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RECONSTRUCTING SOMALIA:

A CRITICAL COMPARISON BETWEEN UNESCO'S 1968 AND UNICEF'S 2013
POLICY DOCUMENTS' APPROACH TO EDUCATION.

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Title RECONSTRUCTING SOMALIA: A critical comparison between UNESCO's 1968 and UNICEF's 2013 policy documents' approach to education.			
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<p>This thesis focuses on the activities of two UN agencies, namely UNESCO and UNICEF, in the education sector of Somalia, in the first period of independence and the period of reconstruction after the long lasting civil war.</p> <p>It is a qualitative study based on critical discourse analysis using the theoretical lens of postcolonialism, executed through the constant comparative method applied on the following documents; the 1968 UNESCO document; <i>Somalia; School Textbooks and Educational Materials</i>, and the 2013 UNICEF document; <i>Go-2-School initiative 2013-2016; Educating for Resilience</i>.</p> <p>The objective is to locate the main thematic and conceptual differences between the 1968 UNESCO document and the 2013 UNICEF document, place those into a broader historical and societal context, and by doing so determine whether the two UN agencies demonstrate neocolonial tendencies in their approach towards Somalia's education sector.</p> <p>The thematic differences; the Somali language, the unification of Somalia, women's and girls' education and Quranic education, are extracted through open coding. The theoretical and conceptual differences; education as human capital, education as a human right, and educating for resilience are extracted through axial coding. From the thematic and conceptual differences arise the core categories of state-building and nation-building. These are developed in a discussion before offering the alternative of social capital as a state- and nation-building strategy.</p> <p>Much of this thesis' focus has been placed on the social capital of Quran schools for the rebuilding of Somalia as a State and its consolidation as a Nation. The exclusion of Quranic education, particularly by the 2013 UNICEF document, is considered a dismissal of its cultural, moral and national value and an omitted opportunity for the reconstruction of the Somali Nation-State.</p> <p>The comparison between the two documents offers a view on cultural hegemony applied by the two UN agencies on Somalia's education sector and the shifts between them due to historical events and societal changes. Nevertheless, both documents demonstrate neocolonial tendencies. However, even though the 1968 UNESCO document makes no attempts of withholding this, the 2013 document veils these tendencies under an ambiguous, rhetoric language.</p>			
Keywords Somalia, education, UNESCO, UNICEF, neocolonialism			

ABBREVIATIONS

CD	Compact Disc
CEC	Community Education Committee
DFID	Department for International Development
ECD	Early Childhood Education
EFA	Education for All
EU	European Union
E-book	Electronic book
E-tablet	Electronic tablet
G2S	Go-2School
MoE	Ministry of Education
MP3	Media Player
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SNM	Somali National Movement
UN	United Nations
UNDOS	United Nations Development Office for Somalia
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNITAF	Unified Task Force
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
USAID	United States Aid Agency

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1. INTRODUCTION

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) have published numerous strategy documents on education in the African context over the past six decades. In post-independence Somalia, their presence has been sporadic due a politically unstable situation. Four major periods can be distinguished.

1960-1969: the independent Somali Republic.

1969-1991: the Somali Democratic Republic (Siad Barre's regime).

1991-2012: civil war, followed by an eight-year transitional period with unsuccessful attempts to governance and Somaliland's and Puntland's separation from the Central-South.

2012-present: Transitional Federal Government of Somalia, Puntland remains an unrecognised autonomous state since 1998 and Somaliland a self-proclaimed state de facto since 1991.

Understandably, the United Nations (UN) agencies' activity within the educational sector has been higher during the first and the last period. In this thesis I will be comparing a UNESCO document from the first period (1968) and a UNICEF document from the last period (2013). The two documents are *Somalia; School Textbooks and Educational Materials* (Clutton, 1968) and *Go-2-School initiative 2013-2016; Educating for Resilience* (2013). I am not only interested in the documents themselves, but also on how the period in-between has affected the 2013 document in relation to the 1968 document. I am interested in finding common themes and concepts. By placing those into a broader historical and societal context I will attempt to evaluate whether the two UN agencies' approach is a top-down one and if the exercise of such power from an international agent to the Somali population would indicate tendencies of neocolonialism.

1.1 Objective and research questions

My objective is to map the main thematic and conceptual differences between the 1968 UNESCO document and the 2013 UNICEF document, place those into a broader historical

and societal context, and by doing so determine whether the two UN agencies demonstrate neocolonial tendencies in their approach towards Somalia's education sector.

My research questions are:

- What are the main thematic and theoretical differences between the two documents and how can they be understood in relation to historical and societal changes that occurred after 1968 and before 2013?
- Are the two documents, produced by UNESCO and UNICEF, exhibiting neocolonial tendencies in their approach towards Somalia's education sector, and if so, to what extent?
- How can education be used for Somalia's reconstruction?

1.2 Structure of the thesis

Firstly, in the introductory chapter, after presenting my research objective and questions I will elaborate on the state of research. The methodology in chapter two includes the theoretical framework, the source materials used in this thesis as well the methods applied in order to analyse them.

In the third chapter I give a short historical and educational introduction of Somalia, concerning the pre-colonial and colonial period. Followed by a more extensive postcolonial historical account focusing on the four distinctive periods after independence mentioned above.

The core of the analysis is found in the fourth and fifth chapter, where I will present and compare the main emerging themes and concepts respectively, in relation to historical and societal developments. In particular in chapter four I present the following themes; the Somali language, the unification of Somalia, women's and girls' education and Quranic education. From these together with a general overview of the documents' use of language and main purposes I will extract the following concepts which will be presented in chapter five; education as a human capital and human right, and educating for resilience.

In chapter six I will bring the themes and concepts together, with the purpose of developing a discussion based on the core categories of state- and nation-building. From this analysis the alternative concept of social capital, through the use of Quran schools, will emerge.

Finally, in my conclusion I will reach the objective given in subchapter 1.1. This will be done by evaluating the discussed themes and concepts and in a combined effort determine whether the two UN agencies of UNESCO and UNICEF are exhibiting neocolonial tendencies in their approach towards Somalia's education sector.

1.3 State of research

When thinking about research on Somalia, great names come to mind, as Ioan Lewis, Mary Harper and Bernhard Helander. Unfortunately, their researches, like many others', have been focusing on the State and its collapse, which is understandable, considering Somalia's political situation, and useful for learning about Somalia in general. But my research is focusing specifically on education and not looking at the reasons for Somalia's collapse, but at how education can be used for its reconstruction.

Ali Abdi, Ali Warsame and Erasmus Morah have conducted researches that have proven more useful for this thesis. Warsame's article *How a Strong Government Backed an African Language: The Lessons of Somalia* (2001) has assisted in the clarification of the Siad Barre period and the transformation of education through the strong influence of his government. Mohamed-Rashid Sheikh Hasan's and Salada Robleh's work *Islamic Revival and Education in Somalia* (2004) have had the same effect on my research in the clarification of Islamic education. Ali Abdi's article *Education in Somalia: History, Destruction, And Calls for Reconstruction* (1998) has helped me put the different kinds of education in Somalia in perspective. Even though Abdi is also examining Somalia's reconstruction through education, his candid opinions and emotional pleas have averted me from using this article in any other manner. Under the Somali reconstruction research, we also find Mwangi Kimenyi's, Mukum Mbaku's and Nelipher Moyo's article *Reconstituting Africa's Failed States: The Case of Somalia* (2010). Their research has helped me to examine state-building which has revealed to me the potential of education in this process. Having said that, they are also quite blunt, calling for external occupation as the only solution for Somalia. It seems that the lengthy instability of the country and twenty years of civil war have created a passionate think-tank and an extreme suggestions' tendency.

Another aspect of my research has been the presence of the UN agencies' UNESCO and UNICEF. In general, there has been much research on the influence of international institutions on education, especially in Africa which is often combined with a postcolonial

theoretical framework. Leon Tickly and Tim Bond have influenced my thinking long before this thesis. And even though this thesis is based on two documents, its theoretical orientation is derived from their article *Towards a Postcolonial Research Ethics in Comparative International Education* (2013). Nkosinathi Mkosi with *International Financial Institutions and Education in South Africa: a Critical Discussion*, George Sefa Dei and Alizera Asgharzadeh with *Indigenous Knowledges and Globalization: an African Perspective*, and Ali Abdi with *Culture of Education, Social Development, and Globalization: Historical and Current Analyses of Africa*, which are all included in the book *African Education and Globalization: Critical Perspectives* (2006) have researched the impact that Western hegemony has had and still has on the African continent. Although none of them has referred specifically to Somalia, their critical view for neocolonial practices by international institutions has supported my argument of hegemony.

This argument has been strongly based on the exclusion of Quran schools. To understand and build the case for Quranic education, Robert Hefner and Helen Boyle have been of great importance. In *Schooling Islam: the Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education* (2010), Hefner presents the declining image of Quran schools in the eyes of the West through the influence of Western media and the impact of Islamic extremism. While criticizing generalisations, he presents another image of Islamic education, that of knowledge as worship and how Islamic education has the function of making modern Muslims in a constant negotiation with globalisation and the challenges of pluralism. This brings Islamic education very close to Western education. Indeed, the religion might be different but we all face the same challenges and have to make the same negotiations on our identity in a globalising world. Helen Boyle in *Memorization and Learning in Islamic Schools* (2006), is also denouncing the tendency for generalisation towards Islamic education. Attributing this to ignorance, she has presented a very informative research in order to fight unawareness. She gives a summary of Islamic Educational Institutions and goes on to explain their methodology of memorisation, the reasons behind it and the effects that it has in the development of knowledge. Still, these two authors do not refer specifically to Somalia.

Abdullah Abdinoor is the author of the article *Community Assumes the Role of State in Education in Stateless Somalia* (2008). His research comes extremely close to my line of thought. In an ethnographic research he has interviewed community members, parents and teachers in Somalia and presented their view of education and their effort to reconstruct it from the bottom-up. In an extremely interesting and rare article, he presents the strength of

social capital and how community education is the most sustainable kind of education. Even though he does not look specifically to the function of the State or international agencies, he does demonstrate the support that each have and provide to formal and traditional education. The State, before its collapse, was supporting only formal education while the community was supporting traditional education and aid agencies were absent. After the State's collapse, aid agencies have taken over its role by supporting formal education and communities have continued to support traditional education and formal education as well. In his conclusion he calls for aid agencies to follow the example of the communities and support both types of education in a joint effort to a fresh start for Somalia.

There are two researches that combine all three main elements of my thesis; Education, Somalia and UN agencies; Erasmus Morah with *Old Institutions, New Opportunities: the Emerging Nature of Koranic Schools in Somaliland in the 1990s* (2000) and James Williams and William Cummings with the most recent study *Education from the Bottom Up: UNICEF's Education Programme in Somalia* (2015). Morah, acknowledges the importance of the role of Quran schools and pleas for aid agencies to include them in their educational strategies in order to achieve Education for All (EFA), although unlike my research he only focuses on Somaliland. The research of Williams and Cummings is a mere description of UNICEF's interventions in Somalia. It lacks any kind of criticism which is probably due to the fact that Williams is the Chair of UNESCO in International Education for Development and the research was financed by the United Nations University.

As a last remark, I would like to add that during my literature review I have been concerned with the issue of perspectives. I have consciously striven to balance the literature in this thesis, using both African and Western authors, in an attempt to avoid a binary antagonism and instead create a dialogue of sources. My own perspective has also been a challenge. Growing up in Greece, which has a strong Christian Orthodox tradition, as an atheist that was required to pray every day before class until the age of eighteen, I have formed a negative opinion towards religion's place in education. Be that as it may, my personal secular position can be seen as a strength instead of a bias in this thesis, as I endorse the position of Quran schools in the specific Somali context at this particular time of crisis.

2. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I will present the primary source materials, the theoretical framework and the analytical methods used. They are all described in detail below, but I have also illustrated the methodology, theories, emerging topics and processes in the following diagram to provide the reader with a bird’s eye view of the thesis. In short, on the left and right vertical sections, I have placed the stages of the two methods of analysis. On the right and left horizontal sections, starting from the data I have listed the emerging themes from the two documents. Below these, the theories and concepts which were extracted from them, and finally, the core categories of the discussion developed in chapter six. Overlooking the whole process, we find the lens of postcolonial theory.

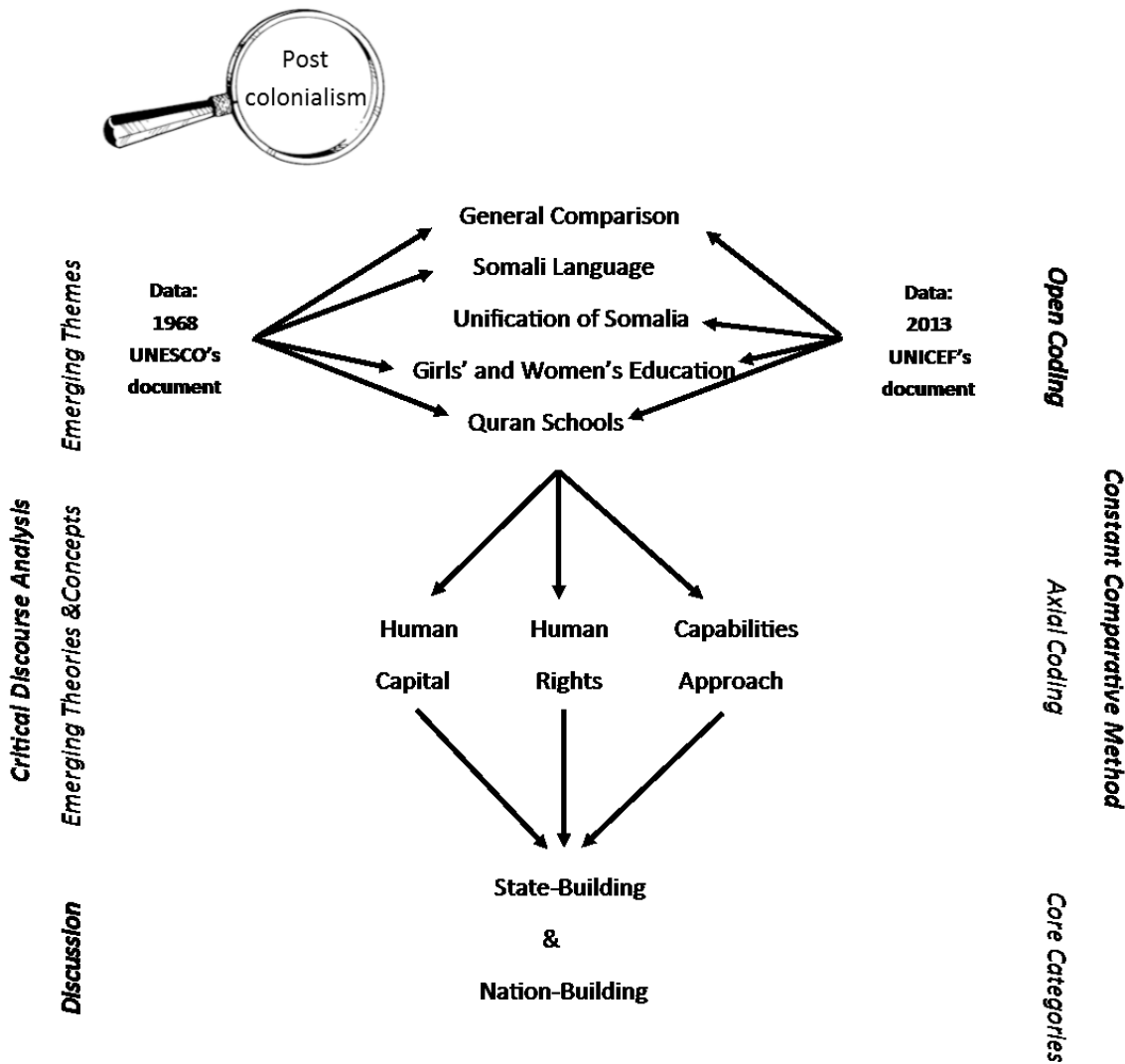


Figure 1. Methodology, theories and emerging topics

2.1 Source materials

In this thesis I will primarily analyse a 1968 document, namely, *Somalia; School Textbooks and Educational Materials* (Clutton, 1968) and a 2013 document, *Go-2-School initiative 2013-2016; Educating for Resilience* (2013). Specifically, I chose these two documents because of their historical positions. Both documents were written when Somali education was at a low point, after the colonial era (1968) and after the complete collapse of Somalia (2013) through civil war, and both documents have not had the chance (yet) to be realised. What is particularly interesting is, that in the period in-between, i.e. during Siad Barre's military ruling, Somali education had reached its epitome and the country's literacy levels have never been higher, before or since. The reasons for the state of education in both contexts are known. In 1968, the country was recovering from colonial rule and struggling to combine different educational systems created by its colonial rulers; Italy and Britain. In 2013, Somalia, split this time into three regions, is not only exhausted by civil war but also currently festered by warlordism. International institutions as the UN and UNICEF are shyly approaching the country again after their total withdrawal in 1994 due to the 'Battle of Mogadishu'. In light of all these changes in addition to time passing, a second attempt to restore hope for education in Somalia even though having a similar starting position should make different considerations. A comparison of the two abovementioned documents, which both aim at the restoration of Somalia's education sector, should shed light on this.

2.2 Theoretical framework

"Clarity occurs progressively in time" (Gandhi, 1998, p. 173)

The lens through which I analyse my data is postcolonial theory. It being a rather extensive theory which includes many positions I would like to clarify where I stand within postcolonial theory, my main challenge being how to understand the post in postcolonial while in my opinion colonialism has not ceased but has mutated.

A post-condition ought to be analysed in relation to the pre-condition. But if the post- is currently happening, it becomes clear that only pre-colonialism and colonialism can be well-defined. This would explain why the more one reads about postcolonial theory the more one is confused. This subchapter will try to bring some clarity to how and why postcolonialism is used in this thesis.

Postcolonialism is defined by Tikly as a term “used to describe a global “condition” or shift in the cultural, political and economic arrangements that arise from the experiences of European colonialism both in former colonised and colonising countries” (1999). Its usage has been increasingly popular and according to some, increasingly unfocused (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (eds), 1995, p. 2). The main understandings of postcolonialism are “as a literal description of conditions in formerly colonial societies” and as “a description of a global condition after the period of colonialism” (Dirlik, 1994), usages that are clear of purpose, but also as “a description of a discourse on the above-named conditions that is informed by the epistemological and physic orientations that are products of those condition” (ibid.). The latter’s keyword of discourse presents difficulties for the very definition of postcolonialism as the suffix post- in postcolonialism has been contested extensively.

If post- is to be interpreted as the end of colonialism, it can be seen as “prematurely celebratory” (Gandhi, 1998), or if seen as a historical process then faulted by the suggestion of a “linear development” (McClintock, 1992) from pre-colonialism, to colonialism, to postcolonialism. Solutions as using postcolonialism absent hyphenation, which has been proposed by Hubert Quist (2001), seem unsatisfactory as, even though a linear development might be too teleological, it is a process nonetheless. As Tikly and Bond (2013) put forward, postcolonialism is better understood as a process of change from classical to new imperialism framed within contemporary globalisation. But as globalisation according to sceptics holds route much further back in time (Held & McGrew (eds), 2003, p. 9), so can postcolonialism be considered a metanarrative of the European Enlightenment (Tikly, 1999) and Western humanism (Gandhi, 1998, p. 39). As a process yet to approach its ending, the term postcolonialism, could be put aside in preference of neocolonialism, after all, “colonialism and imperialism have not paid their score when they withdraw” (Fanon, 1969, p. 101).

Neocolonialism was first defined by Kwame Nkrumah as the main instrument of imperialism; “The essence of neocolonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside” (1965, p. x). Considering that only the economic system and political policy is mentioned we can regard Nkrumah’s definition as incomplete. An all-inclusive definition, indicating this thesis’ discipline focus, i.e. education, is given by Bagele Chilisa; “the former colonisers continue to economically, culturally, financially, military and ideologically dominate what constitutes

the so-called developing world” (2005). As Graham Huggan clearly put it; “we live in neocolonial, not postcolonial times” (1997).

In conclusion, in this thesis the post- in postcolonialism is considered as a critical aftermath. In so doing, the two documents are examined through the critical lens of neocolonialism, while postcolonialism is the broader theoretical lens that I will use to view the two documents by as I am addressing power structures. I will further inductively extract other theories while analysing the documents and discover what theoretical concepts can be found in them. Those theoretical concepts can be found in Chapter five and they are namely; human capital, human rights and educating for resilience. As these were inductively extracted, they are only presented and expounded on as the thesis progresses instead of in the theoretical framework subchapter.

2.3 Methods of analysis

This is a qualitative comparative study based on critical discourse analysis executed through the constant comparative method. Broadly, it is a comparative research in terms of time, within the context of Somali education and the approaches of UN agencies towards it. Two of the purposes and reasons for comparative education, according to Crossley and Watson, are to ‘identify similarities and differences in educational systems, processes and outcomes’ and to ‘promote improved international understanding and co-operation through increased sensitivity to differing world views and cultures.’ (Crossley & Watson, 2003, p. 19). My research will be within the field of comparative education, as it will be identifying differences and similarities across time in educational policy documents, and hopefully through the analysis of the two documents it will promote improved understanding of the international approach towards Somalia, in the past and in the present.

Even though the constant comparative method is mainly used to “generate theoretical ideas” (Glaser, 1999, p. 101) and is tightly linked to grounded theory I have used this method, executed through open and axial coding, to guide me towards already existing theoretical ideas. Initially, I applied open coding in order to “break the data apart analytically” (Strauss, 1987, p. 29). The thematic results of the open coding can be found in chapter four, where they are being presented and compared. Following this, I applied axial coding as an inductive strategy to extract conceptual categories from the two documents which are presented and compared in chapter five. In order to bring these fragmented data back together, I have

initially created two core categories which include most of the thematic and conceptual categories and are presented in the discussion chapter six, where I also offer an alternative theoretical idea. Finally all the fragmented data is brought together in the conclusion where they are discussed under the wide theoretical lens of postcolonialism.

Throughout the thesis but mainly in the conclusion I use, as mentioned above, critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis is a relatively recent development as it sprung up from discourse analysis in the 1980s as a ‘programmatically development’ (Blommaert, 2000). It has a distinct focus on analysing not only text but also the society that it was produced by and/or for, as the discourse cannot be seen independently from the society that influenced it. Critical discourse analysis looks into power structures and control of language, as discourse is ‘socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned’ (ibid). In analysing the material for the corpus of this study, the historical past of Somalia as well as political developments and military interventions that took place in the period between the publications of the documents, prove crucial, as they have had immense influence on the educational system of Somalia.

UNESCO and UNICEF have and are attempting to impact this education system, but the question is how. I am interested specifically in power structures as presented through the language, themes and theoretical concepts in the 1968 UNESCO document and the 2013 UNICEF document. The critical discourse analysis methodology that I will use is guided by Norman Fairclough’s model (2010); using textual analysis as a stepping stone to a discursive level which will finally help me proceed to a third social practice level. The discursive and social practice levels are presented in chapter four and five respectively, while the textual level can be found throughout both as a medium of analysis.

3. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

It is essential to understand what kind of society Somalia was during the production of the two documents analysed in this thesis. With a short political and educational introduction of Somalia's history, followed by a slightly more detailed description of the present situation, the reader will be able to place the two documents in a general context. This is necessary to understand the relational analogy that the reader will encounter in the forthcoming chapters.

3.1 Political history of Somalia

As a result of the closure of the Suez Canal in 1869 the Western powers' interest for the lands on the Gulf of Aden arose (Carcangiu, 2013, p. 140). Rivalries between the French, British and Italians, but also Egyptians and Ethiopians during the 'scramble for Africa' at the turn of the 20th century resulted in the lands that the Somalis originally inhabited being divided into five parts. The French took Djibouti, the British united a part with Kenya and also created the British Somaliland, the Italian Somaliland and the Ogaden which is presently part of Ethiopia. But the colonisers were more interested in the lands of the Somalis for their geographical position, resulting in investments staying minor until the Second World War when they were made necessary in order to mute the possibility of a nationalist rebellion (ibid.).

Independence was given in July 1960 (Stewart, 1989, p. 249), when the British and Italian Somaliland united to create what we know today as Somalia. Attempts to unite parts that were left out in 1960, such as the Ogaden in Ethiopia have taken place over the decades.

In 1969 president Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke was assassinated and less than a week later a military coup led to General Siad Barre becoming the head of Somalia striving for a unique state of scientific socialism Somali style which was promoted as 'wealth sharing based on wisdom' (hanti-wadagga 'ilmi ku disan). Scientific socialism was designed to eradicate poverty, disease and ignorance (Lewis, 2010, p. 77). Somalis were to set aside any selfishness and unite for a self-reliant Somalia where feelings of victimhood were to be rejected, men and women mattered equally and investments were made for the future of Somalia; its youth.

One of the main goals of General Barre was eliminating the clan system. With over five hundred clans and sub-clans politics of favouritism were the order of the day compromising

the objectivity of the state. Clan divisions have played a decisive and catalytic role in the civil war that has scourged Somalia the past decades. In the past, clans would usually solve disputes between them, for example pay money to a rival clan if a murder was committed. But with higher stakes as the country's leadership was to be contested for, clans competed more viciously and thereby played a major role in the collapse of the Somalian state and every attempt after that to revive it. Siad Barre, in his effort to create national unity, condemned tribalism: "Tribalism and nationalism cannot go hand and hand. It is unfortunate that our nation is rather too clannish: if all Somalis are to go to hell, tribalism will be their vehicle to get there" (Harper, 2012, p. 54). In 1974, a famine marked the beginning of the decline of Siad Barre's regime and the deterioration of the state.

In an attempt to reunite the Somali populations outside Somalia and to divert the public's eye from internal difficulties, Siad Barre opened fire on Ethiopia in 1977. After Somalia was defeated, the military collapsed and its guns were channelled to civilians. Anyone with enough Kalashnikovs, be that a clan leader, a village leader or an ex-commander of the army, could enter the fight for power and the period of warlordism commenced in Somalia. An unsuccessful coup against Siad Barre marked the population's turn against their leader and revitalized clannishness. The bombardment of Hargeisha which caused one of the biggest population migrations in Africa (500,000 Isaacs fled into neighbouring Ethiopia) and self-induced famines as fertile lands were used as battlegrounds slowly led to the fall of Siad Barre's regime.

Since then Somalia has been in a state of anarchy. On the 18th of May 1991, the Somali National Movement (SNM) declared the independence of Somaliland (former British colony), creating a state de facto and in 1998 Puntland, the North-East point of Somalia declared its autonomy while Central-South Somalia has been the site of ongoing fighting for some twenty odd years under a transitional federal government.

In the early 1990s interventions in order to "establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia" (Weiss & Hubert, 2001) were attempted by the United Nations and the United States of America in the form of Unified Task Force (UNITAF), United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I) and United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II) (Economides, 2007, pp. 123-129). The military interventions resulted in the 1993 'Battle of Mogadishu' where eighteen United

States soldiers were killed which in consequence led to the withdrawal of all foreign forces, including the UN's.

Attempts to stabilize the situation from the Union of Islamic Courts have failed, when in 2006 the Central-South was invaded by Ethiopia and the Union was overthrown.

Turbulence seems to be settling down since 2012 as fighting has become more and more infrequent and the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia is slowly gaining power. The political situation in Somalia after independence has been unstable and often violent. All sectors in Somalia have had alternating periods of recovery and deterioration. In the next section of this chapter attention will be given to the sector which is central to this thesis; education.

3.2 Educational history of Somalia

Education in Somalia did not start with the arrival of colonialism. For centuries education was given mostly through informal teaching at home and in groups from the elders to the young (Abdi A. A., 1998). Somalia has a long oral tradition in 'poems and alliterative proverbs, characterised by their pithiness and condensed imaginary' (Warsame, 2001). Nomadic Quran schools focused on Islamic studies, teaching how to read and write the Quran. Cities as Zeila, Mogadishu and Brava are to be noted as old Islamic learning centres of great importance (Cassanelli & Abdikadir, 2008). Formal, classical education as is commonly understood as provided by a recognised authority and with fixed years of schooling was introduced with the arrival of the Europeans at the end of the 19th century. As any colonial power, the British and the Italians only provided low-level education in colonial languages; enough to create administrative workers or technical staff but never enough to create critical thinkers (Abdi A. A., 1998).

At independence in 1960 there was a stagnant education system. The new government had to deal with great issues of divergence and bridge the Italian system pre-existing in the south with the British system in the north. The logistics of uniting these school systems concerning practical matters such as books or language of instruction but also ethical matters such as which system will be opt for, were bound to prove challenging, to say the least. It comes as no surprise that pupils and their parents often opted for Quran schools instead.

In 1969, after the military coup, Siad Barre's regime brought change. He sought to unite the whole of Somalia and eradicate the clan divisions. Although it eventually led to civil war and the ultimate fragmentation of the country, it had profound effects in the educational sector, brought about an age of reform and in some aspects revolutionized the sector.

One of the most noteworthy undertakings was the transcription of the Somali language with the usage of Latin characters in 1972 (ibid.). Even though attempts to standardize the Somali written form using Arab or new forms of writing (e.g. Cismaaniya script) were undertaken for centuries, Somali was this time officially a written language for the first time in history. It was appointed as the language of instruction in schools contributing to its status and underlining the importance of a national Somali identity.

Siad Barre promoted education through popular means. For instance, Radio Mogadishu's signature song was from the poet and musician Abdillahi Qarshe:

<i>Aqoon la'aani waa ifiin laa'ane</i>	Lack of education is a lack of light
<i>Waa aqal iyo ilays laa'aane</i>	It is homelessness and darkness
<i>Ogaada, ogaada dugsiyada ogaada</i>	Be attentive to schools
<i>Oo gaada, oo gadaa</i>	Be attentive
<i>Walaalayaal oo adaa</i>	Brothers and sisters go to school

(Abdulahi, 2001, p. 162)

In 1974-1975, Siad Barre launched the 'Rural literacy campaign' which involved the closure of all schools for a year (Cassanelli & Abdikadir, 2008). All the students and their teachers (sometimes even civil servants) would go to the rural areas of Somalia and educate the rural populace who were agriculturalists or nomadic pastoralists. During this massive exodus of knowledge capital from the urban into the rural areas the motto was *-Ama bar ama baro-* either teach or be the teacher (Abdulahi, 2001, p. 162).

Although a dictator who caused the loss of many lives of his fellow countrymen and women, in the field of education Siad Barre was a true revolutionary and his efforts are to be admired as literacy rate rose from single to double digits, "from a dismal 5% to an estimated 55%" (Abdi A. A., 1998), within a decade and his literacy measures and campaigns have changed and still affect the educational field of Somalia.

To give an idea of the role this dictatorship played in education during its first years, consider that the national educational budget of Somalia in 1976 was 19% (Moyi, 2010). But war was at bay and resources were diverted for the invasion of Ethiopia during the Somali-Ethiopian war for the claim of the Ogaden region, and the national educational budget dropped to a meagre 1.5% (ibid.). In 1991, after the fall of the regime and the instigation of civil war the educational system utterly collapsed with few or no signs of recovery until recently.

3.3 The present situation

“the communal mind of the people is in a coma” (Afrax, 1994, p. 233)

To better understand the state of education currently in Somalia we need to divide the country into three zones; Somaliland, Puntland and Central South. The three zones differ politically and in terms of organization. Somaliland is a state de facto; although it has not been endorsed by the UN, it has a self-proclaimed government and a functioning Ministry of Education. Puntland is an autonomous state also with a functioning Ministry. In both Somaliland and Puntland there are fixed years of schooling and the language of instruction is in Somali during the primary years and in English during secondary school and university. The Central South, which is the most challenging area, has a Federal Transitional Government and since recently a central Education Ministry for the first time in twenty years (Cummings, 2015), although the functionality of either is highly questionable.

Both Somaliland and Puntland face the same challenges when it comes to formal schooling. They are unrecognised by the international communities as a state de jure or an autonomous state respectively thus cannot lay claim on international aid programmes as the whole of Somalia is sanctioned as one country by departments of treasury around the globe and no international transactions are permissible. Consequently they are faced with a weak financial base which in its turn affects the quality of schooling, as there is a lack of provisions, absence of standards and an unresponsive school curriculum. The two zones’ tumultuous past has caused a grave teacher brain drain and there is limited (mostly in rural areas) and unequal access to education.

In all three of the zones we can find Quran schools (dugsi) which play an important role in the communities. In fact many of them are built by the community where they are positioned.

Similarly to non-governmental organization (NGO) schools they are on private or community owned land, they are maintained and financed by the parents and in consequence are also found in rural areas and are more accessible to the poor as they have no or low fees. The aim of the Quran schools is to spread the Islamic principles and lifestyle (Abdulahi, 2001, p. 161). Students memorize the Quran and in many cases even if there is formal schooling available, a student is expected to complete four years of Quran school on average before attending any other form of schooling. Quran schools are much loved by the population and for the abovementioned reasons are considered by many to be the key to achieving universal education in Somalia especially as many of them are modernising and nowadays include courses of Arabic, Somali and arithmetic in their curriculum.

Another division that is to be taken into consideration is that of the place of residence. The Somali populace can be divided into urban, rural or nomadic communities whose percentages vary in the different zones (table 1).

Table 1. Percentages of urban, rural and nomad populations in Somalia (Moyi, 2010).

	Urban population	Rural population	Nomads
Somaliland	46%	49%	5%
Puntland	34%	51%	15%
Central South	37%	43%	20%

Urban residents have better access to schooling, in particular formal education. Some schools can be found in rural communities but are indeed harder to reach for the majority of the rural population. The nomads of Somalia are the most disadvantaged group, for example 95% of nomad children in Somaliland have never enrolled to school and 46% of children that did enrol eventually dropped out. Household wealth is a determining factor to school enrolment. Only 7% of children from poor families attend school against 68% of children from wealthy families (ibid.).

Although Peter Moyi's analysis of the Somalia 2006 Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey implemented by UNICEF in collaboration with the League of Arab States indicates that

momentarily the state of education in Somalia is slightly improving and that there is hope for the future, other authors paint a gloomier picture.

Ali A. Abdi explicates that the main reason that education has collapsed even after the economic blow it received during the Somali-Ethiopian war, was the outbreak of civil war in 1991. Education and educated Somalis were considered to be part of Siad Barre's regime which caused the total annihilation of any institution, building, provisions and even people that had to do with it (Ali & Cleghorn, 2005, p. 264). So far, warlords have recruited thousands of school aged children as soldiers causing great damage to the developmental and psychological state of the country's youth, raising generations of child thugs instead of schoolchildren (Abdi A. A., 1998) and, acutely diminishing the chance of recovery (Ali & Cleghorn, 2005, p. 265). The UNESCO report has used the well-known slogan of Education for All to refer to the situation of Somalia as Education For None (ibid. p. 267).

4. A TEXTUAL AND DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS

By merely placing the two documents side by side we can already notice major differences. Indeed the passing of time has much to do with it as layout fashions change, but a critical mind might go beyond that starting from the cover page. The 1968 document is plain, black and white and quite frugal as it has not any images but instead large blank spaces. The title: *somalia¹; School Textbooks and Educational Materials*, strongly indicates a down-to-business approach. UNESCO might be placed at the bottom of the page, however it is written with an even size and bold letters as is Somalia, giving it equal importance. The date and place of publication: *Paris, September 1968*, as well as the writer: *Mr. S.G. Clutton*, can also be found on the cover page.

In contrast the 2013 document is colourful and any writing is found around a centrally placed image of a smiling Somali schoolboy in front of a blackboard, with several Somali schoolgirls on the background. The title of the document: *Go-2-School Initiative 2013-2016, Educating for Resilience*, is less precise. Although it gives us an idea of what the document is about, it also leaves us wondering what exactly is meant by ‘resilience’. The indication of the purpose is twofold, “Go-to-School” suggests a right to education while Educating for Resilience, a right in education as well as a purposefulness beyond it. Furthermore, the ministry whose name is on the document is the “Ministry of Human Development and Public Services”, even though one might expect such a document to be a product of the Ministry of Education. This further strengthens the purposefulness beyond education. UNICEF is mentioned last and partially, without full recognition in the form of “With support from UNICEF”. The country’s name is presented as “Somalia Federal Republic”, then a mention of the support by the “North West, North East and Central Southern Zones of Somalia”. The word support being mentioned twice gives us an indication to the stance of the document, in fact it is used 123 times in total. Lastly, on the bottom of the page with large bold letters is written: “Joint Strategy Document”, resulting in even more confusion of whose product this document is.

The 1968 document’s cover answers clearly who, what and for whom. It also provides us with a clear image of power and importance of actors, which will be analysed later in this thesis. The 2013 document on the other hand, creates more questions than providing answers. Its purpose as well as its actors are unclear, calling both motives and power into

¹ The missing capitalisation is consistent with the document.

question. Using the content of the documents by means of letting the text guide me towards an analysis of the discourse practise, I will try to give a clearer picture of these ambiguous matters. Consequently, the ideological differences will be revealed in a macro analysis of the social practice. But first a short comparison of the main aims and strategies along with the main differences in the documents which can be attributed to historical changes is required. In this chapter I will name and compare these between the two documents placing them, if possible, in a historical context.

4.1 A general overview of the two documents

1968: This document is the product of an evaluation mission in Somalia in 1968. A Consultant, “acting upon the instructions of the Director-General of UNESCO” (p. 1), was sent to Somalia from 7 May to 21 of July with three main objectives: to assess the availability of school text books and other educational material at all levels of education; to examine how any needs could be met; and, to create an action plan “with estimated costs and details of work” (ibid.). This action plan is the 1968 document in question which is analysed in this thesis. In it we find a general background of education in Somalia in a brief paragraph describing the pre- and post-independence periods. An estimation of the shortages in material and their possible provision, of which budgetary forecasts are central, so is the printing and distribution of textbooks, considering the contribution of foreign donors and the use of local establishments and personnel.

The language in the document uncovers a top-down approach, with a weighted evaluation from the UNESCO Consultant, and only the “enthusiastic support” of the Director-General of the Ministry of Education in Somalia which “facilitated” him. The Consultant was “indebted” to the UNESCO Chief of Mission, the Resident Representative and UNDP staff for their “cordial assistance and advice”. The two Somali names mentioned, one of them being the head of the Curriculum Unit of the Ministry of Education had a more basic function of “arranging interviews and in making information available” (ibid.). This benefactor to beneficiary relation is signified throughout the text with UNESCO and in some cases UNICEF “giving invaluable help” and aid which “provides the services [...] and funds” (p. 2), physical capital “being gifted” (p. 5) and deficiencies “being eased through foreign aid” (p. 5), books being “prepared for Somalia” (p. 10) “under UNESCO auspices” (p. 13) while the need for services from overseas “is obvious” (p. 15). Meanwhile, all the Ministry of

Education of Somalia seems to be capable of is to “might well build up a library” (p. 7) and to “presumably, if the Ministry of Education is to provide funds [...] to furnish books lists” (p. 6) following the recommendations of UNESCO, indeed.

The demeanour of patronage is also revealed in the question of workforce. To use one example, in the local printing press, eight years after independence, “management and skilled technicians are Italian, trained operatives and learners Somali” (p. 21). This is no surprise considering that creating managers and skilled technicians was not the aim of the colonial administration’s education. Nonetheless, the persistence of these practices can be discovered in the appendix of the document, where we find three outlines of job specifications for needed personnel for the writing of textbooks, book illustrations and book publishing. Instead of training local staff UNESCO clearly asks for non-Somalis to write Somali books, illustrate them with Somali imagery and produce them for Somali students. The Somali language is not even a requirement, instead, impeccable English is necessary and Arabic or Italian are advisable, while “some experience in underdeveloped countries would be an advantage” (ibid.).

The books intended for all levels of education are being presented in the following order: English, mathematics, science, Arabic and social sciences which includes geography, World history and history of Africa but not Somali history. There is a mention of need for the latter and of Somali geography and civics but no further elaboration on their creation, instead, a book called “Somali Story” for Grades 1 and 2, to be produced by the USSR. Somali language books’ production is being postponed as there is the issue of the Somali script which was being debated about at that time (see 4.2 below).

2013: This strategy document was the result of a “direct request by the Minister of Human Development and Public Service, Somalia Federal Republic to UNICEF” (summary). This ministry sees Somali youth as a “resource group” and pleads for “a massive expansion of education services” (ibid.). UNICEF is to coordinate, advocate and strengthen the partnerships of all the donors involved in the education sector of Somalia, such as the United States Aid Agency (USAID), the Department of International Development (DFID), the European Union (EU) and the government of the Netherlands. The timing according to this document is also ideal, as access has finally improved after two decades of conflict. The aim of UNICEF is to educate for resilience as it is “the most effective way to assist Somalis in the move from crisis to sustainable development” (ibid.). But the overall purpose of this

particular document is “to present a clear picture of both the challenges and opportunities that the legacy of conflict and the new horizons in Somalia bring with them” (p. 5). Already from this formulation we can see that this document is more lyrical and less pragmatic than the 1968 one, and so the actual implementation plan is only an appendix. Even so, four outcomes are given, together with ways in which to reach those.

Outcome 1: “Equitable access to quality formal basic education expanded to all school-aged boys and girls.” (p. 14). This is to be achieved in several ways. Firstly, by the construction and rehabilitation of classrooms, with few carbon footprints by using for example solar power as an alternative energy source. Secondly, by the construction of water, sanitation and hygiene facilities, in order to bring behavioural changes contributing to a better health. Thirdly, with teacher incentives, meaning payment systems. Fourthly, by creating and providing for teachers and schools with multi-grade teaching skills. Additionally, two complementary approaches are being proposed, that of school readiness, meaning addressing poor quality teaching and high drop-out rates, and that of Early Childhood Development (ECD), with the provision of one year of pre-school, even though “there is little evidence of a demand” (p. 16) for these outside of big cities.

Outcome 2: “Marginalised, out-of-school children realise their rights to education through innovative and diverse delivery of basic education.” (p. 18). To accomplish this, UNICEF will invest in interactive audio instructions in the form of remote teaching through radios, media players (MP3) and compact disk (CD) players aiming to reach pastoralists children. UNICEF will organise Quranic cluster schools, by assembling children who normally would attend Quranic schools in one area and offer them classes in a community building with UNICEF teachers instead. Offering alternative basic education, which is a form of accelerated education for children who have missed primary schooling because of conflict. Creating pastoralist education hubs, for children of pastoralist communities with the use of pastoralist teachers and improvised education facilities that are easily transportable, for example blackboards. Also for pastoralist children, the establishment of boarding schools and live-in accommodation models. And lastly, technology assisted education in the form of electronic books (e-book) and electronic tablets (e-tablet).

Outcome 3: “Unemployed and vulnerable youth are empowered through access to alternative education programmes and gainful employment.” (p. 22). The main interventions here are the creation of a series of alternative programmes that will target youth who has a

background of no or little schooling. This will be done through a life-skills based education programme, functional literacy and numeracy programmes, a youth education pack, technical and vocational education and training, non-formal education especially for girls and, a youth internship programme. All of the above will serve in preparing the Somali youth for the labour market.

Outcome 4: “Education authorities and school management, strengthened in leadership skills and commitment to the provision of quality education for all.” (p. 26). This outcome shall be reached by establishing community education committees to cover the lack of central education authorities. UNICEF will provide these committees with management training and encourage policy discussions.

Contrasting the 1968 document, the language used in this case has been carefully formulated, avoiding any condescending terminology in exchange for a complaisant one. As already mentioned the Ministry of Somalia directly requested UNICEF’s help. On the cover and in the text we remarkably find the word “support” 123 times. Another popular term, used 72 times, is “provide”, implying assistance but not involvement, even though to provide for example teacher training automatically revokes a sense of involvement. And naturally there is a control factor even though this document has been created “in full consultation with the individual Ministries of Education” (p. 5) and UNICEF “coordinate[s] with other consortium leaders” (p. 47), or “in conjunction with the Ministries” (p. 23) in order to “act on behalf of Somali children and youth” (summary). These are just some examples of the terminology used in this document, which show that there has clearly been a considerable effort when composing it to avoid giving the impression of a top-down approach or any other sense of entitlement from UNICEF. Even so, UNICEF is in charge of the funding’s distribution, the planning of the interventions and their execution. This seems only understandable considering the frail situation that the ministries are in and their rate of insolvency in the past. The question rises of why going through so much effort to give the opposite impression.

4.2 The Somali language

1968: The Somali language with only dialectical variations is recognised as the main language throughout the country, the small minorities of Arabic and Bantu languages are also mentioned even though no further evaluation or representation is proposed. In 1968 the Somali language did not yet have a written form. After two decades of debating, negotiations

were still taking place between three main factions; those who wanted the Cismaaniya script, those who preferred the Latin script and those who were for the Arab script (Warsame, 2001). For the nationalist, the ‘indigenous’ Cismaaniya script was an important milestone in the creation of a national Somali identity. The main argument of the Arab script supporters was that Somalis were already familiar with the Arab script through the teachings of Quran schools while they considered the Latin script to be pagan (ibid.). The Latin script was preferred by the government committee. Their explanation was technical and not religious or political. The Latin script was phonetic, simple and economical (there are printing machines available for example). UNESCO resulted in waiting for an official decision to take place in order to introduce Somali as the language of instruction. In the meantime, Arabic would continue to be the medium of instruction in primary schooling while transitioning the south of the country gradually from Italian to English in secondary education. The impatience of UNESCO concerning this issue is revealed as it is mentioned several times throughout the document, pointing out the pending state of book composition, the inability to initiate mass literacy projects and the administrative chaos of having four languages (Somali (orally), English, Arabic and Italian) to operate one system, as well as warning against popular indignation if this decision is not taken soon. Additionally, pre-planning of materials in Somali has been advised using International Phonetic Symbols which can be transcribed into Somali script easily. This impatience is accompanied by a lack of understanding of the issue in the following extract: “the earliest possible decision on a written Somali language in composing religious and political fears and scruples which must be much imaginary where there is a people so homogeneous in language and religion;” (p. 29). The preference of UNESCO is also revealed. Even though the decision is left to the ministry, UNESCO hints toward the exclusion of Arabic for a very practical rather than ideological reason; the Arab script would need approximately 25% more pages than the Latin script for the same text, resulting in additional costs to be covered by donors.

2013: There is no mention of the Somali script in the most recent document. As mentioned in chapter three this issue has been resolved during the regime of Siad Barre. There was no discussion, no argumentation and no justification. Simply, on the third anniversary of the regime, during the military parade, leaflets were dropped from a helicopter. Those leaflets were in Somali, written in the Latin script (ibid.). The adoption was concluded and it was to be Siad Barre’s most important national development milestone.

4.3 The unification of Somalia

1968: The unification of Somalia was not an issue in the 1968 document. Somalia has been recently created out of two regions, the colonial British and the colonial Italian regions, excluding the Somali populations in Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti. UNESCO's concern was mainly the unification of the different school systems and curricula after the initial first five year plan for unification of 1963-1967.

2013: Instead, the unification of the school systems is not discussed in the 2013 document, the collapse of the education system during the long-lasting civil war has shifted the focus in recovery instead of reconstruction. Although, one would expect a discussion on the three political regions of Somalia. As mentioned before, Somalia is at the moment fragmented with two of the three regions, included in the 1961 state of Somalia, claiming their independence. The UN has not recognised any claims. However, the divide of Somalia as well as the indecision of the international community is clear in the formulation of the 2013 document which refers to every possible version of the state(s); Somalia Federal Republic, Somalia, North West Zone, North East Zone, Central South Zone, the Republic of Somaliland, the Puntland State of Somalia, Central and Southern Somalia, zones, regions, administrations etc. Mentioning them as a unity as well as fractions creates confusion and with all three regions having different stages of development, with Somaliland being the most advanced and the Central South the most deteriorated, it would naturally call for a different plan of action. UNICEF addresses this challenge of diversity and recognises that "a one-size-fits-all approach to Somalia would not be effective" (p. 8), claiming that it has taken "informed" and "nuanced" decisions to both these challenges and solutions. Nonetheless it has not taken a clear stance on the issue but instead describes the Go-2-School initiative as "a rallying call to all who have a vested interest in the rights of the Somali child" (p. 6).

Even though this fragmentation, be it in the school systems or in politics, is problematic, low levels of school enrolment present an opportunity. If the UN does not intend to recognise the two split regions, it is easier to create a unity of what has not been built already, than to build on three different systems and then unite them. Contrariwise, if the UN is to recognise the fragmentation, UNICEF can focus its task in the different regions, providing suitable and customised assistance. In either case, fragmentation or unification must be addressed. As the

situation is now, in the field of education, the indecisiveness of the UN works counterproductively for the efforts of UNICEF.

4.4 Girls' and women's education

1968: There are two mentions of girls' and women's education which are both brief and aloof. First, a remark about fifteen centres for women's education being created promoting Home Economics. Second, an expression of need for Home Economics books with a Somali background for intermediate and secondary levels of education is mentioned, which "if written in a simple language might serve for some extent also for women's classes". Low levels of enrolments for girls are mentioned but no action plan is taken into consideration. We have to take into account that this document is a product of its time and awareness together with respect have risen since then as we can see in the 2013 document.

2013: There are several mentions of girls' and women's education in the most recent document along with attention for the low numbers of female teachers, coupled with a warning of gender inequality in Somali education and society. The DFID is setting up education programmes targeting girls and aiming at increasing the access and quality of basic education for them. Investments are planned throughout the school levels, from ECD, which is expected to attract a more equal number of enrolment, to scholarships for transitioning female students into lower secondary school as data shows that at that point a massive number of girls, namely 72% (p. 7), drops out. Physical solutions, for example in the form of construction of better and separated sanitation facilities, are also aimed at. Ample attention has been paid to non-formal education which focuses at basic literacy and numeracy. This consideration of gender roles has led to the establishment of centres run by women with a flexible timetable, resulting into high numbers of attendance as young girls can combine learning with their domestic responsibilities. This has a multileveled positive effect in gender equality since it reaches both female students and female teachers.

This shift in ideology between the two documents is not unexpected. Even though in both time periods girls are viewed as a marginalised group, in the 2013 document we find an added term; vulnerable. This vulnerability position has led UNICEF to seek the empowerment of females through affirmative action measures targeting them. Women's status has been directly linked to lower levels of violence (Gizelis, 2011). In the Somali society with strong patriarchal biases gender inclusivity can be a means of peacebuilding as

some of the critical characteristics of peacebuilding are “inclusion, participation, emancipation, collaboration and empowering” (Maphosa, 2014, p. 172). With the backing of UNESCO’s EFA, focusing three out of its six main goals particularly on girls, UNICEF has set a steady course towards change in gender inequalities in Somalia through education.

4.5 Quranic education

1968: Quran schools are mentioned in one sentence where they are described as pre-primary education and connected to the Islamic religion and the introduction of Arabic in two years of teaching that “most” Somali children attend. No further evaluation and/or potential utilisation has been expressed, nor assistance to Quran schools with the provision of schoolbooks.

2013: A proposal to assemble children from the Quranic schools, said to be attended by “almost all” Somali children, in a community building is proposed as an alternative to introducing a formal curriculum into these schools. Quranic schools will be clustered together and literacy and numeracy will be taught by a local teacher who will be trained by UNICEF. An evaluation of Quranic schools must have taken place but it is far from transparent, giving no reasons for this decision. This “Cluster model” is being described as more “cost effective” and “non-invasive” while having less “complexities” and “sensitivities” of working with Quran schools.

One wonders what would be more cost effective than a pre-existing structure not only materially but also qua experienced personnel. Or why non-invasive would be a desirable strategy at the moment that UNICEF is trying to reach as many children as possible, of which almost all, as already admitted, are attending these Quranic schools. As a matter of fact finding or constructing a new building as well as finding and training personnel would seem more complex. This controversy together with the particular choice of the noun “sensitivities”, is calling upon a natural curiosity which resulted in the further analysis of this ‘sensitive’ issue.

In fact, a most contrasting picture of Quranic schools is being presented by no less than UNICEF itself in a 1995 document with the collaboration of the United Nations Development Office for Somalia (UNDOS), which has notably been removed from their archives:

Koranic schools are the most stable local, non-formal education providing basic religious and morale instruction to a large number of Somali children between the ages of 5 – 14 years. The strength of the koranic teaching institution rests on its community support, its use of locally made and widely available teaching materials, and the high level of motivation of both parents and teachers. The koranic system teaches the greatest number of students relative to the other education sub-sectors. In addition to this, it is the only system accessible to nomadic Somalis who comprise approximately 50 percent of the total population. Moreover, because it uses locally made materials - erasable wooden slates, writing sticks and ink made from milk and soot - Koranic schools are better equipped than formal primary schools. Similarly, because parents pay koranic school teachers in cash or in kind (specially among nomadic and settled agricultural communities) teachers can afford to, and do, appear regularly for classes. (UNDOS, 1995)

Additionally, a 1993 survey revealed that approximately 40% of attendees were girls, a significant target of UNICEF, as revealed in subchapter 4.4 above. This positive evaluation resulted in qualitative assistance by UNICEF to Quran schools in the form of training teachers, constructing and rehabilitating schools, providing material and monetary assistance. Another encouraging development as Erasmus Morah (2000) informs us, is that Quranic schools have been adding Arabic, arithmetic and Somali language teaching in their curriculum and so are no longer concentrated solely on religious teachings. In fact, Quran schools have multiple intents, including “fostering knowledge, spiritual development, moral guidance, and reinforcement of some public school subjects” (Boyle, 2006). Even so, efforts by UNICEF to collaborate with them, as revealed in the 2013 document, have stagnated.

Indeed, after the attacks of 9/11 public opinion has been affected negatively towards Islam and political leaders suspect Quran schools of supporting global terrorism and endangering Western governments (Boyle, 2004, p. 3). One can point to this being the reason of UNICEF’s change of policy. But one cannot ignore the fact that these schools have been the bedrock of Somali society. Their existence pre-dates colonialism, and with centuries of experience they have been perfectly adapted to specific Somali lifestyles. Their attendance and graduation rates denote their wide acceptance and their community links seem to be unbreakable as they have survived every conflict over the centuries, including the most recent civil war that caused the collapse of all forms of institutions except for them. Not to use this invaluable resource is simply unwise.

5. AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL PRACTICE

Behind each practice there are guiding ideas acting as a driving force, sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit. These ideas are products of the society in which they are constructed, this is reflected in policies, governmental practices and even documents. By analysing the two documents scrutinised in this thesis, we can extract the guiding ideas of education employed in them and so better understand the society that they were constructed by. In the following chapter I will investigate the explicit language use in order to understand the implicit concepts behind it. Additionally, and perhaps more significantly, I will attempt to discover what was excluded from these documents and why.

5.1 Education as human capital

According to human capital theory “education creates skills and helps acquire knowledge that serves as an investment in the productivity of the human being as an economics production factor” (Robeyns, 2006).

Taking into account that this theory was developed in the 1960s, a few years before the creation of the 1968 document, one would expect its presence to be apparent. It is however never specifically mentioned. That does not mean that we cannot draw conclusions from the aims of the document and even its title. It has a strong and almost exclusive focus on physical capital input, i.e. school textbooks and materials, and in a lesser extent on human capital input i.e. teacher’s training, which is also reflected in the books’ provisional intentions through teachers’ handbooks. This input of physical capital is to lead to the creation of human capital; a workforce for the new state. Women’s and girls’ education are focused on home economics which is not only consistent with the timeframe but teaching the management of a household with some emphasis on economics also points towards the same theoretical driving force. We can conclude that creation of human capital is UNESCO’s impetus in the 1968 document, which indeed makes sense in the early years of a new state whose workforce so far has been trampled by colonialism.

Human capital theory is also present, and even more so, in the 2013 document. Naturally, physical capital provisions (this time around in the form of technology as well) are also a part of UNICEF’s strategy but one does not have to deduct from this as it is clearly stated in the introduction that Somali youth is considered a resource group. More importantly, even

though education as a whole can be seen as the contributor to human capital in general, outcome 3 is specifically dedicated to the creation of a labour force. Focusing on unemployed youth and aiming for gainful employment, the strategies suggested such as the creation of vocational schools and youth internship programmes are oriented towards the job market. State-building through the creation of a human capital is exhibited like in the 1968 document, but this time it is not after the creation of a new state but after the collapse of an existing one, indicating that the aim is not only to create a trained youth but also to offer an alternative to roaming the streets and contributing to criminality and instability.

As Robeyns (*ibid.*) has claimed, the human capital model of education has limitations. Firstly, looking at education from the disciplinary lens of economics excludes the cultural and societal aspects of it. This is feebly addressed in the 1968 document with the distribution of books such as the ‘Somali story’. The 2013 document does not offer any practical solutions, but as I will discuss further in this chapter it complements this theoretical approach with the approach of education as a human right and educating for resilience. Secondly, the human capital approach to education is “entirely instrumental” (*ibid.*). Meaning that education is expected to contribute to economic productivity, and again excluding the intrinsic value of it. Neither the 1968 document nor the 2013 one address this issue. Even though in 1968, knowing now that the state was taken over by a military coup d’état the following year, this had no further effects, the 2013 document’s lack of addressing this could have further implications. Not everyone will have the same rate of return from education, more than that, in a collapsed state as Somalia is, it will be difficult for a trained youth to find employment which will result in frustration, potentially making UNICEF’s efforts counterproductive if not a simultaneous action of creating a job market is undertaken.

5.2 Education as a human right

Education was included as a universal right in the UN’s Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 (1949, p. 6). Twenty years later, in the 1968 document there is no reference to the rights to education. Still one can argue that the creation of this document was motivated by the 1948 declaration, although ultimately it specifies the improvement of the existing education but not its extension to include children who are not attending school already.

In fact, education as a right has been moved to the foreground of the UN agencies’ agenda since the 1990s in the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand and,

since the year 2000 in the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, where six main goals were set to be achieved by 2015 (UNESCO, pp. 15-17). Out of these six goals, three mention girls or women, which is reflected in the special attention paid to them in the 2013 document.

Outcomes 1 and 2 are also directly linked with education as a human right. Outcome 1 speaks of equitable access to quality formal basic education and, outcome 2 of out-of-school children realising their rights to education. Babaci-Wilhite, Geo-JaJa and Lou (2012) make a clear distinction between rights to education, meaning access to it, and rights in education, meaning the provision of quality education. They criticize UN Agencies for aiming for the first rather than the latter. I contest that, and claim that formulations such as “access to quality education” indicate both. Having said that, in the 2013 document there are strategies on how to make schools more attractive and accessible to children but not on how to improve the quality of education other than providing physical capital such as CD-players. Again, like in the previous theory of human capital, the intrinsic value of education and thus its potential beyond instrumentalism are being overlooked.

A more fundamental challenge when addressing education as a right is presented by Robeyns (2006) describing it as rhetorical and juridical. This might lead to governments legally granting the right to education but not ensuring the implementation of it. In the case of Somalia, this has further implications as there is no clearly recognised government to legally establish the human rights to education let alone enforce them. Considering the right to education as a moral right complementary to a legal one will not make a difference on governmental level but it might on a community and individual level. This denotes that a combination with a bottom-up approach to rights to education would be more realistic in the case of Somalia.

Last but not least, viewing education as a human right and its rhetoric, has little effect on state-building in comparison with the human capital approach which aims at concrete measures in creating income generating individuals that offer a tangible contribution to the process of state-building. Thus, the human rights theory cannot stand on its own without the addition of human capital theory, but the two should be viewed as complementary to each other.

5.3 Educating for resilience

An additional strategy found only in the 2013 document is educating for resilience which aspires for a sustainable development. This strategy is not found in the 1968 document, firstly because it was not developed by that time and secondly and most importantly, because unlike in 2013, Somalia was not trying to recover from civil war.

Educating for resilience has a central role in the 2013 document, in fact, it is included in the title. Although one can understand what this could refer to, it is quite rhetorical and open to interpretation. According to Stephen Sterling (2010) learning for resilience is a paradigm of sustainable development. Resilience is “the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and still retain its basic function and structure” (Walker, 2006, p. xiii), while “sustainability implies the *survival*, the *security*, and beyond these, the *well-being* of a whole system”² (Sterling, 2010). This is in accordance with the 2013 document where educating for resilience is used respectively with sustainable development several times in the contents of the document. In particular, in the summary it clearly states the relation between the two: “educating for resilience is the most effective way to assist Somalis in the move from crisis to sustainable development”. The objective of educating for resilience, as described in UNESCO’s Global Monitoring Report by Lyndsay Bird (2009), is to “move away from a ‘culture of imposition’ to a ‘culture of dialogue’” which is “essential in countries emerging from civil war”. This is to be achieved through locally owned development which can promote peaceful state-building. Local ownership is central to this ideology as when peace negotiations fail at a high level, they can still continue at a grass-root level. This means that the society on the level of the community is vital in times of crisis, especially in the case of Somalia, where negotiations for peace on a high level have repeatedly failed.

The process for educational planning in educating for resilience, according to Bird, starts with a context analysis which includes a macro-economic, demographic, socio-cultural and politico-institutional context. This is followed by the analysis and implementation of educational policies and plans. The third step is an analysis of the system’s performance concerning access, efficiency, quality and equity. Finally, an analysis of the management’s capacity and the budgeting is required (ibid.). This process is clearly reflected in the methodology of the 2013 document. Its conflict sensitive lens can be grasped throughout, and its high sensitivity for access, efficiency and quality is revealed in all strategies. It is

² Italics in accordance to the original document.

however more focused on a politico-institutional context and its empowerment, which is in contrast with the promising grass-root level of influence indicated above. Furthermore, while it is attentive to access, efficiency, quality of education, and equity when it comes to gender issues, it is strongly focused on formal education, disregarding non-formal education and entirely excluding Quranic education, contradicting in this way the main strategy of locally owned development.

6. RECONSTRUCTING SOMALIA THROUGH EDUCATION

A state is a sovereign unit that ought to fulfil certain basic needs of its citizens. These have been described by Kimenyi, Mbaku and Moyo (2010) as functions which “include providing territorial control or security, rule of law, basic social services, economic goods, and political services”. Bearing in mind that Somalia does not provide any of these, we can say that today Somalia is a failed state. In order to reconstruct Somalia, there needs to be state- (i.e. the state apparatus and infrastructure) as well as nation-building (i.e. national identity). In this chapter, I will include the thematic and conceptual categories from chapter four and five in service of a discussion based on the two core categories of state- and nation-building. To close this chapter, I will offer the alternative of using Quran schools as social capital for the reconstruction of Somalia, state- and nation-building wise.

6.1 State-building

State-building was not an issue in the time of the 1968 document. Somalia was a new State, having existed for merely eight years. The state-building efforts consisted of unifying the two educational systems; the British and the Italian one. This presented challenges on the level of curriculum, language of instruction and of course, the provision of school books, which are all directly addressed in the 1968 document. Additionally, education was to create a workforce which would ultimately contribute to state-building, as mentioned above. Thus, the incentive of UNESCO was to reinforce two of the abovementioned functions of the Somali State; directly providing basic social services by supporting the institution of formal education and indirectly by creating human capital that would eventually produce economic goods.

In 2013 Somalia was a collapsed State, and it still is. UNICEF clearly concentrates on state-building efforts in trying to reconstruct a destroyed formal education system. In outcome 4, assistance to the different Ministries of Education (MoE) of the three zones is expressed in terms of technical assistance and ownership promotion. Cross-ministerial dialogue is also advised demonstrating UNICEF’s conundrum on whether to face Somalia as a whole or as three fractions. Its first and main goal is to “strengthen MoE leadership in planning and coordination of an education sector approved G2S strategy”. In this use of the singular nouns, perhaps, we can finally read UNICEF’s true intentions, which are in accordance to the UN’s policy, namely; one united Somalia. This is confirmed by the second goal:

“Improve coordination and harmonisation through participatory planning, implementation and monitoring of an effective G2S initiative”.

Both of the aforementioned strategies are top-down, from UNICEF to the three ministries and from the three ministries to formal education. The third strategy in outcome 4 has to do with Community Education Committees (CEC). It is recognised that CEC have been the “backbone of the education system for the last two decades” (p. 26) in the absence of any form of government. UNICEF’s strategy is to provide management training, start-up funds and to support CEC in mobilisation campaigns to increase enrolment into formal education. This is the first and only mention of UNICEF’s intention to tap into Somalia’s social capital. But to apply this only in formal education, which is limited and weak, is a self-created stumble block for the utilisation of social capital.

6.2 Nation-building

While state-building is mainly a matter of constructing a state apparatus, nation-building is more focused on the creation of a national identity. Language is an important factor of this identity. In 1968 there was still a centuries-long debate taking place about the written form of the Somali language, which the vast majority of Somalis share. It took a strong government, that of Siad Barre, to achieve this milestone of national identity. The fact that the written form of Somali language is discussed in the 1968 document, the choice being entirely up to the Somali society, along with the demand of UNESCO for Somali civics books for instance, shows that there was a concern in 1968 for the reinforcement of the Somali national identity and in consequence nation-building, and even though this is not specified, it is at least signified.

On the other hand, in the 2013 document, nation-building is neither mentioned nor implied. On the contrary, the focus is on state-building alone. This is, in my opinion, the major error in the 2013 document. Because as “state-building is a core aspect of successful nation-building” (Hippler, 2005, p. 9), so is nation-building a necessity for the continuation of the state.

To make my case clearer, the term nation-building can be used to describe a process of socio-political development and, a political objective and strategy (ibid. p. 6). As socio-political development is a slow process, ideally a nation would have been “aged in the wood”

(Deutsch, 1966, p. 104). As a political objective it would originate from the state itself, using methods of material incentives, cultural means or compulsion (Hippler, 2005, p. 10). Under cultural means we find language policy, the education system, and policy on religion at the core. While all of these can be created, they can also be found as pre-existing conditions. In the case of Somalia, there is a language, religion and a common educational tradition that are all substantially shared by the majority of the population. Even though Somalia has failed as a state, it can be, to a large extent, considered a nation, which makes the potential of a state viable, provided that these pre-existing conditions of a common identity are utilised.

From these conditions my interest lies in education as it is the focus of this thesis and the subject matter of the two documents analysed in it. Considering education as a means for nation-building, and in consequence state-building, using the widely existing institution of Quran schools seems vital in the reconstruction of Somalia. In the following subchapter I will state my case by offering the alternative of viewing Quranic education as a social capital that can be employed to strengthen the Somali Nation-State.

6.3 Quran schools as social capital

In the absence of a state, local communities play a major role in the continuation of an organised life, including assuming the responsibility of providing education. The communities' informal social networks are the so-called social capital. Defined by Abdullah Abdinoor (2008), "social capital refers to social networks that bind community members together and that individuals and groups can rely on in times of crisis". Networks are tied together by shared beliefs, a sense of solidarity and a common identity (Oakes, 2006, p. 97). In pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial Somalia, but also during the Siad Barre regime and after the collapse of the Somali State, Quran schools have been operational throughout the country. This is due to the strong Islamic tradition of the Somalis and the support of the community and parents for the continuation of this tradition. Especially in times of crisis, these schools have provided "not only educational instruction but also moral, spiritual and psychological support for the children and their families" (Sheikh Hasan, 2004, p. 157). The community ownership of these schools, makes them truly sustainable (Abdinoor, 2008) and their Islamic principles, a part of the common Somali identity. It is this common identity that is the last hope of many, even secularised intellectuals, to reconcile the nation (Helander, 1999, p. 54). In the collapsed State of Somalia and its legal system, only the system of moral

order remains. This, according to Sheikh Hasan and Robleh (2004, p. 145) can be divided in two main elements; the clan system and Islam. Considering that the clan system is one of the causes of the chaos that Somalia finds itself in, due to relentless conflicts between the clans, Islam is the only remaining unifying factor of the Somali people. In light of all this, Quranic education, which originates from and re-creates social capital, can be considered not only a stronghold of Somali identity but also a healthy foundation for the recovery of the Somali Nation-State.

UNESCO and UNICEF are aware of this, as I have already pointed out, in the 1968 as well as in the 2013 document, it is mentioned that almost all children attend a traditional Quranic school, yet both only focus on the construction or reconstruction of formal education which is based on Western models. These are traditionally designed to “push the students through the academic ladder leading up to the university” (Negash, 1996, p. 89). While this would not be an issue in an established society, it can be a serious constrain in Somalia’s turbulent one, as it is today. As UNICEF has demonstrated in the 2013 document, it is aiming for an education of sustainable development. This kind of education ought to be locally relevant and culturally appropriate, based on local needs, perceptions and conditions. Formal education based on Western principles lies much farther from those values than Quranic education. Another aim is equitable access to education, which the well-established Quran schools provide already in contrast to the limited formal education. A crucial aspect to EFA, are marginalised communities, which include nomadic or semi-nomadic and rural communities that make up more than half of Somalia’s population. Quranic schools have adapted to this local context and use local materials to teach, which increases their mobility. UNICEF’s approach emphasises innovative technology as a strategy for mobility. It wants to provide nomads with tablets for example. I have serious doubts about the effectiveness of this. Considering the fragility and limited durability of such apparatus, I strongly question their life expectancy and their ultimate fit into a nomadic lifestyle. To be fair, UNICEF does want to involve the local communities, but it wants to do it on its own terms, i.e. by supporting formal education. This, by principle and practice, invalidates what the local communities have accomplished so far with Quranic education. Quran schools can be used by UNICEF as a stepping stone for the establishment of formal education through a medium which the community and parents already trust and support.

Erasmus Morah (2000) poses the question of whether the contribution of Quran schools is not known or thought to be insignificant. As I have demonstrated in 4.5, their contribution

is certainly known. So why is UNICEF trying to create an education system while it can empower the already existing one, which does not only already have a sound base and popular support, but it would also be more cost effective?

The fact that UNICEF did intend to support Quran schools in 1995, steers towards the answer. Since 1996, Western media have portrayed Islamic education as an incubator for Islamic radicalism (Hefner, 2010, p. 1) without any distinction from conventional Quran schools. According to Helen Boyle (2006), this is due to “a lack of understanding of the underlying assumptions and related practices of education in Islam”. The attacks of 9/11 have only strengthened that view as the willingness to reach this understanding has diminished. Adding to that, a growing anti-Islam discourse and the Eurocentric perception of education promote a culture of exclusion, placing ‘us’ against the ‘other’. Exclusion, instead of inclusion of Quranic schools highlights this intracultural rivalry. Moreover, supporting solely formal education as a Western model is a failure to recognise the West’s own moral history, where schools also “bear the imprint of struggles over how children and citizens should ethicalize and behave” (ibid. p. 35) which is based on Christian principles. The tremendous shift of intentions between the 1995 and 2013 document demonstrates that UNICEF has been greatly affected by this Western populist discourse. This has further implications for the Somali traditional school system, which is cast aside when it is most needed, resulting in the degradation of its cultural, moral and national value and the omission of its positive influence in the reconstruction of the Somali Nation-State.

7. CONCLUSION

Like many African States, Somalia has been struggling since its independence in 1960 to establish itself, whether that is in the form of a legitimate central government or of Somaliland's and Puntland's national sovereignty. In the heart of the many conflicts arisen we find clan division and a strife for dominance. Interventions from external powers, such as the 1992 and 1993 UNOSOM missions have exacerbated the conflict and impaired the trust of the Somali people towards the UN. After a period of UN agencies' absenteeism, UNICEF is taking careful steps of reappearance in the Somali scene.

There is no question that today, Somalia is a collapsed State. Its fragmentation into three parts with two of those calling for full or partial independence and a continuing clan clash for power, is proof that a solution lies not on the horizon. The international community's rejection of Somaliland's independence claims, denies the right of the peoples for self-determination. The UN's hegemony over the political independence of an African region is clearly a sign of neocolonialism. Even so, whether divided or united, Somalia needs to re-establish itself as a state. To achieve this, education is a very useful tool both for state- and nation-building. Based on this assumption the question rises whether UNESCO's most recent plan for educational intervention is exhibiting neocolonial tendencies.

To answer this question I have analysed and compared two UN agencies' documents on education in Somalia. The comparison has served in placing the two documents in a historical and societal context in order to explain any shifts that occurred from the pre-Siad Barre regime to the post-civil war period. The analysis has been made through the theoretical lens of postcolonialism in order to determine whether or not, there exists a top-down approach which reflects hegemony or a bottom-up approach which is inclusive and takes local contexts into consideration, and if so in each case, to what extent.

The two documents used are *Somalia; School Textbooks and Educational Materials* (Clutton, 1968) composed by UNESCO, and *Go-2-School initiative 2013-2016; Educating for Resilience* (2013) composed by UNICEF. The objective was to map the main thematic and conceptual differences between the 1968 UNESCO document and the 2013 UNICEF document, place those into a broader historical and societal context, and by doing so determine whether or not, the two UN agencies demonstrate neocolonial tendencies in their approach towards Somalia's education sector.

Both the 1968 and 2013 documents are products of external agencies which promote intervention, as such they might be considered hegemonic, but such a conclusion is too simplistic. To find an answer to the question posed, there is a need for deeper analysis. An obvious twofold dilemma is funding. Understandably, Somalia needs external reinforcement in the process of reconstruction, but does money come with altruism or from the will to influence Somalia's internal affairs? The language used in the two documents could not be more contradictory, from the 1968 document being the product of the instruction of the Director-General of UNESCO and providing services to Somalia, to the 2013 document being the result of the direct request of a Somali Ministry and providing support to Somalia.

The 1968 document is clearly hegemonic and makes no effort of claiming otherwise. The employment descriptions in the appendix are for non-Somalis, traditional education in the form of Quran schools is being ignored, the creation of Somali history and civics books is neglected and even though the choice for a Somali script is left to Somalis, UNESCO clearly states its opinion based on what would be a cheaper option, instead of what should matter most in a new state; the reinforcement of a national identity.

The 2013 document on the other hand, is much more indirect in making claims on practical issues. Instead, the language used throughout the document is rhetoric and ambiguous. Still one can derive from it several intentions. The teachers ought to be Somalis but trained by UNICEF. The wish to unite the three regions, which would have significant implications in the education sector, is uneasily avoided but can be derived from the use of the singular when referring to the Ministry of Education in different sections of the document. Traditional education is not only ignored in preference for formal education but it is also accused of bringing with it complex and sensitive issues. This dismissal of Quranic education has been my greatest concern in this thesis.

The fact that Quran schools originate from Somali communities and are supported by them, exhibits their strength as social capital, but also the recreation of social capital makes them essential to the reconstruction of Somalia as a Nation. Their latest improvement of including language and arithmetic courses show their good-will for enrichment and progression. They have been operative in Somalia for centuries and continued to function through twenty years of civil war, demonstrating the Somalis' trust in and support to them. They are inclusive when it comes to gender and marginalised communities. With their use of local materials and highly motivated teachers they have been able to reach the remotest parts of Somalia

and be as mobile as a substantial part of the Somali population which is nomadic. And finally, their connection to Islam can be considered a crucial element of Somalia's reconstruction as it is the only unifying factor of order left after the collapse of the State and the clans' continuous rivalry, making them a viable option and invaluable promise for the reconstruction of the State.

However, it is this connection with Islam that has led to UNICEF's practice of exclusion towards them. Even though UNICEF's willingness to promote community participation, through the education for resilience plan, shows intentions to make use of social capital and move away from a hegemonic approach and thus a neocolonialist model in education, these intentions do not go far enough as they exclude the substantial social capital that Quran schools offer. This contradiction is amplified when considering that UNICEF did intend to include Quran schools in its initial plan for Somalia in 1995.

The shift of approach can be contributed to the increasingly negative image of Quran schools by Western media and the populist condemnation of Islam in Western societies. By the exclusion of Quranic education, UNICEF is promoting a hegemonic agenda with the imposition of Western educational models in a non-Western society. By doing so, it is reinforcing the promotion of a single grand narrative of modernity which is the very representation of neocolonial practice. I would like to make clear that I am not against UNICEF's intervention in Somalia. I am of the opinion that Somalia needs assistance and encouragement in any possible way. However, I also believe that UNICEF and any other UN agency should rise above any rivalries and support every culture, as it has envisioned to do upon its creation in 1945.

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