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The Role of Peace Education in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone

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Declaration

The project presented by this thesis was conducted by the author (Yi Yu) between November 2018 and June 2021. I declare that the materials included interviews data within this thesis represents the original work undertaken by the author. I can confirm that this thesis has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Acknowledgement

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It has been a very long journey for me to complete this thesis. Hearing stories and doing analysis related to a post-conflict state really made me heartbroken. Fortunately, I also heard and learned about the positive aspects that peace education has brought to recipients in Sierra Leone. It is fortunate for me to meet several helpful people along this journey. This work could not be done without your help.

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Abstract

Sierra Leone has been regarded as one of the successful countries with regard to peacebuilding mandates. Peace education focuses on the importance of self-development and building interpersonal relationships, instilling peace-related ideas in the recipients. With the purpose of identifying the role of peace education in the immediate aftermath of the civil war, this research focuses on: *'the role of peace education in post-conflict Sierra Leone since the 2000s'*. Particular attention was given to understanding and evaluating the contribution of peace education in promoting peace during the past two decades. Meanwhile, this study also focused on the limitations within peace education itself and its practices. Other research questions, including the explanations across education, conflict, and international relation studies for the cause of the outbreak of the civil war, have been discussed as part of the background to the study and as an original contribution to theorising peace education.

Methodologically, with the purpose of exploring the nature of peace education and the role of peace education from the perspectives of the literature and informants through their experiences, a social constructionist approach was adopted as the main approach to analysing and interpreting findings generated from academic literature, primary documents and interviews with key informants.

The findings of this study focus on the relationship between the combination of formal and non-formal peace education approaches in Sierra Leone and inequalities that could lead to further grievances. The data suggest that peace education challenges the elitist nature of education by introducing free access to educational opportunities. This study also highlights those structural inequalities, such as underdevelopment in general infrastructure, cannot be fully addressed by peace education. Finally, this study contributes to further peace education and other peace-related practices by offering a rich set of evaluations and analyses on the role of peace education.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
APC	All People's Congress
CREPS	Complementary Rapid Education for Primary School
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EFA	Education For All
FBC	Fourah Bay College
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
GNI	Gross National Income
iEARN SL	International Education and Resource Network of Sierra Leone
IFIs	international financial institutions
IGOs	Intergovernmental Organisations
IMF	The International Monetary Fund
INEE	International Network for Education in
IOs	International Organisations
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PSI	Peaceful Schools International
RREP	Rapid Response Education Programme
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SLA	Sierra Leone Army
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party
SLST	Sierra Leone Selection Trust

SLTRC	Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHRO	United Nation Human Rights Office
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USIP	United States Institute of Peace
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
WWII	Second World War
YRETP	World Vision International's Reintegration Training and Education for Peace Project

Chapter One: Introduction to the Thesis

1.1 Introduction

The role of peace education in recent decades has been argued to hold the potential for durable peace in conflict-prone settings. However, history has shown that education itself, regardless of the format, can be manipulated for political reasons and instigate hatred with regard to interethnic or interracial divisions, thus education itself can eventually enforce bloody conflict (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Smith, 2005). Examples of this topic have been dominated by the historical cases in Nazi Germany and Japan prior to WWII. More contemporary cases can be found in Rwanda and Kosovo. Consequently, formal schooling can either exacerbate ethnic tensions or build peace. Research into the role of education, especially peace education, which can play a significant part in building peace, is needed. Research has also shown that peace education could be undermined by poor implementation, especially that conducted without a genuine understanding of local scenarios (Najjuma, 2011). Novelli et al (2014, p. 5) also point out that 'the framing of educational interventions in narrowly educationist technical terms that bypass the cultural, political, religious and social contexts of implementation can undermine effectiveness in achieving sustainable peacebuilding aims and may jeopardise the capacity of education to contribute to peacebuilding'.

The current study accordingly explores the role of peace education in post-conflict Sierra Leone, particularly the contribution and pitfalls of peace education in achieving nearly two decades of peace. Sierra Leone was chosen as an appropriate target for the study as the peace education programme, with its formal formats, was specifically designed and introduced to selected schools. Meanwhile, non-formal peace education programmes with involvement from multiple external stakeholders were carried out through radio and television series. Another reason for selecting Sierra Leone was because, after the war, the country has become identified as a low-

income country and ranks 181st out of 189 countries in the Human Development Index (2018), with 490 Gross National Income (GNI) per capita (Atlas method, current US$) in 2020 (World Bank, 2020). It is also often referred to as a weak or vulnerable country by multilateral donors (DFID, 2005b; USAID, 2005; OECD, 2011; IMF, 2011). Other issues such as military coups, authorities, the inequalities led to the civil wars reinforced it left legacy of its former British colony (Ikpe, Alao and Nyokabi, 2021). The weak status mentioned above indicates that the country has significantly reduced capacity to escape from the negative impacts without external assistance. Thus, Sierra Leone was involved in comprehensive external engagement and control during the immediate post-conflict period in the 2000s (Newman, 2011). On peacebuilding, the country was the first integrated peace mission constituted by the UN named as United Nations Peacebuilding Commission in 2005 which was the core component of the peace agenda (Ikpe, Alao and Nyokabi, 2021). This country has also been identified as a successful graduate of the United Nations launched peace operations since the outcomes were positive in many regards; for example, the achievement of non-violence in general, and successfully holding four peaceful election cycles since the 2000s (World Bank, 2019). Peace education, as a part of long-term humanitarian assistance initiatives, is crucial to achieving sustainability, building positive peace, and to reconcile citizens in Sierra Leone. An underdeveloped weak state with the involvement of external engagement would be a good example through which to understand how peace education has been integrated into its national education system, and why peace education is an essential tool for local citizens in terms of promoting education for all, promoting educational equality, and building long-term sustainable peace. Sierra Leone certainly hold an essential role in the debates of contemporary peacebuilding and peace education. On this occasion, Sierra Leone is an appropriate setting to identify the contributions and limitations of peace education in post-conflict settings.

The overall purpose of this study is to examine how and why free-access peace education practice, as a tool of peacebuilding, can contribute to peace. These

educational practices also contributed to theories of change and types of change (Church and Rogers, 2006). The strategic relational approach to peacebuilding focuses on the transformative role of peace-related mandates, for example, promoting the transparent representation of education (Lopes Cardozo and Shah, 2016; Church and Rogers, 2006). From different perspectives, in recent years development paradigms appear to have become highly correlated with peacebuilding and peace education. In particular, when linking these theories together, peace education acts as an intervention in the development field in a post-conflict situation in the sense of transformative change of a critical mass of individuals that involves eliminating distrust; breaking down divisions and prejudices between groups; and contributing to stable and reliable social institutions. The above changes highlight the important role of peace education in human development, especially in shaping and influencing decisions and actions that lead to the equality and justice of education, and the growth that occurs with equity. Meanwhile, this study will also analyse the limits to what peace education can achieve and the limitations to peace education that are preventing the country from achieving positive peace. A social constructionist approach is the methodology adopted to analyse and interpret the data emerging from the fieldwork. The social constructionism in this research can be viewed as a theory of knowledge around sociology with the purpose of examining the nature and the role of peace education during the post-conflict era from the different perspectives of key literature and relevant actors (Slater, 2018). The social constructionist approach is used to answer what the basis of peace education is, or in other words, what are the "languages" (content) of peace education in Sierra Leone that were adopted in promoting and achieving peace, the effectiveness of peace education in changing recipients' perceptions and understanding of violence and peace, and lastly the role of peace education in bringing transformation to their behaviours and the country's educational framework.

With the combination of findings from the informants interviewed, I will identify how peace education was delivered; the role of peace education in creating peace at the school and community levels; and summarise why peace education has been successful, as well as address some of the criticisms of scholars. Lastly, it is very important to learn which elements may hinder Sierra Leone from achieving positive peace: the findings of the study will translate into explanations of why positive peace was absent.

1.2 Rationale for the Study

The aim of this sub-section is to identify the rationale of the study, in particular, to emphasise the nexus between violent conflict, peace education, and peace. Essentially, identifying the relationship between violent conflict and education is crucial in understanding the role of peace education and of external stakeholders played in post-conflict states. The gap in knowledge within peace education studies will be elaborated upon after this sub-section.

1.2.1 The nexus of violent conflict, education, and peace education

Violent conflict has been identified as one of the major humanitarian issues in the contemporary era. Since WWII, the number of conflicts has increased and often appeared as intrastate wars rather than interstate conflicts (Peace Research Institute Oslo, 2019) (Figure. 1). Education sometimes has a complex relationship with violent conflict and may also enforce it.
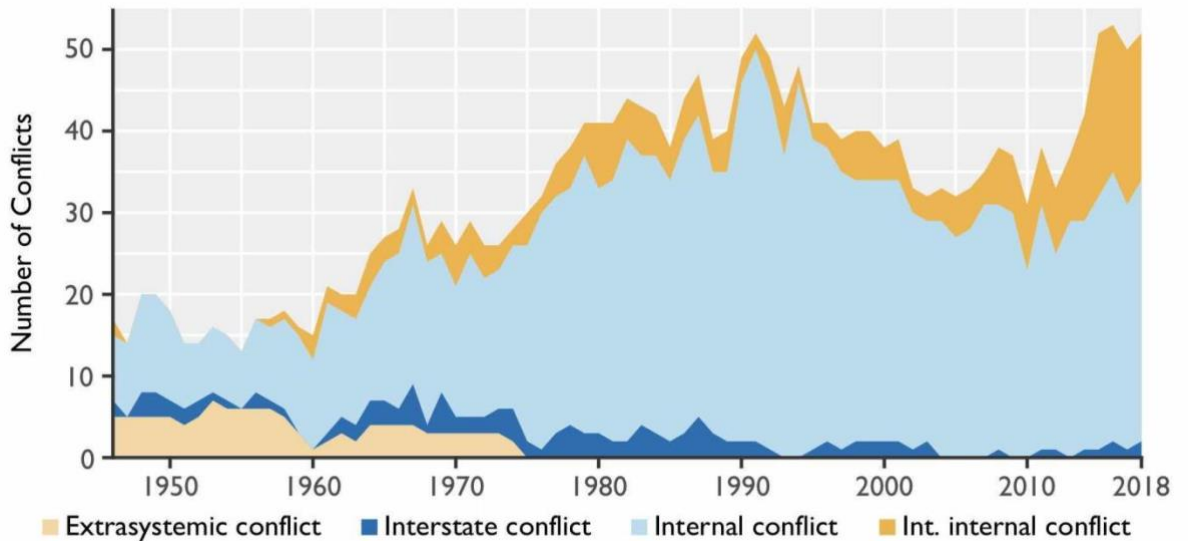
Figure 1. Numbers of Conflicts by type, 1946-2018 (Peace Research Institute Oslo,2019, p2)

As illustrated by the figure above, violent conflicts in recent years have often taken the form of civil wars where the national government is a warring party. Notably, the emergence of weak states is worthwhile mentioning. In International Relation theories, "state" is described as a valuable place to provide a good life for citizens including human rights-related values, the defence of the realm from external threats, and upholding domestic values (Jackson and Sørenson, 2016). Civil wars in recent decades took place within states that were unable or unwilling to provide the basic state values mentioned above to their citizens. This was because the statehood status is in flux within the ever-changing international orders (Newman, 2009a). In particular, newly emerged states that are 'weak', 'fragile' and 'vulnerable' arose after the end of colonial rule in the aftermath of the WWII, where numerous sub-Saharan African states became weak states since independence (Sørenson, 2004). With reference to Jackson and Sørenson (2016), weak states have three distinctive characteristics. First, a defective economy, which appears as the lack of a coherent national economic system, results in the absence of capability to sustain a welfare system. The defective economy largely depends on exporting primary goods in the world market, known as mono-economies. Furthermore, "the economy is

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heterogeneous with elements of a modern sector, but also feudal or semi-feudal structures in agriculture" (Jackson and Sørenson (2016, p295). Consequently, a large number of citizens in both rural and urban areas are outside the formal economy sector but living under very low living standards through localised subsistence economies. In other words, the defective economy appeared in the above two ways, leading to the appearance of a low-income country. Collier et al. (2003) indicated that low-income countries had a per capita gross national income (GNI) below US$754 in 2003, and risk of violence was 15 times higher than people who live in middle-high income countries.

Second, the absence of social cohesion; populations in most weak states fail to make up a coherent national community. Instead, behaviours which could cause instability, i.e., illegal trafficking or terrorism, tend to surface and multiply. Civilians might attempt to seek satisfaction through material or non-material needs, for example, illegal trafficking or moral economy, which in turn undermines national capacity. The lack of social cohesion is a consequence of the lack of effective and responsive national institutions. National elites, politicians, powerful communities tend to prefer self-benefit rather than building an effective government and strong state. Most of them feared that the increasing effectiveness of the state would be a potential threat to their firm grip on state power (Jackson and Rosberg,1994, p302). State elites in weak societies are usually unwilling to accommodate rival political groups, but instead search for violent approaches, not because it is a most effective way but because the weak characteristics created an absence of other choices (Jackson and Sørensen, 2016). These characteristics brought weak states to the occurrence, or indeed reoccurrence, of civil war. Accordingly, the World Development Report 2011 indicated that 90% of civil wars which took place between 2000-2010 occurred in countries that had already suffered from civil war in the 30 years prior to 2010 (World Bank, 2011).

Civil wars which involved children as participants negatively affects the education system. It has been identified as one of the major obstacles to achieving the targets set by Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), as 42% of children in primary schools who were out of school were affected in conflict areas. Insufficient provision of educational resources for children in areas of conflict gained recognition by international communities. As a result, "the right to education in emergency situations" was passed by United Nations General Assembly in July 2010 (United Nations General Assembly, A/64/L85). This resolution confirms the rights of children to be educated in emergency settings not limited to natural disasters but in wars and gained growing support from bilateral donors. Education in an emergency as a 'relative' of peace education in vulnerable states has been further enhanced because it was widely believed that equivalent education and training is an effective way to equip a country's youth with additional skills and a peace-oriented mentality, which may reduce the likelihood of their subsequent participation in violence (World Bank, 2009). However, contrary to the positive expectations of education, ranging from promoting peace to enhancing stability in conflict-affected states, education could also fuel the root cause of conflict if it was being manipulated for political reasons. In Kosovo, education was used as a tool in exacerbating tensions among citizens. Historical contents were manipulated and there was evidence of unequal access to formal schooling (Sommers and Buckland, 2004). In Sri Lanka, the right of minorities to be taught in their own language was denied (Johnson and Stewart, 2007). In Rwanda, education was identified as one of the main driving forces that led the country to genocide (Obura, 2003). These cases demonstrate to us that education in conflict-prone societies does not always generate positive impacts. As such, the contents of education become particularly essential in conflict-affected and post-conflict societies. Just as education can generate conflict, analyses of the limits of peace education have been argued to generate new forms of inequalities. This issue is developed in Chapter 6 when reviewing the essential components of peace education in Sierra Leone.

With a dramatic rise of interest in education within fragile states among the international community, peace education and its related subjects, such as human rights education and conflict resolution education, have achieved widespread popularity. However, peace education as long-term humanitarian assistance is closely interrelated with education. Rather than a subject taught at school, peace education can help to achieve peace among citizens. The initial process of peace education is to promote educational reform by emphasising aspects of equal access to education. In places like South Africa (Cross, Mungadi, and Rouhani, 2010), curriculum reform had become part of the post-conflict policies promoted by peace education activities (Cross, Mungadi, and Rouhani, 2010). Moreover, peace education is not limited to educating its recipients about peace messages or the route to reconciliation, but rather it can be incorporated into the formal schooling system as a standalone subject within everyday teaching, or otherwise be included in other subjects. For example, the culture of peace, especially messages promoting cooperation and reintegration, can be delivered to students during peace education class (UNESCO, 2013). Furthermore, peace education can also be designed as an accelerated course for children aged 10-16 who have missed out on schooling or whose schooling has been interrupted by war. Accelerated Learning Programmes can currently be found in Liberia and Uganda (Ellison, 2014). Peace education adopted as a non-formal approach can promote adult education through vocational training and media press. Numerous technical schools, TV series, and radio programmes have been launched and promoted in post-conflict societies. Non-formal education programmes have the potential to foster social transformation by educating adults with norms such as human equity, gender equality, and physiology education (UNESCO, 2016). There were significant differences between formal, non-formal and informal educational practices, but this study particularly focuses on formal and non-formal peace educational practices in Sierra Leone. The main differences between them are discussed in Section 6.2.

1.2.2 The relationship between peace education and peacebuilding

During the 1990s, the issue of fragile states and state failure attracted considerable international concern, accompanied by an ideological turn in relation to the UN peace mandates, shifting from a non-intervened Westphalian approach towards a multiple-actor engagement post-Westphalian approach which made external-conceived intervention possible (Jones, 2012; Newman, 2009; Richmond, 2020). The core debate around the post-Westphalian debate refers to as the sovereignty paradox which relates to the sovereignty of local self-governance and legitimacy of external engagement (Jones, 2012). However, building an effective and legitimate state by installing democracy and free-economic reform in war-torn societies became the core element of the newly emerging peacebuilding framework. To be more specific, for the past four decades, peacebuilding initiatives have mainly been based on the Western liberal state model, which emphasised the importance of building centralised national government and related institutions, normally known as liberal peace (Paris 2004; Richmond 2005; Mac Ginty 2006). Liberal peacebuilding and the peace norm were aimed at transforming dysfunctional and conflict-affected states through promoting cooperation, liberal development, democratisation, free-market economies, and human rights (Duffield, 2001). The Secretary-General's Policy Committee in 2007 (United Nations, 2010, p5) stated a "conceptual basis for peacebuilding to inform UN practice," providing a peacebuilding definition as below:

> *Peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict, to strengthen national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritised, sequenced, and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.*

The contents of peacebuilding clearly indicated that establishing and maintaining a sustainable peace required a multi-faceted measurement, which includes social and economic security, and institutional needs. However, these measures are usually focused on reforming or strengthening governmental institutions, which is based on the structural pillar of achieving sustainability. Another pillar, known as the relational pillar, emphasises the importance self-development of interpersonal relationships. The relational pillar can be referred to as an essential component of peace education (Bollaert, 2019). In this investigation, peace education refers to formal schooling and non-formal curricula provided by external donors and internal governmental education system. Peace programmes have been promoted since the 20th century by focusing on the significance of context-sensitivity and the need for localised perspectives. The definition of peace education as a general concept has been challenged by scholars in the field who argued for the difference in peace education when considered in a variety of social contexts and in relation to the complex nature of violence (Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013; Salomon, 2002). As such, a rejection of universal concepts was an important feature of peace education (Harris, 2008). Accordingly, the main contents are different from each other in accordance with ideology, objectives, emphasis, curricula, contents, and practices. Thus, peace education is more than a single entity; it has various definitions for different populations in different places of peace education (Danesh, 2006). Accompanied by the increasing awareness of the two faces of education in weak societies, the peace education doctrine identified the extent of a wide range of issues that may contribute to such impacts and increased efforts to reduce the likelihood of their possible negative causes, such as equal access to formal schooling, the structure of national education policies, and the structure and content of curricula taught at schools (UNICEF, 2011). Peace education has had positive influences on the need for conflict sensitivity and contributed to the various overarching peacebuilding frameworks. Peace education with multiple formats is regarded as the most important tool for the eradication of poverty and human development in underdeveloped war-torn societies. It is the means to develop values, skills, and knowledge for personal achievement in the future (Davis, 2004; Danesh, 2006). Indeed, peace education, as such, can be identified

as a long-term human security programme with the purpose of achieving individual emancipation and values by providing education opportunities for people who suffered from war to promote peacebuilding in post-conflict societies. Further details related to this section will be discussed in Chapter 4, the Theoretical Framework of the thesis.

1.2.3 Gap in knowledge within peace education studies

The current literature has largely focused on peace education, accompanied by the rising concern about education in an emergency context, especially when conflict education and human rights education are included as a part of the definition (Hicks, 1988; Harris and Morrison, 2003; Andrzejewski, Baltodano and Symcox, 2009). The argument for peace education holds potential for building long-term positive peace, which gained support in both academic and practical fields. Despite criticisms, the overall evaluation of the conducted peace education activities suggested there were positive impacts for recipients in the short term (Harris, 2008). However, the positive effects brought by peace education in a selected context remain unclear, as the long-term effects on the society were under-researched. In the context of Sierra Leone, post-conflict peacebuilding reconstruction has been regarded as a liberal peacebuilding success. As pointed out, peace education has multiple intimate connections with the peacebuilding framework. The current study will take on this perspective to explore the contributions and pitfalls of peace education. This study aims to contribute novel knowledge by identifying elements that peace education failed to address, and if other efforts may be needed to make up for these disadvantages that exist within the society. In the next section of this introductory chapter, I will introduce the research questions and aims, the main approach utilised, and the main terms of the study.

1.3 The Study

1.3.1 The focus of the research aims and questions of the study

To identify the concept of peace in social science studies, the negative and positive peace framework proposed by Galtung (1973) are the most widely accepted concept. Negative peace is argued to be the absence of violence and fear of violence. This is measured by criteria such as military spending, homicide, and access to weapons. Peace measures are high when military spending remains low. Positive peace refers to a state where people feel safe, equal, and free; have access to the needs required for a good life; and can achieve prosperity in economic growth, and other democratic practices. Peace-related processes can be referred to as a two-step process: firstly, by breaking down the structures or root causes of violence and constructing the pillars of peace to avoid the reoccurrence of conflict, and secondly, shifting violent behaviours or attitudes and constructing positive and peaceful mindsets. Thus, peace processes contain capacity-building and the construction of positive mindsets in conflict-affected societies (Samara, 2013). Education, both non-formal peace education and school-based formal peace education, in this sense, have been identified as key components of peacebuilding and a long-lasting sustained peace (Zarif, Urooj and Munir, 2019). Broadly speaking, peace education aimed at enhancing peaceful co-existence, as a means of integrating former combatants, and as a way to build a sustainable culture of justice, non-violence, and participatory governance in Sierra Leone's educational system (Lahai and Ware, 2013). Therefore, the main aim of this research study is to explore the role of peace education (from the perspective of literature and informants ranging from scholars, officials and various local and international organisations such as the UN) in promoting peace in Sierra Leone since the cessation of hostilities in 2000. The research will focus on the contributions and limitations of peace education when promoting and sustaining peace. The following three questions are proposed in order to answer the research aim of the study.

I. What was the impact of the civil war on the education system in Sierra Leone? There is an emphasis here on the kinds of theories and factors that help us explain the relationship between the educational system and the outbreak of civil war in Sierra Leone. This question will be presented in Chapter 3: 'The background of Sierra Leone'.

II. What does peace education (both formal and non-formal) consist of in Sierra Leone? This question focuses on peace education programmes conducted in Sierra Leone. The sub-questions below will help to answer this research question and this part of the analysis will be presented as a part of the main findings in Chapters 6 and 7. This part of analysis will start from the analysis of the forms that peace education took within Sierra Leone after the conflict

- *What kinds of peace education curricula were developed in the post-war period in Sierra Leone?*
- *What kind of involvement did IOs, NGOs, and civil society have in the development of peace education in Sierra Leone?*
- *How was peace education implemented and by whom, and what sectors of the population were targeted by these initiatives?*

III. What are the contributions and limitations of peace education in Sierra Leone when trying to achieve sustainable peace? This question focuses on the impact of peace education and will be answered through the literature and investigation with key informants. In particular, this research question answers the main research question of this study. Firstly, the evaluation towards main peace education practices will be analysed in Chapter 6. Commentary generated from the vantage point of informants will be presented in Chapter 7. Finally, the overall discussion regarding the contribution and limitations, particularly with regard to the elements within peace education that can promote or prevent the achievement of peace education, and what kind of weak characteristics peace education could not, or otherwise fail to, address will be presented in Chapter 8.

After presenting the role of peace education from the vantage point of the informants, the following sub-questions were used to determine the contribution and limitations of peace education, and to what extent the lessons drawn from the Sierra Leone case study are applicable elsewhere.

- *Which elements of peace education contribute to peace?*
- *What limitations within peace education may hinder the achievement of positive peace?*
- *What are the lessons from the Sierra Leone experience since the 2000s to date?*

1.3.2 Main approach to the study

The adoption of documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews as guided by the social constructionist approach will be utilised to answer the above questions. Social constructionism in this research can be viewed as a theory of knowledge around sociology (Allen, 2018), with the purpose of examining the emergence and development of peace education from the different perspectives of key stakeholders, and the impact of peace education from the perspectives of key informants within this study (Lock and Strong, 2010). In this case, social constructionism examines the need and the development of peace education in post-conflict Sierra Leone. Accordingly, it also emphasises how peace education curricula – including both formal and non-formal curricula -- are the main factors in bringing positive effects to post-conflict situations.

In this study, the source of data from the documents is essential to answering the impact of the conflict on the education system and the nature of peace education. In particular, the documents from the Sierra Leone Ministry of Education, IOs (UN, and the World Bank) and other NGOs, as well as the academic literature, can bring the author different perspectives of understanding regarding the peace education practices in Sierra Leone. These sources are useful to understand the education

system during the pre- and post-conflict eras. Additionally, these documents will help answer questions related to how peace education curricula have been developed in formal schooling and out-of-school scenarios. Significantly, documentary data can also contribute to the background to answer the main research questions: the contributions and pitfalls of peace education in Sierra Leone to sustaining peace, especially in terms of addressing whether peace education can have a positive impact on its recipients when there were widely existing criticisms within academic studies. Lastly, the adoption of semi-structured interviews with people who participated in peace education operations will offer various different angles and narratives that will enhance this study further as all of them have played important roles during the implementation of peace education in the 2000s. Fundamentally, conducting interviews within informants will provide multiple insights when exploring the role of peace education in Sierra Leone.

Finally, even though a range of methods and tools were prepared, former combatants or former child soldiers, as I had anticipated in the early stages of the research, are not included in this study. The initial challenge I faced was that I have not had experience of working/conducting fieldwork in Global South contexts as well as researching sensitive topics such as former combatants. This study involved sensitive topics, especially when approaching former combatants. I am aware that some of them may have different levels of trauma, thus grouping them together and conducting FGDs may worsen their psychological situation. Moreover, in the context of the global COVID pandemic, former combatants who are now marginalised citizens may be highly affected by the associated negative impacts such as a lack of masks and medical treatment when affected by COVID. The longer discussion of methodologies and the selected methods used in this study will be presented in Chapter 2.

1.3.3 Definition of key terms

This study seeks to analyse the role of peace education in contributing to peace during the past two decades in Sierra Leone. In order to understand it thoroughly, key terms used in this field need to be clarified. Firstly, the terms weak states, vulnerable states, and fragile states are used throughout the thesis to refer to the characters of countries where contemporary violent conflicts are concentrated in these contexts. The origins of weak states were referred to as "changing characters of statehood and insecurity dilemmas" in international relations by Jackson and Sørenson (2016, p294). Weak states disclosing insecurity dilemmas emerged from three weak characters (mentioned in Section 1.2.1, p.3) and paradoxical situations that were markedly different from classic big power confrontation issues, which have heavily influenced the current international order (Newman, 2009a). In particular, fragile states are safe from the threat of external violence, whilst simultaneously the weak status can be considered to continuously pose a threat to most of its own populations (Newman, 2009a). In this sense, anarchy can become domesticised: the international systems and order that grant protection of borders, interstate wars saw a downward trend due to the emergence of high integration among nations and regions, meanwhile, the numbers of intrastate conflicts with external participation increased due to the high cleavage among clans, kinship, and ethnic groups (Jackson and Sørenson, 2016). The domesticated anarchy issue and the underlying weakness contributed to the outbreak of civil wars resulted in weak states experiencing serious negative consequences. Firstly, on the economic side, the civil wars that occurred around the 2000s cost nearly US$54 million (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004). Secondly, contemporary civil wars had devastating impacts on ordinary people, especially children. Violent conflict directly leads to internal and external displacement, where the majority of refugees are, on average, displaced for 17 years, not only because wars in the contemporary era tend to be repeated, but also because the duration of civil wars is usually long, with an average of seven years.

Thirdly, civil wars involve large numbers of children, who actively participate as soldiers or combatants, either willingly or through coercion (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004). In recent decades, civil conflicts in Sudan, Ethiopia, and Mozambique took between 500,000 to one million human lives (International Peace Institute, 2019). Since these insecurities posed a direct threat to the international society, assisting weak countries during the post-WWII era essentially became an obligation. Thus, multiple mandates emerged with the purpose of promoting non-violent societies ranging from the Responsibility to Protect, peace-related operations such as peacekeeping, state-building, and peacebuilding activities. The most critical aim can be summarised as building a sustainable peace. According to the International Peace Institute (2019), sustainable peace is associated with peacebuilding interventions in weak and conflict-affected states and means to 'seek to reclaim peace in its own right and detach it from conflict'. In practice, it can be understood as an explicit and deliberate policy objective for all states with the purpose of eliminating all kinds of conflict and underlying sources of violence (Bollaert, 2019). This narrative is closely connected to the two pillars, the structural and relational, of liberal peacebuilding, which indicate that peace operations contain infrastructure, institutional constructions, and educational practices. With a focus on liberal approaches to peacebuilding, it was understood to be a methodology and framework through which to install democratic tradition and to implement a highly developed economic modernisation. In International Relation theory, liberalism, especially neo-liberalism focuses on cooperation between International Organisations (IOs), states, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs): the core idea of the emergence of collaborations among international and national actors, the appearance of these practices was widespread within underdeveloped areas (Richmond, 2020). Notably, the ideology of liberalism also included the liberal epistemology of peace, which provided communicative strategies for government reformation, the promotion of human emancipation, and self-sustaining peace (Paris, 2010).

However, from a different perspective, a sustainable peace can be further categorised as being a negative peace or a positive peace, as identified as the fundamental conceptualisation of peace. The former indicates the absence of physical violence such as rioting, terrorism, and war (Barash and Webel, 2002), while the latter denotes cooperation and integration among citizens. A more essential condition to meet the requirement of positive peace is an absence of structural violence (Barash and Webel, 2002). The new concept of 'structural violence' refers to societal building inequalities, which contains forms of social oppression such as depriving individuals of rights and freedoms, unequal access to educational opportunities, starvation, and poverty (Galtung, 1990; 1976). In this study, since the absence of physical violence in Sierra Leone is known, the extent to which peace education contributed to the negative peace and why positive peace remained unachievable in Sierra Leone will be discussed in Chapter 8.

1.4 Organisation of the Thesis

Chapter two describes the methodological approach to the study. It provided readers with the details of the qualitative methods used, including the adopted research method, the approach to data collection and analysis, and the related methodological and ethical issues of the empirical study.

Chapter Three provides a historical background to Sierra Leone, which introduces the root causes of the occurrence of the civil war, and the role of education in contributing to it. Readers will also be informed as to why Sierra Leone is an appropriate case to be examined in this research.

Chapter Four reviews the literature of peace education in this field. It elaborates upon the emergence and nature of the field of peace education as a background to introduce the various roles of peace education in different settings around the globe. Moreover, since peace education was normally implemented with other subjects like human rights education and conflict management education, I will briefly touch on

how peace education differed from and complemented other similar approaches to peace, as well as why these approaches could be considered peace education in general. Furthermore, this chapter also reviews the aims and goals of peace education from both short- and long-term perspectives. Peace-related operations and educational frameworks are also mentioned in this section. Lastly, as a way to argue for the transformation and the changing focus of conceptualisation ideas within international norms, this literature review concludes by emphasising the transformation of peace education since the establishment of UNESCO, with a specific focus on how these changes will influence peace education and education performance in conflict-affected states.

Chapter Five elaborates upon the theoretical framework of the study; this chapter builds on the relationship between peacebuilding and peace education. This chapter also synthesises the role of education and peace education in building peace and violent conflict. The element of the constitution of peacebuilding, the relationships with other relatives such as state-building, and the human security approach to sustainable peace are also part of the theoretical components of this study.

Chapter Six and Seven report the empirical findings of the study. Following the methodological and theoretical frameworks, the findings are presented from two perspectives in two distinct chapters. **Chapter Six** points out the constituents of peace education in Sierra Leone. It contains programmes conducted that were mentioned by stakeholders and the local government. Reviews of the impact of these activities are also included in this chapter. In general, this chapter looks more closely into the detailed contents and reflections of peace education. **Chapter Seven** builds on the previous chapter, and the main findings elaborate on the basis of the interviews conducted with selected informants. It provides readers with the lessons from Sierra Leone's experience of building two decades of peace, with a specific focus on the role of peace education for reconciliation, self-emancipation, and development of citizens. Meanwhile, negative elements such as the widely adopted

practice of corporal punishment and other issues within society that hinder the achievement of peace are also mentioned.

Based on the themes set in Chapter 2, **Chapter Eight** consists of the analysis and discussion, where I analysed the outcomes generated from varying archives and interviews The evaluations of the effectiveness and pitfalls differed from the perspectives of the scholars and the informants of this study. As such, I present readers with explanations and discussions as to why such circumstances emerged and why peace education was positively reflected upon by the citizens. An analysis of the format of peace – that is, positive or negative peace –was also debated in this chapter.

Chapter Nine is the final chapter of this thesis. In accordance with the findings and analyses presented in the previous chapters, this final chapter summarises the main findings and outcomes. It concludes by stating the contributions made by this research to peace education studies in general, as well as providing suggestions for future studies in light of the limitations that exist within the current research.

Chapter Two: Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presented the methodological setting that I was drawing on in investigating the Sierra Leone case empirically. To answer the overall research question: the contributions of peace education in bringing peace and the limitations that exist within peace education that may prevent the achievement of peace, this chapter introduced the methodology and methods of this study that can be used to tackle this overall research question and 3 sub-questions proposed in 1.3. The sub-questions were included with the adoption of different research methods, Table 1 below particularly introduce the main research focus, the adopted methods, and types of documents within each chapter.

Table 1: Research focus of each chapter and the main adopted methods

Chapters	Research Focus	Adopted Method(s)	Types of Documents
Chapter 3	The impact of the conflict on the education system in Sierra Leone	Documentary analysis	Journal articles; Academic books; Sierra Leone online national achieves.
Chapter 4	What is peace education?	Documentary analysis	Journal articles; Academic books; Online Library (i.e. UN)
Chapter 5	What are the theories underpinning peace education?	Documentary analysis	Journal articles; Academic books; Online Library (i.e. UN)
Chapter 6	The nature of peace education in Sierra Leone	Documentary analysis Interview Data	Journal articles; Academic books; Online Library (i.e. UN); Interview data of this study

			Recorded data online provided by independent experts
Chapter 7	The contribution and limitation of peace education in Sierra Leone	Interview Data	Interview data of this study
Chapter 8	Detailed discussion towards the role of peace education in Sierra Leone	Discussed by themes	

1. What was the impact of the conflict on the education system in Sierra Leone? This research question will be answered in Chapter 3 through a documentary analysis, where the literature included peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, and archives provided by Sierra Leone online national documents. This chapter also answered the root cause of Sierra Leone's civil war, and the history of Sierra Leone's politics, economy, and education will be introduced to provide the reader with an understanding of the extent to which introducing peace education practices were extremely important in the immediate aftermath of the war.

2. What is peace education? Peace education in academic study faces many analytical problems and it is hard to treat in a scholarly manner. This is because peace education is more than a single entity and it is open to many interpretations. In Chapters 4 and 5, secondary analysis was used as a method to reveal what peace education is, and what the theories that underpin peace education are. The information provided in this chapter was based on peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, and material from IOs like the World Bank and UN.

3. The nature of peace education in Sierra Leone This question answers what kind of peace education programmes have been conducted in Sierra Leone. This research question provided a basis to analyse the limitations and contributions of peace education in Sierra Leone. The findings

presented in this chapter came from the current literature, online archives from IOs, NGOs, independent experts, and interviews conducted for this study. Detailed information is provided in Chapter 6.

4. The role of peace education in Sierra Leone

Chapter 7 discussed the limitations and contributions of peace education from the perspectives of the informants in this study. The findings provided in Chapter 6 were used as background information to conduct these interviews. In this case, the findings of this chapter were discussed in accordance with the identity of the informants. After this, Chapter 8 provided a detailed discussion of the role of peace education by themes.

To answer the research questions proposed above, this chapter consisted of the adopted research strategy, methods of data collection, method of analyse, and the related methodological and ethical issues of empirical study.

2.2 Research Design and Methodology

In order to understand the role of peace education in post-conflict Sierra Leone, this thesis mainly considered the theoretical perspectives on liberal peacebuilding, and empirical peace-related educational practices. The reason Sierra Leone was chosen as the subject of this empirical study was described in Chapter 3. Most crucially, Sierra Leone is the ideal setting for post-conflict peace educational research. Firstly, education can be viewed as one of the essential drivers that potentially fuelled the root cause of conflict. Secondly, education activities have typically been one of the earliest casualties during wartime (UNESCO, 2011). Education was largely negatively impacted by the civil war, and peace education therefore became an essential factor to restore education and install a culture of peace. Lastly, Sierra Leone has not seen the reoccurrence of civil war but is still dominated by numerous post-conflict issues such as inequalities and poverty, which may threaten the overall peace.

A qualitative research design was adopted in this study. More specifically, a social constructionist approach was utilised when analysing the data from the study. Social constructionism first entered the academic lexicon with the publication of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman's *The Social Construction of Reality* in 1966. Social constructionism is a philosophical system that draws its method from a number of philosophical and scientific disciplines. In this case, the key intention of social constructionism is to answer the following questions: (1) the basis of knowledge; (2) the nature of reality; and (3) the way people understand through their experiences. From the perspective of social constructionism, the civil war can be seen as socially constructed, as the origin of the conflict is essentially based on social understanding around the disadvantage between the privileged and the poor. In particular, access to education and job opportunities were only available for those privileged populations. The young population remained unemployed or did farm work. Therefore, the social constructionism in this research is viewed as a theory of knowledge around sociology to examine the contribution of peace education and the limitations that prevented the achievement of peace. In this case, social constructionism examined the development of peace education as a factor that influenced the understanding of the crisis and the need for peace education in Sierra Leone from various key personnel's perspectives.

More specifically, it addresses how peace initiatives jointly contributed to the understanding of the situation in Sierra Leone and why there had been two decades of peace and social development. Thus, the aim of this study was to attempt to deepen a theoretical understanding of peace education in a post-conflict, low-income, weak state. In order to link between the approach of social construction and overall research questions, the role of peace education in post Sierra Leone were examined. Social construction identified the basis of knowledge as "Language and Knowledge", where the language here refers to spoken language and written language. "Knowledge arises from a socially constructed communal process." Communities through social situations, and particularly language, can bring

knowledge into existence. As a result, knowledge is a dynamic force in the development of human history (Slater, 2018). In turn, language is a medium that allows people to apprehend the world and can significantly affect the constitution of knowledge. "The world can be known only as a function of the ways by which people routinely make sense of the world through the common medium of language" (Slater, 2018, p.3). The nature of the reality and making sense of their experiences of the social construction argues that the conception of reality and social reality acts can be changed and mostly based on human perceptions (Slater, 2018). Peace education thus is a language that can affect the way people think and view the world. Therefore, this research adopts the methodology of social construction to reveal the extent to which peace education can be used as a tool (language) to affect recipients' way of thinking (construction of knowledge) and behaving (making sense of experience).

2.3 Settings and Participants

2.3.1 Sierra Leone as a broad research context

This study was set in Sierra Leone in a broad research context to explore the development, contribution, and effectiveness of educational peace-related initiatives. These initiatives included formal peace education lessons within school, and non-formal educational activities. Although the current study was carried out with a broad overview to see whether peace education could promote peace or reduce the potential likelihoods to the conflict within the country, a comparison of the post-conflict era with the pre-war era was essential. On this occasion, a comparison between a better developed Southern Region and the less developed Northern Region in Sierra Leone provided a clear overview in terms of whether the external investments have been given to the most needed areas, and whether these investments have played a vital role in societal constructions. In Section 3.2 I particularly discussed that the Northern region was a deprived area in history which included the provision of educational opportunities and services. After the conflict, many former combatants, including child soldiers, remained in Northern Regions

such as Makeni. Moreover, apart from the economic, political, and institutional corruptions, unequal distribution of educational resources is one of the critical root causes of the civil war in Sierra Leone. The provision of peace education and educational-related peace programmes should have considered educational equality for post-conflict reconstruction. As such, the emphasis of this broadly focused research was on whether the externally conceived educational peacebuilding process had contributed to educational equality. These were considered an important constituent of the research perspectives, as I examined the historically unequal development between the north and the south as well as the injustice and horizontal inequalities between the wealthy and the poor (see Chapter 3). In Chapters 6, 7, and 8, I discussed that educational inequalities enlarged regional inequalities since most of the educational opportunities and resources had been allocated to the relatively developed areas. But multiple approaches included conducting a community-based activity and sending experts to rural areas to potentially eliminate the inequalities that emerged from education.

Furthermore, other reasons included anticipating people's experience in a relatively deprived region would illuminate the role of peace education in bringing peace and education. Additionally, focused on the implementation and the development of peace education between the south and north, and the rich and poor was crucial as the educational research was used to focus on the capital city Freetown, the historical educational centre of the country (Bledsoe, 1992; Paracka, 2003). Whether the situation changed or remained the same after the civil war is essential to analysing the role of peace education in state building.

2.3.2 Interview participants

As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, this study has adopted two main research methods, the documentary analysis as a tool to explore the pre-war situation in Sierra Leone, and the literature review of peace education and the nature of peace education in Sierra Leone. The semi-structured interview was used as a

method to explore the contributions and limitations of peace education in the aftermath of the conflict. This interview method followed from the analysis of the documentary data, and in this sub-section the main participants of the interview process are introduced.

This study focused on the contribution of peace education and peace-related educational programmes to a sustainable peace in Sierra Leone, whilst the limitations that existed within peace education practices were addressed. Interviewees in this study included experts on curricula such as teachers, and practitioners from external institutions such as the UN who are essential to reviewing the effectiveness of peace education. Lastly, the perspectives of local officers are essential to understand the view of Sierra Leonians. Although these informants may indeed be beneficiaries of the peace education in Sierra Leone, their main purpose in this research was to act as experts and providers of peace education. Thus, participants were divided into three categories for the interviews: 1) experts of peace education curricula; 2) researchers and practitioners from external organisations (IOs or NGOs); and 3) officials such as policy makers in Sierra Leone.

This study only included 12 interviewees; I adopted a snowball sampling method to expand the number of participants since they were hard to access. Snowball sampling in social science studies "utilise a small pool of initial informants to nominate, through their social networks, other participants who meet the eligibility criteria and could potentially contribute to a specific study" (Morgan, 2008. p.817). These interviews were conducted with the purpose of gaining essential information on the nature, perceptions, and contribution of peace education at the national level. Thus, documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews as multi-approaches to collect data have been adopted. As the interview questions will be partly based on the gaps emerging from documentary data, an early document analysis, more specifically the analysis towards the nature and the evaluation of peace education programmes was presented prior to conducting the interview process.

2.3.2.1 Category one: policymakers of Sierra Leone

This category consisted of policymakers as key informants at the national level for understanding the educational system before the war, and whether the educational reform after the war was guided by the peace education framework; in other words, whether there is a relationship between peace education and educational reform in Sierra Leone. Moreover, interviews with policymakers were important in terms of understanding the constituency of peace education programmes, for example, why were there so many kinds of non-formal peace education initiatives and how did the non-formal ones integrate with formal education processes?

I interviewed the Permanent Representative to the UN in Geneva and an ambassador to Switzerland for the Government of Sierra-Leone. This official is also a senior researcher with the Sierra Leone civil war and Africa conflict prevention programme. I also interviewed the previous senior official of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST) who worked on the educational provision and issues related to the implementation and promotion of peace education, where interviewees in this category also included the Minister of Education who is in charge of Primary Education, the current officer of MOEST.

2.3.2.2 Category two: practitioners from external organisations

The second category included key informants who were peace education practitioners from sectors of the UN, the World Bank and an NGO based in Geneva. Some of them were experts in human rights but largely involved in the promotion of peace education and peacebuilding activities in Sierra Leone. Some of them practised law in Sierra Leone for up to 13 years, where they were also involved in human rights education practice. They particularly emphasised equal rights when implementing peace education. The advantages of the involvement of the practitioners and experts from an external level can be summarised as follows. Firstly, peace education initiatives are assumed to be externally conceived projects, where practitioners of donor stakeholders are essential from a holistic point of view. Secondly, interviewing

specialists and key practitioners of UN mandates and other mandates held by NGOs or external countries helps one to understand the process of peace education formulation, the methods used when approaching recipients, the challenges faced, and the limitation of the curriculum. Moreover, external specialists can provide fair perspectives of whether the peaceful co-existence in Sierra Leone was contributed to by peace education. To summarise, the inclusion of this category was intended to ensure the research included as many perspectives as it could, as well as with the purpose of eliminating possible limitations.

2.3.2.3 Category three: peace education curriculum experts

The final category of informants included people who work as peace education curricula experts and who work closely with peace education recipients. This included experts in the peace education curriculum, for example, a person who successfully ran a school that included a peace education curriculum for more than a decade. Including peace educators who taught before and after the war allowed the research study to make comparisons with the post-war educational conditions with regard to whether the development of education with peace thinking could contribute to peace from a practical perspective.

2.4 Data Collection

2.4.1 Overall approach to data collection

The overall approach of data collection ranging from Chapters 3 to 8 has been provided as a table in 2.1. Documentary analysis was applied as the main method of data collection, while the semi-structured interviews with key adult informants were applied as a method to investigate the background information of the relationship between the educational system and the civil war, and the contribution and limitation of peace education during the post-war era. Thus, the documentary analysis reported in this thesis consists of various governmental policy reports, mapping resources from IOs, academic literature, and publications from NGOs and

external donors. Documentary analysis was conducted prior to the interview process and was identified as an essential step to guide the interviews that took place afterwards. The data collection for the latter was through online one-time interviews. I met with key informants between February 2021 to May 2021 (see 7.2 and Appendix A for the list of questions as well as the themes that were discussed with the informants, Appendix B included 2 examples of interview transcripts). Thus, in the following sub-sections I discussed the document collection first then go on and discuss interview data. However, before I do so, I would like to introduce the overall approach to data collection from the various documents, which is the main approach of this research.

The data collection methods in this research were qualitative, as this allowed for elasticity, and room to evolve, develop, and unfold while the research is proceeding (Robson, 2002). Utilising a documentation research method would also develop a context-appropriate method depending on various kinds of documents and reports so that the complexity of the constituents of peace education and the development of peace education phenomena in Sierra Leone could be captured. Moreover, given Sierra Leone's research background as a post-conflict country, this was considered to be sensitive when an ethical perspective was taken into consideration. As such, it was essential to select and develop appropriate research tools. Apart from this, the following reasons demonstrated why this archival method of research was important to analyse the system of peace education in Sierra Leone. Firstly, it appropriately accesses and gathers data that contributed to the research question of "the nature, or the composition of peace education in Sierra Leone." Secondly, documents were helpful in terms of providing a glimpse into the underlying basis of the existing literature. Lastly, archives provided a useful research tool that allowed us to see how and why such documents might lead to particular practices and policies. On this occasion, it ensured the access to documentary data and thus designed an appropriate analysing strategy to guide the documentary research is vital to the overall research process.

The aims of gaining documentary data for this study are indicated below:

Aim 1: To understand and describe crucial elements in the education system in the pre-war era and explore the extent to which education contributed to the outbreak of the civil war (see Chapter 3).

Aim 2: To understand what constituted peace education from the literature (see Chapter 4).

Aim 3: To explore the theoretical framework that underpinned peace education through various approaches (see Chapter 5).

Aim 4: To give an outlook regarding the nature of peace education in Sierra Leone (see Chapter 6).

The aims above focused on understanding the negative impacts of civil conflict and, subsequently, the cessation of schooling on school children, as well as on the education system itself, during the Sierra Leone civil conflict. As such, determined the rationale related to the nature and implementation of the education system in pre-war Sierra Leone, and how education contributed to the outbreak of the civil war was identified as background information to the research.

The literature and practical records can help to answer the questions above. The method of data access, which is representative and credible to the research, will be described in sub-section 6.6.1.1. However, there are strengths and weaknesses to the format and types for the said research sources. Academic works in the literature are easy to access and provide the researcher with different perspectives when analysing background information about Sierra Leone. However, the academic literature can hardly provide the researcher with clear practical details, such as which

textbook has been adopted for a certain programme. From a different perspective, practical articles developed by IOs and NGOs are hard to follow as the implementation of a given programme can last for nearly a decade. Disappointingly, some such records could not be accessed as, for instance, websites had expired or been taken down. In this case, the academic literature and non-academic sources were used to answer different research questions, as both sources are useful for this study.

Nevertheless, this study also emphasised whether peace education promoted educational development, the type of evolution, and whether peace education contributed to nearly twenty years of peace. These questions helped to answer the role of peace education which identified as the ultimate research aims of this study. However, they cannot be satisfactorily explained through document records. Therefore, a face-to-face semi-structured interviews was utilised to offer different dimensions and explanations to answer my research questions. The following sub-section focused on the introduction of the qualitative interview method I adopted in this research

2.4.2 Face-to-face semi-structured interviews

Interview is a common method in qualitative research, and it was employed as a direct source of data for social science studies (Bryman, 2016, p469). This approach was chosen for several reasons: firstly, the design of the semi-structured approach tended to emphasise the 'generality' in the formulation of initial research ideas and informants' perspectives. Moreover, interviewees' own points of view have greater concerns regarding interview questions; in other words, this type of interview reflects informants' perspectives and concerns rather than the researcher's (Punch, 2014). With the aim of responding to the directions and perspectives of the interviewees, a semi-structured qualitative interview method was considered to be more flexible, adjusting the research emphases as a result of essential issues that emerged during the interview processes. Furthermore, the points above indicated

that such an approach provided researchers with richer and more detailed answers. Thus, the whole process gives the researcher insights into what the interviewees saw as significant and relevant, which may help to avoid bias during the investigation (Punch, 2014).

Under the social constructionist methodology, the narrative approach can be applied to the semi-structured interview. Significant changes in recent years have provided parallels to developments in narrative methodology, which can be summarised as a movement from a single voice to multiple voices. Specifically, the narrative approach derived from qualitative research design characterises interviews in various further ways (Gottfredson et al, 2015). Emerging from the literature, the narrative approach characterises interviews into 'event-centred narratives', the 'biographic-narrative interpretive method', and 'oral narrative' (Denzin, 1997, p45). The narrative interview approach was created by Wengraf (2001) and is a detailed method to link experiences and biography together, which is particularly suitable for the current study (Bold, 2012).

As my study has been conducted over a relatively short period involving only 12 interviews, a collaborative "oral narrative" (Bold, 2012) will be chosen. The 'oral narrative' has two different focuses, that is, themes 'within' the narrative led to thematic analysis (Riessman, 2008); alternatively, it can also focus on 'telling' the audience about the particular emphasis through a structural analysis of language and performance (Denzin, 1997, p.96). However, as the purpose is to understand interviewees' perspectives, I felt that a thematic approach derived from a narrative approach would be more appropriate. What seems important to a narrative approach is integral to both the design of the instrument and to the content that is created, as the methodology is embodied in the text (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2018). Given a relatively short research period as well as limited access to the target participants, I conducted online interviews with 12 participants. Due to the emergence of COVID-19, plans to travel to Sierra Leone to conduct the research for

this study had to be cancelled. As such, the interview can only be conducted through online face-to face interviews. COVID-19 severely impacted the way I collected my data. Since travel to Sierra Leone was banned around the time, I intended to initiate my interviews, this research became much more heavily reliant on secondary literature and documentary analysis. Conducted online interviews has its own benefits and disadvantages. The initial benefits are that it saves travel time, and that the informants were not limited to individuals living in Sierra Leone when the interviews took place. Some of the informants are based in Europe, whilst some are in North America. However, there were disadvantages. For example, some of the retired educators and policymakers were not technically literate, and those living in rural areas had limited access to the internet. The most challenging issue to adopting this online approach to the interviews was that the informants may forget to participate in the interview and then lose the connections. In sum, although this research method promised great flexibility, many of the potential interviewees were out of reach. The limitations brought by the occurrence of the pandemic will be presented in the final chapter. Although the sample size is relatively small, I was interested in focusing on their in-depth insights, and on the role and impact of peace education in Sierra Leone.

In this study, documentary analysis informed the interviews, and following this I hope to discuss the findings drawn from interviews which examined key actors' perspectives, attitudes, and suggestions regarding their contributions to the quest of constructed peace education programmes during the post-war period. The study looked at participants who undertook different responsibilities such as policymakers, key practitioners, and educators. A series of themes was predetermined and evolved while the research was in progress. I began the interview with a brief discussion about their experiences that related to the peace education programmes, then moved on to conceptual discussions as suggested by the narrative method. This study, from this perspective, led both participants and myself to a broader exploration and better understanding of the role of peace education in peacebuilding.

2.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative studies is an iterative process (Dey, 1993). However, it can essentially be divided into three stages. The early stage is a process of reflection on data collected in the field. The second stage is the categorisation of the findings during the research and analysis by categories, which finally resulted in the descriptive claims made in Chapters 6, 7, and 8. Thirdly, these findings will be analysed and reviewed in light of the theories and conceptual definitions reviewed previously and resulted in a discussion narrative in Chapter 9. In this study, I considered how interview data was complementary to the archival literature and derived two different approaches to analysing archival and interview data.

2.5.1 Documentary data analysis

Document analysis needs repeated review and interpretation of the collected data to gain an understanding and empirical knowledge of the research questions. The following approaches were useful when trying to interpret and analyse documents. Adopted approaches are outlined as coding and categorising, interpretation, and thematic analysis.

2.5.1.1 Coding and categorising

Coding and categorising are identified as an essential stage in the process of analysing document data. There are two elements here: designing a coding schedule, and a coding manual. In this research, designing a coding manual was anticipated to provide extensive and detailed information about what and where the peace education programmes have been practiced in Sierra Leone. The following manual included all the dimensions that would be employed in the entire coding process (Bryman, 2013).

Figure 2. Coding Manual: **Nature of peace education in Sierra Leone**

1. Name of peace education programme

2. Format: whether it is formal or non-formal?

3. Main stakeholders

4. Location: Where does it take place?

5. The adopted materials

6. Target population

7. Teaching method

8. Evaluations provided by stakeholders, practitioners, and scholars

As the coding manual is now fully established and organised by category, it must be tested against a sample within the literature to ensure its appropriateness to answer one of the main research issues, "the nature of peace education in Sierra Leone". The codes listed above helped to generate the narratives about the constitution, the contents, and the evaluation of every peace education practice performed since 2000s. In addition, the coding manual was also used to analyse the entire document sample collected while coding. This coding method allowed the author to analyse the nature of peace education, in particular, the nature and evaluation of each practice systematically. During the focused coding stage, the document analysis required a protocol to facilitate data extraction and systematic analysis. However, it is not possible to code line-by-line, even if all the necessary dimensions are included to answer the research questions. Therefore, to reduce such limitations, I analysed all the collected documents by hand and provide readers with a further conclusion.

2.5.1.2 Interpretation and thematic analysis

The documents gathered represented a diverse collection of various types of documents. In these documents, the authors adopted distinct vocabularies to explain the same concept, where I have to interpret such based on the content. These documents were developed with a different purpose and for different target

populations. I have to engage in the interpretation and thus concisely locate them according to different themes. "Thematic analysis is in essence pattern recognition" (Gross, 2018, p6). According to the coding and categorising process, I reviewed the coded data, such as in what format did the peace education often take place in Sierra Leone during the post-conflict era? What kind of materials did they often adopt? Which stakeholder(s) provided these teaching materials? The coded data indicated how these elements are interconnected. In Chapter 6, the narrative towards every peace education practice produced the readers with how the information provided by each code was interconnected with each other. Namely, according to the coding and categorising process, the data presented in Chapter 6 indicated the format that peace education often took place in Sierra Leone during the post-conflict era, and answered question, such as: What kinds of materials did they often adopt? Which stakeholder(s) provided these teaching materials? This chapter focused on the nature of peace education; it was constituted by multiple distinct analyses of the main contents of peace education practices in Sierra Leone.

2.5.2 Interview data analysis

A 'categorical aggregation' approach was adopted as a general principle throughout the interview analysis process (Stake, 1995, p. 72). For one, I have outlined the research questions and framework prior to the data collection, after which data was categorised and analysed based on the collecting process, centred on the impact of the conflict on the education system, the nature of peace education at the national level, and contribution of peace to peacebuilding and peaceful co-existence during the past two decades. However, new themes may emerge during data processing and analysis.

Other than the notes taken during the interview, all reflections of the day were recorded as main incidents. Recordings of the interviews were taken with permission of each of the key informants. I also typed up some key information into categories to see if new themes emerged and if more information was required from a follow-

up interview. In brief, the data collected needed to be constantly assessed and reviewed to see if the research questions could be answered or whether it was relevant to the research. This stage reflected the consistency and reliability in the qualitative studies indicated by Fetterman (1989), in particular, when the key informants inform about the peace education and peacebuilding realities in post-conflict Sierra Leone. Preliminary data analysis therefore provided confidence that a solid interview which allowed exploration of further descriptive narratives informed by the literature review and theoretical framework had been designed.

After conducting all interviews, the second stage of analysis – formal analysis – began. As the data collected was very varied, i.e., informants providing several different perspectives, categorisation into a manageable resource was required. All 12 interviews were included for further detailed analysis. As informants dominate different positions of the peace education process, the relevance and perspective to the research question, as well as insights and authenticity, are different in each case. This process indicated the representation of a variety of professional positions in the study. The analysis has been deepened and broadened during the investigation and the full accounts are reported in the following chapters.

There was an absence of distinction between the second and the third stage of analysis. In particular, the third stage focused on analysing the meanings of findings in response to the research questions and in accordance with relevant theories before I transcribed all the descriptive claims into a written form. Nevertheless, considering them to be distinct stages was useful especially when this separation corresponds to Walford's (2001, p. 150) indication that 'all explanatory or prescriptive claims made about the case or cases must be based on descriptive claims first, and these must be drawn from the data'. In this study, as presented in Chapter 7, the informants hold distinct ideas about the contributions and the limitations of peace education, and on this occasion each different theme included different perspectives provided by the informants. As such, the interview data were analysed

by theme to answer the overall research question, "The role of peace education in building nearly two decades of peace in Sierra Leone." Moreover, this distinction provides the author with an idea that the descriptive claims and the discussion claims should be presented in separate themes in this thesis. In order to analyse the effectiveness of peace education, the next section will introduce the way of evaluating the impacts and effectiveness as well as the contribution to Sierra Leone's peace, the method of evaluation through documents and interviews described by Harris (2003) will be used. The criteria provided by Harris (2003) offered a clear picture of how peace education can be evaluated and to what extent peace education is successful or otherwise failed to promote peace and may induce more inequalities in the Sierra Leone society. Therefore, according to the social constructionist theory, these criteria are used as a benchmark to evaluate the findings provided by literature and informants. Finally, these analyses and discussions connected the interview data, and the effectiveness of peace education will be provided in Chapter 8.

2.6 The way to evaluate the effectiveness and impact of peace education

The lack of evaluation of the effectiveness and impact of peace education received widespread criticism (McGlynn et al., 2009; UNESCO, 2011). From the perspective of practitioners, evaluating the contribution of peace education to society as a whole, as well as to individual human beings, remains difficult. Firstly, its target objective for humans exists within the internalisation of behaviours and values, for the whole of society, where it focuses on reconciliation, installing peace norms amongst citizens, as well as resolving the underlying causes of the conflict. Evaluating these elements calls for a long-term in-depth and longitudinal study, which are often abandoned by researchers as they suffer from various fundamental shortcomings. For example, it is hard to follow up on the recipients of peace education, there is limited time to conduct studies, there are significant financial requirements, and analysing the outcomes is challenging (Nevo and Brem, 2002). Thus, long-term studies on the impact and effectiveness of peace education, especially with regard to analysing the

contributions to the appearance of peace, can hardly be found. Meanwhile, in order to analyse the positive impacts on the appearance of peace, analysing changes among citizens in terms of their attitudes, perceptions, and behavioural changes through peace education programmes need to be included within the analysis. However, various researchers in this field have pointed out the difficulties in measuring how these personal changes can lead to a country's peacebuilding and subsequent sustainable peace (Salomon, 2002; Hirseland et al., 2004; Harris, 2000). In accordance with their findings, for the individual it is hard to differentiate whether the personal changes occurred because of participation within the peace education curriculum or due to other kinds of development initiated through other training activities or personal experiences.

Another difficulty is the trustworthiness of peace education evaluation reports. In many war-torn societies, the implementation of peace education programmes largely depends on external donors. This means that local governments attempt to please donors by presenting intended and claimed effects after the intervention. On this occasion, the evaluations of the effectiveness of peace education are expected to gain further sponsorship rather than representing an opportunity for critical reflection (Hirseland et al., 2004). Although potential difficulties remain, there is a rising call for research into the effectiveness and contribution of peace education to support long-lasting peace (Harris, 2008). Otherwise, peace education studies will become a field without clear result (Salomon and Kupermintz, 2002).

With the purpose of evaluating the impacts and effectiveness as well as the contribution to Sierra Leone's peace, I will adopt the method of evaluation through documents and interviews described by Harris (2003). The adoption of semi-structured interviews will be analysed through social constructions. In particular, Harris (2003) clearly pointed out the evaluation of peace education should focus on 'formative' and 'summative' elements. The former emphasises the programmes delivered and can thus determine what kind of teaching activities were included, the

population reached by the educational intervention, the constitution of participants, and the number of participants. The latter attempt to record whether there was specific feedback or impacts on recipients and with the aim to measure the satisfaction of learners. Harris argues that summative evaluation describes cognitive changes among recipients, where his method of analysis constitutes the main objective of the documentary analysis of this study.

Harris (2003) argues that although summative evaluation can provide research with cognitive changes among participants, it fails to predict emotional, behavioural, and dispositional changes that may cause changes as an outcome of peace education intervention. Theoretically, a comparative method, such as the use of the ICT method, would represent an ideal setting. For instance, with pre- and post-tests, a group of participants compared with another group who did not receive a peace education curriculum. The control group can be more than one in order to increase validity (Hirseland et al., 2004). However, criticism raised by Harris indicates the obvious limitation of this method. Participants belonging to each group may be similar to each other, but their behaviour and attitudes towards peace can be influenced by various factors, such as personal beliefs, the influence of religion and ethnicity, previous experience with violence, and hostility to violent behaviour. Valid research should provide readers with an explanation of how peace education can reduce the occurrence and re-occurrence of violence so that links between a peace education intervention and the reduction of conflict can be set. However, since there are many intervening variables, such a link might seem to be hard to establish. In reality, the existing peace education evaluations took formats as qualitative and formative, which indicate positive changes but emphasise narrow definitions and criteria for peace. In particular, most of the implemented evaluations focus on the positive impacts on participants, especially children's behavioural changes, rather than emphasising whether these changes allow them to become peacemakers or reduce the level of conflict out of schools or within a larger community or society. Meanwhile, the incomprehension evaluation means the long-term effects of peace education on

society and the contribution to peace have largely been ignored. Clearly, there's a distinction between effectiveness of peace education and the interpretations of this effectiveness of peace education. Specifically, the former focuses on measurable outcomes, exemplified by quantitively data generated from long-term longitudinal mix-method research. The latter, the interpretation of effectiveness was based on perceptions of interviewed informants. These perceptions are less likely to be based on measurable outcomes but on their experiences and involvement with peace education.

2.6.1 Criteria for the evaluation of peace education

The evaluation of peace education remains challenging since an absence of a standard format for peace education programmes provides in itself challenges as the criteria that should be followed to allow for evaluation and analysis are unclear. Nevertheless, scholars and practitioners like Fountain (1999), Harris (2008), Sinclair et al. (2008), and Ashton (2007) suggested feasible ways of evaluating the effectiveness of peace education by emphasising the following elements: curriculum contexts; pedagogy; the main contents; instructional goals; theory of change; relevance to the whole of society; sustainability of the projects, and their impacts. Salomon and Kupermintz (2002) give the idea that understanding the process of how measurable results have emerged is crucial, which suggests the outcomes of any study should depend on in-depth analysis of the local context and the contents of these placed programmes. Indeed, the combination of summative and formative methods of evaluation can describe whether there were any positive or negative changes among participants and whether these changes have become fundamental goals of these established programmes. Meanwhile, the internal logic and the way the programmes have been implemented in wider society were also suggested to represent important components. Although the examination of the implementation, internal logic, as well as the wider context of peace education has taken place, this cannot represent the ultimate evaluation of its impacts on individuals and peace, it is still essential for the whole evaluation process since they are helpful for readers to

understand the final outcomes. Indeed, the above discussion indicates the evaluation of peace education programmes pertains to how they were implemented, the theories, rationales, and the socio-political context in the programmes that have taken place.

2.6.2 The main components when evaluating peace education programmes

The attributes and impact of peace education programmes are the two main components when evaluating their overall contribution to peace (Salomon and Kupermintz, 2002). In particular, the attributes of curricula served as the formative method of evaluation and constituted the background information for the summative method of evaluation; for example, the rationale and the theory of the implemented programmes. The level of involvement among the participants, and programmes' impacts on individuals from various perspectives partly constitutes summative evaluation; for example, whether recipients have developed skills like conflict resolution skills, or bridged the gap between wealthy and poor in the field of education, and whether these changes were helpful in bringing peace to the post-conflict state.

2.6.3 Description of the nature of implemented peace education programmes

This sub-section indicates the different facets and criteria that are adopted to evaluate specific objects of the effectiveness of peace education (Salomon and Kupermintz, 2002). The analysis of peace education programmes was generated through the above-introduced documentary data. Each programme includes the rationale, the theoretical foundation, and the internal logic about how it may work efficiently for participants that became variables of qualitative analysis. This part of review can be found in chapter 6.

2.6.4 Summative evaluation of peace education within free education

In order to understand how free peace education programmes, have led to peace for nearly two decades in Sierra Leone from various perspectives, the evaluation of the

main differences between formal and non-formal programmes are reviewed in chapter 6. Following that, the approach to measuring the effectiveness among participants constitutes the main components by which to guide the documentary research and semi-structured interviews. Salomon and Kupermintz (2002) noted a taxonomic framework, in particular, the four main domains that peace education aimed to target behavioural, cognitive, volitional, and affective provision of the framework of the overall evaluation. Salomon and Kupermintz (2002, p.18) indicated the components of these four domains:

1. Affective refers to empathy; acceptance; tolerance; self-esteem, respect, and forgiveness.
2. Cognitive refers to stereotypes, prejudices knowledge/information; cross-cultural understanding; attitudes
3. Volitional refers to willingness for contact; openness to accept the other's narrative.
4. Behavioural refers to conflict resolution skills and social contact.

The evaluation of the programme's effectiveness in terms of whether the project has brought the desired changes relies on variables within these four domains. They recommended that such evaluations can be achieved through interviews, observations, and focus group. However, although a taxonomic framework exists, it is important to note that these attempted changes, as generated from the four domains, can hardly lead to huge distinctions among participants. As a result, attitude changes mean cognitive, behavioural, and affective components exist when positive changes appear. These targets of change will be used as the main indicators when interviewing experts and educators of peace education, as well as the main documentary reports generated from summative reports. These four dimensions of effectiveness and the above-mentioned theories of change will be used to analyse the interview data.

2.6.5 Criteria for assessing the contribution of peace education to the appearance of non-violence

Harris (2003, p.1) has stressed that "the effectiveness of peace education cannot be judged by whether it brings peace to the world, but rather by the effect it has upon students' thought patterns, attitudes, behaviours, values, and knowledge stock." Yet if the outcomes of peace education appeared on recipients cannot allow them to make positive changes to their surroundings, such as improved interpersonal relationships and reconciliation with previous enemy, peace education on this occasion seemed to be useless. Same as peacebuilding efforts, peace education includes two phases, breaking down the social structures and root causes that led to the occurrence of violence and build pillars of peace that may avoid the conflict come back and eliminating violent behaviours through peaceful mindsets. As UNESCO highlights, because "wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed" (1945). This statement referred to as what the last section indicated, the measurements and criteria that can evaluate the impacts of peace education among participators.

But when trying to analyse the contribution to peace, it asked us to go beyond simply evaluating knowledge acquisition, and personal changes belong to the above mentioned four domains. It required us to examine how changes among participants led to human emancipation and non-violence within a broad socio-political context since reconstructed people's mindset has to facilitate post-war-era peacebuilding efforts. For example, whether pupils of schools, learners of institutions, as well as participants of free non-formal programmes, allowed them to construct long-term networks in preventing the re-occurrence of violence and peace-related activities. In Sierra Leone, unequal access to education used to be one of the root causes and inequalities that lead to civil war, so that peace education has constituted an essential component of breaking down and building up processes when implemented a peacebuilding framework. In doing so, the nature of semi-structured interview of this study focuses on whether and how peace education eradicated

inequalities, mainly the unequal access to educational opportunities among the children, as the root cause of conflict, as well as the whole impact of peace education on Sierra Leone society from the perspective of 12 informants. These 12 informants and their perspectives are important in generating the role as well as the impact of peace education for the following reasons: the selection of 12 informants has been categorized into 3 categories, including educators, officials, and practitioners. Their different roles in the peace education process will also provide me, the researcher and readers, with a broad view of how peace education can lead to behavioural changes and related theories of changes in general. More importantly, these three categories of selection reflected an important aspect of research, which indicated that peace education at different levels reflects different aspects and meanings for actors of peace education. The informants were also selected based on their working background related to peace education practices in Sierra Leone, which means all of them have had different roles in promoting peace education in Sierra Leone. This is extremely important and will provide a more holistic overview of how peace education has been engaged in Sierra Leone's education system, the impact of peace education from different levels, the role including the positive and negative aspects of peace education when it has been promoted since the aftermath of Civil in two decades before. On the other hand, long-term development in order to achieve sustainable peace necessitates the requirements of durable investment and assistance from external donors. Studies have shown the tendency of foreign institutions may withdraw their investment when the country achieved negative peace. Another focus of interviews should be the role of external donors in assisting an achieved peace.

Furthermore, this evaluation should emphasise how national institutions involved in external interventions in promoting the spread of education, peace education, and the effectiveness of peaceful resolution of an escalating problem that could lead to another conflict. Two decades of peace asked us to describe the connections between the need that supports the emergence of a certain curriculum or activity,

its implementation, and whether these outcomes help to resolve the underlying grievances to conflicts. This level of evaluation will emerge through the discussions with practitioners from international organisations, and the officials belong to national education institutions. Such discussion and evaluation help to explain the positive side that supports the achievement of peace as well as recommendations to promote a better practice of peace education in the future. The main purpose of this investigation tries to identify whether the short-term and long-term impacts were aligned with proposed theories emerged from the peace education study. It also aimed to distinguish which changes that promote the appearance of peace can attribute to the promoting of peace education since the post-war area.

With a brief summary, the research methods adopted, both documentary research and semi-structured interviews focus on the impact of peace education and which outcomes of peace education attributed to non-violence and development in Sierra Leone. The positive changes from the perspectives of educators, curriculum experts, and practitioners mainly focus on changes that emerged within a classroom, school and community which can be accessed through the mentioned four domains mentioned by Salomon and Kupermintz (2002). On the other hand, the impact of peace education towards the whole country will be emphasised from the perspectives of officers and practitioners. Therefore, the investigation in chapter 7 and 8 will take whether peace education resolved the root cause of violence and how the national institutions engaged in these practices into account. In the meantime, since the external stakeholders provided tremendous support for the whole educational intervention, their essential role and drawbacks in promoting peace should be another focus during the interviews.

2.7 Methodological Caveats

This section focused on methodological caveats to this research, namely access to official documents and issues pertaining to ethics. These considerations were

essential to answering the overall research question, the contributions, and limitations of peace education in terms of its ability to promote peace or, indeed, prevent its achievement. Understanding these caveats was essential before proceeding to the presentation of the discussion and findings in the next few chapters.

2.7.1 Access

In post-conflict Sierra Leone, the issue of access, whether physical access to human subjects or access to the government archival documents, was particularly important to conducting the research. The sensitivity and fragility of the circumstances show that gaining access seems to be challenging for researchers. This section considers access to documentary data and interview informants.

2.7.1.1 Access to documentary data

This section includes the way to gain access to documents from Chapter 3, the historical background, the academic literature drawn on in the Literature Review in Chapter 4, the Theoretical Framework in Chapter 5, and the nature of peace education in Sierra Leone. With the purpose of gaining useful and qualified data, access to material from the university library was essential. Recently, the online library has been providing students with three main search domains: the library catalogue, the journal catalogue, and the electronic research index. Clearly, documents required to answer the questions above can mostly be found via the UK universities' network and can be browsed and accessed through dedicated databases such as Scopus, Web of Science, and the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI). Key sources of information include both the empirical research literature and theoretical literature related to the situations in pre- and post-war Sierra Leone, as well as the emergence of peace education, all of which is readily available online. Non-academic sources such as practical reports, data, and records were available from various international organisations, including the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) online library (https://unesdoc.unesco.org), and the

World Bank (https://www.worldbank.org/en/research). Moreover, certain datasets and Sierra Leone government reports can be discovered through the US Department of State (https://www.state.gov/countries-areas/sierra-leone/) and Sierra Leone Education statistics (https://www.ceicdata.com/en/sierra-leone/education-statistics). Peace education practices in Sierra Leone were identified as a success story that has nevertheless raised certain concerns in both practice and research. Most of the recordings and documents were available online as these practices were either externally conceived or the result of collaboration between local governments and external actors. Other than the websites, the policy related to peace education can be found on the Sierra Leone Governmental website, Ministry of Education. The practices conducted were available on the donors' websites, such as the PSI. The evaluations of these practices were performed by scholars and so can be found in journal articles. In conclusion, the university library should be a central location to gain access to these reviewing and journal articles, whilst other recordings and documents can be found on the websites of external donors such as the UN library, as listed above.

2.7.1.2 Access to key informants

As mentioned in 2.3.2, snowball sampling method has been adopted to expand the number of participants. The first step was to solicit the help of the informants with the main gatekeepers or from institutional structures to find out whether these officials were participating in any kind of social activities that would allow me to find them through the recommendations of others. Apart from retired former officials in Sierra Leone, I also contacted an ambassador to the European countries for the Government of Sierra Leone who used to work as a governmental official but is now a professor of Social Science. This is an 'atypical' selection of informants, but the components of informants vary in personal experience, education, and life trajectory. With the help of the main gatekeeper, I have had the opportunity to access the practitioners who are still currently working in the UN and the World Bank. Finally, I located 17 informants who were suitable for this study. However, I lost three due to

the fact that one of the participants had insufficient knowledge about the post-war peace education practices, and two more stopped replying to my emails. Meanwhile, another two participants replied to my question via email but refused to take part in interviews when they read my pre-send interview questions. Since this format was considered a different research method, their feedbacks would not be accepted for this study.

2.7.2 General reflection on the access issue

In general, my ability to gather research quality information was dependent on gaining access to official data or gaining trust and support by building a rapport with the informants, which meant the research had to meet their assumptions and expectations. There were characteristics and roles which I possess that are crucial to achieving this. Firstly, my achievement of double Master's degrees and my role as a doctoral candidate at the University of Warwick, one of the most well-known universities within the UK, were significant factors. These achievements and roles were crucial to gaining support and trust. Informants may be more likely to provide suggestions and information for the study. Secondly, my ethnic Chinese background was a factor. Sierra Leoneans, regardless of social status, consider Asians to be 'White' and perceive Asian students as affluent and hardworking. However, I cannot ensure whether the adult informants provided me with genuine accounts on sensitive information, such as tensions between multiple external organisations while implementing the peace education process around the country. These factors were less likely to affect the research outcomes as they are not central to the study.

2.8 Ethical Considerations

This study was approved by the Department of Education Studies ethics committee of the University of Warwick prior to conducting the main research. An ethical approval form drawing on the principles of BERA was completed (Appendix c). The research strategies were designed under the requirements of BERA, as one of the

major ethical considerations is related to informed consent. The following three issues were also considered in addition to this: whether this research will pose the risk of further harm or trauma to the participants; confidentiality and privacy; and whether this research will involve deception (Bryman, 2016).

2.8.1. Informed consent

Informed consent was a major ethical issue of this research. It is defined by BERA as 'the condition in which participants understand and agree to their participation without any duress, prior to the research getting underway' (BERA, 2018, p. 5). In accordance with BERA's requirements, obtained a written form of informed consent from the participants, regardless of their social status, is necessary. Consent forms were distributed to all informants who intended to participate by email. To keep them informed of their rights, I provided participants with planned study schedules and interview questions prior to the interview itself. Participants also reviewed the recordings afterwards and decided if they wished to leave or remain in the study. However, if interviewees had chosen to quit the study, all collected data would have been destroyed. This procedure was the main objective for ethical consideration, ensuring that the researcher 'does no harm' to the participants by exploiting their personal information.

2.8.2. To cause no further trauma

The term 'trauma' in post-conflict societies refers to any negative consequence caused by participation in this study. Although the participations were adult informants who were categorised as a 'higher social class'' within Sierra Leone or who are perceived as affluent foreigners with power, some of them have been traumatised by their memories of the violence during the civil war. As such, in consideration of diminishing the negative impacts, for example, stirring up further trauma in participants during this study, as well as ensuring successful interviews, I completed an online course (Researcher Development Online) conducted by the Department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick from

April 2020 to the end of July 2020 in order to fully prepare myself for working with ethically sensitive research groups. Furthermore, to avoid further trauma, I consulted professionals who are experienced to gain guidance for when I began the interviews.

2.8.3. Confidentiality and privacy

Nevertheless, research dilemmas still existed. There was a possibility that my respondents may disclose important and confidential information during the interviews. These documents were encrypted, and password protected in the meantime. Thus, confidentiality was assured. All data was stored on my personal hard drive in a safe place. No third-party access will be provided, or indeed possible. All names, titles, and personal information have been hidden and replaced with ambiguous descriptions in the final report. All participants have been anonymous in this thesis. Additionally, in terms of my thesis and reports, the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants will be protected by roughly describing their personal information. In this research, to present a clear picture of those who participated in the interview process, I have given certain details of the interviewees, which means people may be able to determine their identities through the descriptions I provided. To eliminate such potential risks and to ensure their confidentiality, I shall blur the descriptions of their personal identities and information. Therefore, sensitive personal information, for example, their detailed workplace, religion, and gender, have not been disclosed according to the Data Protection Act 2018 (https://www.gov.uk/data-protection).

2.8.4. Deception

Regarding deception, all data collected were written verbatim, and informants were also able to verify this if they chose to read this thesis. Transparency was ensured by reminding informants about the research design, aim, and questions.

2.9 Trustworthiness and authenticity

Traditionally, most qualitative studies have been rated with reference to reliability and validity. However, scholars such as Bryman (2016) argued that the rating or measure of qualitative research is more suitable in accordance with trustworthiness and authenticity. In this study, all data were collected through qualitative methods, the trustworthiness and authenticity of which was discussed in the following sub-sections.

2.9.1 Trustworthiness

Measures were taken to enhance the transferability and credibility with the purpose of ensuring the trustworthiness of this study (Bryman, 2016). According to Bryman (2016, p 377) "there can be several possible accounts of an aspect of social reality" so that the crucial task for social science studies is to ensure that findings are representative of the people whose lived reality was predominant within the research context. However, respondent validation was impossible for several reasons, one of which is the current COVID pandemic, which prevented travel to Sierra Leone. Secondly, although this study is relevant to most Sierra Leonians, the sensitive nature of the topic may trigger further harm or trauma. As such, the conditions above indicated that it is not appropriate to recruit extra participants online in order to address validity. Credibility was addressed through the background of the informants and triangulated through documentary data. As mentioned in this chapter (2.1), the informants in this study were assumed to be knowledgeable persons in the context of Sierra Leone's peace education. Their personal identities and social status can partially ensure the credibility of the information they offered. Additionally, although the interview has been seen as a complementary method of this research, these narratives can be adopted as supplementary instruction and be used as a way to cross-check the findings. Therefore, conclusions are drawn from both narratives and numerous accounts from various documentary data sources. The analysis of the conclusions has a distinct purpose here, namely, to ensure that conformability exists

between the narratives proposed by informants and the wide range of archival documents. Furthermore, the adoption of a social constructionism approach is more concerned with the depth of the research questions in accordance with personal trajectory and perspectives. In this situation, transferability was assured by providing details on context, thus the findings were generalised based on sufficient theories and background.

2.9.2 Authenticity

Authenticity is relevant to the political impact of the study. Through the adoption of two distinct methods, I anticipate representing the variety of perspectives found with the documents and the interview discussions. The focus of peacebuilding and state-building promote further awareness of building a long-lasting peace among the participants.

2.10 Biases and interest of the study

The outcomes and results of this study should be highly dependent on the researcher's positions, personal identities such as nationality and religion, and perspectives towards the implementation of peace education. In Chapters 7 and 8, I mentioned that the local Sierra Leonians, including teachers, officials, and practitioners, believed that peace education was a successful practice that would help the country to achieve long-term 'positive peace.' On the contrary, from the perspectives of foreign workers of peace education, although these practices have allowed the country to transform from being conflict-prone to a negative peace, numerous pitfalls and disadvantages can be found. The outbreak of Ebola in 2014 exposed extensive underdevelopment and inequality. In this case, my perspectives, especially when analysing the narratives of the informant, heavily influenced the final outcomes. However, as a young researcher with an Asian background, my personal position and identity had their own benefits. I will take all collected data into deep consideration and analysed them in a methodical manner that can potentially

maintain a relatively neutral attitude and avoid any kind of discrimination towards informants and their ideas. However, my position may have led to bias. As an outsider in Sierra Leone, I have little knowledge other than what is provided in the mass media, journal articles, and books. Hence, although the selected informants contained workers of peace education from different levels, for me, it is hard to distinguish what kind of feedback might reflect the realities of the impact of peace education in Sierra Leone and the attitudes of local citizens. With a short conclusion here, I can analyse all the perspectives provided by kinds of literature and informants with neutral perspectives, but the outcomes may be influenced by what I read and hear. My personal position cannot allow the reader to access the whole overview and understanding of the role, effectiveness, and limitations of peace education in Sierra Leone.

2.11 Dissemination of results

Potential ethical problems need to be taken into consideration when disseminating the results of this study. One of the major risks I found was that some informants, especially those who currently live in Sierra Leone, may find themselves in a difficult position. In particular, people voicing their perspectives may be considered a threat to local communities in conflict-affected areas (Hart and Tyrer, 2006). Other than adhering to strict confidential and anonymous rules, I paid extra attention to the way participants expressed their experiences and views during the interviews, which could potentially help avoid any risks to their personal safety.

2.12 Conclusion

This research set out to answer the following question: "What is the role and contribution of peace education in Sierra Leone to sustaining peace?" In this chapter, methods of data collection and analysis were presented. The next three chapters provided a literature review on the pre-war domestic and educational situation in

Sierra Leone (see Chapter 3); the literature review of peace education (see Chapter 4); and the Theoretical Framework of the thesis (see Chapter 5). The outcomes of the investigation, in particular, the analysis of the nature of peace education was presented in Chapter 6. The findings of the impact of the conflict on the education system and the relationship between conflict and peace education has been provided in Chapter 7. In order to determine the extent of contributions and limitations made by peace education, narrative analysis according to the descriptions from key informants can be found in Chapter 8.

Chapter Three: Historical Background in Sierra Leone

3.1 Introduction

Sierra Leone as a West African state has an estimated population of eight million (World Population Review, 2020). The civil war from 1991 to 2002 had a catastrophic effect on national development. Sierra Leone was categorised as a country with low-income and ranked 181 out of 187 countries, with a 500 Gross National Income (GNI) per capita in 2019 (Atlas method, current USD$) (World Bank, 2020; Human Development Index; 2018). Bilateral and multilateral donors often referred to it as a weak state (USAID, 2005; OECD, 2011; Marks, 2019).

One of the weaknesses is reflected in the education sector. The literature suggests that the weak capacity, as well as the conflict, deeply affected educational performance within the country. Many studies described the post-war condition of education in Sierra Leone as 'grim'. For instance, lack of teaching materials; poor quality and an inadequate number of teaching personnel; and poor conditions of school environments, such as shortages of tables and chairs (Paulson, 2006; Sharkey, 2008; Betancourt et al., 2008; Maclure and Denov, 2009). Scholars like Maclure and Denov (2009) suggest that this can be attributed to the institutional weaknesses and low administrative efficiencies of the educational system and, indeed, of the state. The expectations of education are high since its beneficiaries can be utilised as a tool to increase socioeconomic mobility (Sharkey, 2008). Meanwhile, education is seen as a key issue for state development and stabilisation from the perspective of internal politicians and external agencies (Paulson, 2006; Krech and Maclure, 2003). Some others like Skelt (1997) and Krech and Maclure (2003) are concerned that these expectations may threaten stabilisation by producing grievances and disappointment among young populations.

With a view to understanding the educational realities, there have been several challenges within the post-war era that need to be considered in order to approach the main theme of 'peace education'. To understand what drives the development of education, it is essential to see the country's background, and specifically how education and related factors led to the civil war. I wish to familiarise the reader with the characteristics and the root causes that fuelled the Sierra Leonean civil war. By doing so, I will also try to indicate why peace education is essential for educational reform, national reconciliation, and overall peace.

This chapter will present how uneven development in different ways widened the gaps between the 'privileged' and 'poor'. In particular, young people are subjected to an unfair reality where they become disadvantaged politically, economically, and socially. Education played an important role in deepening uneven development. Nevertheless, the civil war cannot be simply treated as a rebellion held by the poor against the rich. As a rebel group, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) lacked a coherent ideology but manifested with contradictory behaviours to what they were supposed to be. For example, they committed indiscriminate atrocities against innocent civilians who they were supposed to be supporting. Education is a key factor in understanding the root causes of civil war. This chapter suggests that the elitist nature and the unevenly developed educational system, the relationship between education and the reality of the political and economic context, especially the gaps between the expectations and actual capabilities for the power of education, potentially fuelled the occurrence of the war.

With the aim of familiarising the reader with the dynamics and the background of the root causes of the civil war, the history of Sierra Leone will be initially described in Sections 3.2 and 3.3, with particular attention given to the educational system during the pre-war era. The major sections can be summarised as follows:

I.   Explanations and debates from various academics about the root causes of the civil war are summarised in Section 3.4.

II. A description of the features of the civil war will be presented in Section 3.5, which led some academics to see it as a new form of civil war.

III. How education connects to the occurrence of war, and the relationship between war and education, will be discussed in Section 3.6

These sections are particularly significant in setting the research background as well as addressing the pre-war educational system, and its relationship with civil war. Such analysis provides a significant angle as to why peace education is crucial to sustaining peace, that is, from the point view that one of the root causes led to the outbreak of civil war.

3.2 Historical Background – Political Evolution

The country of Sierra Leone was first established as a settlement for slaves in 1787 and became a British colony in 1808. Freetown is the capital city, while the rest of present-day Sierra Leone has been considered the hinterland of the country since the colonial period. The hinterland is dominated by indigenous populations and became a British protectorate in 1896. The development of the country during the colonial period can be summarised as disparities within the country. These disparities were exemplified between capital city Freetown and the hinterland, the rural and urban areas, the south and north, and more importantly the disparities between the colonised Sierra Leone and the colonial master Britain. The British envisioned economic pattern was to extract and transport unprocessed raw materials from Sierra Leone to Britain (i.e., natural resources and agricultural products). To achieve this, the British established the centres of the urban areas for trade prior to the materials being delivered from Sierra Leone. Meanwhile, everything was centralised in Freetown as the country has been categorised by different territorial categories according to the geographical areas of Freetown, the hinterland, and the

protectorate (Riddell, 1970). A railway from Freetown running to the south-east of the nation (the present Eastern Region) was established to transport agricultural products from these abundant areas. Indeed, the railway network certainly promoted Sierra Leone's modernisation and socialisation by delivering social services such as the development of cooperate organisation, and education (Riddell, 1970). However, as the railway could only reach as far as Makeni, areas further north were neglected in the developing vision of the colony (Riddell, 1970), and the government did not have the incentive to promote a rural industrial economy (Keen, 2005).

The British attained indirect rule in Sierra Leone by increasing the power of chiefs at the highest level, namely the Paramount Chiefs, in the process of which they restructured the chieftaincy system within the political arena. Although it is usually seen as a common strategy of the colonial administrations, many of the administrative tasks were allocated to appointed local leaders. The rationale behind this was to eliminate possible protectorate-wide opposition through ensuring that political affairs were run by local sub-divisions (Keen, 2005). Nevertheless, such a decision resulted in a sharpening division among those with power (such as chiefs) and others without it. More importantly, such a system also encouraged an abuse of power by chiefs, the most common example of which would be forced labour and excessive cash levies against the 'young male'. The definition of 'young people' was not only about their age but usually defined by the truth that those were the people who lacked power and status in the African region. Different kinds of abuses were exacerbated since 1973 as the salaries for the chiefs were cut when the state's revenue diminished. Thus, many acts of radical movements were directed towards chiefs occurred during the 20th century.

The economic emphasis changed from agriculture to minerals in the 1930s. By 1935, mineral exports (i.e., diamonds) had exceeded agricultural exports. Diamond exports became the main revenue for exports from the 1950s. Such a shift in the economy did not make profits for the majority of Sierra Leoneans but widened the inequalities

between an affluent elite and the rest of the citizens. Most Sierra Leoneans do not have legal mining access to diamonds (Keen, 2005; Hirsch, 2001). This was because the mining rights for diamonds were granted to the Sierra Leone Selection Trust (SLST), part of the British De Beers cartel company. However, illegal mining prospered among civilians, as the mining process required very little technology and could effectively take place undetected. Between the 1940s and 1950s, the diamond regions in the south and the east of the country witnessed many migrants because of increased illegal diamond mining. The diamond mining business was legalised for all Sierra Leoneans, but people who mostly benefited from such changes were the privileged, namely politicians, chiefs, and local traders (Keen, 2005).

The arguments above indicate that development in Sierra Leone was distributed unevenly during the colonial period, partly because these strategies were distributed and implemented by the colonial master. Specifically, the accumulation of anger and discontent from the 'young' population (known as 'sansan boys') in rural areas and illegal miners are key points to understand the dynamics of civil war (Abdullah and Muana, 1998; Keen, 2005; Mokuwa et al., 2011; Richards, 1996). The disparities that emerged from the colonial period came to be exacerbated after independence. Party politics were characterised by divisions between ethnic and regional groups after independence. There is a crucial distinction between the Creoles, who were the descendants of repatriated Africans from North America, England, and the Caribbean of Freetown, and the indigenous people who lived in the hinterland during the pre-independence period. However, post-independence politics were characterised by regional/ethnic competitions between the All People's Congress (APC) and the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP). The former APC was supported by the Northerners, while the latter SLPP was largely supported by Mende speakers (Keen, 2005). The SLPP appointed the first and second prime ministers of Sierra Leone, Milton Margai worked from 1958 to 1964 and Albert Margai, from 1964 to 1967. The SLPP ruled the whole nation until 1967 when Siaka Stevens of the APC won the election for prime minister, and the APC came to rule until the coup of 1992.

Under the ruling of Stevens from APC, corruption became more obvious in the political culture. Between 1971 and 1985, following Stevens winning the presidency, he centralised the political system into a one-party system. With the aim of controlling the state, he tried to extend patronage to 'insiders' and often utilised violence against his opponents (Keen, 2005). He started to nationalise the main industries from the diamond industry in 1971. This behaviour allowed him and his clients to accrue economic profit, rather than improve social services, national institutions, or boost its government revenues (Keen, 2005). Therefore, Stevens has utilised an informal economy to construct a patronage system. Reno (1995) refers to it as a 'Shadow State', as he created revenue from economic system to treat his clients. He also provided profits to the police and the army by providing them with subsidised foods and accommodations besides salaries, and therefore they were not able to manage a rebel movement against him (Keen, 2005).

Violent intimidation directed against opponents was proposed by Stevens, and the APC is particularly critical to understanding the following civil wars and the involvement of the 'lumpen youth'. Since the 1970s, Stevens hired rioters to silence the opposition, especially during the election period (Keen, 2005; Rashid, 2004). These thugs came from the 'lumpen youth', a term used to describe young males who suffered from unemployment and who worked for the underground economy (Abdullah, 1998; 2002; Rashid, 2004). These thugs were hired from the 'lumpen youth' to use violent intimidation tactics who, under the APC ruling period, were considered to be the cause of the creation of a violent youth culture and was clearly associated with party politics and the origins of the civil war (Christensen and Utas, 2008). As such, violent behaviour was identified as a form of labour that could be rewarded (Hoffman, 2011; Alie, 2006).

In terms of economics, Sierra Leone witnessed a major decline from the beginning 1970s to the end of the 1980s. Domestic revenue fell by nearly 82% in the 1985-1986 fiscal year compared to the 1977-1978 fiscal year (Reno, 1995). The dramatic fall in

domestic revenue can be partly explained by global oil shocks in the 1970s. The exports, mainly the primary commodity exports declined, whereas the prices of imported goods increased. The imported products included oil and related products and essential commodities such as food. Another explanation focuses on an increase in illicit transportation and smuggling. More specifically, the production of natural resources including diamonds declined based on official records, whereas 95% of diamonds and other resources were considered to have been illicitly exported through smuggling by the end of 1980s (Keen, 2005). Furthermore, the structural adjustment encouraged by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank in the 1980s worsened the economic situation, and the currency value of Sierra Leone saw a significant decline, dropping from one Leone being worth 50 pence (British Pounds) to only just over a single penny in 1987 (Keen, 2005). The devaluation of currency contributed to rapid inflation, which also led to a delay in payment of salaries. The situation was exacerbated under the domination of President Momoh from 1985-1992, who adopted austerity measures such as reductions in petrol and food supplies to attract support from the IMF.

Severe economic crisis in combination with corruption involving patronage in the political arena had severe negative effects. Most evidently, it pushed the majority of civilians to live under poverty. Disparities were widened, where neglected populations, which was not only limited to peripheral populations living in the hinterland but also to state officials such as officials in the security sector (Keen, 2005). Such neglect encouraged further corruption in order to make ends meet amongst civil servants. As a result, the state lost its ability to maintain the loyalty of its citizens as well as to suppress corruption and discontent among its civil servants. However, prominent politicians, elites, bureaucracies, and businessmen benefited from the 'Shadow State' and thus were less likely to press for further changes to the system (Keen, 2005). The benefits of the 'shadow state', however, negatively influenced the education system, especially the opportunity to gain an education. In the following section, I will focus on the education system during the pre-war era, as

this can be used to partially assess the extent to which education fuelled the root causes of the civil conflict.

3.3 The Pre-War Education System in Sierra Leone

Historically, the education process began when the free slaves arrived in Sierra Leone (Sumner, 1963). Being the first university in West Africa, the Fourah Bay College (FBC), was established as early as 1827 in Freetown. Freetown then came to be known as the 'Athens of West Africa' as students came to study at the FBC from other sub-Saharan African states (Paracka, 2003). Yet, education was characterised by inequality in terms of provision and had been elitist in nature since its establishment. On the one hand, the enrolment rate was high in 1900, with 7,000 of 14,000 children in Freetown was enrolled in primary school (Sumner, 1963). However, less than 900 of total 1,500,000 children were enrolled in the protectorate, (Corby, 1990). Moreover, there was a great discrepancy between regions within the hinterland. Based on the record of the 1931 Census, in the north hinterland, only 0.97% of children were attending school, while the figure in the south of the hinterland was 4.75% (Sumner, 1963). These disparities between regions related to the adoption of patterns of development. In general, disparities in Freetown and the hinterland are the difference in the territorial category, and the problems between the south and the north were due to the disparity in rail network development. Yet, the differences in education were linked to the fact that the educational programmes had mainly been organised and promoted by the Sierra Leone Church Missionary Society since the colonial period (Sumner, 1963). In comparison with the north, rather than being highly influenced by Muslim beliefs, the south was more successful in promoting the missionary endeavours of Christian belief and which held power around education (Corby, 1990). Following the British teaching style, schools emphasised literary education and being British-centred (Sumner, 1963). This kind of curriculum was clearly not relevant or useful to the lives of the majority of Sierra Leonean students, who lived in rural areas (Banya, 1991; 1993).

The British had envisioned education as a tool to facilitate indirect rule, a system which tried to befriend Africans in a subordinating role (Corby, 1990; Shepler, 1998). The founding of Bo Government Secondary School by the then Governor Probyn in 1906 was embodied in such thinking and targeted to educate the sons of paramount chiefs from different provinces. He tried to educate future chiefs who would want to personally contribute to British administration policies at the chiefdom level in an effective way (Corby, 1990, p. 319). The educational advantage of the education system in history was significant in achieving higher status in terms of social, economic, and political aspects. The Creoles received the highest level of education among Sierra Leoneans as a whole. These Creoles and hinterland Africans who gained secondary-schooled education were successful in governmental employment during the colonial period, as well as after the independence through taking over the roles previously held by British or Europeans (Banya, 1993; Corby, 1990). Alumni networks acted as a pivotal role for the younger population's future employment, such as the Old Bo Boys' Association, developed by the Bo Government Boys School. It was a strong association as graduates could get help with employment from older graduates with successful careers (Corby, 1990). Bo graduates also played a dominant role in the political area, where 40% of the 42 SLPP of parliament in 1962 had graduated from Bo (Corby, 1990). Success in the future was thus strongly defined by academic qualifications (Wright, 1997). From this perspective, the success was not highly relevant to the importance of education or the content that was learned at school, but much more to do with accessible opportunities in the social structure that were only available to particular groups (Shepler, 1998). In short, the education system in Sierra Leone created a powerful identity and provided more accessible connections in society and became a 'symbolic capital'. Such capital can be identified as a resource that can provide value based on honour and recognition in the society and economy of Sierra Leone (Shepler, 1998).

There was an expansion of access to schooling after independence, especially at the primary level. According to the data provided by the Government of Sierra Leone

(1970), nearly 40% of primary-aged children were enrolled in 1970, in comparison to 14% in 1957. Moreover, 25,000 children were enrolled at the secondary level in 1970 in comparison to 5,924 in 1957 (Government of Sierra Leone, 1970). The White Paper on Educational Policy in 1970 announced further expansion for schooling access. According to the 1985 census, approximately 20% of secondary school age children were enrolled for secondary level, but unfortunately the enrolment rate had dropped from 40% to 33% at the primary level (Kromah, 1985). However, the 1985 census may not be reliable because the enrolment rate remained the highest on record during Stevens' regime, given that the data may be intended to 'please' donors so that they would provide further support to Sierra Leone. However, the elitist and British-centred nature, as well as the unequal provision of the education system, did not change after the expansion. Namely, it follows as the seven years of primary education, five years in secondary, two years for the sixth form, and four years in higher education (7-5-2-4 in short). The upgrade to the next level was based on the result of public examinations: the Selective Entrance Examination in Year 7, the General Certificate of Education (GCE), also called O levels in Form 5, and also with the GCE A level when completing sixth form (Government of Sierra Leone, 1970). Nevertheless, nearly half of the education budget was assigned to higher education in 1989 (Government of Sierra Leone, 1989).

The education system and state institutions were centralised under the regime of Siaka Stevens. Exemplified by educational decisions, even though regional educational institutions existed, the power of decision making was centralised by Freetown (Banya, 1993). Moreover, the fiscal crisis in the 1980s had a further negative impact on the education sector. Expenditure was reduced from 15.6% in the 1974-1975 to 8.5% in the 1988-1989 fiscal years (Abdullah, 1998). Payment of teachers' salaries was delayed for months. This directly influenced teaching standards in a negative way. To support their livelihoods, many teachers engaged in farming instead and ceased all teaching in the classroom (Banya, 1991; Keen, 2005). Furthermore, less expenditure on education meant that there was a lack of essential

learning materials and supplies available. School buildings became dilapidated, and the closure of boarding schools became common (Banya, 1991). Quality of education significantly declined in terms of the apparent fall in main exams like the GCEs (Banya, 1991). Many parents complained that they could not afford the tuition fees as the currency was devalued (Keen, 2005). To summarise, the education system in Sierra Leone had become highly dysfunctional by the beginning of the 1990s.

As pointed out, many parents could not afford the school fees, so the dropout rate increased. These pupils were unable to continue studying and did not have many opportunities for employment under the stagnant economy. According to figures provided by the Ministry of Education, only 19 out of every 100 students who started from primary school were able to reach year 7 for the period 1961–62 to 1985–86 (Banya, 1993). Indeed, the attrition rate in the 1980s, as provided by the World Bank (1987), indicated that Sierra Leone was after Haiti, the second highest attrition rate in the world (World Bank, 1987, cited in Banya, 1993). From a different perspective, students who completed their education at the secondary and university levels could not see any job prospects. The figures provided by Kromah (1985) and Abdullah (1998) indicate that 98,016 pupils were registered at secondary level in 1985, but only about 60,000 of them gained paid employment during that time. Thus, a large number of graduates were not able to get their desired work in the public sector. This can be explained by the increasing political corruption, centralised power, and the deteriorated economic performance. Only those who had strong political connections or who had an influential patron could gain access to prestigious jobs (Wright, 1997).

By the beginning of the 1990s, the corruption became rampant, and the disparities had widened, and most of the population were experiencing poverty. These issues were apparent within the national education system. Education remained unequally distributed and continued to be enjoyed more by the elites. When most students could not afford school fees, those could who remain in the educational process were

unable to gain employment thereafter. As a result, the needs of young males were not met from both urban to rural sectors. They were stuck in the 'youth' status with fewer opportunities to increase socioeconomic mobility such as education or employment (Keen, 2005). From a different perspective, the educational and employment opportunities were only provided for males in upper and middle classes, as the rights of females had been ignored during the pre-war period. Consequently, advocacy of the rights to be educated, and increasing the rate of female employment became parts of the essential components in the peace education framework. This part of the narratives and analyses will be provided in Chapters 6 and 7.

3.4 The Origin of Sierra Leone's Civil War

There are various explanations for the causes of the Sierra Leonean civil war, and I will review the issues within the country itself. The civil war was not a purely internal conflict but connected to various external actors. However, specific issues existed in the country that exacerbated the associated problems. For instance, the war gained momentum through recruiting people after the initial incursion by the end of 1992 (SLTRC, 2004c). Keen (2005) further indicated that 'the war sometimes resembled a virus spreading from Liberia, it was the weakness of the Sierra Leonean "body" that allowed it to spread so quickly and widely' (p. 58). Thus, I will review the existing knowledge on which contributed to the civil conflict, such as the weaknesses of Sierra Leone that allowed the conflict to spread quickly and become prolonged.

The civil war in Sierra Leone has been identified as a key reference point for the concept of 'new' kinds of wars within the literature (Weinstein and Humphreys, 2006; Peters and Richards, 1998), as there was an absence of a straightforward contest between rebel (RUF) and government forces (SLA). In contrast with conventional war, the distinctions were rather ambiguous. More importantly, it seems that the RUF only apparently had an economic goal rather than a political goal, which rebels usually prefer. To this point, a diverging set of explanations regarding the root causes

remained as the war in Sierra Leone has been treated as one of the primary instances of new wars in the literature (Peters, 2011). A contrasting explanation proposed by Kaplan (1994) and Richards (1996) can provide further details. From one side, Kaplan's (1994) research provides that the civil war can be understood with a Westernised rational idea. Rather than simply using other means for the continuation of politics, a young person finds liberation through violence. As a result, it is an end in itself. On the other side, Richards (1996) provides an alternative explanation. He described the RUF as 'a coherent political organisation aligned with a conventional model of the revolutionary war' (p.30). He argues that as a political organisation, the RUF was operated by well-educated elites but with dissident political wills to revolt against patrimonial, collapse, and dictator state under Momoh. Richards also tried to trace back to the original founding of the RUF by a group of radical students in 1970s. He then further claims that the violence proposed by the RUF was 'an intellectual project' (p. 33) in which the educational institutions have been destroyed due to the excluded intellectuals' grievances against them, whilst the random atrocities committed against civilians were treated as a rational act. Such behaviour can be viewed as a terror attack but covered up by the lack of equipment and the evident economic interest of the RUF.

Richards (1996) explained that the crisis of youth in Sierra Leone made the expansion of the RUF, as well as the extension of the struggle, possible. The young population in rural and mining areas were able to access partial educational opportunities since independence. However, as the patrimonial state system ran out of materials and funds to support education, biased developmental policies in rural areas caused young people in the undeveloped areas to become the most marginalised group within the country. From there, the younger population became frustrated due to the 'modernised' education. They refused to do farming jobs but there were limited opportunities for further education or employment (Richards, 1996). The RUF headed their agenda with education and employment for the young population.

Clearly, Richards' account cannot fully explain the complexity of a civil war, and to what extent the Sierra Leonian civil war diverged from the other conventional models of war mentioned above (Bangura, 1997; 2004), especially when he described the RUF movement as a revolutionary political movement led by numbers of 'excluded intellectuals.' This description has raised criticism from academics in Sierra Leone. Even though the formation of the RUF can be traced back to a group of universities, the RUF included young people ranging from the unemployed, women, children, and farmers. Thus, there is no evidence to prove Richard's belief in the existence of these excluded intellectuals in the RUF (Abdullah,1998; Rashid, 2004; Bangura, 1997 and Gberie, 2005). Abdullah (1998) further explained that as this group of radicals had abandoned the revolution even before the formation of the RUF. He also rejects the opinion proposed by Richards that the atrocities committed against citizens were rational and indicates that either the RUF or the other fighting factions were involved in the actions of the 'lumpen youth'. As mentioned above, they had been immersed in violence and crime for a long time and some of scholars considered that these activities could be viewed as a kind of labour (Hoffman, 2011).

However, Richards' analysis regarding the root cause of conflict being embedded within the state government and the 'crisis of youth' has been expanded upon by many other scholars (Keen, 2005; SLTRC, 2004c; Abdullah, 1998; 2004; Peters, 2011; Bangura, 1997; 2004; Rashid, 1997; 2004). The notion of 'crisis of youth' (Richards, 1996) resonates with the common belief that many combatants in the fighting faction were dominated by marginalised young males. They were classified into three groups, namely urban 'lumpens' who were violent politicians, young illicit miners called 'sansan boys', and the rural youth who were frequently oppressed by chiefs and elders (Keen, 2005; SLTRC, 2004c; Abdullah, 1998; Bangura, 1997). Identically, a survey of 1,043 ex-combatants conducted by Humphreys and Weinstein (2004; 2006; 2008) shows striking consistency with regard to the demographic profiles of combatants across the factions. In particular, they were young men of around 28 years of age who were suffering from poverty and who had received little education.

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That is, they had participated in partial schooling at the primary or secondary levels, and they were students or farmers from the occupation perspective. The similarities in social background also explain why combatants from different factions could collude: they tended to switch sides based on their convenience when they have same social identity but belong to a fluid group of marginalised youth (Keen, 2005). The weakness of the state government in relation to the civil conflict has been developed by various studies (Keen, 2005; SLTRC, 2004a). Keen (2005, p34) indicates, 'whilst at one level the rebel incursion threatened to bring down the government, at another level government in Sierra Leone was already collapsing'. Meanwhile, others like the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission (SLTRC) concluded that the crisis in 1991 caused the inevitable conflict (SLTRC, 2004a). Here, I argue that the 'crisis of youth' indicated the grievances were aroused by social inequalities including, but not limited to, education and employment, and gave rise to the occurrence of civil war in the 1990s. The young population who participated in these rebel attacks were trying to search for justice and equality. However, the realities argued above indicate that most young people tended to search for economic profit rather than equality and justice.

The desire for economic incentives and power of grievances motivated these young populations to join the conflict. Richards' (1996) belief that the outbreak of the Sierra Leonean civil war can be followed by a conventional explanation of warfare implies that the political, economic, and educational grievances were the root causes of the conflict. Nevertheless, Collier and Hoeffler (2004; 2000) dismiss such an idea and offer greed for economic benefits as the key cause of war, as the fighting factions in Sierra Leone could be identified as an ultimate illustration that was motivated by economic incentives, especially diamonds. In particular, the RUF was deeply involved in the diamond business. Foday Sankoh, the founder of the RUF, demanded to be the minister in charge of mining (Collier and Hoeffler, 2000). Scholars with different perspectives indicated that the inequalities aroused within the country were the origins of the civil war (Richard, 1996). However, the RUF deviated from the original

idea of fighting for justice, which resulted in the RUF and other fighting factions being largely attracted by economic profit and gain when the war began (Collier and Hoeffler, 2000). Clearly, both greed and economic benefit, and the grievances at the national level are crucial to an understanding of the war. Keen (2005) recognises their role and provides the relationship between them. The kind of atrocious violence committed against civilians and behaviour such as looting their properties can be explained by the accumulated grievances from the pre-war Sierra Leonean society, because the rebels were filled with hatred and tended to use violence to obtain profit. Humphreys and Weinstein (2004; 2006) hold the same attitudes and further clarified the incentives behind the mobilisation of the fighting factions. They found that, from the perspectives of the combatants, compared to lucrative profits of expensive resources like diamonds, combatants prefer to control or acquire the political and economic incentives that were directly relevant to their daily lives, such as jobs, food, offers of protection, educational opportunities and, most importantly, money. Indeed, such circumstances continued until the ceasefire. According to the conditions of the agreement on the Lome Peace Accord, the majority of combatants were only concerned with what would impact their future lives, such as amnesty for combatants, whether the government would provide employment, and the existence of educational opportunities (Humphreys and Weinstein, 2004).

The description of the complex account of the Sierra Leonean civil war so far illustrates that diamonds were only one element that contributed to it (Keen, 2005; SLTRC, 2004c; Hirsch, 2001). In contrast to popular thought, diamonds had become the dynamics of the war by the end of 1994, and there were various ways of searching for money. Moreover, the benefits from the diamonds were only visible to people with high status and which could not bring them direct benefits (Keen, 2005; Humphreys and Weinstein, 2004). To summarise, this section offers several explanations for the Sierra Leonean civil war. These range from Kaplan (1994), who saw it as chaos and the onset of anarchy in this underdeveloped country that was less comprehensible in Western rationalist terms, and Richards (1996), who tended

to explain this war through the conventional model, to Collier (2000), who has also offered an alternative explanation which emphasises the role of economic incentives, calling it a 'greed' model.

The above discussion indicates that the root causes in Sierra Leone were different from other African states since there was an absence of religious or ethnic dispute within the country (Mastsumoto, 2012). In this regard, the characteristics of the Sierra Leone civil war require further clarification before being able to identify the relationship between education and the civil war.

3.5 The Characteristics of the Sierra Leonean Civil War

The civil war in Sierra Leone was instigated by the RUF to challenge the one-party dictatorship government under the ruling of President Momoh of the APC. The origin of the RUF can be traced to a group of university students who saw inequality and injustice, and subsequently tried to create an egalitarian society through revolution. The war in Sierra Leone thus did not fit the conventional model of civil war, accordingly, I will highlight the features that distinguished Sierra Leone from the 'conventional civil wars' in other African countries, in comparison to explaining the complex timeline for detailed accounts of the war (Keen, 2005 and Gberie, 2005). The crucial features I found here are the indiscriminate atrocities committed against innocent citizens and the fluidity between the fighting groups. Very importantly, although there is a lack of ideological basis, the existence of evident economic interests is obvious, which contributes to the root cause of the civil war.

As Hoffman (2014) has shown the cost of the Sierra Leonean civil war was met by civilians. The RUF aimed to liberate the nation and its people from the corruption inherent to the APC regime and establish a society with egalitarian ideals. However, they killed and terrorised civilians instead, accompanied by looting and forcing civilians to manage farms and diamond-mining regions (SLTRC, 2004c). Unfortunately,

the RUF was not the only group, others like Sierra Leone Army (SLA) and the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) supposedly came to end the conflict but instead directed violence towards innocents using the same methods as well (SLTRC, 2004c; Human Rights Watch, 1998). The estimated death toll varies depending on the source; there were nearly 75,000 killed and 20,000 more were mutilated (Hoffman, 2004). Moreover, two million citizens suffered from internal or external displacement and tens of thousands of females were forced to serve as sex slaves or were raped (Dougherty, 2004).

There were not many direct battles among the warring factions during the war when the civilians were being attacked. The distinctions between the different armed factions were blurred, especially when the RUF changed its strategy to one of guerrilla warfare in November 1993 (SLTRC, 2004c). The SLA combatants, its ex-combatants, and the members of RUF tended to disguise themselves as one of the other sides (Keen, 2005; SLTRC, 2004c). Civilians referred them to as 'soldiers by day, rebels by night' (Keen, 2005). Moreover, the collusion between the RUF and SLA, the supposed archenemies, came to the fore in May 1997 when the SLA officer Johnny Paul Koroma successfully defeated the government under the democratically elected President Kabbah. The SLA then invited the RUF into the formation of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC).

The features mentioned above are closely related to the political goals of the RUF in comparison to their economic interests. Even though the initial goal was one of overthrowing the dictatorship of APC and establishing a just and egalitarian society, it committed numerous more atrocities, as directed towards innocents, compared to the SLA. They colluded with SLA and successfully overturned a democratically elected president. Furthermore, the RUF had no interest in ending the violence. In the Lome Peace Accord in 1999, the RUF enjoyed the preferential conditions in the political area. These conditions included full amnesty to all combatants who perpetrated violence against and within the Sankoh group. For example, the RUF were sharing

power with the government. The Chairman of the RUF was dispatched to manage natural resources, a position that was equal to the vice-presidency of the country. (SLTRC, 2004c). Accompanied by the unclear goals in the political area, their economic motivations were apparent to the RUF and SLA. Looting from civilians demonstrates this argument in a minor way. More importantly, the fighting concentrated in the areas that had an abundance of natural resources and agricultural products, such as the southern and eastern areas (Keen, 2005). As a result, the RUF had occupied the major diamond-mining areas around the nation by 1994. These rich areas were continuously targeted as fighting spots, as these areas could render profit to support the expense of the civil war.

The features of the Sierra Leonean civil war I discussed above are similar to other conflicts in low-income fragile states (Humphreys and Weinstein, 2006). In Liberia, the war also showed violent behaviour towards civilians and apparent economic profits (Ellis, 1995). The RUF adopted tactics from the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, which was operating in Liberia and Mozambique (Abdullah and Muana, 1998; Richards, 1996). Indeed, two other commonly defined features of contemporary violence were present in the Sierra Leonean war. Firstly, the civil war can be characterised as regionalised and internationalised. The outbreak of conflict was sponsored by Charles Taylor in Liberia and Muammar Gaddafi in Libya. At the same time, with regard to the composition of the original RUF fighters, most were Liberians, with some from Burkina Faso (Keen, 2005; Gberie, 2004). Some Sierra Leoneans who participated in the civil war in turn joined many more armed rebel movements in other West African countries (Hoffman, 2011). International diamond companies and related arms efforts supported the continuation of the RUF's war activities (SLTRC, 2004d). Secondly, children and young people were largely involved in the armed forces. There were 137,865 members of the armed forces in total, with an estimated 48,216 that were children (McKay and Mazurana, 2004). More specifically, the majority of control structures which belonged to RUF were considered to be made up by people under 30. Great numbers of atrocities were committed by children,

although it should be noted that many of them had been forcibly recruited (Rosen, 2005).

3.6 The Relationship between Education and the Civil War

Even though both Collier (2000) and Kaplan (1994) have defined the Sierra Leonean civil war as a prototype that is different from conventional wars, an aspect of this is the discussion about the role of education as one important causal factor. The relationship between education and conflict was defined in the following way. That is, young people who were well educated, for example, the radical students, and those who were relatively uneducated, such as the lumpen youth, participated in the revolution together. From this perspective, this section will offer an analysis of why education contributed to the reality that young populations tend to be easily mobilised. I will deepen our understanding of the elitist and unequal nature of the distribution of education, how its unequal and elitist nature forms a symbolic capital and focus on why education failed to meet young people's expectations from a symbolic capital perspective.

As discussed above, education dominated an important role in explanations for the start of the Sierra Leonean civil war (Richards, 1996; Abdullah, 1998; Rashid, 1997; 2004; Bangura, 1997; 2004; Keen, 2005; Gberie, 2005; Humphreys and Weinstein, 2004; 2008). However, whether there is a clear relationship between education and war is still contested. There are two fronts here: firstly, the extent to which education is the reason for young people to join the rebel confrontation; secondly, whether the radical student group formed a part of the RUF. On both fronts, Richards (1996) emphasised the role of education in the war. He argued that the RUF was led by well-educated people who were critical of the government. No matter whether these excluded intellectuals or the young people who received less education, the grievances caused by unevenly distributed education was the key point in using armed conflict against the national state. Similar findings came from interviews with

young combatants, which indicated that 'loss of educational opportunity is seen as a major factor in the decision to fight' (Peters and Richards, 1998, p187). Keen (2005) tends to be more moderate, he agrees that education is a powerful source of the grievances that might have pushed young males to join the rebel groups. But he proposes similar reasons to Richards (1996), where he argues the unequal provision and the decline of education frustrated young people. However, some Sierra Leonean scholars (Bangura, 1997; 2004; Abdullah, 1998; Rashid, 1997; 2004) ignore the role of education from two fronts: the opponents who were well-educated were not part of RUF as they had left the radical group before the revolution and the formation of RUF. Moreover, the rebel action by young people against society reflected the social deprivation and inequalities in terms of education and employment. Regardless of their different opinions, the relationship between education and war has reached agreements in two regards: firstly, regardless of whether radical students were involved or not, the RUF was formed by the radical group of young populations at FBC (Richards, 1996; Gberie, 2005; Rashid, 1997; 2004; Bangura, 1997; 2004; Abdullah, 1998); second is that the majority of young people in the fighting factions have had few education opportunities, which means they only achieved a primary or secondary level of education before dropping out of schooling, or they had not had any education before (Wright, 1997; Keen, 2005; Peters and Richards, 1998; Richards, 1996; Humphreys and Weinstein, 2004). The term 'dropout' here refers to youngsters who dropped out from schooling or those who completed their studies but failed to obtain qualifications. These are the two points linking education to war; the two groups of young populations with different levels of education were mobilised into 'revolution.'

The problem here is why young people with different educational experiences became involved in the revolution either before the formation of RUF or as RUF rebels. One explanation is that the student radicals sensitised young people to their political ideology in the urban area in the 1970s. The lumpen youth were a targeted population and there had been significant changes due to the expansion of education

since independence in the 1970s (Rashid, 2004; 1997). Rashid pointed out that the youth were politically aware even though they only typically had primary or secondary levels of education. Education linked them together, creating the 'lumpen youth' and the radical students as a core group in the early RUF (Rashid, 2004; 1997).

Furthermore, another question is whether education as a system is a core issue fuelling the root cause of the civil war. Few studies have discussed this (Wright, 1997; Krech and Maclure, 2003; Skelt, 1997; Paulson, 2006). These studies analysed why education facilitated fragility in Sierra Leonean society. Poor education allows young people to quickly mobilise when there was a rebellion against the country. Such an opinion was highlighted by Wright (1997, p20), who indicated that education was an essential factor of the civil war by indicating 'in quite unintended ways, education in Sierra Leone has been an accomplice in creating the climate of rebellion which culminated in civil war.'

Krech and Maclure (2003) emphasised that rather than a discrete phenomenon, education should be seen within the context of a political, economic, and ideological system. In this case, the relationship between education system and other political contexts fuelled the root cause of the conflict. Matsumoto (2011) also argued that education affects political, economic, and social marginalisation of young populations in three distinct ways. The first point is that the nature of the educational system was elitist and with access to, and resources for schooling unevenly distributed across the population. As mentioned in the previous section, the educational system was British and academically focused, which had little relevance to marginalised and poor children in rural areas. Moreover, the uneven distribution of resources between the south and the north, the rural and urban, the capital city Freetown and the hinterland, finally resulted in overly centralised education opportunities in developed areas, especially Freetown. This mirrored the injustice in state development and the injustice between the privileged and poor. Furthermore, there was an elitist focus on passing exams in academic subject areas, making the

education system less relevant to the needs of the Sierra Leonean youth. The examinations produced 'clever conformists' (Wright, 1997, p. 22) to the 'British manners and taste' (Krech and Maclure, 2003, p. 147). In 2004, the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission indicated that the historically unevenly distributed and elitist nature of education played a key role in 'historical antecedents to conflict' (SLTRC, 2004c).

Secondly, the link between education and the outbreak of the conflict is that education became a form of symbolic capital. Exclusions, in this case, arose from the representation of the educational system, which is an underlying source of state weakness. In Sierra Leone history, well-educated people were highly valued, as they were able to gain access to fortune and status. Education has been viewed as a kind of symbolic capital (see Section 3.3 and the above). This is highly relevant to the root cause of civil war. The exclusive standard was achieved by the establishment of 'credentialism'. People are only considered to be fully educated when they graduate from college. Thus, the elitist nature was not only limited to within the educational system but the opportunity to be fully educated was only available to college graduates, an opportunity that became an exclusive form of symbolic capital (Matsumoto, 2011). Thus, young people who received partial education were 'modernised but frustrated', as mentioned by Richards. He further indicates that there was an absence of further education for anything other than farming employment opportunities for them to obtain the higher social status they wished. Meanwhile, as they could not be fully educated, they would only be perceived as dropout students. In other words, only fully educated people were able to gain access to decent employment, whilst other people remained the 'young population' and were marginalised by society (Richards, 1996).

Thirdly, the link between education and the root cause of the conflict is that there are high expectations of the power of education. Unfortunately, the exclusive, elitist nature of schooling and the significance of symbolic capital in education terms did

not connect with the majority of young people until the 1990s. Young people expected public sector jobs, as the government could certainly provide them once they completed tertiary education. Nevertheless, the economic crisis, accompanied by exacerbated patrimonial politics, generated the realisation that it was hard to complete tertiary education. Disappointingly, the promises made by the government were not kept (see section 3.3 and above). Krech and Maclure (2003) identified this as the 'failed promise of education' that finally resulted in disillusion and anger among young people. The collaboration between the lumpen youth and the radical student group at FBC concluded as the realisation and frustration towards the state, that no matter how well educated they were, they would not be employed without strong political connections (Matsumoto, 2011).

3.7 Understanding the Role of Education in the Civil War and State Collapse by Looking at the Relationships between State Elites and National Institutions

Essentially, inappropriate educational content can potentially fuel the root cause of conflict, whilst neglect the provision of education as a public service can lead to state collapse and civil war. In this section, I will provide the role of education in conflict by introducing the ideas of Bates and Reno.

Bates (2008) explained the specific characteristics of civil war, which can be found in Africa as the result of state collapse. Bates (2008) explains that the initial step taken by the specialists in violence, or the ruling elites, was to become a predator, which allowed the citizens to wage a civil war against them; this is the transformation of a state into dictatorship. Authoritarianism allowed the ruling parties to keep resources but neglect the public. Meanwhile, rulers become concerned over the cost of public goods provision, including education, as the electoral competitions faced by ruling elites had become extremely expensive. Incumbents must win elections and keep their positions, so they tend to distribute material benefits in the way of public goods to their followers. This is because the political elites are motivated by the benefits of

materials, and the electorates' expectation towards material benefits brought to the local community were high. In this occasion, it became more expensive for incumbents to distribute public goods to maintain their political position within the state system, it seems more economical to make the regime authoritarian. The ruling elites no longer had to provide public goods in a universal way, allowing them to be more predatory, and more benefits were retained for themselves and distributed to the particular groups of people they wished and promising their constituencies public services was no longer essential. Consequently, public goods were therefore driven out by private benefits (Bates, 2008).

Reno (2000;2002;2006) holds a different opinion regarding why state elites decide to neglect the provision of public goods and make choices which weaken state institutions. Reno (2000; 2002) claims that when strong local parties and elites are searching for material benefits, the ruling leaders must provide them with such in exchange for their loyalty and compliance, otherwise they would organise their followers to overturn or challenge their ruling status. Indeed, rather than distributing public goods in a universal way, the distribution of material resources and benefits is the most efficient way for rulers to maintain the ruling status. Reno (2002) goes so far by indicating that the expenditure on public services such as education and health care would be a waste. Reno (2002; 2006) further explained that the weakening of national institutions was a deliberate choice, which is considerate as a deep-rooted fear of rulers, as potential opponents can possibly overturn their regimes. In other words, a high standard of public services could enable those administrators to challenge the rulers. Therefore, the choices made by rulers indicate that the weakened institutions and their related services should be viewed as a result of a collapsed state. The root of these issues exists in the nature of political deals characterised by political manoeuvring and patronage.

The theoretical lens provided by Bate and Reno focused on how education is a part of public services and a component of state institutions; education was also

eventually neglected deliberately by state elites and became a result of political manoeuvring. Both Bates and Reno briefly explained the role of education in their arguments. In this sub-section, I will thus summarise their arguments that touch on education, public services, and public institutions. I will also highlight the differences and similarities between them. Bates and Reno agree that education is one of the essential public goods the state have to provide but became neglected in accordance with a different rationale. Bates (2008) argues that, in comparison to provide benefits to local strongmen, the provision of public services to the citizens becomes too expensive during the elections. The ruling authorities did not have to please the populace by providing public services when the state became authoritarian, therefore, state elites neglected public services provision, and instead, distributed these resources to specific groups as they needed. Reno (2002) believes that security concerns explain why the state elite came to neglect the provision of public services. The rulers are more concerned with whether the local strongmen are under their control. According to Reno's perspective, the primary consideration should be whether prioritising the distribution of material benefits to local strongmen may potentially challenge their social and political status, indicating that the provision of public services such as education came to be kind of a waste of resources if they were delivered to the general populace.

As mentioned before, a weak state is linked with higher likelihood of violent conflict. An exemplary DFID working paper strongly supports this idea (DFID, 2005). They argue that the weak status of political institutions is the main driver of fragility. Factors associated with fragility are themselves linked to weak institutions as a driving force, but the relationship is not necessarily bidirectional. For example, poverty is highly relevant to fragility, yet poor regions are not inevitably fragile. Fragility may occur during economic decline or poverty, fragilities are connected with the weak institutions of an unstable state that could not manage the grievances caused by, for example, the unequal access to formal institutions or the uneven distribution of resources. Essentially, this indicated that political institutions in weak

states cannot manage conflicts that arise in society in an effective manner, and thus such fragility will be most evident when a state is experiencing any significant social change (Vallings and Moreno-Torres, 2005).

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter gave an essential background for Sierra Leone during the pre-war era. By illustrating the historical context, I have focused on why education is a feature that fuelled the root cause of civil war. This is an important argument in this thesis, namely as to the importance of education as a contributing factor and, thus, potentially as a contributing factor to peace. This chapter also substantiates why Sierra Leone is an appropriate case for this study; for one, the Sierra Leonean conflict arguably represents a new feature of civil war that has been increasingly occurring in vulnerable states and that cannot otherwise be explained according to an understanding of conventional warfare. However, the Sierra Leonean conflict is different when compared with others, as the role of education generated significant debate. Firstly, there was an absence of ethnic or religious conflicts among the civilians. Second, the political system influenced the educational system, and thus education fuelled the root cause of civil war. Peace-related programmes were important to the delivery of peace and democratic thinking in post-war countries. Finally, to end this chapter, I discussed the role of education in the civil war and state collapse from the perspectives of Reno and Bates, providing detailed discussion on why education had been widely neglected and which ultimately lead to the occurrence of civil war. Education as a part of the provision of public goods has played a significant role in Sierra Leonean society and history, the analysis of education-related peace programmes, especially peace education, were crucial to further development of the theory. Therefore, in the next two chapters, I will present the theories surrounding peace education, conflict, and peace, and how peace education began to change according to changing global norms. This is because the role and impact of peace education from a theoretical perspective in state-building has

seldom been discussed. As how education (broadly defined) is considered to at least partially address social injustice and help to achieve peace in the African context have also not been addressed in any depth, I will discuss the nature of peace education, and what peace education in Sierra Leone actually consists of by reviewing of some of the essential literature in the following chapters, where these issues will be substantiated.

Chapter Four: Literature Review of Peace Education

4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to review educational literature on peace education in a variety of contexts. It will show how the understanding of the nature of peace education since it was established in the 20th century has been advanced in scope and in depth after decades of development. The present chapter will start by addressing the conceptual differences within peace education doctrine by introducing different forms of violence and peace; the aims and goal of peace education; how concepts of peace are different and their relation to similar subjects; and the evolution of peace education.

The major sections are summarised as follows:

1. The nature of the field of peace education as a background to introduce the role of peace education in different settings around the world: how peace education has been shaped by a variety of backgrounds and how this may have influenced the way in which the trend of study has changed in the international community (see Section 4.2).

2. The history and the development of peace education since WWII, and the illustration of peace education and associated factors in violent conflict settings. I will touch on how peace education differs and complements other similar approaches to peace, and whether these approaches can be considered to be peace education, since peace education is broader than teaching about how to address physical violence. I will provide a broader definition of violence and the way that peace can be achieved (see Sections 4.3 and 4.4).

3. Aims and goals of peace education: the purpose of peace education in general, and the achievements of peace education's short-term and long-term goals.

These goals refer to a philosophic orientation towards peace, and skills that help human beings to live together peacefully; they also provide an overarching framework for planning peace education programmes. Furthermore, the relationships between peace-related operations and educational frameworks will also be mentioned (see Section 4.5 and 4.6).

The limitations of and challenges to peace education are not reviewed in this chapter in the case of Sierra Leone, as they are contextually based and distinct: i.e., shortages of educational personnel and textbooks, which is highly dependent on donors. Instead, I have included an exploration of limitations and challenges as part of my research questions in Chapters 6, 7, and 8.

4.2 What is Peace Education?

Peace education in this investigation refers to the form of formal schooling and non-formal curricula provided by external donors and the internal governmental education system. Peace programmes have been promoted since the 20th century, but they are different in accordance with ideology, objectives, emphasis, curricula, contents, and practices. Thus, peace education is more than a single entity; it has various definitions for different populations in different places (Danesh, 2006). In this section, I will describe the basic distinctions relating to peace education from a conceptual perspective as they pertain to programmes in different regions around the world.

4.2.1 The differences between peace education in terms of various forms of violence
Firstly, the conceptual distinction can be found in the word 'peace' and so does its absence – violence. Galtung (1973) identified the difference between positive peace and negative peace, the former denoting cooperation and integration, the latter indicating the absence of physical violence. Apart from this, many different forms of violence have been adopted in the postmodern world (Fry et al, 2018). Violence, in

its broad sense, includes physical, psychological, structural, cultural, and environmental violence, often generated by thoughts, words, deeds, and many other dehumanising forms of behaviour (Harris, 2002). Physical violence refers to direct harms such as war, gang attack, random killing, and sexual assault (Melanda et al, 2020). Psychological violence manifests as diminishing an individual's belief, worth, or security, which may occur in schools, workplaces, or homes, (Fry et al 2018). The concept of 'structural violence' refers to societal building inequalities wherein a social structure and institutions, depriving an individual's rights and freedom, and harm individuals by preventing them from accessing basic needs (Papamichail, 2019). Environmental violence refers to pollution and overuse of natural resources, generating fears about the future (Stefania, 2014). Jackson and Sørensen (2016) argued that violence in the contemporary world comes from the weak characteristics of vulnerable countries and resorting to militarism when attempting to solve political problems. Distinguishing between different forms of violence is crucial to practitioners of peace education, as it is helpful for them to adapt their approaches to peace to different forms of violence within different social contexts (Harris, 2002).

Peace education varies by historical context. In the 1950s, teachers in Japan launched a peace education activity that was called 'a-bomb education,' as they were worried that the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki may lead to devastating effects (Szczepanska, 2017). Countries of the global south faced the problems of impoverishment and underdevelopment which resulted from violence. Peace education in this context is referred to as 'development education' (Gyoh, 2018), where students will learn how poverty will lead to structural violence and how various strategies can address the problems of structural violence (O'Flaherty and Liddy, 2018). These concerns relate to structural violence aimed at correcting the reality of inequalities and discrimination against specific groups of people ((Liddy and Parker Jenkins, 2013; McMorrow 2006). In Ireland, peace education is often called 'education for mutual understanding' (Smith and Robinson, 1996) in an attempt to eliminate centuries of enmity due to ethnic tension between Catholics and

Protestants. Peace education in the Korean Peninsula is similar, referred to as 'reunification education' (Lee, 1990). In contrast, peace education in the Middle East tries to eliminate adversarial attitudes through broken inherent stereotypes of their enemies (Grodofsky, 2007), as people wish to alter the hatred caused arising from racial, religious, or ethnic determinants. In the 1980s, in numerous developed countries, such as the US, peace education usually focused on 'nuclear education' because educators tried to warn citizens and politicians about the danger of nuclear holocaust (Moran and Hobbs, 2018). The field of conflict resolution (Deutsch, 1973) emerged in the latter half of the 20th century, whose core idea revolves around dealing with interpersonal violence, teaching recipients peace-making skills to achieve non-violence during interactions. Organisations and governments tend to use interpersonal dialogue within this peace framework between the opposing groups with the purpose of reducing hatred among religions and ethnicities (Fisher and Ury, 1981).

4.2.2 The differences between peace education programmes based on socio-political contexts

Possible distinctions remain within a socio-political context in which peace education takes place, which supersedes the remaining elements, such as the economic. (Salomon, 2009). This is essentially determined to extent by: (1) the type of challenges faced, (2) the goals, and (3) the way participants are treated (Salomon, 2009). Peace education around the world mostly focuses on the need for cooperation and harmony in order to emphasise the importance of promoting a culture of peace – known as promoting positive peace (Lerch and Buckner, 2018). Regions that are conflict-prone focus on how education is crucial and effective in terms of violence prevention, and the practical coexistence with their enemies or rival groups – therefore achieving negative peace (Deutsch, 1993). Whereas the former is the attempt to promote personal skills to manage local and interpersonal conflicts, the latter is more likely to address changing perceptions and create tolerance toward others (Leman, 2002). In this situation, peace education can be divided into three

categories based on their socio-political context: regions of intractable conflict (Rouhana and Bar-Tal, 1998); regions with tensions but without obvious actions of hostility (Leman, 2002); and regions of cooperation (Friberg et al., 2005).

4.2.2.1 Peace education in regions of intractable conflict

Intractable regions of conflicts are characterised as conflicts lasting at least 25 years and that are perceived as unsolvable. This category of peace education takes place in regions of ongoing conflict between groups (Azar, 1990; Bar-Tal, 1998; Kriesberg, 1998). The root causes of conflict in these regions are often related to resources and power, accompanied by collectively possessed narratives describing the good part of 'us' versus the bad of 'them'. In other words, tribal, ethnic, and religious differences lead to different narratives, which finally contribute to the occurrence of violent conflict. These narratives include collectively held memories of past atrocities and today's victimhood, where normally their memories are regarded as superior to one another (Rouhana and Bar-Tal, 1998). Peace education in this category focuses on shifting attitudes and mindsets that pertain to their collective members, containing the other's narratives and suffering (Cairns and Roe, 2003; Halbwachs, 1992; Wertsch, 2002). Cases in point are countries like Israel-Palestine in the Middle East (Bird, 2007).

4.2.2.2 Peace education in regions of interethnic tension

Peace education programmes in this category are normally characterised by interethnic and racial tensions between majorities and minorities, but without overt acts of aggression or memories of past history with regard to hostilities, conquest, or dispossession (Rouhana and Bar-Tal, 1998). Cases can be found in Belgium, which is a good example given the relative lack of violence, as well as racial disputes between Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans in the USA (Cairns and Roe, 2003).

4.2.2.3 Peace Education in Regions of Experienced Tranquillity

Peace education belonging to this category takes place when there is a lack of particularly targeted adversary with whom peace-related operations and co-

existence are desired (Archer, 1996). Within these contexts, programmes are better described as education about peace rather than education for peace, as there is an absence of a concrete adversary (Friberg et al., 2005). In this case, education about peace is essential to cultivating a concern for peace from a bystander's perspective so that the violent acts carried out due to the indifference in other regions of the world will not be repeated (Bonta, 1996; Calleja, 1994). This category of peace education is also about dealing with low-level violence.

4.2.3 The different aims of peace education due to the desired changes

Distinctions can be found in different aims of each form of peace education. For example, changes on a local or micro-level: learning to reconcile or cooperate on an interpersonal level; versus willingness to change on a macro-level: changes perceptions or stereotypes within the whole collective (Salomon, 2002). Even though individuals are the ultimate targets for change in both cases, the change itself refers to distinct levels: a positive way of handling other individuals versus handling other collectives (Salomon, 2002). Another distinction comes from the political, economic, and social status of peace education participants: racial or ethnic majorities versus minorities, conqueror versus conquered, and perpetrator versus victims (Salomon, 2002). Apparently, peace education for the weak, powerful, and dominated are not the same (Bartal, 2009). Peace education in this situation has divergent meanings for different individuals in different places. In general, it can be a method of shifting mindsets. The purpose is to promote understanding and tolerance to yesterday's enemies (Hall, 1999). Examples can be found in peace education programmes in regions experiencing intractable conflicts. For others, peace education is a matter of building skills. The general purpose can be concluded as to acquire conflict resolution skills and non-violent disposition in the future (Hall, 1999). A prime example of such would be a school-based peer-mediation conflict prevention programme (Ay, Keskin, and Akıllı, 2019). Moreover, peace education in the global south focuses on promoting human rights, whereas in some affluent countries it often focuses on

disarmament, environmentalism, and the promotion of the culture of peace (Salomon, 2002).

In summary, the education systems in diverse states around the world have been providing peace education since the 20th century (Burns and Aspeslagh, 1996; Hermon, 1988; Basaran and Karakurt, 2017). The aims of peace education programmes can vary according to their particular ideology, objectives, emphasis, and issues related to the practice.

4.3 The History and the Development of Peace Education

Throughout history human beings have tried to teach each other ways to manage conflict in a peaceful way. Peace education has been practiced informally by generations so that humans can resolve conflicts in ways that do not require the use of deadly force (Danesh, 2006). Following this idea, people who teach such ideas include prophets around the world: such as Mohammed and Moses (Reardon, 1982). Such a teaching approach helps to promote personal transformation, whereby, based on non-violence and ideas of compassion, people would not be caught by pitfalls of violence (Harris, 2004). In the 17th century, Comenius (1642/1969), a Czech educator indicated that the road to peace can be achieved through universally shared knowledge. Such an approach to peace emphasises understanding towards others, which can address the hostilities that lead to the outbreak of conflict. Immanuel Kant, established this liberal notion and argued that peace could be achieved by constructing legal systems. This is the origin of democratic thinking, which rested upon the notion that humans are capable of creating a rule of laws that treat people with basic human rights (Kant, 1795/1970). The 20th century experienced such considerable growth in peace education theory and efforts, as such, peace educators warned about the disastrous nature of war in the 1900s. Europeans and Americans established peaceful societies and encouraged their governments against the sabre-rattling that finally lead to the outbreak of World War I (Harris, 2010). During the

interbellum period between the two world wars, teachers of social studies started to teach world politics with the purpose of stopping the younger generation from waging war against others in remote areas (Daele, 1988). The emphasis here was based on particular content, for example, the living conditions of people in war-torn societies, so that learners will develop an outlook about the importance of peace, which would itself lead to peace. In this sense, educators in that era contributed to a progressive educational reform by introducing cultural differences which eventually promoted international awareness to achieve a cooperative and peaceful world (Harris and Morrison, 2003).

At the beginning of the 20th century, a Nobel Peace Prize winner – Jane Addams – was advocating that schools should accept immigrant populations (Addams, 1907). She emphasised the importance of creating a truly democratic nation through necessary struggles. In the meantime, she inspired women to work for reforms, rejecting the traditional thinking that limited women's educational opportunities. During the same period, Maria Montessori tried to urge educators to alter teaching approaches to a rigid but dynamic curriculum. She explained that children should be allowed to choose what to study, which meant that they could learn to become self-determined and would not necessarily obey those authorities urging them to go to war (Montessori, 1946/1974). This idea is the origin of the advantage of a student-centred approach. The horrors of the Second World War led to the emergence of "Education for World Citizenship." After the war, Herbert Read (1949) indicated that human beings can escape destructive violence through creative capacities. As such, peace studies since then have developed as a 'science of peace' to counteract the science of war, which produces massive casualties (Salomon, 2002). During that period, the development of peace education appeared as a manifesto issued by Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein to discuss how thermonuclear weapons threatened the security of citizens.

In 1959, the first peace research institute, the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), was founded in Norway under the leadership of Johan Galtung and Bert Roling. PRIO then published the *Journal of Peace Research* and the *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*. These two journals have promoted the development of peace research since 1959. The Lancaster Peace Research Centre (known as Richardson Institute) in the UK, and the Centre for Research on Conflict Resolution was founded by an economist and system thinker Kenneth Boulding at the University of Michigan were also founded in 1959 respectively (Harris and Shuster 2006). These efforts gave birth to a new academic field, peace studies, which blossomed since 1960 when the world witnessed the atrocities brought by the US war in Vietnam. This war garnered academic focus on the influence of imperialism (Harris, 2010). In the 1980s, the threat of nuclear war posed by the US and the Soviet Union stimulated the awareness of impending devastation around the world (Graves, Dunlop and Turney-Purta, 1984).

The expansion and the development of peace education during this period indicated a symbiotic relationship between peace movements, research on peace, and peace education (Salomon, 2004). Numerous activists developed strategies to deal with conflicts such as structural violence, wars between nations, or colonial aggression. Researchers studied these developments further and sought new ways to broaden messages around peace (Bartoli and Psimopoulos, 2006). These expansion movements promoted peace studies courses and programmes in schools and everyday life to demonstrate the challenges of peace and the negativities of war. These insights provided the causes of violence and the conditions for peace through education measurements. As a result, educators can give students systematic insights into how to manage conflicts in diverse situations (Gallagher, 2007). There were three books published in the 1980s that each highlighted the concerns related to the threat of nuclear annihilation. They are Birgit Brocke-Utne (1985): *Education for Peace*; Betty Reardon (1988): *Comprehensive Peace Education*; and *Peace Education* by Ian Harris (1988). Brocke-Utne (1985) explored the devastation that war, militarism, and male violence posed to females and argued that feminism

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represented an effective starting point for disarmament. She also pointed out that a society without armed conflict was not necessarily peaceful as they still could still experience a considerable amount of domestic violence. Reardon (1988) believed that the core value of formal schooling should be care and commitment to children, and the key concepts provided by peace education should be planetary stewardship, global citizenship, and humane relationships, whilst Harris (1988) stressed a holistic approach to peace education could apply in formal education from primary to higher education level. He also emphasised ideas like cooperation, democracy, moral sensitivity, and critical thinking must be contained.

At the beginning of the 1980s, globalists such as Jeremy Brecher lost their hold on the domain of peace education, with the humanists, exemplified as UN practitioners, taking over (Graham-Brown, 1991). Scholars of peace education swiftly emphasised the various kinds of violence, such as civil, cultural, and ethnic conflicts, as they were more concerned about how to heal the wounds of children who had suffered from violent cultures during this period (Graves, Dunlop and Turney-Purta, 1984). Peace educators began to teach conflict resolutions in formal schooling. There was a very popular psychological movement "new age healing," developed based on the work of Carl Rogers (1946). It helped people to address the deep psychic phenomena contributed to violent behaviour. At the end of the 20th century, a variation of Carl Rogers' teachings could be found in the form of violence prevention education, which was intended to develop resilience among young generations so that they could avoid violent behaviours, drug abuse, and sex in interpersonal relations (Hall, 1999). In countries which experienced extreme forms of religious and ethnic violence, peace education took the form of multicultural education, where educators attempted to break down the hostile images of 'the other' (Iram, 2006).

The domain of peace education since 20th century expanded to form the 'study of violence' to the 'study of domestic violence, interpersonal disputes, and environmental destruction' (Salomon, 2004). During the entirety of the 20th century,

the international community witnessed a rapid growth in concern about human atrocities, ranging from genocide, technological warfare, ethnic hatred, sexual abuse, domestic violence, as well as a corresponding growth in interest in peace education (Harris, 2010). By the early 21st century, peace education had significantly broadened beyond the traditional consideration of warfare to include issues pertaining to the social equity that contributed to positive peace., e.g., to build a culture of peace through changing negative attitudes and behaviours among the next generations, rather than the notion of peace as the cessation of war (Iram, 2006). With the consideration of multiple forms of violence, at least seven types of peace education are needed in order to promote the development of peace: international education, human rights education, development education, environmental education, conflict resolution education, civic education, and education in emergencies. Each branch is based on different theoretical assumptions of peace and violence, and addresses various kinds of violence, adopting different strategies to overcome various challenges, ultimately achieving different goals.

4.4 How Does Peace Education Differ from Other Related Forms of Education?

4.4.1 International Education

International Education was developed by Derek Heater (1984), who indicated the importance of peace researchers understanding the instability of international interstate relations that would so often lead to wars over interests such as a territory. This type of peace education is often linked with international relations and known as world order studies. Since the 21st century, it has provided an outlook of the positive and negative aspects of globalisation: the erosion of the power of national states (Salomon, 2004). The central question here relates to how to ensure globalisation can do more benefits than harm. This approach to peace has received considerable support from various parties to the UN system (UNESCO, 1995). Practitioners of international education promote the awareness of problems around

the world to try to remind them about their global identity and become a compassionate global citizen who can help in the struggle for peace (Sandy, 2001).

4.4.2 Human Rights Education

Human Rights Education has focused on human rights issues (Ahmed, Martin, and Uddin, 2020). International organisations such as the UN Human Rights Office addressed civil, domestic, and ethnic forms of violence, to heal the trauma left by various forms of violence (Bajaj, 2014). Human rights education dominates a variety of literal and conceptual interpretations. Educators following this approach to peace are guided by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a statement of basic value to be pursued to achieve justice in economic, social, and political areas (Osler and Hugh 2010). Narrowly construed, human rights studies are about treaties, global institutions, and courts. Thus, the statement of human rights normally comes from the concepts of natural law, and a higher set of laws that supersede national and governmental laws but are universally applicable (Juma, 2002). Human beings are thus capable of creating laws by their rational minds, and that these laws can help us reach human justice and equality (Ahmed, Martin, and Uddin, 2020). Rights abuse and the struggles to eliminate such abuses trigger violent conflicts and remain the heart of the root causes of many atrocities (Kort, 2017). In accordance with this, human rights institutions champion basic rights against discrimination based on gender, ethnic origins, religious convictions, sexual orientation, and disabilities (Kort, 2017). The human rights approach is against the tendency to label others or exclude others as enemies (Juma, 2002). The conflict here is identity-based, where people show hatred towards others, as perceived by people who belong to other groups as 'the enemy'. Peace educators in this field teach about the struggles to achieve basic rights in remote areas of the world, where they also lead students to focus on the rights of minority groups within their own community or in weak societies (Bajaj, 2014). There were increasing concerns about underdeveloped situations in the global south, which increased the focus on peace education during the 1990s.

4.4.3 Development Education

Development Education was inspired by Dr. Martin Luther King, Mohandas Gandhi, and many others who used non-violence to resolve major violence during the last century; they sought structural solutions to social conditions that could lead to violence (Buchanan and Varadharajan, 2018). In accordance with this, the approach of development studies to peace provides with insights into the aspects of structural violence, focusing on the relationship between social institutions and the hierarchies. Specific attention will be put on the plight of the poor, and how these social structures influence oppressed groups (Bourn, 2015). The fundamental goal here is to constitute peaceful communities by promoting democratic values in sharing resources around the globe (Mccloskey, 2018). Such an approach to peace was derived from conventional liberal peacebuilding strategies that were aimed at improving human societies (Bourn, 2015). In contrast, educators in the development area were concerned about whether the rush imposed by modernity would have negative impacts. Rather than promoting top-down externally conceived measurements, peace education promotes citizens' involvement in implementing development schemes by changing people's long-term attitudes and behaviour (Mccloskey, 2018).

4.4.4 Conflict Resolution Education

Since the 2000s, the global community witnessed the increasing development in the field of Conflict Resolution Education (Bickmore, 2002). It is one of the fastest-growing school reforms. Educators belonging to this category provide necessary communication skills for formal schooling (Johnson and Johnson, 1991). In particular, human relations skills here refer to empathy development, assertiveness, emotional awareness, anger management, impulse control, and problem-solving (Jones and Kmitta, 2000). Meanwhile, conflict resolution provides recipients with peace-making skills to address interpersonal conflicts with peers. Many of the research studies conducted in the early 2000s indicated that it could have influenced school climate and achievement in a positive manner (Bickmore, 2002; Johnson and Johnson, 1991).

Even though this approach is effective in terms of empowering students to use these skills build up peaceful relationships, it cannot address the different forms of civil, ethnic, cultural, and global violence that takes place outside schools (Haris, 2010). Violence prevention education is a variation of conflict resolution education. The aim of this approach is to let children know that anger is a human attribute emotion which can be handled in a peaceful way (Lane-Garon, Yergat and Kralowec, 2012). Studies have pointed out that violent behaviour is learnt in families, especially those who often adopt corporal punishment (Lane-Garon, Yergat and Kralowec, 2012). In order to counter this hostile behaviour, violence-prevention teach students how to manage their anger and how to avoid becoming bullies or victims themselves. This approach is helpful in avoiding fights and disputes in school and in their immediate lives. Thus, the focus is upon interpersonal relationships and systems rather than addressing the root cause of various kinds of violence (Jones and Kmitta, 2000).

4.4.5 Environmental Education

By the end of the 20th century, environmentalists observed that the modern life posed destructive effects on the natural habitat (Monroe, Andrews, and Biedenweg, 2008). From a historic aspect, peace education is usually concerned with the danger of military security, such as the danger of nuclear exchange between the US and the Soviet Union (Monroe, Andrews, and Biedenweg, 2008). However, with the rise of global warming, rapid species extinction, and the negative effects of pollution, scholars realised that talking about war alone was insufficient. It is necessary to promote a concept of environmental security based upon ecological security, where human beings are nourished by protecting the ecological environment (Mische, 1989; Disinger, 2005). Environmental educators focused on the idea that the deepest foundation to peace, and to co-existence, are based on environmental health (Disinger, 2005). Meanwhile, there is also a focus on the ecological crisis, which teaches students about ways to create environmental sustainability and to reuse natural resources (Monroe, Andrews, and Biedenweg, 2008).

4.4.6 Civic Education

Civic Education, also known as Citizen Education or Democracy Education, was defined as the provision of messages to equip participants to become involved in the democratic process (Cong and Jackson, 2019). It can be delivered in various forms, such as classroom-based formal schooling, non-formal training, mass-media learning, and experimental learning. Civic education can be targeted at children or adults. It normally takes place in regions of tranquillity where negative peace has been achieved. It is an approach that employs a wide range of methods and is often adopted in combination with other participatory governance tools (Williams, 2004). The origin of civic education is the demand for good governance, which has been used to address governance issues such as post-conflict reconciliation, corruption, and important social issues (Cong and Jackson, 2019). The ultimate goal of civic education is civic engagement, which can support democratic and participatory governance. Civic education is concerned with the following elements: civic knowledge refers to the understanding of political systems and citizens' responsibilities and rights; for example, freedom of votes expressions (Williams, 2004). Civic skills refer to a citizen's ability to evaluate public issues, such as the evaluation of government performance (Williams, 2004). Civic dispositions mean that citizens should have the necessary characteristics to ensure democracy, such as tolerance towards others (Cong and Jackson, 2019).

4.4.7 Education in emergencies

Many nations have gained or regained independence in the latter decades of the 20th century; the end of the Cold War marked a new beginning of conflicts and population displacement (Burde et al, 2017). These new-born countries are mostly multi-ethnic without a stable system of governance. Numerous conflicts have led to suffering and displaced millions of youngsters (Smith, 2007). Their lives and their education were disrupted and terminated. This has enhanced awareness of children's needs and rights, following the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, the World Education Forum held in Dakar in April 2000 has illustrated that education is increasingly viewed

as the central pillar of humanitarian response, alongside the essential complements of nourishment and health services (Norwegian Refugee Council, Redd Barna, and UNHCR, 1999; Midttun, 2000; ICWAC, 2000). Reasons for the establishment of education in emergency includes the psychological needs of youngsters affected by violence, the need to protect them from harm, the need to maintain and develop their educational opportunities, and the importance of disseminating key information such as how to avoid contagious diseases like HIV/AIDS (Midttun, 2000). A key principle for education in an emergency is to respond rapidly, utilising a community-based approach, establishing capacity through training qualified educators and school management committees (Burde et al, 2017). Education should maintain in a long-term manner and should support sustainable solutions. Survival and peacebuilding messages and related skills need to be incorporated in formal and non-formal education processing. These educational programmes must promote the participation of marginalised or underrepresented populations, such as girls, minorities, and disabilities (Smith, 2007).

All of these approaches to peace education complement each other (Salomon, 2002). For example, peace education in formal schooling can teach students about the destruction of the Amazon rain forests accompanied with the concern about the rights of indigenous people, and the issues surrounding structural poverty which led to illegal tree cutting in order to make a living. As such, peace education is not just about teaching how to address the physical violence but encompasses a broader definition of violence. There is a different definition of war and conflict, as well as peace (Salomon, 2004). It is also worth mentioning that all kinds of peace-related educational programmes can take place within formal, non-formal educational settings, or indeed a combination of both.

4.5 Aims and Goals of Peace Education

Educational activities are purposeful in general, the same as peace education, and their goals can be short term or long-term depending on context. The longer-term goals are to promote desired peaceful existence and create permanent non-violence structures in human consciousness (Toukan, 2017). A good explanation of the short-term and long-term goals has been given by Adrian Nastase: human beings are 'running carelessly towards a precipice after having put something in front of us to hinder us from seeing it' (Nastase, 1982 p.185). He suggests that the urgently required immediate goals of peace education are to locate where the 'precipice' is in this field and to understand the dangerous state under the current conditions. H. G. Wells also pointed out that all human beings are in the position of 'a race between education and human catastrophe' (1927, p.43). Ian Harris also indicates that no matter the range of objectives of peace education, it should at least contain the following ten main aims and goals: Harris, 2010). These goals refer to a philosophic orientation toward peace and skills which help human beings to live together peacefully and sustainably. Moreover, the goals mentioned below are aimed at providing an overarching framework for planning peace education programmes. In particular:

1. *To appreciate and understand the richness of peace concepts*: peace educators teach about the past, present, and prospective future challenges to achieve durable peace and human equity (Ozolins, 2015).

2. *To address fears*: when wars occur, citizens fear being attacked and grieve about conflicts. Terrorist attacks such as the events of 9/11, have also spawned deep fears about the spread of additional terrorist concerns. Addressing those concerns about warfare is useful with regard to relieving anxiety among young people and helps them to focus on academic performance (Zins and et al, 2004).

3. *To Provide the understanding of security*: it implies that national government protect civilians from attack through building weapons and creating armies.

Citizens need detailed information about what the system contains and the cost of building these systems. Introducing concepts of security helps to provide information to what they need to make informed choices toward achieving peace (Ozolins, 2015).

4. *To provide information about war behaviour*: students should study the root cause of war and violence, the differences among the various societal contexts, and why humans are violent (Toukan, 2017). Tracing back to human development history, there have been many instances of warfare, and anthropologists have indicated that most countries on this planet are involved in different levels of conflict, either internal or external. Nevertheless, nations which achieved peace usually have good socioeconomic performance, which often leads to avoiding organised war and conflict (Gregor, 1996, p16). This outcome explains why peace operation in conflict-prone societies will put extra effort into promoting economic growth.

5. *To promote cross-cultural and intercultural understanding*: since war may occur as a result of racial, cultural, ethnic, or religious differences, peace education promotes respect and educate recipients about the diversity of the human societies. Peace education in this sense resembles multicultural education, that teachers will teach about the differences and understanding of others (Banks and Banks, 2007).

6. *To provide what consists of a 'futures' orientation*: peace education activities strive to create a society with harmony and peace. Educators should provide students with a "futures" orientation. The future study tries to provide children with a positive future and give them an outlook through which to increase peacefulness around the world (Hutchinson, 1996). More importantly, the teaching process should include ways of managing behaviour which can bring less violence to human beings (Muñoz, 2010).

7. *To educate peace as a process*: education about peace can address the social cause of violence. Achieving overall peace is a process that transforms an

individual's attitudes and behaviours because people who have learned about non-conflict will then try to live by its high standards. It also a transforming process from creating peace in every individual's daily life to bring peace to a community, and then to the whole world (Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003).

8. *To promote peace concepts accompanied by social equity*: this point emphasises that the absence of war does not always bring peace and harmony to society. The challenges faced by negative peace are injustice and inequality with regard to human rights. Peace education thus should promote self-emancipation to challenge unequal coercive institutions (Winthrop and Matsui, 2013).

9. *To respect life*: peace education promotes the value that respects all forms of human life and assists children to develop personal characteristics essential for the attainment of peace (Burde, 2014; Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace, 2010).

10. *To manage violent conflicts*: one of the ultimate goals of peace education is to equip human beings with non-violent skills to manage conflicts (Muñoz, 2010).

In sum, these ideas point out the main achievements and the philosophy behind peace education. Meanwhile these goals can mostly be found in major peace education practices. However, sometimes these goals can be inseparable, whilst different programmes will set their own goals depending on the local context, the root causes of wars, and the most urgent issues that need tackling.

4.6 Peace Education as a Strategy to Achieve Peace

One of the crucial goals of peace education is to achieve positive peace so that people can choose to be peaceful when they are faced with conflict. In general, peace educators try to switch students' attitudes and behaviours from violent to non-violent forms through providing their students with information about reconciliation, negotiation, and the use of strategies. Peace education, with the purpose of

achieving long-lasting peace on both the macro- and micro-level, relies on educating equivalent people within a given population to establish a widely supported peace policy (Novelli, 2010).

Although peace is desirable, there is considerable disagreement about how to achieve it. A particular approach to peace in a given national government or a community normally depends upon the desire of the dominant group(s), experiences, or upon well-established organised institutions who apply pressure to stop these forms of atrocity (Winthrop and Matsui, 2013). Ian Harris (2004; 2010), as a pioneering peace educator, distinguished three distinct approaches to achieving peace: peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. Peacekeeping operations are aimed at responding to any kind of violence and to stop them from escalating. On the macro-level, it can be applied to the use of military troops to suppress violence, examples being the use of troops to respond to the violence of UN mandates in Côte d'Ivoire and the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Peacemaking strategies help to reconcile the parties to help them work out their differences without the use of force. Peacebuilding efforts are used to build a culture of peace by promoting non-violence as a way to avoid human atrocities and the horror of war (Mross, 2019).

These different approaches can complement each other in order to overcome complex sources of violence. Peace education can be identified as a part of peacebuilding strategy which helps transform conflict-prone societies to non-violence by condemning violent attitudes and building a peaceful consciousness (Najjuma, 2011). In this case, peace education is not limited to formal schooling but can be conducted in a non-formal way. Within formal education at school, peace education can be a standalone subject, or come under another subject. It can also be mentioned in education policies as peace principles, but is not included in the national curriculum (UNESCO, 2013). Sometimes, peace education, in general, is not

included in education policies and national curricula. Non-formal education can be delivered through:

1. Youth groups (UNESCO, 2013).
2. Sports and recreation programs (UNESCO, 2013).
3. Travelling theatre (UNESCO, 2013).
4. Television and radio spots (UNESCO, 2013).
5. Magazines for young people (UNESCO, 2013).
6. Peace campaigns, Contests and exhibitions (UNESCO, 2013).

Thus, peace education programmes can target wider populations with regard to the values of peace culture. Yet, peace education sometimes represents an indirect solution to the causes of conflicts, this is more about contributing to long-term peace to conflict-prone societies (Hymel and Darwich, 2018). This can be viewed as a major disadvantage to building a durable peace, as it mainly only offers a long-term solution to conflict-prone societies (Hymel and Darwich, 2018). In order to be an effective method, peace education has to transform behaviour and thinking which has been rooted in human history over the millennia. Essentially, this behaviour and thinking must lead to an action that can contribute to peace. Otherwise, the contents of learning about peace just remain merely a kind of knowledge in recipients' minds (Staub, 2013). To summarise, the disadvantages of peace education are dependent on the teaching content, adopted pedagogies, and recipients' willingness for peace. Moreover, as peace education mainly offers long-term indirect solutions, it is hard to review whether it is effective in changing and developing behaviours and attitudes that contribute to peace (Nikitin, 2014).

World history shows us that achieving civilisation requires more than the acquisition of material benefits. Developed industrial countries may provide riches to a few of the privileged, but the standard of living for civilians is based on the history of conquest and destruction to the global south (Joshi and Quinn, 2017). The effects of

such destruction can be found where societies are suffering from deep-rooted violence, in poor countries like Rwanda, torn by ethnic conflict, but also in wealthy countries such as Germany, dealing with historic residual racial hatred. Citizens in these countries hardly have access to theories about peace. Classes that teach about the success of military conquest cultivate the national identity but ignore the importance of providing students with sophisticated information on peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding strategies (McLean, 2011; Mross, 2019). During the past century, peace educators created academic content, practical skills, and pedagogies that could address one of the most difficult human problems: How can people live in peace? Peace education was therefore embraced by activists who were eager to challenge the problems of violence, and the structures of militarism that lead to so much suffering across the world.

However, peace education faces numerous challenges in terms of its implementation, such as dealing with collective narratives, historical memories, contradictory beliefs, and severe inequalities. In practice, peace education programmes face challenges such as lack of teaching materials and educational personnel (Salomon, 2011). Such educational programmes in regions of intractable conflict may also face the challenge that they are highly dependent on external donors, which means the educational process may collapse when actors remove their assistance.

Additional challenges that pertain to the very core of peace education also exist (Winthrop and Matsui, 2013; Salomon, 2010). Firstly, whether peace education can create a 'ripple effect': the promotion of a culture of peace emphasises educating a country's youth with norms that can deal with conflicts by dialogue, negotiation, and non-violence. The issue pertains to peace education of youngsters with the purpose of developing them into peace-supporting individuals, and that ultimately allows a peaceful society to be built (Oppenheimer, 2009). Clearly, the idea was aimed to affect whole societies, thus the concern is about whether peace education can change people's minds and then spread to a wider circle of society. These views and

perceptions, attitudes, and dispositions to changes in individuals are deep-rooted in 'social ethos.' (Bar-Tal and Salomon, 2006; Rouhanna and Bar-Tal, 1998). "An ethos is social when it informs the social interaction among people, not only in formal institutional contexts, e.g., in relation to the state but also in informal everyday contacts, e.g., in civil society" (Lægaard, 2010, p.81). This challenge is asking for the effectiveness of peace education both for individuals and for a wider community or society.

Secondly, increasing the endurance of desired programme effects in the face of easy erosion. There are ample studies on how peace education has a positive, albeit differential impact on behaviour and attitudes on the participants (Smith, 1999; Salomon, 2004). However, these positive results are more often obtained after the completion of the associated programmes, which means the positive impacts cannot be obtained when measured a short while later as the effects obtained appear to have been eroded and have reverted to their original status (Kupermintz and Salomon, 2005). Apparently, both socio-political forces and personal experiences can suppress previous positives changes; the literature suggests that attitudes and the related behaviour can be changed by intervention, but gains can easily be reversed by external forces that prolong long-lasting social injustice and poverty. As such, Smith (1993) and Salomon (2010) argued that 'short technological intervention' often only has short-lived effects, and whether there are long-term implicit effects is still an open question.

Thirdly, one must consider the need for differential approaches to peace. To date, even though there are multiple programmes with different emphases on peace, most have adopted similar approaches in terms of their implementation. This has been particularly pronounced in sub-Saharan Africa where the measurements were applied (Manin and et.al., 2009). It appears is the programmes utilise a one size fits all approach to educational practice measurements, regardless of what kind of violence, whether this is caused by the majority or minority, or conqueror or

conquered. These differences call for differential approaches to peace education (Kupermintz and Salomon, 2005).

These challenges suggested that conflict results from a lack of education about the benefits of peace or from poor attitudes and behaviour. In chapter 3, the pre-war educational landscape discussed also suggested that conflict was increased due to the new injustices that emerged in the areas of education and employment. However, it is also worth mentioning the limitations of peace education here. Linking with the work "The Two Faces of Education" published by Bush and Saltarelli (2000), peace education has similar limitations to education. Educational practices are dominated by national sectors, therefore when conflict does occasionally become necessary, especially with the engagement of multiple external warring parties such as in the Middle East region, peace education is limited in its capacity to reduce the possibility of war. Indeed, in the face of gross injustice, peace education may simply be a way to try and silence opposition and maintain existing hegemonies. Finally, peace education process may collapse if countries are facing cross-border wars. The review here will not go into detail about how each part of the content of peace education is considered to contribute to peace or personal transformation in the context of Sierra Leone; rather, this will be discussed in the empirical study.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the peace education framework from distinct perspectives in the social science literature. In general, the review examined the role of peace education programmes as being context-dependent since they are different from each other in accordance with ideology, objectives, emphasis, curricula, content, and practices. Peace education definitions for different populations in different places can be summarised from the forms of educational programmes, the socio-political contexts, and the desired changes between regions. More broadly, the concept of peace has far-reaching records in human history no matter whether one considers

Western or Eastern culture, exemplified by Lao Zi and Mohammad (Harris, 2010). Thus, the idea of peace keeps evolving from the ancient 'advanced peace' to current 'non-violent coexistence'. The expansion and the development in the modern era indicate a symbiotic relationship between peace movements, research on peace, and peace education. In this chapter, I also illustrated that the development of peace in conjunction with the consideration of multiple forms of violence therefore leads to seven types of peace education. Each branch has different theoretical assumptions about peace and violence and is concerned with how violence can be addressed drawing on various peace education approaches. Education for peace with different approaches, which is the eighth type of peace education as well as general education, is regarded as an important contributor to peace. Among other things, these approaches focus on the different strategies adopted, different challenges that peace education hopes to overcome, and different goals that peace education is trying to achieve.

These different approaches to peace education are not mutually exclusive but can complement each other, so that peace education is purposeful in general. Ian Harris (2010) concludes ten main aims and goals, regardless of which range of objectives of peace education one is working on, ranging from personal transformation to societal transformation. Moreover, this literature review has also attempted to uncover the relationship between other peace operations and peace education. Ultimately, peace education can be summarised as a strategy with the purpose of achieving positive peace by targeting on wider populations in conflict-affected societies. I also reviewed the obvious drawback of peace education here, that although peace education has short-term goals, it mainly provides long-term indirect solutions; further, it is hard to review whether it is effective in changing and developing behaviours and attitudes that contribute to peace. The discussion in this chapter mainly focuses on the explanations of theory and the background of peace education in the social science literature, as reviewed in the chapter. These understandings are mostly built upon how different understandings about the violence contribute to

various theories about how to achieve peace in a literature base. More questions around the achievements and limitations of peace education, as has been questioned with regard to the effectiveness of building peace and personal transformation will be explored in Chapters 6, 7, 8 through an empirical case study of Sierra Leone.

Chapter Five: Theoretical Framework

5.1 Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the situation of African states worsened as the super-powers withdrew their support that helped to maintain the client states. The spread of democratic rules and participatory politics across Africa after the Cold War also witnessed success to varying extents (Newman, 2011). The upsurge in democratic transitions was aimed at promoting democratic political systems with multiple parties and fair elections; adopting constitutions; the separation of powers of the legislative; and promoting justice and related human rights acts. However, the democratic transition in Africa is coincident with an increasing number of civil wars. In the 1990s, Africa witnessed conflicts across the continent, Somalia in the east, Liberia and Sierra Leone in the west, and the Democratic Republic of Congo in Central Africa (Patric, 2011). These humanitarian crises contribute to the mounting advocacy for the necessity to intervene in conflict-prone societies. Meanwhile, increasing numbers of intrastate conflicts posed challenges to the UN's traditional peacekeeping agenda (Hamber, 2009). In particular, although Boutrous-Ghali published his work 'Agenda for Peace' in 1992, it is still unclear what peacebuilding is about. This phenomenon was reflected in other documents published in the 1990s, for instance, 'An Agenda for Development' (1994), the 'Supplement to an Agenda for Peace' (1995), 'An Agenda for Democratisation' (1995) and the Millennium Development Goals (2000). Peace did ultimately become institutionalised with the establishment of the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission (UNPC) in 2005. The commission prioritised the coordination of peacebuilding activities among key actors. It is clearly important that the peacebuilding agenda gained a clear definition once it connected with the state and other institutional actors. This provides a distinction between state-building and peacebuilding. Nevertheless, before the peacebuilding agenda became clear, the UN's traditional peacekeeping approach was unable to deal with the challenges that arose among weak or collapsed states (David and Choi, 2006). With the creation of the

peacebuilding, the UN gradually implemented peace settlements and multifunctional peace operations to states emerging from internal conflict. Contemporary post-conflict peacebuilding reflected a liberal post-Westphalian world order (Mac Ginty, and Richmond, 2007). Liberal peacebuilding started to address the root causes of conflict rather than simply prevent warring parties going back to violence. These activities promoted development in varying ways, such as national capacities from the rule of law, human rights, constitutions, economics, and education (Chapman and van der Merwe, 2008).

The purpose of this chapter is to set out a theoretical framework. This will be achieved by synthesising the role of peace education in the liberal peacebuilding process. In consideration with the specific focus of youth role in this study, the role of young people in leading to conflict and sustaining peace will be discussed before conceptualising peacebuilding and its relationship with related concepts. Following this, I will provide a theoretical understanding of the nature of peace education through an analysis of the evolution of peacebuilding, and the essential relationship between liberal peacebuilding, state-building, and the emancipatory approach to peacebuilding. Through these critical assessments, I will (1) analyse why peace education is a critical component of the liberal peacebuilding agenda; (2) focus on peace education as a legitimate practice; and (3) address the question as to how peace education promotes the fundamental peacebuilding agenda. Section 5.6 indicates that more approaches can be applied to describe and evaluate the role of peace education, in particular, the theories of change and the strategic relational approach describe what changes may occur and the transformative role of peace education. Importantly, the intertwined nature of poverty and underdevelopment underpins what we might refer to as development paradigms, which have become intertwined with peacebuilding. The development paradigms underpin the truth that peace and development are interconnected: peace is vital to achieving human prosperity whilst, on the contrary, development (poverty alleviation) can promote peace. This framework is set to approach the third research aim of the study: to identify the features of education and peace education that are associated with or

contribute to negative peace from a theoretical approach. The features of education are envisaged to serve the theoretical purposes of the study. The theoretical purpose of the framework is to help identify the theoretical background of peace education that can contribute to peace, particularly in weak and low-income states. To notice that, a discussion with a particular focus on the nature of peacebuilding from the perspective of African scholarship will be presented mainly in 5.2 and 5.3.

5.2 Conceptualising Peacebuilding

5.2.1. The role of young people in leading to conflict and sustaining peace

In Chapter 1, I introduced that the nature of war has changed in the course of the 20th century due to the outbreak of global war, notably the Cold War (see 1.2.1). As a consequence, young people were inevitable and involved in warfare and had more intimate relations with violent conflict and peace. Therefore, before introducing the emergence and importance of peacebuilding, I would focus on the role of young people and their relationships with conflict and peace. In recent years, it seems that the increasing focus was mostly emphasised on how conflict violates the rights of children, but with little reference to how young people as social actors lead to or exacerbate conflict (Drummond-Mundal and Cave, 2007). In this study, the analyses towards existing literature in sections 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6 clearly reinforced this argument by indicating that in the case of those who participated in wars as child soldiers, suffered from displacement, and lost chances of education, children were victims of the civil war. But in contrast, like the statement in Chapter 3 had indicated, young populations were sometimes? the perpetrators and represented brutal deviations (Singer 2005). In particular, political economy, education and many other related inequalities issues were identified as contributing to the outcome of the African civil conflict. A large proportion of unemployed or underemployed youth were the main feature of the 1990s until now. Extreme poverty and working poverty (it measured in terms of the millennium development goals - living on less than dollar a day) are the main defining features of African youth (International Labour

Organisation, 2016). Similar to the Sierra Leonian youth, in other volatile African conflict-prone contexts, youth employment crises have contributed to politicians and warlords mobilising and arming young people, thus perpetuating violence in their own self-interests (Omeje, 2015). In accordance with this narrative, scholars like Boyden (1997) have moved against this Western conception of childhood by stating that, childhood is not always innocent, dependent, and powerless. Reynolds (1998) had also argued that the Western view that children were not involved or ignore political issues is not always true. She claimed that the ignorance of children in political affairs may obscure their role in leading to conflict and contributing to peace. According to current literature, young people's role in exacerbating conflict and sustaining peace was well documented, proving that they were politically sensitive (Garbarino, Kostelny, and Dubrow 1991; Melton and Limber 1992; Drummond-Mundal and Cave, 2007). This is exemplified by Occupied Palestinian Territories given by Hart (2004, p12):

[children were] often willing participants in the national struggle. Their political consciousness is developed to an extent and from an age that commonly takes outsiders by surprise. They also display great awareness of their role, as children, in the effort to influence public opinion through the media.

The same evidence cannot only be found in this case study country, Sierra Leone, but also in South Africa and Sri Lanka. In the observation by Reynolds (1998), during the era of struggling against apartheid, young people in South Africa made serious decisions regarding their ambitions and for the safety of their families. Children make rational choices to decide whether they should join the Government forces such as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam or the Peoples Liberation Organisation for Tamil Eelam (Zandvliet and Kriegman 2001). The discussion above raised an issue about the political awareness of young people, since ignoring their role in violence and the process of building peace may be misleading and sometimes hide some problems:

youth associated with armed forces and fulfilling a variety of roles that may not include direct involvement in hostilities, but which are also a part of the dichotomous yet intertwined dynamics of vulnerability and agency (Drummond-Mundal and Cave, 2007, p.66).

Images around the youth were polarised in this case, western scholars may see these child soldiers as victims, but locals see them as perpetrators and rebels who violate their lives and properties, while young rebels tended to see themselves as fighters for freedom and democracy (Reynolds, 2000). Studies also suggested that youth on most occasions were not forcibly recruited; they made decisions based on their economic and social status. In Liberia, among all the participants, youth was the first to join the rebel armed groups. In Sierra Leone, young people were the founders of the rebel RUF (Rosen, 2005). Therefore, youth were not only victims but sometimes self-motivated to join the rebel groups for several reasons, including the intention to improve their economic conditions, the desire to access a different ideology, the willingness to gain power and social status, the reason to follow their friends who have joined, to protect themselves and families from attack, or simply because of hate towards political parties in power (Sanford 2006, Brett and Specht 2004).

The above statement identified the role of youth in conflict, which in turn provides the importance of young populations' engagement in conflict transformation and peacebuilding processes. The process of building peace for the youth in conflict-affected states involves three key elements: attitudes, behaviours and contradiction (Galtung, Jacobsen and Brand-Jacobsen, 2000). Contradiction refers to an opposing will to conflict, it represents the root causes of violence. It also relates to structural violence such as inequalities in the distribution of wealth, and the incapacity of infrastructures. Behaviour changes refer to changes from the use of direct physical violence to peaceful engagement like conversations. Changes in attitudes refer to the changes in enemy images or discrimination against a certain group of people. These

elements concerns theories of changes, types of changes, and relational pillar approaches which concern the education sector as the main body for building peace (Galtung, Jacobsen and Brand-Jacobsen, 2000). Until now, youth peacebuilding programmes mostly emphasised transforming youth attitudes, and behaviours by facilitating relevant skills through peace education, which can build bridges among opposing groups among children to build a self-sustained long-term peace. This is the logic and relationship of the youth in leading to conflict and sustaining peace. The ultimategoal of peace education, as well as overarching peacebuilding, is to eliminate all kinds of violence through different elements of practices (Salomon 2006). Therefore, I will introduce the approaches and components of peacebuilding, the relationship between peacebuilding, state-building, and peace education. Following this chapter, the fundamental practices of peace education in Sierra Leone will be introduced as to analyse the importance, and the role, including the contribution and limitation of peace education from the documentary data and semi-structured interviews.

5.2.2. The origins of peacebuilding

Due to the reality of big power confrontations and conflict-ridden power politics during the Cold War era, the UN emphasised maintaining the territorial integrity of conflicts stated by monitoring ceasefires, creating buffer zones, and sending peacekeeping troops (MacGinty and Richmond, 2007). Whilst the concept of peacebuilding gained international awareness in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, especially when the former UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali announced his policy statement, 'Agenda for Peace', in 1992. Boutros-Ghali brought this statement to UN agenda and defined peacebuilding as: "an action to identify and support structures aimed to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict" (Boutros-Ghali, 1992, p104).

Peacebuilding was associated with actions to consolidate peace in post-conflict societies. Moreover, Boutros-Ghali indicated that peacebuilding activities should include the

following actions: 'Rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife;' and addressing 'the deepest causes of conflict' (Boutros-Ghali, 1992, p102). Peacebuilding should encompass actions like: 'Disarming warring parties and restore order, repatriating refugees, monitoring elections, protect human rights, strengthening institutions, and promoting political participation' (Boutros-Ghali 1992, p.115). As such, Boutros-Ghali (1992) emphasised the importance of social, political, and economic development to promote long-lasting peace in his Agenda for Development. Boutros-Ghali further defined the important goal to peacebuilding in the Supplement to an Agenda for Peace, as "the creation of structures for the institutionalisation of peace" (Boutros-Ghali 1995: 1409). Departing from this perspective, the elimination of armed conflict is not the only means of peacebuilding; addressing the root causes that fuelled conflict to promote the resolution of violent behaviours without resorting to violence represents a second approach. Boutros-Ghali (1995) identified the relationship between democracy, development, and peace by stating that 'democracy provided the long-term basis for managing competing ethnic, religious, and cultural interests in a way that minimises the risk of violent conflict' (Boutros-Ghali, 1995, p. 120).

New challenges led to new understandings of development of the concept of peacebuilding in the field. Conflict prevention and management, post-conflict reconstructions, and educational operations constitute peacebuilding agenda. Call and Cousens (2008, p3) provided an explanation of this as follows:

> This was driven partly by growing awareness of the complexity of post-conflict transitions and the multiple, simultaneous needs of post-conflict societies, and partly by bureaucratic imperatives as more and more international agency, parts of the UN system, and nongovernmental organisations began to incorporate "peacebuilding" into their roles and missions.

Kofi Annan, as the successor to Boutros-Ghali as UN Secretary-General, saw the promotion of related values as important measures for conflict prevention. Annan

emphasised the need to strengthen democratic governance by identifying the following aspects 'good governance, respect for human rights and the rule of law, promoting accountability in public administration, enhancing administrative capacity and strengthening democratic governance' as key components for long-lasting and sustainable peace (Annan 1998: 14). The importance of organising political activities such as drafting constitutions was mentioned as well (Annan, 1998). However, the case of Angola indicated that the inadequacies of elections which involved political and ethnic entrepreneurs can produce powerful incentives for the outbreak of conflict (Annan, 2000). Waldinger, Aldrich, and Ward (1990, p.3) identified "ethnic entrepreneurs" as "a set of connections and regular patterns of interaction among people sharing common national background or migration experiences." By their nature, as part of minorities, these entrepreneurs were usually included in policy discussion for economic, entrepreneurial education and training, and were in a position to influence political performance to some extent.

In 2000, the UN Secretary-General's Millennium Report "We the Peoples: The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century" was published based on the reality of upsurge in intrastate violence during the 1990s that cost more than 5 million lives (Annan 2000, p7). This report claimed that a more human-centred approach to security and peace should replace the conventional state-centred approach with the increasing number of civil wars. The latter was adopted during the Cold War era, claiming the sovereignty of the state, while the newer approach focused on the protection of individuals from violence, to ensure personal rights for development. The report additionally noted the need to establish conflict-prevention strategies that could address the root causes of conflict (Annan, 2000).

5.2.3. Peacekeeping and liberal peacebuilding

International peacebuilding in conflict-affected societies includes a wide range of humanitarian assistance. Human security, development, governance, and rule of law gained considerable attention and developed rapidly through increased numbers of operations and the variety of actors involved. This could be an explanation for the decline of major civil wars around the world (Newman, 2009). The UN acted as an important international organisation in preventing and managing conflict, as well as consolidating peace after the conflict. A key aspect of this post–Cold War transformation of activism reflects the evolution of norms, which is the weakening of inviolable integrity and the growing acceptance of forms of intervention. In particular, some scholars have drawn a distinction between the Westphalian peacekeeping and post-Westphalian peacebuilding programmes from a qualitative perspective (Richmond, 2007). The Westphalian state system is referred to as 'a system of states or international society comprising sovereign state entities possessing the monopoly of force within their mutually recognised territories' (McLean and McMillan, 2009). This norm separates domestic and international affairs, so that states cannot legitimately intervene in the domestic affairs of another. On the other hand, the post-Westphalia state system emphasised collaboration among states and organisations (Kreuder-Sonnen and Zangl, 2015).

The evolution of peace operation mandate illustrates such a transformation. First-generation peacekeeping activities were state centred, which largely involved the UN military forces monitoring ceasefires, ensuring the withdrawal of troops, and creating a buffer zone between states in volatile situations. This was used as a mechanism of great power management, with the purpose of maintaining stability, in the attempt to prevent conflict from escalating, and as such political consensus could be gained between states (Richmond, 2007). Based on Westphalian norm, first-generation peacekeeping was established based upon the concept of impartiality. While the consent of non-use of military force with the exception of self-defence was based on the primacy of international security between states, thus, this generation of peacekeeping aimed to assist states to solve disputes in accordance with international order and stability (Krog,

2008). Classic peacebuilding thus reflects a pluralist view of international society in many regards. For example, peacekeeping activities emphasise non-interference and mutual recognition on the international stage by insisting on the sanctity of sovereign states and the rule of international order. Major peacekeeping operations during the Cold War era represent a classic model of interstate conflict management, and few occurred with intrastate war situations. Rather than resolving the sources of worldwide stability, these operations were aimed at containing conflicts rather than conflict prevention (Newman, 2009; Richmond, 2007). This can be exemplified by a few operations: the UN Truce Supervision Organisation was established in 1948 with the purpose of monitoring ceasefires, preventing further isolated incidents, and to provide assistance to other UN peacekeeping operations in the Middle East region. Moreover, the first UN Emergency Force from 1956-1967 aimed to ensure the cessation of hostilities after the Suez incident, including the withdrawal of military forces from Israel, France, and the United Kingdom from Egyptian territory. A buffer zone was then created to ensure peace between Egyptian and Israeli forces (Richmond, 2007).

In contrast, the post-war peacebuilding operations reflected a post-Westphalian approach to international security and conflict management. It indicated that maintaining peace in conflict-affected states required a multifaceted measurement, which included social, economic, security, and institutional needs. Liberal thinking was reflected as not only maintaining instabilities between sovereign states but seeking to build long-lasting peace within and between states on the basis of democratic values (Mani, 2008; Aiken, 2010). In line with this, international society has seen a transformation of peace operations and a wider range of participating actors, including international organisations (IOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), humanitarian organisations, and commercial actors. Most post–Cold War peacebuilding and peacekeeping frameworks have been conducted to deal with domestic situations during or in the aftermath of civil war. These tasks are related to wide a range of activities, which have been briefly summarised by Edward Newman (2009) in his book 'New Perspective on Liberal Peacebuilding'.The components and objectives of peacebuilding cannot be

easily described because they are subject to debate and disagreement. However, a broad definition can be given in Box 1

Box 1. Components and goals of peacebuilding (Newman, 2009, p8-9)

- Preventing the resumption or escalation of violent conflict in conflict-prone societies and establishing a durable and self-sustaining peace;

- Addressing the underlying sources of conflict;

- Building or rebuilding peaceful social institutions and values, including respect for human rights;

- Building or rebuilding institutions of governance and the rule of law.

Such a broad approach to peacebuilding entails a wide range of activities. The criterion for inclusion as an activity related to peacebuilding is those policy challenges that, in their most acute form, can potentially threaten to undermine overall peacebuilding objectives if not adequately addressed.

Security

- Supporting a ceasefire and peace process, as appropriate;

- Demobilisation and disarmament of former combatants, and their reintegration into society;

- Collecting and destroying weapons;

- Withdrawal of foreign forces (if any);

- Addressing regional sources of instability and conflict;

- Achieving security (security sector reform, police enforcement capacity-building).

Development

- Addressing property and land ownership disputes and reaching settlements;

- Stabilising the economy (controlling hyperinflation, addressing exchange rate crises, establishing currency stability);

- Securing natural resources against illegal predation;

- Addressing inequality among ethnic (or other identity) groups in society;

- Employment creation, economic development, securing livelihoods;

- Attracting skilled ex-patriots back to the country to contribute to the recovery;

- Basic welfare provision.

Humanitarian assistance

- Repatriation (or resettlement) of refugees and internally displaced persons; finding durable solutions to "protracted refugee situations";

- Responding to food insecurity;

- Responding to acute health concerns.

Governance and the rule of law

- Strengthening law and order;

- Democracy assistance (electoral assistance and observation, party regulation, developing civil society and media);

- Governance assistance (strengthening governance at both national and local levels, strengthening institutions of justice and legislation, addressing corruption);

- Resuming and strengthening public service delivery (health service, education, infrastructure, transportation, energy);

- Human rights, reconciliation, truth, "transitional justice";

- Addressing land reform claims;

- Constitutional drafting or amendments.

The ultimate goal of the liberal peacebuilding framework is to achieve sustainable durable peace (Box 1). Clearly, the language of 'sustainable peace' had become

increasingly significant when reviewing the peacebuilding architecture. However, few researchers have provided a clear definition of sustainable peace. According to the International Peace Institute (2019), sustainable peace is connected with peacebuilding interventions in weak and conflict-affected states, meaning to 'seek to reclaim peace in its own right and detach it from conflict'. In practice, it can be understood to be an explicit and deliberate policy objective for all states with the purpose of eliminating all kinds of conflict and underlying sources of violence. From a different perspective, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2019) explains sustainable peace as sustainable development and peace. Peace is described as an investment. Sustainable development is about today's economic behaviour and the consumption of natural resources without negatively impacting on future generations. With the purpose of promoting a non-violent society in this research, I adopt the definition given by the International Peace Institute. A central question to sustainable peace would be what it comprises of and how it can be achieved. According to the list of components and goals provided in Box 1 and a broad range of the literature, it has been shown that sustainability can fall into structural and the relational pillars. Structural pillar emphasises the significance of institutional and policy construction when building a sense of sustainable peace:

1. Peace agreements (Darby and Mac Ginty, 2003);
2. Institutional reform, including but not limited to legislation, military and governmental reform (Oberschall, 2007);
3. Maintaining the rule of law, promoting accountability, effectiveness, and Justice (Oberschall, 2007; Gross and Ní Aoláin, 2006; Schabas, 2011);
4. Protecting and promoting issues related to human rights and emancipation (Mallinder 2008; Buchanan, Margaret and Zumbansen, 2014); and
5. Develop national economic transformation, eliminate poverty and addressing human security problems like epidemic diseases and education (Mani, 2008; Aiken, 2010; Miller, 2008; Muvingi, 2009).

The relational pillars emphasise the interpersonal importance of building a durable peace:

1. Rehabilitation and reconciliation towards members of society (Jeong, 2005; Mani, 2005; Hamber, 2009; Aiken, 2013; Bloomfield et al, 2003);

2. Addressing and healing the psychological trauma brought by conflict, including the method of dealing with negative emotions (Lambourne, 2009; Chapman and van der Merwe, 2008; Hamber, 2009; David and Choi, 2006; Krog, 2008);

3. Developing social cohesion, creating a culture of trust and a shared vision of the future by building harmonious relationships, dialogue and educational programme (Bloomfield et al, 2003).

This procedure includes developing spiritual resources and a shared vision of the future among social members (Hamber and Kelly 2009) avoiding what Bollaert (2019) argues: that violence will continue to reinvent itself in other forms, no matter what efforts were adopted in rooting it out. In the last chapter, I briefly explained why peace education and its related educational practices would be part of a liberal peace building framework, whilst the relational pillar I proposed here can be considered as parts of the components of peace education programmes.

The framework above adopts peace-related practices as post-conflict activities, which primarily involved not only IOs but also regional sectors including the African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and Africa's regional economic communities (RECs) to reconstruct the nations in the aftermath of conflict (Boutros-Ghali, 1992). From the perspective of African scholarship, peacebuilding mandates are intended to prevent the reoccurrence of conflict and involve numerous measures to solidify peace through the promotion and strengthening of national capacities to manage conflict and, finally, sustain peace. Scholars such as Omeje (2018) argued that this is a minimalist approach which merely

focuses on post-war solutions but neglects the prevention of conflict in the pre-war era. Therefore, a maximalist approach to peacebuilding, advocating the inclusion of the pre-war era, ongoing conflict era, and post-conflict era, should be taken into account when trying to prompt peacebuilding in conflict-prone societies (Olonisakin, 2008).

However, there are many difficulties in implementing this maximalist paradigm regardless of a conceptual or a practical perspective. In theory, this approach tends to incorporate different theories of methods including conflicting prevention in the pre-war era to prevent the outbreak of conflict, conflict management to mitigate the negative impact of conflict, and conflict settlement/resolution to reconcile citizens and reconstruct the whole nation. In this case, many established processes of intervention are advocated within this maximalist approach. In practice, although there is an advantage to preventing and addressing conflict, it increased the complexity of delivering peacebuilding, not limited to actual practices but also in terms of planning and levels of personnel required in the field. Omeje (2018) once again argues that the balance point of the two approaches, the minimalist and maximalist approach, is one of removing the pre-war conflict prevention intervention and limit peacebuilding to ending ongoing conflict and providing solutions in the post-conflict era. He further claimed that the elimination of pre-war intervention is analytically helpful since:

> *the progression from the turbulent armed conflict phase to the post-conflict dispensation is, in practice, hardly a linear transition, but often a convoluted process of continuities and discontinuities, political factionalism, elite horse-trading, cooperation and co-optation, as well as organised resistance and occasional relapse into insurgency and armed conflict. (Omeje, 2018. p.282)*

5.3 State-Building and Liberal Peacebuilding

State-building, in general, constitutes a part of peacebuilding activities. It is usually implemented in the context of (re)building legitimate and effective national institutions and has been defined as "the creating of new government institutions and the strengthening of existing ones" (Fukuyama, 2004, p. xvii). In recent decades, main actors and scholars have emphasised the importance of power, functions, and institutions when running an effective state (Paris 2004; Paris and Sisk 2009; Fukuyama 2004). The widely shared analysis is that state-building is crucial for international stability since "weak states are the source of world's serious problems" (Fukuyama, 2004, p1). The fragility of governance was part of the root causes which fuelled conflicts. The 9/11 terrorist attack on the US on 11th September 2001 connected international terrorism with state fragility. The main argument was proposed as these countries have lost their monopoly over the use of military resources. Rotberg (2004, p.1) mentioned that states failed "when they are consumed by internal violence and cease delivering positive political goods to their inhabitants".

He further provides a definition of political goods:

> *Those intangible and hard to quantify claims that citizens once made on sovereigns and now make on states. They encompass indigenous expectations, conceivably obligations, inform political culture, and altogether provide content to the social contract between the ruler and the ruled; that is at the core of regime/government and citizenry interactions (Rotberg, 2004. p2).*

He considers the provision of security, especially human security, as a crucial political good and the main function of a state. Rotberg (2004, p.3) further explains the components of security, including the prevention of cross-border invasions and loss of territory; to eliminate domestic threats to national order; to prevent dangers to security; and to enable citizens to resolve their differences with non-violence. A state can deliver

other political goods to citizens only if a reasonable measure of security has been set. Political goods other than security includes the provision of 'predictable, recognisable, systematised methods of adjudicating disputes and regulating both the norms and the prevailing mores of a particular society or polity' (Rotberg 2004, p.3). This indicates that as an efficient and effective judiciary system, the existence of procedures are crucial to respect for the law and private property. Another political good proposed by Rotberg (2004) is the open polity that allows freedoms for citizens, such as the freedom to express themselves. Furthermore, public goods and the lives of citizens are closely linked, as a state is supposed to provide educational resources, infrastructure (such as roads and electricity), employment opportunities, healthcare, national currency, and the possibility to develop a vibrant society to its citizens. Rotberg (2004) thus concluded that these political and public goods established a criterion for determining the state status. In particular, strong states tend to meet all the requirements in all areas; whilst weak or failed states can fulfil some or none of these expectations (Newman, 2009). Consequently, these weak states are prone to internal violence and are characterised by characters such as loss of control over their territories, or a loss of domestic legitimacy (Fukuyama 2004; Rotberg 2004). Weak states could not take external factors that may contribute to state failures into consideration, exemplified by the colonial rules in sub-Saharan Africa which ultimately resulted in severe underdevelopment. Nevertheless, this necessitated the implementation of state-building activities through the peacebuilding doctrine. The principles that guided state-building are often seen as key components in contemporary peace-building activities (Shinoda, 2003). The crucial element here is that state-building refers to as institutional and functional building in weak countries.

There are two approaches to state-building, the institutional approach (Paris, 2004; Fukuyama, 2004; Rotberg 2004) and the legitimacy approach (Call 2008a; Lemay-Hebert 2009). The institutional approach emphasises the importance of establishing effective institutions in post-conflict society (Call 2008a; Muvingi, 2009). With a purpose to enhance the sustainability, another important element included the capacity to institutionalise diverse organisations thus changing leaders should not lead to state

collapse (Call 2008a; Paris, 2004; Buchanan and Zumbansen, 2014). The legitimacy approaches to state-building emphasise "socio-political cohesion and the legitimacy central authorities can generate" (Lemay-Hebert, 2009, p22). Ensuring state legitimacy is important as a state must be acceptable to its citizens, and its stability and order will be enhanced when its citizens rally behind the national authorities.

Newman (2009) indicates that state-building is viable in terms of it focusing on the (re)building of national institutions and the provision of political and public goods to citizens. The assumption of state-building as a part of peacebuilding is that when a legitimate state has been established with well-functioned institutions, then the societies that emerge from any preceding violence are free from a problematised weak status (Newman, 2009; Paris, 2004). Positive political goods can promote internal and external order and national security. Many scholars have argued about how state-building can contribute to peacebuilding. Fritz and Menocal (2007, p.4) from the Overseas Development Institute regarded state-building as creating and constructing the function of the edifice of government, "ensuring the quality and integrity of government is an important dimension of the state-building process... contributing to the creation of 'nationwide public' and a shared sense of the public realm".

Approaches to state-building focus on the importance of power, functions, and institutions when running an effective state. In particular, the legitimacy approach questioned the legitimacy of intervening in the domestic affairs of other countries. Calls (2008a) argued that current state-building is not desirable as it goes against the principles of respecting local ownership in unable states. Alternatively, the institutionalist approach places its emphasis on assisting weak states in building effective states, eliminating dictatorship, promoting human security, and installing governmental agencies (Newman, 2009; Paris, 2004). As an aspect of peacebuilding, scholars argue that state-building is a thinly disguised attempt to modernise and thus 'civilise' dysfunctional 'third-world' countries that are incapable of developing viable indigenous forms of cohesion (Newman, 2009, p30). Although peacebuilding emphasises the meaning of peace qualitatively and

it does not necessarily have to be connected to a state, the liberal peacebuilding agenda connects 'state' with 'peace' through building liberal states.

State-building can be viewed as a positivist instrumentalist Western Westphalian project in conflict-affected situations which indicates the importance of building effective and self-durable peace states. This also provides an explanation of why contemporary liberal peacebuilding includes numerous components from the state-building framework. It is not surprising that liberal peacebuilding is fraught with tensions, which means approaches to peacebuilding are often controversial and lead to a number of questions within its doctrine. It questions their effectiveness and legitimacy due to the lack of 'local 'ownership and insufficient consultation with local stakeholders (Paris and Sisk 2009). This is problematic, as most peacebuilding initiatives and peace-related practices in Africa, mostly relied on external bodies and stakeholders. In the direct aftermath of conflict, actors including regional, international, as well as private institutions, usually focus on ceasefire monitoring, transitional justice, humanitarian relief, and measurement related to stabilisation (Huber, 2013). There is little doubt that peace-related operations require enormous levels of support, ranging from financial investment, personnel resources, and technical skills, which finally led to the appearance of detailed-planned operations. Estimates of the cost of the civil war that happened in Africa around the 2000s are around $64 billion; the cost of conflict reconstruction was significantly higher (Collier, 2008). The huge costs of these intervention activities increased the number of required fundings, actors, and personnel, therefore peacebuilding activities themselves created challenges, especially when taking the competition for power and influence of each body and their coordination of roles into account. There is ample evidence to show that peacebuilding operations are interest-driven, as exemplified by the Sierra Leonian civil war, with the purpose of implementing the so-called market reform and addressing the diamond issue, which were held to be the political and economic drivers of the conflict, where contracts signed were tied to approximately $200 million worth of diamond-mining activities in war-torn areas

(Abdel-Fatau, 2002). Other evidence can be found in the Congo, Sudan, and Liberia, which indicated that different emphases on peacebuilding practices reflect the different vested interests of particular actors (Musah, 2002; Annis 2013).

In general, based on the theories of liberal peacebuilding, post-conflict peacebuilding reconstruction in Africa markedly promote the ideas of democracy, this is in line with the idea that liberalism is a universal good that would promote the prosperity of all nations. But in practice, as mentioned previously in this section, activities around political reforms after the brutal civil war usually were seen as the formation of a transitional government which involved a power-sharing with other opposition parties (Munene, 2010) Activities often include distributing some lucrative and important positions among elites belonging to various factions and ensuring the political and power resources are inclusively and equally shared. But the practices held during the transition period would contribute to patronage politics, corruption, and elite expansion. Accordingly, these arrangements around power-sharing interventions would contribute to a fragile peace such as de-escalating conflict or the absence of armed violence. But the problem here is, all peacebuilding activities did little to respond to economic issues, especially issues that have prolonged and sustained violent conflict as we mentioned above. Investment in education always remained marginal in peacebuilding processes. One powerful explanation that can be offered here should be that education cannot reflect any vest of interests (LeVan, 2011; Perry and Debey Sayndee, 2015).

Moreover, another greater challenge faced by post-war reconstruction in Africa should be using peacebuilding and related practices as a way to "revive neo-patrimonial accumulation, foster nepotism, and promote the sharing of the prequisites of public office (Omeje, 2018.p.293)." Peacebuilding activities in post-war African states were significant here. Most recently in South Sudan, a struggle for power among ethnonational elites and parties caused a reoccurrence of another conflict in December 2013. Beyond the multiple examples of promoting neo-

patrimonial power politics through peacebuilding mandates, to some extent, these mandates have been utilised as a way to re-create international order, restoring and maintaining global security through stabilisation activities. So that those western countries can therefore achieve a neo-colonialism power. The focal point of this approach is to build a state without major armed conflict, to allow these post-war countries to enjoy international order and to use force within jurisdiction legitimately. Therefore, peacebuilding favours local elites as their powers remain under-challenged by the protection of international order, particularly, the reality of anarchy. Moreover, such an approach to peacebuilding also favours great powers and developed countries in the global north. The achievement of negative peace provides them with stabilisation and an abundance of natural resources in Africa and gives them another opportunity in dominating the possession power of Africa. Peacebuilding as a method to stabilise rest on the US-led 9/11 2001 war-on-terror idea, this method neglects the root causes, including political, economic, and social issues that underpin civil war, but tries to privilege the West by expending high defence budgets on the military, often, at the expense of social services. Humanitarian relief such as education, public infrastructure such as transportation, and health tended to be neglected. Finally, these underdevelopment issues in social services will undermine peacebuilding-related practices. In the following sections, this issue will be particularly mentioned to argue how the underdevelopment of social services may undermine peacebuilding in Sierra Leone.

As peacebuilding, in general, has been used as a tool to achieve social justice, it is widely associated with the practice of empowering underprivileged and indigenous populations to eliminate structural violence and finally achieve the goal of positive peace. There have been numerous liberal peacebuilding practices that have been implemented in the African continent. These practices finally led to liberal democratic practices characterised by rule of law reforms, liberalisation of political institutions, power-sharing and elections among multiple parties, and market reforms and practices following liberal peace paradigms as mentioned in Box 1 above

(see section 5.2.2) (Newman, 2009; Curtise, 2012). However, there is widespread debate that challenges the so-called "qualified successes" in Sierra Leone, Namibia, and Mozambique with regard to the reality of fragile peace, and the high level of inequalities within these societies (Curtise, 2012). It is further debatable, as raised by many scholars, as to whether the externally induced democratic practices in post-conflict African states can lead to the desired levels of peace and prosperity, most notably, the four main strands of thinking within the liberal peace framework identified by Richmond (2005; 2007) (see section 5.4.1). However, regardless of the process of peacebuilding or the politics of power sharing, the measures to settle with rebels in the aftermath of conflict are essentially interest-driven. The former is the interest of third parties to intervene to impose a neo-colonisation in African countries, while the latter can hardly be considered national interests but rather the self-serving interests of the elites and rebel leaders. From the political economy perspective, peacebuilding was adopted to address exclusion, deprivation, and marginalisation among different classes. Importantly, peacebuilding is widely associated with juridical reform and transitional justice which are adopted as a vehicle to maximise what Richmond (2007) argued as "victor peace". This section analysed peacebuilding practices from the perspective of African scholarship, it indicated that peacebuilding practices in Africa are far from satisfying and convincing but gave rise to different levels of challenges when building peace and reconstructing the country in the aftermath of civil war.

From a different perspective, many African scholars like Omeje (2018) and Olonisakin (2008) also identified the importance of addressing the underlying issues of political economy as a potential challenge in promoting peacebuilding in conflict-affected African states, given how the political economy is centred around the issues of the patrimonial political system, rent seeking, and corruption. These issues raised here refer to a political culture in which these political elites have dominant power over national resources and funds, which they ultimately misuse either for themselves or their ethnic group (Wennmann, 2011). Issues around patrimonial political system,

rent seeking, and corruption are closely related to the emergence of shadow states, as discussed in section 3.8. Changing the nature of political economic performance seemed important to achieve sustainable peace. More importantly, in this section, the discussion on the political economy of armed conflict in the context of Africa is based on its importance in understanding peacebuilding, especially the relationship between economic agenda in sustaining conflict and peacebuilding. The predatory and violent economies that are characteristic of armed conflict in Africa would not disappear in the aftermath of conflict, but would rather provide peace spoilers, criminal entrepreneurs, and other actors with available sources of revenue to undermine the process of peacebuilding and post-war recovery during the war-to-peace transition process. This argument was reinforced by Ballentine and Nitzschke (2005), who argued that when shadow economies integrate into the political economy of violence, economic criminality and relevant behaviours tend to be integrated into criminal networks in a systematic manner that ultimately undermines post-conflict reconstructions and the whole peacebuilding process.

Studies that focused on the economic agenda and implications of wars and armed conflict in the global south, notably Africa, usually emphasised the role of resources (Ross, 2012); in particular, theories of greed-grievance and predation, and the so-called resource curse have dominated much of the debate. Activities conducted by armed rebel groups in states that contained rich resources are often prolonged due to factional greed for lootable natural resources and the obstruction of the process of logging non-lootable resources in a criminal way (Collier and Hoefller, 2000). In this situation, natural resources such as diamonds, oils, and other lucrative resources are associated with the occurrence, fuelling, and prolonging the insurgences and civil conflicts in the African continent (Collier and Hoefller, 2000). Examples cannot only be found in this case study country of Sierra Leone, but also in Sudan, Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Nigeria. During the long-lasting military insurgency in Nigeria's Niger Delta, which was associated with the criminality of the

local oil economy, criminal behaviours were apparent in the form of kidnapping for ransom and stealing crude oil from pipelines (Collier and Hoefller, 2000).

Liberian warlords have successfully exported rich resources, in particular, diamonds and gold with an estimated value of $300 to $500 million, and timber and rubber which worth $53 and $27 million, respectively, were exported in 1995 alone. As discussed in chapter 3, the Liberian civil war was largely connected with its neighbouring country, Sierra Leone. The RUF, led by Foday Sankoh, fought with the purpose of controlling such diamond-mining areas (Kono and Makeni) to accumulate war finance illegally. Illegal logging and export of diamonds and timber were the key features of the Sierra Leonian civil war economy, which received support from Liberian rebel leader, Charles Taylor, who was extensively involved in the business of diamond-for-arms deals with the rebel RUF (Mabia, 2015). Similarly, commodities also fuelled the conflict in Congo, not only the diamonds and timber, but the rising price of coltan from 2000 to 2001 impacted Congo's civil conflict in fundamental ways. The tax was raised to $10 per kilo since the price of coltan increased from $80 per kilo to $800 per kilo. As the rebel group (Rally for Congolese Democracy: RCD) controlled the mining basin, the increased price meant a windfall for the rebel group, the RCD finally achieved its monopoly on the export of coltan (Maily, 2015). It is somewhat surprising that none of these conflicts were caused by the rebels' quest for economic profits, but rather because natural resources tend to act as an aggravating factor that led to war economies and fuel insecurity when internal conflict appears. The systematic explanations here are that wars that occurred in African countries with abundant natural resources are often characterised by misgovernance, poverty, decay of public institutions, poor infrastructure development, prebendal corruption, low employment rates, and dictatorship. These are also typically accompanied by hopelessness and an atmosphere of cynicism among the citizenry (Maily, 2015). The discussions above describe how the issues of the political economy of conflict and resource threats and put more challenges to the goal of peacebuilding from the perspectives of African scholars. It also suggested that

peacebuilding needs to put more emphasis on addressing fundamental issues left by power relations in Africa. However, since this is not highly relevant to this study, there will be no detailed discussion of this issue.

5.4 Human Security Approach to Liberal Peacebuilding

5.4.1 Two approaches to human security

The above arguments pointed out the development of peacebuilding agenda, it also indicated that peacebuilding and state-building are closely interrelated. Human security is therefore a validating aim of the overall programme, since it 'underpins the liberal state in its orthodox politically liberal and economically neoliberal form' (Richmond, 2007, p459). Meanwhile, other emancipative forms of human security provide an essential opportunity to promote peacebuilding in post-conflict societies which are associated with individual emancipation and social values. Legitimacy is crucial in any peace-related operation as peacebuilding practices cannot succeed without consensus among the targeted populations. Specifically, establishing institutions without legitimacy and local support have not been in any way successful. Human security connects to local legitimacy for liberal peacebuilding, and an advanced form of emancipatory reflects marginalised and indigenous facilities of local communities that are committed to peace within politics. The human security approach will contribute to the emergence of the emancipatory social value if the peace process take citizenship as a leading position (Peterson, 2013). This section will investigate the relationship between liberal peacebuilding and the human security approach, in particular the emancipatory agenda to peacebuilding.

Human security as a component of peacebuilding including two key approaches: the institutional approach, and the emancipatory approach. The former saw the creation of liberal institutions as vitally important to protecting human security; the latter was aimed at empowering individuals to remove unnecessary life constraints. Thus, emancipation is normally referred to as efforts to attain equal rights and is usually used for a specifically disenfranchised group in an underdeveloped area (Keane, 2003). Similar to state-building,

the institutional approach originated from the intersection between realist and liberal thinking in International Relations (IR) and is associated with the peacebuilding consensus on liberal peace (Paris, 2002). Since the institutional approach focuses on delivering basic human security, it is widely believed that the construction of effectively functioning government institutions can import human security to post-conflict development settings. The provision of human security depends on the capacity of liberal institutions. This can be viewed as a top-down approach, causing human security to depend on external interventions driven by hegemonic states, and to rely on necessary institutions to provide basic forms of physical human security (Khong, 2001). The second approach originated from the critical impulse in IR provides an emphasis on emancipation as an ultimate aim of human security. In contrast with the institutional approach, this is a bottom-up approach, where individuals are empowered and encouraged to develop a form of human security which enables them to chase their personal needs (including, but not limited to, political, economic, educational, and social needs), thus providing individuals with essential tools to achieve their goals. Therefore, broadly speaking, human security and its external providers are aimed at empowering local agency as the ultimate expression, and are focused on emancipation from oppression, hegemony, and domination. Human security was always treated as a universal project, but it is capable of being shaped and reflected by local interests and particularities (Fukayama, 2004).

In post-conflict societies, actors generally associated with human security are foreign state donors, IOs, international financial institutions (IFIs), NGOs, and regional organisations, all of which represent the fact that human security is a universal set of basic security needs and needs to be established within a liberal state. This phenomenon then reflects the rights of international actors to bypass state sovereignty and to intervene in areas that are normally controlled by internal domestic authorities. The definitions, related rights, and limitations of human security are constructed in accordance with a Western liberal consensus under the assumption that this can be integrated into military security and humanitarian provisions, conforming with local

needs and expectations to become a universal liberal normative regime (Paris, 2001). These processes of human security are reached by external stakeholders and in cooperation with local civil societies. The practices associated with human security-oriented approaches contain a commitment to the settlement of violence, the evolvement of security debates, and the involvement of both external and internal non-state actors with access to violent zones. This is connected to the role of civil society, and now spread to the construction of peace. A civil society focused intervention is crucial in the legitimisation of what is currently termed "the liberal peace", which comprises the components of the above-mentioned liberal ideas. Its purpose is to construct a social contract as an approach to balancing elite governance with the emancipation of local populations (Newman, 2010).

In the conceptualisation of liberal peace, Richmond (2005; 2007) identified four main strands of thinking within the liberal peace framework, which emerged from debates in the international theory of the West. The idea of victor peace rested upon a military victory or the hegemony of that victor, which evolved from an ancient argument of the Roman razing of the city of Carthage (Hymel and Darwich, 2018). As for the other strands, institutional peace rests upon post-Treaty of Westphalian ideas, where international norms and international institutions are established to enforce or determine their behaviour, for example, states multilaterally agreeing on how to behave within a normative and legal context. Constitutional peace rests upon Kant's post-Enlightenment idea, where peace rests upon a set of cosmopolitan values such as democracy and trade. Finally, civil peace includes national and transnational civilian advocacy and mobilisation (Richmond and Franks, 2009).

In this situation, human security achieves emancipation through the implementation of civil peace and a social contract that contributes to the construction of a constitutional peace in the international context. This phenomenon reflects both an institutional and emancipatory approach to human security. At the same time, states and international organisations gain legitimate access to the human security discourses they deploy. One

persuasive explanation is that liberal peace appears to legitimatise the means of human security and construction of liberal peace through a bottom-up approach (Newman, 2010; 2011). This process connects liberal assumptions and civil society discourse of peace. Human security also gives rise to the development of constitutional and institutional discourses of peace, their role is conditional in terms of their contribution to free-market reform, educational reform, rule of law, democratisation, and 'anchoring new liberal peace within an international institutional context of global 'governance' (Richmond, 2007, p463). Such conditionality indicates a link with the victor's peace, dominant actors such as associated agencies or institutions in the state system defined that the agendas of bottom-up peacebuilding approaches are inherent within human security and liberal peace. Indeed, the implication of the human security method to peacebuilding is related to the integrity of overall peacebuilding and reconstruction programmes, which are ultimately related to daily experiences of individuals, including their material needs and well-being (Paris, 2001).

5.4.2 Peace through human security

The emancipatory approach to peacebuilding suggested the importance of individuals and places when addressing the underlying sources of conflict. Implications arise from the emancipatory agenda since it could potentially strengthen the legitimacy of peacebuilding activities that allowed them to meet local needs and conditions, thus empowering local citizens and restoring dignity. The emancipation approach recognises the root causes through wide-spread economic, social, and political exclusion, structural violence, and horizontal inequalities. This approach analyses the root causes through strategic planning in order to implement peace-related exercises with short-term goals (Peterson, 2013). The ultimate goals of emancipation are protecting, providing for, and empowering citizens, but this does not rely on benchmarks relating to democracy, institutions, or the market as fundamental goals. From an overall human security perspective, weak states fail to provide primary social protection, thus failing in their obligation to protect, to care for, and to empower people (Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, 1999; Falk, 2000). The legitimacy of state institutions can be viewed as a

function to distribute justice, to meet human needs, and to deliver public services. The institutional approach is fundamentally crucial in the human security agenda but can be challenging to apply when the aim is to build peace among citizens, enhance welfare, and improve the livelihoods of individuals in weak societies (Roland, 2007; Newman, 2011; Paris, 2002). The emancipatory approach places individuals and communities as the reference of the analysis and seeks to bring positive change in their lives. International assistance is necessary and can effectively take over when local stakeholders cannot themselves fulfil the needs of liberal peace. Usually, a lack of human security will provide a basis for external intervention, especially when the behaviour of the national government is in question, in which case civil society will then largely depend on external actors (Chandler, 2006; Ignatieff, 2002).

The discourse regarding human security and humanitarianism became an indicator for external actors in their contribution to civil peace. Such contributions are crucial to the evolution of the institutional and emancipatory aspects of liberal peacebuilding. Moreover, the key actors are crucial in terms of access, reach, and legitimacy. This allowed them to intervene on a humanitarian basis regardless of the non-intervention norm. Furthermore, external non-state actors and IOs often provide security during any intervention in conflict societies by force (UNDP,1994; Paris, 2001). Nevertheless, with the purpose of creating a self-sustaining peace according to liberal peacebuilding agenda, human security-oriented peacebuilding practices must not only rely on institutional approaches, but also transition into emancipation. As such, the emancipation approach to human security, to overall peacebuilding, is individual-oriented, where welfare, education, employment, and the rights of the most-marginalised are ensured (Ignatieff, 2002; Richmond, 2007, Newman, 2011). Clearly, with the development of peacebuilding methods, the international community has seen the emerging theoretical move from a top-down institutional-oriented approach to a bottom-up humanitarian-oriented approach, which leads to decentralisation, and greater attention to welfare needs within most vulnerable states. The human security agenda, in this situation, demands reconfiguration of the relationship between international and local actors. Rather than

adopting a post-Cold War-oriented liberal-institutional version, international actors should take greater account of local voices if the emancipatory version of human security is to be achieved. The development of peacekeeping, state-building, and the institutional-oriented human security strategies has laid the way for the emancipatory agenda to form part of a sustainable peace (Newman, 2010, Richmond, 2007; Chandler, 2006).

Indeed, education resources are a part of the public goods, while establishing well-functioned educational system and educational institutions can be considered political goods. Moreover, the reformation of educational institutions is a process of state-building. Meanwhile, providing education opportunity to citizens was assumed to be important for individual emancipation, especially when educational resources cannot be distributed equally. Education is therefore a part of state-building, peacebuilding, and an emancipatory approach to peacebuilding. However, how can peace education promote educational reform? What are the relationships between peace education and education when building an effective state and a sustainable peace? How does peace education promote the peacebuilding? How will peace education help to build a culture of peace? In the next section, apart from analysing these questions, I will also familiarise readers with how education and peace education are relevant to the emancipatory agenda.

5.5 Liberal Peacebuilding and Peace Education

In recent years, there has been an increasing call for greater collaboration between education and peace operations. However, there is a lack of detailed clarification with regard to how peace education, education, and peacebuilding are interconnected. In Chapter 4, I clarified why peace education is part of the peacebuilding process and the *Two faces of education* proposed by Bush and Saltarelli (2000) in post-conflict societies. In the previous section of this chapter (see section 5.2.2), I listed references to indicate the structural and relational pillars of peacebuilding. Education is not a single entity; it is linked with a top-down

institutional approach during the state-building process and a bottom-up human emancipatory approach to peacebuilding. As such, to link the overall theme of peace education and the main arguments of human security, I will provide a rationale about the extent to which education and peace education in general are part of emancipation in post-conflict societies. This will illustrate the importance of extending to an emancipatory version of human security, as well as liberal peace which contributes to the creation of self-sustaining peace in post-conflict societies.

5.5.1 How education in general contributes to peacebuilding in theory

The importance of implementing educational programmes in the aftermath of violent conflict will now be discussed. Since 2011, the UNESCO Global Monitoring Report (2011) reported increased funding and resources of up to $1 billion per year for education in peacebuilding, indicative of its growing importance. In parallel, UN derivatives (i.e., UNESCO and UNICEF) played a central role in integrating education into wider peacebuilding programmes. Although the report argues for prioritising early engagement of education, there is a lack of critical analysis on potential contributors to peace and peacebuilding strategies according to changing dynamics and theories. The following sub-section will provide four roles of education in peacebuilding. In particular, education will protect children; education is a way to re-establish normal life; education helps to lower the likelihood of violence; and education contributes to social transformation.

I.   Education will protect children

Peace education and education in general is crucial to peacebuilding derives from the field of Education in Emergencies (INEE, 2010). Scholars argued that education is a basic human right and, following the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), can offer protection for children in vulnerable contexts. Schools can protect students from exploitation and child army recruitment (INEE 2004; Nicolai 2009). Alternatively, schools can protect children by offering essential knowledge for survival, including awareness of weapons and wide-spread contagious diseases (Save the Children,

2008). Additionally, positive education can offer protection through psychological, emotional development (INEE 2004). Formal schooling education can also provide hope and potential employment opportunities. This is the core epistemology of education and peace education: education is not an immediate humanitarian response but is rather intended to empower people to achieve the final emancipation of their entire society.

II.   Education is a way to re-establish normal life

The Economic Co-operation and Development and Development Assistance Committee launched the *Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States* in 2007 to focus on state institution building as a central objective using an influential method within UN doctrine (McCandless 2011). Constructing schools, delivering liberal ideas of formal schooling was identified as a quick way to deliver such a message. Distributing educational opportunities becomes a public good but constructing educational systems can be seen as a political decision. The political decision can certainly influence the construction of political goods. Therefore, establishing formal education is particularly significant in terms of restoring national credibility among citizens (INEE 2004; James 2010; Denis and Fentiman 2007; Nicolai 2009). Meanwhile, formal education helps students to return to a sense of stability and normality by providing students with key services apart from teaching, such as leisure and sports activities (INEE 2010; Boyden and Ryder 1996).

III.   Education helps to lower the likelihood of violence

Smith (2010), Dupuy (2008), and Save the Children (2008) agree that education is helpful for making up lost ground. Particularly, there are two strands behind this rationale. Smith (2010) demonstrated that where educational opportunities were lost, there was a loss of social capital, which means the society does not have sufficient capacity to recover from conflict. Under these circumstances, education can help the country in question to recover from the detrimental effects of conflict.

It is also thought to avoid further violence in unique social settings, such as conflict-affected communities.

From the perspective of economic opportunities and the theory of armed conflict, people tend to fight when there is the potential for greed and economic gain. Many studies have uncovered that participation in rebel groups is economically profitable and the cost of their labour is low. Peace education instils its participants with a knowledge of peace, which can lower the motivation for participation. Whilst sufficient education provides individuals with increased working opportunities, the chance of conflict is reduced since the cost to individuals is itself increased. Educated people have more to lose from a human development and economic perspective (Collier and Hoeffler, 2002).

On the other hand, the relative deprivation theory suggests that conflict is a result of a perceived discrepancy between what they prefer to gain and what they are actually capable of attaining (Gurr, 1970). Horizontal inequality was identified as one of the perceived discrepancies in many underdeveloped states, exemplified in the form of unequal access to education and political rights. In accordance with this theory, an inclusive well-designed education system can address the perceived social horizontal injustices and grievances. Crucially, peace education and education in general can reduce the likelihood of conflict by introducing critical thinking and conflict management ideas, allowing recipients to critically analyse information, thus less being less likely to be manipulated by politicians, elites, or rebel leaders (Save the Children 2008).

IV.   Education contributes to social transformation

As a part of the literature review (Chapter 4.1.1), I introduced peace education and peacebuilding from the work of Galtung (1975). In general, peacebuilding and related educational programmes are distinct from conventional peacekeeping as they

remove the root causes of conflict and emphasise the importance of local ownership (Smith et al. 2011). Lederach (1995, 1997) highlighted that peacebuilding is 'a dynamic and social process'. The significant concept within his work is that of conflict transformation, where he signifies an ongoing process of changing negative social ethos, interrelationships, attitudes, and social structure to positive. According to this rationale, peace education and education play different roles in contributing to social transformation and sustainable peace.

5.5.2 The relationship between peace education and education in post-conflict settings

Positive outcomes of education and peace education appear to be largely similar, and it is also revealed that less consideration has been given to the relationship between education and peace education. According to various sources (Tawil, 1997; Winthrop, 2009; Bush and Saltarelli, 2000), on the one hand, education is a powerful tool in implementing global efforts to achieve peace, but on the other can also fuel the root causes of conflict. In order to uncover the relationship between peace education and education, the study will create a theoretical lens in which the negative compositions of education are considered to contribute to violent conflict. I will familiarise the readers with the extent to which education is associated with peace, and in which circumstances education can promote it.

Firstly, education can be viewed as 'the process of facilitating learning, or the acquisition of knowledge, skills, and habits' (UNESCO, 2020, p.1). Education can take place in the form of formal schooling and as informal or non-formal education. Before the 1990s, education was seen as an essential tool in the field of international development. Although education can alleviate poverty and promote economic and social development (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985; Amartya, 1999; Annan, 2005), it is not part of short-term humanitarian efforts (Burde, 2005), as short-term humanitarian assistance is only limited to actions that meet people's essential needs

or save human lives, such as food, water, shelter, and health services (Sphere, 1997). This idea assumes that education is inherently benevolent or can be beneficial for individuals and nation state development (Smith and Vaux, 2003; Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). However, since the 1990s, education which do not belong to a part of humanitarian assistances started to change. For one, the lack of provision of education in conflict-affected societies and in refugee camps meant that education was not considered an urgent issue to be tackled. This drew increasing attention since contemporary conflicts last for long periods and will typically be repeated; in which case, children may spend their entire childhoods in refugee camps and completely lose any educational opportunities (Winthrop, 2009; Kagawa, 2005; Sinclair, 2002). This issue has been highlighted as a milestone of the Graca Machel UN report (Machel, 1996), and later on, became part of the foundation for Education for All (EFA) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Kagawa, 2005; Winthrop, 2009). In short, the goals of the EFA and MDGs indicated that the target could not be met unless the children in war-affected areas could gain access to at least a basic education. As discussed in 4.4.7, education in emergencies is connected with the epistemology and ontology of peace education. Since the EFA and MDGs aimed to guide and provide education in vulnerable, conflict, and post-conflict peaceful transitions, the contention here is that education relates to different forms of peace education. As pointed out in Section 4.1.1, the differences between peace education vary by different settings. Indeed, in newly emerged post-crisis settings, the relationships between education and peace education became closely interconnected and have been expanded and taken forward by the field of Education in Emergencies.

Secondly, as mentioned in 1.1, the assumptions that education is inherently positive collapsed in the late 1990s. The mentioned examples should be considered as primary examples of such to remind the international community that education can promote hatred. Particularly, prior to and the during the genocide in 1994, schools in Rwanda provided unequal access to formal schooling for children of different

ethnic backgrounds and manipulated the national history taught at school (Obura, 2003). This awareness consists of a more general realisation that humanitarian aid can potentially do more harm than good (Winthrop, 2009). Responding to the increasing concern, the UNESCO examined the role of education in contemporary conflict written by Tawil (1997), the "Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict" by Bush and Saltarelli (2000). These two reports both argue the negative face of education by potentially fuelling the conflict, and the positive face of education by contributing to preventing the conflict and, further, to promoting peace. Indeed, this finding reveals the differences and relationships between education and peace education through ontology and epistemology. Education refers to a process of receiving certain instructions systematically, especially those activities that take place at formal schools. Peace education refers to educational practices that are incorporated into peace values. The fundamental purpose is to change behaviours and attitudes that could lead to violence. The different approaches to peace education, as explained in Chapter 4, complement each other with the purpose of eliminating physical and structural violence and achieving sustainable peace. In this situation, peace education attempts to utilise education as a means to deliver peace related messages and skills through the formal or non-formal way, either through basic schooling education, vocational, tertiary education or any other forms in order to deliver knowledge and the way of thinking to its recipients. In comparison to peace education, the two faces of education can either promote peace or contribute to further violence in accordance with the teaching contents, learning materials, adopted languages, and teaching methods.

Furthermore, the relationship between education and the discourse of 'fragile states' since 2001 has augmented the international community's concern regarding contemporary conflict and education. As pointed out in Section 5.3, fragile, weak states are the sources of instability in the contemporary era. In the discussion of such countries, education itself has been touched upon frequently (Kirk, 2007) as it is an essential component of public services that should be provided in the following

contexts. Education opens doors to new knowledge, methods, and encourages independent thinking. When students tend to make sense of the world with their own ideas rather than blindly following others, they are less likely to become followers of military groups. Education opportunities also reduce the risk of terrorism by enhancing social cohesion through daily interactions with peers and teachers, and ensuring the right to be educated (DFID, 2010a; 2010b). In connection with the two arguments above, education and peace education were expanded and became interrelated with the development of peacebuilding activities. Thus, education and peace education play a similar, though differing role in bringing peace since both can deliver peace to conflict-affected societies with different methodologies and sometimes facing different kinds of participants. The positive outcomes of education in conflict-affected areas (see 5.5.1) describe how education can bring peace by offering students a bright future as a means to escape from both structural and physical violence. Many approaches to peace education emphasise interpersonal relationships, and sustainable development of the environment. However, the effects of violence, emergencies on educational opportunities, and the negative face of education in conflict-affected areas will potentially contribute to human atrocities. Peace messages can be incorporated into various education approaches as a critical tool that can promote social cohesion and peacebuilding in areas of fragilities.

The above sections have discussed the differences between education and peace education in post-conflict settings and the role of education in general in contributing to peace. However, it is worth noting that neither represents a panacea for conflict resolution or transformation, especially when education in general is considered to be a long-term assistance programme (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000); ultimately the effectiveness of education and peace education, can hardly address social issues such as injustice and aggression within a short time, even though the effectiveness is context dependent. Moreover, according to the literature review for peace education I presented in Chapter 4, there was a lack of evidence to suggest that

education can bring direct change with regard to economics, political transformation, or structural change.

5.6 Development Paradigms, Theories of Change to Peacebuilding, and Strategic Relational Approach to Peacebuilding

In practice, more approaches can be applied when describing and evaluating the role of peace education. During the past decade, the paradigms of development and peacebuilding have become closely intertwined although they draw on different theoretical frameworks when implementing assistances. The former development refers to the way to alleviate poverty in post-colonial countries, whereas, as discussed, peacebuilding was clearly defined as constructing institutions and providing welfare for sustainable peace (Jantzi and Jantzi, 2009). Meanwhile, theories of change and strategic relational approach emphasise different angles of theoretical lenses of peacebuilding (Church and Rogers, 2006). In particular, theories of change provide a tool through which practitioners can identify their assumptions behind every movement, to verify and monitor whether the practices conducted were aligned with objectives they have previously set, and ultimately leverage greater results. However, when discussing the specific changes, such as goals and indicators, in project design and evaluation, changes here refer to types of change. The strategic relational approach emphasises the transformative role of peacebuilding (Lopes Cardozo and Shah, 2016; Church and Rogers, 2006). Indeed, the intertwined nature of poverty and conflict, the shared root causes and increasing complexity in addressing them, led to peacebuilding and development paradigms becoming blurred in nature and to an expansion in the scope of their field (Jantzi and Jantzi, 2009). Consequently, these approaches offer additional theoretical lenses through which to analyse the role of peace education in achieving social justice and sustainable peace. The following section will analyse the how these theories are related to the evaluation and the outcome of peace education.

The emergence of development theory can be traced back to the end of World War II with the implementation of the Marshall Plan for Europe's reconstruction, which has been widely adopted as a professional framework in post-colonial states. Poverty alleviation, the main objective for development paradigms, is identified as a pathway to promote social justice and equity and education for all in conflict-affected societies (Jantzi and Jantzi, 2009). Meanwhile, securing and sustaining peace through peace education is a prerequisite for ensuring development. The main argument should be that peace education can contribute to reconciliation and positive changes ranging from attitudes to behaviours. Peace generated from educational practices is needed to achieve political, economic, and social development goals.

Theoretically, a strategic relational approach emphasises that education within a peacebuilding framework can promote social justice (Lopes Cardozo and Shah, 2016). From the human security approach, the purpose of education is to promote human prosperity (Richmond, 2007). In the meantime, linking the theory of change approaches to peacebuilding with education, the fundamental purpose of education is to make positive changes such as restoring healthy relationships, addressing root causes, and reducing the reoccurrence of violence (Church and Rogers, 2005). In Section 4.4, I discussed in detail how the human security approach to peacebuilding can bring positive changes. The strategic relational approach which emphasises the transformative role of peacebuilding in contributing to social justice indicates that education could bring peace in conflict affected societies through three lenses:

I. Redistribute educational resources and opportunities.
II. Recognise cultural diversity and provide acceptable and adaptable curricula and pedagogies.
III. Ensure fairness and transparency in educational governance.

When evaluating the outcomes and the success of peace-related practices, changes can be categorised either as theories of change or types of change. According to

Church and Rogers (2006. p. 13), the theories of change refer to "a set of beliefs about how change happens".

Overall, ten categories of theories of change have been highlighted within peacebuilding initiatives (Church and Rogers, 2006, p14):

- The individual change theory: The transformative changes happened overwhelmingly due to an individual's consciousness, attitudes, behaviours, and skills leading to peace.

- Healthy relationships and connections theory: peace is generated from processes that could break down divisions between groups.

- Withdrawal of the resources for war theory: interrupting the supply of war-related people and materials, such as supplies to the war-making system will lead to the collapse of violence.

- Reduction of violence theory: peace can be achieved when the levels of violence perpetrated by combatants and representatives are reduced.

- Root causes and justice theory: peace comes from addressing the underlying causes ranging from social injustices, exploitation, and victimisation.

- The institutional development theory: stable and reliable social institutions that ensure human rights and democracy can result in peace.

- The political elites theory: peace depends on whether national leaders will take the necessary steps to enact changes.

- The grassroots mobilisation theory: "When the people lead, the leaders will follow."

- The economic theory: peace results when economies associated with war-making are changed, since people make decisions in accordance with profit and reward.

- Public attitudes theory: peace can be promoted through the changing of public attitudes.

The theories of change can be used as a tool to reveal the understandings and the assumptions during practices. Differently, the types of change mentioned as a different dimension in comparisons to theories of change, which refer to more specific changes such as *"behaviour, attitude, practice, process, and status"* (Church and Rogers, 2006, p18). In general, an intervention programme may fit within one or more theories of change, whilst theories of change and types of change can come together with a certain intervention programme. Within the educational programme in post-conflict Sierra Leone, theories of change mainly appeared as: the individual change theory; healthy relationships and connections theory; and public attitudes theory, while within these theories of change, attitudes, behaviours, knowledge, and skills which are identified as types of change came together as positive changes. A detailed discussion of how education has successfully/unsuccessfully brought these changes to the Sierra Leonean society will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Linking the human security issue with strategic relational approach and theories of change (including types of change), especially in the consideration of providing educational opportunities towards all groups of citizens, the promotion of education with a redistributive approach in the aftermath of the war would provide equal educational opportunities to the general populace, lessen societal tensions, and achieve social cohesion. In this way, different types of changes can be created within

each peacebuilding theory of change. For example, the change in one's attitude can contribute to healthy relationships with one's peers. Moreover, better learning environments and opportunities motivate personal achievements in the future. The above illustrations towards development paradigms, theories of change, and strategic relational approach emphasise the potential requirements of peace education in promoting development goals, the transformative role of peace education, and what kinds of changes are expected when promoting peace education.

To summarise, the role of peace education in peacebuilding can be analysed and discussed through various approaches. Here, I have briefly analysed the role of education through the strategic relational approach, the theories of change in peacebuilding, and the development paradigms. Nevertheless, these three approaches place much of their fundamental focus on individuals in social development such as attitudes, behaviour, and promoting social justice for individuals through various ways.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter established a theoretical framework for the study by synthesising the role of education and peace education in building peace and violent conflict. The element of the constitution of peacebuilding, the relationships with other approaches such as state-building, and the human security approach to sustainable peace are seen as the theoretical components of this study.

The origins of peacebuilding and the differences between peacebuilding and peacekeeping were elaborated in 5.2. The focus towards youth as agent of exacerbating conflict and their role of building peace has been discussed in the first place. Following that, a key aspect of the post–Cold War transformation after the big power confrontation, from peacekeeping to peacebuilding emphasised a distinction and movement away from a Westphalian to post-Westphalian world order. Section 5.3 focused on similarities and

differences between state-building and peacebuilding. The theoretical lens behind them is one of sharing a positive version of guiding principles and indicating a similar form of engagement. The arguments above indicated that today's peacebuilding and state-building are closely interrelated. Human security thus becomes a validating aim of the overall programme, since it underpins the liberal state in its politically liberal orthodox and economically neoliberal form of human security, as enacted at several levels. the role of peacebuilding from the perspective of African Scholarship has been included to provide readers with a more holistic view and understanding towards peacebuilding

Moreover, in consideration of the political and public goods provision argument proposed by Rotberg (2004), education resources are an essential component of public goods, while establishing a well-functioned educational system and educational institutions can be considered a component of political goods. Moreover, reforming educational institutions is a process of state-building, while providing educational opportunities is an essential component of individual emancipation, especially when there is an unequal distribution of educational resources in the country in question. In this situation, education is part of state-building, peacebuilding, and an emancipatory approach to peacebuilding. This is the main argument made in Section 5.4, whilst in Section 5.5 I mainly focused on introducing the nexus among education, peace education, and peacebuilding. Particularly, I provided the readers with the importance of which extends an emancipatory version of human security and of the liberal peace will contribute to the creation of self-sustaining peace in post-conflict societies. I introduced further approaches that could be used to describe the role and the importance of peace education in Sections 5.6.

Chapter Six: The Nature of Peace Education in Sierra Leone

6.1 Introduction

The main task of this chapter is to introduce peace education programmes in Sierra Leone. This chapter reveals the nature of peace education. A documentary review of the nature of peace education in Sierra Leone (Chapter 6) will be given before introducing the findings generated from the interviews (Chapter 7). Introducing the peace educational programmes conducted as well as including their evaluations would give a clear outlook with regard to how peace education has positively impacted citizens from the perspectives of the literature. As with the discussion in the introductory section of the methodological chapter, the documentary review served as a basis for the interviews with key informants. It is important to mention that the collaborations between external and local stakeholders indicated that peace education in Sierra Leone has been implemented through conducting such collaboration at multiple levels. Stakeholders range from international institutions such as UNESCO and the World Bank, and regional institutions like the African Development Bank, to NGOs like International Education and Resource Network, to Government agency such as USAID, and to various sectors of national government such as the Ministry of Education.

This chapter begins by situating such peace policies and the initial steps taken since 2002 towards peace in the aftermath of the civil war. Educational curricula that ranged from human rights education to education emergencies were established on the basis of the theories of peace education introduced in Chapter 4 of this thesis. These theories guided the constitution and the implementation of peace education in Serra Leone. Moreover, main methodologies of the peace education programme and the evaluation drawn by actors and scholars will be included. This evaluation answers the second research question regarding the nature of peace education proposed in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.3.1). It also provides a basis for further

interviews with key informants in answering the third research question in Section 1.3.1 through investigating how these advantages and limitations of formal non-formal educational practices positively affected Sierra Leonean recipients and the extent to which these factors brought nearly two decades of peace to the country, as well as the pitfalls that hindered the achievement of peace.

6.2 Mapping of Peace Education in Sierra Leone: Basic Introduction to the Constituents of Peace Education within the Country

In this section, I will summarise the main peace education programmes that took place in the post-conflict setting (Table 3 below). In particular, twelve projects in total have been implemented in Sierra Leone. Seven were related to formal peace education, in which the "Emergency issues" were set to train educators, whilst the remainder were non-formal initiatives and practices. There are significant differences between the formal, non-formal, and informal formats of education. According to the European Youth Foundation (2021, p.1), "formal education refers to the structured education system that runs from primary school to university and includes specialised programmes for vocational, technical and professional training", whilst "non-formal education refers to planned, structured programmes and processes of personal and social education for young people designed to improve a range of skills and competencies, outside the formal educational curriculum". Such a process can take place in organisations and clubs. Moreover, although the definition refers to lifelong learning, which may offer positive changes such as transformed attitudes and acquired basic knowledge through sports activities and mass media, these activities were unstructured and without any detailed plans. However, every non-formal peace education programme listed below was constructed within rigorous structures by practitioners and experts in the field. As such, to ensure the validity of these free-access peace-related educational programmes, the evaluation of informal peace education programmes will not be included in this study. Following the introduction

of these educational practices, I will explain the initial steps, as well as the education policy related to peace education, in Section 6.3.

Peace education in Sierra Leone was intended to educate individuals through human rights education, development education, education in emergencies, and conflict resolution education (Ellison,2014; UNESCO, 2016; IBIS, 2014; Higgins and Novelli, 2018, PSI, 2021b). Each educational approaches respond to distinct sets of problems that have been identified as causes of violent conflict and social inequality. To this point, the term peace education in this context has been used to refer to formal and non-formal processes that develop the attitudes and knowledge and values that can lead to behavioural change. Peace education is a long-term project aimed at personal transformation and positive goals (Burde, 2005). To understand the peace education intervention realities and challenges that faced post-conflict Sierra Leone, and to approach the research question driving this study, it is critical to understand the types of peace education interventions that have been introduced in the country, whether existing efforts addressed the underlying causes of civil war, and if they were helpful in achieving sustainability. Significantly, peace education programmes in Sierra Leone are varied in terms of their formats, purposes, components, the target populations, and conceived organisations. In this case, the constituent parts of peace education programmes are essential to the attempt to analyse the contribution peace education might make to nearly two decades of negative peace in Sierra Leone.

6.3 Peace Education in Sierra Leone

6.3.1. The Initial Step Towards Peace

In Chapter 3, I discussed how the civil conflict from 1991 to 2002 had negatively impacted the country. Sierra Leone was involved in comprehensive external engagement and control during the immediate post-conflict period in accordance with its weak characteristics and the involvement of a large number of children, adolescents, and young females. Peace education was implemented within society

with the purposes of achieving sustainability, building a positive peace, and to reconcile citizens across Sierra Leone. However, the definition of reconciliation in any research study on peace is typically vague as it can be applied to various levels of activities ranging from re-establishing friendly relations between individuals to communication among small groups, or to the political process itself. In this study, 'reconciliation' will be taken to be the re-establishment of friendly relations among citizens. In Sierra Leone, the appropriate steps towards peace were initiated through a process of reconciliation, which can be understood as the 'recovery of lost relationships, love for one's country and community, and the recovery of people's shared social 'values' (Shaw, 2007, p7), where the reconciliation process itself was initially introduced by the 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission' (TRC) through 'Truth-Telling' activity (Shaw, 2007). However, in comparison with past experiences of victimisation and violation, citizens preferred to adopt a 'Forgive and Forget' ethos in dealing with their previous, and terrible, memories (Opotow Gerson, and Woodside, 2005. P307). Initially, many former combatants wished to keep silent about their roles because they were fearful of 'retaliation by perpetrators; fear of government reprisals; and concerns arising from the concurrent operation of different transitional justice mechanisms' (Nilsson and Kovacs, 2013, p.6). Due to this concern, even though a number of ex-combatants expressed their support for the TRC's mission, the extent of the participation by ex-combatants in the 2003 TRC hearings was extremely low. Various fears drove such individuals away, or they went into hiding when the hearings began (Lahai and Ware, 2013). On the other hand, some of the victims of the civil war were not interested in what happened or what did not happen, preferring to embrace peace only (Lahai and Ware, 2013). Furthermore, in a fragile security situation, accompanied by limited means of protecting those victims who testified before the TRC, there was a real possibility of retaliation by ex-combatants (Shaw, 2007), especially when large numbers of former combatants were introduced into the Sierra Leone army by the Implementation of the 1999 Lome Peace Accord, which provided a blanket amnesty to all combatants in exchange for demobilisation and peace (Nilsson and Kovacs, 2013). However, the

process of 'Truth-'Telling' could not build peace. As such, peace education curricula with non-formal and formal education projects initiated by the national government and external donors, became vital to reconciling citizens (Samura, 2013).

The final report of the TRC was published in 2004, but activists like John Caulker found that it was more like a UN initiative than a Sierra Leonian one. Firstly, short hearings only took place in main districts, and the implementation of the TRC was slow and patchy. The national government did not prioritise the TRC whilst the focus of the international community had moved on to other mandates. In reality, victims and perpetrators in the countryside who were being neglected found it hard to live easily as each other's neighbours. Apparently, they had less opportunity to reconcile their differences in the 2000s when the war was just seen to be ending (Caulker, 2008). In 2008, with the support of the US foundation Catalyst for Peace, the *Fambul Tok* (meaning Family Talk in Krio), which was designed on the basis of local culture and tradition, was started in the Kailahun District. The reconciliation among locals usually began as a traditional process -- talking with their ancestors. This talking process largely emphasised that local tradition could bring people together and finally result in peace. The *Fambul Tok* then began to spread across many other districts like Kono, Koinadugu, Moyamba, and Bombali (Caulker, 2008). In March 2011, with the collaboration with certain NGOs, a national unity campaign programme named *Wi Na Wan Fambul* (We Are One Family) was initiated with the purpose of ensuring a peaceful election process in 2012. This was because elections conducted in Africa usually ended in violence and bloodshed (Caulker, 2008). Both *Fambul Tok* and *Wi Na Wan Fambul* were seen as the initial steps in peace education in Sierra Leone.

6.3.2 Educational development during the post-conflict era

Sierra Leone's national government has largely been involved in the reconstruction of the education system that was damaged and ravaged by the war. In the immediate aftermath of the civil war, the priority of peace education was to establish emergency

reconciliation and rehabilitation programmes to sustain the country's long-term development (Samura, 2013; UNESCO, 2008). Multiple pieces of evidence in this regard can be drawn from the legal and institutional reforms:

- Free access to primary education was declared in 2000. Meanwhile, multiple formal peace education initiatives, such as the Peace Education Kit, were launched in Sierra Leone (UNESCO, 2008).

- The Act of Parliament of the National Council in 2001 was enacted, which contributed to the emergence of technical, vocational, and other academic awards (NCTVA). The purpose of the NCTVA was to set examinations and to ensure self-esteem for vocational training. Accompanied by these legal and institutional reforms, in 2001, five polytechnic institutions emerged, accompanied by the establishment of the regional polytechnic institute (UNESCO, 2008).

- The enactment of the Tertiary Education Act in 2001 attempted to shift focus from children to adults to reform Sierra Leone's tertiary education system. Reformations in the tertiary area have made effective contributions to diversifying the development of human resources through the promotion of vocational education. UNESCO (2008 p.4) argued that the Act in 2001"has leveraged adult and non-formal education to a position of official and legal prominence" since it provided autonomous rights to the Non-Formal Education Council and impetus to the many donors that have promoted vocational and other kinds of non-formal educational practices within Sierra Leone (UNESCO, 2008).

6.3.3 Peace education policy in Sierra Leone

In exploring the nature of peace education in Sierra Leone, I summarised main peace education initiatives, including involved stakeholders, and the methodology of their delivery in their different forms across different levels and types of education. Education was a part of the national institutional reform in the 1990s, and following

the advocacy of UN EFA, numerous educational policies have emerged since 1995. The enactment of the Educational Policy Act 2001 finally allowed adults to participate in peace education. Meanwhile, the appearance of peace education as a part of the education policy was first introduced in the 2010 National Education Policy, which clearly indicated that (National Education Policy, 2010, p26):

> *the principles of peace education are vital components to be fully integrated into the educational system to ensure respect for the rule of law and human rights, without which progress will be impeded.*

The national policy also mentioned the development of peace education materials, which were listed as follows (National Education Policy, 2010, p29):

> *1. ensure that peace education is integrated into existing subjects in the curriculum of all schools and learning institutions*
>
> *2. ensure that peace education is taught in all institutions of learning to further strengthen good governance and the peace process*
>
> *3. award prizes to educational institutions and student governments whose student body or membership demonstrate a high sense of discipline and good behaviour in student politics, sports, and academic performance*

Moreover, as mentioned previously, peace education initiatives in the country indicate that there is a good mix of formal and non-formal programmes (UNESCO, 2016). The purpose of peace education is to establish a system capable of developing human beings so that they can begin to control the conditions of their existence. This can be viewed as the integral development of a person building a harmonious country with a dynamic social, cultural and economic society (Salomon, 2009). From the perspective of UN sectors, the major objectives of peace education include teaching citizens the principles of democracy, the meaning of patriotism, and the values of civilisation; increasing fair access to education; combining peace theory taught in class with daily practice; developing individuals with a spirit of solidarity and peace; eradicating the social and cultural barriers; and developing technical and

vocational training following peaceful norms, both qualitatively and quantitatively, to decrease unemployment rates (Higgins and Novelli, 2018). The educational policy in Sierra Leone also aims to eliminate all kinds of discrimination, promote equity, and affirm that every citizen has the right to be educated. This requires that more girls' and women's rights to access training and certification opportunities are defended (UNESCO, 2016). The policy emphasised the role of peace and education in socio-justice, gender equality, and democratisation. The peace education policy in Sierra Leone was guided by the belief that the investment in peace would result in the improved co-existence of civilians, provide a solution to the root cause of civil war, provide a better standard of living, and result in reduced poverty and inequality (UNESCO, 2016).

6.4 The Methodologies and Approaches of Formal Peace Education Approaches in Sierra Leone

Table 2: Peace education practices in Sierra Leone

Name of Programme	Stakeholders	Formal/Non-formal
Peace Education Kit	World Bank; Sierra Leone Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (MOEST)	Formal
International Education and Resource Network of Sierra Leone (UNESCO, 2016; iEARN, 2009)	iEARN Sierra Leone; Sierra Leone Government	Formal
Peaceful Schools International – Sierra Leone (UNESCO, 2016; PSI, 2021a; 2021b)	Peaceful Schools International	Formal
Rapid Response Education Programme (RREP) (Ellison, 2012)	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports; the Norwegian Refugee Centre; UNICEF	Formal

The Rehabilitation of Basic Education Project (SABABU) (Bu-Buakei Jabbi 2007)	Government of Sierra Leone; World Bank; African Development Bank	Formal
Complementary Rapid Education for Primary Schools (CREPS) (Ellison, 2012)	UNICEF; Ministry of Education, Science and Technology; Norwegian Refugee Centre	Formal
Emerging Issues (Higgins and Novelli, 2018)	UNICEF; Sierra Leone Ministry of Education; National Teacher Training institutions	Formal
The Team: television series (UNESCO, 2016)	Search for Common Ground (Support from: USAID; US State Department; Skoll Foundation European Union; USIP; Foreign & Commonwealth Office)	Non- Formal
Regular airing of education and awareness programming: Golden Kids News (UNESCO, 2016)	Search for Common Ground	Non- Formal
Regular airing of education and awareness programming: Sisi Aminata (UNESCO, 2016)	Search for Common Ground; Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST); CARE; UNICEF	Non- Formal
World Vision International's Youth Reintegration Training and Education for Peace Project (YRTEP) (UNESCO, 2016)	World Vision International; USAID; OTI; Management Systems International (MSI)	Non- Formal
Vocational and Training Programmes	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST); UNESCO; and many other NGOs	Non-formal

6.4.1 Peace education kit for Sierra Leone – a nationwide peace education framework

6.4.1.1 The introduction of the Peace Education Kit.

Bretherton, Weston and Zbar (2003) developed a peace education project that included the production of a peace education kit in the schools in Sierra Leone. The toolkit has been widely implemented within the country from 2002-2010, which indicated the importance of the educational provision in community dimensions in a weak post-conflict setting. The toolkit indicates the importance of the educational provision in community dimensions in a post-conflict setting. The overall argument is one of the adoption of a community-based focused approach to education that will contribute to the creation of a peaceful society. In particular, the community-based approach emphasises the grassroots level with the purpose of addressing the top-down approaches mentioned in post-war peacebuilding that usually failed to address the needs of vulnerable and indigenous (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2010). In a three-day workshop in January 2002 with more than 50 participants from MOEST and other educational actors, participants noted a range of community and education issues, such as poverty, fear, displacement, trauma, and issues raised by the return of former combatants and victims to the communities. According to the data, approximately 50% of the children were out of school, and nearly 50% of teachers had not been well-trained. Essentially, the adopted materials did not fit Sierra Leone's context since Bretherton *et al* (2003) further emphasised that several of the materials have been written with only limited consideration for the national curriculum and its assessment requirements; therefore, context-appropriate pedagogy in this toolkit became a key dimension. It asked that the contents of peace education be linked to Sierra Leone's national curriculum, the requirements for which are as follows (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2003, p357):

> "The materials should be inclusive of local input and cultural content, be able to stand alone and be integrated into the Sierra Leone syllabus, flexible and suitable for use in nonformal as well as school settings, be sensitive to Krio and indigenous languages, be written for community workers as well as

teachers, be owned by the stakeholders, and have student activities integrated into teacher training modules."

When peace education can be linked with everyday study, it will provide a wider perspective on peace and peace education. Other than the teaching contents, the teaching method and manner in which teaching activities are delivered should be paid more attention to. A peaceful community should be developed as achieving non-violence among children largely depends on teachers' practices, especially regarding whether they have practices they taught in class. The important focus of the toolkit regarding teachers was to provide them with step-by-step training and teaching advice, thus ensuring their teaching practices were consistent with peace information. In contrast, it is unlikely that positive change or pupils will be empowered if teachers ran their classes in an authoritarian manner. The toolkit encouraged teachers to communicate with their students in a positive manner through listening and communication, and to adopt a range of pedagogies to encourage their students to become involved and provide feedback to teachers. The rote-learning approach and corporal punishment were discouraged (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2003).

6.4.1.2 The philosophy of peace education behind the kit
The philosophy behind the toolkit can be summarised as follows: peace can be taught and learned in a variety of ways, especially when children have been provided with opportunities to practise through predesigned tasks (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2010).

- It is preferable to embrace three main approaches: a whole-school approach; spread across the curriculum; a separate subject in the curriculum to peace education as a combined method that can be implemented through a community-based approach in Sierra Leone.

- The engagement of worthwhile activities allows students to acquire positive attitudes, behaviours, and skills. And the requirement for good teaching and well-designed teaching content also asked to combine the content with pedagogy.

- Both children and teachers have to acknowledge their trauma. Some proven effective techniques were included in the kit to deal with trauma, which include games, arts, sports, and relaxation. Teachers must show their patience, love, and care for each child. Essentially, teachers are asked to keep anything students tell them confidential in order to make them confident to express themselves.

- With the purpose of creating a peaceful community, the kit requires the involvement of the community. This is because of the creation of links between schools and communities, especially when they allow parents to engage with their children's educational experiences, which can promote peaceful co-existence within a community.

The kit contains three distinct sections (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2003; 2010):

- A series of curricula has been developed in which the authors mentioned multiple social issues and require teachers to make appropriate efforts to achieve peace.

- The curricula also included specific content that was designed according to subject and age of pupils. They consisted of the following subjects: English and Social Studies, Health and Physical Education, and the Arts, for students in years 1–2, 3–4, 5–6, 7–8, and 9 (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2003, p226).

- With the purpose of building peaceful schools and having harmonious relationships with the community, the kit included multiple school- and community-based activities (Such as watching TV dramas).

This kit also clearly addressed core components that constituted the curriculum guide on how to combine teaching content with pedagogy, and methods that would allow locals to establish peaceful schools and communities.

6.4.1.3 Main components of the curriculum

Specifically, four main components were included in the kit that emphasised the focus of the cross-curriculum: conflict management, communication, dealing with trauma, and human rights and democracy. Each lesson covered in the kit provided teachers with detailed guidance to teach children at any level and in any learning institution. Hence, peace education lessons can be set as lessons in a distinct subject within the teaching schedule. Bretherton, Weston and Zbar (2003, p.228) further claimed that:

> "A teacher may choose to set aside a number of sessions over consecutive days within a specific week to develop students' conflict management skills; and lessons or activities that are included as part of other subjects being taught"

6.4.1.4 Combining teaching content with pedagogy

This section introduces the main contents, the essential nature of creating a kit, and how peace education should be taught. Firstly, the importance of designing a detailed toolkit originated from a survey conducted by the in-country mission. It revealed that more than 50% of teachers lacked or were completely without training in the 2000s, which indicated the kit should provide teaching advice in simple instructions and content material. In addition, a kit designed in detail can serve as "a de facto professional development tool" (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2003, p226), which would allow local educators to develop further tools to progressively introduce additional teaching content techniques. Specifically, the tool kit included step-by-step detailed instructions to ensure that teaching was consistent with peace messages. This part emphasises the importance of promoting teachers' capacity to

allow them to use the kit effectively and efficiently so that they can contribute to the whole peacebuilding process. In other words, the focus on empowering local teachers indicated the active role of teachers during peace educating process (Samura, 2013). The need to abandon the authoritative way of teaching was mentioned here. As Tidwell (2004) argued, compared to a class delivered in an interpretable, critical inquiry-based and student-centred approach, children's learning will be ineffective if lessons are presented in a fixed and unquestionable manner. The kit must move from the banking theory of education noted by Freire (1993), in which the knowledge is placed in 'learners' minds without a deep understanding of a dynamic approach that allowed them to be critical. The kit promoted student-centred pedagogy and provided teachers with insights into how to involve their students in participative methodologies.

Importantly, the kit helps teachers to combine pedagogy with content in every curriculum. Each unit provides content students have to learn and associated teaching activities (Samura, 2013). Meanwhile, it also gives teachers recommendations as to how to enhance their teaching, such as adopting other materials. However, the kit is not fully required as each unit of a lesson can stand on its own or can be integrated and connected with other lessons within the kit. Combining pedagogy with content was drawn from experience of other peace education activities, where the authors argued that many peace education kits tend to separate the advice for teachers, teaching materials, and books for students into various books. Many teachers in post-conflict settings found the kit was difficult to use well, especially given a lack of clear guidance. It was essential to introduce a kit where everything was included and could be understood (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2003). Specific advice for each lesson was introduced: time requirements, teaching objectives, required teaching resources, how to start and to end the lessons, the manner with which to assess students, and activities that could be used, were also mentioned in the kit.

6.4.1.5 Establishing a peaceful school and community

This kit included activities that affect the whole school and community. The activities within school focus on three areas: behaviour and discipline; promotion of the participation of students; and the adoption of appropriate pedagogies (Samura, 2013). The explanation should be that it was widely believed that schools were helpful in achieving this goal in two ways: they eliminated all kinds of disputes and became peaceful places and are active in modelling and promoting peace within their communities. With this consideration, multiple activities have been used in the attempt to connect schools with their communities and, the communities to the schools. The positive aspect of this is that it can generate positive relationships such as reconciliation within the school and the community (Samura, 2013).

To promote the implementation of the Peace Education Kit, in collaboration with Curriculum Corporation in Australia, 15 mentors were selected by Plan Sierra Leone, where 6 of the 15 were to act as backups (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2010). These mentors were allocated to cities that had been largely affected by war, such as Moyamba, Kailahun, and Bombal to distribute copies of the kit, to train teachers in its use, and to assist and monitor their further work while teaching. It was a significant way in which to deliver the teaching kit directly to teachers at the grassroots level. These mentors ultimately reached 90 schools, 900 teachers, and more than 4,000 children within the above three districts, 40% of these selected schools were rural, and the others urban (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2010). The next section will provide an evaluation of the effectiveness of the Peace Education Kit as implemented in 2003 and 2005 (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2010). The 2003 evaluation was a small-scale investigation during the implementation period to test the adaptive and short-term effects of the kit.

6.4.1.6 Evaluation of the Peace Education Kit in Sierra Leone

In 2010, Bretherton, Weston and Zbar presented further work to evaluate the impact of the kit. Specifically, the evaluation contains two phases: the evaluation during the

promotion period in 2002, and a follow-up evaluation conducted between January and February 2005. The 2002 survey adopted a Randomised Control Trial methodology, where 15 schools without mentor support and peace education input were selected to make comparisons in the same districts. Key variables, such as geographic location, enrolment rate, gender division, and social backgrounds, for the comparison schools were matched with target schools. The results generated from the subsequent questionnaire indicated that with the support of mentors, resources in the kit can be used more effectively in promoting teaching quality (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2010). Additionally, the kit benefits psychological adjustment in the short term for both teachers and students. The report indicated that there was a downward trend in the use of corporal punishment in target schools, and students within these schools tended to raise questions more actively within the classroom. With the promotion of peace education in target schools, learning abilities had been improved. For example, the learner-centred teaching approach allowed students to search for resources, and to articulate themselves while presenting the lessons they had learned. Data also indicated that this kit had a positive impact on promoting peacebuilding initiatives at the community level (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2010).

The 2005 survey provided researchers with a baseline to test the efficacy of the kit among teachers. This indicated whether teachers had the capacity to promote 'students' wellbeing and learning through the use of the Peace Education Kit; the attitudes and actions of teachers while implementing the curriculum and pedagogy; and the support for peace education at the school level. Furthermore, the impact of peace education on teachers and students was measured according to the following metrics: whether the positive impacts, such as behavioural change, increased tolerance, and perspective-taking, appeared amongst teachers themselves; and whether positive impacts such as the improvement of wellbeing, conflict resolution skill, reconciliation among peers had appeared. Additionally, the change in school culture and the involvement of students and staff in decision making, and

the perceptions of trust were also the focus of the evaluation (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2010).

The distributed questionnaire revealed that the kit has contributed to significant change in teaching methods, students' involvement, and peaceful co-existence at the community level. In Bombali district, a comment provided by a teacher emphasised the effectiveness of story-telling and other activities in addressing psychological trauma among children. Conflict resolution activities contribute to another positive impact on children. Teachers claimed that rather than resort to physical violence, pupils could now resolve their disputes peacefully. In Moyamba, teachers noted that the kit cultivated tolerance, and allowed them to be more patient in their attempts at abandoning physical punishment (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2010). A Kailahun chief commented that the kit was essentially needed in every community in Sierra Leone as it not only created peace but also a lively community. Compared to those communities that did not benefit from the use of the kit, peace messages were delivered to locals in an extremely easily accepted and predetermined way. However, the negative feedback here was that the demand for the kit was massively exceeded, where schools in non-trial districts were asking to obtain toolkit materials themselves but without sufficient guidance and support (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2010). Finally, the long-term impact and evaluation can hardly be found other than what was provided by authors. The promotion, the effectiveness, and the limitation of the kit will be the main focuses of the interviews with the key informants of this study. The limitations and advantages of promoting this method will be discussed in Chapter 7.

6.4.2 International Education and Resource Network of Sierra Leone (iEARN SL)

6.4.2.1 Main contents

iEARN was founded in 1988 in Spain and collaborates with over 30,000 schools and organisations in 145 countries worldwide. The official office in Sierra Leone was established in 2004 in Kono district. iEARN SL's peace education promotion

programme cooperates with the Sierra Leonean national education sector, whilst a Danish organisation, IBIS, provided supportive action from 2009 to 2014. The programme ended in 2014, with the official website showing that the last update was on 13th December 2012 (iEARN, 2012. see: https://iearn.org/country/iearn-sierra-leone) The USAID and the United States Department of State had been long-term collaborative partners since 2004 (IBIS Results Report 2011-2013, 2014, p10).

The counselling activities were initially conducted through the iEARN centre in Freetown. In the meantime, formal peace education curricula were introduced to selected schools in Freetown, Makeni, Kenema, and Port Loko. These cities are provincial cities of Southern, Northern, Eastern and North-West Province. Moreover, as distinct from other formal education programmes, two years later in 2006, there was a programme developed particularly for child ex-combatants, named iEARN's Child Soldier Project, which was introduced into the school system (Greene, 2006). The purposes and main contents were different as there were two distinct programmes developed for children with a different experience of war. Namely, the former focused on personal capacity building, such as literacy, numeracy, and art that is complemented by human rights and peace content (Greene, 2006). For child soldiers, the curriculum emphasised the most acute issues that needed to be solved. Therefore, subjects like literacy complemented the project but its focus was on conflict resolution, trauma healing, the war, reconciliation with peers, and the importance of their return to formal education. The main concern here was to prevent the children from participating in conflict in the future. They emphasised that children who have suffered from war and the effects of war required specially designed tools and skills to transform their behaviours, their attitudes, and their lives (UNESCO, 2016), thus the need to educate children and child soldiers by equipping them with sufficient learning skills to allow them to have a better future through peace education. iEARN SL adopted information and communication technologies (ICT) with the collaboration of Microsoft Partners in Learning Programme among

children to develop their skills with computer technology (iEARN, 2009). In particular, the purposes of utilising ICT can be summarised as follows:

- Enable youth to use modern technology
- Connecting children through online education, so that schools in Sierra Leone can be linked with others abroad to share online education resources and content
- Decreasing the digital inequality and divide
- Running peacebuilding and human rights campaigns through online activities.

Students thus could exchange their ideas and share their work with peers in remote areas through the internet. This programme also provided children in selected secondary schools with opportunities to visit other children through the Kennedy Lugar Youth Exchange and Study Programme funded by the United States Department of State. Since its inception from 2004, iEARN has provided 850 war-affected children with the possibility to participate in this exchange activity with the USA (Greene, 2004).

6.4.2.2 Evaluation

Port et al. (2016) indicated that internet access has been recognised as an essential tool for the expansion of learning by increasing access to curriculum-relevant information. It can also help students in less-developed areas to transform their agency and strengthen their beliefs and voices when they explore their place in the world. Similarly, qualitative research conducted in 2005 evaluated the benefits and the limitations of using the ICT online peace education programme in Europe (Dmitru-Nistor, 2005). The findings argued that there was a positive impact on participants' skill development in terms of basic knowledge, the use of ICT tools, self-esteem, interpersonal interactions, and the motivation to study. The analysis also showed the important role played by teachers when trying to successfully conduct an online project. In these poor-constituted environments in particular, the

disposition to work in a positive manner can help students to achieve the proposed learning goals. As such, it was widely accepted that the adoption of the ICT method in weak countries provided students with the willingness to learn, and finally motivated students to learn effectively and efficiently.

Nevertheless, the use of ICT in weak countries was still in its very early stages. Importantly, there was a lack of empirical research on ICT access in education in post-war settings across the continent. In 2015, a comparative analysis published by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) analysed the use of ICT across sub-Saharan Africa (UIS, 2015). This study acknowledged publicly that digital poverty in Africa not only referred to the access to and use of ICT (Adera et al. 2014), but also the fact that there was a dearth of systematic data collection in uncovering the impacts of ICT in less-developed weak areas (UIS, 2015). This perspective was supported by a report by the World Bank (2012) on ICT for educational purposes in Africa, which suggested that a lack of comprehensive and accurate information on education remained a challenge. The basis for the internet-based programmes was a belief in the ability of the internet and online programmes to empower learners by fostering their knowledge and use of modern technology. However, there is no evidence that supports these assumed benefits in Africa, as well as in Sierra Leone (Porter et al. 2016; World Bank 2012). In contrast, the expenditure did not translate into improvements in educational outcomes (Piper et al. 2015; Porter et al. 2016; World Bank 2012), as the benefits of ICT were more reliant on how well ICT functioned rather than the specific nature and amount of technology that had been adopted (Porter et al. 2016; World Bank 2012). In Sierra Leone, iEARN has promoted peace education through ICT since 2004, while the Ministry of Information and Communications developed a national ICT policy in 2009 which means only a few selected secondary schools in relatively developed cities and learning centres were targeted by iEARN prior to 2009. Promotion of the programme was halted in 2012 (iEARN, 2012). Educational inequality was once again accelerated by an externally conceived peace education programme. Such behaviour has enhanced a further

difference between the selected students and others, especially when there was a large number of children who could not gain access to school due to gender equality or poverty.

From a different perspective, although there was a universal ICT programme, the UIS (2015) classified Sierra Leone as being without clear planning mechanisms and frameworks for ICT in education. Moreover, another critical issue that may have undermined the impact of the use of ICT was intermittent and unreliable electricity supplies (World Bank 2015). UNESCO conducted research in 2012 on access to electricity in formal schools and other educational centres in Africa. It revealed that only three per cent of primary schools and 16 per cent of secondary schools had access to electricity. At the same time, the direct connection rate to electricity in Sierra Leone was only 11 per cent in cities and one per cent in rural areas (UNESCO, 2012). With a short analysis here, surveys relating to the access to electricity in educational institutions was absent prior to 2012. However, there is little doubt that access to electricity in schools was only lower when the state was in the process of immediate post-conflict reconstruction. The adoption of ICT in Sierra Leone in 2004 may have produced further inequality and contributed to further grievances within society. In their attempts to analyse the iEARN programme, studies focus mainly on the effectiveness of a given adopted ICT method, but the evaluation of the impact on peace education itself, in particular whether the target aims had been achieved, have essentially been neglected by scholars. Even though many more peace-related programmes are now conducted with the use of the ICT approach, practitioners of this study suggested that the introduction of the ICT programmes in the 2000s have exacerbated the inequalities between rural and urban since it was impossible to widely introduce such programmes to rural areas. For one, there were limited numbers of personnel who could use modern technology in the 2000s. Meanwhile, it was also too costly to build school constructions like computer rooms for a

relatively small group of students. The reality also shows that this approach was not capable of targeting a wide range of children.[1]

6.4.3 Peaceful Schools International – Sierra Leone (PSI SL)

6.4.3.1 Main contents

PSI gives assistance to schools that wish to create and maintain peace. Their visions are stated as being (PSI, 2021a):

- Schools should be a place where students can learn without fear.
- Schools should provide tools that allow children to live well in the future.
- Schools should create their unique culture for peace.

PSI collaborates with more than 340 member schools around the world. In Sierra Leone, the PSI committed to providing assistance in building a culture of peace in the following schools (PSI, 2021b):

- Maso Community Primary School in Paki Masabong Chiefdom, Bombali District
- Paki Masabong Junior Secondary School in Mapaki, Bombali District
- R. C. Bumban Primary School, Paki Masabong Chiefdom, Bombali District
- Mathombo Primary School in Mathombo, Tonkolili District
- Mayagba Primary School in Paki Masabong, Mayagba Section
- Gbonkelenken Christian High School, Gbonkelenken, Freetown

A guidance handbook, "Creating A Culture of Peace: A Practical Guide for Schools" was written by scholars in Pakistan for the above schools. The handbook included the ideas and practices that are appropriate in the context of Pakistan, but after being tested and piloted in Sierra Leone the handbook was included in this project. Additionally, PSI also introduced resources like story books, films, toolkits for students, and teaching guides for teachers. There was a lack of resources to show

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[1] Data generated on 5th May 2021.[1]

when the curriculum was first initiated, but the informants widely agreed that the PSI was introduced to the country in 2004, and to date remains active.[2]

6.4.3.2 Evaluation

The programmes promoted by PSI focus on children aged 6 - 18 during formal schooling. The PSI in Sierra Leone is still an active peace education programme. Since these peace education programmes were developed only by the Peaceful Schools International, there is an absence of formal evaluations provided by scholars or IOs. However, according to some reviews by independent authors who have visited these collaborating schools in Sierra Leone, the PSI offered a place to learn without bullying, for children to peacefully co-exist with their peers at school (Peace Signs, 2021).

However, by visiting the resources through their website, I found that there is not a standalone textbook, but rather they provide their member schools with guidance for conflict resolution, ethical communication, gender equality, and human rights online (PSI, 2021b). The intentions were clear: they ask the teachers at school to select the teaching resources in accordance with their needs. However, this requires well-trained, experienced teachers who can identify the most urgent issues that need to be solved in the classroom. From a different perspective, some of the materials and teaching kits will be largely neglected if the teachers choose not to use them. As such, the outcomes of PSI are highly dependent on teachers' abilities and willingness, thus the effectiveness cannot be assured, especially when the PSI does not provide teachers with equivalent training sessions. Moreover, only six schools became PSI member schools, and half of them were located in Bombli District, and four of the six are primary schools. This first indicated that only small numbers of schools are included in this programme, and thus lots more students in other areas or in secondary school and high school have been neglected by PSI. Since the PSI have not been widely promoted within the country, only two of the interview informants had

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[2] Data generated on 20th Jan; 20th Feb; 3rd Mar; and 10th April 2021

heard about this programme, and they agreed that the PSI should provide more guidance and assistance within Sierra Leone. However, these two informants also indicated that since such assistance was narrowly targeted, positive changes can only be found with students who received PSI education.[3]

6.4.4 Rapid Response Education Programme (RREP)

6.4.4.1 Main contents

The RREP in Sierra Leone was developed by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports with the support of the Norwegian Refugee Centre (NRC) and UNICEF (Ellison, 2012). There is no doubt that the RREP reflected an approach of "Education in Emergency", with the purpose of teaching students the basic learning skills that they have lost out on due to war and displacement. This rationale for the role of education is the idea that education can provide protection for physical, psychological, and cognitive fields. During an emergency, an immediate educational response can protect people from further human capital and social destruction and helps to build a foundation for sustainable development and peace (INEE, 2010). This programme was run from 1999-2002, targeting 10-14-year-old children and emphasising the importance of internally displaced and former RUF child combatants. As a result, 13,529 children across the country participated (Ellison, 2012). This emergency education included psychosocial support, a subject which is always promoted as a crucial element as it can provide protection for children in the aftermath of war. Furthermore, numeracy, literacy, trauma healing, moral and religious education, physical education, and peace and human rights education are given (INEE, 2010).

6.4.4.2 Evaluation

A few issues have been raised in relation to this programme. Most crucially, it gave practical evidence to scholars that schools may be targets of attack, especially when the associated war is near to its end (O'Malley, 2010). In Sierra Leone, when peace

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[3] Data generated on 28th February 2021 and 15th Mar 2021

education took place via an emergency approach prior to the ceasefire, several workshops were held around the country (such as in Lungi, Kailahun, Kambia, Port Loko, Kono, and Bo), when these areas were deemed to be safe. However, the truth is that RREP schools had to be moved occasionally due to insecurity as a result of the atrocities perpetrated against civilians. One of the examples was when the second workshops took place in Port Loko, the participants were forced to displace from their camp; teachers and children had to escape from assault by armed forces (Baxter and Bethke, 2009).

In general, various evaluations of RREP have provided the public with positive feedback. Good life-skill education impacted children's behaviour in a positive way (Baxter and Bethke, 2009). The HIV/AIDS section of the physical health was mentioned by parents, teachers, and students. The effectiveness of the psychological education programme raised further discussion. Jordans et al. (2009), in their systematic review of psychological interventions presented the fact that the majority of interventions in Sierra Leone, including the RREP, were helpful in reducing psychological symptoms and increased protective factors among recipients by promoting multi-levelled community-based methods. In contrast, the findings provided by Ellison (2012) were based on her fieldwork conducted a decade after the civil war. She highlighted the constraints on school-based psychological training by adopting Boyden and Ryder's (1996) argument. They believed that when the size of the class is too big, teachers usually pay greater attention to their own psychological distress and tend to neglect students' needs. So that they are not fit, at that time at least, to have the role of running a training or healing class. Ellison (2012) also claimed that evidence regarding the positive impact of psychological training in Sierra Leone is not that reliable. Here I discussed that although the RREP was a culturally appropriate intervention, the gap between research, policy, and practice was considerable. In particular, the actual adherence to these principles when running a class was often ignored by evaluators. Furthermore, there is a current lack of rigorous studies on psychological intervention. Evidence can be found as scholars in this field

usually rely heavily on interviews, especially on anecdotal stories. Since such narratives are subjective, the research on psychological impact is, accordingly, far from convincing. To briefly conclude, the trauma healing that can be gained from RREP is not apparent in subsequent programme evaluations and it is certainly not helpful in increasing the understanding of whether the psychological programme, or indeed which particular mechanism generally does the most to contribute to peace. This also reflects the fact mentioned in the later Emergency Issue evaluation, whereby many programmes in post-conflict societies were reproduced from a standard manual without sufficient commitment or feedback from the previous interventions (see 6.4.7).

6.4.5 The Rehabilitation of Basic Education Project (SABABU)

6.4.5.1 Main contents

The Rehabilitation of Basic Education Project ran from 2003-2010. This project, also called the SABABU programme, was initiated through a collaboration between the Government of Sierra Leone, the World Bank, and the African Development Bank in 2002 (Ellison, 2012). The National government provided 4% funding, whilst the latter two provided 48% each, respectively. It was designed with the purposes of the immediate re-establishment of education services, the preparation to establish a well-functioning education sector, and to build connections between peacebuilding and school construction. SABABU's components included 50% of schools in target areas achieving basic operational levels and enhancing the capacity of the MOEST. Rebuilding and reconstructing school buildings were considered an initial step of peace education in those sensitive post-conflict societies (Republic of Sierra Leone and African Development Bank 2010, p.4). The World Bank (2003) has also argued that SABABU can effectively contribute to the consolidation of peace by re-establishing the school system and restoring a sense of normality. This project established a valid aim. The National School Survey Report in 2001 pointed out that it was felt that 35% of classrooms should be rebuilt, and that more than 50% needed further repairs. The survey revealed that only 63 of 4854 schools met the conditions

to be used (World Bank 2003). As such, grants were dispatched to international and regional NGOs to provide service to selected districts, such as Bo and Mankeni.

6.4.5.2 Evaluation

This programme received criticism from various perspectives. The relationships between the state and NGOs will be discussed first. A decentralisation method of reconstructions was adopted; thus, grants were allocated to NGOs that were selected as service provision actors in selected areas. These actors were defined as service providers, decentralised these construction activities to local workers to maximise the engagement of local labour and expertise (Bu-Buakei Jabbi, 2007). In theory, this maximised the use of local working forces and materials (Mason, Galloway, and Joyce-Gibbons, 2018), whilst benefitting local labour by adopting this decentralised method. But the NGOs were asking these builders to present a sign with the name of the NGOs outside when carrying out the rebuild process. States should be the main actor undertaking this rebuilding process; but this behaviour clearly detracted from the desired effect, where it gave the residents the impression that it was NGOs, rather than the state government, who were helping to reconstruct the schools and enhance educational capacity although state only put up 4% of the capital. The unintended consequence was that citizens may tend to believe that the local government was incapable of arranging post-conflict reconstruction, thus undermining the aim of providing evidence to citizens of an active local state (Mason, Galloway, and Joyce-Gibbons, 2018).

Moreover, another issue raised by the research was that SABABU was criticised for corrupt practices, despite a number of measurements being taken to ensure transparency during the implementations (Mason, Galloway, and Joyce-Gibbons, 2018). These operations had to be identified by inspectors and submitted to the Project Steering Committee hosted by the Minister of Education. Once the requirements are approved, funds provided by the World Bank and the African Development Bank would be delivered to NGO service providers. However, the

quality of school buildings was usually below the required standards, which indicated that this was not commensurate with the grants provided. Bu-Buakei Jabbi (2007) also indicated that most of the school buildings were smaller than the agreed size and were inadequately furnished. Furthermore, the SABABU programme was intended to be complete in 2005, yet it was far behind its prosed timeline as the service providers did not receive the promised funding. The initiatives finally closed down in December 2009 at a massive cost of $42.1 million. The evaluation provided by Bu-Buakei Jabbi (2007) indicated that people will not trust a state in which corruption is prevalent. The issue of ongoing corruption also threatened the possibility of sustainable development and peace. Finally, the national institutions had to upgrade any construction work that was substandard, placing additional burdens on the state financial sector.

With a brief conclusion to these criticisms, stakeholders of this programme believed that the return to normality of education means the return to peace. However, as education in Sierra Leone has been emphasised as being essential to the creation of grievances that then fuelled the root causes of war, the SABABU project aimed to change and to engage the capacity of the national education sector with a more systematic purpose by allocating funding from these financial institutions. However, these efforts ultimately seemed negligible as there has been an absence of systematic change. Corruption still exists, and the evidence of an active state being run was ruined by a decentralised approach while reconstructing the schools. These negatives created more grievances and dissatisfaction within society. However, some interviewees held different attitudes towards the role of SABABU in practice. For example, a policymaker, as well as a Swiss practitioner, described that "local citizens were pleased to see the local government and the international society have put efforts together to rebuild schools that were destroyed during the civil war. I think

this was because local citizens and scholars hold different perspectives and standards to the reconstruction" [4].

6.4.6 Complementary Rapid Education for Primary Schools (CREPS)

6.4.6.1 Main contents

CREPS was a part of the Accelerated Learning Programmes that was implemented with the intention of enhancing access to formal schooling, consequently, more pupils would be able to participate in the National Primary School Exam. This exam is the only way for children to continue their studies in secondary schools run by the formal sector. This accelerated formal educational programme also intended to assist the state in its recovery from the negative effects of civil war through imparting basic knowledge and peace to pupils. Addressing educational inequalities and social grievances were amongst its main purposes as well (Johannesen, 2005).

CREPS was started in 2001 and ended in 2007, and was supported by MOEST, UNICEF, and the Norwegian Refugee Centre (NRC). A Danish NGO called IBIS Education for Development took over after the NRC withdrew their support at the end of 2005. CREPS has been implemented in seven districts in the East and North regions. Children aged between 10-16, no matter the extent to which their schooling has been interrupted or, indeed, missed, were set as the target population. In order to accelerate the learning process, six years of primary education was condensed into three years, year 1 to 2 of primary education was equivalent to level 1 of the CREPS study, so that years 3-4 were equivalent to CREPS level 2, and years 5-6 were equivalent to CREPS level 3 (Ellison, 2012).

6.4.6.2 Evaluation

The initial challenges faced by CREPS were that it competed with formal schooling. Such a parallel existence met with resistance from local teachers as the subsidies

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[4] Data generated on 20th Jan 2021 and 19th April 2021

provided by the government were based on the number of pupils at each school. This meant the local government effectively created a new form of competition in terms of the share of funding among primary schools in these selected seven districts. Johannesen (2005) argued that there were multiple children who were underage but who nevertheless successfully enrolled on the CREPS course. This analysis also revealed that many of these illegally enrolled children were relatives of, or otherwise had close connections with, teachers who were taught or ran CREPS, teachers had considerable influence in determining who was accepted on the programme (Johannesen, 2005).

The other drawbacks included the lack of well-trained teachers, even though the stakeholder prepared syllabuses and manuals for CREPS to ensure the teaching content was of good quality, and in harmony with what was being taught in normally run formal schools. However, teaching quality could not be assured, where unqualified teachers received only ten days of training sessions. To tackling this issue, the NRC supported these non-qualified CREPS teachers through a three-year distance education programme to help them acquire a recognised teaching certificate. However, since the programme only lasted six years, children who participated in this programme were taught by poorly trained teachers for nearly three years. Meanwhile, the course materials were developed in a professional manner, which meant some of the teaching contents and pedagogies were not understandable by many such teachers, and thus little use was made of these materials in practice (Johannesen, 2005; Ellison, 2012).

Another issue resulting from the lack of well-trained qualified teachers was the method and contents while teaching. Nearly all of the peace education programmes advocated a participatory teaching method, and CREPS was no different in this regard. However, a teacher-centred approach had not been abandoned but rather adopted a particular focus on subject knowledge. The primary explanation is most likely to be the relatively low ability of the teachers, leaving them unable to explain the theories

behind the wide range of subjects, such as well-being and psychological issues, with their abilities limited essentially to teaching basic literacy and numeracy. Such limited educational content could not provide pupils with the ability to perform better on the national test and was also unlikely to protect them against conflict (Baxer and Bethke, 2009).

The positive impact of CREPS was to provide 184 children who were out of school with a broader type of education by facilitating access to an accelerated version of formal education. As a part of the emergency aid in the aftermath of the civil war, positive changes, such as ensuring the sustainable enrolment rate to education, were achieved. However, the government of Sierra Leone would not accept responsibility for this as they were unable to cope with the costs of the increased number of pupils and the expanded education system (Baxer and Bethke, 2009). The programme was then finally phased out in 2011, 11 years after it was first implemented. From a peace education and peacebuilding perspective, increased enrolment rates without appropriate concern for capacity placed a certain pressure on the national finances and the education sector.[5] In other words, expanding access to an education system that was already under pressure did not address the causes of the conflicts and was more likely to contribute to social grievances, which are similar to the root causes of civil war (Baxer and Bethke, 2009).

6.4.7 Emerging issues

6.4.7.1 Main contents

Another curriculum led by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) collaborated with the Sierra Leone Ministry of Education and the National Teacher Training institutions, called the "Emerging Issues (EI)", supported peace education and related curriculum reform for educators from primary level to secondary level between 2007-2008 (Novelli, 2011). This reformation and training process was developed with

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[5] Data generated on 25th Feb 2021 and 3rd March 2021

the purpose of changing behaviours among teachers. The EI covered multiple courses including methodology and professional curricula such as theories of education, teachers as agents of behavioural change, and classroom management. It also included a wide range of peace education courses such as human rights, gender equality, citizenship education, ways to peace, disaster management, drug abuse, and reproductive health (Higgins and Novelli, 2018). As one of the leading flagship products of UN peacebuilding initiatives within the country, and which has been viewed as a well-designed model by the INEE, this project was intended to address four main thematic areas ranging from civics and democracy, gender equality, the environment, and health-related issues, to human rights (Higgins and Novelli, 2018). Except for providing recipients with a learner-centred pedagogy, these projects explicitly framed the priorities that have to appear in any peace education curriculum "as a way of creating a composite and comprehensive whole for the dimension of personal behaviour change" (Baxter, 2012, p175). EI highlighted the role that peace education should play according to the earlier version, it has also been described as the best INEE peace education programme and has been widely used as a "Mother" manual (Baxter 2012).

6.4.7.2 Evaluation

6.4.7.2.1 Evaluation of the content of Emerging Issues

The peace education curriculum had been largely implemented within networks of international and national aid agencies throughout conflicting regions, but somewhat surprising sections of the EI programme overlapped extensively with the INEE peace education programme, which was initially developed by UNESCO and UNHCR for teachers who lived in Kenyan and Ugandan refugee camps from 1997 to 2005 (UNESCO, UNHCR, and INEE 2005a, 2005b, 2005c; Baxter 2012). The components of peace and conflict theory, trust and honesty, transparency, and communication skills, questioning skills, the way to be an effective teacher, effective listening, as well as similarities and differences within the EI programme repeated verbatim the various overlapping content of the UNHCR programme. It also provided

explanations and principles of psychology based on the earlier peace education content, as indicated by the work of Kohlberg, Maslow, and Bloom (UNESCO, UNHCR, INEE 2005a; UNESCO, UNHCR, INEE, 2005b). Therefore, the text strategy of peace education was thus appropriate for people in post-war Sierra Leone. This curriculum was promoted and recognised as it was highly aligned with the priorities of its mother manual, as developed by the INEE (Baxter 2012). As such, the EI was built on the basis of the INEE Peace Education Initiatives, not least because the basic skills therein were applicable to building a comprehension of good governance, democracy, human equity, and pedagogies among teachers (Baxter 2012). The approach adopted in the EI project was intended "to assimilate these areas of content to peace education's overarching goal" (Higgins and Novelli, 2018, p40) in "creating a composite and comprehensive whole for the dimension of personal behaviour change" (Baxter, 2012, p176). The derivation of EI from early peace education curricula indicates an intertextual process that is referred to as recontextualisation by Fairclough (2003). By transferring texts and meanings from one to another, the verbatim similarities finally indicated the contents of the curriculum embedded in theories of peace education were transferable in accordance with varying state contexts by the various international and regional aid institutions.

6.4.7.2.2 The agency of teachers

The 'teachers' role in this curriculum was positioned as important in terms of triggering further behavioural change among recipients at school. As such, UNICEF (2008a, p7) encouraged teachers to "reflect on the teaching and learning in order to promote the internalising of constructive attitudes and behaviours." Moreover, the programme interrupted the alleged propensity towards destructive behaviours of Sierra Leoneans by equipping teachers with sufficient knowledge and skills through the social transformation promoted by EI peace education. It thus reminded the international community that the teachers were capable of becoming effective agents in terms of rebuilding Sierra Leone to be a better country (UNICEF, 2008a). In particular, teachers finally became change agents, as the curriculum was intended to

educate teachers first and then promote the change in national personal behaviour from violence to peace. To some extent, teachers of the EI curriculum have been centralised as pivotal figures for national development and have contributed to massive changes in social behaviour. One of the advantages of the EI should be that it provides the teacher with clear information about their responsibilities during the entire peace education process. In relation to this point of view, the contents of EI allowed them to undertake a continuous process of self-discipline (UNICEF, 2008a). Moreover, the EI saw that the potential role of teachers could be one of a changing agency, by empowering pupils to become a changing agency themselves. As such, this project makes the argument that teachers are crucial in terms of influencing peace education, as well as broader social transformations (Higgins and Novelli, 2018).

6.4.7.2.3 Empowerment of females

From a different perspective, this curriculum had a particular focus on gender equality. This process involved the examination of textbooks that had been adopted around Sierra Leone in terms of the language used around the country, the power dynamics demonstrated, and the numbers of male and female characters within them. The focus on gender inequality was vital to Sierra Leone's post-war reconstruction as females were victimised. Thousands of women were abducted by armed forces and forced to become slave labourers (Human Rights Watch, 2003). It is estimated that 215,000 to 257,000 women were raped during the violence (Amowitz et al. 2002). The deeply entrenched patriarchal system is indicative of the fact that women have to suffer from further discrimination that hinders their participation and reintegration into society. In comparison to male ex-combatants, female ex-combatants were typically marginalised. In particular, very few of them were able to benefit from reintegration, disarmament, and demobilisation programmes. This was also the case for child combatants, in which boys were usually prioritised over girls. On this occasion, post-war reconstruction of the education sector represented an essential opportunity to rectify the discrimination shown

towards women. International efforts, as well as the EI curriculum, were intended to enhance female enrolment and participation in the educational process post-conflict (Maclure and Denov 2009). Essentially, EI made valuable contributions to the promotion of changes in values of women. Furthermore, as evaluation has long revealed that there is no doubt education is important to ensuring gender equity, it can also become a catalyst for female empowerment. It is not possible to achieve these goals without structural reform in formal schooling or in organisations. However, EI has achieved very little in terms of bridging divisions or alleviating systemic discrimination against women, as there was a large gap between the expansion of girls' education and the transformation of social norms and institutional frameworks that disadvantaged females. The interviewees widely agreed that the EI programme had provided an excellent framework for internal stakeholders in terms of the contents and process of training teachers from the grassroots level. For example, policymakers and experts of curricula indicated that "the programme provided training to teachers, enabling them to spread the approach of how to conduct peace education to promote a wider reach of peace education across the country"[6]. "[The] EI programme is a wonderful training for teachers in Sierra Leone, it allowed teachers to learn how to teach students in a better way, and it also give them a chance to develop themselves[7]".

6.5 The Methodologies and Approaches of Non-formal Peace Education

6.5.1 The Team: Television Series
6.5.1.1 Main Contents
The Team was co-produced by Search for Common Ground, Talking Drum Studio, and in cooperation with the Sierra Leone Broadcasting Corporation. In many states, the episodic drama "The Team" merged football with soap opera to assist the transformative process of changing social attitudes and reducing violent behaviour

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[6] Data generated on 25th Feb 2021
[7] Data generated on 15th Mar 2021

within countries where conflict is deeply rooted (Search for Common Ground, 2021a). As one of the components of non-formal peace education, the television series The Team was used to address the very real and diverse issues that occurred in several sub-Saharan African, Middle Eastern, and Asian countries. This programme was promoted and became popular in West African countries such as Cote d'Ivoire (Search for Common Ground, 2021b). However, the contents of the series in different countries were not similar to each other as the root causes and social realities that resulted in conflict in these different societies were themselves different. Each production rang true in terms of the circumstances presented to their audiences as all of the series were created in accordance with the root causes of violence. All the stories produced by The Team followed the characters in a football team, but all the associated series were created and produced locally. The characters within the series had to overcome their differences, whether cultural, ethnic, belief-related, racial, religious, tribal, or socio-economic, to work together to win the game (UNESCO, 2016).

By mirroring Sierra Leone as a Football Team called Poda F.C., the Sierra Leoneans as characters like coaches, sponsors, players, and supporters, the storyline centred around the happenings within the football team (Search for Common Ground, 2021b). The Team told fictionalised stories about young players who were on the same football team, most of whom reflected the social diversity present within the Sierra Leonean context. Poda F.C. had to overcome various challenges, ranging from the political, to gender, ethnic, inequalities, culture, and health to win the tournament for Maroon Town's 50th Anniversary. The core metaphor is simple to conclude: if the characters stopped cooperating and playing together as a team, they would not win the tournament (Search for Common Ground, 2021a).

The editor combined everyday life issues and current domestic challenges and turned them into a storyline in order to help transfer social-political attitudes, solve divisive real-life issues (reconciliation, HIV/AIDS, female empowerment, and reduction of

violent behaviour in the post-conflict setting). By using a football team as the unifier, the TV series told its audience how to confront and deal with challenges through cooperation. The Team finally came to Sierra Leone after being produced in 12 conflict-affected countries worldwide (Search for Common Ground, 2021b). Informants also pointed out that the recorded radio and drama series were widely adopted, especially when a community-based approach was adopted in many communities. Since the media programmes had been designed based on local stories, wider debate on the basis of these storylines would be provoked.

6.5.1.2 Evaluation

In short, the locally produced television drama series was created with the collaboration of multiple stakeholders. The storylines mainly emphasised civic education. Issues such as accountability, governance, elections, diversity, equity, women's participation, and maternal mortality, were emphasised through the daily interactions depicted within the series. The aims of the programme can be summarised as follows: to increase tolerance, cooperation, and national unity that had been lost due to conflict; encourage the use of dialogue to address disputes and conflicts; and to develop the capacity of local operating technics. Moreover, outreach and evaluation were important here as it had to take the generalisation into consideration (Search for Common Ground, 2021b). First of all, social media tools such as Facebook were used for the purposes of gaining further outreach with professionals as well as to receive feedback from audiences; and evaluation surveys conducted before and after broadcast were used as a method to evaluate the quality of the programme. Lastly, focus group and case studies were adopted to gather information about the impact and the effectiveness of the "The Team". Questions like "what made The Team so innovative among Sierra Leoneans" aroused further discussion during the broadcast period (Search for Common Ground, 2021a). The initial explanation was that it attempted to adopt a drama series as a popular method and culture to deliver positive ideas to its audience. For example, these series described positive role models of young people. As such, this well-crafted and

interesting programming was able to have a profound impact on how citizens thought their communities and society. Furthermore, to promote non-formal peace education methods within formal schooling, DVDs of the series were distributed to schools and universities. Finally, with due consideration for the fact that some rural areas had very limited access to TV or the mobile screening methods required for public viewing, each TV series was produced with a companion radio series to reach the most marginalised and poor of populations (Search for Common Ground, 2021b).

6.5.2 Regular airing of education and awareness programming

The Search for Common Ground's 'Talking Drum Studio–- Sierra Leone (TDS-SL) launched non-formal peace education programmes by adopting TV show and radio broadcasting formats.

6.5.2.1 Contents of regular airing of education and awareness programming: Golden Kids News

TDS-SL broadcasted its self-produced programmes on eleven stations in Sierra Leone. These programmes were developed with various formats and target populations in mind with the intention of promoting peace and reconciliation among citizens. One such innovative programme was Golden Kids News. This news programme was a show for children, by children, as was partially produced and reported by children. The children in this show came from mixed backgrounds but played the roles of actors, producers, and reporters, who made efforts to advocate for children on their behalf. This programme consisted of seven distinct shows (Search for Common Ground, 2021c):

1. Common Ground Feature: This news series used a magazine style to feature interests and issues shared by conflicting groups as stories, collecting data and information via an interview format. By conducting interviews with conflict-affected groups on various topics and gaining the opinions of the different armed groups involved to help them to clarify the positions of

former combatants, they could finally assist in the process of reconciliation, rehabilitation, and peacebuilding (The Entertainment-Education Network – Africa, 2021).

2. Home Sweet Home: This programme focused on targeting information for refugees and returnees. Through its soap-opera approach, this series shared information intertwined with dialogue to educate these refugees and returnees about the issues they had faced and the difficulties they had to overcome when returning home (UNESCO,2016; Search for Common Ground, 2021d).

3. Atunda Ayenda/Lost and Found: This was launched by TDS-SL in December 2001. It was a serial drama which was divided into several phases with a different storyline for each phase that was suitable for the then environment in Sierra Leone. With the purpose of developing a well-produced script, the scriptwriters travelled around the country to meet people from a variety of backgrounds to better inform the stories. It quickly became the most popular programme within the studio. In particular, the phases consisted of the disarmament and demobilisation process in the first phase and emphasised the importance of reintegration of ex-combatants in the second. Finally, in the third phase, the programme shifted attention towards the further democratisation and good governance of Serra Leone. Atunda Ayenda was first produced in the Krio language, but to access a larger number of the population, the TDS cooperated with the BBC World Service to produce an English version in WinMedia or RealMedia (The Entertainment-Education Network – Africa, 2021).

4. Wi Yone Salone: Providing information about issues that may affect Sierra Leoneans was identified as the main purpose of this programme. The first twelve episodes introduced the real-world circumstances of many of the country's districts, particularly emphasising what happened before, during, and after the civil conflict in terms of livelihoods, health issues, economic behaviours, education, governance, etc. After the first twelve episodes, the

Wi Yone Salone tried to address large issues including multiple topics ranging from education to conflict diamonds (Search for Common Ground, 2021d).

5. *Salone Uman*: These two fifteen-minute programmes produced every week and aired on twelve stations described the key issues that could affect women in post-conflict Sierra Leone. In collaboration with various humanitarian groups, by highlighting the predicaments and difficulties experienced by women, they indicated the issues that may affect women's status and why such exposure of female's circumstances was essential. The Search for Common Ground production team collected actualities from females around Sierra Leone afterwards in accordance with these identified issues (Search for Common Ground, 2021d).

6. *Leh Wi Mek Salone* (formerly *Troway Di Gun*): The TDS-SL shifted its main focus towards the volatile population as the disarmament process was completed and the peace was consolidated. The Leh Wi Mek Salone was co-hosted by two-ex-combatants, one of whom was a retired colonel in the RUF while the other was a senior trainer in the Civil Defence Forces. Both experienced the disarmament and reintegration process. As such, this programme sought to educate the ex-combatants about the importance of reintegration within society and its associated process in the short- and the long term (The Entertainment-Education Network – Africa, 2021).

7. *Luk wi Pipul*: This provided news about refugees residing in neighbouring Liberia and Guinea. A thirty-minute episode was aired every weekday morning on Sierra Leone's national station. The programme sought to provide refugees with a broad spectrum of information which contained peace messages (Liberian, Guinean and Sierra Leonean) with the intention of helping them to make better-informed decisions about their future lives (Search for Common Ground, 2021d).

6.5.2.2 Contents of regular airing of education and awareness programming: Sisi Aminata

In collaboration with the MOEST, CARE and UNICEF, the Search for Common Ground initiated a radio show programme called Sisi Aminata in 2004. This show was designed for young people to help build knowledge and increase discussions about sexual and reproductive health and related issues. An inquiry-based interactive format between an older presenter and younger people was adopted by Sisi Aminata. Since the civil war involved large numbers of females as sex slaves, the programme included relevant educational content for women focusing on females' rights, especially in protecting them from diseases and unwanted pregnancies. Through this question-answer format, the presenter acted as an older sister to answer questions about sexual and other, related issues. Followed by this process, a peer group of young people would discuss these answers and then explore their analysis. With the purpose of evaluating the effectiveness of this programme, an evaluation was made by Search for Common Ground and Talking Drum Studio, as launched towards the end of 2007 (UNESCO, 2001).

To summarise Section 6.5, it was difficult to calculate how many people had been reached through non-formal peace education approaches. For one, the complexity of evaluating the total target population required multiple workforces. Secondly, conflict resolution media had usually been recorded and used as a source of education in both formal and non-formal school settings, even though gaining access to schools would suggest that there was a wide reach of non-formal peace education programmes. However, the frequency of the adoption of non-formal peace education programmes within formal settings, and whether there were any other forms of peace education taking place at the same time was unknown, finally resulted in a lack of data regarding how many recipients had received formal, non-formal, or mixed formats of peace education. An evaluation report completed in 2002 to review the non-formal programmes conducted by Search for Common Ground indicated that these programmes (Talking Drum Studios and Golden Kids

News) had targeted most of the citizens who could access modern media press. Within the document, the data described that over the last two years, TDS-SL (Talking Drum Studios) had been successful in reaching nearly all areas of Sierra Leone. This was evident from the surge in the proportion of listeners, from about 40% in December 2000, to 85% in March 2002 (Abdalla, Shepler, and Hussein, 2002. p. iv).

The above evaluation indicated that a single non-formal peace education run by Search for Common Ground reached people with different social identities across the country which included school-aged children, adults over 18 years old, females, and external displaced populations. The evaluation report was completed by Abdalla, Shepler, and Hussein (2002), also described the fact that the programmes were planning to reach government officials in the near future. With the fact that Talking Drum Studios and many other drama series are now still airing regularly in Sierra Leone, I would argue that non-formal peace education has played, and continues to play, an essential role in conflict resolution and the consolidation of peace.

6.5.2.3 Evaluation of Golden Kids News and Sisi Aminata

The main findings of the Golden Kids News and Sisi Aminata evaluation represented by Search for Common Ground were as follows. These programmes had a significant impact in terms of audiences' listenership, as well as behavioural and attitude changes (Search for Common Ground Talking Drum Studios, 2007). These programmes attracted considerable public discussion about sexual and reproductive health. These issues have usually been identified as being intensely private. Moreover, with regard to the more critical issue of HIV/AIDS, this programme increased the belief in the existence of this deadly and contagious disease among the country's youth. Therefore, methods that could help avoid the spread of HIV/AIDS have been widely discussed (Search for Common Ground, 2009). Other positive findings among the youth included the positive impact of increased confidence among young females, especially with regard to their ability to control their sexual behaviour and in terms of allowing them to pursue better lives. This impact was not

only limited to the female population; Golden Kids News and Sisi Aminata also inspired more young males to focus on their studies and interests at school, and their futures. The promotion of the programme helped the youth to develop their abilities to advise their peers about sexual and reproductive health, and other life issues like poverty and education (Search for Common Ground Talking Drum Studios, 2007). But these programmes failed to increase the youths' ability to discuss or ask for advice about sexual and reproductive health. A negative effect was reported as some parents criticised the show for describing the correct way to use condoms to children and youths. However, this evaluation also indicated that these programmes would be more effective when combined with other peace education activities, such as formal teaching at school and club meetings. Finally, as delivering peace messages through media is quite a sensitive issue to many people, it was then important to introduce a certain sensitisation and involve leaders in order to prevent resistance (Search for Common Ground, 2009; Search for Common Ground Talking Drum Studios, 2007).

6.5.3 World Vision International's Youth Reintegration Training and Education for Peace project (YRTEP)

6.5.3.1 Main contents

The YRTEP in Sierra Leone decided to introduce football and, in addition, a confession process to help reintegrate youth and ex-combatants back into their communities was included (World Vision International, 2005). This project provided a non-formal method to 45,000 war-affected youths, nearly half of whom had been identified as ex-combatants. This was a year-long project which had been divided into four distinct sessions. On the first day of the project, they were asked to play football with villagers on opposing teams (Lea-Howarth, 2006). On the second day, the ex-combatants were asked to participate in a confession process and then played a second match with the same team. On the third day, the players on the two original sides were mixed and played football again. Following this three-day process, this project provided participants with three months of comprehensive training in areas ranging from the

reintegration of ex-combatants; peace and conflict prevention training; vocational and life skills training; issues related to health; and basic literacy and numeracy. At the end of the first three-month period, the process was repeated (World Vision International, 2005).

6.5.3.2 Evaluation

Reports provided by USAID and Right to Learn indicated the YRTEP programme accomplished its aims to an extraordinary extent. It allowed the youth to gain information and knowledge that they would otherwise not have had the opportunity to acquire (Lea-Howarth, 2006). Moreover, conflict prevention courses allowed participants to collaborate and to work with their peers in various practical ways that they have subsequently used in their day-to-day lives. The work of achieving peace was advanced through the YRTEP programme as it made a significant difference in the lives of the youth who participated. More importantly, there was a significant decrease in violence on the part of the young people who participated (USAID, 2001). They made a further effort to ensure the better functioning of the community. According to participants' self-reported documents, 94% believed that playing football played an important role in enhancing collaboration with peers or resolving disputes with opponents (USAID, 2001).

YRTEP was initially seen as a transition programme to bridge the gap between peace and violence until the country could finally get back to normal life. However, this project achieved much more than it was supposed to, so that it continued to promote that war-affected youth, including ex-combatants, were resettled, and reintegrated peacefully into their communities (Lea-Howarth, 2006). The benefits of the programme were those of establishing self-reliance and confidence. Meanwhile, the promotion of literacy and numeracy was viewed as the most viable alternative for marginalised children who were unable to access formal education due to illiteracy. The elimination of illiteracy has seen outstanding success and provided the participants with significantly improved future prospects (Lea-Howarth, 2006).

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Moreover, as a by-product of the YRTEP programme, "the personal and professional growth that has taken place among the Master Trainers and Learning Facilitators". YRTEP certainly provided participants with opportunities to receive intensive training. Finally, they became a genuine leader in the promotion of peace (USAID, 2001).

6.6 Vocational and Non-formal Education for Adults

6.6.1 Re-establishing Educational Trajectory During the War

The educational trajectory was re-established during the civil war in the early 1990s. The new system, namely the 6 (primary) -3 (junior primary) -3 (secondary) -4 (bachelor) has been set based on a new education policy launched in 1995 and a plan of action implemented between 1997-2006. This education reform was necessitated by the need to promote children's, youths', and adults' access to educational opportunities (Samura, 2013). Specifically, it attempted to address the widespread illiteracy that hindered the process of peaceful development of human emancipation and national development. It was the first time in history that adults and non-formal education have received recognition from an official educational policy (GOSL, 1995). The transformation of the education policy and system during the wartime era represented the effort to respond to the educational issues that led to the occurrence of war as well as the demands of the EFA movement. These reforms shaped Sierra Leone's educational landscape in the aftermath of the conflict (UNESCO, 2008).

6.6.2 The Emergence of Vocational Education in Sierra Leone

The educational transformation indicated that the national government had paid increasing attention to education for children, vocational and community training for adults, and the important role of non-formal peace education for both children and adults (Matsumoto, 2018). The new education policy, and the accompanying Act in 2001, was an attempt to promote access to education amongst its citizens to address the root causes that contributed to the outbreak of the civil war. The educational

landscape was reshaped post-war, for example, peace education became intertwined with normal education subjects; peace and conflict study emerged as a popular major at university level; peace-related programmes that can empower women emerged as Civic Education for Women; and Civic Education and Literacy in Indigenous Languages ensured the rights of indigenous populations (Matsumoto, 2018).

Through its collaboration with the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, the UNESCO sponsored programme, the Vocational Literacy Project, was implemented across the country. The adoption of the modular approach helped to develop learning materials around literacy, life skills, and community education (UNESCO 2008). Both community education and life skill education should be considered peace-related programmes as they allowed adults to learn conflict resolution skills with their neighbours and friends within their communities, thus helping them to resolve conflicts in a peaceful manner. Meanwhile, it enabled young people to transform their thoughts from violence to peace, to promote their skills (not limited to reading and writing), offer them skills that allowed them to find jobs, and gave them problem-solving skills, self-esteem, and awareness, and helped them to cope with strong emotions (Matsumoto, 2018). A study undertaken by Ekundayo-Thompson, Lamin, Turay, and Musa (2006) indicated that there were 580 vocational- and training-type programmes held in Sierra Leone during the 2000s, ranging from adult literacy, vocational skills, and primary education to adult literacy. Furthermore, since poverty has been seen as the main hindrance to promoting education and peace-related education, external financial organisations then became involved in eradicating poverty. The main stakeholders included the UNESCO Regional Bureau for Education in Africa, the Islamic Development Bank, and the German Technical Cooperation (UNESCO, 2008).

Vocational education and training conducted among adults was the main focus in post-conflict Sierra Leone. For one, it represented the attempt to eradicate the

country's widespread illiteracy. The 2004 Population and Housing Census Analytical Report on Education and Literacy in the Republic of Sierra Leone, launched in 2006, indicated that 60% of people within the country were illiterate. The Census revealed that women received the least education; compared to 50% of the total male population, 70% of the total female population were identified as illiterate. Secondly, the promotion of access to educational opportunities for adults, especially to those who missed out on an education due to participation in the war, enabled them to achieve self-emancipation through education, as well as to respond to the root causes that had led to the outbreak of the conflict (Matsumoto, 2018). Since there were nearly 600 vocational programmes held in Sierra Leone, there was a lack of evaluation of the effectiveness for both individuals and for the community. However, the widely implemented vocational educational programmes related to peace have had positive effects on adults since they helped to address the unequal access to education and because they respond to the need to promote literacy in Sierra Leone (UNESCO, 2008). Meanwhile, the activities directed at women and indigenous people also promoted peace by securing the rights of vulnerable people. However, according to Ekundayo-Thompson, Lamin, Turay, and Musa (2006), rather than a long-term education, these curricula were conducted in a short-term manner, in which the quality of education could not be secured.

To summarise, Sections 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 indicated that education with positive information helps individuals to achieve human emancipation and can equip them with the skills and knowledge they need to change their futures. Evaluations under each practice described that education with peace values helps to achieve the theories of change mentioned in the conceptualisation chapter (see Section 5.6). In general, peace education helps to achieve individual change theory; healthy relationships and connections theory; the grassroots mobilisation theory; and public attitudes theory. However, the way in which peace education was promoted created new inequalities between rural and urban areas, and between the healthy and injured population. The document data generated in this chapter indicates that there

was an absence of any programme designed for populations in hard-to-reach regions or for those who were injured or maimed populations during the civil war. This issue was identified as one of the main limitations of peace education in Sierra Leone, the detailed discussion of which will be presented in Chapter 8.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter revealed the nature of peace education from the perspective of documentary analysis from various organisations and scholars. In general, 12 peace educational activities, in formal and non-formal formats, have been conducted in Sierra Leone. The literature and recordings from these initiatives indicated that peace education initiatives were divided into numerous individual practices, and there was an absence of universally conducted programmes. Moreover, peace education in higher education seemed to be ignored. There were no specifically designed peace-related curricula for students at university, so that conflict studies and peace education studies became professional majors like Engineering or Medicine. However, higher education students can play a significant role especially in generating support for the delivery of peace and eliminating the likelihood of the reoccurrence of civil war. But disappointingly, it was found that the role of higher education students and civil society have not been mentioned in the documents I referent in this thesis. This chapter also reveals that the collaborations between each organisation type and national government further indicated the divisive nature of peace education, which means there was a lack of coherent education information without an overview evaluation, implying teaching quality and the effectiveness cannot be ensured (Kanyako, 2016).

Furthermore, educational programmes that were implemented as formal peace education have received greater attention from stakeholders than non-formal ones. Most of the formal peace education, for example, CREPS, as a catch-up programme focused on children from aged 10-16, and RREP, which targeted 10-14-year-old

children, were only conducted in selected schools located in provincial cities like Freetown and Port Loko. From a different perspective, non-formal education, such as utilising football as a method to reconcile children and youths, had a quite narrow focus. However, although TV and radio programmes were available to all citizens, they are less accessible to people living in poorer areas.

The argument made in this chapter is the provision of these programmes focused on children in relatively wealthy areas, children in marginalised poor regions, especially the generation who were adults during the 2000s but missed out on educational opportunities, were largely neglected. There was an absence of either a standalone peace education subject or a universally applied peace education programme throughout Sierra Leone. Peace education for adults is essential but was usually underemphasised, which could not only have implications for the 'participants' own futures but also the cultivation of their ability to support the educational needs of the next generation. Indeed, the evaluations of these programmes were usually taken in the short term. In comparison to the drawbacks, or the negative impacts they may bring to society, the positive effects of both formal and non-formal activities remain unclear, especially within the framework of any long-term analysis. The following chapter will argue the limitations and contributions of peace education in bringing nearly two decades of peace to Sierra Leone from the perspectives of key personnel will be discussed in detail in following Chapters 7 and 8.

Chapter Seven: The impact of peace education from the perspectives of informants

7.1 Introduction

Sierra Leone has been highlighted as a successful example of international peacebuilding when considering its achievements. Peace education was a driving force and main component of achieving peace. Thus, this chapter will discuss the role of peace education in bringing peace during the post-conflict era. This chapter answers the third question, the main research question of this study that I proposed in Chapter 1, namely the nature, contributions, and drawbacks of peace education in Sierra Leone from the perspectives of the 12 informants. The interview data generated various discussions regarding the role and impacts of peace education from the different perspectives of local officials, experts of curricula, and practitioners.

In particular, the nature of peace education from the perspectives of informants will be described with the purpose of bringing the practice of peace education to the readers. Following this, the implementation of the Peace Education Kit, which was identified as a nationally promoted programme, will be discussed in detail. This section discusses the positive and negative effects of adopting a community-based approach, as well as offering an evaluation of the kit. Positive aspects of the Peace Education Kit included promoting access to education and combined peace education and education as a whole, which partly responds to the root cause of the conflict. However, since the kit was too complicated for teachers familiarise themselves with, in combination with reasons like the underdevelopment of transportation, the kit was not promoted as a nationwide curriculum.

The role and impact of peace education from the views of experts in the peace education curriculum, practitioners of international organisations, and the officials of Sierra Leone are reported in Sections 7.4, 7.5, and 7.6, respectively. The informants

of this study provided me with different perspectives which aided in the identification and evaluation of the impacts and effectiveness of peace education. They pointed out that peace education allowed children and adults to attend education opportunities through formal schooling, learner centres, and non-formal approaches such as vocational schools and TV or other leisure activities. However, even though the policy of education tried hard to promote the rights of females, the poor, and the indigenous population, gender issues and the rights of the vulnerable were still considered to be the main hindrance to the development of peace education (see themes of informants in Section 2.4.2).

As introduced in Chapter 2, this study contains 12 informants belonging to three different categories. Table 4 below indicates the dates on which the interviews were held and the roles of informants when promoting peace education practices in Sierra Leone.

Table 3: Main informants of this study

Categories	Positions of informants	Date of interview
Policymakers	This participant has been working in Sierra Leone government and now works as a social science professor at a UK university, he had provided advisory services when implementing peacebuilding practices from 2001 to 2010.	25th Feb 2021
	Retired MOEST officer who largely promoted peace education practices	28th Feb 2021
	Minister of Education who was in charge of Primary Education	20th Jan 2021
	Current MOEST officer	20th Feb 2021
Curriculum experts	Founders of a peace education school	3rd Mar 2021
	Runs the Fourah Bay College and used to teach peace education in rural areas	4th Mar 2021
	Head of Department of Peace Studies at the University of Sierra Leone (who trained many teachers at grassroots level)	16th Mar 2021

	Professor of Peace Studies at the University of Sierra Leone (Trainer of Peace education Kit)	15th Mar 2021
Practitioners	A UNESCO practitioner, largely involved in Sierra Leone peace education practices since 2003	22nd Mar 2021
	An ambassador who worked closely with external scholars	10th Apr 2021
	A Sierra Leonean Swiss professional who worked as a peace education practitioner for the World Bank from 2002 to 2010	19th Apr 2021
	President of a women's group, a UNICEF practitioner, she advocates gender equality and education for women	5th May 2021

7.2 The Nature of Peace Education from the Views of Various Informants

In Chapter 6, I described various peace education initiatives launched with co-operation with external stakeholders and internal governmental institutions. In Section 6.2, I particularly focused on peace education policy in Sierra Leone from its own national education policy and external stakeholders. In Sierra Leone, peace education policy was absent within its national education framework prior to 2010, however, the practice of peace education existed during the war. As such the nexus of peace education, the appearance of peace, and inequalities with the country have been emphasised. For one, the absence of unified textbooks and predesigned domestic-wide peace education curriculums were not only due to the complex interrelationships between war and education (Davies 2004), but also because of the highly elitist education system which contributed to grievances found within contemporary peace education frameworks. For example, although peace education promoted free education for primary and secondary levels, and allowed access to formal schooling, peace education resources were only allocated in better developed provinces and areas around cities. Formal peace education was ignored in remote rurally, poor areas. This situation will be discussed in the following sections and in Chapter 8. As a peace educator discussed noted

face-to-face learning activities conducted in learning centres or peace clubs can hardly be found in less-developed areas [8].

Accordingly, practitioners of this field note that

We used to conduct some community-based activities with local people and provide training for local teachers because there were not sufficient funding and personnel for us to distribute educational opportunities around the country.[9]

As a result, for people living outside provincial or capital cities, citizens have limited access to formal peace education. This means only non-formal peace education in the form of TV and radio can be accessed by those citizens. In combination with poor post-conflict economic performance, Sierra Leoneans who were located far away from the centre of education were significantly marginalised as a result. This can be reinforced by the introduction and evaluation of the iEARN project, details of which are provided in Section 6.4.2. Scholars discussed that conducting ICT based activities may enlarge the gaps between urban and rural.

With the purpose of ensuring the rights of children in rural areas, training opportunities for peace education were provided for teachers from remote marginalised areas. Many training sessions, such as the EI initiative mentioned in 6.4.7, were launched at the grassroots level. Moreover, according to both documentary and interview data, there was an absence of a unified textbooks series and teaching materials. A universal peace education curriculum also did not exist in the country although the kit mentioned in 6.4.1 was identified as a nationwide distributed curriculum, a phenomenon which continues to date. Based on findings, the following reasons were offered by informants. Firstly, 18 major languages are

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[8] Data generated on 16th Mar 2021
[9] Data generated on 10th April 2021

spoken by its citizens, it is hard to develop a series of unified textbooks without equivalent professional personnel. Secondly, poor economic performance represented a huge barrier to the development of a national textbook with 18 major languages. Teachers who received training had to develop their own teaching materials for their students, which resulted in both negative and positive impacts in post-conflict settings. Educational materials are an essential component of formal teaching. However, the high cost of teaching materials could result in negative effects (Bok, 2009; Paulsen and St. John, 2002). The high cost of textbooks discouraged students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, as a result, they were more likely to delay enrolment, take fewer classes, perform poorly in class, or disrupt their schooling (Provasnik and Plenty, 2008; Buczynski, 2007). On the other hand, open educational resources, referred to as open textbooks and materials available online or in open access journals that are provided by open license, will save their studies cost but cannot ensure the quality of teaching content (D'Antoni, 2009; Hilton and Wiley, 2011).

According to interviewees[10], teachers were trained by curriculum experts from government-held peace schools and external stakeholders. They provided the teachers with basic knowledge, learning materials, and methods for searching and developing teaching resources. Teachers at the grassroots relied on resources acquired and redesigned curricula based partly upon open resources, which allowed them to respond and cater to students' needs, mitigating the negative impact of the high cost of published resources. However, students can hardly have benefited. Firstly, institutions did not provide educators with developed resources, despite being allocated with resources. Secondly, access to online resources for teachers in post-conflict settings can be difficult, especially for rural areas as many still do not have access to electrical supplies. Students in Sierra Leone are therefore unable to receive a high standard peace education, even after considering accessibility to high-

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10 Data generated on 16th and 22nd March 2021

quality, free, and well-developed open resources, and the quality of existing educational resources.

7.3 The Implementation of the Peace Education Kit in Practice

7.3.1 Promoting access to the Peace Education Kit through the community-based approach

Citizens in communities suffered negative effects when violence took place. Survival strategies therefore had to be adopted to respond to and serve as solutions to the long-lasting impacts resulting from the atrocities committed before humanitarian assistance arrived (Samura, 2013). The production of a "peace education toolkit" by Bretherton, Weston, and Zbar (2003) indicated the importance of educational provision in post-war settings. As mentioned in Chapter 6, such a toolkit served as a guide when implementing peace education. By requiring equal access to education, stakeholders were obliged to promote peace education in a fast but appropriate way. The community-based approach was therefore promoted as it emphasised the grassroots level, with the purpose of addressing local needs. Scholars like Newman (2010) have identified a bottom-up approach as a useful way to complement the disadvantages of top-down approaches during post-war reconstruction. The interview data[11] also suggested that such a strategy could effectively broaden the reach of peace education initiatives because the local community was seen as the primary focus and a common unit that has been affected by war. Indeed, every community constitutes an element in peace education that can reverse a violent nature within a relatively small area.

The adoption of the community-based approach led to success in the peace educational toolkit implemented nationwide. The core idea here was to instil knowledge, peaceful ideas, and skills to people within their communities through increasing personal capacity. As Slaymaker and Christiansen (2005, p.4) indicated,

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[11] Data generated from interview on 15th Mar and 19th Apr 2021

"the existence of an enabling environment which can provide information to support identification of appropriate solutions, decide on the optimum level of provision, ensure maintenance of minimum standards, and respond flexibly to changing demand for services over time." Moreover, implementing peace education through a community-based approach can provide local citizens and children with multiple benefits, such as improved sustainability of external and internal interventions, and enhanced effectiveness of peace education. However, the most important benefits can be viewed as the sustained provision of peace education within the community, allowing locals to achieve personal development and human emancipation.[12]

In Sierra Leone, even though there was an absence of ethnic divisions, multiple spoken languages hindered the spread of peace education nationwide. Most of the interviewees believed that when a community became a centre from which a peace education framework was implemented, it created the required bridge between classrooms, schools, and the wider community. In turn, divisive ideologies such as the belief that 'violence is the only way to solve inequality' has been weakening, and a holistic understanding in the development and the meaning of peace education was promoted instead. Officials and practitioners argued that the effectiveness of promoting formal peace education through the community-based approach had been justified through multiple sources of evidence. Authorities from each community were offered better supervision, especially on whether peace educational resources were equally distributed to girls, marginalised children, and the poor. Indeed, populations who need specific concern would be offered assistance through peace education measures. Such an argument supported another benefit: when there were a fixed number of schools, learning institutions, and populations, it was easier to follow up. Meanwhile, their capacity with regard to solutions to peace has been strengthened, as the available resources were distributed more effectively.

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[12] Data generated from interview on 20th Jan and 28th Feb 2021

However, interviewees [13] also indicated that there were drawbacks to the community-based approach. Firstly, implementation was largely constrained by location, especially when some communities were out of the reach of national governments and external actors. For example, one of the curriculum experts indicated that:

When some areas are out of reach by railway or highway, peace education seemed to be hard to disseminate, and it was also hard for teachers to access other training opportunities, mentors cannot access to the most marginalised rural areas in the meantime.

Another difficulty in disseminating peace education in Sierra Leone would be the often-mentioned gender inequality. Though peace education aimed to empower females, it is challenging when social ethos and traditional thinking constrain the equitable distribution of educational opportunities to girls and women[14]. Informants further pointed out that during the 2000s, educational resources and work opportunities were male centred. Hence, regarding the implementation of a community-based approach, an inclusive structure that leads to an equitable education distribution towards children as well as to weakened gender and other divides should be considered. The Ministry of Education indicated that the total number of peace education practices in Sierra Leone was not important, especially when taking the unequal distribution and issues related to inequalities into account. Furthermore, a practitioner of the UNESCO indicated that targeting ex-combatants belonging to different factions was essential, as they may hinder the transition to peaceful co-existence and the overall peacebuilding process[15]. Gender issues and the unequal access will be described in the following sections as well.

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[13] Data generated on 15th March 2021 and 19th April 2021
[14] Data generated on 25th February and 5th May 2021
[15] Data generated on 22nd Mar 2021

7.3.2 The evaluation of the Peace Education Kit from the perspectives of informants

As mentioned by Bretherton, Weston and Zbar (2003;2010), the kit was initiated by the World Bank, promoted by MOEST, and involved many local and international agencies. It was also claimed that, with the purpose of contributing to national peacebuilding, the kit was designed as a nationwide curriculum which allowed every child to gain access to and be involved in peace education. In this section, I will discuss the successes, the challenges and failures encountered during the implementation of the kit.

Firstly, curriculum experts, practitioners, and officials have different focuses with regard to this question. Teachers focused on the difficulties in gaining copies of the kit, as well as challenges in using it, as there was a lack of mentors who could provide guidance in terms of application[16]. In addition, it was also proposed that the kit was designed in 2002, implemented in 2003, but had not otherwise been updated, teachers had to continue using the same version[17]. By the 2010s, most teachers choose to only use part of the materials provided in the kit, as some of the stories and methods were too outdated for younger children would not have had any direct experience of the civil war. [18]

Practitioners only discussed the hardship of achieving educational equality in distributing copies of the kit. One practitioner explained that the education system was too divergent, which meant it was difficult to unify their teaching approach and the teaching materials they had adopted, as education was delivered through learning centres held by NGOs, as well as community training centres for children who were out of school[19]. Moreover, due to the lack of development in traffic infrastructures, it was difficult to deliver the kit to remote rural areas[20]. Another

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[16] Data generated on 3rd Mar 2021
[17] Data generated on 4th Mar 2021
[18] Data generated on 15th Mar2021
[19] Data generated on 10th Apr 2021
[20] Data generated on 5th May 2021

practitioner also claimed that this tool kit had not achieved its expected status as a nationwide curriculum due to the difficulties mentioned above. This practitioner also stressed that the toolkit itself was too complicated for many teachers in Sierra Leone. Firstly, since the writers tried to include a lot of information in each class, there was no doubt that teachers should select key messages as they saw fit for the students. Moreover, time management is crucial to delivering classes efficiently, but this cannot be achieved without pretraining activities. The solution to this was to provide teachers with opportunities to receive training in provincial cities[21]. A teaching expert indicated that:

> *"Although there was a lack of evaluation with regard to the percentage of teachers who came to received training, from a very personal perspective, the rate would be very high."* [22]

From the perspectives of the officials, the initial education issue they faced was the destruction of the school system and infrastructures. Most schools were damaged by the war, and there was a lack of tables and teaching resources that was not limited to textbooks and chalk. Moreover, the civil war created a traumatised population. Most of the officials described that there were no winners of the war; even the ex-combatants behaved like victims rather than perpetrators. Thus, the kit attempted to meet the requirements needed to promote positive thinking, to address the widely existing psychological trauma, and to rebuild a peaceful society without discrimination. However, one of the officials noticed that, unfortunately, the kit did not include education for children who suffered from physical trauma, especially those who had lost limbs. These children seemed to be marginalised by the nationwide curriculum. When I inquired about this drawback, and why it was never mentioned by practitioners or teachers, he replied "it was because of limited learning

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[21] Data generated on 19th Apr 2021
[22] Data generated on 16th Mar 2021

activities which were appropriate for them to participate in." [23] This was worse in hard-to-reach regions. Unfortunately, non-formal approaches also failed to provide guidance for these populations.

This official, who worked in MOEST, also mentioned that the toolkit helped to address the high rates of illiteracy within the country. Rather than being implemented as a single subject within a weekly schedule, it was instead incorporated as part of the literacy programme which the government used to enhance the provision of education. This meant that the teaching method from the kit provided guidance and pedagogies for teachers; peace education on this occasion had become intertwined with general education. Positive evidence for this can be found in the rural areas, in that when there was external engagement with external NGOs and practitioners, learning efficiency increased. Children also found it easier to learn to read and write compared to the teacher-centred approach. This official further elaborated that the promotion of the kit increased students' interest in learning and critical thinking as well[24].

Finally, whilst the kit was designed to be a nationwide curriculum with the purpose of being implemented for children across the country, it was surprising that some Sierra Leoneans had never heard of it. During the interview with a curriculum expert who used to be a peace education teacher in a rural area, the interviewee told me that she had never heard about this kit during the 2000s.[25] The lack of promotion was demonstrated when I interviewed another official for this study: he explained that since the kit required too much effort to deliver, as a result, it was difficult to promote throughout the country. In particular, he mentioned how time-consuming it was for teachers in rural areas to come to receive training, or how difficult it was for a mentor to travel to these places. Moreover, the kit had too many materials

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[23] Data generated on 20th Feb2021
[24] Data generated on 20th Feb2021
[25] Data generated on 4th Mar 2021

which needed to be printed out, an obvious difficulty for low-income weak countries[26]. Therefore, although the kit provided all the necessary details of peace education, its complex nature hindered the process of it becoming a nationwide curriculum. This was further exacerbated by not having a unified peace education curriculum or textbook in Sierra Leone.

7.4 Discussing the Role and Impact of Peace Education from the Viewpoints of Experts in the Peace Education Curriculum

7.4.1 The comparison between formal and non-formal peace education programmes

From the interviews, experts in peace education and local officials widely believe that non-formal programmes held by local government or communities played a crucial role in building peace and reconciling citizens in the aftermath of conflict [27] These activities allowed citizens to gain opportunities for education regardless of their age, gender, vocation, or location. Participation in non-formal activities provided them with an open environment to express themselves freely, which also prevented them from potentially joining rebel groups in the future. Meanwhile, peace education and education in general held at schools promoted gender equality through enhancing the enrolment of girls and other gender-related issues that remained of concern. As girls' attendance at formal schooling had remained lower than boys for the preceding two decades. Cultural history and social ethos have further restricted girls' participation in formal peace education. Cultural history and social ethos further restricted girls' participation in formal peace education held in schools. To summarise, formal and non-formal education the promotion of education provided more opportunities for girls to be educated.

Secondly, informants commonly argued that formal education or lessons without peace messages only focus on delivering knowledge to pupils. Even though the

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[26] Data generated on 25th Feb 2021
[27] Data generated on 3rd 15th 16th Mar 2021

student-centred approach had been promoted, the teacher-centred approach was still popular in many schools in Sierra Leone. As such, in lessons without practical applications related to peace, such as those in formal peace education practices, teaching activities became limited to theory, with limited opportunities for student activities. An expert, who is a founder of a peace education school Sierra Leone, described that:

> *Students also found it difficult to express their feelings, for fear of giving wrong answers during the formal teaching. This was because teachers hold absolute authority among students.*[28]

Thirdly, both formal and non-formal activities emphasised addressing people's anxiety, trauma, and aggressive behaviour, and promoting positive thinking towards non-violence. More importantly, activities like conversations, watching films, or playing gave participants and students at school ways to share their own stories, to heal each other, and finally to reconcile their differences.

However, the comparisons of the effectiveness of radio and TV drama towards citizens was not mentioned by curriculum experts. On the one hand, most have limited knowledge and experience in these non-formal educational programmes; on the other, the limitations and contribution of non-formal educational programmes were hard to measure from a personal perspective. Therefore, the effectiveness of non-formal programmes sometimes may serve as complementary methods were not discussed during the interview processes.

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[28] Data generated on 3rd March 2021

7.4.2 The impact of formal peace education programmes on the development of students' attitudes, and peace-related behaviour

Curriculum experts referred to people who trained tutors and had a deep knowledge and understanding of peace education curricula. Thus, they can provide a distinct perspective on the impact and effectiveness of formal peace education as they would be in a position to share their experience retrospectively.

Experts' seeing changes in interpersonal relationships to significant changes in individuals, (e.g., becoming well-disciplined, and significant impacts for teachers in this area). Experts emphasised personal changes as they believed that micro-changes within a small community could be expanded to macro-changes that would affect the entire country. Moreover, some pupils in the aftermath of the civil war found it hard, and failed, to develop skills in anger control. According to experts, reconciliation took more time for children between 14 to 18 years old. Although they have been taught to develop a peaceful co-existence, boys still tended to initiate fights suddenly, while girls tended to quarrel when they were holding conflicting perspectives and ideas.

In the post-conflict era, students failed to utilise anger management skills and were unable to recognise what had triggered these violent behaviours. Changes among students occurred when peace education taught students about the root causes of the civil war. The curriculum emphasised that both ex-combatants and citizens were victims of the civil war since there was an absence of anything resembling a winner. Students, therefore, showed their willingness to develop positive inter-relationships with each other. One of the experts noted that he had trained many teachers in peace education during the past two decades, and when those teachers returned to their communities and taught peace education to local pupils, the same occurred as described above. Accompanied by the spread of peace-related information, pupils learnt to live within peace. Regarding the change in disciplinary approaches, experts gave the example of utilising positive disciplinary approaches. For example:

"When we had been explaining the importance of school rules in a positive language and asked them to obey these rules, rather than applying corporal punishment in class, students will deal their dispute with positive conversations rather than physical violence. " [29]

Experts also claimed that peace education played a role in restoring normalcy for children by healing and reducing acts of violence. Schools and institutions that provided students teaching activities signified a specific symbolic importance for children and their parents. As illustrated by one of the experts:

"Peace education told them the importance of peace for self-development and restored them in the hope of future. The attendance of class and peace club, allow them to forgive their peers who have attended in war as combatants, the rate of physical violence reduced, and aggression were gradually disappeared." [30]

Other two participants' perspectives indicated that:

"Peace education provided students with an idea about peace is precious, and conflict is devastating. With this in mind, they finally understand peace is a basis for their personal development, for national development."[31]

"Peace education allowed students to understand that normal life without the threat of war is precious. Students enjoyed school life and teaching, and they feel safe when they were at schools. Schools and institutions offered health services like vaccines, and they feel more protected from diseases." [32]

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[29] Data generated on 4th March 2021
[30] Data generated on 15th March 2021
[31] Data generated *on 3rd Mar 2021*
[32] Data generated *on 16th Mar 2021*

Moreover, informants who belong to this category indicated that the process of teaching and training educators of peace education is a way to teach, to heal themselves, and to allow them to escape from their previous experiences. One of the informants mentioned in particular that some of her family members had been killed, and their houses burned by the rebel groups. To escape the war, she was displaced around the whole country for nearly eight years on her own. After the implementation of the Lome Peace record, the reconciliation process was initialled by a 'Truth-Telling' activity, which was when she participated in one of the events in a small community in Port Loko. Her past memory and experiences tortured her and caused her significant distress when she heard how ex-combatants killed innocents. She said she even thought of retaliation by repeating their behaviours. After this, she was selected to be trained as a peace educator. It took her a long time to reconcile herself with her past, to learn how to deal with past trauma, and to forgive the victims of the civil war. She always used her own experiences to educate pupils who were suffering from trauma.

Experts also mentioned changes related to the abandonment of corporal punishment during the teaching sessions.

> *"Stopping the use of corporal punishment was mentioned initially when we educated teachers who came from around the whole country. If we wish peace to be sustained, we must ensure that no beating happened within schools. We believed that a school is a microcosm of our country, thus we tried very hard in terms of eliminating all kinds of violence."* [33]

Another expert also indicated that:

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[33] Data generated on 3rd and 15th Mar 2021

"We believed that students would not stop to use physical violence if they saw teachers using them during classes. Stopping corporal punishment can improve relationships between students and teachers. Teaching with harmony encouraged students to ask and to criticise, which ultimately improved teaching performance." [34]

However, the use of physical punishment cannot be fully abandoned by teachers and parents in Sierra Leone. This issue is discussed further in Section 7.5.1 and Chapter 8.

Experts indicated that the promotion of non-violence needed more time than estimated. Positive attitudes and reconciliation were achieved when interpersonal relationships were improved by promoting peace curricula. Moreover, the change in pupils' attitudes, such as obedience to school rules, were seen as positive outcomes. However, the narrative regarding obedience and being well-disciplined emphasised how peace education could alter students' behaviour socially at school as seen from the perspective of teachers' power, rather than enhanced awareness of non-violent resolution among their peers. The truth is that while corporal punishment is lawful in Sierra Leone (Owen, 2014), the relationships between teachers and students were considerably improved when corporal punishment was abandoned by teachers at school. To conclude, education restored normalcy and provided children with safety and protection, which were also seen as one of the fundamental reasons for positive changes. The absence of corporal punishment had positive impacts for peace education teachers, but crucial for the positive changes overall but this positive impact was not frequently mentioned by scholars in this field.

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[34] Data generated on 4th March 2021

7.4.3 The impact of formal peace education programmes for reintegration and psychosocial adjustment

My findings in this sub-section were generated from an interview with one of the teachers who had focused on teaching former child combatants since 2002. This Section will place particular emphasis on this curriculum expert because he founded a school that included many former combatants. Such a life experience made his ideas particularly important to this study. Data were generated based on an interview that took place on 4th March 2021.

Children were forced to fight as combatants on the frontlines in Sierra Leonean civil war. Young combatants were forced to participate in atrocities, such as killing or assaulting innocents, their families, and neighbours, which had directly destroyed their relationships with their communities and families. Others had served as guards, cookers, human shields; girls were even forced to be sex slaves. The expert claimed that these behaviours drastically reduced the possibilities for children to escape and return home. He further indicated the truth that most children faced multiple psychological and social difficulties when re-entering schools and communities. He claimed that all the children he had taught had vivid memories of violence and atrocities related to war. Some girls who have been forced to work as sex slaves refused to talk to any males. Meanwhile, many children suffered from insomnia and consistent nightmares. Other ex-combatant children said they felt depressed and nervous if someone talked to them. Although much of the literature indicated that peace education is a useful tool in achieving reintegration, and helping with psychological and social adjustment, research in this field seemed to be rather limited. Therefore, this section will highlight how peace education helped former child combatants to recover from persistent psychological difficulties generated by war, and their reintegration into their communities and families. As a peace educator, he mentioned the effectiveness of the "Resilience Approach". In the meantime, cultivating resilience was also set as a priority for children to overcome trauma. Resilience in traumatic related literature was defined as "a relative resistance to

environmental risk experiences, or the overcoming of stress or adversity" (Rutter, 2006, p1). As he stated

> *"Let children see difficulties in their daily life, for example, the risk of unemployment, the stress generated from their study, the gaps between our country, and the developed countries can help pupils focused on future rather than the past. The ability of resilience also came from real history telling. I would like to introduce the development of other countries, and how violent these countries used to be. I aimed to tell students, most of the development in history was brutal and cost many lives. It was certainly unfair for many innocents, but since we cannot change the past, our role is to change ourselves, to avoid the reoccurrence of war, to achieve development through peaceful movements".*

However, resilience should not be the only approach to a peace education class, and teachers offered protection to children in the meantime. For example, to protect and cultivate their ability to deal with their past memories, he suggested that students could share their stories through letters and paintings to teachers that could be posted into a box installed in classroom or through in-person conversations with teachers. Teachers could share their experiences relating to and solutions to these traumas after obtaining agreement from pupils. Moreover, the protective method also came from daily life, girls who have been raped or who served as sex slave tended to avoid private conversations with males, no matter whether these were with teachers or their peers. The solution was to let female teachers listen to their stories and provide with them sufficient social distance. Other than this, he said that radio programmes or dramas were effective in dealing with psychological trauma. For girls, programmes like *Sisi Aminata* gave them opportunities to gain advice and comfort from elderly women. Some girls shared their concerns of reconciliation and psychological trauma by letter or phone call. During the class, dramas like *The Team* showed all pupils the importance of cooperation and how to reconcile their

differences. With the aim of eliminating hatred and ideas of revenge among students, the methods above were also delivered to children who had not joined rebel groups. Meanwhile, this expert also pointed out the importance of putting equivalent focus on those whose families had been killed and were marginalised by their social status. A broad focus as such within a single classroom can ultimately help to achieve reconciliation and eliminate psychosocial trauma. Finally, for the author, although this expert had only briefly mentioned the use of non-formal methods within formal education, he clearly pointed out that combining the two approaches in peace education classrooms was highly effective.

7.5 Discussing the Role and Impact of Peace Education from the Perspectives of Practitioners

Informants interviewed for this section are, or used to be, practitioners of peace education in Sierra Leone; however, none of them are Sierra Leonian. All of them discussed the difficulties in establishing schools as non-violent places. These challenges not only occurred between pupils but also when teachers conducted classes. Schools and classrooms were violent places both pre- and post-war.

7.5.1 Corporal punishment – the challenges and difficulties to promoting non-violence in schools

The initial challenge mentioned by informants was the use of corporal punishment, even though this has been discussed in Section 7.4.2, but practitioners offered a different perspective. The culture of violence used to manifest itself by corporal punishment. As mentioned by all the informants of this study, Africans believed that corporal punishment is a disciplinary strategy and enforcement tool, which is a useful way to manage students and to facilitate the speed at which they learnt. Practitioners held different views to the curriculum experts I interviewed and claimed that the abolition of corporal punishment in school may not be as effective as it was widely adopted. Finally, children would suffer from increasing level of psychological trauma,

further affecting the violent pattern within society (Gershoff, 2010; Lansford and Dodge, 2008; Davies, 2004). One of the practitioners also indicated that

> *"Corporal punishment activities were hard to ban as it is accepted and legitimated culturally and morally. Some of the teachers even believe that it is a good way to push children to learn to behave better. But the adoption of corporal punishment to some extent communicated the reasonability of the adoption of violence in other areas."* [35]

This informant clearly pointed out that when children internalised corporal punishment, they could possibly generalise the use of violence to solve problems in other domains of their life.

Another informant expressed that

> *"It is hard to describe whether there was any direct linkage between the use of corporal punishment and the existence of violence in society, but the use of it certainly contradicts with non-violence norms. To solve this problem, we told teachers those punishments may limit students' willingness for expressing and further lower their learning capacity. We also told teachers to spread the idea of not using corporal punishment to their parents, because we believe that children tend to become involved in violence if they experienced them normally."* [36]

During the interview, this informant shared his experiences when he visited a primary school in Freetown.

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[35] Data generated on 22nd Mar 2021
[36] Data generated on 5th May 2021

"During a peace education class, the teacher asked a boy about his dream for the future and a 10-year-old boy replied that he wished he could be a terrorist. The teacher started to beat this little boy and responded with threatening words. This was an example whereby teachers pretend to use violent behaviour to stop the involvement of violence in the future." [37]

The statements above indicated the difficulties of abolishing corporal punishment from social and historical perspectives. It also emphasised the importance of non-violence at home and in society. Today, Sierra Leone is a country where corporal punishment has been abandoned by the rule of law at schools but at home it is still a legal practice. Although the majority of countries across the world retain corporal punishment within the home, the ending of such punishments seemed to be essential for post-conflict societies (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2018). The initial reason should be that children tend to rationalise the use of violence. Davies (2004) further approved this idea, where in conflict-prone societies the use of corporal punishment communicates that these violent behaviours have been legitimised and are widely accepted. In this sense, children may use violence to solve problems when they internalise and legitimise the use of violence (Lansford and Dodge, 2008). The direct links between the use of physical punishment and violence may be hard to prove in society. However, scholars like Gershoff (2010) have shown there is a high possibility of societal violence where corporal punishment is the norm.

7.5.2 Peace education provides teachers with more training opportunities

Teachers in armed conflict and education-related topics received significant attention. For one, as discussed above, teachers themselves act as an effective agency to deliver non-violence and peace messages. Other than that, discussing the ratio of teachers and students, ensuring they are paid proper salaries, and the need

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[37] Data generated on 5th May 2021

to train teachers to high levels of qualification raised more awareness among external stakeholders. Informants who belong to this category referred to the difficulties in promoting teachers' performance in the post-conflict period. In particular, many teachers had to flee to escape the civil war, and their teaching activities were thus interrupted. However, there was a lack of institutions that could equip them with the equivalent teaching skills or knowledge they needed to teach students. To solve these problems, the external stakeholders ran peace education training sessions for teachers with a special focus on increasing the number of female teachers, who could fundamentally promote female participation in education -- the Emergency Issue mentioned in Chapter 6 should be one of the leading initiatives. For practitioners, teaching and learning capacities have therefore been increased since more training opportunities have been provided. For teachers and students, increased teaching skills allowed them to teach and learn better[38].

Improving teachers' abilities and qualifications in contributing to the positive effects of peace education was important to mention. From the perspectives of practitioners, they believed in the importance of teachers' roles in bringing peace, and the continuation of providing training sessions to teachers.

> *"Sometimes there were big differences between practice and theory. According to my experience, I can say increasing teachers' capacity was the main obstacle for peace. Some teachers only received secondary or high school level of education, rarely any of them have ever been enrolled in a college, especially teachers from rural areas. These teachers also found it hard to abandon their teaching style, for example, they asked students to memorise what was mentioned in textbooks rather than explaining in detail or provide students with criticism opportunities."* [39]

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[38] Data generated on 5th May 2021
[39] Data generated on 10th Apr 2021

Another practitioner also indicated that

> "*The lower educated nature of teachers sometimes tends to ignore the importance of gender equality and the need to promote EFA for boys from poorer families. As teachers were perceived to play a strong role when they were needed to explain the importance of education for their personal development in the future as well as the potential for the whole country, but many teachers (both female and male) believed that children who worked for payments should be a better choice for those from poorer and marginalised families.*" [40]

Peace education training sessions designed for teachers allowed them to switch their thinking and beliefs, and when these beliefs spread to parents, they can change the social ethos and fundamentally avoid grievances associated with the root cause of conflict. Apart from that, the practitioner told me that he found that pupils at schools tend to observe teachers' behaviour, for example, the interactions among teachers and whether they can solve interpersonal conflicts with appropriate words and methods. Training for teachers helped improve pedagogy, curricula, and frameworks. Some the teachers in remote areas would not participate in other training sessions, but they internalised skills, knowledge, peace norms and, most importantly, how, through their behaviour and thinking, they can act as positive role models for long-lasting peace amongst their students[41].

7.5.3 Pedagogies of formal peace education

For practitioners in Sierra Leone, peace education should be seen as a system which is integrated into the national education system rather than individual courses held by various stakeholders. Whilst formal peace education can be a standalone subject held by external international organisations, it can also "be integrated into the school

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[40] Data generated on 19th Apr 2021
[41] Data generated on 5th May 2021

education system through an integrative or additive approach" (Lauritzen, 2013, p58). The distinctions between them were summarised in the way they conducted teaching activities. Externally held peace education usually took place outside schools, and were, for example conducted in centres of organisations. The integrative method indicated that peace education was treated as being mainstream and integrated into every subject, becoming a "dimension across the curriculum" (Hicks, 1988a, p. 11). The additive method means peace education was given extra slots and materials in the timetable of the school system (Hicks, 1988a).

As one of the practitioners stated that:

"There has not been a lot of scholars who mentioned formal peace education that took place out of school, but it certainly can target wider populations, especially children who missed or drop out of education. We taught them about the values of peace, and how education may affect their own life and the destiny of their country." [42]

Another practitioner also mentioned that:

"Because we would not let parents pay any fees but provided education opportunities to children so that many parents prefer to send their children to our centre. However, except for these accelerated courses, the curriculums we provided usually took place at weekends and obviously were shorter than that at schools. The consequence is, to prolong children's education trajectory, parents would like children enrolled in other external conceived free formal and informal peace curriculum." [43]

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[42] Data generated on 19th Apr 2021
[43] *Data generated on 22nd Mar 2021*

There is no doubt that this kind of formal peace education curriculum has certain benefits, for example, it can target wider populations by installed equity, peace values, and promoting EFA. For some families, it is also cheaper, easier, and less time-consuming for their children to attend free courses outside school. For practitioners, a potential drawback is that only teachers allocated by local government and schools can gain the appropriate access to deliver formal education within the centres of peace education located in provincial cities. Similarly, students in these cities can enrol in many courses provided by external donors, but children outside provincial cities can only accept limited messages delivered by teachers who received a short-term or limited education, which once again demonstrates the existing inequality between children who live in different areas.

Other than this, scholars also hold different opinions towards integrative and additive methods. Scholars like Carson and Lange (1997) have argued that the integrative approach to peace education is the most effective as it consistently offers ideas that are related to peace during daily study and also provides challenges that allow for critical reflection. From a different perspective, the World Bank (2005) argues that peace education programmes are more likely to succeed when added to already existing curricula by allotting dedicated slots in timetables. However, many scholars believe that the success of peace education is more about the resolution of root causes that lead to the occurrence of conflict (Davies, 2004). In accordance with the above arguments, this section will introduce their role and impact with reference to two distinct approaches according to the opinions of the practitioners interviewed.

The integrative method of peace education first appeared in the 'Truth-Telling' activity in 2003 (see Section 6.2.1). Similar to what was described in the literature, children or ex-child combatants who enrolled in the school system or participated in any other peace-related activities were asked to share their experience about war. Peace values and objectives that were helpful in promoting peace were mentioned in curricula since then, thus the central focus of this approach was to deal with the

past violence effectively and prevent the reoccurrence of violence during the transition period. However, children and adults choose not to mention their pasts, no matter whether this was within or outside school; this integrative approach only focused on peace content within school. With the development of informal peace education, teachers mentioned dramas and radio programmes when conducting classes. Like other African countries in transition, formal peace education with the integrative method focused on narrative questions such as "why did war occur in our country?" and "why was the warring RUF faction composed largely of young adults?" Even though Sierra Leone's school systems noted the importance of peace and values that could contribute to peace through a truth-telling integrative method, practitioners and policymakers indicated the need to introduce formal peace education with an additive approach. Peace education as a standalone subject was then quickly promoted and introduced to primary and secondary schools. Another weakness pointed out by one practitioner was that whilst peace education was set as a subject for examination, students only memorised knowledge to pass exams but did not actually internalise the main values of peace.

Moreover, as a part of the additive approach, peace education curricula were introduced to select primary and secondary schools around the country with the collaboration of the Minister of Education, Youth and Sports, Centre for Peace Development Education, the British government, and UNESCO. It is worth mentioning here that there was only one document (All Africa, 2010) that mentioned such practice, but without any further reflections and analysis. I shared my concerns with all interviewees in order to understand this confusing circumstance. From the perspective of practitioners, this programme only targeted a few schools in Freetown without adoption as part of a universal curriculum for the following reasons: firstly, introducing a curriculum required the national government to invest a large amount of fiscal spending on teacher' training and teaching materials. Secondly, collaborations with multiple external stakeholders were a drawback to the introduction of a formal peace education curriculum when the national government

was not powerful enough. Since the low capacity would not allow them to have full autonomy so that the Sierra Leone government would have to fulfil every donor's requirement regarding teaching focus, contents, and specification of teaching materials. The low capacity contributed to the absence of a universal domestic formal peace education curriculum, as well as the absence of unified textbooks. These were seen as the main weaknesses of peace education in Sierra Leone by practitioners. The low capacity of the national government and relevant institutions can be seen in the lack of accountability of local governments, the role of the provincial and municipal education ministry was not well mentioned when promoting the peace education curriculum. To summarise, practitioners believed that the success of peace education was largely dependent on external stakeholders, local governments, and teachers from the grassroots level.

7.6 Discussing the Role and Impact of Peace Education from the Perspectives of Sierra Leonian officials

This section provides views of four of the officials interviewed from the Sierra Leone Ministry of Education. They all played important roles in introducing and spreading peace education practices. The views of these officials helped to identify aspects of peace education that contributed to the promotion of EFA and sustainable peace as well as peacebuilding.

7.6.1 The importance and the role of external stakeholders in constructing peace education

All the officials mentioned that the involvement of external stakeholders allowed the Sierra Leonean government to secure education as a fundamental right for its children. Smith and Vaux (2003) argued why education should be maintained even in the most challenging of circumstances. However, these officials emphasised different perspectives with regard to the role of peace education on a different timescale. Some mentioned the time period in the midst of civil war, where peace education

was promoted as a form of Education in Emergency by institutions such as iEARN, which was not well-documented by scholars. On the one hand, peace education was not allocated with much funding and was given less attention; on the other, peace education did not play an essential role in ending conflict or changing recipients' mindsets when they saw the ongoing war. Moreover, it was claimed that peace education as a humanitarian response in wartime faced multiple challenges; it offered children protection against abuse, but because these school buildings were easily attacked, pupils at school were forced to flee to escape the war with their families.

Other officials mentioned the role of external stakeholders when promoting peace education in the aftermath of the civil war. One official specifically noted that peace education in the post-conflict era could be generally described as a part of humanitarian service provision, with an initial concern to promote education access (both formal and non-formal) and education quality[44]. Without help from the international society, the Sierra Leonean government could not achieve the goal of free access to education for the primary and secondary levels. Apart from this, external donors adopted a "conflict-sensitive" method when reconstructing school systems. Corresponding to the information provided by the documents I summarised in Section 6.4.4, that without posting any further harms to local communities, the "Rehabilitation of Basic Education Project" provided educational assistance by simply rebuilding schools in their original places. This approach was more explicit in terms of actively restoring normality to local citizens. Meanwhile, rebuilt shared schools for citizens were in line with the social relationship transformations and structural change. In other words, school activities brought same age children together to reconcile with each other, which is necessary for positive peace mentioned by Galtung (1973). Officials such as policy makers gave more attention to freely accessed non-formal peace education, especially radio and TV programmes. In short, they

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[44] Data generated on 20th Feb 2021.

focused on the well-produced and high-cost nature of these programmes and how they benefitted marginalised populations.

7.6.2 Peace education promoted Education For All (EFA)

One of the officials indicated that peace education cannot be apart from the realm of education circumstance in Sierra Leone. As a part of educational practice, peace education promoted free access to school[45]. By tracing back history, the experiences of Sierra Leone helped us understand how education played an essential role in contributing to the civil war. The elitist nature of education during the colonial and post-colonial time was the main contributor to the occurrence of the civil war. As there were no ethnic, racial, or tribal hatreds in Sierra Leone, education was therefore one of the driving factors, and played a problematic role in the creation of conflict. However, from a different perspective, such problems can also be the solution to gaining satisfaction. Policies and practices within the education system were analysed and reformed in order to sustain peace. Free access to schools for all genders to a secondary level was a central aim. This policy aimed to promote education for all and eliminate the high rates of illiteracy. However, the official also mentioned that parents had to pay other fees on top of tuition fees, which ultimately contributed to high drop-out rates, no matter whether schools were providing peace education located in provincial cities or in rural areas. As Sierra Leone has a low economic performance, families can rarely afford such costs. The low economic performance led to another obstacle -- gender inequality. In particular, girls were not provided with equal educational opportunities in comparison to boys within a family. To resolve this problem, non-formal peace education opportunities were developed for girls and others who were unable afford school payments. This participant, who was an officer in MOEST, specifically mentioned the positive influences of a radio programme called '*Sisi Aminata*' for girls and women (see details in Section 6.5.2.2). Females were taught about the basic rights they have in terms of education,

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[45] Data generated on 20th Jan 2021

pregnancy, and marriage, and they tended to be empowered by free-accessed non-formal educations.

Finally, the appearance of vocational education demonstrated an educational progress that was achieved on the policy level. These initiatives, such as the Civic Education for Women and Functional Political Literacy, helped vulnerable people gain access to basic education rights. The official indicated that vocational education in the post-war era was set up to respond to war-related issues and was categorised into four areas:

- Conflict-related and oriented programmes
- The response to social, and need-oriented programmes
- National development programmes
- Policy-related programmes

Although most of these programmes did not contain the word "peace education", as illustrated in Chapter 4, the learning materials can be viewed as a part of peace education as they mentioned peaceful messages and the way to achieve peaceful co-existence with former enemies. In particular, the informants who belong to this category believed that contents included in vocational education, especially civic education, life skill education, and community education should be considered a part of or to be in line with peace education. They claimed that vocational education changed the education dynamics in Sierra Leone, allowing the country to shift from the elitist nature of education to education for all. In addition, some officials also claimed that vocational education was beneficial, and equipped recipients with working skills, therefore providing them with opportunities to choose their jobs other than working on farms.

To summarise, it was agreed by all four officials that the widely promoted educational programmes including formal education for children, the non-formal

education launched as TV series or physical activities, and the vocational education among adults together contributed to the promotion of education for all. Meanwhile, as mentioned by scholars like Samura (2013) and organisations like UNESCO (2008), they believed that the newly emergent education policies in the 2000s were partly a response to the educational circumstances that led to the outbreak of the civil war in the 1990s, demonstrating the need to think about how to deal with the root cause of the war.

7.6.3 Peace education provided a second chance for children

Officials also claimed that peace education promoted human development and the possibility of eradicating poverty[46]. Children rarely get a second chance when deprived of the opportunity due to the conflict. However, peace education offered an accelerated learning opportunity, known as the Complementary Rapid Education for Primary Schools (CREPS), which targeted children aged between 10-16 (Chapter 6). Other than the CREPs run by UNICEF, MEST and the NRC, there were many other accelerated programmes held by local education ministries, which increased the educational opportunities they lost when violence took place. Scholars like Smith (2010) have argued about the importance of implementing education in post-conflict societies, in which he stressed the loss of education "is not just a loss to the individual, but a loss of social capital and the capacity of a society to recover from the conflict" (p.1). These accelerated programmes addressed perceived and underlying inequalities which existed within the Sierra Leonean context by providing children with a second chance to attend formal primary education. For an individual, programmes like CREPS cultivated children's ability regarding critical thinking and further study. For society as a whole, it increased the possibility of being able to access the formal school system, which meant that the elitist nature of education was effectively eliminated. Since unequal access to schools was determined to be

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[46] Data generated on 25th and 28th Feb 2021

one of the main root causes of the civil war, the implementation of accelerated programmes reduced the possibility of reoccurrence.

Nevertheless, consideration needed to be given to the challenges faced by CREPS, which was elaborated by Johannesen (2005). In his work, he claimed that compared to formal schooling, the existence of curricula like CREPS functioned as a parallel to the current system and seemed to be competitive. Thus, since the accelerated courses were designed for overaged children, many children under the age of 10 were identified as illegally enrolled in accelerated programmes in the hope of shorter learning times and reduced costs. However, to these officials, as the accelerated curricula largely consisted of overaged children, they could hardly be considered competitive systems to formal schooling when the audit criteria was high. In areas out of governmental control, it would be a severe problem for formal primary schooling.

7.6.4 The development of the formal peace education approach

As mentioned by practitioners (see Section 7.5.3), different approaches to peace education became evident since stakeholders held different perspectives and could exert their influence in various directions. Organisations such as the USAID strongly advocated that pupils should participate in courses that took place in their own training centres, whilst UN agencies recommending the adoption of both integrative and additive approaches; the officials interviewed argued for an additive approach only.

They hold the idea that such an approach would impact recipients better. "*An additive approach can promote literacy while promote peace.*" [47] Another official mentioned that *"Peace should be achieved during daily education."* [48] The other informants noted that *"Adopting an additive approach is a good way to promote*

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[47] Data generated on 25th and 28th Feb 2021
[48] Data generated on 20th Feb 2021

education quality through providing teachers at school with sufficient peace-related knowledges." [49] *"Students can engage with their peers and teachers better; they can also practice peace with people who they were familiar with."* [50]

However, there was insufficient analyses in terms of revealing which approach may provide a better impact in post-conflict settings. As a result, peace education integrated all three approaches with a purpose to deliver peace education at multiple levels and reach more children. Informants explained that the Sierra Leonean government tried to incorporate peace values and ideas in pupils' everyday life so that peace education should exist "everywhere", such as in their every class, in their entertainment activities like reading, activity clubs, and TV and radio programmes.

The problem with the holistic issue was widely mentioned by officials. The national government wished to promote harmony, reconciliation, democracy, and values related to human rights through peace education. It was widely agreed that the implementation of a country-wide universal programme would benefit the whole country and the children better. However, lack of funding made such a programme impossible, so is it reasonable to ask how peace education in Sierra Leone can contribute to overall peace? One official stated that the main explanation was related to the root causes of violence, which were completely different in comparison to other African countries, such as Rwanda, unequal educational opportunities were a microcosm of pre-war society, so when peace education at multiple levels promoted equity, justice, and equality, it meant that the root causes for violence were resolving themselves. Secondly, the drawbacks which appeared on the peace education level were not perceived as an issue for citizens. Parents and pupils appreciated the external stakeholders' assistance[51].

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[49] Data generated on 20th Jan 2021
[50] Data generated on 28th Feb 2021
[51] Data generated on 20th Jan2021

Such narratives were confirmed by other officials, who stated that

> *"For illiterate families, any kind of educational opportunities are precious. The drawbacks in your eyes may be the most precious things for them. As you mentioned, teachers can only receive equivalent training in provincial or capital cities, but in my experience, many students were excited to ask their teachers to share their experience and will be more concentrate on what teachers taught them in class."* [52]

7.6.5 Challenges to external stakeholders

The role of external stakeholders was mentioned by officials. On the one hand, officials agreed that external stakeholders supported peace education frameworks in Sierra Leone; in particular, they supported the refurbishment of school buildings, provided essential needs such as learning materials and experts in peace education dispatched from many IOs and NGOs. On the other, the official who has now retired but used to work with external stakeholders indicated that acceptance of their support on most occasions were regarded as a double-edged sword. This phenomenon widely existed in externally conceived peacebuilding initiatives. There was an increasing emphasis on local ownership, especially among officials who tried to advocate for boosting effectiveness and sustainability of peace operations through preservation of non-imposition and self-determination in the Sierra Leone context. However, the practitioners from IOs believed that enabling local ownerships may have sometimes hindered the achievements of its preset goals. A practitioner from UNICEF describes that

> *"Sometimes practitioners may be confronted with the tensions between local authorities and international norms. We can see it like a dilemma, because sometime the elites or officials prefer to lead the peace-related practices in*

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[52] Data generated on 25th Feb 2021

accordance with their vision for the country. However, sometimes they tent to neglect the international norms such as 'gender equality' or 'regional equality'." [53]

Moreover, as mentioned previously, the peace education frameworks involved too many stakeholders, which ranged from IOs, regional organisations, NGOs, to local governmental institutions. The chaotic nature of peace education, the provision of methods and practices of peace education, consequently limited self-determination but increased external imposition with regard to formulating the educational system and policy on education and peace education. Therefore, although the engagement of various actors enabled the promotion of educational opportunities and helped the achievement of self-emancipation, yet was unable to deliver assurance regarding education standards and quality. This official also mentioned that this negative consequence coincided with the outbreak of Ebola, where many institutions withdrew their support, and the country's political, economic, medical, and educational sectors once again fell into disorder. The disarray caused by this outbreak once again indicated that the country has limited ability to manage itself.

7.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the role and impact of peace education generated from virtual face-to-face interviews. The nature of peace education and the implementation of the Peace Education Kit were mentioned in advance to introduce peace education in practice. In general, although the EFA has been promoted through the increase in education opportunities, there was an absence of a unified curriculum or textbooks that have been promoted as national peace education programmes. External stakeholders played an essential role in educational reconstruction, but they struggled to promote peace education practices in remote rural areas. Peace

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[53] Data generated on 5th May 2021

education has indeed responded to part of the root cause of conflict in Serra Leone, namely through the explanation about the contribution of education to sustaining peace. Non-formal peace education is essential for evaluating the effectiveness of peace education, but due to limitations of the expertise of the informants included in this study, the evaluation of non-formal peace education programmes delivered through the media, as a part of limitations of this study, and the role of drama and radio programmes in promoting peace can only be analysed through documentation research, as will be presented in Section 8.2.6. The next chapter will provide readers with the analysis and discussion of the role of peace education in bringing negative peace to the country and the reason why positive peace has remained unachievable during the past twenty years.

Chapter Eight: Analysis and Discussion

 8.1 Introduction

Using documents, including academic literature, as sources of data helped to reveal the relationship between education and war, especially in terms of understanding the extent to which the education system became the main factor that led to the outbreak of the civil war (see Chapter 3). Meanwhile, in Chapter 6, documentary data also brought us the constitution of both formal and non-formal peace education in Sierra Leone. Chapter 7 described the role and contribution of peace education in Sierra Leone to sustaining peace from the perspectives of key informants. The informants who played various roles when peace education was implemented two decades ago pointed out drawbacks and limitations during this period. Drawing on the findings presented in the previous chapters, this chapter will provide an analysis of the effectiveness and contribution of peace education, where I will also describe features that may hinder the process of building peace. These discussions were based on the interview data generated between November 2018 and June 2021 with 12 informants of this study. More importantly, the findings and discussions will be analysed through the methods provided by Harris (2003) under the social constructionist approach.

This chapter will also describe the elements of peace education which may contribute to peace and describe the extent to which peace education might hinder the process of building sustainable peace. According to the data collected in Chapter 6 and the arguments generated from the informants of this study, peace education possessed numerous drawbacks that may have fuelled grievances and lead to the reoccurrence of the civil war. Therefore, to what extent can peace education, with these multiple drawbacks, contribute to peace (Section 8.3)? Finally, the appearance of peace raised the question about the kind of peace the country achieved so far. Accordingly, the final discussion will be provided to answer the following: To what extent can peace

education support peace? (Section 8.4.) With due consideration for the theory provided by Gaultung (1976), there is a significant difference between positive peace and negative peace, and therefore supplementary discussion about negative peace and positive peace has been provided as two separate sections (Section 8.5).

8.2 Which Elements of Peace Education Allowed Sierra Leone to Build a Sustainable Peace

In theory, peace education promotes the idea that positive transformations in educational content and structure can address deep-rooted social issues and inequalities such as structural and cultural violence and poverty that can finally allow society as a whole to escape from the underlying characteristics of violence, and further empower individuals to achieve personal emancipation (Bajaj, 2008; Harris and Morrison, 2003; Reardon, 2001). According to the data provided by informants and documents, this section will analyse and discuss which elements of peace education have addressed the deep-rooted causes of violence and the features of peace education that have promoted the spread of peace messages across the country. In general, I argued that the policy related to peace education, the manner in which peace education has been implemented through formal and non-formal approaches, shifting approaches to teaching, promoting access to education, and the engagement of external international donors were the main aspects of peace education that may have contributed to the peace during the past two decades. As a result, peace education served as a tangible tool and guideline to facilitating educational reformation that was not only limited to promoting free-access education from primary level to secondary level, but also the development of free vocational adult education, and the distribution of peace messages through various non-formal educational approaches. Peace education as a tool for post-conflict reconstruction emphasised the importance of paying particular attention to eliminating any forms of violence and finally achieving theories of change (root causes and justice, reduction of violence, and public attitudes) and types of change

(attitude, skills, and behaviour). Moreover, the absence of ethnic and religious conflict was argued to be another positive feature when dealing with pre-war legacies.

8.2.1 The role of educational policy in contributing to peace

Education was a part of national institutional reform in the 1990s and, following the advocacy of the UN EFA, numerous educational policies have emerged since 1995. The key aims of education were to build a cohesive nation with sustainable peace, enhance the integral development of citizens, and to develop a free, just, democratic, and peace-loving society through promoting access to education (Davis, 2004). The major roles of education in promoting peace are those of the promotion of broad-based education for all; enhanced access to basic education; improving education quality; the expansion of technical, and vocational education; increased literacy and numeracy through educational measurements; ensuring educational equality; and developing the skills such as conflict management skills and relevant attitudes and behaviours that allowed the country to achieve peaceful co-existence (Bockarie, 2002). Education and peace education since then became inseparable as peace could not be achieved through basic education alone. According to the theory provided by Bar-Tal (2009), there are several conditions for successful peace education, one of which is to "legitimise peace education and draw support for its inclusion in school schedules" (p.560). To this extent, peace education required substantial support, including both governmental and political. In this study, practitioners and policymakers [54] also emphasised the importance of educational policies, which indicated that these practices were formally supported by national leaders. Such support made peace education essential to citizens. Meanwhile, governmental and policy support set the goal of peace education as a societal objective, which indicated that the externally and internally conceived peace education intervention is a legitimate practice. In particular, the role of education policies is crucial in promoting

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[54] Data generated on 20th Jan and 28th Feb and 15th Mar 2021.

and maintaining peace education if one is to connect the interview data with the education policy mentioned below, especially the policy launched in 1995, which emphasised the role of education in sustaining peace, social justice, and gender equality. The key strategy for implementation is to provide all children and adults with equal opportunities to gain access to education. Indeed, non-formal education, adult education, and education for girls and women have become complementary to formal education. These narratives clearly reflected that the education policy was guided by peace norms and values, and education for peace became an essential component of education (both formal and non-formal) in Sierra Leone. Meanwhile, it was guided by the belief that human capital investment in education and peace education would result in improved living standards and individual capacity, the reduction of poverty, and economic growth (Bockarie, 2002). Education reform since 1995 has been attempting to respond to the educational inequality which has been identified as one of the root causes of civil war. The argument provided by informants was that[55] pre-war education was elitist, which ignored the majority of children and did not take the social and cultural needs of the country into account. As such, the educational reform and the re-establishment of policy was set on the idea of building sustainable peace, which attempted to eliminate oppression and structural violence caused by education (Department of Education, 1995). A policy launched in 1995 was specially designed to build a culture of peace through education within the country, indicating the role of education in consolidating peace. In 1999, after signing the Peace Accord, President Kabbah, who won the 1996 and 2002 presidential elections as "the candidate of peace" and "the candidate of prosperity and consolidation of the peace" respectively, appealed at the University of Sierra Leone to

> *devise a strategy for contributing to the consolidation of peace... Let me*
> *suggest that the peace education...which is envisaged should include such*
> *elements as "conflict prevention," "conflict management," "mediation," and*

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[55] Data generated on 25th February 10th April, and 5th May 2021

*"conflict resolution." For a nation that is entering a post-conflict era, and in which tolerance in all its aspects should be encouraged, the need for some form of peace education...should be emphasised (*Government of Sierra Leone, 1999, p.1)

Accordingly, national institutions were involved in the design and delivery of peace education around the state to support formal schooling education. As stated by the president, basic principles of peace education and conflict resolution skills were given particular mention during that time. To support these practices, peace education scholarships offered by IOs have been provided to children, including former child fighters, in exchange for their weaponry. According to background information presented in 3.5, fighters included a large number of school-age children, so the policy of offering them scholarships provided them with the opportunity to disarm and encouraged them to attend school, to learn about dealing violence in a peaceful way that would finally enable them to become responsible citizens (Government of Sierra Leone, 1999). In addition to formal schooling for children, non-formal educational programmes included practices focusing on women's traditional conflict resolution and mediating were delivered to citizens as well. Allowing adults to become involved in peace education became an essential part of education policy in the Act of 2001, dominating justifications for achieving peace (World Bank, 2005). Firstly, adults tended to be neglected but also traumatised due to the war and undertook more responsibility in society. However, most of them had no way to express or to deal with their emotional pain in the ways they might have wished to make further improvements. Secondly, adults involved in peace education provided opportunities for children since adults, as parents, understood the importance of being educated when they had experienced it themselves. This point will be summarised in terms of the importance of combining formal and non-formal peace education during the post-war era, as emphasised by peace education experts in this study. Evidence was presented in section 7.4.3 that highlighted the combination of the two approaches helped former child combatants to recover from the persistent

psychological difficulties generated by war, and their reintegration into their communities and families.

Confidence in the role of education and peace education in the consolidation and maintenance of peace seemed to be high, especially among its national department, political elites, IOs, and NGOs. Current peace education initiatives seemed to be successful for the following reasons based on the existing literature, so that these reasons provide a greater potential for success. One of the most significant successes relates to how the nation had adopted a multifaceted curriculum rather than remaining limited to the traditional one, within formal schools. Instead, this took place at the community level, in externally conceived learning centres, or appeared as physical exercises that allowed citizens to reconcile their differences with each other through positive engagement[56]. Moreover, a traditional curriculum that took place at school failed to address structural violence such as the root cause of violence, poverty, and oppression. As mentioned by Bockarie (2002, p.125) "[a] peace education programme or curriculum that does not address the root causes of violence is unlikely to contribute to lasting and sustainable peace". Throughout history, the structure of education constituted a vehicle that perpetuated structural and psychological violence against children and the young population (Harber, 1996). Successful peace educational practices required a fundamental structural reform of education. In the case of Sierra Leone, peace education was integrated into educational policy and external actors, which helped the country to reform the education structure. The fact that schools in urban and rural areas had been destroyed during the war increased complications for the constitution of post-conflict peace education. To respond to this issue, peace education initiatives also included the Rehabilitation of Basic Education project (referred to as SABABU in Chapter 6) to provide children with a better study environment.

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[56] Data generated on 16th Mar 10th Apr and 5th May 2021

In summary, the above discussion indicated that the structural reform of education focused on the implementation of free-access education at the primary to secondary level that allowed peace education to be integrated with formal schooling education and provided adults with multiple educational opportunities for personal emancipation, such as gaining the ability to read and write, increased likelihood of further employment, and conflict management skill for peaceful co-existence. This perspective was identified as the peace education's main contribution, which assisted the country to respond to its main grievances, eliminating the elitist nature of education, and promoting educational opportunities for all citizens through formal and non-formal approaches. This also led to the third achievement of peace education. When the educational processes took place out of school and adopted multiple non-formal measures, this indicated that the practitioners who designed the curricula not only favoured a teaching-learning strategy but also encouraged the practice of peace through cooperation, participation, and dialogue. This approach is a way of teaching and practicing for peace and is identified as two of three layers of promoting peace in formal peace education, which will be discussed in the next sub-section (see Section 8.2.2). Fourth, as mentioned in Chapter 6 (see Section 6.5), many possible forms of media have been utilised. For example, the distribution of peace messages can be found in television, radio, drama, the national newspaper, community notice boards, and school designed magazines. In alignment with reviewed documents, this indicated that the critical role of media has been mentioned and was used to support the efforts of peace education initiatives. An in-depth analysis of the above will be provided in Section 8.2.5.

8.2.2 Formal peace education: promoting peace through three layers

From a theoretical perspective, Smith (2005) identified that three aspects of peace education can contribute to peace: preaching peace, teaching peace, and practising peace. The aspect of preaching peace refers to peace messages but ignores the engagement of peace theory and the drivers of conflict. The second aspect of teaching peace emphasises the need to deliver necessary conflict resolution skills to

live with peace. Finally, the practising of peace implies that efforts are being made to practice what was preached and taught at schools or within the public domain. I argue that peace education carried out in Sierra Leone has attempted to cover all these three aspects. Firstly, according to the contents of each peace education practice I presented in chapter 6, all the curricula preached peaceful messages. For example, all the practices encouraged pupils, recipients, and adults to reconcile their differences with others, and to forget the past and interact with former combatants peacefully. Moreover, according to interview data generated on 20th Jan, 20th Feb, 4th Mar, 16th Mar, and 19th April 2021, peace education goes beyond the propagation of peace messages as all formal peace education programmes delivered in Sierra Leone involved skills that allowed students to live with peace, methods that could deal with conflict, and taught peace values through multiple approaches such as those described in Chapter 5, the integrative approach (Sommers, 2001; Lopes Cardozo and May, 2009). With the belief that teachers should be the agents of change, the Emergency Issues (EI) initiative facilitated attitude and behavioural changes among teachers and promoted their capacity by equipping teachers with the ability to teach peace education in the emergency period.

> *"We encouraged teachers to attend training programmes. This is a good opportunity to learn and deliver the methodology of achieving peace through education. Meanwhile, this measurement is also essential for children to change their attitudes towards the war, and for possibilities to build sustainable peace and the likelihood of self-empowerment."* [57]

Sierra Leone has tried to emphasise the practice of peace across a wide range of settings. In formal educational settings, peace practices were introduced to students by giving them opportunities to positively engage with teachers and peers. Evidence for such can also be found during the implementation of PSI Sierra Leone and iEARN

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[57] Data generated on 16th March 2020

(see sections 6.4.2 and 6.4.3). The former addressed the need to create a peace culture at schools by introducing a guiding handbook called "Creating A Culture of Peace: A Practical Guide for Schools" to six selected schools around the country to guide members of staff and students to practice peace within schools. The latter iEARN provided students within its learning centre with multiple ways to practice peace. They designed tools and skills to transform their behaviours, attitudes, and lives in the first place. To facilitate these changes in practice, iEARN SL adopted the ICT measurements to run peacebuilding and human rights campaigns through online activities and communication with peers within or without the country (UNESCO, 2016). Furthermore, peace has been preached, taught, and practised through non-formal peace clubs, and media-delivered programmes. The data generated from the documents and interviews presented in Chapters 6 and 7 argued that these practices delivered peace values to citizens through physical exercise, and communication with experienced consultants. Informants also agreed that non-formal programmes held by local government or communities played a crucial role in building peace and reconciling citizens in the aftermath of conflict. These practices emphasised the importance of adopting an additive approach when building a culture of peace[58]. To summarise, the overall analysis indicated that peace education programmes have not been thoroughly implemented across Sierra Leone, yet these practices have nevertheless attempted to promote peace through three aspects and have also attempted to get access to as many citizens as possible.

Peace education in practice can take the form of preaching, teaching, and practising peace. Multiple programmes have facilitated peace through positive practices to foster inner peace. Meanwhile, when formal and non-formal programmes were embedded within national educational policy, these programmes could be argued to be a part of the overarching peacebuilding policy, which can play a vital role in building long-term peace (Harris and Morrison, 2003). They encouraged citizens to

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[58] Data generated on 3rd 15th 16th Mar 2021

be educated in various ways and to gain confidence in building peace at the micro-level on their own. Conflict resolution skills not only existed as theoretical concepts in Sierra Leone but were promoted through multiple practices through initiatives in an empirical manner. For example, the peace club and community-based discussion and learning activities were set to resolve contradictions among victims and ex-combatants to achieve peaceful co-existence. Evidence can be found in section 6.5.1 and interview data generated on 3rd March 2021. Activities held at the grassroots level also focused on resolving educational inequalities and social grievances by providing children who missed education with a second chance to gain one. CREPS assisted the state to recover from the negative effects of the civil war by offering basic knowledge and peace to pupils (see Section 6.5.5). The interview data once again reinforced this argument by indicating that students who were out of schools have been provided with educational opportunities in learning centres, and short-term educational practices[59]. Furthermore, the Peace Education Kit, PSI, as well as the vocational educational schools also provided learners with a chance to become involved in school affairs through participation in the school council, which was identified as a positive practical process in democratic learning (see Sections 6.4 and 6.5.1). Comparing this analysis with the evaluation of each practice emerging from the literature (see Chapter 6) suggests that peace education has made multiple efforts to overcome the negative effects of the weak status of the country and has extended its reach to as many as it can.

8.2.3 The role of external actors

The role of external actors should be highlighted when discussing the contribution of peace education to peace. Multiple IOs and NGOs have increased their commitments to peace education in the 2000s and achieved momentum with the proclamation for a culture of peace (Paris and Sisk, 2008). According to the data generated on 5th May 2021, this practitioner claimed that these actors emphasised the essential needs of

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[59] Data generated on 16th Mar, 10th Apr 2021

promoting peace at all levels of their education systems by integrating a holistic vision of education for all with peace. For example, the UN agencies utilised peace education, including civic education and human rights education, as a part of the anti-war agenda, suggesting that in order to prevent the continuing cycle of violence, educational content should seek to enhance tolerance and peace (Salomon, 2002). Fortunately, according to the informants, peace education in Sierra Leone never contained information that might fuel hatred or suspicion but adopted many well-designed formal and non-formal activities nationwide [60]. The multi-methods approach delivered programmes and also indicated that the implementation was not beset with a lack of funding. More importantly, the provision of adequate funding also suggested that peace education initiatives were considered a higher priority among other peacebuilding activities.

The externally conceived nature of peace education suggested that peace education curricula encouraged democratic thinking. Sierra Leone has not introduced any peace-related curricula that were conceived purely by themselves, including free-access adult vocational education, non-formal TV and radio programmes, or formal school education designed for children, as mentioned in Chapter 6. With the engagement of IOs like the UN and its sub-agencies and the World Bank, peace education curricula were designed in terms of Western-dominant democratic thinking. Particularly, as a part of international peacebuilding initiatives, peace education was considered a liberal institutionalist model of intervention [61]. This approach to peacebuilding emphasised the need to assist locals to build effective institutions and provide sufficient funding and personnel assistance (Newman, 2011).

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[60] Data generated on 28th Feb and 22nd Mar 2021
[61] Data generated on 20th Jan 2021 and 19th April 2021

8.2.4 How peace education promoted EFA and provided locals with psychological and social support in the post-conflict environment

As mentioned by UNESCO (2011), the displacement, trauma, lowered enrolment and poverty caused by war caused education to become the largest obstacles to weak countries achieving EFA goals. This section will analyse how peace education responded to educational inequality and the low capacity of educational performance in the aftermath of the civil war. Moreover, this section will also discuss the vital role of schools as a way to provide children with much needed safety as well as psycho-social support, especially when experiencing war-related trauma.

The changing nature of contemporary wars made schools and children as deliberate targets (Smith, 2010). As argued previously in Chapter 5, schools can provide children with safety and equivalent mental and hygiene supports, therefore the construction of school buildings and infrastructure are sometimes regarded as a first but essential step for peace education initiatives. In Section 6.5.4, the description of the Rehabilitation of Basic Education Project (also called the SABABU programme) described efforts made by the local government and external stakeholders to assist locals to rebuild school infrastructure, re-establish education services immediately, and build connections between peacebuilding and school construction (Ellison, 2012; World Bank,2003). The evaluation provided by Mason, Galloway, and Joyce-Gibbons (2018) and Bu-Buakei Jabbi (2007) in Sections 6.5.4.1 and 6.5.4.2 indicated there were various drawbacks and problems during the implementation period, for example, corruption, low standard of rebuilt schools, and distrust towards government. However, as discussed by informants of this study, the external stakeholders, scholars, and practitioners of peace study hold different standpoints from those of local peace educators and officials[62]. The initial explanation should be personnel from external actors and locals had different social backgrounds and knowledge. These experts either came from developed countries or had worked in

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[62] Data generated on 25th Feb 16th MaR 22nd March, and 19th Apr 2021

them for many years, whereas the local personnel suffered from the weak characteristics of the country. Consequently, the different social backgrounds appeared to attribute a different standard of peace education qualities, which means local stakeholders focused on the improvement brought by various initiatives. In contrast, experts from external stakeholders held a higher standard and emphasised the limitations that needed to be improved. According to the interview data, Citizens widely believed that the SABABU initiatives provided them with reasonably new classrooms and allowed them to be protected by solid constructions[63]. To summarise, regardless of the problems that emerged during the reconstruction, schools with solid infrastructure helped children to address mental issues by allowing them back into a 'normal' life. Finally, although informants argued that women remained of low status within the country, both interview and documentary data mentioned the importance of promoting female capacities through education. Peace education promoted the likelihood of being educated for both girls and women. Evidence can be found from the interviews conducted on 25th February and 5th May 2021, particularly the formal EI programme which focused on promoting teachers' capacity and nonformal programmes, such as the short-term vocational education designed specifically for females.

8.2.5 The promotion of student-centred classrooms

It was widely believed that reading the texts, questions-and-answers, and writing essential content on the chalkboard, were the most commonly adopted teaching methods in weak countries. On this occasion, when learners are provided with the opportunity to express their opinions, peace education can potentially promote student's capacity, such as critical thinking, and shift them towards positive attitudes regarding the future while learning (Freire, 1993). This section will discuss the promotion of student-centred pedagogy as a driver to peace since it is a method that

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[63] Data generated on 20th Jan 2021 and 19th April 2021

requires the authoritarian culture of Sierra Leone be abandoned but reinforces democratic practice in school and learning centres.

Peace-related educational curricula were moved towards a more interactive pedagogy. In particular, informants noted that although the kit designed by Bretherton, Weston and Zbar (2003; 2010) failed to be promoted across the country, the kit itself promoted transformation towards teachers, since it was written in plain and understandable language to aid teachers with low capacity to guide students by instilling peace values while learning[64]. With the fact that 50% of Sierra Leone's teachers were undertrained and nearly 50% of children were out-of-school, the kit attempted to target all the country's children, which meant that the kit can be integrated with formal schooling education and should also be adopted by externally and internally conceived learning centres[65]. The documentary data also indicated that the International Education and Resource Network provide children with opportunities to gain access to ICT to communicate with children in other countries. Non-formal educational TV programmes like *Sisi Aminata* allowed audiences to send their opinions of the peace messages via email and letters. The three programmes above indicated that peace education conducted in schools, learning centres, and the media presented the concept that teaching activities encouraged students and citizens to think critically and to share their own ideas while learning to ensure the internalisation and engagement of peace values.

Moreover, Emerging Issues was considered to be formal peace education for teachers to enhance their teaching skills, avoid the adoption of the teacher talk method, and to abandon the use of rote and expository instruction. The EI covered multiple courses for teachers to improve their teaching performance which included multiple professional curricula. Moreover, with the idea of teachers as agents of behavioural change, the EI also emphasised the importance of teachers' attitudes

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[64] Data generated on 20th and 25th Feb; 15th and 16th Mar 2021
[65] Data generated on 15th and 16th Mar 2021

towards peace and violence. The EI tried to educate teachers via peace education courses such as human rights, gender equality, citizenship education, ways to peace, disaster management, drug abuse, and reproductive health through a student-centred approach that allowed teachers to "maximise cognitive engagement and growth" in their future teaching (Alexander, 2008, p. 33). Drawing on evaluation from the literature, these activities have multiple drawback and limitations while being implemented but facilitate a broad and fair understanding and analysis of the teaching method and pedagogy in Sierra Leone. Many informants also argued about the importance of promoting teachers' ability in delivering peace messages and ensuring a student-centred classroom. Because they believed that leadership and capacity of teachers were necessary in order to made students as centre.[66] Here I argued that the pedagogy of peace education has progressively developed from a teacher-centred rote and question-and-answer method to the involvement of a student-centred approach through the adoption of multiple teaching activities at formal school, learning centres, and media (see Section 6.5.6). Independent critical thinking has been promoted through Western-dominated democratic peace education programmes. Students at school, and citizens in the community were encouraged to engage in the democratic process so that individuals were actively involved in critical thinking and encouraged to find solutions to disputes by themselves. The following analyses, including both documentary and interview data, were attempting to describe the truth that peace education curricula in Sierra Leone have attempted to eliminate the authoritarian style of pedagogy by enhancing the engagement of students, as it was widely believed the transmission-based pedagogy made recipients obey authority, and it is more likely to trigger violence if one cannot freely express oneself and if one suffers under authority.

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[66] Data generated on 20th Jan, 25th Feb, 10th Apr, 5th May, 2021

8.2.6 The role of drama and radio programmes in promoting peace

Non-formal peace education at the grassroots level focused on addressing reconciliation issues among citizens. Reconciliation has been emphasised in many peace education materials, but the associated limitation pointed out by experts in the field indicated that the word "reconciliation" is complex to understand. Firstly, citizens have different interpretations which led them to different understandings of the term 'reconciliation'. Second, it is hard to translate accurately into the local language[67]. This situation particularly apparent in the preliterate communities, where reconciliation is beyond the comprehension of illiterate people, which hinders the process of building peaceful co-existence (Richards et al., 2003). Policymakers who participated in this research mentioned the importance of simplifying the adopted language when designing peace education materials for illiterate populations, and essentially designing materials in local languages is needed[68]. The aim of the non-formal programmes was set to challenge educational inequalities, to cultivate the appropriate conceptions surrounding reconciliation, to solve the language-barrier-induced inequalities of peace education among marginalised, illiterate populations (Shaw, 2005). The "*Atunda Ayenda*" means "lost and found" in Krio and has helped local citizens to become familiar with peace norms through storytelling in drama (Lahai and Ware, 2013). Practitioners also indicated that the *Atunda Ayenda* gained support among students and their family. This is because the storyline originated from locals' daily life, thus it was relatable. Teachers also indicated that for students, this drama helped them to restore their relationships through discussing the contents. Importantly, non-formal programmes provided students and adults with flexible learning opportunities when the programmes have been recorded.[69]

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[67] Data generated on 3rd and 4thMar 2021
[68] Data generated on 20th Jan; 20th Feb 2021
[69] Data generated on 19th April and 5th May 2021

Another programme called Talking Drums Studio (UNESCO, 2016). These activities have succeeded in promoting individuals' behaviours and attitudes to peace. An expert who runs a peace education school claimed that:

"In practice, I found that it was very important to combine formal and non-formal practices together, real stories provided my students with an idea why peace is connected to our daily life."[70]

In the meantime, a practitioner mentioned that:

"Community-based approach is also important to familiarise the adults, especially parents with the messages and ways of building peace in everyday life as citizens had previously believed that building peace should be the work of elites rather than their own responsibility, especially the methods of TV and radio programmes, they promoted issues of forgiveness, empowered females and mitigated gender-based discrimination, and provided universal education, especially for children who had been orphaned by violence or who have been marginalised by diseases like HIV/AIDS".[71]

According to the analysis provided by another practitioner which was generated on 5th May 2021, the effectiveness of peace education through the use of media significantly changed people's attitudes and behaviours and could be attributed to the following factors. Firstly, paraphrased in accordance with this informant[72], the national government ensured the legitimacy of external actors in operating at the local level without censorship. Citizens on this occasion gained access to the reality of the root cause of the war in such a way as they could achieve equality without the

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[70] Data generated on 3rd Mar 2021
[71] Data generated on 19th April 2021
[72] Data generated on 5th May 2021

use of violence. Second, it was also attributable to the people's willingness, this idea further reinforced by Lahai and ware (2013), Chi and Wright (2009), as more than half of the informants indicated that people in Sierra Leone were strongly urging for peace, and so were able to put the interests of the state and community above everything else. Thirdly, some radio programmes also adopted a community-based approach, which meant that they were designed and run by people who lived in the local communities. In other words, the external donors supported enhancing local ownership through gathering information, community outreach, and grassroots capacity-building to enable TV and radio programmes. Since these stories were gathered and written in accordance with the truth of Sierra Leoneans' daily lives, it would be easy to strike a chord with locals and help people to overcome the difficulties. Many dramas and radio programmes mentioned the trauma faced by ex-combatants and female victims of gender-based violence caused by civil wars. Through storytelling and narratives, societal stereotypes can be challenged. For example, people believed that ex-combatants were perpetrators rather than having suffered from psychological and social depression (Church and Rogers, 2006). These non-formal programmes helped citizens to instil a more balanced view of ex-combatants, which potentially decreased the hostility towards them.

Even though education was identified as the main issue that triggered the civil war, disputes generated in traditional institutions have generally always existed. The community-based programmes such as the Talking Dram Studios mentioned in Section 6.6.2, designed from a grassroots perspective, have emphasised a developmental-minded community group by teaching locals with developed agriculture practices. This perspective was ignored by the informants of this study but has been emphasised by scholars in the field, particularly Lahai and Ware, (2013), who mentioned that in combining peace messages, these locally based non-formal peace education programmes help former fighters turn their weapons into farming tools. Therefore, both TV dramas and radio programmes pitched at the community level were designed to educated individuals and the community at large about ways

to mediate land generated disputes, which have historically resulted in countless deaths and the destruction of community and personal property.

From a different perspective, dramas like *The Teams* have been spreading happiness and provided healing for citizens who had painful memories of the war. Significantly, some dramas used languages like Krio and adopted dialect-based pronunciation methods, which represented the reality of daily life. The storylines and the adopted languages were designed with the purpose of teaching people to forget the past, to live better together. Educators and practitioners believed that these dramas contained many comedy scenes when dealing with conflict, teaching both children and adults, especially those who were accustomed to dealing with conflict in a violent way, to resolve their real-life disputes in a peaceful manner[73], and this argument has been reinforced by Lahai and Ware (2013).

8.2.7 The absence of ethnic and religious controversies among citizens

Contrary to other African states, Sierra Leone did not have major ethnic or religious conflicts, which potentially eliminate the likelihood of the reoccurrence of civil war. The absence of ethnic diversity potentially ensures the teaching contents would not be manipulated by social hatreds. Research has argued that sharing the same ethnicity or religion with ruling parties can increase the numbers of teachers with the appropriate certification (Alwy and Schech, 2004). Discrimination towards ethnicity and religion can provide the ground for political affiliation, which will finally lead to the (re)occurrence of conflict. The absence of these controversies was identified as a positive feature which allowed the country to focus purely on reconciliation among victims and the ex-combatants, and to eliminate the underlying sources of the civil war. This point is crucial to build peace in a post-conflict study. From a theoretical perspective, mentioned by Bar-Tal and Rosen (2009), peace educators need to build new kinds of social languages through education to replace which have promoting

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[73] Data generated on 15th and 22nd Mar 2021

hatreds among different groups. In reality, nearly all informants mentioned the importance of the absence of ethnic and religious controversies among citizens when trying to build a long-lasting peace in Sierra Leone. As mentioned by one policy maker: "*no religious and ethnic divisions mean a lot to us, and this also secures a kind of success in building peace*".[74]

8.3 What are the Underpinning Factors that Make Peace Education More Difficult to Deliver

Two main elements will be focused on in this section. Firstly, the use of corporal punishment had been widely observed in most African countries, where the discussion provided in the following section argues that corporal punishment can prevent peace from being achieved in schools and communities, legitimating the use of physical violence when dealing with disputes. In contrast to this, banning the use of corporal punishment would contribute to the appearance of peace. Secondly, the inadequate distribution of resources was another factor that would lead to further inequalities until, ultimately, the achievement of sustainable peace would be prevented.

8.3.1 Corporal punishment

Although peace education for children at schools was designed to build a culture of peace, peace education policies in Sierra Leone also acknowledged the importance of eliminating corporal punishment; schools and homes can be violent places as well. In Chapter 7, practitioners revealed that a violent culture in schools was identified in terms of the widespread use of corporal punishment. Accordingly, in this section I will highlight the extent to which the use of corporal punishment may hinder the process of building peace at schools among both children and teachers.

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[74] Data generated on 20th Jan 2021

Ember and Ember (2005) conducted a study that included 186 low-income societies. They argued that corporal punishment tends to be more widely adopted in societies with high social stratification and violence-affected contexts. UNICEF data published in 2017 also showed that 82% of children aged 2 to14 have experienced physical punishment in conflict-affected states. In my study, I found that nearly all programmes emphasised the need to build a peaceful culture using non-violent approaches (UNICEF, 2017). However, in reality, evidence generated from interviews conducted with practitioners of peace education also indicated that the use of corporal punishment was hard to abandon for teachers during class. Rather than adjusting children's way of thinking through persuasion, teachers were more likely to ask pupils to stand in the corner of the classroom or beat them with a cane. As this study did not involve individuals who have suffered from corporal punishment when they were children in the 2000s, this part of the analysis was built on the existing literature and studies in Kenya. In accordance with the literature published by Human Rights Watch (1999), pupils expressed their feelings such as anxiety and anger when they were being punished. Furthermore, Kenyan peace education research indicated that with the adoption of a diary keeping method, a pupil recorded his/her feelings following incidents of being beaten at school: "That day I was very angry. I am feeling [so] bad that I [could] kill somebody. I am not happy at all" (Najjuma, 2011, pupil diary 25 in St Peters). The evidence here claimed that the likelihood of students behaving violently when they were beaten explained why the negative feelings that appear with the use of physical punishment can generate further tension at schools and in communities (Gershoff et al, 2010). From a different perspective, the use of corporal punishment at schools can be misunderstood as an accepted way of dealing with disagreements and disputes. This is because teachers hold authority over students in Sierra Leone, and students are told to obey the authorities. Students were forced to accept what they have experienced and believe it represents a way of achieving peace. IOs and NGOs have tried to change such circumstances through promoting appropriate ways of teaching and parenting disciplinary approaches, but in most countries the law still allows parents to physically chastise their children

(Zuilkowski et al., 2019). On this occasion, the traditional teaching and parenting practices became culturally disjointed with the peace values.

Research has indicated that corporal punishment and societal violence are connected, thus the implementation of peace education should focus on changing the behaviour of teachers and adults in society (Zuilkowski et al, 2019). The use of physical punishment has been particularly emphasised through the rule of law and peace education in Sierra Leone, although these behaviours were not fully addressed in the early 2000s (Najjuma, 2011). The data provided by UNICEF (2007), Zuilkowski et al. (2019), and the informants also indicated that the use of physical punishment is still in use in Sierra Leone and other African countries.

8.3.2 The inadequate provision of resources

Another limitation of peace education is related to the issue of resources, broadly defined as resources delivered to recipients across the country, as well as financial and human resources. The weak characteristics of the country take the forms of low economic performance, and the high cost of the civil war led to the lacked financial resources. Corruption could also be found during the implementation of peace education, especially when constructing school buildings (see Section 6.5.4.2). Moreover, the scarcity of financial resources led to inequivalent distribution of teaching materials (Higgins, 2020; Bockarie, 2002; Brock-Utne, 1996). This was emphasised by one of the curriculum experts in Chapter 7, who indicated that there had always been an absence of unified peace education textbooks. The outcomes of peace education may be hindered when financial resources are not allocated adequately. The issue of teacher training can trigger both negative and positive effects. In particular, the EI projects (Higgins and Novelli, 2018), and training opportunities provided for teachers via the kit (Bretherton, Weston and Zbar, 2003; 2010), and many learning institutions revealed that training can provide teachers at the grassroots level with teaching credentials (data generated from interview). However, the inadequate level of the country's road infrastructure hampered

attempts to train sufficient numbers of teachers to an appropriately high level. As such, even though numerous issues would lead to the appearance of unequally trained teachers and inadequate provision of training opportunities, underdeveloped transportation infrastructure was one of the essential reasons that would lead to the inequalities in teachings standards. This study here revealed that poor transportation infrastructure was one of the significant contributors to the educational inequalities other than long-lasting social components such as class inequalities and gender difference. In turn, in order to search for better personal development opportunities, well-trained teachers were usually allocated to in developed areas, which may fuel the grievances between rural and urban.

Furthermore, peace education should be integrated with a wide variety of institutions and organisations. Although the data indicated that programmes were taking place in communities, schools, and learning centres, the role of civil societies in this context has been neglected. These practices should involve service organisation for youth, trade unions, theatres at the grassroots level, private-sector enterprises, and religious places such as churches and mosques, in order to expand the scope of target populations and the influence of peace education nationally. In another words, non-formal peace education neglected the role of traditional institutions and civil societies in promoting peace education for all at the grassroots level, which resulted in the inequality of distribution of peace education resources. On this occasion, I argued that peace education initiatives mainly focused on children in relatively developed areas. There were few initiatives developed for adults other than short-term vocational training and the above-mentioned media-delivered programmes.

Moreover, there are some other factors that may have prevented the achievement of peace education. Although non-formal peace education initiatives were designed for out-of-school children and adults, education always focused more on those in school, which resulted in individuals who received non-formal education practices

being unlikely to be trained within a systematically designed method and may well not be influenced by peace education. For those who had participated in the formal educational process, education programmes were not always very well done as they may have been undermined by inequalities such as gender, social status, and language barriers. In particular, girls typically have fewer educational opportunities in the aftermath of civil war, although education for females has been emphasised. The same is true for those people who were poor and those being marginalised by English written educational resources, since there were 15 kinds of spoken language, when English has been widely adopted as the lingua franca and without paying equivalent attention to those who cannot speak English, who are thus frequently marginalised by peace education opportunities. This can even be found in non-formal media conceived peace education programmes, where TV and radio programmes were adopted in English as a way to educate. Another consideration raised up here should be that most of the projects were implemented within a fairly short timeframe, though some of the non-formal radio programmes like Talking Drum Studio are still active; however, formal educational initiatives seemed to have been abandoned by the Sierra Leonean government. With this consideration, peace education in Sierra Leone may only focus on the prevention of the reoccurrence of violence by facilitating the approach to changing attitudes and addressing the root causes of civil war rather than enhancing positive peace.

8.4 Summary

As such, according to the analysis above and the data provided in the previous two chapters, most formal peace education teaching resources were mainly allocated in relatively developed cities. Through the development of educational policies, peace education had been promoted through the adoption of formal and non-formal practices to respond to one of the root causes of civil war – educational inequalities. Vocational training provided numerous training and learning opportunities to adults. Community-based non-formal activities, such as peace clubs, promoted

reconciliation among citizens. Meanwhile, promoting formal peace education through three distinct layers engaged the core theory of peace so that peace values were delivered to recipients. The reformation of teaching pedagogies made students as a centre and allowed them to think independently. This process is extremely important for an individual to search for their own values and achieve personal emancipation. Additionally, officials and local curriculum experts stressed that with the assistance of external stakeholder, Sierra Leone can conduct different types of peace education through different approaches. A more detailed discussion of the contribution of peace education will be provided in Section 8.4.

However, there were still some failings. The universally promoted Peace Education Kit aimed to target all populations at the primary and secondary levels, yet it failed to be executed in practice. Moreover, there was an absence of a unified peace education textbook that could be used for all initiatives. The provision of Teaching resources was also inadequate to rural areas. Furthermore, non-formal educational programmes also appeared to enlarge the inequality of education with the fact that many citizens cannot gain access to electronic devices such as radio and TV. Finally, teaching quality in rural areas cannot be assured. Students in developed areas can get access to modern teaching technologies and teachers can also receive training opportunities occasionally. Therefore, their pedagogy and teaching content can be renewed in comparison to those in marginalised places. To conclude briefly, peace education cannot fully address the social inequality caused by geographical location which potentially hinders the process of building an overarching peace.

8.5 Discussion One: To What Extent can Peace Education Support Peace?

There was ample evidence to indicate the drawbacks of peace education in Sierra Leone, but it created an effective pathway to peace after conflict. Positive changes were widely observed. At the grassroots level, students' behaviour, teachers' attitudes, and the way people interacted were influenced by the peace education

delivered via multiple methods. On the national level, peace education, as a part of peace-building frameworks, guided Sierra Leone's elites to campaign for elections peacefully. Moreover, peace education was integrated into educational policy. On the one hand, it allowed the country to eliminate the elitist nature of education and promote education for all through the implementation of free-accessed education; on the other, when peace norms were integrated within educational policy, this potentially created a peaceful future by teaching citizens to participate in national activities and to express their willingness peacefully, rather than to adopt violent methods. Hence, peace has been reinforced through the development of education policies, preaching, and the practicing of peace. These procedures allowed citizens to develop new ways of thinking and fostering positive attitudes which provided adults and children with the ability to live and work together peacefully. Eventually, they will continuously contribute to changing practices in their family and communities and embrace sustainable peace in the future. On this occasion, peace education could successively lead to peace in post-conflict Sierra Leone, since a small change occurring in a small area can multiply and generate a positive effect in a relatively broad context. In general, five requirements have to be fulfilled in order to build peace in a post-war scenario. Firstly, peace education programmes have to be conceived as a series of activities that affect all citizens across the country. Schools and communities should be closely connected when implementing peace-related activities. Secondly, rather than copying or directly quoting, teaching content should be developed in accordance with the local historical background. Most of the educational programmes were designed based on real stories and experiences of Sierra Leoneans. For example, the storylines of dramas were inspired by the real-life experiences of locals. The formal Peace Education Kit was specially designed for the children of Sierra Leone by curricula experts from Australia. The teaching contents and the promotion of student-centred teaching styles were adapted to the developmental needs of the student, respecting the identities – whether ex-combatants or victims – that pupils have brought to schools. Attention must be paid to personal status and interpersonal circumstances in order to create a safe

environment that can nurture and heal people mentally and emotionally, leading to sustainable peace. Thirdly, educational provision should offer recipients safe places. As mentioned, a secure environment is helpful to restore normalcy and promote learning quality (McCandless 2011; INEE 2004). Fourthly, teachers are essential to the outcome of peace education. Thus, they should be provided with the necessary training and resources to allow them to serve as models of peaceful interactions, to counteract images of violent behaviour, and to support their teaching. Finally, peace education should be integrated within national policy, which can ensure that peace education would be compulsorily integrated within the school schedule and be promoted as important values within their daily lives.

Ultimately, peace education is a way of empowering people with adequate knowledge, attitudes, and skills. These skills include understanding different perspectives of the problems that existed within society, problem solving, conflict resolution, and social responsibility in order to maintain and build peaceful relationships among people. Another level of skills refers to the ability to find their own personal value, to achieve personal emancipation, and finally be useful in building a positive peace. On this occasion, peace education as a transformative peacebuilding process helps to address social issues that peacebuilding itself is unable to. It responds to education failure, which was always centrally defined as a catalyst to conflict through empowering people with education measures, and eventually fostering positive personal and social change. However, this once again reinforced those achievements in Sierra Leone that were recognised as policy commitments and were translated into financial investment and programme implementation. In sum, Sierra Leone has promoted a culture of peace and encouraged peaceful mindsets through multiple peace-related educational practices across the country. Peace education during the post-war era was constituted as "a set of convictions, a morality and an individual and collective state of mind, a way of being, acting and reaction" (UNESCO, 2013, p34), which is a sure way of preventing the reoccurrence of violence.

These positive changes reflected the fact that peace education had played a transformative role and contributed to the multiple theories and types of changes listed in Section 4.6. In particular, according to a strategic relational approach, peace education practices in Sierra Leone reflected the fact that educational resources had been redistributed through curriculum reformation and the promotion of both formal and non-formal educational practices at the grassroots level. The attempt was being made to achieve fair and transparent educational governance through the collaboration between national sectors and external actors, where children across the country were provided with free-access educational opportunities until secondary level. To ensure the rights of adults, hundreds of free vocational educational curricula have been conducted and promoted during the past two decades. Theories of change and types of change can be widely found and underpin a truth that multiple theories of change can occur together. The initial process of peace education, which is referred to as "Truth Telling" refers to Healthy Relationships and Connections Theory, where divisions between former combatants and citizens were being challenged. Furthermore, as illustrated in this thesis, education was identified as a principal reason for the emergence of civil war, thus the promotion of peace education across the country, especially with a focus on training teachers in remote rural areas, reflected Institutional Development Theory and Root Causes/Justice Theory. The non-formal educational practices conducted through mass media also indicated Public Attitudes Theory. These theories of change finally contributed to types of change emerging among individuals, such as attitudes, skills, knowledge, and behavioural changes among recipients.

The findings also indicate some failed types of changes mentioned in 4.6, the first was the use of corporal punishment, the lack of change in rural areas, the less development of public transportation. There are other limitations to peace education, for example, it is unlikely that education – in and of itself – will ever be a sufficient tool to prevent the outbreak of violence if the nature of the injustices, such as the

inequality of educational and employment opportunities, as contributed to by the differences between the rural and urban, continued to exist within the country; similarly, if there were aggression on the part of an external actor, conflict would almost certainly ensue. To summarise, peace education can only prevent war and contribute to peace when there is an absence of obvious reasons to engage in conflict.

Nevertheless, connecting the development paradigms with peace education, the current framework of building a long-lasting peace in Sierra Leone was based on the idea that peace education is a tool to promote peace and peacebuilding, especially in terms of promoting reconciliation, understanding, and equity in education. Further, these positive changes may contribute towards the attainment of broad development objectives and goals, including poverty reduction, and more inclusive development styles, such as democracy and human rights promotion.

8.6 Discussion Two: Negative Peace or Positive Peace?

As discussed in previous chapters, Sierra Leone has always been identified as having a successful liberal peacebuilding mandate. However, although the evidence that appeared within this research indicated that peace education had played an essential role in bringing peace, it remains unknown as to what kind of peace it has actually arrived at; in particular, it is unclear whether the country has achieved positive peace or negative peace. As pointed out by Galtung (1976), the former refers to a conceptualisation of peace in which a society is absent of the structural, political, social, and economic drivers to the appearance of violence. This is distinguished from the latter, negative peace, in which a conflict-affected society experiences only the absence of physical violence. Positive peace in this sense is more durable than negative peace since it can provide citizens with prosperities such as stability in the political sphere, economic growth, and good public health and infrastructural development services.

The outbreak of Ebola in 2014 raised a degree of debate among scholars. It was argued that the spread of the Ebola virus highlighted the chronic weaknesses of Sierra Leone's social services and the tragedy of human need that remained unfulfilled, which raised issues about the type of problems remaining in the country where peace education had failed or could not otherwise fully address (Higgins, 2020). The inability to contain the spread of the virus, including the lack of treatment centres, well-trained doctors and nurses, as well as the shortage of basic equipment and expertise that could enable epidemiological tests, suggested that the public health system was under-resourced (MacDougall, 2014; Amman, 2014). The outbreak of Ebola also revealed the existence of chronic infrastructural weaknesses. Meanwhile, the medical resources and personnel were allocated to developed areas, once again indicating regional inequalities in the country's healthcare provision, which could also be found in the provision of educational resources discussed above (Higgins, 2020).

The emergence of deadly contagious diseases, demonstrations outside the hospitals, and the refusal to receive treatment raised a different argument. The positive argument was that citizens could use a relatively peaceful movement such as demonstration rather than violent purposes to express their dissatisfaction with their government and health services. However, Amman (2014) noted that this movement exposed a deep-rooted distrust towards healthcare provision, which also indicated the pervasive disconnection between the nation state and its civilians. According to both positive and negative records of peace education discussed in this study, I found that peace education and the educational interventions, in general, have successfully responded to the root cause of educational inequalities of conflict. According to the data provided in Chapter 7, peace education had transformed the personal attitudes, behaviour, and the response to the dissatisfaction of conflict-affected people. In particular, students tended to address their dissatisfaction and disputes in a peaceful manner. More importantly, with the rise of Ebola, citizens used relatively peaceful means of demonstration to stress their dissatisfaction with government and the

public health system rather than initiating armed conflict, indicating that peace education had played an essential role in transforming human behaviour that could support the process of achieving non-violence within the overarching peacebuilding agenda. Certainly, peace education and education were inseparable, as peace education transformed the education structure, which allowed more people to gain the opportunity to be educated. However, it failed to fully address structural and historical drivers of social inequalities, grievances, and conflict that hindered the achievement of positive peace. This was related to the failure of the international peacebuilding architecture, which failed to address the geographical and social inequalities that existed within social services, such as the equality of provision of health and education of citizens in rural and urban areas. Eventually, the resources were delivered to populations in developed areas of the country. In this case, the inequality inherent to the provision of educational services took place in a same way as in the pre-war era as both the pre- and post-war systems tended to favour the richer populations in developed areas.

Based on the analysis of the literature and the data collected in Chapter 7, Sierra Leone's peace education led to a number of criticisms. However, the informants of this study also agreed that peace education had contributed to the absence of violence for the past two decades. The most essential explanation was that rather than ignoring the underlying sources of conflict, peace education emphasised the importance of utilising education as a form of conflict resolution and accompanied "a genuine understanding of local political culture, desires or needs" (Newman, 2011, p.1741).

Therefore, compared to other mandates, such as those in Bosnia and East Timor, peace education did not take on conditional and coercive forms in Sierra Leone. A Sierra Leone practitioner from the UN, and a peace educator from Sierra Leone University indicated that the citizens showed their willingness to receive external interventions. When addressing local demands for education became the priority,

peace education relied on both top-down and bottom-up mediation. The top-down approach was identified as establishing related policy and building learning institutions; the bottom-up indicated the community-driven peace education practices for all citizens. As Newman (2011, p.1741) suggested, the bottom-up approach must be engaged with as the key to local control as a part of the 'facts on the ground'. With this knowledge and understanding, scholars like by Bretherton, Weston and Zbar (2003; 2010) designed a kit that fit the Sierra Leone context. As a result, the peace education delivered in multiple ways was sensitive to local citizens, institutions, and traditions, which changed their behaviour and met their needs better. Yet, Sierra Leone did not empower the roles of civil societies and regional or provincial education institutions. Peace-related curricula took place in youth service organisation, theatres on local level, trade unions, religious places such as churches, and private-sector enterprises to expand the scope of the participation including out-of-school children and young adults and influenced of peace education across the country. As these institutions were not well-used in delivering peace education practices, they were eventually discouraged from implementing peace education, thus indicating that non-formal peace education had failed to integrate traditional institutions with civil societies when trying to promote education for all at the grassroots level. Consequently, the distribution of non-formal peace education also appeared to be unequal. Therefore, other than radio and TV series, as well as short-term free-accessed vocational education, few non-formal curricula were developed to address the needs of young adults, especially in rural and underdeveloped areas. On the other hand, the absence of participation from these institutions, such as civil societies, may be the reason why the geographical and social inequalities could not be addressed. For example, when educational institutions within a city could not offer efficient guidance to teachers or provide students with learning materials, they had to seek guidance from institutions located in Freetown or other provincial cities, which was ultimately too time-consuming and lacked efficiency. Cooperation between national education sectors and external actors can enhance trust, which can help to achieve the broader aims of promoting justice and peacebuilding (Dupuy

2008). Nevertheless, here are two dangers in doing so. Firstly, a centrally controlled educational system can "lead to a general lack of accountability and transparency between citizens and the state, particularly when educational resources and services are seen to be inequitably deployed" (Lopes Cardozo and Shah, 2016, p.521). Secondly, this thesis revealed that the use of ICT and the provision of modern technologies exacerbated differential access to educational opportunities, which subsequently increased inequalities, as exemplified by externally led educational programmes, e.g. iEARN SL. Hence, the gap between rural and urban, rich and poor, was enlarged.

During the past two decades, there has been an increase in the Sierra Leonean economy; as one of the least developed countries in 2002 with a GDP of US$1.253 billion, it had seen an increase in GDP to US$5.015 billion by 2014. The outbreak of Ebola led to a huge decrease which resulted in a decline to US$4,219 billion and US$3.675 billion in 2015 and 2016, respectively (World Bank, 2019). In the political context, in the aftermath of the end of the civil war in 2002, Sierra Leone successfully held a fourth cycle of elections in March 2018. As such, the successful election, the promotion of economic performance, the decreasing rate of illiteracy for both females and males, and the absence of physical violence, indicate the success in achieving positive peace (World Bank, 2021). However, the outbreak of Ebola led to the external actors withdrawing their support (i.e., the withdrawal of assisting personnel), finally resulting in the economy appearing to fall into dramatic decline, accompanied by the collapse in the healthcare system, indicating that the achievement of positive peace had been largely dependent on external actors. Newman (2011) discussed that the peace in Sierra Leone can only be a fragile one since Sierra Leone still carries its post-conflict characteristics, including a high rate of youth employment, weak governance, and corruption (World Bank, 2019). The country is continuously facing the daunting challenge of enhancing transparency in developing its fiscal and managing its natural resources. Problems emerged in the immediate aftermath of civil war still remain, such as the poor infrastructure and

widespread poverty across the country (World Bank, 2019). As such, peace education in Sierra Leone can only help the country to achieve negative peace. In particular, when responding to educational inequalities, shifting individual's behaviour and attitudes were identified as the main factors in avoiding the reoccurrence of the civil war. Nevertheless, according to the teachers and practitioners I interviewed in this study, peace education empowered its recipients, and allowed them to achieve personal emancipation. However, the existence of post-conflict characteristics forced the youth to search for a better future. Moreover, the appearance of negative peace and the later appearance of Ebola emphasised that peace education cannot address the social structural issues such as corruption, impoverishment, and the provision of adequate healthcare, or indeed ensure an equal education for all citizens.

An informant who trained multiple teachers of peace education and achieved his doctoral degree in peace studies believed that Sierra Leone is somewhere between a negative peace and a positive peace. Sierra Leone has achieved some of the criteria of the former, such as four cycles of peaceful elections, economic growth, and an improved rate of education but the majority of citizens still suffer from poverty, indicating that the country cannot provide them with sufficient welfare or care. The decline in economic performance and the collapse of the healthcare system during the Ebola outbreak revealed the fact that the country is struggling with a low-capacity governance. On this occasion, according to the criteria provided by Gultang (1976) and the discussion of post-war characteristics provided by Newman (2011), I would argue that Sierra Leone is far from a positive peace in terms of the low capacity of the social services it provides for its citizens, and thus, with the assistance of peace education, Sierra Leone has only achieved a negative peace. Theoretically speaking, since the country has only achieved negative peace, injustice and inequality remains which makes it possible that conflict could recur in a different form. However, the possibility of reoccurrence appears to be increasingly less likely since there has now been no reoccurrence of war for 20 years (Samura, 2012).

8.7 Conclusion

8.7.1 The relationship between peace and peace education in Sierra Leone

The interviews provided key information about the nature of peace education in Sierra Leone, in particular why peace education took place in both formal and non-formal ways. In order to increase involvement in the peace education process, various external donors collaborated with local agencies and formulated various peace programmes to educate citizens. In many formal schoolings, there was a good mix of formal and non-formal practices, where drama and radio programmes were used a complementary method during class. Peace education promoted peace through educational system reform. To reduce the likelihood of the reoccurrence of the war, peace education framework guided education reform through dialogue with the transition team, reformed the rule of law around education, and developed the national curriculum with peace education. As a result, tuition fees were reduced, school supplies such as textbooks and school buildings were redeveloped, and teachers were also trained to increase their professionalism. These efforts have increased enrolment since the 2000s. As such, open access to formal and non-formal education, and potentials to gain employment, partially responded to the root cause of the conflict.

8.7.2 Lessons of peace education in Sierra Leone

The lessons from Sierra Leone can be concluded from the following perspectives: Firstly, Sierra Leone civil war is different from African conventional civil war. There was an absence of religious or ethnic conflict. Moreover, there were fewer confrontations between the rebels and the government army, but they mobilised together to commit atrocities against innocent civilians. Thus, reconciliation can be achieved when there is an absence of ideological confrontation. Secondly, formal and non-formal peace education programmes had been widely implemented to affect civilians. Although inequalities can be widely found, there were multiple efforts to

eliminate the weak characteristics within education, such as lessened gap the between rural and urban through promoting EFA. Meanwhile, peace mandates in Sierra Leone included a very high level of external assistance, they played an essential role in transiting the post-conflict systems and delivering democratic thinking within the country.

In this chapter, I analysed the features that possibly contributed to peace and violence. I also discussed the features of peace education that need to be fulfilled to attain peace, which included the requirements of both local and external actors during the implementation. This chapter also included a discussion about the kind of peace that education had helped to secure in the twenty years since the end of the war. Finally, I concluded that the major relationships between peace and peace education could be defined as the main issues that allow peace education to achieve peace, and the lessons from Sierra Leone.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion to the Study

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will summarise the answers to the research question proposed in Chapter 1. Moreover, contributions to the peace education, both in practice and theoretically, and the limitations to this study will also be discussed. Finally, recommendations for conducting further peace education in Sierra Leone will be included.

9.2 Addressing the Research Questions and Aims

The first research question focused on the relationship between the educational system and the civil war in pre-war Sierra Leone, but also asked what the impact was of the conflict on the country's education system. The analysis in Chapter 3, based on documentary review, concluded that 'education' in the pre-war period facilitated state fragility. A few scholars such as Wright (1997), Skelt (1997), and Paulson (2006) have argued that education contributed to a situation where the young population could easily be mobilised against the nation state in the way of rebellion. Chapter 3 addressed the first research question of this thesis, in which I concluded with two points that highlighted the links between education and domestic violence. The overall argument can be concluded by saying that education contributed to the social, economic, and political marginalisation of children and young adults (Richards, 1996). Secondly, the link between education and the root cause of the conflict is that there are high expectations regarding the power of education. Thus, "loss of educational opportunity is seen as a major factor in the decision to fight" (Peters and Richards, 1998, p187). The exclusive, elitist, and the symbolic capital nature of education were not realised by the majority of young people until the 1990s (Keen, 2005). During this pre-war era, young people believed that the government would be able to provide them with employment opportunities once they accomplished their tertiary

education. Nevertheless, due to the economic crisis exacerbated by patrimonial politics, young people came to realise that it seemed impossible to obtain such qualifications. Disappointingly, the government failed to meet the promise of offering jobs to youngsters across the country (Collier and Hoeffler, 2000) (see Sections 3.1 – 3.3), which Krech and Maclure (2003) identified as the 'failed promise of education'. This ultimately resulted in disillusion and anger among young people. The collaboration between the 'lumpen youth' and the radical student group at FBC was a result of the realisation, and associated frustration with the state, that no matter their level of education, they would not be employed without strong political connections (Matsumoto, 2011).

The second research question asked what peace education in general consists of in Sierra Leone. In Chapter 6, I initially summarised the educational policy related to peace educational practices. Following that, I concluded that 12 main peace education programmes were carried out in the immediate aftermath of the Sierra Leone civil war (Ellison,2014; UNESCO, 2013; Bu-Buakei, 2007; Higgins and Novelli, 2018, PSI, 2021b). The findings indicate that peace education in the country took place in both formal and non-formal forms that proposed to involve all citizens within the country. In this chapter, according to the various literature and records, I also offered summary evaluations of these practices, but surprisingly, in contrast to a focus on their resultant positive changes, scholars tended to focus on their drawbacks or limitations (Ellison, 2014). By contrast, the institutions that conducted these practices tended to focus on the positive sides (USAID, 2001). It is unfortunate to note that there was an absence of records in mentioning the role of local civil society in promoting peace education in Sierra Leone, but the IOs and NGOs have contributed by allocating funding and personnel during the post-conflict era.

The third question asked about what the role and contribution of peace education was in Sierra Leone to sustaining peace. To answer this question, data was gathered from the literature and the interviews with the key informants of the study. In

particular, four areas were identified as the main contributions to sustaining peace. In general, the fundamental aim of peace education is to achieve peace through the promotion of access to education. On this occasion, although this study has mentioned various challenges and drawbacks that hinder the process of achieving overall peace, multiple pieces of evidence indicated there was a remarkable achievement and recovery during the post-conflict era. Peace education was integrated into educational policy, whilst education in the meantime became widely available for all children across Sierra Leone. Education for adults was promoted through free-access vocational schools. Free education opportunities can also be found in media press, learning centres, and peace clubs. Secondly, the adoption of a nationwide, community-based Peace Education Kit brought people together, which promoted the process of reconciliation. Importantly, a community-based practice allowed locals to translate English from textbooks to Krio to people who were illiterate or could not read or speak English; this behaviour eliminated the negative impact of the associated language barrier. The above-mentioned two areas indicated that peace education helped to reform the education practices in a response to the grievances of the elitist nature of education in the pre-war period. This was closely related to the third area, where in Sierra Leone peace education practices were conducted in three 'layers', namely preaching peace, teaching peace, and practicing peace. Finally, peace education also successfully changed people's attitudes and behaviours, especially when they were facing dissatisfaction. The successfully held fourth cycle of elections since the end of the civil war demonstrates the country can run domestic affairs in a peaceful, democratic manner. During the Ebola outbreak, citizens used demonstration, a relatively peaceful approach in comparisons to carrying out armed insurrection, to express their dissatisfaction with their government.

From the perspective of the social construction approach, peace education in post-conflict society then became a newly developed language that may have largely affected the way people now think and behave. Including the adoption of mass media,

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delivering peace through TV series and radio programmes were also regarded as mediums that provided people with another lens with which to apprehend the world. Since peace education is an effective way of changing recipients' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour, therefore people's assumptions about the world with which they engage are highly dependent on the nature of shared social perceptions (Postman and Weingartner, 1969; Slater, 2018). Thus, the role of peace education in Sierra Leone can be viewed as one of a learning process and teaching a new set of languages with the purpose of changing perceptions and attitudes. When their perceptions of society as a whole had been changed in accordance with peace education from violence to peace, peace emerged. Finally, in the sense of transformative change of attitudes and perceptions involving a critical mass of individuals, peace education helped to break down divisions and prejudices between groups such as perpetrators and victims; and in address underlying issues of social justice, exploitation by promoting education for all, contributing to stable and reliable social educational institutions, and changing attitudes of political elites – these are examples of the ways through which peace education in post-conflict Sierra Leone has contributed to and enhanced a sustainable peace.

In Chapters 6 and 7, I have discussed the factors, such as inequalities, that may have hindered the process of achieving peace. Meanwhile, I also argued that promoting peace education via the adoption of various approaches, such as the combination of formal and non-formal educational approach and a community-based approach, can lead to the appearance of peace. In Chapter 8, I focused on whether negative or positive peace was achieved in Sierra Leone through the practice of peace education. To summarise, I argued that Sierra Leone tried to respond to the root causes of civil war within the field of education, but the common use of corporal punishment at schools and homes, and the unequal provision of educational resources are still problems that hinder the country's ability to achieve overall geographical, social, and educational equality. This study also emphasised that peace education is far from a panacea in bringing peace and responding to drivers of grievances and conflict. In

particular, peace education may generate another inequality in terms of the weak characteristics in Sierra Leone, preventing peace education from being promoted equally across the country. The interview data presented in Chapter 7 further reinforced this point of view, namely that people who cannot get access to the facilities in Freetown and other provincial cities were marginalised from many of the activities conducted in learning centres and clubs. The same situation was apparent in formal peace education, where there were limited textbooks and materials for students in rural areas. Teaching quality was another issued to be considered in rural areas, where teachers typically only received brief training before actually conducting peace education, where of the poor transportation infrastructure once again prevented teachers form travelling to cities like Freetown to receive training opportunities. Regardless of anything else, teaching content and quality can hardly be improved under these circumstances. In Chapter 6, the documentary data discussed the evaluation of Peace Education Kit also reinforced that peace education may generate another form of inequality, as I summarised that trainers were appointed to local areas to train teachers but were not available in sufficient numbers to train teachers across the country on the one hand, whilst some areas were extremely hard to reach on the other. As a consequence, the kit was poorly promoted and far from a nationally distributed curriculum, as originally planned. Finally, to finish this chapter, some recommendations, with the purpose of facilitating some positive changes to peace education in the future, will be provided in Section 9.5.

9.3 Contribution of the Study to the Field of Peace Education

First of all, the research has extended the approach of peace education theoretically by exploring the necessity of peace education in countries with fragile characteristics in post-conflict environments. In Chapter 3 I utilised various literature to explore the relationship between education and the root cause of civil war (Richards, 1996; Abdullah, 1998; Rashid, 1997; 2004; Bangura, 1997; 2004; Keen, 2005; Gberie, 2005;

Humphreys and Weinstein, 2004; 2008). Such analysis also spells out that political performance and societal inequalities can lead to educational inequalities and ultimately to the occurrence of conflict in general. Through the creation of the theoretical framework in Chapter 5 on the elements of conventional peacebuilding initiatives, I outlined the two pillars of peacebuilding and peace education, namely the structural and the relational. Therefore, peacebuilding activities on the whole attempted to respond to institutional and capacity-building in political, economic, and social sectors, whilst peace education attempted to build sustainable peace through the achievement of reconciliation and rehabilitation. Moreover, the literature usually explained peace education as being Education in Emergency in recent years, though scholars also argued that it represents a way to help people achieve human emancipation. However, the advance of the theory that emerged in the case of Sierra Leone showed us that peace education appears to represent a complementary method to respond to the disadvantages and issues with educational systems and policy. The case of Rwanda mentioned in the thesis indicates that the need for improvements in education cannot be fulfilled through the institution building, since the adopted pedagogies and teaching materials can fuel hatred among people from different social or ethnic backgrounds. The focus on the necessity of peace education that emerged from the relationship between conflict and education provides the idea of establishing educational practices without peace messages and constituting appropriate teaching approaches for citizens are not in themselves sufficient or, in the worst case, might fuel further conflict. As such, this study advanced the theory through providing particular insights regarding the implications of the significance of peace education in responding to long-lasting difficult social and political issues that appeared in education.

Secondly, this study contributed to the question of "why peace education is an effective method while in other contexts it is not". This research argues that the effectiveness of peace education largely depended on the following: the lesson here is the adoption of an integrative approach that combined formal and non-formal

approaches together. Meanwhile, to promote peace education in rural and hard to reach areas, local teachers were able to receive the training opportunities provided by internal and external actors. Consequently, more of the population, including adults and youths, were included in the educational process. Peace education in Sierra Leone also targeted females by introducing relevant curricula and opportunities for them. Moreover, the community-based approach, which emphasises the importance of the bottom-up humanitarian-oriented approach in conflict-affected societies, ultimately contributed to the decentralisation of educational resources to the local area and brought greater attention to citizens at the grassroots level, even though females and individuals in rural areas were considered to be marginalised in terms of the distribution of peace education resources. Yet, despite promoting peace education in a non-systematic way in a post-conflict situation, recipients were still provided with considerable educational opportunities, and a way to change and/or improve their personal attitudes, behaviours, and skills. From a social constructionist approach, implementing peace education can contribute to the emergence of a new kind of knowledge and language. As stated in Chapter 2, language is a medium that allows people to apprehend the world and finally affect the constitution of knowledge. In such situations, when peace education was promoted as a method to change individuals' spoken language and therefore lead to the appearance of new knowledge across the country, then peace education could be used as a tool (language) to affect people's ways of thinking (construction of knowledge) and behaviour (making sense of experience), even though peace education was, in many areas, distributed to a very low standard.

Most importantly, rather than fuel the hatred among citizens, the policy and teaching procedures represented an attempt to support the achievement of peace through the elimination of educational inequalities. The attitudes among citizens also determine whether peace education can be effective or not. In Sierra Leone, citizens were urged to achieve peace and reconciliation, so that the practices made available from the central government and external stakeholders were welcomed by locals.

Moreover, the study also made a further contribution to knowledge regarding the use of corporal punishment and the inadequate provision of educational resources, as exacerbated by a poor physical transportation infrastructure and issues ranging from the economic to the social as key factors preventing the development of peace education and education in general in the aftermath of the civil war. However, as the target country had little experience of ethnic and religious hatred amongst the local populations, cross-checking whether findings and theories that appeared within this study would be applicable to other types of conflict-setting would seem essential to further peace education research.

Empirically, this study made a contribution to knowledge in terms of providing an empirical overview of peace education in Sierra Leone by providing the readers with an in-depth analysis of the essential practices of peace education that had taken place in post-conflict Sierra Leone. In general, 12 programmes, including seven formal and five non-formal initiatives, were discussed in some depth in Chapter 6. Data from the semi-structured interviews also offered certain insights into these 12 programmes. According to the findings illustrated above, the study has spelt out the extent to which peace education contributed to positive change based on informants' perspectives and ultimately led to the appearance of sustainable peace that has endured for the past two decades. The findings of this study describe that peace education can provide recipients with positive changes; we might offer some speculations herefollowing:

1. long-term peace education programmes are required in order to lead to changes of social ethos and personal perceptions and narratives to armed conflict.

2. Peace education is likely to be an effective method if other driver issues to conflict are changed, especially given the discussion in 5.7 the political and economic issues which fuelled and prolonged armed conflict.

3. Since peace education programmes can only provide recipients with relevant skills to be employed but cannot provide them with an employment opportunity, so the role of peace education is far from promoting economic increase, so that the role of peace education can largely be summarised as ensuring and sustaining negative peace which means the absent of major armed violent behaviours.

Meanwhile, by responding to the contributions of peace education, the issues that existed within society that could have hindered the progress of peace education, or issues that cannot be fully addressed through peace education practices have been analysed in detail. These two aspects of the analyses contribute to the knowledge as well as any further research in the following ways. In practice, the analysis closes the gaps in existing research in terms of identifying the effectiveness of peace educational practices in changing societal behaviours and attitudes. The positive role with regard to building peace has specific implications in current research since scholars and practitioners in this field tend to explore negative implications rather than how peace education has responded to the grievances and inequalities, the latter usually being ignored. However, identifying the contributions and disadvantages seemed essential for citizens of weak states since such negativities are difficult to eliminate in short periods of time, whilst positivity can be promoted through existing practices. The second contribution to research one might derive from this point should be that research provides further peace-related practices with clear directions to eliminating inequalities and grievances. For example, the findings of this study revealed that geographical inequalities were worsened by the unequal provision of peace education practices, which calls for the implementation of additional practices in rural areas. In the meantime, issues that hinder the promotion of peace education, such as the underdevelopment of the transportation system, need greater investment from government. As such, this study gives a unique

perspective to the promotion of the effectiveness of peace education in future practices.

This study identified the level of peace that Sierra Leone has achieved through multiple peacebuilding activities. Such analysis seemed important in order to review the achievements and limitations of past mandates as well as provide recommendations for further research from the perspectives of both academia and practice since there are only a limited number of studies currently available with which to analyse the level of peace the country ultimately achieved. This study has also identified the level of peace that Sierra Leone has achieved through multiple peacebuilding activities; Previous studies have rarely considered this issue. However, such discussions and analyses are essential for further upcoming practical work and study since weak countries require long-term supportive mandates. As time passes, certain of their weak characteristics may be addressed, whilst the kinds of challenges and problems that need to be addressed may change over time. Analysing the level of peace that has been achieved and what kind of weak characteristics have either been, or remain to be, addressed are now essential to any kind of peace mandates on a practical level. This study should help to add new knowledge to peace education in Sierra Leone, as well as other similar post-conflict contexts. The findings resonate with the existing literature and theories provided in Chapters 4 and 5 and provide a further, nuanced account of the nature of post-conflict situations, and the achievements to which peace education has contributed. The limitations of peace education also indicate that educational practices should be conducted with other peace-related mandates in order to promote national capacity, strengthen the rule of law, enhance economic performance, and ensure equality and justice for citizens, which may fundamentally prevent the reoccurrence, as well as new forms of war.

9.4 Limitations of the Study

Several limitations that exist within this study should be mentioned. Due to the restrictions resulting from the COVID pandemic, regardless of the process of accessing informants or conducting the interview, I was limited to virtual methods, which led to certain major limitations.

Firstly, using the internet to conduct research is gradually becoming recognised by researchers as it can eliminate the burden of time and place restrictions. However, in this study, the weak characteristics of Sierra Leone made it difficult for some of the participants to access the internet. As a consequence, some of the selected informants, such as elderly peace education teachers, could not participate in this research since they were inaccessible, or they were unfamiliar with interviews conducted in a virtual manner.

Secondly, as mentioned in section 2.6.1.2 conducting interviews through virtual approaches may easily lead to an inability to conduct a follow up. This point leads to a third limitation, which is that rather than set a proper time for the virtual meeting, some of the informants preferred to reply to my major questions via email once they reviewed my interview questions. One explanation provided by the informants was that replying by email provided them with more thinking space. However, since replying through email is viewed as a different research method in comparison to conducting the interview virtually, one must consider that consistency across the sample in terms of type of method used is essential to generating consistent findings and outcomes, so on this occasion I attempted to persuade such individuals to take part in an interview without having first read the questions.

Fourthly, limitations may potentially be created through selection bias, which means the informants of this research represented the middle-upper class within Sierra Leonean society or were foreigners who have, or had been, working in the country.

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Consequently, the perspectives generated from the interview were potentially dominated by a Western perspective on the poor and marginalised. Particularly, their perspectives on Sierra Leone and their constitution of knowledge around peace education might well have been based on a Western perspective of building peace.

A fifth limitation also relates to the potential biases in the sampling. According to the selection requirement I discussed in the introduction to this thesis, this study only included one informant whose family had been devastated by the war. Excluding the participation of many highly traumatised persons could well have protected them from secondary trauma through the investigation; however, to some extent, without the participation of these traumatised populations, the author was unable to gain first-hand information with regard to whether peace education is an effective tool in terms of healing their psychological issues, empowering them, and bringing peace to society as a whole from their perspectives. This potentially resulted in limitations to the research in terms of the role of peace education in contributing to peace from the viewpoints of traumatised individuals.

Lastly, this study failed to provide readers with a detailed calculation of the outreach of peace education in Sierra Leone. The initial issue of the provision of peace education in an unsystematic way contributes to the phenomenon that there was a lack of record towards how long each formal and non-formal educational practice has been taking place within the country and roughly how many people have participated in these practices. Re-enrolment and repeated participation in different educational programmes was an additional difficulty in calculating the exact number of people (both children and adults) who have participated in peace education programmes.

These limitations lead to suggestions on the directions of further research. As noted, this study did not involve participants from remote marginalised areas, so the voices from the grassroots level should be considered in any further research. the voices of

teachers, in particular, who have taught peace education in these places, should be raised and analysed in order to contribute to positive peace in the future. Secondly, the investigation of traumatised individuals would seem to be necessary to analyse the role of peace education during the post-war period.

More importantly, current research on peace education and peacebuilding in a broader sense tends to focus on negative perspectives, whereas the positive sides and contributions have typically been ignored. However, from my personal perspective, finding the contributions of these peace mandates and emphasising these positive effects within the broader context would seem crucial to building positive and sustainable peace in war-affected, weak societies. In the meantime, weak characteristics, most notably the underdeveloped nature of the transportation infrastructure, largely prevented the outreach of peace education, which further generated inequality in terms of access to formal and non-formal externally conceived peace education programmes.

9.5 Further Recommendations for Conducting Peace Education Practices

Recommendation 1: Improve Educational Policy and the Related Rule of Law
Promoting the practice of peace education through the improvement of educational policy is essential to maintaining peace. According to the analysis provided in the previous chapter, the use of physical punishment could potentially fuel the conflict. Thus, the rule of law should abandon the use of any kind of physical punishment at schools or homes.

Recommendation 2: Provide Regular Training for Teachers and Ensure Follow-ups
Providing regular training and follow-ups for teachers is crucial to ensuring the standard of peace education. This was clear when comparing rural places with the provincial areas and the capital. For one, training opportunities allowed teachers to familiarise themselves with the development of teaching content and pedagogies.

Secondly, providing regular training especially in marginalised areas should be an effective way to improve the teaching quality. Thirdly, regular follow-ups increased teachers' commitment to the teaching of peace education.

Recommendation 3: Monitor and Evaluate Peace Education

The monitoring process should take place before and during the implementation of peace education practices. Evaluations should focus on features that could potentially hinder the achievement of peace education (e.g., the use of corporal punishment; the inadequate provision of teaching materials), and behaviours that may build peace (e.g., interactive teaching methods; combining formal peace education with non-formal ones). Such monitoring allowed researchers and practitioners to gather a dataset to compare the results between schools and communities, rural and urban. Monitoring and evaluation are essential to exploring the negative sides and securing the positive impacts of peace education.

Recommendation 4: Involve the Civil Society and Local Government in Peace Education

The findings revealed that the role of civil society and local governments seemed absent when conducting peace education practices. Consequently, all the practices were highly dependent on external stakeholders and central government. Local government and civil societies should therefore play an essential role in facilitating community-based peace education practices. They could provide training and sensitisation which can bring children and adults together. Drawing on these hypotheses, the central government should decentralise their power to local government to allow them to arrange training, monitoring, and evaluation processes. Involving local governments and civil societies can also ensure the enactment of the second recommendation: the process of follow-ups and regular training for local teachers.

Recommendation 5: Promote English Teaching and Develop Peace Education Materials in Local Languages

There are 18 forms of spoken language In Sierra Leon whereas most teaching materials have been developed in English, individuals who speak indigenous languages have been marginalised in terms of the unavailable teaching opportunities. More importantly, only 5.68% of the population could speak English as their first or second language in 2004. In contrast, 97% of the population can speak Krio (Relief Web, 2004). As such, the development of teaching materials, especially dramas and radio programmes, in local languages and the promotion of English teaching among children would almost certainly increase the potential audience for peace education.

Recommendation 6: Promote Capacity-Building in Transportation

This study pointed out the relationship between educational inequalities and transport infrastructure, which indicates that underdeveloped transportation system is hindering the distribution of peace education practices. This narrative also explains the reality as to why educational resources are concentrated in developed areas. Therefore, to promote education equality in rural areas, transportation links need to be developed, public transportation approaches, to provide individuals in marginalised areas with increased educational opportunities.

9.6 Conclusion

The core of this thesis is to explore the role of peace education in post-conflict Sierra Leone with a specific focus on its contribution to peace. The analysis of how the contribution of peace education, especially the extent to which peace education had benefited local citizens, was a significantly under-researched area since studies to date have tended to focus on the negativities of peace-related research. The rationale for researching this area has been framed as the belief that such analysis is still needed when conducting peace education in post-conflict countries, such as South Sudan, as well as the desire to show the international community both the

positive experiences, and the drawbacks that need to be avoided. The study advanced the existing peace education theory theoretically by exploring the necessities of conducting peace education practices, providing a theoretical framework that might serve as a basis for literature review. The contribution of this study is one of advancing further research in other countries, for example the newly emergent country, but with different social background, of South Sudan to cross-check the results and make comparisons with Sierra Leonean contexts. This study also provided readers with elements such as the low teaching quality that may prevent the effectiveness of peace education, as well the features such as the inequalities caused by geographical location and the poor transportation infrastructure that clearly cannot be fully addressed through peace education alone. Therefore, it provides insights into other mandates that should be adopted to achieve positive peace, and which elements should be the subjects of particular focus when conducting further peace education practices. Finally, as illustrated previously, peace education is far from a panacea in promoting, consolidating, and achieving peace in terms of the unequal distribution of educational resources (including funding, resources, allocated programmes) that may lead to other forms of inequalities. Therefore, many more aspects, such as building stronger institutions and developing economic capacity, are required to establish a well-designed welfare system for citizens, which should be promoted alongside peace education.

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Appendix A: List of questions for interview

Thanks for your participation.

Background information on the Key Participant.

- Various questions on their roles and responsibility
- How long they have been involved in this field etc
- How long did peace education involve in Sierra Leone?
- Have you ever been involved in peace education programmes?

General question:

1. What do you think were the main factors in the outbreak of the civil war?
2. How would you characterise the forms that peace education took?
3. To which extend peace education can bring peace to Sierra Leone?
4. What are the pitfalls that may hinder the achievement of peace education?

The nature of peace education

5. Can you talk about educational peace education policy?
6. How many peace education programmes have been conducted since the cessation of war in Sierra Leone as you know?
7. The document I sent to you listed 12 main peace education programmes, so how many peace education programmes you have heard about or ever involved in?
8. Now we are going to discuss the programmes you mentioned case by case:
    - The impact of this programme
    - The limitation of this programme
    - How did this programme benefit it recipients?

9. As we know, many international organisations have been involved in the development of peace education programmes, and they vary in terms of formats, what is the distinction between formal and non-formal?

10. Vocational education programmes were designed under the requirement of education policy since the aftermath of the civil war, how vocational education relevant to peace education? To which extent vocational education can lead to peace?

11. Does vocational peace education curriculum for adults cover topics important to the modern forms of employment?

12. What kinds of topics do you think peace education have been cover?

13. Does peace education curriculum deal with the history of war? What are your views on this?

14. There was an accelerated formal education programme designed for overage students, can you share your opinion regard to the advantages and disadvantages of this practice?

15. How education connect with peace education.

Access of peace education

16. Whether peace education initiatives promote the access to free formal education thus lessened the widely existed inequalities?

    a. Were there any universal peace education programmes, which means face to all children?

    b. Do you think everyone benefits from peace education? Including adults?

    c. Do you think access to schooling has been reformed sufficiently after the war?

    d. Do you think peace education promotes Education for All (EFA) in terms of implementation of the Girls' Education programme?

e. Do you think the implementation of peace education lessened the gaps in educational opportunities between the Southern and Northern regions of the country?

f. There were many learning centres, what are the difference between learning centres and formal schools? Peace education kit, designed by three Australians (How did it promoted? How teachers in rural area can get access to materials)

g. How parents get involved in?

h. Were there any national wide distributed peace education textbooks?

The role and impact of peace education

17. How does the integration of peace education programmes impact the education system in Sierra Leone?

18. Do you think the peace education has helped to prevent further conflict?

a. Do you think peace education helps to address the root cause of the civil war? And how?

19. What do you think about the role of peace education in terms of personal transformation?

20. Do you think peace education helps to address the issue of drop-out and unemployment?

21. How relevant do you think peace education at present is to the reconstruction and development of Sierra Leone?

22. As we know there are distinctions between negative peace and positive peace, what kind of peace do you think sierra leone is experiencing at the moment?

23. What are the lessons from the Sierra Leone experience in terms of bringing nearly two decades of negative peace?

24. How peace education helps re-integration and reconciliation between combatants and victims of civil war?

25. In terms of the analysis and feedbacks I collected from literature, I found there are many criticisms, for example, the unequal provision of peace education, which means, many formal peace education programmes concentrated in rich areas like Freetown and other capital cities. How about students in other areas? Like poor and remote rural areas.

26. Even though they are many criticisms, but peace education actually works well in Serra Leone, why peace education can promote peace?

27. How can you describe the effectiveness of peace education for children, adults, and youth who out of school?

The limitations of peace education

28. Which negative element existed within society do you think peace education failed to address?

29. Which negative element existed within society do you think peace education cannot to address?

30. Which element of peace education may prevent the country to achieve positive peace?

Appendix B: Examples of the interview transcripts

Example transcript 1: Interview took place on 16th March 2021

Author: Hello, my name is Yi Yu, I'm a PhD student from University of Warwick, this study focuses on the role of peace education in Sierra Leone. So, I will start it now, I would divide my interview into few sections, I will ask you about the relationship between the education civil war, the nature of peace education, the access a peace education and the role and impact of peace education for Sierra Leonians. You can say the limitations of peace education, and the contribution of peace education to peace. Okay I will ask you first have you ever been involved in Peace education?

Expert of Peace education: Yes, I'm a peace educator, and I have involved in peace education in different ways. I have trained many teachers from different areas across the country, I shared my experience of how to conduct a peace education curriculum to students with different experiences, and I have also engaged in many informal training sessions conducted in communities since 2006 until now.

Author: You are very experienced in this field. What do you think were the main factors in the outbreak of the civil war?

Expert of Peace education: I think social inequalities, especially education as a factor was a root cause.

Author: So, let's discuss the relationship between the outbreak of civil war and education in the first place. How do you think about this question?

Expert of Peace education: I think education is a factor directly led to the outbreak of civil war. This was because, many students who have participated in rebel group was those who wish to attend to school and wish to find a good job, but they cannot.

The rebel group RUF (Revolutionary United Front) promised that they could offer them with some education opportunities. So many of the former combatant were young adults and they wish fight for equality and justice.

Author: That's really disappointed, how about the real circumstance after they have jointed the rebel group.

Expert of Peace education: The RUF (Revolutionary United Front) did not provide them with any opportunities, and those young adults who search for equality and justice became real rebels, they attack innocent citizens.

Author: How would you characterise the forms that peace education took?

Expert of Peace education: I think peace education in Sierra Leone was a kind of learning process with the engagement of multiple approaches. For example, many communities hold their peace-related educational practices, watching relevant drama series, listening to radio programmes in open theatres. There were also some free training programmes for adults. It was a long-term process for all citizens from the cessation of civil war.

Author: Can you talk about educational peace education policy?

Expert of Peace education: I'm not familiar with the policy in detail, but I can tell you that peace education programmes had been integrated into educational policy, with the purpose to consolidate peace and bring people together. Non-formal vocational education programmes had been promoted as a method to enhance peace and a way to enhance adults' educational level.

Author: As you have mentioned that vocational education programmes were designed under the requirement of education policy since the aftermath of the civil war, how is vocational education relevant to peace education?

Expert of Peace education: On many occasions, non-formal vocational education programmes were very much like formal education conducted at primary and secondary. But the most of them were being conducted within a fixed term, where they learnt knowledge relevant with their employment in the future, and learnt about numeracy, literacy, and peace education contents were included in the meantime.

Author: To which extent vocational education can lead to peace? And were there any limitations?

Expert of Peace education: Vocational education was a way to promote education for all, especially for those adults who have not had enough opportunities to be educate. I could say because it is a way to include more citizens into educational process, and the contents included many peace messages, so this is a way to respond to the root cause of civil war—provide as many opportunities as possible to citizens. However, I think the time is really short, it seems not possible for an adult to learn a skill properly within three to six months. Also, it impossible to learn numeracy or literacy within this short time frame.

Author: Does vocational peace education curriculum cover topics important to the modern forms of employment?

Expert of Peace education: Yes, I think so, but like I mentioned it was far from enough for being employed in a field. For example, if a person would like to be a wireman, a couple of months training is of course not enough, especially some of them cannot read and write. I think this also a reason why employment rate is low in our country.

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I believe it a way to reconcile people, to bring peace, but not a good way to promote employment rate.

Author: What kinds of topics do you think peace education have been cover including formal and non-formal educational programmes?

Expert of Peace education: How to deal with disputes, gender equalities, social equalities, the importance of peace, and the importance of education. In formal education, non-formal approaches had been incorporated within formal schooling to show children how to collaborate with their peers, deal the history of war. There were also many radio programmes you mentioned to show citizens about the reproductive health.

Author: As you may see the table of contents I sent you few days before, where I listed 12 peace education programmes I could find online, have you heard all of them?

Expert of Peace education: Theses programmes you mentioned were main programmes which were trying to be promoted across the country, especially the one you mentioned as Peace Education Kit, and many non-formal practices like radio or drama programmes were on air during the post-conflict time.

Author: In this case do you know how many numbers of peace education programmes including formal and non-formal education practises in total have been conducted in Sierra Leone?

Expert of Peace education: I cannot tell you the exact number, because there were so many programmes conducted in practice. I can only tell you that there were so many, and many programmes they are still active now. Especially the non-formal educational programmes. For example, those took placed in communities, such as peace clubs called Atunda Ayunda, and TV dramas and radio programmes, the talking

drum studio, these were you mentioned in the document. I think this kind of non-formal education programmes in the immediate aftermath of conflict were very important for citizens in our country because these things really brought them together to communicate to raised awareness of why conflict is bad for us. It also told citizens how to respond to their painful memories, and how to engage with those people they treat as perpetrators. I think peace education in our country provided people in different levels with different kind of education opportunities. Non-formal education focuses on all educate all citizens, drop out students can get access to learning centres. In the meantime, formal education focused on children in the school, or those children who missed education opportunities because of the war.

Author: You mentioned about the formal peace education programmes, here I have a question to ask you. Based on my research, these formal programmes usually took place in developed areas, all of the formal programmes can be found in Freetown, or other provincial cities like Makeni, or Port Loko. However, SL is not a very small country, how about these rural areas, especially these hinderland areas which had been marginalised and without a good development on infrastructures.

Expert of Peace education: It is a really good question for me, let me tell you about this in detail those children in rural areas they can access to a town centre, there were some schools can provide children with education opportunities. In order to promote peace education, we have offer teacher with multiple training sessions or training opportunities which can allow teachers in these rural areas too go to big cities or go to capital city to receive training. After this, they use the materials they had acquired during the training and back to their living place and distribute the knowledge of peace. When they go back to their villages, they share their experience they learnt in Boo, in Makeni, in Port Loko, this was a very important way to promote peace education in post-conflict era. No matter for teachers or students, the easiest way for them to access to education was to go to the nearest learning centres. If

teachers could distribute the knowledge of peace after training, then the value of peace could be promoted.

Author: Then I assume it was not a very systematic way in distributing peace education, and I agreed the criticisms mentioned by various scholars in the field I think in this way the teaching quality was hard to be ensured, how do you think about it?

Expert of Peace education: Under this situation, I hold a completely different idea towards the teaching quality and teaching contents. The most important thing I wat to emphasise here is that like we discussed few minutes before, I agree that education was one of the causal factors lead to the emergence of civil war. In this case, the most important thing in the post conflict situation is offer as much opportunities as we can to the citizens to the children. You can see there were accelerate programmes in our country, this really means we planned to enlarge the number of school enrolment, and give children with another chance to be educated, to participate in secondary or higher education. Same for the adult education, I do not know the exact number of how many vocational education programmes had been launched, but there were too many to provide adults with numeracy, literacy, vocational, and peace education. Peace education and education were inseparable in post-conflict time, because education can contribute to war, then education can lead to peace. In the pre-war era, education was a kind of privilege, even though civil war took place near a decade, but the social ethos still like 'education is a kind of privilege', if you take this perspective into consideration, provide education to children to adults and even teachers regardless the quality is a kind of progress for most of the Sierra Leonians.

Author: As you mentioned, there was an accelerated formal education programme designed for overage students, can you share your opinion regard to the advantages and disadvantages of this practice?

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Expert of Peace education: I think for those drop out students this programme is very helpful for them to restore their life normalcy, to catch up their study. Accelerate programmes definitely provide a second chance for children after the war, I cannot think any disadvantage of it.

Author: But there were many critics, for example, many students would like to join this programme to accelerate their learning speed, so compared to normal schooling, students like to join this programme. Do you agree with it?

Expert of Education: I do not think it was a big problem, because the teaching speed is really fast for students to participate in exams.

Author: Were there any universal peace education programmes, which means face to all children?

Expert of Education: I cannot think of any, peace education kit was designed as a national distribute curriculum, but it failed to in terms of the required personnel and funding.

Do you think everyone was highly impacted peace education? Including adults?

Expert of Education: It hard to say from my perspective, this is not easy for a country like to promote education for all citizens, there were drop out students in every country. It also hard to say how many children or adults have been influenced by peace education, because we distribute peace education through multiple way like we discussed, we have drama, we have community-based discussions, we have clubs, everyone believed that peace is important, we do not want a war anymore. In this case, I think peace education was successfully changed our mind.

Author: Do you think access to schooling has been reformed sufficiently after the war?

Expert of Education: I cannot say it has been well reformed, but for us it was a good start, you can see many children can access to school without tuition fees. However, some families still could not afford school fees, so there were drop out rate.

Author: Because you mentioned that the accelerate programmes promote EFA as it provided another chance for children, how about girls' education? Did peace education put emphasise on females?

Expert of Education: Yes, there were many educational programmes designed for female to increase their employability, and multiple job opportunities were there to increase their employment rate. But when compare the drop rate at school level, girls' drop rate is higher than boys' drop out rate. Social ethos can hardly be changes, families would like to put more investment on boys.

Author: Do you think the implementation of peace education lessened the gaps in educational opportunities between the Southern and Northern regions of the country? As well as the rich and poor.

Expert of Education: Like I said I'm pleased to see that teachers in rural areas come to Freetown or other cities to receive training. I think in this sense peace education provide many teachers with opportunities to enhance their knowledge about peace, and to enhance their teaching abilities. Especially on how to teach student with an effective method, how to interact with them.

Author: There were many learning centres, what are the difference between learning centres and formal schools?

Expert of Education: Learning centres provided a free environment, it complemented with formal schools, some centres were really well-designed, even though there was not many. Such as many learning centres taught their students how to use laptop or computer, it can rarely to be found at schools when the war was just ended. At formal school level, peace education as a subject had been inserted into everyday schedule.

Author: Were there any national wide distributed peace education textbooks?

Expert of Education: No there was not any national wide. But there were many different materials, teachers can access to it when receive training, some materials were provided by IOs and NGOs

Example transcript 2: Interview took place on 25th February 2021

Author: Based on the document I sent to you earlier, where I recorded 12 main programmes, how many programmes have heard about or ever involved in the implementing process.

Policy Maker: To be honest, some of them I have never heard about, such as the one you mentioned as an accelerate programme, and some non-formal programmes. I have participated in the peace education kit specifically.

Author: Now shall we discuss the promotion of peace education kit in Sierra Leone"

Policy Maker: Of course, we can

Author: Thanks, the evaluation provided by the author indicated that the Kit was well designed, which included many guidance and instructions for the teachers. It also provided teachers with pedagogies to run a class, in this case, it seemed like a kind of well-designed which suitable for Sierra Leone post-conflict situation. How do you think about it?

Policy Maker: Thank you for saying like this, since this curriculum was specifically designed for our country, it spent a lot of money we were trying to print the materials, to recruit and train trainers. Because this Kit contains too much information, teachers did not know how to use these materials or incorporate these materials with formal education.

Author: Do you mean that it failed to be distributed as a national-wide practice.

Policy Maker: This is exactly what I mean. Because in our country, some areas were hard to reach by train or bus, trainers had to travel very far away and very time

consuming. They have to take printed materials with them, and when they arrived at a place, they should spend a couple of days to monitor the teaching quality. It is the only way we use to distribute this Peace education Kit across the country.

Author: I have learnt that there were many training opportunities for teachers in cities like Freetown or Port Loko, then why not initiate a training course for teachers, they can come and learn and thus incorporate the course within normal education?

Policy Maker: We have thought about this as a distribute method, but the problem is this Kit required teachers to interact with students, teachers' communication skills were essential when they were telling stories, explain the importance of peace. Therefore, monitor sessions were highly essential, this is the reason why this method failed to be promoted across the country. It required many trainers, and trainers also need to be trained. The complexity of the kit prevented the outreach.

Author: Now can we discuss how does the integration of peace education programmes impact the education system in Sierra Leone?

Policy Maker: I think peace education helped to reform the education system, with the involvement of multiple international organisations, and some NGOs, they not only simply promote peace education, but also brought us new idea. For example, free-accessed primary and secondary education. This gave students many possibilities to improve themselves. At the same time, I really think education and peace education were inseparable in our country, peace education mentioned self-development, justice, and the importance of education a lot. You can also see there were a lot of free-accessed non-formal vocational education. These programmes I personally think were inspired by the implementation of peace education. So, from my point of view, peace education has positively impacted our education system, because more educational contents and opportunities were included inside. And

peace education was integrated within many free-accessed peace education programmes.

Author: Do you think the peace education has helped to address the root cause of civil war?

Policy Maker: You can see the outbreak of civil war in Sierra Leone was not because the disparities or tensions between different ethic or religious. It was because the inequalities and injustice emerged from many perspectives. I have told you why education is the one of the root causes to the conflict, because if one has no education certificate, then they cannot access to a better job, this is a very obvious reason. And think about if more than half young people had no certificate, they drop out at primary level or secondary level, they can only work as farmers. In this way, it's not possible for youngsters to earn money. I think if you take education as an essential reason to the outbreak of conflict, then education should a factor that could bring us peace.

Author: I think you are drawing on the importance of education, rather than peace education

Policy Maker: I think education in general may distribute some inequalities, even though this may happen when we promote peace education. Peace education emphasise why human rights and social justice are so important, whereas education just focus on deliver knowledge about sciences. I think peace education is very useful to bring people together, to tell everybody all of you are equal, and you can fight for your own life.

Author: In this case, do you think peace education can prevent further conflict?

Policy Maker: In terms of what kind of conflict. I think peace education can prevent conflict which emerged from education and social inequalities. One positive feedback is that during the outbreak of Ebola, because of the external stakeholders were

withdrew their help, and many people died, I could say there were some turbulences in our country because the insufficient provision of health care services. There were some dissatisfactions among citizens, but there were not significant violent behaviours emerged. I think this phenomenon can prove that peace education is helpful in cultivating peace attitudes as peace education also mentioned about civic education and human rights education. These contents told recipients how to behave in a proper way. However, I think peace education may not be that useful in terms of prevent cross-border conflicts, especially when another country invades.

Author: What do you think about the role of peace education in terms of personal transformation?

Policy Maker: This is a hard question to answer, because I have not involved in any teaching process directly, or participated in any forms of survey regard to this issue. But I think peace education seemed very crucial in delivering the importance of peace, especially why peace can give them a better future, and why conflict can ruin everything they have. Peace education also emphasise on education itself can bring them with personal development in the future. However, it was very disappointed to say that even though young adults in that period wish to have a bright future, but there were not many jobs can offer them.

Author: Do you think peace education helps to address the issue of drop-out and unemployment?

Policy Maker: I told you that peace education helped to reform education system in our country, free-accessed education opportunities can widely be found across country, although you said there were still some inequalities exiting between rich and poor, between northern and southern. I think in comparison to pre-war situation, the drop rate decreased. There were multiple opportunities for drop out students. I would say, peace education reduced the dropout rate on the one hand. Meanwhile, on the other hand, peace education gave drop-out students with education

opportunity. For the employment, I think employment is relevant to many other issues, education give young people ability to be employed, but in many cases, like I told you there were not that many good employment opportunities in our country. In our country, we always say that study hard, and then you can go aboard, where you can have a better life.

Author: According to your words, I think peace education is important in bringing personal transformation, offering a better life to recipients, because it had empowered the recipients. But I cannot see the role of peace education in contributing to the reconstruction and development of Sierra Leone. Can you describe the role of peace education in contributing to the reconstruction and development of Sierra Leone?

Policy Maker: The initial step of peace education was to rebuilt schools which had been destroyed during the war, I think this was a way in contributing reconstruction and development in infrastructures. Many new desks, tables, and monitors, have been invested in.

Author: Did the recipients of peace education became as professionals to reconstruct and develop the country.

Policy Maker: Yes, some recipients became as teachers, officers of the country. And some went abroad. Of course, most of the recipients now are workers in different fields.

Author: How relevant do you think peace education at present is to the reconstruction and development of Sierra Leone?

Policy Maker: I think peace education helped us to reconstruct our country in three ways. Firstly, reconstruct schools which were destroyed by the war was the first step to reconstruct the country. Secondly, as I mentioned peace education helps to reconstruct education system in our country, free-accessed education for primary

and secondary level, compare to pre-war, children across the country can go to school without paying tuition fees. Non-formal peace education such as learning centres, vocational education, and peace clubs were also available for children and adults. Although there were some drawbacks such as not long enough, but these activities empowered the recipients. They wish they could be a valuable person, so peace education is a very long-term tool to transform every recipient, change their attitudes, knowledge, skills, and behaviours. Thirdly, the impact of peace education had been expanded from one person to more people, from a community to many.

Author: Do you mean that each recipient became as a changing agency, then positive changes can transfer from one to others.

Policy Maker: Yes, then the social ethos has changed, everyone needs peace, every one want peace.

Author: As we know there are distinctions between negative peace and positive peace, what kind of peace do you think Sierra Leone is experiencing now?

Policy Maker: It's hard to say, most of the citizens are still very poor, there was not many good employment opportunities for young people, education quality is not that good, same as health service, when we are facing Ebola, now covid, we cannot provide citizens with very good services. However, the likelihood of re-occurrence of civil war is also very low. I think it should be negative peace.

Author: Can you talk about the limitation of peace education?

Policy Maker: First, the distribution process was not going very well. Some areas were ignored, so teachers should go to provincial cities, or some learning centres to learn how to teach peace education. It was not a compulsory process, so not every teacher chose to travel far, so they learnt from teachers who travelled to Markeni, Freetown or other places. Secondly, the distribution issue also can be found in the distribution of textbooks. There were so many external actors, they provided us with numerous

ways of conducting peace education, so it was hard to provide students with a standalone textbook within formal education. Last, although peace education aimed to provide solutions for traumatised populations, but it failed to provide services for disabled population, such as those limped due to the civil war, or participated as a combatant during the war. I think these were the biggest limitations.

Author: What are the lessons from the Sierra Leone experience in terms of bringing nearly two decades of negative peace?

Policy Maker: External actors were so important, they never left us until the outbroke of Ebola. This is the first issue, they brough us with money, practitioners around peace education and ways to conduct peace education in many different ways. The other issue is highly connected with the role of external actor, our people want peace a lot. So, assistances were highly welcomed. And because peace education had been distributed in many different ways, no matter adults and children were highly affected. I think peace education cannot address hatred within a very short period, another essential issue is, there was absence of high level ethnic or religious tension within Sierra Leone, so peace education helped to address the inequalities of education, so peace education responded to the root cause of Sierra Leone.

Author: Any other lessons? Or you can say why peace education is an effect tool in bringing peace to the country.

Policy Maker: I think policy is important. Imagine that if peace education was not included in any national education policy, then the subject was not compulsory. In turn, even though peace education is helpful for reconciliation, schools and teachers of course would not put emphasise on how to conduct it as a part of everyday or weekly schedule. And citizens including adults and children would not have that much educational opportunities. I think policy which included peace education as a compulsory subject within formal school and promoted free-accessed vocational

education were important. When most people involved in the process of peace education, then you can find that they were discussing about what they learnt.

Author: Do you mean that peace education helped develop a new kind of language? Which means they were discussing topic around peace, violence, human rights, democracy, and development?

Policy Maker: That's what I mean, it was quite surprising for me to understand that recipients would like to discuss what they received during the classes or other activities.

Author: According to our discussion, I think peace education is a very successful mandate in contributing peace and development. But now shall we focus on the limitation of peace education, which negative element existed within society do you think peace education failed to address?

Policy Maker: I would say equality. Peace education offered many opportunities to people across the country, but these activities concentrated in developed cities or areas. In these cities, especially in our capital city Freetown, people got more opportunities in comparisons to other regions and cities. There were many training centres in local cities or towns but cannot compare with Freetown. The inequalities caused by location was the issue I think peace education failed to address. And the gender inequalities failed to address, parents would provide more support to boys rather than girls.

Author: Which negative element existed within society do you think peace education cannot address?

Policy Maker: Apparently, peace education cannot address the disparities between rich and poor, especially during a very limited time frame. I understand, peace education and education can lessen the gap between rich and poor from a long-term perspective. However, until now, Sierra Leone is a poor country, many people are

now surviving from a very low living conditions, no food, cannot access to clean water. I think peace education can change people's attitudes, but I think it can hardly bring economic increase. Especially in rural areas, the only concern for them is what to eat, and what to drink, and these places had usually been ignored by educational and social services. It does not mean that no actions had been taken for these areas, because some areas were really hard to reach, it was not that possible to allocate professionals.

Author: The last question I wish to ask is which element may prevent the country to achieve positive peace? Can you summarise it?

Policy Maker: Poverty and inequalities are the issue peace education cannot address, and also the issues prevent us to achieve peace. I would say there is a 'peace' in our country, but far from what we wish to achieve, such as economic development, and provide good services for our citizens.

Appendix C: Ethical Approval Form

Research Title: The role of peace education post-conflict Sierra Leone

Supervisor: Michael Wyness

Funding body (if relevant):

Please ensure you have read the Guidance for the Ethical Conduct of Research available in the handbook.

Methodology

Please outline the methodology, e.g. observation, individual interviews, focus groups, group testing etc.

The main aim of the research is to explore the role of peace education in maintaining peace in Sierra Leone. Whether **peace education (broadly defined to include various initiatives) has played an important part or contributed to ensuring two decades peace as well as the limitations of peace education that prevent the achievement of peace (from the perspective of various international organisations such as UN) in Sierra Leone since the cessation of hostilities in 2000**?

In order to understand the overall peace education strategy after civil conflict, this study will look at the nature of peace education, and the effectiveness of peace education by looking at a decade long peace operation after the civil war. Two methods will be adopted for this study. Namely, documentary research and face to face online interviews. These two methods are clearly interconnected, the documentary research is helpful to address the research question one and two and will also form the basic understanding for third research questions. Interview data will be the complementary resource in answering research question one and be the

main method in answering research question three. For example, documentary data are useful in answering the nature of peace education and will form a basic understanding regard to the role of peace education for negative peace. The documentary data will help to inform the interview questions with the key informants. In this case, the documentary data will be collected first and used to guide the interviews later. Documents required to answer the questions above can mostly be found online via UK Universities' network and online dataset such as Scopus, Web of Science, Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI). Key sources of information include academic journals readily available online as well as non-academic sources, including the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) online library (https://unesdoc.unesco.org), The World Bank (https://www.worldbank.org/en/research), Sierra Leone government reports provide by U.S. Department of State (https://www.state.gov/countries-areas/sierra-leone/), Sierra Leone Education statistics (https://www.ceicdata.com/en/sierra-leone/education-statistics), and etc. These sources dominate strengths and weaknesses in regard to the format and types. For example, academic works of literature are easy to access but can provide clear practical details such as which textbook has been adopted for a certain programme. While practical articles developed by NGOs are hard to follow and some of them were not able to access as the websites were expired. In this case, academic literature and non-academic sources are useful for this study. With the concern of access to documents from gatekeeping organisations, I will first ensure whether the document is open access to the public or it is kind of confidential record. I will only use the data and resources that are open to the public.

Participants

Please specify all participants in the research including ages of children and young people where appropriate. Also specify if any participants are vulnerable e.g. children; as a result of learning disability.

The emergence of peace operations can be traced back to the creation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945. It was designed to prevent another world war and to ensure regional peace as well. As mentioned by Preamble to the UN Charter states, 'to eliminate the scourge of war that had befallen humanity twice in the first half of the twentieth century' (Weiner, 2003). The United Nations, as the successor to the failed experiment of the League of Nations, represented the liberal internationalist approach to world politics, which offered an alternative model to realism, dealing with the central problem of international relations — the avoidance of major wars (Knopf, 1985). Meanwhile, in Africa, the de- colonialism movements after WWII saw the emergence of weak states and the changing characteristics of the war. Embodied as the defective economy; the absence of social cohesion; and the absence of effective and responsive national institutions. Peace operations rise in response to solve these weaknesses and to eliminate underlying sources to violent conflicts (Ikenberry, 2001). Even though there are some criticisms of peace operations in Africa, as many of them believe that the external involvement is a kind of intervention in domestic affairs, yet peace operations such as peace education started with local cooperation in general (Burde, 2014). A review of peace education programmes indicated that they differ considerably in terms of ideology, objectives, curriculums and teaching practices. However, within this wide range of programmes, the common general objectives are to make positive changes such as diminish humanity atrocities ranging from injustice, inequality, violence, civil war, human rights abuse, and other negative features. (Bjerstedt, 1993b; Burns & Aspeslagh, 1996; Harris, 1988; Reardon, 1988). Several United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) documents from 1945 to 2015 documented the shifting focus from achieving negative peace to making positive peace in general.

The civil conflict which occurred in the Republic of Sierra Leone from 1991 to 2002 had a catastrophic effect on the country. Education has been a factor that comes up in many of the explanations of the Sierra Leonean civil war. One is on the extent to which grievances about education were the reason for young people joining the rebel

movement as the nature of peace education can be concluded as elitist and its unequal access. Krech and Maclure (2003) particularly emphasise an approach in which education is seen not as a discrete phenomenon but in the context of political, economic and ideological forces, as it was not education per se but the indication of the relationship between the educational system and the context that came to fuel the root causes of the conflict. After the war, Sierra Leone is identified as a low-income country and ranks 181th out of 189 countries in the Human Development Index (2018), with 490 Gross National Income (GNI) per capita (Atlas method, current US$) in 2020 (World Bank, 2020). It is also often referred to as a weak or vulnerable country by multilateral donors (DFID, 2005; USAID, 2005; OECD, 2011; IMF, 2011; World Bank, 2020). Given its weak characteristics, Sierra Leone was involved in comprehensive external engagement and control during the immediate post-conflict period in the 2000s. The outcomes were positive in many aspects, for example, the achievement of negative peace in general. Peace education, as a part of long-term humanitarian assistance initiatives, are crucial to achieving sustainability, to build positive peace, and to reconcile citizens in Sierra Leone. The relationship between conflict/war, education, and peace education/conflict prevention in Sierra Leone is highly complex and intertwines with each other. In particular, education is one of the root causes of conflict. In turn, conflict shapes the education system and further influences the way that peace education operates. Thus, the initial question here is what are the relationships between the elements in the nexus: education, conflict and peace education? In order to understand this overarching question, face to face interview (conduct online) will be a complementary method in this research. In this study, I hope to discuss findings drawn from the interviews which examined key actors' perspectives, attitudes, and suggestions of their contributions to the quest of constructing peace education programmes during the post-war period. The study looks at participants who undertook different responsibilities such as policymakers, key practitioners, and educators. Meanwhile, the study will lead both participants and me to a broader exploration and better understanding of the role of peace education in peacebuilding.

Participants including:

The sample will be made up of between 12 interviewees with knowledge about peace education in Sierra Leone. To analyse the role of peace education from a national level, recruiting key informants such as people who have organised peace-related interventions including educational policymakers is crucial for further analysing. Thus, the participants will include four education policymakers, four practitioners who worked in Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and got involved in peace education intervention, and four educators who were involved in the drafting of peace education curriculums. In this study, peace education refers to programmes adopted in post-conflict societies, formal and non-formal peace educational programmes will take as main study objects. Interviewees are list below and all of them are knowledgeable persons who have worked with NGOs, National Ministries, and been directly involved with peace education in schools.

In particular, I will adopt a snowball sampling method to expand the number of participants. Snowball sampling in social science studies "utilise a small pool of initial informants to nominate, through their social networks, other participants who meet the eligibility criteria and could potentially contribute to a specific study (Morgan, 2008. p2)." The key informants including main gatekeepers, a practitioner from UN, a peace education curriculum expert can provide me with more connections in further study, for example introducing me to their colleagues who are relevant to my research.

Respect for participants' rights and dignity
How will the fundamental rights and dignity of participants be respected, e.g. confidentiality, respect of cultural and religious values?

Every participant's personal information and their identity will remain confidential on my personal laptop locked by my fingerprint in my own room in order to avoid disclosure. Participants will be treated with respect and fairness, and freedom from prejudice regardless of age, gender, race, class and cultural identity. More importantly, their social status and races would not be a cause of inequality of treatment in this study. Meanwhile, the study will use non-discriminatory language in the interviewing and in the writing up process. All participants will be volunteers and they have the right to withdraw, and the collected data will not be included in the thesis but will be destroyed.

Privacy and confidentiality

How will confidentiality be assured? Please address all aspects of research including protection of data records, thesis, reports/papers that might arise from the study.

Confidentiality will be assured. All data will be stored in my personal hard drive in a safe place. No third-party access will be provided. All names, title, and personal information will be hidden and replaced with person A or person B in the final report. All participants will be anonymous in the final report in order to ensure that personal information and identities are not disclosed. In terms of my thesis and reports, the anonymity and confidentiality of participants will be protected by replacing their personal information with Student A or Teacher A. For those people who may be easy to identify, such as policy makers, I will describe their personal identity with an ambiguous description, such as an educator in higher education. In particular, their name, workplace, religion, and gender will not be mentioned.

Consent

How will prior informed consent be obtained from the following?

From participants: An ethical consent form will be signed by the interviewee prior to the actual interview. The ethical consent form will list the interview questions,

study purpose, the use of data, and ethical considerations for this study. The consent form will also ask participants to think about whether there are any possibilities that participants will experience difficulties with the organisations or with whom they work as a result of taking part in the study. Whether the participants, especially the policymakers are allowed to speak out? Sensitive information may be shared, but for ethical purposes, these kinds of information will not be adopted for the research. If no signature is given, no interview will be conducted. This study will interview policy makers in national education sectors, educators of peace education, and practitioners of NGOs they will be treated in the same as other groups.

If prior informed consent is not to be obtained, give reason: If no signature is given, no interview will be conducted

Will participants be explicitly informed of the student's status: Yes

Competence

How will you ensure that all methods used are undertaken with the necessary competence?

The Advance Research Method course (ARM: Module IE910) I have taken at the University of Warwick: Centre for Education Studies (CES) allows me to understand how I should conduct an appropriate study. Moreover, the main methods I'm going to use in the thesis are face to face interviews, and the analysis of documentary research. In order to avoid a traumatised impact on the participants, I have enrolled on an online course run by PAIS. Currently (Researcher Development Online), this course takes place in the Microsoft Team webinar. Meanwhile, I have read thoroughly on each of these research techniques, therefore, I will consult with my

supervisor about my methods if there are any difficulties. I shall adhere to the current British Educational Research Association guidelines on research ethics (BERA, 2018).

Protection of participants

How will participants' safety and well-being be safeguarded?

All the interviews will be conducted online with the adoption of Microsoft Team software in accordance with current COVID-19 Situation. With the concern over the privacy, since Microsoft Team has been widely used for interviews and supervision during current pandemic, so it is more reliable in comparisons to other software. Conducting interviews online can ensure both participants' and the researcher's physical safety and privacy. However, to keep their mental or psychological safety is more crucial in this study, which means I will check with participants before starting the interview if there are any topics to avoid further trauma. So that planned study schedules and interview questions will be provided prior to the whole process. In this case, if the interviewees choose to quit the study, all collected data should be destroyed. What's more, I will stop asking questions when participants feel uncomfortable.

Child protection

Will a DBS check be needed? Yes   No ☐   (If y☐ please attach a copy.)

Addressing dilemmas

Well planned research can produce ethical dilemmas. How will you address any ethical dilemmas that may arise in your research?

Memories regarding the civil war may trigger psychological discomfort, even though all the participants were not vulnerable traumatised people. In this case, I will ask questions directly, but they can skip them if they are uncomfortable. In this case, I

can probably reduce the likelihood of generating or awake traumas. If the participants are visibly upset beyond stopping the interview, I will comfort them and stop the interview.

Misuse of research

How will you seek to ensure that the research and the evidence resulting from it are not misused?

The essential information from the interview will be conveyed in a written form. The research findings in this case would not be altered or misinterpreted. In order to get a more accurate representation of the interview, I will record the interviews if the participants give you permission. I will only have access to these recordings on my personal hard drive which will be password protected. As such, the author can deliver correct and accurate data to the readers and public. Moreover, I will not only pay attention to the direct objectives and intended applications of the planned activities, but also assess if this research could be used to serve unethical purposes.

Support for research participants

What action is proposed if sensitive issues are raised or a participant becomes upset?

Although the participants won't include any traumatised populations, there is possibility that the participants may have difficulties reflecting on how the conflict affected and influenced local citizens, or the research may remind them of their own sad experiences. In this occasion, the interviews will stop if participant is clear that they wish to withdraw. The interviews with participants will go ahead as long as the participant is clear that they wish to continue and the situation is handled sensitively and appropriate support, for example, online psychological counselling

service (such as 'Together All' online free service) will be provided in order to ensure participants mental health is in place.

Management of your data

Who will have access to the data?

Researcher only, no third-party access will be provided, but my supervisor can access to the data.

How and where will the data be stored?

All data will be stored in my personal hard drive in a safe place. In this occasion, only I will have access to this data. The data will be stored on the university server in a password-protected folder and a hard drive will be kept in my room where no people other than me can access.

For how long will the data be kept?

Ten years

Integrity

How will you ensure that your research and its reporting are honest, fair and respectful to others?

Voice recording will be kept in order to ensure the fair and honest representation of the participants' responses to my questions. I will report my findings honestly and fairly. I will not knowingly act in ways that jeopardize either my own or others' professional welfare. I will conduct my research in ways that inspire trust and

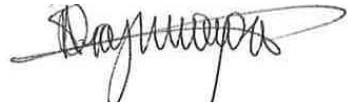confidence and will not knowingly make statements that are false, misleading, or deceptive.

What agreement has been made for the attribution of authorship by yourself and your supervisor(s) of any reports or publications?

There are no agreements until now, the authorship will be determined on a case-by-case basis, depending on the involvement of the supervisor.

Signed:	
Student:Yi Yu	Date: 18. 09.2020
Supervisor: Michael Wyness	Date: 13.10.2020

Please submit this form to the Research Office (Donna Jay, Room C1.10)

Office use only

Action taken:

☐ Approved

☐ Approved with modification or conditions – see below

☐ Action deferred. Please supply additional information or clarification – see below

Name:Dr Olympia Palikara

Signature:

Date: 06/10/20

Stamped:

Notes of Action: