. The teachers should be able to discuss these needs and observations with the NGOs as it forms part of the feedback that the teachers need in classes to support learners learning experiences.

However, Teacher C4 who teaches mathematics, mentioned that there is no way to include Somali-related content for his subject. While maths is considered a subject that only works with numbers, teachers' examples are important. According to Bush and Saltarelli (2000), the examples that maths teachers use can either fuel or mitigate conflict. For example, if the mathematics teacher makes an example using guns, that could fuel conflict (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Pherali and Sahar, 2018). Similarly, Aden (2017) argued that the hidden curriculum is the most dangerous because it is unmonitored. Teacher C3, when asked about sensitive topics in the maths subject, said the following, “sometimes using examples of rich people and poor people may come up, for instance, deductions from rich people. I don't know if this could be a sensitive topic or not it is just a math, numbers only” (Teacher C3, 2020). Therefore, teachers need to be trained to teach using appropriate content.

4.4.3 Teacher professional development training

4.4.3.1 Who is responsible for teachers' professional development training?

The training that teachers receive benefits greatly in their work. For example, how the teacher manages the classroom, especially how he settles the classroom environment when entering class. In the past, when teachers went into the classroom, they would immediately stand in front of the blackboard and start the lesson. Now they have been taught, and employ, many useful strategies to get the student's full attention and interest for the lesson. ... The most useful training was received by the Somali and the English language teachers as well as the math teacher. ... The training I received has helped me a lot, especially in monitoring, supervision and leadership. I now work in a knowledgeable and confident manner. ... Therefore, we would like the education stakeholders to 1) increase the number of trainings, 2) provide training based on Somali culture and life, and 3) the school takes part in the process of identifying which type of training is needed and who needs to receive (Principal C1, 2020).

The first finding established that RI is responsible for the teacher professional development programmes. Teacher B4 said, "Training should be made unique to teachers of the same subjects, not just general training for all teachers". Furthermore, Principal B1 noted different training types, "there is also the training given to teachers by sending them to college, such as GTEC [Garowe Training Education College]. We mostly get the short trainings" (Principal B1, 2020).

Teacher professional development is broad as it includes different types of training offered to help teachers develop their skills. For this finding, teacher professional development has been divided into three categories, subject-specific training, general skills training, and child development training. I developed these categorisations to differentiate the different types of training the teachers receive. I noticed while going through the data that not having these categories meant all the information would look like teacher training. However, when probed further, it was clear that it was primarily general skills training and child development training, and selected teachers were receiving subject-specific training. For example, participants pointed out that preference over certain subjects such as English and mathematics is given over other subjects such as social science and the Somali language.

All teachers are trained, but the math and the English language teachers get the most training. ... One of the barriers to that rule is that NGOs choose specific teachers for training, such as math and English language teachers. It is important to note that teachers are the same and that each class is important. We would provide many useful recommendations if we are asked consulted. ... On the other hand, when NGOs provide training, they send an inspection team to confirm how the teacher has benefited from the training (Principal A1, 2020).

Subject-specific training is good because it helps teachers develop their expertise and teaching methods for that specific subject; it provides teachers with the space to raise concerns about learning and share helpful teaching techniques. However, subject-specific training should be provided for all subjects because the current dedication to maths and English makes it seem like those subjects are more valuable than your languages and social sciences, but all subjects should receive subject-specific training, not just science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) subjects.

Furthermore, most participants indicated that they have different training levels. Some have training from universities and teaching colleges, while others are still studying to become teachers at the local university. In addition, some of the teachers have no qualifications in education but rather either experience in teaching or a professional qualification in another field. Teacher B3 elaborated on why teacher training is important and that it should govern in a way that gives the less trained teachers a chance to attend training:

I asked from the principal that those are not trained well or are weak in delivering standard level of teaching should be prioritised to be included in the trainings. ... I would love to share my opinion that teachers' training programmes should focus on teaching methodologies and to be trained teachers the best ways to deliver teaching. One thing to mention is that how we (myself and other older colleagues) learned in our school years and how this generation receives education are not the same, and that should be recognised. ... Learners should be the central pillar when teaching instead of the teacher (Teacher B3, 2020).

4.4.3.2 What do teachers think – how can professional development training be improved?

When asked how the professional development programme could be improved or changed, most teachers indicated that they wanted more training and more subject-specific training, especially for social sciences and other subjects apart from maths and English. The teachers want the learners to be central to their learning and that it is not just about teachers but about how teachers also receive and understand the lessons.

The teachers want to be education stakeholders and contribute and provide feedback on their experiences and opinions on teacher professional development. Furthermore, in finding 1, a participant mentioned no special meetings between them and the Ministry of Education and NGOs. Thus, they do not have a platform to express their contributions. Lastly, the NGO monitors if the teachers benefit from the training through class inspection and observation; however, that does not mean they engage with what can be improved or an open dialogue relationship. They actually need to ask the teachers for feedback; an observation is not feedback.

Principal A1 noted the following: “We often get trainings. Sometimes there is an interruption in the frequency of trainings, but since the international NGOs have started providing support, we have many trainings”. However, because of how rigged it is towards certain subjects and teachers, the teachers and principals have taken the onus to teach each other or share the knowledge from the teacher professional development training with teachers that were not picked to attend training. Participants elaborated on the internal agreement and why it is necessary:

It is an internal arrangement that we have made and agreed upon in the school. I am also careful about the number of teachers I send each time. For example, if we are asked to send six teachers, and we send all of them, the schoolwork will stop (Principal B2, 2020).

4.5 Findings 3: How are resources governed in schools concerning time, teachers' salaries, and school feeding programmes?

Generally, resources to support the learning and academic project vary from place to place. This section seeks to understand the resources are governed. While this was not originally in

the plan, it was an interesting set of themes and topics from this section. This section came about from the information from interviews, as many teachers mentioned issues around incentives. Out of the 14 interviews with teachers, 11 mentioned either that teachers would like increased salaries or incentives and the 2 schools where the feeding programme has been stopped mentioned that they would like them to be resumed.

4.5.1 Time

The management and governance of time was a recurring theme in the interviews. I found this theme very interesting because it was not something that came up a lot in the literature. When I discussed it with my supervisors, I realised how important and layered it is. I wanted to focus on this theme because I think policymakers and NGOs planning interventions often ignore it; for example, when scheduling the teacher professional development training, the number of staff in the school should be considered as many IDP schools have limited staff.

In chapter four, the teachers expressed that not all teachers can go for training. So, they allocate time to share what was taught at the training. Teacher C4 said, “yes, they share such experience with other teachers during our Thursday meetings”. Therefore, the way that the teacher professional development training is governed does not consider that IDP schools do not have a large amount of staff and support staff. As a result, most of the participants noted that an issue regarding training was that it occurred during the week, on school days and at varying locations. These IDP schools have limited teaching staff. Therefore, teachers cannot attend training all at once. Principal B1 elaborated further:

Ideally, specific and appropriate times should be allocated for the trainings, not while the school is busy. Such time should be enough for the training to be complete. Occasionally, trainings are given to both the headmaster and several of the teachers, resulting lack of human resource and leadership in the school (Principal B1, 2020).

In chapter four, under finding two on curriculum governance, the teachers mentioned that Somali values, culture, and lifestyle were not incorporated into each subject. Instead, it is taught as one subject that is taught on certain days and times. Principal C1 elaborated:

There are classes that we offer on specific days about culture, good citizenry, good student behaviour, avoidance of bad behaviour, and so on. ... They are taught in the

classroom, but they are often taught as lectures during the morning student assembly since there are no books to teach these topics. ... It would be good to incorporate cultural learning into the curriculum because it is the foundation of the student's development (Principal C1, 2020).

While another participant from another school noted:

Yes, they are taught about the culture. It is the duty of the Somali language teacher. Examples of this include teaching students the sense of ownership, religion, culture through storytelling. We allocate 2 days a week for these cultural lessons. I think it is a good idea to incorporate culture education into the formal education of the children, as it is very useful for the student's understanding and personal identity (Principal B1, 2020).

Essentially, the teachers note that incorporating Somali culture is linked to the children's identity and development. However, they highlight that the onus is on Somali language teachers and that the teaching is limited to 2 days of the week, certain times of the day, and it is not incorporated into the daily subjects.

In addition, the Islamic schooling system that has not been integrated into the secular schooling system or taught alongside is suggested in some of the research discussed in chapter two. Committee member C5 stated:

The school is frequented by the local community, young and old, men and women. Children study in the morning, and women study in the afternoon. There are teachers who teach the Qur'an in the afternoon. A Qur'an student is charged \$2. Therefore, the local community is very supportive of the school and comes to it from a long distance (Committee member C5, 2020).

This finding is interesting because it speaks to the governance of time and that a school can have many functions. For example, in the morning, the schools are used by children and in the afternoon, the school is used by women to study, and it is also used for Quranic studies. In chapter two, Cummings and Williams (2015) presented in their study that an effort has been made to integrate secular and Quranic education in Somalia. However, it seems that the two are governed separately and by different actors. It is problematic that Quranic education and

secular education are not integrated because the Quranic learning system has been in Somalia for years, even during the conflicts. The non-integration of Quranic education is related to international NGOs and donors pushing their “new barbarism framework” and Normative Power Europe frameworks to gain legitimacy.

4.5.2 Teacher salaries and incentives

Brandt (2019) argued that teachers working in conflict-affected societies are greatly affected by low and delayed salary payments. While actors may make funds available, sometimes the funds are not likely to reach the teachers because NGOs and local governments may use the aid to benefit themselves and their interests (Dolan et al., 2012). This finding is interesting because the teachers mentioned their dissatisfaction with their low salaries and incentives. Although the interview schedules did not include a question dedicated to salaries, it came up repeatedly in comments and further probing by interviews, and it was a theme that kept coming up in the participants’ responses.

Principal A1 says, “apart from training, we need help with our salaries. Some teachers receive a salary, but it is not enough, and they work as volunteers ... there is a department within the ministry which manages the World Bank funds for schoolteacher and that only two teachers from [School A] benefit from that project”. Furthermore, Principal A1 mentioned that they receive salaries from RI, Save the Children, the World Bank, and the World Food Programme (WFP). However, the funding provided by the World bank is for a 4-month period if they abide by the rules and meet the requirements. Furthermore, they do not make the children pay school fees. School A mentioned that they do not have school fees. While another participant explained that at their school, they do not charge fees at all; therefore, they rely on their salary as the only form of income, saying, “I have no other source of income. We also do not charge school fees” (Principal A1, 2020).

In School B, teacher B2 mentioned that the salaries are delayed or not paid, affecting the teacher’s morale as they do not have other forms of income as the school does not charge school fees. Furthermore, it leads to poor teacher attendance as teachers are forced to seek other employment opportunities to generate an income. The participant stated:

I would also add that the financial support for teacher to be looked at and sustained as they have their private issues and families to look after. Some receive support in

financial terms but not always on time, and delays are very common. Delayed payments or not receiving at all could damage teacher's morale and could perhaps lead to poor attendance (Teacher B2, 2020).

In school three, Principal C1 mentioned that “our relationship with RI is weak in terms of adequate funding for teachers ... I do not get enough financial support. I receive some incentive from the CEC [Community Education Committee]”, in addition, they explain that they receive some teachers are paid by RI and others NRC and that the CEC are a group of self-employed community members collect contributions for the teachers. Furthermore, they elaborate that they charge schools fees to children in Grade 5, 6 and 7. The participant elaborated:

We charge only the students in 5th, 6th and 7th grades because when they reach that level they need a lot of effort. No teacher is willing to work for \$60 at that level, so, the committee contributes, NGOs pay part of the incentives, and we charge the students some fees... .Each student pays a fee of \$5 (Principal C1, 2020).

The findings suggest that how teacher salaries are governed is fragmented across the three schools. The teachers' salaries in School A are administered and funded by the World Bank, WFP, Save the Children and RI., whereas in School C, only RI and NRC pay teachers' salaries. Schools A and B do not charge school fees, while School C does. Thus the CEC is committed to giving them more and contributing more as they see that the teachers need it. Meaning that in School A, they have more “multiple streams of income”, while in School C, they have to make their way. The reason why there are salary delays is unclear. However, I think it is because the Ministry of Education does not have a policy on salaries or a uniform salary system. This results in a lack of accountability from the Ministry of Education and the NGOs and donor organisations.

4.5.3 Feeding programmes

According to Uduku (2011), school feeding programmes improve childhood nutrition and learning outcomes and incentivise more impoverished families to send their children to school. Research on school feeding schemes in South Africa indicated that teachers and parents should also be included in the discourse on school feeding schemes (Hatløy and Sommerfelt, 2017). The rationale is that if children are being sent to school without food, then the parents do not have either. Therefore, teachers, parents and children benefit from the programmes.

Furthermore, quality education must be understood in broader socio-economic contexts as school feeding programmes address poverty, hunger, poor nutrition, and children's educational opportunities (Uduku, 2011).

Therefore, it is crucial to understand why such an important programme would be removed from the schools that need it the most and how the actors decide which school will not be receiving the programme. One teacher explains why feed programmes are important and how not having them impacts learners, parents and learning:

Pupils come to the school unprepared and without having a breakfast. Their parents leave an early morning for their jobs. These learners sometimes told me in the middle of the class that they are going home to eat something as they are hungry before even the break time is reached We were told that WHO is considering providing such service to our school, which did not happen yet or contact the school in this regard. We are aware of that there are other schools that provide breakfast and lunch to their learners. We feel or sense those who did not get breakfast in the morning from their behaviour. You can sense from their physical look or energy There was another incident related to a hunger. A young boy fell unconscious while standing in the line before learners go to the classes. We rushed to the boy and took him inside to the principal's office, and bought some cold drinks for him. He quickly regained his conscious and also gave him some painkiller for fever he had. We asked him few questions about what had happened to him, which he informed us that he didn't eat breakfast and dinner for the night before. That was the day we stopped asking pupils to line up to the classes in the morning (Teacher B3, 2020).

Food schemes are aimed at learners' nutrition as it impacts their rights to life and dignity, but teachers and parents also benefit.

The Ministry of Education plays a significant role in deciding which schools receive feeding programmes. Educators note that the feeding programme is an incentive to send their children to school instead of sending them to work or asking them to assist with the household income for some parents. One participant had the following to say about how the Ministry of Education governs the feeding programme, stating the following:

The ministry's role does not have a significant impact on teachers and students. Although the ministry is responsible for determining which schools receive feeding programmes, it has not included us in that list. Despite that, we continue to work. Therefore, I can say that the ministry is good in many aspects, except being fair when it comes to the distribution of donation (Principal B1, 2020).

Another teacher participant said the following about RI:

Our relationship with RI is strong. And it is strong enough to meet our needs. This year, though, we did not receive feeding programme for students. RI does so much for the growth of this school. The fact that parents are better connected to us and encouraging us in school is due to the food we used to distribute to their students, but we didn't receive such feeding programme this year (Principal A1, 2020).

Nutrition has a vital role in learners' concentration and participation in class. Therefore, it is a critical resource that needs to be provided. Discontinuing the programme in individual schools creates a risk of dropout, migration, and hunger. Furthermore, teachers also benefit from feeding programmes. Lastly, it puts the teacher in an awkward place, where they notice the learner's energy levels, and they have to intervene by providing learners with food or allowing them to go home to eat during the school day. The one participant from School C that is a school committee member noted that:

We would like the feeding programme to be resumed. Many children quit when the programme was stopped, as parents are sending them to work for them. We lost almost 50 students because the feeding programme was discontinued. (Committee member C3, 2020).

Therefore, the final statement by one participant is presented below:

We would like the school feeding programme to be resumed because these people are displaced and cannot afford regular meals for their children. There are other schools that are offered the feeding programme even though we need such programmes more than them (Principal B1, 2020).

The finding is an example of why school feeding programmes are essential for the schooling community. However, it is interesting that the teachers only discuss how the feeding

programmes benefit learners and parents as the parents are more likely to send children to school if the food programmes are running. However, the teachers made no mention of how they benefit from the feeding programmes because teachers and food handlers also benefit from the school feeding programmes. School feeding programmes contribute to the livelihoods of teachers and communities as teachers can receive food, thus increasing concentration for themselves and students (Devereux et al., 2018). Lastly, parents and guardians do not have to worry about what their children will eat during the day (Devereux et al., 2018, p. 17).

Furthermore, it is still unclear how the Ministry of Education decides on how schools and NGOs pair up, as the first finding indicated that the Ministry of Education connects schools with NGOs. However, the criteria used by the NGOs to decide which school gets the feeding programmes is unknown. The lack of meetings between the NGOs and schoolteachers and representatives means that the schoolteachers hardly know or are sure what is going on, and they do not have a platform to hold NGOs accountable. This is clearly an issue as the principal of one school said, “there are other schools that are offered the feeding programme even though we need such programmes more than them”. Furthermore, in chapter two, Lewis and Winn (2018) argued that there are issues with preferential treatment towards certain clans. The comment by the participant left me wondering if the Ministry of Education is biased toward certain IDP schools on the bases of clan identity.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I focused on the experiences of teachers, principals, and committee members of education governance in schools for IDP learners. The participants explained the roles of the various actors involved in education governance. The first finding was that the Ministry of Education of Puntland plays an important role in education governance. However, the Ministry of Education and NGOs take a top-down approach to education governance. The second finding is related to how knowledge such as curricula and the teacher professional development programme is governed to marginalise Somali knowledge – subjects that are not maths and English are marginalised. The professional development programme mainly focuses on maths and English for subject-specific training. The last finding is that resources are governed in an uneven and patchy way because multiple actors are doing similar things independently. Hence there is a lack of accountability when there are issues with resources distribution and governance.

Chapter Five: Synthesis

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I analyse the themes that emerged in chapter four and discuss the principals, teachers, and school committee members' experiences of governance in schools for internally displaced learners. I commence by discussing the dominance of the top-down approach in education governance used by education actors such as donors and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). I then discuss the challenges concerning knowledge governance by looking at the lack of inclusive curricula and the challenges in the professional development programme. Lastly, I discuss the governance of resources.

5.2 Education actors and problematising NGOs

Education actors have a significant impact on education governance as their policy decisions can shape education practices and outcomes. The research findings in chapter four indicated that multiple actors are directly involved with the internally displaced person (IDP) school's governance. The Ministry of Education of Puntland is responsible for providing the curriculum, recruiting teachers, connecting schools with NGOs, selecting schools for the feeding programmes, and paying some teachers' salaries with funds from different organisations. Relief International (RI), which is the implementing partner of the Building Research in Crisis through Education (BriCE) project, provides textbooks, school feeding programmes, teacher professional development training, pays some teachers' salaries, and provides funds and resources for some of the school's infrastructure.

Save the Children and the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) are identified as some of the international NGOs which provide child safety training for teachers, and guardians, pay some teachers' salaries in selected schools and assist with funding infrastructure and other resources. However, the findings indicated that these NGOs are only active in Schools A and B. In addition, Tadamun, a local NGO, is also only active in Schools A and B. Tadamun provides child protection training and support for the teachers and communities. There is no clear account as to why the international and local NGOs do not operate in School C, apart from the fact that Schools A and B are in the capital city, which is closer to the headquarters of most of the NGOs, unlike School C, which is in a city that faces a lot of conflict and disruption from armed non-state actors and border disputes. This impacts education provision. For example,

when the fieldworkers were collecting data from School C, they had to be accompanied by security for their and could only spend a limited amount of time in the region due to security and safety concerns. Therefore, the location could be harder for NGOs to reach and provide support.

In addition, the participants identified the school committee members as education actors who assist with the school recruitment process by interviewing potential teachers and forwarding their recommendations to the Ministry of Education, which is responsible for making the final decision in the recruitment process. The school committee members play a significant role by providing protection services. They also give support to teachers, children, and parents by providing conflict resolution services. For example, in School C, the school committee raises funds to assist with teacher salaries as the community feels the teachers require additional support. In School B, the school committee assisted with funds to help to build classrooms. Lastly, the school principals and teachers oversee daily schooling activities such as teaching students, preparing lessons, assessing homework and exams, and managing general school responsibilities.

The multiplicity of actors, such as NGOs and donors involved in providing resources, is good as these resources can be allocated to the IDP schools. However, it poses challenges to governance as it is hard to hold the NGOs and donors accountable as the Ministry of Education is responsible for certain decisions and policies. For example, it is unclear why the feeding programmes were stopped or paused in some schools or how teacher incentives such as salaries are governed. In addition, there is no way that the Ministry of Education and NGOs can be held accountable or questioned, as participants noted that “there are no special meetings” or forums to raise such issues. Therefore, the non-accountability by actors and the lack of forums or special meetings between actors such as the Ministry of Education and NGOs and teachers is an example of the top-down approach to peacebuilding. What actors such as the Ministry of Education and NGOs decide at the “top” or amongst themselves impact education practices and outcomes. This process eliminates the bottom-up approach, whereas they could use a mixture of both approaches to achieve more desirable outcomes, which creates more accountability and exchange of feedback and reports to see how things are working. For example, the teachers would give more insight on how pausing and stopping impact the educational programme and causes a high rate of dropouts, as indicated in the study.

Shivji (2006, p. 36) critically examined and problematised NGOs working in Africa, arguing that the roles of NGOs working in Africa must be understood within “the current historical moment” and the neoliberal discourse (Shivji, 2006, p. 36).. The discourse on governance in African states often focuses on poor governance, corruption, and lack of accountability (Shivji, 2006). However, there is rarely an examination of NGOs and donor organisations providing poor and ineffective governance. Essentially international NGOs are reproducing the conditions of instability.

5.3 The governance of knowledge in schools: marginalisation of knowledge

The findings of this study confirmed Lewis and Winn’s (2018) suggestion that the actors and donors use a top-down approach to education and marginalise Somali knowledge and the voices of teachers. The top-down approach to peacebuilding refers to policy and governance decisions made by powerful actors and donors who expect the decisions to be implemented successfully, thus becoming a practice that can produce outcomes. However, this approach runs the risk of eliminating the daily realities, ignoring the voices of those impacted, and fuelling conflict. Therefore, content taught to students and teachers through the curricula and professional development programmes plays an important role.

In chapter two, I highlighted that the curriculum marginalises and underrepresents Somali knowledge and values. The study found that the curriculum is governed to marginalise and underrepresent Somali knowledge as Somali knowledge and values are not woven into other subjects. In addition, the set allocated time-limited to 2 days a week or in the morning assemblies where learners engage with Somali knowledge through learning the Somali language as a subject. However, the teachers clarify that the learners are not engaging enough with knowledge from their own country. This means that the curriculum is not as transformed and inclusive as Williams and Cummings (2015) had suggested in chapter two.

Most of the teachers had received general professional development training. The teachers noted that they felt that the professional development training was beneficial and improved their teaching skills, confidence, and engagement with learners. However, the teachers felt that the professional development training was governed to prioritise mathematics and English over other subjects such as social science, Somali language, and Arabic. Hence, the teachers felt that the teachers who have received little to no training should be prioritised to improve their lesson delivery and teaching.

In chapter two, I highlighted some findings from Sayed and Bulgrin's (2020) study on professional development training in other countries. The study noted a lack of teacher involvement in policymaking and programme designs. In addition, there is a lack of monitoring and teacher professional development remains "patchy and uneven". The teachers in this study expressed that the NGOs send inspection teams to monitor if the teachers have benefited from the professional development training. However, the teachers make it clear that they would like to be consulted to provide feedback and recommendations for the training programmes; therefore, agreeing with Sayed and Bulgrin's (2020) study that there is a lack of teacher input because they are excluded from this process.

Furthermore, there are no special meetings between the teachers, NGOs, and the Ministry of Education to address these issues. This is not good. This finding is an example of the dominance of the top-down approach as the NGOs expect what they are implementing to be useful and successful. However, the teachers noted that this generation of learners is different, and the same standard approach cannot be used. Therefore, NGOs and education programmes and teacher professional development must be designed in a context-specific way. One teacher noted that she would like more images and posters to help teach the children. The children need to see the stuff they are taught that is not necessarily their reality. Therefore, using images and posters aids teachers when explaining certain things; not all kids have the same level of exposure

This produces very fragmented outcomes for education generally, and teacher professional development will remain "uneven and patchy" as it is not progressing equality for all subjects and thus impacts the overall goal of SDG4. Second, the marginalisation of Somali knowledge is an example of the peacebuilding project being reproduced in the curriculum and teacher professional development programmes, which potentially has a bad outcome on education.

5.4 The governance of resources in schools

The governance of resources mainly focused on time, teachers' salaries, and school feeding programmes, faced many issues and left many unanswered questions. The findings of this study suggest the following about the governance of time. First, the time allocated for teacher training is not very accommodating to the school context. The training takes place during school time, during the week, and happens at changing locations, leaving the schools without enough teachers as the schools have limited staff. As a result, many teachers cannot attend professional

development. Thus the teachers allocate time to share what they were taught in training. This area of teacher peer training and sharing is interesting because it could have a good outcome and can be utilised to teach knowledge distribution amongst teachers. The peer knowledge exchange only works for general skills teacher development training as the subject-specific training is only for selected subjects such as maths and English.

The findings of the study revealed that the NGOs do not recognise the value of social science subjects and the Somali language and this explains why those teachers do not receive subject-specific training. In addition, adult education and Islamic education for IDPs are not integrated into the mainstream curricula as the finding suggests that adult and women's education happens in the afternoon. The findings revealed that there is demand and support for Islamic education, so much so that people travel long distances and pay a fee. The NGOs' lack of investment and interest in these is informative.

Resources such as teacher salaries and feeding programmes seem fragmented. There is a lack of accountability from actors as to why incentives such as salaries differ in Schools A and C and why the salaries in School B are delayed or not paid. The findings suggest that Relief International pays teacher salaries in School A, Save the Children, the World Bank and the World Food Programmes. A department within the Ministry of Education manages the funds from the World Bank and pays two teachers in School A. However, I found it interesting that some teachers work as volunteers and that some salary programmes have four months, given that they have conditions by which the schools and teachers must abide. It is unknown if the volunteer teachers get paid or offered full-time contracts and what conditions the school is expected to meet to continue securing the funding.

School C is paid by RI and NRC. Out of all the schools, School C charges students in 5th, 6th and 7th-grade school fees of \$5 as the teachers note that teaching higher grades requires more effort. It is unknown if the school fees are set by the school or the Ministry of Education and what the actual fees cover. It is important to know whether it is an issue of effort because the schools need to put in more work or invest more in the resources. In addition, to aid teacher salaries in School C, the Community Education Committee (CEC) contribute incentives to assist the teachers. However, it is unknown whether these also include non-monetary incentives. While I think it is good that the community assists teachers, it is also worrying that teachers' salaries are not meeting their needs.

The lack of a unified salary system means a lack of accountability as multiple actors govern teachers' salaries and each according to their protocols. The state of Puntland is considered stable with strong institutions. Therefore, the NGOs should trust the funds for salaries to be administered from a central system like the Ministry of Education unless they fear that certain schools and teachers will be favoured over others.

In chapter two, I discussed the importance of school feeding programmes and the positive outcomes for learners and educators. At the same time, Moussa (2002, p. 53) noted that the success of these programmes requires "solid cooperation between partners". The research findings suggest a lack of cooperation and accountability in IDP schools in Puntland. The NGOs are not working together with the schools to understand their needs. In addition, while neoliberal intuitions pride themselves on accountability and transparency, they fail to give that accountability and transparency to the schools. The schools and teachers do not know the criteria used to determine which schools are eligible for the feeding programmes, and there are no meetings to inform them why the programmes have been stopped.

5.5 Conclusion

The greater goal for quality education is to consider educational practices and how actors govern knowledge and resources. As it stands in IDP schools' knowledge, the curriculum lacks relatability to the learners, and Somali knowledge and values are marginalised. In addition, the teacher professional development programmes do not provide enough subject-specific training as it mainly focuses on general training and subject-specific training for maths and English. Hence marginalising other subjects and not taking a holistic approach. Lastly, the distribution of resources such as teacher salaries and school feeding programmes is fragmented and lacks accountability.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This study examines principals, teachers, and school committee members' experiences of governance in internally displaced persons' (IDPs) schools in Puntland, Somalia. Education governance is broad and complex. Therefore, the study used Dale's (2015) education governance framework for analysis by looking at "who is doing what and where and why". Dale's (2015) four levels of education governance provide a sphere for analysis and discussion about education governance. The four levels that Dale (2015) offered focus on education practices, education policies, education politics, and education outcomes.

Educational practices, the first level of education governance, focuses on the actual practices in schools, classrooms, and the curriculum, like daily study. The study revealed, drawing from the literature, that very little is known about education practices in Puntland and other schools for internally displaced learners in conflict-affected societies. The educational practices that are known indicated some heated debates regarding issues with curriculum and from neighbour countries where teacher professional development had taken place.

The second level focuses on education policies; in the context of the study. Here it was established that donor organisations such as the European Union (EU) have interests in peacebuilding education in Somalia. The EU policies towards education in Somalia are geared toward combatting migration and terrorism; hence they push their policies to achieve their outcomes. These policies are problematic because they only focus on issues such as meeting gender quotas and school attendance instead of looking at the quality of education produced and things such as discrimination. This is a very top-down approach.

The politics of education, the third level of education, focuses on how global education actors conceptualise education. The study established, drawing from the literature that global education actors conceptualise and understand the role of education differently as education is a mix of security agendas. Therefore, either positively or negatively, education interventions and aid can be weaponised in the global arena. Furthermore, the positive and negative in conflict-affected societies can either fuel or mitigate conflict.

The fourth level of education governance concerns the educational outcomes resulting from the first, second, and third levels. The study argued that the lack of empirical work makes it hard to establish direct outcomes. Notably, there is a lack of direct empirical work on educational practices. Hence, the study focused on three areas related to education practices, 1) it sought to establish the role of education actors by asking who they are and what they do, 2) moreover, how knowledge such as curricula and teacher professional development is governed, and 3) how resources such as time, teacher salaries and school feeding programmes are governed.

6.2 The findings

The study's findings suggest that education actors such as NGOs and donor organisations use the top-down approach to dominate. Therefore, it impacts educational outcomes as teachers feel excluded from the decisions taken by actors. The principals, teachers and school committee members community are not included in "special meetings" or feedback sessions. As a result, the bottom-up approach is excluded. Adopting a more effective approach that includes the top-down and the bottom-up approach would produce better outcomes as the teachers and committee members can give feedback and raise any issues.

Second, the marginalisation of knowledge in the curriculum excludes Somali and local knowledge deemed irrelevant to the learners. This means that learners are not learning about their daily realities, identities, and history. In addition, the prioritisation of mathematics and English teachers for subject-specific teacher development training is problematic as it marginalises other subjects that are just as important. This produces outcomes that favour careers oriented toward science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). However, the Somali language, art, geography, history, and other subjects are equally important. Quality education means quality education of all subjects, not just selected subjects.

The current findings related to the governance of resources produce outcomes that decrease teacher morale as the delay or non-payment of salaries impacts their livelihoods. The teachers will be forced to seek out other opportunities. Furthermore, the lack of focus by actors on adult and Islamic education means that there are groups of people wanting to learn and gain skills to gain access to the economy. It creates a gap in development that can be filled through programmes that target adults. In addition, the pausing and stopping of feeding programmes in schools cause an increase in children dropping out of school and malnourishment. The learners

and parents rely on the children being fed at school and incentivise parents to continue sending their children to school instead of work. Hence, the feeding programmes impact not only the learners but the community.

The study has shown that there are still some research and knowledge gaps in governance in IDP schools and settings. While the teachers, principals and community members' experiences of governance have given us some insight into what is going on in Puntland, Somalia, further research is required to help establish more practices and outcomes that will help inform us about the state of education governance and ultimately inform us about quality education.

6.3 Significance of the study

This research study is significant because it is the first of its kind to examine the governance experiences of principals, teachers and school committee members and specifically focuses on the top-down and bottom-up approaches. Secondly, the study is transdisciplinary framing of peacebuilding education and international relations. Using these two schools of thought helps establish the implications of the security sector in education and broadly post-conflict reconstruction. In addition, this study is significant because it is one of the first studies of northern NGOs and how the Global North's ideologies are disseminated in Southern schools. Lastly, the study highlights the gaps in knowledge in how education interventions may sit at odds with local needs and priorities. Looking at governance through the top-down and bottom-up approach, we realise how northern actors might understand education interventions such that the approaches that they take exclude local voices and further contribute to the causes underlying violence.

One of the limitations that this study experienced is that I did not interview NGO and donor organisation actors. Therefore, I was unable to examine their experiences in education governance. Furthermore, while I was able to centre the voice of principals, teachers and school committee members, I hope that future research can address this. Lastly, I hope that more funding is made available for research on education governance and educational practices in the IDP setting and that the issues highlighted in the paper may be addressed by adequate policy and practical changes.

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Appendices

Appendix One: Principal Interview Questions

Icebreaker (5 minutes)

1. How did you come to work at this school? Can you tell me your story?

School governance (30 minutes)

2. How was this school established? Who set it up and why did they set it up? Can you tell me the story?
3. What does a typical day at your school look like? What difficulties do you face and how do you cope with them?
4. What should be the role of women in schools and why?
5. What support and training have you received as a principal/head teacher? Please provide details.
6. What role does the Ministry of Education play in your school and how does this impact teachers and learners? Can you give examples?
7. What role does the camp/host community play in your school and how does this impact teachers and learners? Can you give examples?
8. What, if any, is the role of Somali NGOs and organisations at the school compared with international NGOs and organisations? Can you give examples?

9. How do disagreements between these different groups (government, local groups, community, and NGOs) impact the school and what is taught?
10. What are the strengths and weaknesses of your relationship with RI?

School policies

11. What policies does the school have in place?
12. Does your school have any policies about discipline, gender-based violence, tolerance and respect? If so, tell us more about them – who created these policies, how effective are they are and what challenges do you face in implementing these policies?
13. What support/programme does the school offer to promote peace? Who created it, how effective is the programme, and what challenges do you face in dealing with peace at school?
14. Who is currently in charge of the curriculum in schools? Who *should* be in charge of the curriculum in schools and why?
15. Do children learn about Somali culture in your class, if so how, can you give examples? How should Somali culture be a part of teaching and learning and why?

Views about professional development (15 minutes)

16. When did teachers at your school start receiving professional development? Have you received any professional development as the principal?
17. Which teachers get professional development and why?
18. Can you describe (if any) the professional development (capacity development in classroom or outside) support that your teachers and you have received? Who was it from? What about Relief International have they provided you support since

September – what topics does it cover, how often do you go for training or have training in your own classroom, how often and for how long?

19. **If teachers have received**, do teachers share their new skills and knowledge that they get with other teachers at your school?
20. **If teachers have received**, professional development (capacity development in classroom or outside) has it support/helped fill in some of the gaps in your prior teacher training? Which one is most beneficial? Why and How did it benefit you, teachers and or the learners?
21. **If you (principal) have received**, how has this professional development support (capacity development in classroom or outside) affected your day-to-day activities as a principal?
22. How could the professional development support (capacity development in school/classrooms or outside) be improved/changed to meet the challenges/obstacles/hard time you as the principal or the teachers face? Please describe this in detail and give examples.
23. What other forms of support do you need as a principal for your teachers and yourself besides professional development support (capacity development in classroom/schools)?
24. How could professional development support be improved for your teachers, school and you? Please describe this in detail and give examples.

Views about learning (15 minutes)

Please look at this table below. These are the results from the learner survey that we did earlier this year.

Score	% girls	% boys
-------	---------	--------

High	47	59
Middle	17	19
Bottom	34	23
Total	100	100

Somali comprehension scores

25. Some children got very low scores (Bottom RED). Please tell us about these children. Where do these children come from? Why are they hard time in this subject?
26. Boys generally had better scores than girls. In your view, what explains this difference?
27. Some girls (High-Green) had the same excellent results as boys (High-Green). Tell us about these girls – what makes them different from the girls (High-Green) who are having a hard time (Bottom-Red) in your class? Why do they perform better?
28. What methods **if any** does your school use identify students that are hard time? Can you give examples?
29. Is it possible for your school to support children who are having a hard time differently? If so, how? Can you give examples?

Wrapping up (5 minutes)

30. What could be done differently or changed to improve the governance of the school?
31. Is there anything we haven't spoken about in this interview that is important to discuss? What do you want to add?

Appendix Two: Teacher Interview Questions

Case Study Research Tool 2019/2020

BRiCE Research Project

It requires the data collectors to review relevant school documents, to observe Grade 4 math/Somali/Social Study lessons, and to interview the relevant teachers. Therefore, the following must be completed for each teacher:

- 1 Interview per teacher before any observation**
- 3 Teacher observation (Separate tool)**
- 3 Post-lesson teacher questions (Separate tool)**

It is the responsibility of the data collectors to ensure authentic and comprehensive completion of all the instruments

Today Date:	D	D	M	M	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fieldworker Name:								
School Name:								
District Name:								
Province/State:								
Venue of the Interview (classroom, library, outdoors)								

Teacher's Name:					
Teaching Assistant Name:					<i>If applicable</i>
Team Teaching:	Yes	No			
Interview Number	1	2	3	4	<i>If more than 1 interview, please provide explanation</i>

The fieldworker MUST explain to the teacher that he/she is not being evaluated

Fieldworker Diaries/Notes:

Icebreaker: (5 minutes)

1. How long have you been teaching at this school? How did you come to be a teacher here?
Tell me the story.
2. What was your most rewarding (successful/happiest) day as a teacher? Tell me the story. What did it feel like?

Views about teaching (MINIMUM 20 minutes)

3. What does a typical day at your school look like? What difficulties do you face and how do you cope with them?

4. What is the hardest part about teaching grade 4 maths/language/social studies? Can you give examples or instance?
5. What activities work best when teaching grade 4 maths/languages/social studies? Can you give examples of how you use these activities in your teaching?
6. What do you think you can do as a teacher to help learners deal with difficult or distressing experiences? Can you give examples?
7. Do you teach learners about difficult or sensitive topics such as diversity or conflict? How, what strategies do you use? Can you give examples?
8. Do you teach learners about peace? How, what teaching strategies do you use? Can you give examples?

Views about professional development (MINIMUM 20 minutes)

9. What kind of teacher training did you get before you became a teacher? What teacher training do you wish you had gotten and why?
10. Can you describe (if any) the professional development (capacity development in classroom or outside) support that you have received? Who was it from? What about RI have they provided you support since September – what topics does it cover, how often do you go for training or have training in your own classroom, how often and for how long?
11. **If you have received** professional development (capacity development in classroom or outside) has it support/helped fill in some of the gaps in your prior teacher training? Which one is most beneficial? Why and How did it benefit you and or the learners?
12. **If you have received**, how has this professional development support (capacity development in classroom or outside) affected your teaching? How has it affected your learners?

13. **If you have received**, do you share the new skills and knowledge that you get with other teachers at your school?
14. How could the professional development support (capacity development in classroom or outside) be improved/changed to meet the challenges/obstacles/hard time you face? Please describe this in detail and give examples.
15. What other forms of support do you need as a teacher besides professional development support (capacity development in classroom or outside)?

Views about learning (MINIMUM 20 minutes)

Please look at this table below. These are the results from the learner survey that we did earlier this year.

Score	% girls	% boys
High	47	59
Middle	17	19
Bottom	34	23
Total	100	100

Somali comprehension scores

16. Some children got very low scores (Bottom RED). Please tell us about these children. Where do these children come from? Why are they hard time in this subject?
17. Boys generally had better scores than girls. In your view, what explains this difference?

18. Some girls (High-Green) had the same excellent results as boys (High-Green). Tell us about these girls – what makes them different from the girls (High-Green) who are having a hard time (Bottom-Red) in your class? Why do they perform better?
19. Do you try to identify students that are hard time if so, what methods do you use to identify children who are hard time? Can you give examples?
20. Do you support children who are hard time differently? If so, how? Can you give examples?
21. What methods do you use to identify children who are doing very well at school? Can you give examples?
22. Is there a need to make sure academically strong children stay interested and challenged in class? If so, how do you do that Can you give examples?
23. Are you able to do group work with your learners? What are the challenges/obstacles/hard time you have in doing group work in class?
24. Should a teacher link children's home learning and experiences to their teaching at school? If so, how do you? Can you give examples?
25. Do children learn about Somali culture in your class, if so how, can you give examples? How should Somali culture be a part of teaching and learning and why?

Wrapping up (5 minutes)

26. What could be done differently or changed to improve teaching and learning in the school?
27. Is there anything we haven't spoken about in this interview that is important to discuss? What do you want to add?

Appendix Three: School Committee Members Interview Questions

Case Study Research Tool 2019/2020

BRiCE Research Project

It requires the data collectors to review relevant school documents, to speak with the school committee to conduct an interview with them about principal, teachers, the school, community and the learners. Therefore, the following must be completed for each principal:

Interview per school committee

1 (as many as possible)

It is the responsibility of the data collectors to ensure authentic and comprehensive completion of all the instruments

Today Date:	D	D	M	M	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fieldworker Name:								
School Name:								
District Name:								
Province/State:								
Venue of the interview (classroom, library, outdoors)								
Member Name:								

Member Name:					
Member Name:					
Interview Number	1	2	3	4	<i>If more than 1 interview please provide explanation</i>

The fieldworker MUST explain to the Principal that he/she is not being evaluated.

Fieldworker Diaries/Notes:

Icebreaker (5 minutes)

1. How did you come to play a role in the school committee? What is your story?

Views about school governance (30 minutes)

2. How was this school established? Who set it up and why did they set it up? Can you tell me the story?
3. Can you tell us more about the school management committee? Who established the committee, who is involved in the committee and what is the role of the committee in running the school?
4. What should be the role of women in schools and why?
5. What support and training have you received as a member of the school management committee? Please provide details.

Relationship with government and NGOs

6. What role does the Ministry of Education/government play in your school and how does this impact teachers and learners? Can you give examples?

7. What role does the camp/host community play in your school and how does this impact teachers and learners? Can you give examples?
8. What, if any, is the role of Somali NGOs and organisations at the school compared with international NGOs and organisations? Can you give examples?
9. Describe any interactions you have had with government and NGOs? Were they positive/negative?
10. How do disagreements between these different groups (government, local groups, community, and NGOs) impact the school and what is taught?
11. What are the strengths and weaknesses of your relationship with RI?

Relationship with local community

12. How do you connect the community to the school? Can you give an example?
13. In your view, what role should a school play in the community? Why?
14. In your view, what role should the community play in the school? Why?
15. How does the community impact positively or negatively students and teachers? Please give examples.

School policies

16. What policies does the school have in place?
17. Does your school have any policies about discipline, gender-based violence, tolerance and respect? If so, tell us more about them – who created these policies, how effective are they are and what challenges do you face in implementing these policies?
18. What support/programme does the school offer to promote peace? Who created it, how effective is the programme, and what challenges do you face in dealing with peace at school?

19. Who is currently in charge of the curriculum in schools? Who *should* be in charge of the curriculum in schools and why?
20. Do children learn about Somali culture in your class, if so how, can you give examples?
How should Somali culture be a part of teaching and learning and why?

Supporting teachers and learners (20 minutes)

21. What support do teachers in the school receive in working with the children? How can it be improved?
22. How would you describe teachers' relationships with the school management committee and learners? Please give examples.
23. How many of your own children go to this school? What challenges do you face in sending them to school?
24. When you think about the future, what do you want your children to be doing?
25. How does living in the IDP camp affect children's schooling?
26. How does living or working in the IDP camp affect teachers' teaching?
27. How does family income impact student success at school? Please give examples.

Wrapping up (5 minutes)

28. What could be done differently or changed to improve the governance of the school?
29. Is there anything we haven't spoken about in this interview that is important to discuss?
What do you want to add?