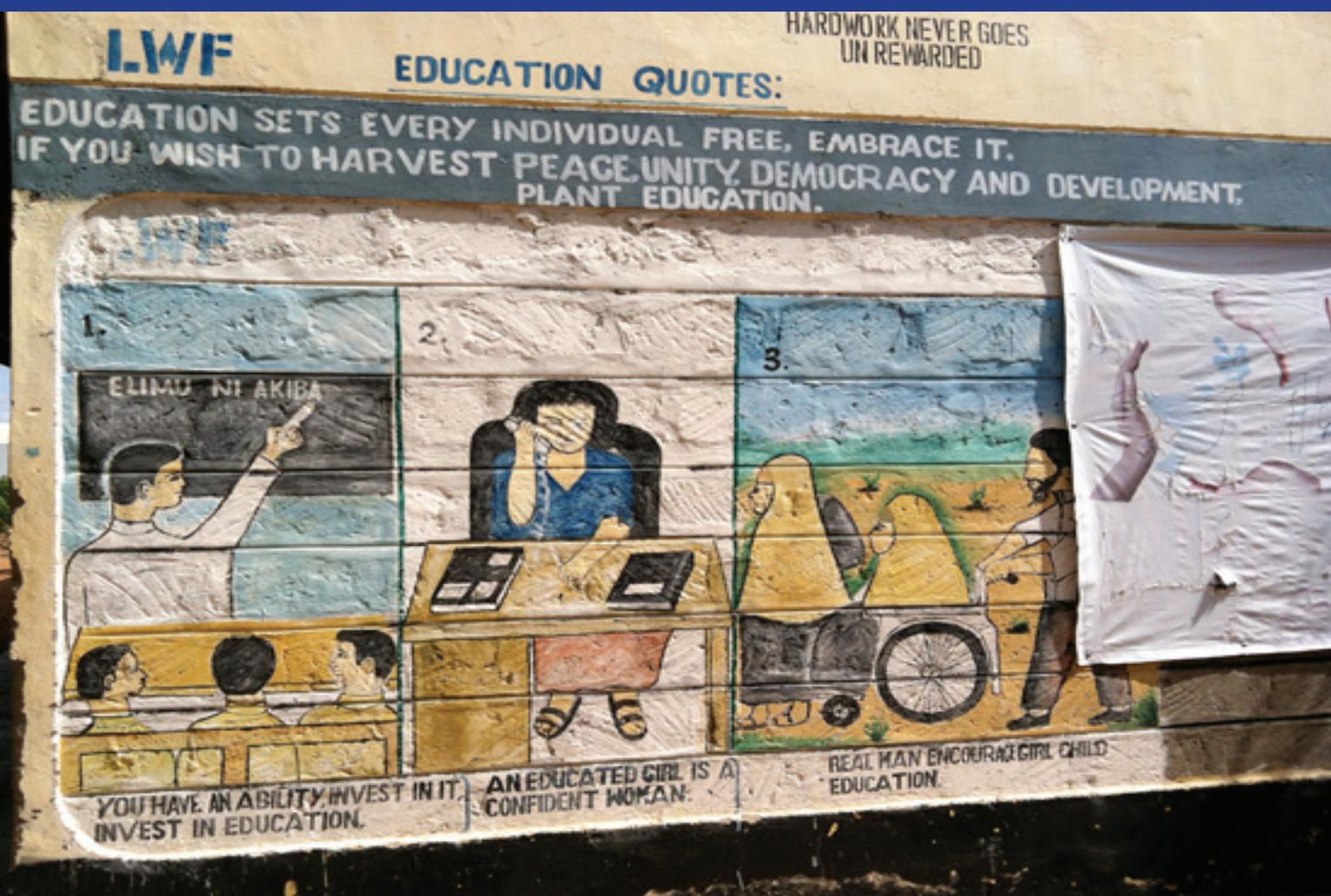


# Peace Education and Peacebuilding in Dadaab Refugee Camp

Results and Lessons Learned



**Peace Education and Peacebuilding in Dadaab Refugee Camp: Results and Lessons Learned**

United Nations Children’s Fund  
Peacebuilding Education and Advocacy Programme  
Education Section, Programme Division  
Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office (ESARO)  
Nairobi, Kenya

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Cover Photo: Peace Mural on a Primary School Wall; Hagadera, Dadaab Refugee Camp. © Chrissie Monaghan

**Authors**

Elisabeth King, PhD (New York University)  
Chrissie Monaghan, PhD (New York University)

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# Document Overview

## Purpose and Intended Use of the Case Study

This study will look at the opportunities and challenges of peacebuilding through education in Kenya's Dadaab Refugee Camp and how, in this context, PBEA interventions might strengthen social cohesion and community resilience.

This document is intended to be used by UNICEF staff, implementing partner ministries and organizations, as well as other practitioners in the wider fields of Education in Emergencies as well as education and peacebuilding. It will explore primarily how two different models of peace education—the Peace Education Programme (PEP) and Sport for Development and Peace (SDP)—might advance peacebuilding and resilience amongst refugees residing in Dadaab and secondarily post-conflict reconstruction upon repatriation to Somalia (97 percent of refugees in Dadaab are Somali).

It is hoped that the study will contribute to discussions and planning to strengthen peacebuilding through education initiatives designed to increase the capacity of children, adolescents, and youth (as well as parents and other duty bearers) to prevent, reduce, and cope with violent conflict and promote peace and sustainable development. It will also explore opportunities for UNICEF to develop and work with partners to implement PBEA interventions more effectively and overcome the challenges facing programme implementation.

Using an analysis based on the PBEA theory of change (ToC), the report finds progress on two of three programme outputs. It also finds anecdotal evidence of intermediate outcomes as well as preliminary signs of final outcomes—increasing levels of social cohesion and resilience, although the study design limits ability to detect change and to make causal inferences. Study participants reported liking the PEP and SDP programmes and deemed them to be important.

# Abbreviations

---

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| CO    | Country Office                                      |
| EEPCT | Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition |
| EFA   | Education for All                                   |
| ESARO | Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office         |
| ESDP  | Education Sector Development Plan                   |
| FGD   | Focus Group Discussion                              |
| FO    | Field Office  |
| GBV   | Gender-based Violence                               |
| GER   | Gross Enrollment Rate                               |
| GoK   | Government of Kenya                                 |
| GoN   | Government of the Netherlands                       |
| KCPE  | Kenya Certificate of Primary Education              |
| KICD  | Kenya Institute for Curriculum Development          |
| LWF   | Lutheran World Federation                           |
| MoE   | Ministry of Education                               |
| OOSC  | Out-of-School Children                              |
| NGO   | Non-Governmental Organization                       |
| PBEA  | Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy              |
| PEP   | Peace Education Programme                           |
| PTA   | Parent Teacher Association                          |
| SDP   | Sport for Development and Peace                     |
| ToC   | Theory of Change                                    |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees       |
| WTK   | Windle Trust Kenya                                  |

# Executive Summary

The Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy (PBEA) programme in Kenya's Dadaab refugee camp aims to strengthen resilience and social cohesion in the camp (where most refugees are Somali), between refugees and the host community, and in Somalia upon the repatriation of refugees. Refugees residing in Dadaab are vulnerable to frequent natural disasters and also prone to conflicts of varying scale between different communal groups in and around the camp as well as in countries of origin. PBEA is intended to address a number of specific conflict drivers affecting refugees and host communities.

The study focuses on PBEA in Dadaab refugee camp and neighbouring Dadaab town and specifically on two peace education initiatives aimed at different populations. The first initiative is the Peace Education Programme (PEP), an in-school programme for children in Grades 1-8 that is incorporated into the Kenyan national curriculum taught in Dadaab's primary schools. While the initiative has been implemented since 1998, PBEA began funding PEP in 2013. The second initiative is Sports for Development and Peace (SDP) programming. This SDP programming was first offered in 2013 and 2014 as 'The Talent Academy'—a stand-alone two-week boarding programme for refugee adolescents and youth from the host community, the majority of whom attended Dadaab Secondary School. Beginning in 2015, SDP was implemented as an extra-curricular programme with on-going inter and intra-school/camp competitions for refugee adolescents and youth in Dadaab's seven secondary schools. Both models of peace education intend to make gains towards **PBEA Outcome 3: Increase capacity of children, parents, teachers, and other duty bearers to prevent and reduce conflict and promote social cohesion**. Specific focus in the case study is given to the ways in which:

- The programme's Theories of Change (ToC) have informed the provision of peace education programming in Dadaab camp/town;
- How programming is addressing known conflict drivers in Dadaab camp and town; and
- If programme interventions are achieving desired results.

The study is designed to respond to a set of questions (included below) that correspond to **PBEA Outcome 5—Generating Evidence and Knowledge** through on-going monitoring and reporting on the impacts of PBEA interventions in sites of implementation.

A handful of academic and practitioner oriented literature on PEP focuses on if and how the programme "works," though results remain inconclusive based on available literature. Additionally, while in recent years, SDP has increasingly been included under the umbrella of peace education in refugee camps and camps for internally displaced persons, to date a limited number of research pieces are devoted to describing or analysing the impact of such programmes. This study thus provides both an opportunity to consider PEP or SDP programming as models of peace education, and to comparatively examine these models of peace education offered in the same refugee camp. The questions guiding this study are as follows:

- How does PBEA-supported peace education programming (PEP and SDP) support conflict transformation among beneficiaries?
- How have peace education interventions improved social cohesion within/between communities so as to increase resilience against conflict?
- What examples can be provided about how PBEA-supported peace education is supporting peaceful conflict and dispute resolution strategies and societal resilience against conflict?
- To what extent are the needs of out-of-school children, adolescents, and youth addressed through peace education in a manner that reduces conflict pressures (both structural and cultural)?
- What challenges exist with promoting social cohesion and resilience through peace education programming?
- What lessons can be drawn out with programme implementation?

The questions relate to outputs and outcomes, challenges and lessons learned. In order to answer these questions, interviews were conducted with key staff members at NCKK, Windle Trust Kenya,

and Dadaab Secondary School (implementing partners for SDP) in Dadaab camp/town, as well as with UNICEF staff members in the Kenya Country Office (CO) in Nairobi. The field visits for this research trip included approximately one visit to Dadaab Secondary School in Dadaab town where adolescents and youth from the host community who had participated in the programme since 2013 took part in a focus group discussion (FGD). Programme facilitators from Dadaab Secondary School and WTK also took part in one-on-one interviews. FGD and one-on-one interviews with students, teachers, parent-teacher association (PTA) members, and NCKK programme planners for the PEP programme in Ifo/Ifo II were carried out in the camp compound. In total, **35** individuals participated in this case study through one-on-one and FGD interviews. This case study also draws upon quantitative data collected by UNICEF through a survey of Knowledge, Attitudes, and Perceptions (KAP) in Dadaab. Additionally, this case study was informed by desk research of on-going evaluation (including quarterly reports submitted by NCKK to UNHCR/UNICEF), programme updates, trip reports, and annual reports provided by UNICEF, a review of PEP curricular materials, and a review of relevant literature to peacebuilding and education, as well as peace education and SDP in refugee camps.

UNICEF Kenya CO and UNICEF's Field Office (FO) in Dadaab along with NCKK and WTK/Dadaab Secondary School work towards **Outcome 3** through following Education for Peacebuilding ToC: *If schools become violence free zones and teachers use positive classroom management techniques, the social norms on the acceptance and use of violence will be reduced and promote constructive dispute resolution methods among communities and greater social cohesion* (UNICEF 2014).

This study derived observable results being achieved related to outputs, intermediate outcomes, and final outcomes, upon which findings are based. The observable implications are as follows:

- **Outputs:** Teachers are trained on positive discipline and school safety; primary school students are taught using the MoE peace education training manual and teacher activity books for Grades 1 to 8; school adolescents and youth are involved in cross-community sport and talent-based activities.

- **Intermediate Outcomes:** Changed attitudes and increased capacity among students for non-violent conflict management and resolution mechanisms and strategies.
- **Final Outcomes:** Changed behaviours; increase in social cohesion amongst communities; increased ability of communities to be resilient to shocks.

The study includes several Lessons Learned and Recommendations. Lessons Learned include:

### How security context and programming decisions affected the design of PBEA interventions

- A full conflict analysis was not completed during the initial stages of Dadaab programming. Instead a 'light conflict analysis' was conducted that drew on common understandings of conflict dynamics and drivers.
- Initial understanding of conflict drivers were heavily informed by the broader political context in which attacks committed by Al Shabaab were on the rise and perceived as a growing threat by the GoK.

### How TOCs and programme interventions intend to address known conflict drivers

- The PBEA Public Attitudes and Reduction of Violence Theory informs PBEA interventions in Dadaab camp/town.
- Sources of conflict are identified only in a light conflict analysis and in the much later KAP that hasn't been integrated into programming. Further, given PBEA filled funding shortfalls for existing programs, intervention logics are not well matched to conflict sources and ultimately PBEA goals.
- The long-running PEP in Dadaab was not adapted to address specific drivers of conflict in-line with the guiding logic of PBEA programming.
- Further conflict-sensitive monitoring of the programme would be valuable.

### Achievement of programme outputs and outcomes

- This report finds progress on 2 of 3 programme outputs. It also finds anecdotal evidence of intermediate outcomes as well as preliminary signs of final outcomes—increasing levels of

social cohesion (PEP) and potential resilience (SDP) although the study design limits ability to detect change or to make causal inferences.

- All study participants reported liking PEP and SDP and deemed them to be important.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Sharpening TOC to underlie programme logic and desired outcomes

- Reconsider the broad applicability of the PBEA Public Attitudes and Reduction of Violence Theory regarding the ways in which it may apply to PEP and less so to SDP.
- Develop a specific ToC for SDP.
- Programming should be preceded by a complete conflict analysis based on appropriate methodologies to ensure effective programme design and logic during inception phases.
- Consider congruence and divergence between school-based conflicts and broader conflicts (i.e. fears of inter-ethnic conflict in schools reaching communities and escalating) as well as incongruence between school-based conflict and conflicts in the camp and determine which conflicts future programming is intended to address.
- Consider integrating awareness of, or reduction of, GBV into future programming goals.

### Strengthening programme implementation

#### PEP

- Adapt PEP teacher trainings to include positive discipline methods and methods to ensure learning environments are free of conflict (align programming with ToC and stated programme objectives) and/or offer conflict-sensitive education workshops that include positive discipline methods to all teachers—including a focus on GBV in schools.
- Ensure PEP curriculum is actually being taught even if it is a non-examinable subject.

- Consider including PTA in PEP training workshops offered by NCKK to provide continuity in service provision of PEP classes due to challenges with teacher retention and to capitalize on existing PTA involvement.
- Think about more ways to involve PTA given their role in mitigating the spread of school-based conflict to communities.
- Recall the large proportion of children and youth outside of schools and consider re-introducing PEP workshops intended for community members in Dadaab camp/town. While the impact of such programmes is not empirically known, they were widely praised and liked.

#### SDP

- After having specified the desired outcomes and ToC for the SDP, refine programming to ensure it is targeting the level of conflict in which the programme is most interested. For example, if it is about youth-host relations, include youth from the host community in SDP in the camp, as originally stipulated in the PCA with WTK. Alternatively if the programme intends to address inter-national conflict, ensure that programming includes youth from different nations, etc.

### Ensuring evidence-based programming

- Interventions in the future should complete a full conflict-analysis based upon appropriate methodologies to ensure effective programme design and logic during inception phases.
- Extend/deepen research design for evaluation and consider more comparative (possibly experimental), longitudinal, on-going evaluations. Consider long-term partnerships with academics for rigorous research.
- Continue to build on the positive anecdotal accounts to see if and how they may be generalized.

# 1. Introduction

The Peacebuilding Education and Advocacy (PBEA) programme (or 'Learning for Peace') is a four-year initiative established in 2012 funded by the Government of the Netherlands (GoN). The programme aims to strengthen resilience, social cohesion, and human security in fragile and conflict-affected contexts by improving policies and practices for education and peacebuilding.

PBEA represents a continuation of the work of UNICEF and the GoN to implement education programming in conflict-affected contexts. Specifically, PBEA followed the Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition (EEPCT) programme, carried out from 2006 to 2011 in 44 countries.<sup>1</sup> Conflict-sensitive programming and peacebuilding through social services are seen as critical approaches by UNICEF that aim to strengthen resilience to the complex challenges facing children, adolescents,<sup>2</sup> and communities in such settings. PBEA is perhaps the first UNICEF initiative that systematically aims to address the drivers of violent intrastate conflict in the 14 countries (see Figure 1<sup>3</sup>) where PBEA programming has been implemented, including Kenya's Dadaab refugee camp, the focus of this report.<sup>4</sup>

TOCs Informing Interventions. PBEA is informed conceptually by a political-economy approach to understanding and explaining conflict (Novelli, 2011; Novelli & Smith, 2011). The highest level Theory of Change (ToC), or guiding logic, underlying UNICEF's PBEA programme is that (i) understanding the ways in which the interactions between actors and institutions across sectors and levels drive conflict leads to (ii) designing education interventions that aim to address those interactions and (iii) ultimately

transforming these drivers of conflict and facilitating peacebuilding (Novelli, 2011; UNICEF, 2013a). These same reports also outline several more specific ToC that underlie programming decisions.

Focus of Report: This case study adopts this useful approach and focuses upon the ways in which specific ToC at the country-level have informed PBEA interventions, how these ToC are intended to address known conflict drivers, and if and how these theories of change have been actualized through programming to 'work on' (thus transform) conflict drivers to facilitate peacebuilding.

Peace Education in Dadaab: The study focuses on PBEA in Dadaab and neighbouring Dadaab town and specifically on two peace education initiatives aimed at different populations. The first initiative is the Peace Education Programme (PEP), an in-school programme for children in Grades 1-8 that is incorporated into the Kenyan national curriculum taught in Dadaab's primary schools. The second initiative is Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) programming. SDP was not offered prior to PBEA, however PEP has been offered in Dadaab since 1998. PBEA began funding PEP in 2013, though the structure and content of the programme did not change and the programme continued to be offered as it had prior to PBEA support.

This study ultimately explores if and how these peace education interventions have contributed to Global Outcome 3. It focuses on these two interventions during the period of PBEA funding. This study lists UNICEF's 5 Global Outcomes here, and highlights Outcome 3:

- 1 The goal of EEPCT was to support countries experiencing emergencies and post-crisis transitions in the process of sustainable progress towards provision of basic education for all.
- 2 UNICEF defines older adolescents as those from the ages of 15-18 and youth as persons between 15 and 24 years of age.
- 3 Kenya is also included via support to the Dadaab refugee camp to address cross border conflict risks associated with Somali refugees.
- 4 UNICEF (2014a) "About." *Learning for Peace*. Available at: <http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/about/learning-for-peace/>.

- 1) Increased inclusion of education into peacebuilding and conflict-reduction policies, analyses, and implementation
- 2) Increased institutional capacities to supply conflict-sensitive education
- 3) Increased capacity of children, parents, and other duty-bearers to prevent, reduce, and cope with conflict and promote peace
- 4) Increased access for children to quality, relevant, conflict-sensitive education that contributes to peace
- 5) Contribute to the generation and use of evidence and knowledge on policies and programming on linkages between education, conflict, and peacebuilding (sic).

The case study aims to contribute findings, lessons learned, and recommendations for Dadaab and PBEA more broadly. It also aims to contribute to wider scholarship on refugee education. In this way, the study itself strongly contributes to **Outcome 5**.

Table 1. PBEA programme countries

| PBEA TARGET COUNTRIES  |   |                              |            |                       |
|--|---|------------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| West & Central Africa  | East and Southern Africa <sup>5</sup>   | Middle East and North Africa | South Asia | East Asia and Pacific |
| Chad, Cote D'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone | Burundi, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, Uganda, including Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya | Palestine, Yemen             | Pakistan   | Myanmar               |

## 1.1 Research Methods and Limitations

PBEA has as one of its goals, Outcome 5—Generating Evidence and Knowledge, on-going monitoring and reporting of the impacts of PBEA interventions in implementing countries. This outcome is focused on generating new knowledge and evidence about the ways that education contributes to peacebuilding in fragile and conflict-affected environments. This study explores the following questions:

- How does PBEA-supported peace education programming (PEP and SDP) support conflict transformation among beneficiaries?
- How have peace education interventions improved social cohesion within/between communities so as to increase resilience against conflict?
- What examples can be provided about how PBEA-supported peace education is supporting peaceful conflict and dispute resolution strategies and societal resilience against conflict?

- To what extent are the needs of out-of-school children, adolescents, and youth addressed through peace education in a manner that reduces conflict pressures (both structural and cultural)?
- What challenges exist with promoting social cohesion and resilience through PE programming?
- What lessons can be drawn out with programme implementation?

This case study examining the role of PBEA programming in Kenya’s Dadaab refugee camp was informed by multiple methods. These methods are:

- 1) Primary qualitative research in Dadaab (including key informant interviews and focus group discussions);
- 2) Desk research of on-going monitoring (including quarterly reports submitted by NCKK to UNHCR/UNICEF), programme updates, trip reports, and annual reports provided by UNICEF; and a review of PEP curricular materials;

<sup>5</sup> Kenya is also included via support to the Dadaab refugee camp to address cross border conflict risks associated with Somali refugees.

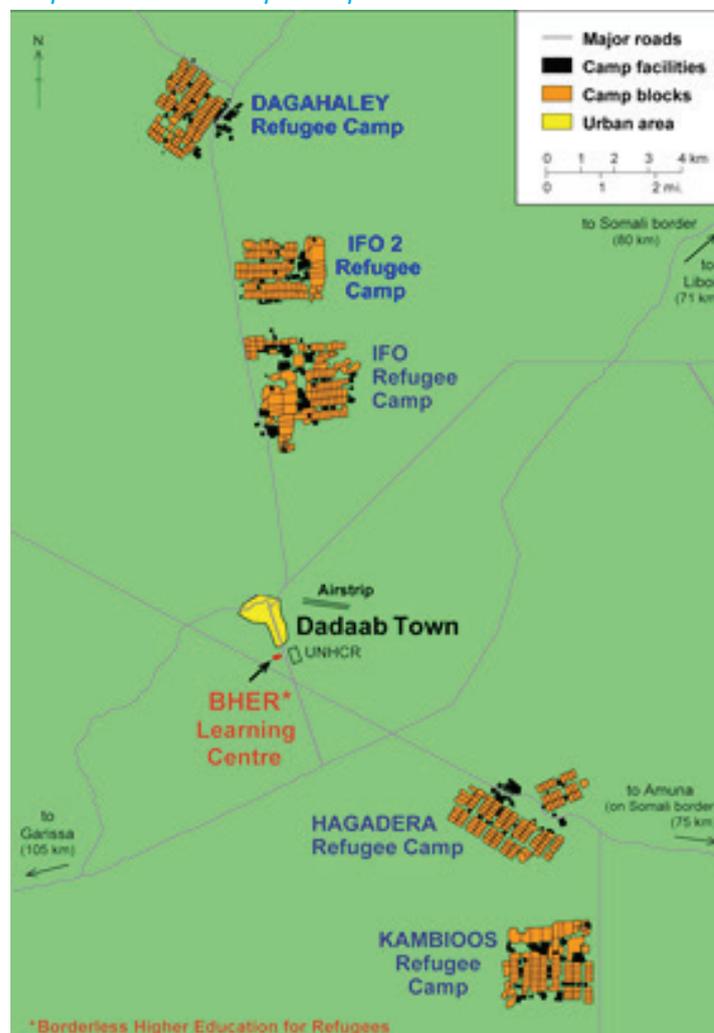
- 3) A review of relevant literature to peacebuilding and education and peace education and SDP in refugee camps; and
- 4) Quantitative data from a Knowledge, Attitudes, and Perceptions (KAP) survey conducted in Dadaab by UNICEF affiliates in the early part of 2015.

To the extent possible, the study triangulates these data sources to strengthen case study findings. Stakeholders at UNICEF ESARO and the UNICEF Kenya Country Office (CO) team also reviewed the report for validation and suggested refinements and additional information, as relevant.

Key Informant Interviews and Field visits. Interviews were conducted with key staff

members from the National Church Council of Kenya (NCCCK), Windle Trust Kenya (WTK), and Dadaab Secondary School in Dadaab camp/town, as well as with UNICEF staff members in the CO in Nairobi. NCCCK is UNICEF’s implementing partner for the PEP programme. WTK and Dadaab Secondary School served as the implementing partners for the SDP Talent Academy in 2013 and 2014; WTK is currently the implementing partner for the SDP extra-curricular programme at Dadaab’s secondary schools.<sup>6</sup> The field visits for this research included a visit to Dadaab Secondary School in Dadaab town. Dadaab town is located just outside the UN/NGO compound and the refugee camp. The layout of the camp complex is depicted in Map 1 below.

Map 1. Dadaab Camp Complex



© Borderless Higher Education for Refugees

6 In agreement with the GoK and UNHCR, WTK is also the implementing partner for secondary schools in Dadaab. The camp’s secondary schools are formally recognized, accredited, and registered by the GoK.

In order to speak with as many stakeholders as possible, but also given security constraints further detailed below, UNICEF brought teachers, parent-teacher association (PTA) members, and students from primary schools in two sub-camps (Ifo I and Ifo II) to the camp compound (where UN and NGO offices and residences are located). The compound is a walled complex just next to Dadaab town. Five focus group discussions and three one-on-one-interviews were conducted, reaching a total of 36 individuals. For PEP, these individuals included PEP teachers (n=7), PTA members (n=4), primary school children (n=7), and programme planners (n=4). For SDP programming, these individuals included youth (n=11) and programme planners (n=2).

Questions posed to research participants during FGDs and one-on-one interviews sought to capture:

- Drivers of conflict specific to Dadaab camp/town;
- Theories of change specific to peace education (both PEP and SDP) in the camp/town; and
- Changes in occurrence, scope, or scale of conflict that participants observed or experienced and participants' perceptions of the sources of these changes.

Informed consent was obtained for all interviews and the study adhered to UNICEF ethical guidelines for research with children.<sup>7</sup>

The researchers also drew on a survey of Knowledge, Attitudes, and Perceptions (KAP) that was conducted by the UNICEF Field Office (FO) in Dadaab in coordination with the implementing partners for PEP and WTK that began in January 2015 and remains ongoing. Using a sampling strategy designed by UNICEF and the implementing partners in Dadaab, the survey was conducted with 667 participants from five different camps including Hagadera, Kambioos, Dagahaley, Ifo, Ifo II and the host community. The ages of the respondents ranged from 9 to 88 years old, with the majority of respondents being adults over the age of 24 (50 percent) and youth 15-24 (40 percent). The respondents were primarily Islamic (93 percent) with the remainder indicating Christianity as their religion (7 percent). 79 percent of participants originated

from Somalia, however respondents also came from Ethiopia (6 percent), South Sudan (3 percent), Burundi (0.3 percent), and Sudan (0.1 percent), thus overweighting these other groups given that Somalis represent 97 percent of refugees in Dadaab. Respondents who indicated "Other" comprised 12 percent, representing the host community (Garissa, Dadaab town, etc.).

Overall, fewer than half of the KAP survey respondents were currently attending school, however the majority of children (86 percent, 51/59) and youth (65 percent, 164/253) were enrolled in school. 59 percent of primary-school-aged children in Dadaab are out of primary school (UNHCR, 2015) and 92 percent of secondary-school-aged adolescents and youth are out of secondary school (Ibid.), meaning that this sample heavily overweighs in-school youth as compared to their proportion in the Dadaab population. This is not necessarily a problem for studying PE and SDP as both programmes take place in schools.

Of the total number of respondents, 28 percent (185/666) were listed as direct beneficiaries of a PBEA intervention. Of this subsample, 71 percent (131/184) were reported to be beneficiaries of the NCKK program. 103 of these were female and just 24 were male (the remaining 4 were unknown), strongly overweighting girls. According to correspondence with the firm responsible for the survey data, NCKK helped design the survey sampling in order to target participants in their Girl Guides programming. It is probable that these youth also participate in the PEP focused upon in this case study, although the average age was 18 years and PEP is a primary-school programme. In terms of country of origin, 110 were from Somalia, 8 from Ethiopia, 1 from Burundi, and 9 from other countries (and 3 were unlisted). 113 were listed to be in school, while 18 were not. 6 percent (11/184) benefited from the Talent Academies (the initial model of SDP programming before it shifted to extra-curricular programming in Dadaab camp secondary schools). In this case, all 11 were male with an average age of 21. Seven were from the host community, two were from Ifo II, and two were from Ifo. All had achieved secondary school education.

7 UNICEF ERIC Compendium at <http://childethics.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/ERIC-compendium-approved-digital-web.pdf>.

**Limitations.** While there was much to learn from the fieldwork conducted, there are also a number of limitations to this study. First, the study design was such that it did not allow for pre- and post- comparisons of participants' attitudes and behaviours or comparison of those who received the programme to similar children, adolescents, and youth who did not. These limitations affect the authors' ability to draw conclusions on outcomes. Second, it is likely that interviewees answer in ways that promote bias and present themselves in a positive light. Third, security was an important limiting factor in researcher mobility. In a context where security concerns were already heightened (further discussed in the Dadaab refugee camp section below), while the 2015 fieldwork was being undertaken, a Kenyan-national teacher employed by WTK, the SDP implementing partner, was kidnapped while traveling by car from Dagahaley to Hagadera.<sup>8</sup> All field-based research is thus limited to Dadaab Secondary School in Dadaab town, although programme participants from two additional sites (Ifo and Ifo II) were brought to the camp compound where the security risks were comparatively minimal, to take part in interviews. Finally, due to a number of timing and logistical challenges stemming from the heightened security protocol, participants from Dagahaley, Hagadera, and Kambioos PEP and refugee adolescents and youth participating in SDP programming were not included in the 2015 field research that was undertaken to examine the impact of PBEA peace education programming. However, primary fieldwork was supplemented by UNICEF reports from field-visits to primary and secondary schools in Dadaab's sub-camps (Dagahaley, Hagadera, and Kambioos) carried out in 2014.

Despite these limitations, interviews were conducted with a wide range of stakeholders participating in PEP and SDP programming,

allowing for a strong cross-section of views to be gathered.

There are also important limits to the KAP survey data. For instance, that 103/131 surveyed beneficiaries of NCKK programming are girls is not representative of participants. In regards to respondents identified as NCKK and Talent Academy beneficiaries, it is unclear in which programmes they specifically participated and when. Further, in such surveys, social desirability biases are an important concern, caused in part by potential risks to answering questions about carrying weapons, armed group involvement, etc. Nonetheless, the KAP surveys provide insight into a number of issues related to daily life and PBEA programming in Dadaab.

## 1.2 Analytical Framework, ToC, Conflict Drivers, Outcomes

The research framework focuses on linking theories of change to programme interventions, conflict drivers, and outcomes. Theory of Change is taken to mean "a set of assumptions that explain both the mini-steps that lead to a long-term goal and the connections between these activities and the outcomes of an intervention or programme" (Anderson, 2004). Given that PBEA programmes are meant to address context-specific conflict drivers, the study also considers if and how the ToC effectively do so.

**Table 2** below combines UNICEF PBEA's **Outcome 3** with 'Education for Peacebuilding' Theories of Change (UNICEF 2014) which guide the work of UNICEF Kenya CO, UNICEF's FO in Dadaab, and UNICEF's implementing partners for peace education—NCKK, WTK, and Dadaab Secondary School. The outputs are taken directly from UNICEF's Dadaab operational matrix. The study authors derived the intermediate and final outcomes from the ToC.

<sup>8</sup> See: <http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/police-rescue-kidnapped-daadab-tutor> See: <http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/police-rescue-kidnapped-daadab-tutor>

Table 2. UNICEF PBEA Targeted Outcome 3, ToC and Observable Implications

| UNICEF PBEA Targeted Outcomes  | UNICEF PBEA ToC (PEP/SDP)   | Observable Implications  |   |  |
|--|---|--|---|--|
|  |   | Outputs <sup>9</sup>   | Intermediate Outcomes   | Final Outcomes   |
| <p><b>Outcome 3:</b><br/>Increased capacity of children, parents, teachers, and other duty-bearers to prevent and reduce violent conflict and promote social cohesion.</p> | <p><b>Public Attitudes and Reduction of Violence Theories:</b><br/>If schools become violence free zones and teachers use positive classroom management techniques, the social norms of the acceptance and use of violence will be reduced and promote constructive dispute resolution methods among communities and greater social cohesion.</p> | <p><b>PEP:</b><br/>Teachers are trained on positive discipline and school safety<br/><br/>Primary school students are taught using the MoE peace education training manuals and teacher activity books for Grades 1-8</p> <p><b>SDP:</b><br/><b>Out-of-school adolescents and youth</b> are involved in cross-community sport and talent based activities.</p> | <p>Changed attitudes (norms toward violence) and increased capacity among <b>students</b> for non-violent conflict management and resolution mechanisms and strategies.</p> | <p>Changed behaviours;<br/><br/>Increase in social cohesion amongst <b>communities</b> (more networked relations among diverse communal groups) and in turn an increase in mechanisms utilized by communities for mediation and managing conflict.<sup>10</sup></p> <p>Increased ability of communities to be resilient (anticipate, withstand, and recover) to shocks (manmade and natural).<sup>11</sup></p> |

9 UNICEF ESARO (2014) PBEA Operational Matrix.

10 ESARO PBEA Annual Report (2013, 2014).

11 Ibid.

## 2. Background

For a more extensive background to Dadaab, please see the partner study to this one focusing on PBEA vocational education programming in the camp (Monaghan & King, 2015). Here the report provides only a brief summary of that partner study followed by a specific focus on background related to conflicts in/around the camp, shifts and changes to these conflicts over time, and background related to peace education programming in Dadaab.

### 2.1 Dadaab refugee camp

Dadaab refugee camp was established by the UNHCR in 1992 to host refugees fleeing Somalia following the escalation of sectarian violence resulting from the collapse of the Siad Barre regime (De Waal, 2013). Demographically, 97 percent of refugees in the camp are from Somalia. In recent years, refugees from other countries throughout East Africa (e.g. Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Uganda) have been settled by the UNHCR in Dadaab. Today, there are approximately 349,280 registered refugees (approximately 50 percent of whom are children and youth) (UNHCR, 2015). It is the largest refugee camp in the world. Dadaab is also a protracted refugee situation (PRS)<sup>12</sup>—approximately 10,000 third generation refugees are born to parents who were also born there (UNHCR, 2012).

There are five sub-camps in Dadaab—Dagahaley, Ifo, Ifo II, Hagadera, and Kambioos. Dagahaley, Ifo, and Hagadera were the original sub-camps founded in 1992; Ifo II and Kambioos were added to accommodate an influx of refugees in 2011 and 2012. Dagahaley, Ifo, and Ifo II are increasingly diverse sub-camps as a number of refugees arriving to Dadaab in 2014 and 2015 from several countries throughout East Africa were settled there upon registration. Ifo in particular was referred to several times during the

course of this research as a very ‘cosmopolitan’ camp. In contrast, Hagadera and Kambioos are still by-and-large comprised almost exclusively of Somali refugees.

In terms of provision of basic services, the UNHCR and its implementing partners provide food, water, shelter, healthcare, and education (formal primary schooling from Grades 1 to 8) to refugees residing in Dadaab. However, service provision is periodically strained as a consequence of ‘donor fatigue.’ In terms of education, the basic schooling provided to refugees across Dadaab’s five sub-camps by three different implementing partners (CARE in Dagahaley, Islamic Relief in Ifo and Ifo II, and Lutheran World Federation in Hagadera and Kambioos) has and continues to face significant challenges related to funding. These include high student to teacher ratios (avg. 160:1),<sup>13</sup> shortages of textbooks, desks, and other school supplies as well as schools that are in a general state of disrepair due to lack of funds to provide maintenance and upkeep (Monaghan, 2015). More generally, education challenges include a low Gross Enrolment Rate (GER); approximately, just 41 percent of children are enrolled in the camp’s primary schools and only 8 percent of adolescents and youth are enrolled in Dadaab’s secondary schools (UNHCR, 2015).

### Conflicts in and around Dadaab

Dadaab has long been characterized as one “of the most violent and insecure camps in the world” (Crisp, 1999: 3). A study conducted by the UNHCR in 1999 that examined the political economy of violence in Dadaab (as well as in Kakuma refugee camp in north-western Kenya) identified five predominate forms of violence that had affected the camp since it was founded in 1992: domestic abuse, sexual abuse, armed robbery, inter-clan and inter-national conflict,

<sup>12</sup> The UNHCR defines protracted refugee situations as “one in which 25,000 or more displaced persons find themselves in a longstanding and intractable state of limbo with no prospect of a solution.” See: Crisp & Slaughter (2009).

<sup>13</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Progress Report, 2014, 22.

and conflict between refugees and host populations. Inter-clan and inter-national conflict were particularly prevalent. The corresponding report finds that “it is impossible to quantify the amount of violence that takes place in and around Dadaab” (and Kakuma), and that “security incidents involving death and serious injury take place on a daily basis” (Ibid.). Studies undertaken in Dadaab (again, as well as Kakuma) throughout the 2000’s note that the rapidly escalating, large-scale inter-clan conflicts that had frequently erupted in Dadaab throughout the 1990s seemed to be waning. Nevertheless (and as further discussed in Monaghan & King, 2015), by 2011, Dadaab was again prone to high-levels of insecurity when Al Shabaab infiltrated the camp following Kenya’s military incursion into Somalia that same year,<sup>14</sup> and until 2014 maintained a steady presence there.

The Dadaab PBEA programme started in 2013 with the aim to support the government of Kenya (GoK) and UNHCR in strengthening resilience and social cohesion in Dadaab camp/town as well as the Federal Government of Somalia if/when Dadaab’s Somali refugees (who, as previously stated, comprise approximately 97 percent of the camp population) repatriate to Somalia. Kenya was not initially included as a PBEA country of focus, but events on the ground prompted its later inclusion. Since 2011, the GoK has made several public announcements that it will close Dadaab and that refugees will be repatriated to Somalia, particularly following major incidents perpetrated by armed groups in Kenya (e.g. the 2013 attack in Nairobi’s Westgate Shopping

Mall<sup>15</sup> and the 2015 attack at Garissa University College<sup>16</sup>). Towards this end, in November 2013, the governments of Somalia and Kenya and the UNHCR signed a tripartite agreement for the voluntary repatriation of Somali refugees<sup>17</sup> and in July of this year adopted a four year *Voluntary Repatriation of Somali Refugees from Kenya Operations Strategy 2015-2019* (UNHCR, 2015). UNHCR, UNICEF, and other implementing partners have begun to introduce programming that would help to prepare refugees for and facilitate repatriation to Somalia and PBEA programming was in part intended for these twin purposes; however, the UNHCR as well as a number of international organizations express concern about this possibility.<sup>18</sup> To date, a very limited number of refugees have repatriated to Somalia. UNHCR’s most recent figures indicate that between December 2014 and September 2015, approximately 4,423 refugees (approximately .01 percent) of the camps total population have repatriated (UNHCR, 2015). According to PBEA programme planners, it was within this context that PBEA PEP and SDP programming in Dadaab were included as part of PBEA.

Contrary to the underlying foundations of PBEA (Novelli, 2011; Novelli & Smith, 2011), there is no thorough conflict analysis of Dadaab. Table 3 below, however, summarizes the conflict drivers in Dadaab as identified by the two “light conflict analyses” (UNICEF, 2013). It also identifies the PBEA approach, subsequently implemented in Dadaab, for addressing these conflict drivers.

14 See: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/africa/2011-11-15/why-kenya-invaded-somalia>

15 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2013/oct/04/westgate-mall-attacks-kenya-terror>

16 See: <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Dadaab-Refugee-Camp-Terrorism-Somalia-Repatriation/-/1056/2686320/-/4as3n9/-/index.html>

17 Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5285e0294.pdf>

18 See: <http://www.unhcr.org/552d12c49.html>; see also: <http://www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/bp-dadaab-march-2014-low.pdf>; and <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/04/crisis-looms-for-somali-refugees-as-kenya-orders-closure-of-dadaab-refugee-camp-1/>

Table 3. Conflict Drivers and PBEA Approach in Dadaab

| Dadaab Conflict Drivers<br>(as per “light” conflict analysis)   | Dadaab PBEA Approach<br>(as per operational matrix)   |
|---|---|
| Low quality and relevance of education (e.g. not relevant or adapted to local needs and traditional lifestyles) creating push factors fuelling economic and social vulnerability among marginalized communities | Primary school students are taught using the MoE Peace Education training manuals and teacher activity books for Grades 1-8<br><br>School youth are involved in cross-community sport and talent based activities |
| Normalisation of violence in schools and communities fuelling a ‘violence trap’   | Teachers participate in PEP training workshops (introductory or refresher); some teachers participate in conflict-sensitive education training.   |
| Excluded adolescents and youth easily recruited for violent causes  | YEP programming (see companion study Monaghan & King, 2015)   |

The KAP data also provides additional insight into conflicts and disputes in Dadaab among refugees and in the nearby host population. When asked, “in the last year have you experienced any disagreement,” 83 percent said no (550/666), while 17 percent replied in the affirmative (116/666). Those that replied “yes,” were asked to select from a list of all disputes that applied; the most common type of dispute was a domestic dispute (31 percent, n=36), with “theft” (18 percent, n=21) and “physical violence” (12 percent, n=14) as the next most common answers. Figure 1 presents the full results. In response to the question “When was the last time conflict made you angry?”, the

most common answer was “last year or longer” (43 percent, n=279). 17 percent named a conflict in the last week (n=108), 12 percent said the last month (n=79), an additional 12 percent said “last 3 months” (n=76), 11 percent said “last six months” (n=74) (6 percent chose “other”). The most common reported causes of such conflicts were “access to resources (land, water, etc.)” (33 percent, n=211), “violence in home” (30 percent, n=197), and “land dispute” (13 percent, n=86). The complete results are presented in Figure 2. The terms “conflict” and “disagreement” were generally left to the interpretation of the respondents.

Figure 1: Results from KAP Question: “In the last year have you experienced any disagreement?”

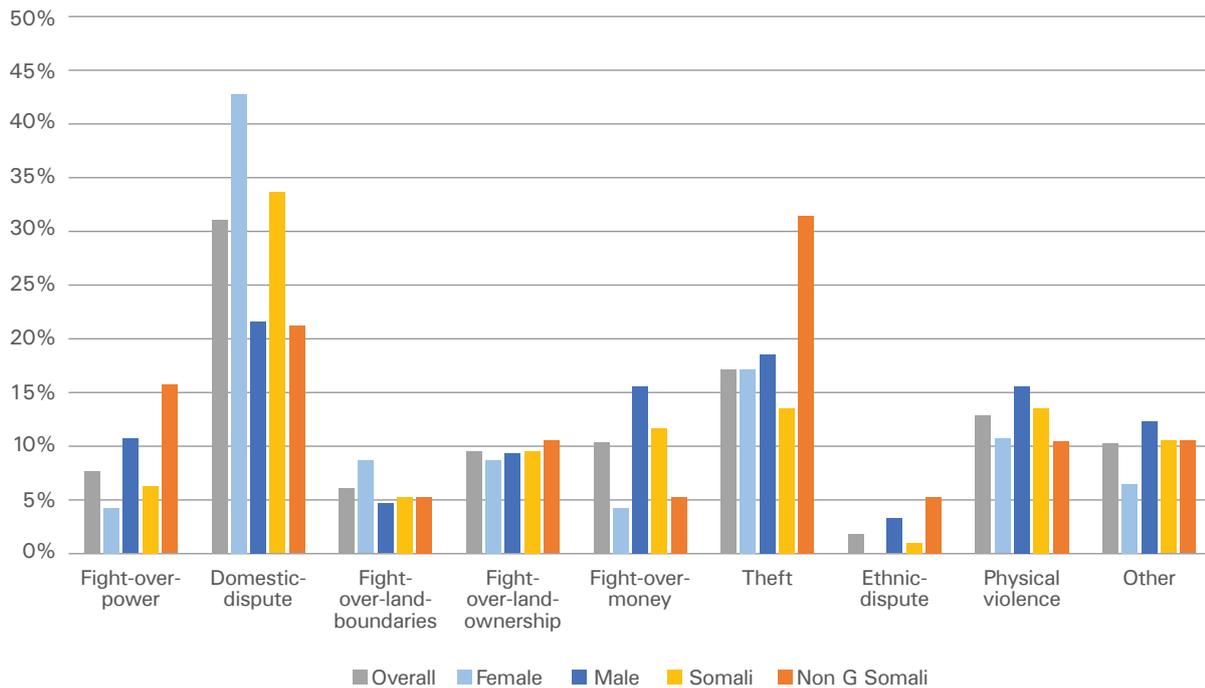
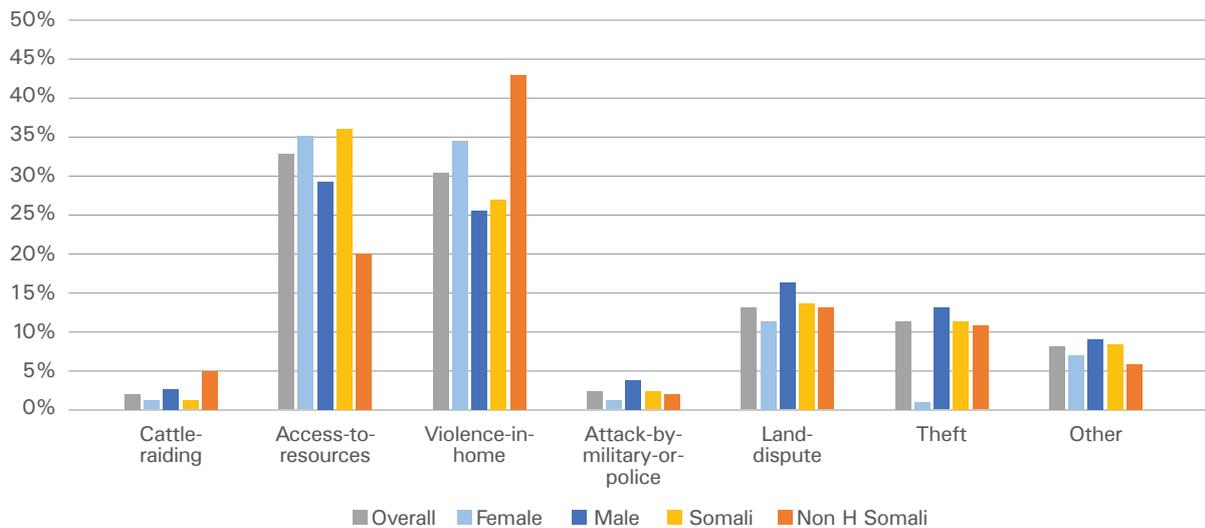


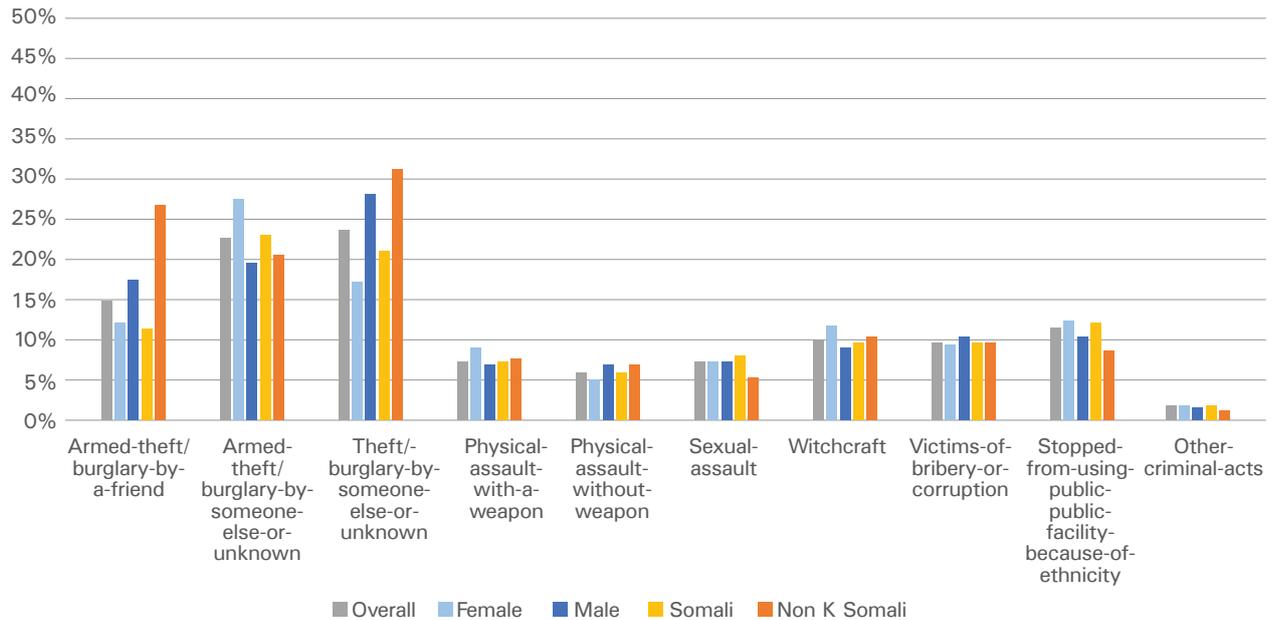
Figure 2: Results from KAP Question: Reported causes of conflict experienced in the past year



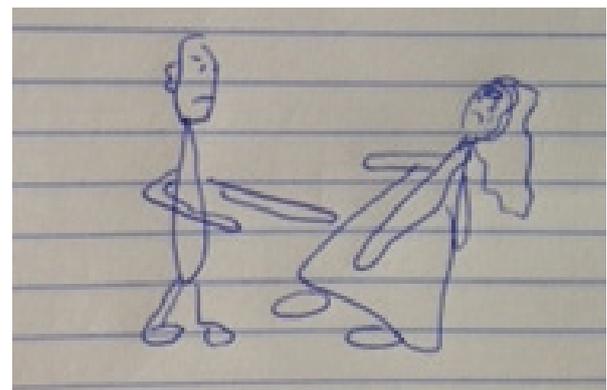
The KAP survey data also provides information on experiences of violence in Dadaab. In response to the question “have you ever been physically slapped or beaten violently by someone,” 72 percent (n = 477) responded no, while 28 percent (n = 184) replied yes. 95 percent (n = 629) replied no when asked “have you ever used a weapon for any reason” and 99 percent (n = 657) said no to “were you ever part of an armed group?”

Given prevailing presumptions about Dadaab, these are perhaps low figures, although UNICEF staff point out that the absolute numbers are high. It is also likely that respondents would not want to answer in the affirmative to these sensitive questions. Figure 3 below reports on the experiences of victimhood of various types of respondents.

Figure 3: Experiences of victimhood



During qualitative interviews, students were asked to draw a conflict they had seen or experienced. At their own discretion and without further prompting, they drew either in-school or community-level conflicts. Much of what they drew aligned with findings of conflict analyses that informed PBEA programming, such as two girls fighting over who arrived at the water tap first (resource-based conflict). However, one issue that emerged as particularly important that is seemingly overlooked by other conflict analyses is the prevalence of gender-based violence. Students’ drawings of “in-school conflicts” included two girls fighting over books, a boy hitting a girl in a classroom, and a boy attempting to rape a girl in a school (depicted in Drawing 1). Student drawings of “community-level conflicts” depicted a boy trying to rape a “small girl” in a home (depicted in Drawing 2).



Drawing 1: Boy and girl in school



Drawing 2: Boy and girl in home

## PBEA Peace Education in Dadaab

It is in this context of a wide range of conflicts of various scope and scale that impact refugee children and youth in Dadaab that PBEA has supported two models of peace education in Dadaab since 2013—PEP and SDP. Both aim to promote peaceful behaviours among students, school officials, and community members (i.e. peaceful conflict and dispute resolution, tolerance, and respect for diversity). While SDP was implemented for the first time in the form of ‘The Talent Academy’ and later as extra-curricular programming in Dadaab camp’s secondary schools, PEP has been offered in Dadaab since 1998. According to programme staff at NCKK, the implementing partner for PEP, PBEA engaged to provide funding for PEP that was facing funding shortfalls.

### PEP

The first element of PBEA-supported peace education programmes in Dadaab is PEP. Implemented in the camp since 1998, PEP has been a means by which UNHCR and its implementing partners have endeavoured to address and mitigate different forms of violence and conflict in the camp. UNHCR’s PEP was piloted in Dadaab (and Kakuma) in 1998. According to one of the programme developers, the programme was implemented to address on-going inter-clan and inter-national conflict in Dadaab (Monaghan, 2015). The activity-based programme, comprised of lessons organized in a spiral curriculum where each lesson built off the one that preceded it, was originally based on a theory of change that “if children, youth, and adults ‘internalize a set of skills, values, and attitudes,’ harmony and understanding can be actualized.”<sup>19</sup> Topics included: Similarities and Differences, Inclusion/Exclusion, Listening, Better Communication, Handling Emotions, Perceptions and Empathy, Co-operation, Assertiveness, Analysis, Problem Solving, Conflict Resolution, Negotiation, and Mediation.<sup>20</sup> Photos 1 and 2 below depict the covers of curricular materials from 1998.

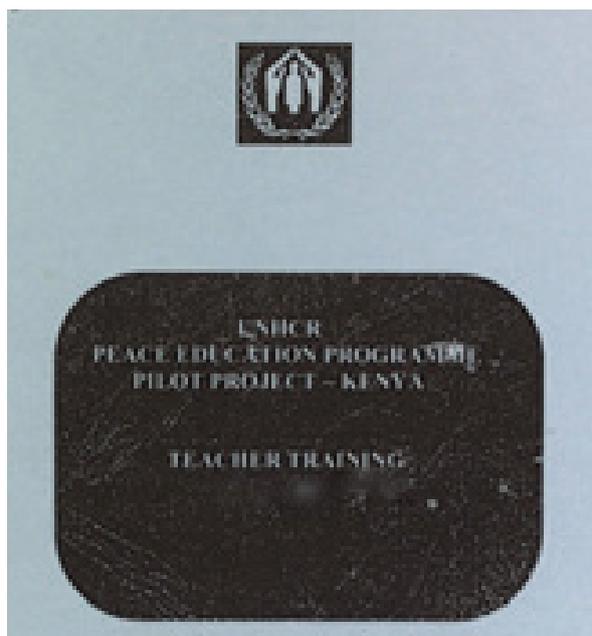


Photo 1: Teacher Training Book; 1998



Photo 2: Community Workshops Book; 1998

19 See: UNHCR. (1998). *Peace Education Programme*. Nairobi: UNHCR.

20 See Annex 1 for a Matrix of Lessons and Activities.

PEP was initially implemented as a school-based as well as community-based programme. The school-based programme was implemented in all of Dadaab's formal primary schools (reaching 42,000 students)<sup>21</sup> and taught once per week as a standalone subject. Forty PEP teachers (all refugees) were hired and trained in PEP pedagogy. These same teachers also taught a parallel PEP programme once weekly at community centres in the camp (reaching 4,000 participants)<sup>22</sup> to out-of-school children and youth as well as adults from the refugee and host community.

UNHCR was the direct implementer of PEP in Dadaab until 2002 when NCK became UNHCR's implementing partner for the programme. NCK focused exclusively on the school-based PEP programme, providing the curricular materials and facilitating the PEP teacher training workshops. The community-based programme was discontinued in 2002. In 2008, following post-election violence in Kenya,<sup>23</sup> the Kenyan Ministry of Education commissioned the same developer of UNHCR's PEP to incorporate PEP into Kenya's national curriculum (Monaghan, 2015). Since 2010, peace education has been taught as 'life skills' in the national curriculum taught once weekly in all Kenyan primary schools (including those in Dadaab); topics included are the same as those previously mentioned (e.g. communication, problem solving, conflict resolution). In 2013, UNICEF assumed funding responsibilities from UNHCR for PEP in Dadaab and has continued working with NCK as the programme's implementing partner. Neither the ToC nor the curricular materials were updated at that time.

PBEA-funded PEP activities include annual training workshops (introductory and refresher) for teachers, once-per week peace education classes (offered as a non-examinable subject) for primary school students enrolled in grades 1-8, and after-school peace clubs and in-school Girl Guides clubs for female students. The after-school peace clubs and in-school Girl Guides clubs are intended to complement in-school peace education classes. Additionally, according to programme planners, these activities compensate for a limited amount of time devoted to PEP in schools (i.e. 30 minutes once-per week) and potentially broaden the reach of

programme impact to community members (e.g. parents) who may also participate in after-school clubs. However, participants in this study did not indicate parental participation in the clubs was actually occurring. The in-school once weekly peace education classes are activity-based (e.g. 'what-if' scenarios, group reflection). The in-school Girl Guides clubs and after-school peace education clubs meet once weekly to discuss 'peace related issues' impacting the school and/or community; the peace clubs also function as a school-based conflict-mediation forum.

## SDP

The second element of PBEA Peace Education activities is SDP. SDP programming was first offered in 2013 and 2014 as 'The Talent Academy'—a stand-alone two week boarding programme for refugee youth from Dadaab camp secondary schools and youth from the host community, the majority of whom attended Dadaab Secondary School. According to programme planners, a few out-of-school adolescents and youth from the host community also participated. According to implementing partners, the purpose of the programme was to increase participation of youth (refugee and host community) in Dadaab and reduce the number of youth participating in "socially undesirable behaviours" (NYAT 2013: 5).

PBEA Talent Academy was implemented in 2013 and 2014 by WTK and the Kenyan MoE (via Dadaab Secondary School) as a pilot Talent Academy—a two-week boarding programme hosted in Dadaab town at Dadaab Secondary School for refugee adolescents and adolescents from the host community. Beginning in 2015, the programme shifted to an extra-curricular camp-based sports for peace programme implemented by WTK in Dadaab camp's seven secondary schools. Intra and inter-school competitions (football and volleyball for boys and table tennis for girls) within and between secondary schools in each camp are held regularly throughout the term; two to three times per term, inter-camp competitions are held for the 'best' teams from each school. According to programme planners, this shift was for the purpose of reaching more youth and community members in the camp.

21 See: Sinclair, M. (1999). *Mission Report: Dadaab and Kakuma*. Geneva: UNHCR.

22 Ibid.

23 See: <http://www.irinnews.org/in-depth/76116/68/kenya-s-post-election-crisis>.

Programme planners also note that WTK was to continue its engagement with host communities through involving them in in-camp SDP programming, although this does not appear to have yet occurred.

With the camp and conflict contexts in which PBEA operates and the structure and content of the two models of PBEA peace education thus established, the report now turns to a review of relevant literature.

## 2.2 Literature Review

For a higher-level review of academic and practitioner-oriented literature on education, peace, and conflict, please see a study on PBEA programming in the Somali region of Ethiopia undertaken by King and Monaghan (2015). This literature review focuses first on concepts related to education, peace, and conflict. It then explores literature focused on peace education (specifically focused on curricular delivery) and SDP in refugee camps as two different models of peace education. Each review shows that although a number of studies have been undertaken, we still know relatively little about the impacts of such programming. Moreover, it is common that each model of peace education, such as PEP and SDP, is studied alone. This study provides a rare opportunity to consider both PEP and SDP programming as models of peace education as well as to comparatively examine these models of peace education offered in the same camp.

### Education, Peace, and Conflict

A handful of UNICEF documents (UNICEF, 2012a; 2012b; 2014c; 2014e) usefully establish a common set of definitions for key 'peacebuilding' terms across UNICEF offices and sites of PBEA implementation.<sup>24</sup> We briefly include these definitions here so as to make clear the ways in which we will utilize these terms throughout our study. *Peacebuilding* is a multidimensional range of interventions that aim to solidify peace and prevent the lapse or relapse of conflict—it is a system wide undertaking across multiple sectors including, but certainly not limited to, education (UNICEF 2012a). Peacebuilding is conceptually distinct from conflict sensitivity, which is the capacity of an organization to understand its

operating context, understand the interaction between its interventions and the context, and act upon this understanding to minimize any negative impacts on conflict factors. Conflict-sensitivity is necessary but not alone sufficient for peacebuilding (ibid.). *Social cohesion* is the degree to which vertical (i.e. a responsive state to its citizenry) and horizontal (i.e. cross-cutting, networked relations among diverse communal groups) social capital intersect and in turn provide communities with mechanisms necessary for mediating and managing conflict. *Resilience* is the ability of a community or society to anticipate, withstand, and recover from pressures and shocks (manmade and natural) (UNICEF, 2014e).

### Peace Education

Peace education is an umbrella term that includes a wide range of programming offered as part of formal and non-formal education to different populations in different contexts throughout the world. This report focuses exclusively on practitioner oriented and academic literature devoted to the delivery of peace education curriculum in refugee camps.

Practitioner-oriented studies tend to provide a 'thick description' of different programmatic approaches (e.g. human rights education, life skills education, conflict resolution and peer mediation) and defend the inclusion of peace education in emergency education programmes as an "essential component of basic quality education" (UNICEF, 1999) and as essential for instilling in children and youth impacted by war and conflict "peaceful behaviours, values, and attitudes that build towards a culture of peace" (ibid.). The basic assumption underlying these programmes, as outlined in UNICEF's (1999) working paper on peace education, is "that the peaceful resolution of conflict and prevention of violence, whether interpersonal or societal, overt or structural, is a positive value to be promoted on a global level through education" (3). The focus of peace education, in that paper and others, is on behavioural change; according to UNICEF (1999) "the development of values [is] the basis for behavioural change" (5). The release of the majority of these 'best practice' or 'how to guides,' to peace education, commissioned and released by UNICEF (Fountain, 1999), UNESCO

<sup>24</sup> This paragraph is borrowed from the partner study to this one. See: King, E. & Monaghan, C. (2015). *Pastoralist Education and Peacebuilding in Ethiopia: Results and Lessons Learned*. Nairobi: UNICEF pp. 18-19.

(UNESCO, 2002), and UNHCR (Sommers, 2001) in the late 1990s and early 2000's, was concomitant with the founding of the Interagency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) and the establishment of the field of Education in Emergencies (EiE). That peace education programmes were ultimately included in several emergency education programmes in camps is both cause and effect of the number of academic and practitioner publications devoted to peace education released throughout this time (Monaghan, 2015).

Focus on and inclusion of peace education in emergency education programmes in camps is notable because, as the majority of academic scholarship devoted to peace education notes, a limited number of empirical studies have been undertaken that demonstrate programme impact on participants (Paulson & Rappelye, 2007; Davies, 2013). Scholars also critically engage with the rationale that underlies peace education programmes for refugees. They maintain that the root causes of conflict (e.g. asymmetrical access to resources necessary for survival) are eclipsed or overlooked altogether (Salomon, 2004; Tidwell, 2004); that these programmes are also implemented to mitigate conflicts in camps that arise in part due to shortfalls and/or inequitable service provision to different populations of refugees by the UNHCR and its implementing partners (Sagy, 2008); that programmes have been and will continue to be limited in their impact if not coupled with broader structural interventions related to ensuring educational access and quality (Winthrop & Matsui, 2013); and finally that programmes are not "conflict-sensitive" and developed without an understanding of the conflict/context in which they are implemented and therefore exacerbate rather than mitigate conflict (USIP, 2011).

## Sports for Development and Peace

Though the UNHCR has been offering sports programming in refugee camps for years (Beutler, 2008) and sports for peace programming has also been implemented in a wide range of post-conflict settings, the field of SDP was not established until recently. While academic and practitioner oriented literature is expanding as programming expands, the majority of

publications offer descriptive rather than evaluative examinations of such programmes. Additionally, the majority of reporting and scholarship also take as a starting point that sports has the potential to connect communities and bridge cultural and ethnic divides in order to re-establish peace (Armstrong & Giulianotti, 2004; Sugden, 2008), though few provide a theory of change for how sports are intended to or alternately do facilitate change and on what level (e.g. intra-personal, inter-personal, school, community). However, theoretically-grounded research accounts for anticipated changes among programme participants as a function of: 1) contact theory, which posits that contact between majority and minority groups under select conditions creates the potential to reduce prejudice and increase understanding (Allport, 1954: 2); relationship or network building—that is, describing the potential of sport to build relationships in conflict-afflicted regions, following Lederach's spider web metaphor for strengthening social fabric (Lederach, 2005); and 3) sports constructing 'ritual' identities or shared experiences among peoples that create a space to construct or witness shared identities (Schirch, 2001).

Descriptive and evaluative research on SDP programming has been carried out in Israel/Palestine, a range of countries throughout sub-Saharan Africa, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Primarily programming focused on football interventions such as Football 4 Peace in Israel and Open Fun Football Schools in Bosnia-Herzegovina, however basketball, netball, and volleyball (among other sports) have also been included (SDP IWG, 2007). Research has also been carried out on SDP programmes offered by community-based organizations (Kidd, 2011; Willis, 2000), mid-size NGO's with SDP mandates such as SCORE in South Africa (SDP IWG, 2007) or Playing for Peace in South Africa, Northern Ireland and Israel, as well as large INGOs such as Right to Play, which has programming in more than 20 countries. Research undertaken in refugee camps includes an analysis of the Right to Play programme in a number of camps in Tanzania (Wright, Hanson, & Chad, 2012) and how an SDP programme endeavoured to facilitate the rehabilitation of former child soldiers in a handful of different camps in Sierra Leone (Dyck, 2011).

## Peace Education and Peacebuilding in Dadaab Refugee Camp

However, the focus of these studies was more on the institutional arrangements and decision-making processes of Right to Play staff members or and/or providing a summary of programming and a defence of the potential benefits of SDP programmes in camps based on anecdotal rather than empirical evidence. Notably absent from research on SDP are the causes and types of conflict affecting target populations for programming.

Consideration and analysis of SDP as one model of peace education programming in camps that exists alongside of other models of peace education programming (e.g. PEP) has yet to be undertaken. This research offers an opportunity to do so.

# 3. Findings and Discussion

This case study has identified several aspects of peace education programming supported by PBEA in Dadaab camp/town that indicate gains in regards to **Outcome 3**. These are presented and discussed in turn.

## 3.1 PEP Output: Teachers are trained on positive discipline and school safety

PBEA has supported the participation of more than **350 teachers per year** between 2013 and 2015 (totalling to more than **1000 teachers**) in either two-day introductory peace education training workshops or one-day refresher courses for teachers who have already participated in the two-day introductory workshop.<sup>25</sup> The introductory and refresher workshops are offered once annually in 3 sub-camps (Dagahaley, Ifo, and Hagadera). Teachers from Ifo II attend the trainings in Ifo while teachers from Kambioos attend the trainings in Hagadera. According to programme planners at NCCK, approximately 2-3 teachers per school participate in either or both of the workshops each year. Additionally, according to ESARO Annual Reports (2013, 2014) teachers in Dadaab's primary schools were also offered two-day conflict-sensitive education workshops designed to equip them with alternative discipline methods to reduce levels of violence in schools. The workshops were offered by national trainers affiliated with the Kenyan Institute for Curriculum Development (KICD); the structure and content of the workshops were based on the KICD peace education curriculum. While exact figures are not provided for 2013, according to the 2014 Annual Report, **87** primary school teachers participated.

"Positive discipline methods" are meant to be an important component of PEP teacher training as stipulated in the Project Cooperation Agreement (PCA) between UNICEF and NCCK. However, according to NCCK programme planners, neither the training workshops nor the peace education training manuals and teacher activity books for Grades 1-8 that are the focus of two-day introductory or one day refresher trainings focus on positive discipline and school safety. While the study notes that workshops on conflict-sensitive education were offered in 2013 and 2014 and at least 87 teachers participated in 2014, the reach of these workshops is comparatively limited given the number of schools across Dadaab's five sub-camps. This discrepancy between the listed outputs (operational matrix), PCA agreement between UNICEF and NCCK, and programmatic emphasis should be examined.

The KAP survey data points to the importance of these issues. Across all respondents, 24 percent "agree" (19 percent, n=126) or "strongly agree" (5 percent, n=34) that "It is okay to use corporal punishment to discipline children," while 29 percent (n=195) strongly disagree, 40 percent (n=268) disagree and 6 percent (n=43) neither agree nor disagree. The average of the responses from women was higher at 2.4 (on a 5-point scale with 5 denoting "strongly agree") whereas agreement for men was slightly lower at 2.2. This is a statistically significant difference<sup>26</sup> that merits further consideration. Turning to the importance of these issues in schools, in response to a question "How often have you been threatened with violence in the past 3 months," the vast majority (89 percent, n=592) replied "not at all." Of the 72 respondents who had been threatened (either

25 Approximate number total participants that did not "double count" teachers participating in introductory and refresher courses were not available in program literature.

26 At  $p < 0.05$ , a 95 percent confidence level.

“rarely” n=27, “sometimes” n=32, “usually” n=7 or “nearly always” n=6), 60 answered a question that specified the source of the threat: 10 identified that they had been threatened by teachers and 16 noted that they had been threatened by students (multiple answers were permitted). Seventy-one respondents identified where the threat took place with 18 choosing school. As reported above in the section Conflicts in and around Dadaab, 28 percent of respondents (n=184) reported having been, at some time, physically slapped or beaten violently by someone. When asked to specify who was it that took these actions, 10 percent (16 of 164 respondents) specified “teacher.”

In speaking to what they learned during the peace education trainings (rather than the conflict-sensitive education trainings), one teacher from Ifo remarked that, “the training helped me think about how I can pass on the skills I gained at the workshop directly to the learners—this lowers the burden on me while teaching but also helps learners solve problems by themselves.” Another teacher from Ifo II stated, “we learned not only how to facilitate cohesion in our classrooms amongst learners, but also about the importance of raising awareness about peace in schools and communities.” These quotes support Output 3.2 (below) that, “primary school students are taught using the MoE peace education training manuals and teacher activity workbooks for Grades 1-8.”

### 3.2 PEP Output: Primary school students are taught using the MoE peace education training manuals and teacher activity books for Grades 1-8

PEP is taught once-per week to students in Grades 1-8 at all 33 primary schools in Dadaab. On average, between 2013 and 2015, more than **62,000 students** per year have been enrolled in Dadaab’s primary schools (UNHCR 2015) and have thus participated in PEP. While these are important figures, it is equally important to

recall that only 41 percent of children in Dadaab are enrolled in primary schools. This leaves an important part of the population excluded from participating in PEP; as previously noted, community PEP workshops intended to reach out-of-school children and adolescents as well as adults were discontinued in 2002. It is also notable that PEP is not an examinable subject and thus may, according to a PTA member, be frequently skipped. However, perhaps of greater significance is the issue that only working through formal school settings will often miss the most marginalized and thus most vulnerable to a range of issues affecting children and youth in Dadaab (e.g. becoming victims or perpetrators of violence) and who arguably most need support.

Additionally, while the focus of this research is specifically on PEP and SDP programming, the study notes here that participants in the KAP survey strongly believe in the importance of schooling more generally. The vast majority of respondents “strongly agree” (52 percent, n=349) or “agree” (42 percent, n=283) that “going to a formal school is important to have a better future.”

### 3.3 SDP Output: School adolescents and youth are involved in cross-community sport and talent based activities

In 2013 and 2014, **100 youth per year (200 in total)** participated in ‘The Talent Academy,’ implemented by WTK and teachers and staff from Dadaab Secondary School in Dadaab town (NYTA, 2013). According to UNICEF (2014), in 2013, 75 refugee adolescents and youth (selected from across the five sub-camps) and 25 host community adolescents and youth participated. In 2014, the proportions were reversed: 25 refugee adolescents and youth (selected from across the five sub-camps) and 75 host community adolescents and youth participated. Photo 3 and Photo 4 show student participants (refugee and host community youth) in the 2013 programme.

Photo 3: Boys Volleyball Team



© National Youth Talent Academy Dadaab, 2013

Photo 4: Girls Volleyball Team



© National Youth Talent Academy Dadaab, 2013

Beginning in 2015, SDP shifted to focus exclusively on ‘cross-community’ interactions between refugee adolescents and youth from different clans and nationalities from the different sub-camps in Dadaab; when this shift occurred, the Talent Academy was no longer offered and thus SDP was implemented in ways that differed from its original intended purpose (i.e. facilitating interactions between refugee and host community adolescents and youth). Though programme planners noted that host community youths were still supposed to be included in camp-based SDP, according to programme staff at Dadaab Secondary School, participation has been limited to one “football match the

past year.” However, the WTK programme planner interviewed for the study stated that, “it [the shift and lack of participation from students from Dadaab Secondary in camp SDP programming] was in part because of the high cost of transportation for staff and programme participants between the camp and the host community. You have to have an escort every time you move and given funding, it was thought that programming should just focus on the camp and sports programmes for the secondary school youth here.”

### 3.4 Intermediate Outcomes: Changed attitudes (norms toward violence) and increased capacity among students for non-violent conflict management and resolution mechanisms and strategies

In considering norms toward violence and the aspiration to increase capacity among students for non-violent conflict management and resolution mechanisms, it is important to consider existing norms and capacities. The KAP survey data provides some insight in this regard.

The KAP survey asked respondents several questions regarding acceptance of violence in the community. On a 5-point scale (with 1 as strongly disagree and 5 as strongly agree), the average response is 2.6 for condoning violence to resolve disputes with members in ones’ own clan, 2.4 for other clans, and 2.2 for other religions. In other words, violence was most acceptable within one’s own clan, and increasingly less acceptable in interactions with other clans and with other religions. While there were not important differences between respondents of different ages or genders, there was a significant difference<sup>27</sup> between Somalis and non-Somalis. Somalis more strongly agreed that “In some cases it is ok to use use violence to resolve a dispute with a member of my own tribe/clan” with the response average being 2.7 (n = 521, SD = 1.2) compared to the average for non-Somalis at 2.3 (n = 141, SD = 1.12).

<sup>27</sup> p < 0.01, 99 percent confidence interval.

The KAP survey data also provides insight into typical responses to conflict. In a series of questions relating to conflicts that made respondents angry (discussed above in the section on *Conflicts in and around Dadaab*), respondents were also asked: “Which of the following responses is closest to your response to that conflict?” The most common answers were “talk to them to solve the conflict” (37 percent, n=240), and “go to religious/block/clan leaders” (25 percent, n=164), suggesting the existence of some important conflict resolution mechanisms and strategies. Four percent each answered that they “fought with them” (n=26), or “yelled at them” (n=27).

The KAP survey data provides understandings of respondents’ orientation towards other groups. Responding on a 5-point scale (with 1 denoting strongly disagree and 5 denoting strongly agree), respondents answered questions about perceptions of people from other tribes/clans and religions. As Table 4 below illustrates, responses were much more positive in relation

Table 4: Perceptions of people from other tribes/religions

| QUESTION   | RESPONDENT AVERAGE | N   | SD   |
|--|--------------------|-----|------|
| It’s ok to have a neighbour from a different tribe/clan                          | 4.1                | 665 | 0.77 |
| It’s okay to have a neighbor from a different religion.                          | 3.4                | 664 | 1.2  |
| It’s ok for a member of your family to marry someone from a different tribe/clan | 3.8                | 666 | 1.1  |
| It’s ok for a member of your family to marry someone from a different religion   | 1.9                | 666 | 1    |

to tribe/clan as compared to religion. The difference between Somalis and non-Somalis was notable in regards to questions of religion with, on average, non-Somalis more strongly agreeing that it was okay to have a neighbour from a different religion and for family to marry someone from a different religion than Somalis (i.e. Islam).<sup>28</sup> The difference between youth aged 15-24 and respondents aged 25 and older was also statistically significant on these questions. Youth more strongly agree that it is okay to have a neighbour from a different religion and for a family member to marry someone from another religion.<sup>29</sup>

Finally, respondents were asked to rank which identity was most important to them. 53 percent of respondents (n=337) identified “national identity” as most important. The second most frequent answer on the “most important” list was tribe (14 percent, n=91) followed by village of origin (12 percent, n=74) and clan (11 percent, n=70). The importance of religion or camp-based identity is not known as these were not choices on the list.

## PEP

The study design limited the authors’ ability to draw conclusions in regards to changed attitudes and increased capacity. With regards to PEP, anecdotally, PTA members, teachers, and programme planners who regularly visit primary schools offered examples of students increasingly demonstrating non-violent conflict resolution mechanisms and strategies. One PTA member who frequently visits peace education classes at the primary school at which he is a member explained that:

What the students learn in [PEP] class, they use it in other classes. If we didn’t have this, problems would escalate and different groups of students in the school would be very violent. They wouldn’t respect one another. But it really helps to integrate the students—especially those from different nationalities learn to live together. If there were not these lessons, there would be less peace in the school and in the

28 The average for Somalis was 3.4 and 1.8 respectively as compared to 3.6 and 2.3 among non-Somalis. The difference in relation to the question on a family member marrying someone from another religion is statistically significant (and strongly so at p<0.01 or 99 percent confidence interval).

29 The average for youth was 3.6 and 2 respectively as compared to 3.6 and 3.4. Both differences are statistically significant, the first at p<0.05 (95 percent confidence interval) and the second at p<0.01 (99 percent confidence interval).

community. From the lessons, they learn interaction, problem solving, inclusiveness, and how they all have more similarities than differences.

A teacher explained that after-school peace clubs, in which students could elect to participate, complemented what students were learning in PEP classes.

We have formed peace clubs in the school that are also there to help solve problems and allow students to practice what they learn about in class. Teachers have been assigned to help facilitate but the students are responsible for running the weekly meetings. There's lots of inter-dialoguing that takes place. Learners and teachers in the club come together and facilitate an assembly each week for the entire school where we look at the conflicts dealt with at the peace clubs in the previous week compared to those dealt with this week so we can check in on how we are doing.

Another teacher shared an example of students intervening and stopping a student from attacking a teacher. "There was one time when a student fought with the head teacher...that student, a boy, came to school with a knife. But the other students found out and informed their teacher. That boy was called into the office, the parents were brought in, and the issue was solved at the school level." The teacher did not explain the student's motivations for wanting to attack the teacher.

Students participating in this study who attended the once-weekly PEP classes also remarked that the knowledge and skills they were learning through PEP classes in schools were helping them to mediate and/or mitigate school-based conflicts. One student explained that:

Our peace education classes bring people with unstable governments who have experienced so much conflict together in one space—where we can actually talk about these conflicts and what to do about them. There are so many conflicts in the schools—they happen all the time. But it helps us think through these problems and what we can do about them.

Another student remarked that, "peace has so many meanings—this is what we learn in our peace education class. But we also learn about how to talk about the problems that we face and how to get the support that we need."

## SDP

With regards to SDP, student participants from the host community (the 2013-14 programming that integrated host and community youth) discussed the ways in which participating in the programme had changed their attitudes towards refugee adolescents and youth. One student remarked that, "we thought refugees were violent but after being together we saw they weren't bad." Another stated that, "it took a few days for us to get to know one another, but then we started talking. Interaction was the best because we got ideas from them about how they lived—how they survived before coming here and in the camp." These vignettes speak to possibly improved attitudes among SDP participants toward adolescents and youth of other groups, although the study was not able to explore SDP in regards to norms toward violence or increased capacity among students for non-violent conflict management and resolution mechanisms and strategies.

Unfortunately, the authors were unable to meet with adolescents and youth from the more recent 2015 programming due to the focus of WTK staff on the kidnapping of their co-worker.

### 3.5 Final Outcomes: Changed behaviours; increase in social cohesion amongst communities and in turn an increase in mechanisms utilized by communities for mediation and managing conflict

Increasing social cohesion and community mechanisms for managing conflict is an important goal of PBEA and data from the KAP survey suggest that there is scope for strengthening social cohesion in Dadaab, although, of course, the concept is very difficult to measure and interpret (King, Samii and Snilstveit, 2010). In response to questions about trust of members of other tribes/clans and other religions, for instance, the average (on a 5-point scale with 1 as lowest and 5 as highest) was 3.7 for other tribes/clans and 3.1 for members of another religion. While there are no statistically significant differences between male and female respondents, or respondents of different ages, again the difference between Somalis and non-Somalis is strongly statistically significant

in regards to religion.<sup>30</sup> Non-Somalis average response to the statement “You generally trust members of other religions” was much higher at 3.5 compared to the average for Somalis of 2.9. Given Somalis represent the vast majority of refugees in Dadaab, this is especially important. These measures contrast with higher trust of community leaders and Kenyan local government (both average = 4) and of the Kenyan National government (average 4.1).

Again, although the post-hoc research design did not allow for direct observations of changed behaviour or to clearly attribute behavioural changes to the programme, a number of people interviewed for this case study expressed their belief that social cohesion and/or increased use of mediation and conflict management techniques was improving in schools and at the community-level due to PBEA. The research findings focus this section of the study on PEP.

Participants shared a number of anecdotes that spoke to the importance of PEP in improving social cohesion. For instance, some participants mentioned an increase in mechanisms utilized by communities for mediation and managing conflict.

I was behind a boy and girl waiting in line for food distribution and they started pushing one another—I’m not sure what they were fighting about. But we had learned some practical skills in our peace education class—how to make sure that in a conflict each of the different sides could share their issues and ideas to help everyone emotionally and physically get a peaceful life. I was the first one to interrupt them and get them to stop pushing each other. After that my uncle came and talked to them but I was happy that I knew how to do something.

Additionally, a PTA member shared another anecdote of how she was incidentally impacted by school-based peace education. “The students pass on what they learn. You see Somalis and Sudanese going from homes together, sharing books and meals together—this is the work of peace education. My daughter has textbooks and she shares them with a friend of hers who is Sudanese and does not have the textbook.”

Another PTA member, in relation to this example, remarked that:

Elders don’t integrate, but students do. We learn from them. It is the children and youth who are teaching us. As we have heard, children are going around together, playing together, learning one another’s language, eating different foods from the different families together. And when we ask them why, they say to us ‘this is what we are learning.’

The way in which community members beyond schools may be positively impacted by the programme is an important area for further research. Furthermore, the KAP survey data indicates that pre-existing social cohesion and community mechanisms for managing conflict may be further drawn upon. For instance, respondents were also asked to respond to the question “It’s okay for your children/friends to go to a school that has children or youth from tribes/clans different than your own”. The average for responses was 4.1 (with 5 as the highest agreement). Indeed, only 2 percent (n=13) strongly disagree and just 5 percent (n=34) disagree with the statement. Section 3.4 above also speaks to existing channels for discussion and turning to community leaders (religion/block/clan) for conflict management rather than to violence.

Another important element of PEP that is not a central part of programme delivery of the ToC involves the PTA. PTA members from different nationalities (e.g. Somali, Sudanese, Ethiopian) all spoke of the ways in which they were maintaining an active presence in the school and working together to manage and solve school-based conflicts before they escalated into community conflicts. A PTA member from Somalia explained that, “we assist in the schools—oversee the learning and try and facilitate peace within the schools.” Another PTA member from South Sudan explained further that:

There are very many incidents—between learner and teacher, teacher and parents, students and students. But when there are incidents in the school, we try to solve them at the school level before it reaches the community and escalates. We try and solve everything at the school level so that

30  $p < 0.01$ , 99 percent confidence interval.

it doesn't become a matter of tribalism of nationalism when it hits the community. We take responsibility for solving the issues—we never want a school level issue to escalate into a problem.

A PTA member from Somalia offered further insight that alludes to networked communal relations. “Definitely part of the challenge is having different nationalities in the same camp—different cultures, customs, languages, religion. But there is mutual understanding among them all about solving issues at the school level. We don't want these things reaching the organizations or the security forces.” That same PTA member outlined the mechanisms in place for mediating and managing conflict at the school.

If a parent says he or she is unhappy with how an incident with learners was dealt with in the school, the PTA and the school administration will draft a letter, giving a record of what happened and including the proposed solution. Then that letter will be taken to the education office of the implementing partner and it [the issue] will try to be solved without involving the police or any security authorities. But there has yet to be an issue that has escalated beyond the school—what happens in the schools is a matter for PTA members, administrators, and community leaders. This helps to keep the peace.

PTA members also noted that they were at times helping to fill a gap in the implementation of peace education due to a challenge with teacher retention that impacted PEP classes. A PTA member described that, “there are few trained peace education teachers—and sometimes there are schools where the trained teachers leave and then the other teachers have to teach it.

As indicated by the above examples, PTA members from a range of different nationalities work together and utilize schools as a mechanism for mediating conflict that originates in schools but that through their efforts and engagement are contained from escalating into community-based conflict. On the KAP, 37 percent of respondents replied that they are members of a community group (n=248/666). But of these, just 21 were members of a school committee. This appears to be an area of further potential for reaching out to communities and affecting broader societal change.

### 3.6 Increased ability of communities to be resilient (anticipate, withstand, and recover) to shocks (manmade and natural)

The field research yielded one limited example of the ways in which PBEA-supported peace education programming might be increasing community resilience, this time stemming from SDP. The sports programming may be encouraging adolescents and youth to come to school amidst challenges that might otherwise keep them away. The WTK programme planner interviewed for this study explained that quality is declining at secondary schools in Dadaab camp in part as a result of Kenyan national teachers leaving their posts in response to threats they feel to their safety.

It is happening all throughout the North-eastern Province—Kenyan teachers refuse to stay because there have been security issues here and teachers have been targeted and so the government gives them a transfer. Quality is really declining and students are upset. Even last year the students went on strike for two weeks to protest the quality of their schooling and demand better teachers. However, while trying to address this issue of teachers, we've also really tried to make the extra-curricular programmes like sports meaningful—it gives them something enriching and keeps them coming to school and working. This year, we have even more challenges with teacher retention and quality than last year, but students are not striking—they keep coming. And I think this has something to do with sports.

As noted, on-going challenges with security in and around the camp continue to impact refugees' day-to-day lives as well as programming provided by UNICEF and its implementing partners. Much more research is needed on the ways in which SDP is facilitating (or might be able to facilitate) increases in resilience to security threats and the disruptions they bring. Additionally, much more research is needed on if, and if so why, Kenyan national teachers are being targeted in Dadaab and whether utilizing refugee teachers, who do not appear to be targeted for attack (i.e. refugee teachers) might be a more conflict-sensitive approach to secondary school education programming.

### 3.7 Summative Discussion

Using an analysis of the PBEA theory of change presented in Table 2, the report finds strong indicators of progress on two of the three outputs (provision of PEP in Grades 1-8 and SDP). However, in regards to the third desired output, the specific focus of PEP teacher training differs in practice in comparison to ‘positive discipline and school safety’ that is an output on UNICEF’s operational matrix and included in the PCA between UNICEF and NCKK. While according to the PCA ‘positive discipline methods’ are intended to be part of the PEP teacher trainings, NCKK programme staff and teachers participating in this study discussed that the trainings were devoted to familiarizing teachers with the PEP course materials. A limited number of teachers have participated in workshops on conflict-sensitive education, which includes a component on positive school discipline. Findings from the KAP survey indicate that teachers have threatened students and that students have also threatened other students—practices inconsistent with the aim of schools as “violence free zones” and conflict-sensitive approaches to education that UNICEF and NCKK endeavor to facilitate through PBEA PEP. Wider community norms towards acceptance of corporal punishment are also inconsistent with PBEA goals.

In terms of intermediate and final outcomes, the research design is such that the study cannot assertively indicate changes in attitudes (intermediate outcomes) or behaviors (final outcomes), although vignettes suggest some indicators of progress.

With regards to how ToC are intended to address specific drivers of conflict, there are a number of problems inherent in the limited ways in which conflict drivers and dynamics were identified in the early stages of PBEA implementation (the “light conflict” analyses) that have continued to affect programmatic logic and implementation. For example, the specific types of conflict (i.e. conflict between *which* specific groups) are targeted for improvement by each element of the programme could usefully be further specified. According to programme planners, the linkages between PEP and specific conflict drivers are very loosely defined and long-standing PEP was not adapted specifically by PBEA goals or theories when it became part of PBEA programming. In this way, it has and continues to represent the more general aims of peace education (i.e. promoting

a culture of peace against violence and conflict writ large) rather than peacebuilding *through* education which actively tries to build peace and prevent a relapse into conflict by developing and implementing programming specifically intended to address and change the root causes of conflict. Of the different dimensions of peace education programming (PEP and SDP) explored in this study, this aspect of programme design and implementation is the most significant area for further consideration. UNICEF PBEA is innovative in the way it is intended to target programming to address and ultimately change root causes of conflict. However, PEP in Dadaab, funded through PBEA, theoretically changed the goals of the programme (i.e. conflict writ large to specific conflict drivers identified in the light conflict analysis). However this change does not seem to have yielded corresponding changes to programming, as the content and structure of PEP continued to be offered as they had prior to PBEA support. With regards to SDP, PBEA funded two different models intended to address different conflict drivers, though SDP programming outputs do not correspond with the ToC for peace education in Dadaab. In these ways, peace education programming in Dadaab, while funded by PBEA, has not been aligned with the guiding logic of PBEA. Nevertheless, there is some potential for the recently collected KAP data, as well as future data, to be integrated to more fully match specific interventions to specific conflicts.

A common theme emerges by comparatively considering the two models of PBEA-supported peace education programming in Dadaab (PEP and SDP)—increased contact amongst participants of different backgrounds. Allport’s ‘Contact Theory,’ which posits that contact between majority and minority groups under select conditions can create the potential to reduce prejudice and increase understanding (1954) might provide a useful theoretical framework for future studies, particularly empirical studies that can help to build an evidence base regarding if as well as *how* PEP works.

With regards to how PEP and SDP might be working together in Dadaab, it is notable that each of these interventions, grouped under the peace education umbrella, reach different groups: children compared to adolescents and youth respectively. Without SDP, older adolescents and youth would not have access to peace education, as the Kenyan curriculum only targets Grades 1-8. Without PEP, children

and younger adolescents would not have access to peace education as SDP is only for secondary schools. The SDP programme has not yet been extended to include primary schools, though programme planners at NCKK note there are plans underway. Programme planners might further consider the pros and cons of developing in-school PEP curriculum for secondary school students and implementing SDP programming in primary schools as well as the different types of conflict these programmes might address for the different population groups.

The KAP data indicates some variance between refugee children and adolescents/youth, which may inform peace education interventions. When asked to identify their most important identity from a list of potential responses, for instance, respondents of both age groups most identify themselves based upon their national identity; this was the top answer for 39 percent of children under 14 (n = 22/57) and for 57 percent (n = 140/245) for those aged 15-24. Village of origin was the next most frequent top choice for under 14s (15/57 or 26 percent) compared to those aged 15-24 for whom this was a much

less common top choice (20/245 or 8 percent). Children under 14, as compared to adolescents and youth (ages 15-24), also have some different experiences of conflict and conflict management that are worth further exploring and addressing. For instance, while 12 percent (n = 7) of under 14s report that their response to the last conflict that made them angry was to “fight with them,” this is the response of only 4 percent (n = 10) of adolescents and youth. While 20 percent (n = 10) of adolescents and youth who have experienced any disagreement include as a type of disagreement experienced “fight about money,” no children report this. Likewise, many fewer children (2 percent, n = 1) have been victims of bribery or corruption in the past year as compared to youth (11 percent, n = 21). Comparatively considering these and other ways in which refugee children and adolescents/youth perceive of themselves as well as the types of conflict they experience is important for programme planners when considering how PEP and SDP “work” individually and together, along with how these peace education programmes might be implemented to both population groups.

# 4. Lessons Learned

This case study has focused upon the ways in which specific ToC have informed PBEA interventions, how programme interventions are intended to address known conflict drivers, and if and how desired changes have been actualized through programming. Based upon the study findings and analysis, several lessons learned and recommendations are offered for each of these areas.

## 4.1 How security context and programming decisions affected the design of PBEA interventions

- A full conflict analysis was not completed during the initial stages of Dadaab programming. Instead a 'light conflict analysis' was conducted that drew on common understandings of conflict dynamics and drivers.
- Initial understanding of conflict drivers were heavily informed by the broader political context in which attacks committed by Al Shabaab were on the rise and perceived as a growing threat by the GoK.

## 4.2 How TOCs and programme interventions intend to address known conflict drivers

- The PBEA Public Attitudes and Reduction of Violence Theory informs PBEA interventions in Dadaab camp/town.

- Sources of conflict are identified only in a light conflict analysis and in the much later KAP that hasn't been integrated into programming. Further, given PBEA filled funding shortfalls for existing programs, intervention logics are not well matched to conflict sources and ultimately PBEA goals.
- The long-running PEP in Dadaab was not adapted to address specific drivers of conflict in-line with the guiding logic of PBEA programming.
- Further conflict-sensitive monitoring of the programme would be valuable.

## 4.3 Achievement of programme outputs and outcomes

- This report finds progress on 2 of 3 programme outputs. It also finds anecdotal evidence of intermediate outcomes as well as preliminary signs of final outcomes—increasing levels of social cohesion (PEP) and potential resilience (SDP) although the study design limits ability to detect change or to make causal inferences.
- All study participants reported liking PEP and SDP and deemed them to be important.

# 5. Recommendations

## 5.1 Sharpening TOC to underlie programme logic and desired outcomes

- Reconsider the broad applicability of the PBEA Public Attitudes and Reduction of Violence Theory regarding the ways in which it may apply to PEP and less so to SDP.
- Develop a specific ToC for SDP.
- Programming should be preceded by a complete conflict analysis based on appropriate methodologies to ensure effective programme design and logic during inception phases.
- Consider congruence and divergence between school-based conflicts and broader conflicts (i.e. fears of inter-ethnic conflict in schools reaching communities and escalating) as well as *incongruence* between school-based conflict and conflicts in the camp and determine which conflicts future programming is intended to address.
- Consider integrating awareness of, or reduction of, GBV into future programming goals.

## 5.2 Strengthening programme implementation

### PEP

- Adapt PEP teacher trainings to include positive discipline methods and methods to ensure learning environments are free of conflict (align programming with ToC and stated programme objectives) and/or offer conflict-sensitive education workshops that include positive discipline methods to all teachers—including a focus on GBV in schools.
- Ensure PEP curriculum is actually being taught even if it is a non-examinable subject.

- Consider including PTA in PEP training workshops offered by NCCK to provide continuity in service provision of PEP classes due to challenges with teacher retention and to capitalize on existing PTA involvement.
- Think about more ways to involve PTA given their role in mitigating the spread of school-based conflict to communities.
- Recall the large proportion of children and youth outside of schools and consider re-introducing PEP workshops intended for community members in Dadaab camp/town. While the impact of such programmes is not empirically known, they were widely praised and liked.

### SDP

- After having specified the desired outcomes and ToC for the SDP, refine programming to ensure it is targeting the level of conflict in which the programme is most interested. For example, if it is about youth-host relations, include youth from the host community in SDP in the camp, as originally stipulated in the PCA with WTK. Alternatively if the programme intends to address inter-national conflict, ensure that programming includes youth from different nations, etc.

## 5.3 Ensuring evidence-based programming

- Interventions in the future should complete a full conflict-analysis based upon appropriate methodologies to ensure effective programme design and logic during inception phases.
- Extend/deepen research design for evaluation and consider more comparative (possibly experimental), longitudinal, on-going evaluations. Consider long-term partnerships with academics for rigorous research.
- Continue to build on the positive anecdotal accounts to see if and how they may be generalized.

# ANNEX 1:

## PEP TEACHERS' MATRIX OF ACTIVITIES

| Topic                               | Grade 1  | Grade 2  | Grade 3   | Grade 4  | Grade 5  | Grade 6  | Grade 7  | Grade 8   |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|---|
| <b>Introduction</b>                 | Introduction - Ball game<br>Song - Let's Join Together   | Introduction<br>What are our rules?  | Introduction<br>What are our rules?   | Introduction<br>What are our rules?  | Introduction<br>What are our rules?                                      | Introduction<br>What are our rules?                        | Introduction<br>Theory Background                          | Introduction<br>Theory Background                         |
| <b>Similarities and Differences</b> | Poem - The Time to be happy<br>Mirrors<br>Song - We are One<br>How We are the Same<br>Story - But He's Different<br>Song - We are Leaves of One Tree | Find Your Group<br>Ball Game - I Know Something<br>Song - We Are One<br>Friendly Caterpillar<br>Story - But He's Different | Find Your Group & Mirrors<br>How We are the Same<br>Story - The Storm Tribe<br>Find My Friend | Who is Like Me?<br>Belonging<br>Ball Game - I Know Something               | To The Centre of the Circle<br>Story - The Storm Tribe<br>Find My Friend | Find Your Groups   | Find Your Groups<br>How We Are The Same.<br>Find My Friend | X   |
| <b>Inclusion/ Exclusion</b>         | X  | X  | X   | X  | X  | Who Are You?<br>Exclusion Game                             | Exclusion Game   | Who Are You? You Don't Belong                             |
| <b>Listening</b>                    | Leader Says<br>Directions,<br>Directions Secrets<br>Story  | Leader Says<br>Directions,<br>Directions Secrets<br>Story  | Leader Says<br>Directions,<br>Directions Secrets<br>Story                                     | Leader Says<br>Directions,<br>Directions Secrets<br>Story                  | Listening Active<br>Listening Rules                                      | Why Won't You Listen to Me?<br>Active Listening Rules      | Listening Active<br>Listening Rules                        | Listening Active<br>Listening Rules                       |
| <b>Better Communication</b>         | Mystery Drawings<br>I Went to the Market and... The Thing I like Best  | What Can I See?<br>Mystery Bag<br>Show Tell  | Mystery Drawing<br>Show Tell 'What Can I See?' 20 Questions                                   | What Can I See?<br>Retelling the Story<br>20 Questions                     | Retelling the Story<br>Reporters<br>Observers                            | Retelling the Story<br>2 way communication                 | Reporters  | Charades<br>Observers                                     |
| <b>Handling Emotions</b>            | Making Faces   | Making Faces   | Step Closer<br>Story - Angela's Surprise  | Drama - Acting<br>Emotions Story - 300 Cows                                | Body Language<br>How Bad Is It?<br>Traditions                            | Can you See What They Feel?<br>Traditions                  | Body language<br>Drama - Acting<br>Emotions                | Drama - Acting<br>Emotions How Bad is It?<br>Traditions   |
| <b>Perceptions and Empathy</b>      | What Am I Looking At?<br>Words, Words, Words   | Perceptions - Squares<br>Words, Words, Words   | Perceptions - Squares<br>Story - Sara's Choice  | Perceptions - Triangles<br>Story - The Blind Men and The Elephant Proverbs | Perceptions - Women<br>Words, Words, Words<br>How Do You Feel?           | Perceptions - Vase/2 Faces<br>How Do You Feel?<br>Proverbs | Perceptions - Women<br>Standing in Another's Shoes         | Perceptions - Women<br>Does it Say What it Means? Sharing |

| Topic                  | Grade 1   | Grade 2  | Grade 3  | Grade 4  | Grade 5   | Grade 6   | Grade 7  | Grade 8   |
|------------------------|---|--|--|--|---|---|--|---|
| Co-operation           | Elephant & Palm<br>Let,s Sound Like<br>Rain<br>Fun With Nos.<br>Ball Game - Tunnel<br>Ball<br>Jigsaw<br>Ball Game - Air<br>Ball | Ball Game -<br>Captain Ball<br>Picture Puzzles<br>Relay Co-operative<br>Drawing Triangles  | Relay, Elephant<br>and Palm Let's<br>Sound Like<br>Rain Ball Game<br>- Captain Ball<br>Picture Puzzles<br>Skipping | Ball Game -Tunnel<br>Ball<br>Group Writing Ball<br>Game - Air Ball<br>Skipping | Ball Game -<br>Captain Ball<br>Picture Puzzle                             | Tangles Relay   | Group Writing<br>Picture Puzzle  | Human Knot -<br>Analogy   |
| Assertiveness          | X   | X  | X  | X  | What is<br>Assertiveness?<br>What Do You<br>Think?                        | What is<br>Assertiveness?<br>Story - Debra<br>Matrix What Can<br>I Say? | What is<br>Assertiveness?<br>Story - Saying No<br>What Can I Say?<br>What Can I Say? | Story - True Love<br>Matrix<br>What Can I Say?<br>Role-play - Which<br>One Are You? |
| Analysis               | X   | X  | X  | Story (multiple<br>lessons)  | Story - True Love   | X   | Story - Sara's<br>Choice   | Analysis  |
| Problem Solving        | Matching Which is<br>the Right Order?   | Which One<br>Doesn't Belong?<br>Which is the Right<br>Order? What Goes<br>Here? Solutions. | What Goes<br>Here? The House<br>Solutions  | The Fox, The<br>Goat & The<br>Cabbage Numbers<br>Solutions Whose<br>Problem?   | Snake and Houses<br>The Beautiful<br>Girl & the Money<br>Lender Six Steps | Buses<br>Winner!<br>The Teacher   | 9 Dots<br>Chessboard The<br>Beautiful Girl<br>Problem Analysis<br>Six Steps          | Mindbenders The<br>Doctor Who is<br>Involved?                                       |
| Conflict<br>Resolution | X   | X  | X  | Drama - What is<br>the Conflict?   | Drama - What is<br>the Conflict?  | Elements of a<br>Conflict Needs<br>and Actions                          | X  | Elements of a<br>Conflict   |
| Negotiation            | X   | X  | X  | Rules for<br>Negotiation   | Let's Negotiate   | Rules for<br>Negotiation  | Let's Negotiate<br>Rules for<br>Negotiation  | Let's Negotiate<br>Rules for<br>Negotiation   |
| Mediation              | X   | X  | Mediators  | X  | Mediators   | Mediators   | Mediators  | Mediators   |
| Conclusion             | What have You<br>Learned About<br>Peace?  | What have You<br>Learned About<br>Peace?   | What have You<br>Learned About<br>Peace?   | What have You<br>Learned About<br>Peace?                                       | What have You<br>Learned About<br>Peace?                                  | What have You<br>Learned About<br>Peace?                                | What have You<br>Learned About<br>Peace?   | What have You<br>Learned About<br>Peace?  |

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United Nations Children's Fund  
Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office (ESARO)  
UNON, Girigi  
P.O. Box 44145-00100 Nairobi, Kenya  
Tel. Office + 254 20 762 2741,  
Website: [www.unicef.org/esaro](http://www.unicef.org/esaro)

**For further information contact:**

Neven Knezevic (PhD)  
[nknezevic@unicef.org](mailto:nknezevic@unicef.org)  
Humanitarian Action, Resilience and Peacebuilding Section (HARP)