

# Civics and Ethical Education for Peacebuilding in Ethiopia: Results and Lessons Learned

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# DOCUMENT OVERVIEW

## Purpose and Intended Use of the Case Study

Populations residing in the four Developing Regional States (DRS) of Ethiopia are vulnerable to frequent manmade and natural disasters. These regions rank low in development indicators, including education. This study will look at the opportunities and challenges of peacebuilding through education 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 how education might advance peacebuilding, social cohesion and community resilience in vulnerable contexts prone to conflict through a set of UNICEF-supported in-school and extra-curricular programs. These include Training of Trainer (ToT) workshops devoted to education and peacebuilding for education personnel (e.g. administrators, teachers), Civics and Ethics Education (CEE) programming for children and youth as well as complementary after-school programming/club activities. It will also explore opportunities for UNICEF to develop and work with partners to implement the set of PBEA interventions even more effectively and the challenges facing programme efforts.

# Contents

Document Overview.....	lii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Tables.....	iv
Abbreviations.....	V
Executive Summary.....	Vi
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1 Research Methods and Limitations.....	2
1.2 Analytical Framework, ToC, Conflict Drivers, Outcomes.....	4
2. Background.....	6
2.1 Ethiopia and the Benishangul Gumuz Region.....	7
2.2 Literature Review.....	9
3. Findings And Discussion.....	12
3.1 Outputs: Provision/inclusion of information/education programming for ‘dispute management’ and ‘peaceful relations’.....	13
Figure 3: PBEA Program Interventions and Outcomes in Benishangul Gumuz.....	15
3.2 Intermediate Outcomes: Changed attitudes and increased capacity for non-violent conflict resolution mechanisms and strategies.....	15
3.3 Final Outcomes: Changed behaviours and increased social cohesion.....	16
3.4 Summary Discussion.....	18
4. Lessons Learned And Recommendations.....	19
4.1 How specific ToC have informed PBEA interventions.....	19
4.2 How this set of PBEA interventions addresses known conflict drivers.....	19
4.3 How programming has achieved desired results.....	19
5. Recommendations.....	20
5.1 How specific ToC have informed this set of PBEA interventions.....	20
5.2 Strengthening evidence-base for programming.....	20
5.3 Strengthening programme implementation.....	20
References.....	21
LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND PHOTOS	
Table 1. PBEA programme countries.....	2
Table 2. Traits of the 2 schools visited for data collection in Benishangul Gumuz.....	3
Table 3: UNICEF PBEA Targeted Outcome 3, ToC and Observable Implications.....	5
Table 4: Conflict, Conflict Drivers, PBEA Approach in Benishangul Gumuz.....	6
Figure 1: PBEA Interventions and Outcomes in Benishangul Gumuz.....	5
Figure 2: ToT Workshop Progression.....	13
Drawing 1 and 2: Inter-ethnic fighting over farmland.....	19
Photo 1: Hoha No. 4 primary School Peacebuilding and Education Teacher Trainings.....	14

# ABBREVIATIONS

ARRA	Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs
CEE	Civics and Ethics Education
CFS	Centre for Federal Studies
CO	Country Office
DRS	Developing Regional States
EEPCT	Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition
ESARO	Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office
ESDP	Education Sector Development Plan
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GoN	Government of the Netherlands
KAP	Knowledge, Attitude, and Practice
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoE	Ministry of Education
OOSC	Out of School Children
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PBEA	Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
REB	Regional Education Bureau
FO	Field Office
ToC	Theory of Change
TOT	Training of Trainers
WEO	Woreda Education Office

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy (PBEA) programme in Ethiopia aims to strengthen resilience and social cohesion and improve equity in Ethiopia's four Developing Regional States (DRS)—Afar, Benishangul Gumuz, Gambella, and Somali. Populations residing in the DRS are vulnerable to frequent manmade and natural disasters, phenomena that are compounded by weak regional governance systems and low capacity of government to deliver social services, including the planning, provision, and management of education.

This study examines a set of peacebuilding and education interventions in the Benishangul Gumuz region—primarily in-school and after-school Civics and Ethics Education (CEE) programming for students and Training of Trainers (ToT) peacebuilding education training focusing on CEE for teachers. This set of interventions intends to make gains towards **PBEA Outcome 3- Increase capacity of duty-bearers to prevent and reduce conflict, promote social cohesion**. Specific focus is given to the ways in which:

- the programme's Theories of Change (ToC) have informed the provision of PBEA programming,
- how these ToC are intended to address known conflict drivers in the Benishangul Gumuz region,
- and if and how these ToC have been actualized through PBEA programming.

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

- How is PBEA programming supporting conflict transformation among beneficiaries?
- How have program interventions supported levels of social cohesion within/between communities increasing resilience against conflict?
- What examples can be provided about how the PBEA program is supporting peaceful conflict resolution strategies and resilience against conflict?
- To what extent are the needs of out-of-school children (OOSC) addressed through education programming in a manner that reduces conflict pressures (both structural and cultural)?
- What challenges exist with promoting social cohesion and resilience through education programming?
- What lessons can be drawn out with program implementation?

These questions relate to outputs and outcomes, challenges, and lessons learned. In order to answer these questions, the study explicates ToC that primarily underlie **Outcome 3**. Interviews were conducted with key UNICEF staff members in both the Country Office (CO) in Addis Ababa and in the Benishangul Gumuz Field Office (FO) in Assosa.<sup>1</sup> Site visits were also made to two PBEA target schools in two different woredas in Benishangul Gumuz, Mao Komo and Assosa. Interviews were conducted with school administrators, teachers, and students; interviews were also conducted with implementing partner staff at the Regional Education Bureau (REB) and at the Woreda Education Offices (WEO) in both Mao Komo and Assosa. In total, 28 individuals participated in one-on-one and focus group discussion (FGD) interviews. Additionally, this case study was informed by a desk review of on-going PBEA monitoring and evaluation carried out by UNICEF's FO in the Benishangul Gumuz region since programme implementation (including quarterly reports submitted by UNICEF Benishangul Gumuz FO Education Officers, KAP dataset,<sup>2</sup> and detailed field site reports from UNICEF CO and FO staff) as well as a review of literature relevant to peacebuilding and civics education in Ethiopia.

<sup>1</sup> The UNICEF Field Education Officer for Benishangul Gumuz was unavailable for interview at the time of the field visit. Instead the Chief of Field Officer was interviewed.

<sup>2</sup> An overview of the KAP Survey carried out by the BDS Center for Development Research will be provided in Section IX: Findings.

Unlike in the Somali region (see companion study by King & Monaghan, 2015), there is no specified ToC for PBEA programming in Benishangul Gumuz. The study understands UNICEF PBEA Behavioural Change Theory to be the guiding ToC for the set of PBEA interventions there. We report on general observations in the field. It is noted that a number of people interviewed expressed their belief that social cohesion was improving due to the set of PBEA interventions. However, we also note that responses are likely to be coloured by a high degree of social desirability bias and that the research design did not allow for the assessment of communities prior to and following the intervention of PBEA programming or directly attribute causal changes to the programme.

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

- Observations in the field that indicate some gains might be made towards **Outcome 3** with regards to changes in students' attitudes. However, at present it is not possible to conclude what precisely is materializing as a direct and intended impact of PBEA interventions.
- Social desirability bias is likely a persistent challenge in this research, but identifying it is in itself an important insight into the social environment and the challenges PBEA programming is likely to encounter.
- Children and youth are not reluctant to acknowledge or discuss conflict and offer insight into the nature, scale, and scope of conflicts in Benishangul Gumuz.
- The ways in which PBEA interventions in schools intended to facilitate changes in students' attitudes in turn facilitate changes in behaviours amongst community-members remains under-theorized.
- The study observes outputs and intermediate outcomes. That these findings are observable in such a short term is promising since social cohesion and resilience (final outcomes) are typically very slow moving processes.

**Recommendations include:**

- Develop programme-specific ToC for programme interventions in Benishangul Gumuz and identify how different TOC interact with each other.
- Consider conducting additional research (e.g. carried out by UNICEF FO staff) in Benishangul Gumuz for the purpose of further identifying the nature, scope, and scale of conflict in the region.
- Consider and utilize strategies for carrying out research on conflict with children and youth since they do not appear to demonstrate the same reluctance in identifying and discussing the type and degree of conflict in the region as do adults.
- Ensure routine conflict sensitive programme monitoring to adhere to principles of 'do no harm'.

# 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>3</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 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>4</sup>) where PBEA programming has been implemented, including Ethiopia, the focus of this report.<sup>5</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 program 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 useful approach is adopted in this case study and focus 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.

**In and After-School Peacebuilding Education in Benishangul Gumuz Region of Ethiopia.** The focus here is on PBEA in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia and specifically on a set of Training of Trainer workshops for teachers as well as in-school and after-school peacebuilding education interventions for children and youth that are intended to be mutually reinforcing. ToT offer teachers approaches to peacebuilding education; in-school peacebuilding education is comprised of Civics and Ethics Education (CEE) in the curriculum while after-school civics and ethics as well as peacebuilding clubs are intended by program planners to supplement in-school CEE. These ToT, in- and after-school initiatives aim to improve social cohesion and overcome inequity between dominant and minority ethnic groups. The study ultimately explores if and how this set of peacebuilding and education interventions has contributed to **Global Outcome 3**, as intended by program planners and implementers. UNICEF's 5 Global Outcomes that have been adapted to the Ethiopian context, are included here and highlight Outcome 3:

1. Increased inclusion of education into social cohesion, peacebuilding, and equity-promoting policies, analysis, and implementation.
2. Increased institutional (regional) capacities to supply context-responsive peace education.
- 3. Increased capacity of children, parents, teachers, and other duty-bearers to prevent and reduce conflict and promote social cohesion.**
4. Increased access to quality, relevant, context responsive education that contributes to social cohesion and peace.
5. Contribute to the generation and use of evidence and knowledge in policies and programming related to equity in education, social cohesion and peacebuilding.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> Kenya is also included via support to the Dadaab refugee camp to address cross border conflict risks associated with Somali refugees.

<sup>5</sup> UNICEF (2014a) "About." Learning for Peace. Available: <http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/about/learning-for-peace/>.

This case study aims to contribute findings, lessons learned and recommendations for Ethiopia and PBEA more broadly. This case study also aims to contribute to wider scholarship on the role of education services in fragile and conflict-affected settings. 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	Middle East and North Africa <sup>6</sup>	South Asia	East Asia and Pacific
Chad, Cote D'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone	Burundi, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, Uganda	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 conflict-affected and post-conflict environments. The authors of this study were tasked with responding to the following questions:

- How is PBEA programming supporting conflict transformation among beneficiaries?
- How have program interventions supported levels of social cohesion within/between communities increasing resilience against conflict?
- What examples can be provided about how the PBEA program is supporting peaceful conflict resolution strategies and resilience against conflict?
- To what extent are the needs of out of school children (OOSC) addressed through education programming in a manner that reduces conflict pressures (both structural and cultural)?
- What challenges exist with promoting social cohesion and resilience through education programming?
- What lessons can be drawn out with program implementation?

This case study examining PBEA programming in the Benishangul Gumuz region of Ethiopia was informed by multiple methods. These methods are:

1. Primary qualitative research in the Benishangul Gumuz region (including key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and direct observations),
2. Desk research of continuous PBEA monitoring and evaluation carried out by UNICEF's FO in the Benishangul Gumuz region since programme implementation (including quarterly reports submitted by UNICEF Benishangul Gumuz FO Education Officers, a draft quantitative KAP data set, and detailed field site reports from UNICEF CO and FO staff), as well as
3. A review of literature relevant to peacebuilding and education in Ethiopia and civics education.

To the extent possible, the study triangulates these data sources to strengthen case study findings. Stakeholders at UNICEF ESARO and in the Ethiopia team also reviewed the report suggesting refinements and additional information, as relevant.

<sup>6</sup> Kenya is also included via support to the Dadaab refugee camp to address cross border conflict risks associated with Somali refugees.

**Key Informant Interviews and field visits.** In Ethiopia, interviews were conducted with key UNICEF PBEA staff members in the Country Office (CO) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Two schools were also visited where PBEA in-school and after-school programming has been implemented in two different *woredas*—Mao Komo and Assosa—in Benishangul Gumuz. **Table 2** highlights the differences between the two schools. Both schools were located in “rural” areas, though Hoha No. 4 Primary School was approximately 30km outside of the capital city of Assosa and a short turn off a paved highway, while Mao Komo Primary School was approximately 200km away from the capital city, in a remote area close to the border with South Sudan, and at the end of long dirt road.

Table 2. Traits of the 2 schools visited for data collection in Benishangul Gumuz

	Mao Komo Primary School	Hoha No. 4 Primary School
<b>Number of ethnic groups in school</b>	5	5
<b>PBEA Interventions</b>	4 teachers attended peacebuilding and education ToT in WEO; CEE; Civics and Ethics after-school club	Peacebuilding and education ToT held at the school for all teachers; 1 teacher assigned as peacebuilding focal point; CEE; Civics and Ethics and peacebuilding after-school club.

There was variance between the schools in which this research was conducted in terms of the degree of rurality and the scale of PBEA interventions. Across the two schools, 3 focus group discussions (FGD) and 10 one-on-one interviews were conducted, reaching a total of 28 individuals, including staff from Regional and Woreda Education Offices (n=6), teachers (n=4), PTA/KTB members (n=2), school directors (n=2), and youth (n=14).

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

- Drivers of conflict specific to the community in which research was carried out;
- The specifics of the PBEA interventions (given their variance) specific to the community;
- Theories of change specific to the community in which the research was carried out; and,
- Changes in occurrence, scope and/or scale of conflict that participants observed and/or experienced.

Additionally, a drawing activity was also conducted with youth (n=7) in which they were asked to draw a picture of a conflict they had witnessed or experienced in their community. Each student then shared their drawing and discussed the type of conflict it represented with the group.

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

**Limitations.** While there was much to learn from the fieldwork conducted, there are also a number of limitations to this study. First, the scope of field-based research of this study is limited geographically to Mao Komo and Assosa woredas. During the time the fieldwork was undertaken, students were in exams and the school-term was near completion. As such, multi-day overland travel required to visit PBEA-supported schools in the most conflict-affected woredas in the Benishangul Gumuz region was not possible. Consequently, the sample is biased towards woredas where conflict may be less acute and therefore cannot be taken as a representative evaluation of PBEA activities throughout the region. Second, the field research was of short duration due to a number of timing and logistical challenges.

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

As such, the research included school visits and interviews with teachers, administrators, and students there however interviews were not conducted with community members who are also target populations for the set of PBEA interventions in Benishangul Gumuz. Additionally, as students were taking exams, it was not possible to conduct direct observations of the in-school and after-school programme interventions.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, many participants' exhibited a high degree of social desirability bias, particularly with regards to the occurrence, nature, and scale of conflict in the region. However, as with previous research conducted in conflict-affected contexts, "what at first may appear to be data problems can also be important data points" (King, 2009, p: 127). Indeed, reticence to acknowledge and discuss conflict and the challenges this poses for PBEA interventions intending to address conflict in Benishangul Gumuz are important findings for this research.

Despite these limitations, the study focuses on schools in Mao Komo and Assosa woredas. Interviews were conducted with a wide range of stakeholders at both of the schools visited, allowing for a strong cross-section of views—especially those expressed directly by youth. The study also uses descriptive statistics drawn from the KAP survey data where appropriate to strengthen findings and observations.

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

These questions relate to outputs and outcomes, challenges and lessons learned. This case study borrows from the Somali Region case study to set out a framework to tackle these questions. In order to do so, it focuses on explicating Theories of Change (ToC) that link the set of PBEA interventions in Benishangul Gumuz to their targeted Outcome 3. 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 program" (Anderson, 2004). This study borrows from the logic and techniques of process tracing (see e.g. George & Bennett, 2005) and endeavours to chart the "observable implications" of each theory. Process tracing means charting causal processes of decision-making and linking various initial decisions to outputs and outcomes (George & Bennett, 2005). Observable implications are the identifiable features one would expect to see if the ToC were, indeed, materializing. Given that PBEA programmes are meant to address context-specific conflict drivers, the study also considers if and how the ToC effectively do so.

The study proceeded with this approach, which allowed programme challenges to be identified and highlights that are both cause and effect of an unspecified ToC to guide programming in Benishangul Gumuz and to make concrete recommendations for moving forward.

**Table 3** below combines UNICEF's PBEA Outcome 3 with 'Education for Peacebuilding' Theories of Change (UNICEF 2014a), from which the study understands UNICEF Ethiopia CO and UNICEF's FO in the Benishangul Gumuz region to work. UNICEF has usefully published a list of five guiding ToC, one of which applies well to the set of interventions studied here. According to UNICEF documentation, **Behavioural Change Theory** posits that "if teachers, parents, children and community members are equipped with skills and knowledge for managing disputes and promoting peaceful relations, community resilience against stresses and shocks will be increased leading to increased social cohesion and resilience" (UNICEF, 2014a, p: 4). The study endeavoured to derive observable implications from this ToC drawing on the widely-accepted understanding that changes in information lead to changes in attitudes lead to changes in behaviours (McCauley 2002).

<sup>8</sup> Additionally, the Education Officer in the UNICEF FO in Assosa was off-site during the time this research was conducted and as such was not interviewed; however the Officer provided written responses to drafts of this case study that were subsequently included throughout.

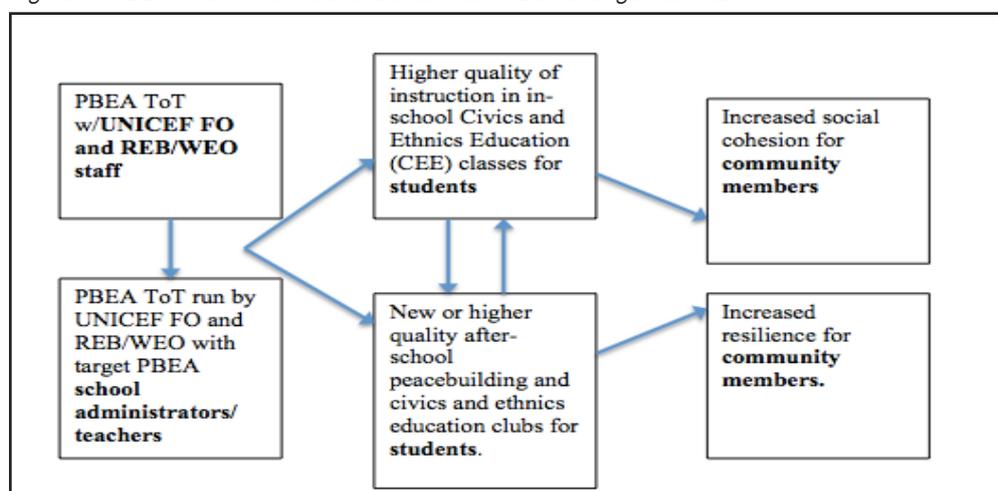
Table 3: UNICEF PBEA Targeted Outcome 3, ToC and Observable Implications

UNICEF PBEA Targeted Outcomes	Benishangul Gumuz Region Programme ToC	Potential Observable Implications		
		Outputs	Intermediate Outcomes	Final Outcomes
Outcome 3: Increased capacity of children, parents, teachers, and other duty-bearers to prevent and reduce conflict and promote social cohesion.	Behavioural Change Theory If teachers, parents, children and community members are equipped with skills and knowledge for managing disputes and promoting peaceful relations, community resilience against stresses and shocks will be increased leading to increased social cohesion and resilience.	Provision/ inclusion of information/ education programming to teachers and students for 'dispute management' and "peaceful relations"	Changed attitudes and increased capacity among students for non-violent conflict management and resolution mechanisms and strategies	Changed behaviours; Increase in social cohesion amongst communities (more responsive state to citizens and more networked relations among diverse communal groups) Increased ability of communities to be resilient (anticipate, withstand, and recover) to shocks (manmade and natural)

As previously discussed, the logic guiding UNICEF's PBEA programme is that identifying and understanding conflict drivers precedes and informs the development and implementation of education interventions intended to address and ultimately transform drivers of conflict. Unfortunately, the Context Analysis (2014) in Ethiopia was delayed and finalized at the same time PBEA programming was being implemented in the four DRS regions. Additionally, due to the country's political circumstances also noted above, researchers conducting the Context Analysis confronted difficulties in fully identifying the nature, scope, and scale of conflict in Benishangul Gumuz. This also presents as a challenge for analysis.

Finally, this case study is rendered more complicated by the fact that it focuses on a set of PBEA interventions (i.e. Training of Trainer workshops on peacebuilding education as well as in-school and after-school programming focused on Civics and Ethics Education) rather than a single intervention, though the interventions are meant to be mutually reinforcing. Figure 1 below illustrates how the ToT, in-school curriculum, after-school activities are intended to work together towards final outcomes and endeavours to identify the unit of analysis/intervention of each component. In so doing, it also considers how the school-based educational programming is intended to impact the wider community.

Figure 1: PBEA Interventions and Outcomes in Benishangul Gumuz



## 2. BACKGROUND

The Ethiopia PBEA programme started in October 2012 with the aim to support the Ministry of Education (MoE) in strengthening resilience, social cohesion, and improving equity in the four Developing Regional States (DRS)—Afar, Benishangul Gumuz, Gambella, and Somali. The four regions are prone to frequent natural disasters and have also been affected by longstanding conflicts fuelled by the volatile situation of border countries (Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan, and South Sudan). The four regions are characterized by weak regional governance systems and low capacity of government to deliver social services, including low capacities for the planning, provision and management of education (UNICEF, 2014).

The PBEA programme focuses on improving education and making it more contextually relevant and responsive to the needs of local communities. The overarching aim of the programme in Ethiopia is to contribute to strengthening social cohesion and promoting equity through education. UNICEF’s approach to PBEA programming in Ethiopia is informed by a context analysis undertaken in each of the four DRS of implementation. The idea is that programming needs to directly respond to context-specific conflict drivers. In 2013, UNICEF, together with the Centre for Federal Studies (CFS) at Addis Ababa University, conducted a “context analysis,” entitled *Equity, Social Cohesion, and Peacebuilding through the Education Sector: Context Analysis for the Developing Regional States of Ethiopia*. The term “context” replaced the term “conflict” due to concerns raised by the MoE; none of the regional governments (nor national government) considered the regions to be “conflict-affected” and therefore did not believe a conflict analysis was needed. The study returns to this point in the analysis below. Nonetheless, the Context Analysis provided programme planners at both UNICEF and Regional Education Bureaus (REB) and Woreda Education Offices (WEO) in the four DRS with a broad understanding of the many different types of conflict affecting each region as well as inequities undermining social cohesion. The study also focused upon the ways in which these conflict-drivers impacted and were thought to be impacted by education service delivery. Finally, it identified a number of peacebuilding entry points in education that informed the development and implementation of PBEA programming specific to addressing the different conflicts affecting each region. Table 1 below includes the types of conflict and conflict drivers in the Benishangul Gumuz region as identified in the Context Analysis along with PBEA approaches for addressing these conflicts in BG.

Table 4: Conflict, Conflict Drivers, PBEA Approach in Benishangul Gumuz

Types of Conflict	Conflict Drivers in BG	Benishangul Gumuz Approach as a response in the Education Sector
<b>Inter-ethnic conflict</b>	Lack of and/or inequitable political participation and inequitable access to social services	Build capacities of teachers (through workshops) and learners (through in school learning and after-school clubs) on skills that promote peaceful conflict resolution and respect for diversity
<b>Intra-ethnic conflict</b>	Scarcity of resources, particularly water and grazing land	
<b>Inter-regional/Inter-state conflict</b>	Scarcity of resources, particularly water and grazing land as well as firewood near refugee settlements.  Lack of formal dispute resolution mechanisms for determining land use/ownership  Porous borders between Benishangul Gumuz and Sudan and resultant infiltration of armed groups from Sudan in Benishangul Gumuz,	
<b>Tension/conflict between ‘indigenous’ and ‘settler’ groups</b>	Scarcity of resources, particularly water and grazing land  Weak formal dispute resolution mechanisms for determining land use/ownership  Lack of and/or inequitable political participation and inequitable access to social services	

## 2.1 Ethiopia and the Benishangul Gumuz Region

Ethiopia is a highly diverse country of more than 70 ethnic groups. The country is divided into nine regional states (Amhara, Oromia, SNNPR, Tigray, Somali, Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz, Gambella, Harari) and two city administrations (Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa). The two largest ethnic groups, Oromo and Amhara, account for approximately 60 percent of the population (CSA, 2010). In 1991, following the removal of the Derg (explicated below), Ethiopia established an “ethnic federal system” (Turton, 2006). In short, nine “ethnic-based territorial units” were established, each with their own decentralized regional governments. According to Selassie (2003), “each [federal] state was drawn with the aim of making it the principle vehicle for aggregating and expressing the political, cultural, and linguistic identity of the country’s major ethnic groups” (p. 54).

A brief contemporary history of war and conflict in Ethiopia helps to contextualize not only Ethiopia’s current system of governance (i.e. ethnic federalism) but also the dynamics of on-going and protracted conflict in Benishangul Gumuz. This section begins with the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police, and Territorial Army—commonly referred to as “the Derg”—the regime that ruled Ethiopia between 1975 and 1987. A military government that espoused principles of multi-ethnic identity and cultural pluralism as well as Marxist-Leninist ideology, the Derg initiated sweeping reforms, including a mass National Literacy Campaign in 15 Ethiopian languages as well as land-reform policy that nationalized all rural land and abolished tenancy—essentially removing all formal mechanisms for establishing rightful land ownership, sharing, and/or use (Henze, 2000). At the same time, the Derg simultaneously waged a military campaign against a large number of opposition groups. Known as the “Red Terror,” between 1975 and 1977 more than 500,000 peoples were arrested and summarily executed (ibid.). By the mid-1980’s, international opposition to the Derg regime mounted, catalysed in-part through wide-spread famine that has been attributed to the Derg’s failed land-management scheme (Clay & Holcomb, 1986).

Between 1987 and 1991, members of the Derg continued to rule Ethiopia as part of a “transition” government, though in 1991 a coalition of opposition forces,<sup>9</sup> the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), removed the remaining members of the Derg by force and established the “ethnic federal system” of governance that continues to this day (Abbink, 2006). Meles Zenawi, the leader of the Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front (TPLF), the core party of the EPRDF, became Prime Minister from 1995-2012. The EPRDF maintained that ethnic federalism allowed Ethiopian peoples to achieve ethnic autonomy while maintaining the Ethiopian state as such. The ways in which the nine ethnic territorial units mentioned above were formed is a subject of considerable controversy, particularly the formation of Benishangul Gumuz (Young, 1999). In short, there is no majority ethnic population in Benishangul Gumuz (known under the Derg regime as Region 6) and the five predominate ethnic groups—Berta Amhara, Gumuz, Oromo, and Shinasha—by and large self-identified with groups in neighbouring Oromia and Amhara territories as well as groups in Sudan. However, EPRDF coalition members could not reach an agreement about how to equitably divide Region 6. As a result, Benishangul Gumuz was established as its own territorial unit (ibid.).

Because unlike in Ethiopia’s other territories there is no clear ethnic majority in Benishangul Gumuz, “the problem of ethnic diversity and governance on the basis of ethnicity is not solved, only de-centred and moved towards the lower levels of administration” (Abbink, 2006). This has resulted in asymmetrical access of different ethnicities to government positions in local administrative offices (for example the Berta—indigenous peoples—are particularly under-represented in government despite technically comprising the majority ethnic group in the region). Additionally, while a land-lease system was introduced in Ethiopia’s cities, the nationalized land system previously instituted by the Derg regime remains in place in Ethiopia’s rural areas, including in Benishangul Gumuz (Young, 1999). As such, farming and grazing lands throughout the region remain a source of on-going contestation and conflict between different ethnic groups, each vying for control. While Article 2 of Benishangul Gumuz’s Constitution (2002) states that, “although there are other nations, nationalities and people living in the region, the owners of the region are the Berta, Gumuz, Shinasha, Mao and Komo.”<sup>10</sup> These groups are considered indigenous to the region. The Amhara and Oromo who are considered settlers in the region continue seeking legitimate, formal access to land usage. As noted above, the formal dispute resolution mechanisms for determining land use/ownership are weak.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Including: The Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization; the Amhara National Democratic Movement; the Southern Ethiopian People’s Democratic Movement; and the Tigrayan Peoples Liberation Front.

<sup>10</sup> See: <https://chilot.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/benishangul-national-regional-state-constitution.pdf>

<sup>11</sup> For additional information on land-leasing programmes in Ethiopia see: Kidane, D., Mekonnen, A., and Teketay, D. (2008). *An assessment of the land tenure system and conflict resolution: Tendaho Irrigation Project case study, Lower Awash Basin, Ethiopia*. Addis: UNDP.

As Abbink (2006) explains, “as such, it [land] has become a resource to be fiercely contested” (p: 112).

While on-going and recurrent conflict over land and other resources in Benishangul Gumuz specifically and more generally throughout Ethiopia is widely recognized in both academic and practitioner-oriented publications, it is not readily nor openly discussed and in many cases completely denied. This observation fits into wider trends; as Prime Minister Hailemariam remarked during US President Obama’s recent visit to Ethiopia, Ethiopia is a “young democracy” that has more work still to do (Mason and Maacho 2015).<sup>12</sup> As will be further discussed, this widespread censorship was significant with regards to the field research in Benishangul Gumuz, particularly as participants’ expressed a deep reluctance to discuss (and in several cases denied altogether) the occurrence and dynamics of conflict in the region.

In terms of the state of Ethiopia’s education system, since 1997 the government has been implementing the 20-year Education Sector Indicative Plan that is divided into four Education Sector Developments Plans (ESDPs). Currently, the ESDP IV (2010/11-2014/15) is being implemented and ESDP V for 2015-2020 is under preparation. One of the key outcomes of ESDP IV is to universalize access to primary education by this year, 2015, through a continued expansion of formal primary education and wherever necessary through Alternate Basic Education. At 92 percent (UNICEF, 2014, p. 2), primary school net enrolment is the highest in Benishangul Gumuz compared to the other three DRS and above the national average of 86 percent (UNICEF, 2014). However, at 13.6 percent, the repetition rate for primary education in Benishangul Gumuz is also the highest amongst all regions in Ethiopia (UNICEF, 2015). It is unclear why and how the rate of primary education as well as rate of repetition for primary education are both disproportionately high in Benishangul Gumuz.

Geographically, the Benishangul Gumuz region is located in the north-western part of the country. The region is sub-divided into three administrative zones, twenty-one woredas and one city administration. According to Save the Children (2013), the total population of the region is estimated at 784,345 (398,655 males and 385,690 females) – overall less than 1 percent of the country’s population—of which urban dwellers number 105,926 (13.51%). As noted above, there are five predominate ethnic groups in the region; these include the Berta (25.41 percent), Amhara (21.69 percent), Gumuz (20.88 percent), Oromo (13.55 percent), and Shinasha (7.73 percent). The Amharas and Oromos are commonly referred to by the indigenous groups in the region (e.g. the Bertas, Gumuzes, Mao’s, Komos and Shinashas) as Habesha (highlanders) who began to settle in the region during the Derg era (Selassie, 2003).

Access to resources in Benishangul Gumuz is low. The vast majority of Benishangul Gumuz’s inhabitants practice subsistence agriculture and are chronically subject to food insecurity due to wild fires, deforestation, pest infestations, and unpredictable rainfalls (Selassie, 2003). In terms of religion, 44.98 percent profess Islam followed by Orthodox Christianity (33.3 percent), Protestantism (13.53 percent), and “traditional religions” (7.09 percent).

Despite significant financial investments in Benishangul Gumuz by the federal government as well as INGOs in recent years, transportation and communications infrastructure remains limited. Additionally, since 2011, when conflict escalated between Sudan and South Sudan as well as within Sudan, approximately forty-six thousand Sudanese refugees have been hosted in Benishangul-Gumuz in three refugee camps and one transit centre run by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA). These are located in Homosha, Bambabasi and Mao Komo woredas (district).

### ***Intergroup Relations and Conflict in the Benishangul Gumuz***

When the ‘ethnic federated system’ replaced a system of central governance and administration in 1994, each regional state was granted ‘ownership’ of the land in the region by the federal government (Turton, 2006).

<sup>12</sup> Freedom House, the Committee to Protect Journalists, and Amnesty International have and continue to document the ways in which freedom of expression throughout Ethiopia continues to be subjected to serious restrictions, particularly dissent against the EPDRF (see: <https://freedomhouse.org/country/ethiopia>; <https://cpj.org/africa/ethiopia/>; <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/africa/ethiopia/>). In the most recent national elections that occurred less than one-month before in-country data collection for this case study, the EPDRF won nearly 100 percent of the vote (546 out of 547 seats).

State ownership of land resulted in a “land-lease system” whereby individuals and groups that had previously agreed upon the use of farming or grazing lands now needed to seek permission to use these lands from the regional government (ibid). Rather than doing so, most simply continued using land as they had previously, although other individuals or groups began making claims that they had been granted use of that land by the regional government (Adegehe, 2009). Conflicts of various scale and duration over land access and usage subsequently arose between individuals and groups (ibid.)—often individuals and groups of different ethnicities living in close proximity. Far from regional ownership of land mitigating conflict between groups, it is widely held that the majority of ‘ethnic’ conflicts in Ethiopia are waged in order to establish or maintain group members’ access to contested grazing and/or farming lands (Turton, 2006). It is said that the making of the boundaries of Benishangul Gumuz, begun in 1992 and finalized in 1994, catalysed inter-ethnic and inter-regional conflicts that persist to this day (Pausewang, Tronvoll, & Aalen, 2002). Land disputes, particularly in border areas over lands that allow access to water and fertile soil, frequently escalate into violent conflict. As with other regional states, this process of boundary drawing under the guise of a nation-wide policy mandate of ‘ethnic federalism’ by-and-large sharply divided rather than unified the five ethnic groups residing in Benishangul Gumuz (Adegehe, 2009).

According to the *Ethiopia Context Analysis* (2014), exclusion/discrimination based on ethnicity impacts all aspects of social relations between ethnic groups and is the main source of tension and conflict in Benishangul Gumuz. The *Context Analysis* found that tensions between ethnic groups over grazing land, access to water, political representation, and employment opportunities frequently escalate into violent interpersonal or intergroup conflict. The Berta, Gumuz, and Shinasha have “a long history of troubled relations with the Oromo and Amhara” (UNICEF, 2014). The KAP study (2015) similarly describes privileged access to employment opportunities based on ethnicity with the Amhara and Oromo often prevailing over the three other major ethnicities in the region. Additionally, as previously noted, the Amhara and Oromo lack formal access to land usage because they are not able to own land in the region or establish legitimate usage of the land. As such, conflicts of differing scale and duration between the Berta, Gumuz, Mao, Komo or the Shinsasha on one side, against the Amhara or Oromo on the other, have been on-going since 1992 (Pausewang, Tronvoll, & Aalen, 2002).

### **Set of PBEA Programmes in Benishangul Gumuz: In-School, After-School, and Peacebuilding Teacher Training**

Since PBEA programming began in Benishangul Gumuz in 2013, a range of in-school, after school, and teacher training activities have been undertaken with the ultimate goals of strengthening social cohesion between the region’s different ethnic groups as well as strengthening resilience from chronic food insecurity and scarcity of resources (e.g. agricultural land). A number of studies and analyses informed the development and implementation of programming. These include the Context Analysis undertaken in 2013 and an Assessment of Curriculum for Equity, Social Cohesion, and Resilience undertaken that same year that surveyed the regional curriculum for Grades 1-4 for potential peacebuilding entry points. Additionally, a series of disaster risk reduction (DRR) workshops were held in targeted woredas that included teachers, school administrators, parents and other community members for the purpose of developing participatory responses to specific DRR (school-managed DRR) in each school/community in which PBEA programming would be implemented. PBEA interventions were subsequently tailored to each targeted school/community; as such, there is wide variance in schools throughout the region in terms of curricular and after-school interventions that are all under the banner of PBEA programming.

With the country and regional context in which PBEA programming in Ethiopia operates and the content of PBEA in the Benishangul Gumuz region thus established, we now turn 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 the partner study to this one focusing on PBEA programming in the Somali Region in Ethiopia (King & Monaghan, 2015). Here, the review focuses specifically on civics education and peacebuilding and particularly on in- and out-of-school programming that aims to teach knowledge and skills related to civic participation with the ultimate aim of building peace. Among such interventions, the review focuses especially on *civics education*. Scholars and practitioners in this field have looked to civics education

programming for the opportunities it offers in mitigating and ultimately transforming entrenched ethnic identities that are seen as one of the root causes of the intra-state, ethnically-based conflicts that typify many conflicts in the post-Cold War era.

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>13</sup> These definitions are briefly included here so as to make clear the ways in which the terms will be throughout the 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.). *Peace dividends* are the tangible result of peace, which might not necessarily address the underlying causes of conflict, but address the consequences of conflict. Peace dividends, such as “the strengthened capacities of education personnel in planning and management in DRS” (UNICEF 2013b, p. 33), begin instilling confidence in affected populations in their communities and in the legitimacy of their institutions (UNICEF 2012a) as people see the ‘dividend’ of peace. According to McCandless (2010), peace dividends represent one of the theories of change through which improved social services may conduce to peace: “social tensions can be reduced through the provision of tangible, needed services, and by incentivizing non-violent behaviour and supporting state building efforts” (p. 3). At the same time, the provision of services may also contribute to grievances by reproducing patterns of inequity or marginalization. In this sense, peace dividends are assumed to address grievances around lack of access to services simply through providing those same services. Nonetheless, UNICEF is also considering how providing access to services that perpetuate forms of violence against minority groups (e.g. access to education with contested curriculum) serves to reproduce inequities and/or biases that might aggravate pressures for conflict and/or undermine state legitimacy. 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).

### **Civics Education and Peacebuilding**

There has been considerable discussion in what is an extensive body of literature devoted to civics education regarding the reaches and limits of civics education programming to facilitate nation-building through cultivating in children and youth a positive collective identity and sense of belonging to an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983). Civics education has long been considered a primary means of facilitating political participation and liberal, democratic governance (Galston, 1989; Callan, 1997), particularly in multicultural or diverse societies (Macedo & Macedo, 2009; Gutmann, 1995; McLaughlin, 1992; Enslin, Pendlebury, & Tjiattas, 2001). National history and governance, national rights and obligations of citizens, as well as modes of political participation—all specific to the nation-state in which they are being taught—are typically included in civics education curricula (Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Niemi, 2005). Experiential and other after-school programming related to civics (e.g. volunteering in the community, student government) are viewed as increasingly important supplements to in-school civics education curricula (Hunter & Brisbin, 2000; Hepburn, 1997; Billig, 2000; Finkel, 2002).

Until the late 1990's, academic and practitioner-oriented literature predominately focused on civics education programming in non-conflict affected countries, as stated above, for the purpose of *strengthening* political participation in liberal democracies. However, with the prevalence of intra-state conflict following the end of the Cold War (Lake, 1996), civics education programming was increasingly considered a key education intervention for post-conflict peacebuilding. Bush and Saltarelli's (2000) seminal study *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, commissioned by UNICEF, revealed the “two faces of education” that countered then predominate thinking that, “all education is good.” By offering a range of cases and examples, the authors demonstrate the ways in which the “negative face” of education had fuelled ethnic conflicts throughout the 1990's (e.g. asymmetrical access to education services and the production of history textbooks, particularly history texts that reify differences between ethnic group).

<sup>13</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.

While the authors are not definitive in terms of ‘what works’ (see also Burde et al., 2011) to promote the “positive face” of education, they highlight the likely importance of civics education. The authors ask how can “education play a constructive role—not necessarily in altering the content of group identities but in altering the rules of ethnic interaction” (p. 3)? They maintain that civics education that highlights “commonality and shared experiences and objectives...and establishes the rights and privileges of minority populations, delineating the obligations and responsibilities for all populations,” is critical “for creating constructive and supportive bonds to develop” (ibid). Bush and Saltarelli’s understandings of the type of citizenship that might be facilitated through these modes of civics education programming align with Kostackopolou’s (1996) notions of “constructive citizenship” which requires that citizens “be responsible (concerned with justice), show respect and sensitivity for others, and question rather than accept things on the basis of trust” (p. 356). Civics education is typically focused on the level of the individual. The logic, like that of most peace education workshops, is that new information changes beliefs, these new beliefs improve attitudes, and these improved attitudes improve behaviour (see McCauley, 2002, p.252). In this way, civics education aims to change the hearts and minds of students.

Bush and Saltarelli also propose a logic as to how school-based change may build broader peace:

If the border between schooling and society is indeed permeable, this opens up the possibility that students may carry non-confrontational and tolerant attitudes from the classroom into the broader community. Just as teachers may be role models to students they teach, so students may play an active role in shaping the attitudinal and perceptual environment beyond the walls of the school (p. 4).

As elaborated below, this logic is also consistent with that generally found in PBEA literature, and specifically consistent with the UNICEF PBEA Behavioural Theory of Change considered in the case of Benishangul Gumuz.

In Ethiopia, civics education has been included in national education strategies since 1993 as a means by which the Ethiopian government has endeavoured to cultivate a collective identity amongst more than seventy formally recognized ethnicities (Yamada, 2011). A handful of descriptive studies explore why and how the Ethiopian government has made multiple reforms to civics education curricula for grades 1-12 (i.e. reforms, coinciding with national elections took place in 2000, 2005, 2010, and are currently underway following the May 2015 elections).<sup>15</sup> In short, the federal government has focused on Civics and Ethics Education (CEE) as a means of establishing a collective ‘Ethiopian identity’ among different ethnic groups in the decentralized, ethnically federated states (Yamada, 2011).

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<sup>15</sup> Civics Education was renamed Civics and Ethical Education during a reform undertaken in the year 2000 (Yamada, 2011).

### 3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

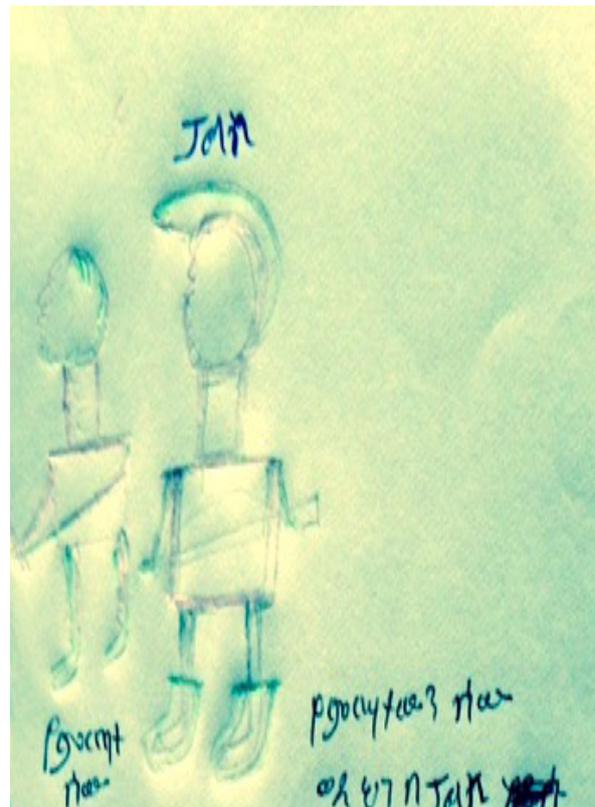
*What students said: conflict in Benishangul Gumuz*

To further understand the issues that peacebuilding education in BG is endeavouring to address, students themselves were asked to provide insights with regards to conflicts they had seen or experienced. Despite requests, there were generally few details provided by teachers or education administrators with regards to underlying causes of issues or disagreements that arose between students. However, students’ drawings prepared during the conflict-drawing activity helped to further shed light on both school and community-level conflicts. In terms of school-level conflicts, students depicted disputes over the outcome of a football match, a boy telling a girl student that she didn’t belong in school, and a student failing to return a pencil she had borrowed from another student. While the disputes themselves seemed minor, all three resulted in violent conflict. A fist-fight between students broke out over the football match, the girl punched the boy in the face after he told her she didn’t belong in school, and the student whose pencil was not returned slapped the student who had borrowed it. Unsurprisingly, but still an important note for understanding conflicts and potential peacebuilding, these in-school conflicts were not clearly linked to wider societal level conflicts of the various types described in the CA.

*Drawing 1: Inter-ethnic fighting over farmland*



*Drawing 2: Inter-ethnic fighting over farmland*



Other students’ drawings helped to shed light on the nature of community-level conflicts. The students (one boy and one girl) responsible for Drawings 1 and 2 stated that the figures represented Amharas and Oromos fighting over disputed farming land with sticks and knives. Both the Context Analysis and KAP study find that contested access to farming land is a predominant conflict-driver in the region and that ethnic conflicts are fuelled by conflicting claims of rightful access to land.

In contrast, the program planners, education administrators and teachers interviewed mentioned these types of conflict only briefly and were seemingly more reluctant than students to discuss conflict. One stated that “the issues are about farming land—there’s still problems with farmland distribution and they aren’t going away.” However, others spoke only vaguely of, “some problems” or “old issues.” One program planner, when asked informally about what seemed to be a reluctance by interviewees to discuss the nature and scale

of conflict in the region, stated “people—especially the government—don’t want the region to be known as *conflict-affected*. Even it was an issue when UNICEF approached the REB for the peacebuilding education program. They said why do we need this peacebuilding education—there is no conflict here.” Widespread unwillingness to acknowledge the cause, nature, and scale of conflicts in the region makes this research difficult, but moreover, may also make bringing about changes to conflict through PBEA interventions difficult given, as previously explained that logic guiding PBEA is to first identify and understand conflict drivers and then devise education interventions that address and ultimately change the drivers of conflict.

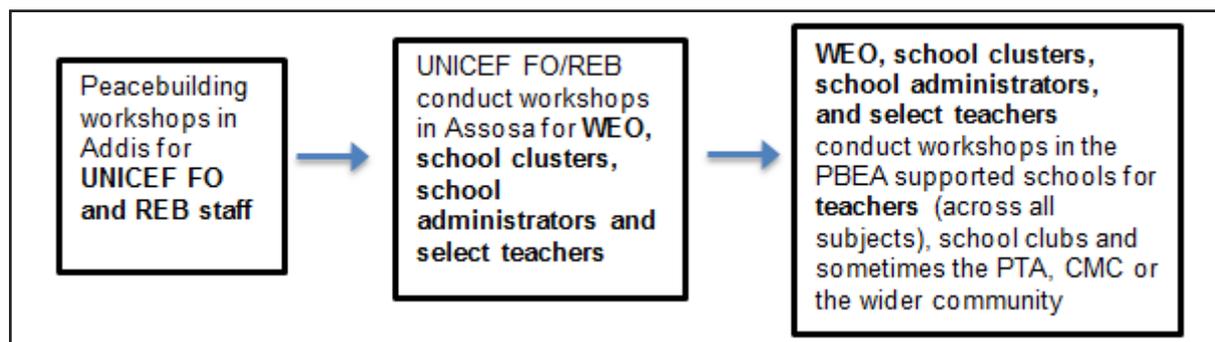
The study now explores findings in relation to UNICEF’s Behavioural Change Theory.

### 3.1 Outputs: Provision/inclusion of information/education programming for ‘dispute management’ and ‘peaceful relations’

Between 2013 and 2015, a total of 189 primary schools in 3 DRS *woredas* and 4 non-DRS *woredas*<sup>16</sup> have been supported in implementing different peacebuilding through education initiatives in Benishangul Gumuz.

The first sequential mechanism through which information is provided for dispute management and peaceful relations is via Training of Trainer (ToT) workshops. Teachers are the beneficiaries of these workshops. Designed by the UNICEF CO Education Team as ‘nested workshops,’ participants subsequently train other participants utilizing the same teaching models and seeking to impart the same knowledge and information. Figure 2 illustrates the progression of ToT workshops and describes the various participants.<sup>17</sup>

Figure 2: ToT Workshop Progression



In practice, UNICEF FO and REB staff from the four DRS directly responsible for implementing PBEA programming in schools and communities in the DRS participated in workshops in Addis Ababa where they received training in DRR, guidance and counselling, peacebuilding skills, and school related gender based violence. These staff then cascaded the same workshops, albeit in the regional capital of their particular DRS. In Benishangul Gumuz, workshops were held in Assosa for WEO staff as well as school administrators and select teachers from each of the schools targeted for PBEA support. Again, these staff then facilitated the same workshops in the WEO in each of the three *woredas* targeted for PBEA support for other school administrators and teachers from the same target schools as well as a handful of parents (primarily PTA members). Photo 1 below is of a peacebuilding and education workshop conducted with teachers at Hoha No. 4 Primary School in 2013 and is hung in the wall in the staff room. These workshops also provided Civics and Ethics Education teachers with training on ways to incorporate peacebuilding lessons into the CEE curriculum.

<sup>16</sup> There are 4 DRS in Ethiopia (Afar, Benishangul Gumuz, Gambella, and Somali), however the *woredas* within each of these DRS regions are classified as DRS or non-DRS depending on the scale and degree of poverty, conflict, and exposure to natural disaster experienced by populations residing there.

<sup>17</sup> The figure is illustrative of the general format of training, though there was variance across the training in terms of number of participants and the institutions he/she represented (e.g. REB, WEO, schools).

Photo 1: Hoha No. 4 primary School Peacebuilding and Education Teacher Trainings



According to the PBEA Annual Report on Ethiopia (2014), at the school level, these workshops led to the improvement of in-school CEE teaching and the establishment of **after-school civics and ethics and/or peacebuilding clubs** in the PBEA supported schools. The targets of these two intervention components are **students**. All of the students interviewed reported participating in after-school civics and ethics and peacebuilding clubs (although of course, not all students in the school do participate).

The staff and teachers interviewed discussed the ways in which they utilize knowledge and skills related to these peacebuilding education workshops to strengthen in and after-school peacebuilding education programming. Unfortunately, the research design did not allow for observations of pedagogical approaches pre and post-ToT. However, one staff member stated that, “we learned how to start after-school peacebuilding clubs for students and how to involve students in activities through these clubs that connect with what they are learning in their CEE classes.” In that school, these clubs had indeed been initiated. A teacher discussed utilizing lessons learned from the workshop in his CEE class:

When there is an issue between students in class—some disagreement—I try and learn first what the argument is about. Sometimes I stop the lesson and we have a discussion. The idea is to proactively solve problems in the class so that they do not escalate outside of class. I’ve also thought about my whole approach to teaching CEE and changed some things. So for example, I try to be aware of whether I’m calling in students from different ethnicities to participate in discussions equally so no one feels one is privileged over another.

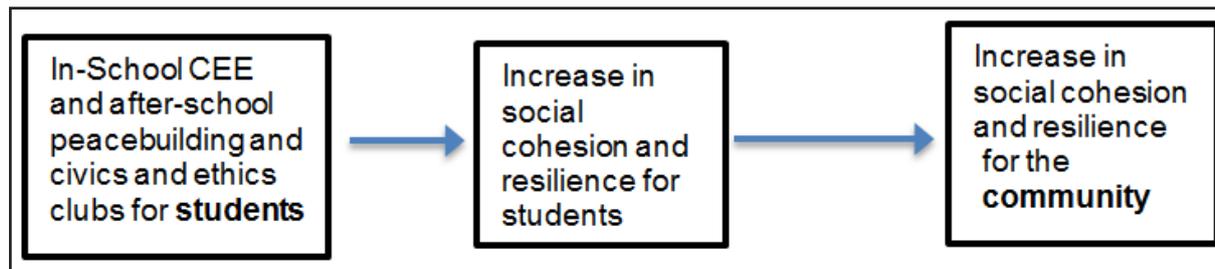
In these ways, there was evidence of both the provision and the inclusion of programming for **teachers** intended for “dispute management” and “peaceful relations” via ToT. Based on what **teachers** learned in these ToT workshops (e.g. curricula and pedagogy for CEE), this information is then being passed on to **students** via in-school and after-school peacebuilding education programming.

Furthermore, additional provision of information/education programming for ‘dispute management’ and ‘peaceful relations’ is in progress. According to the PBEA Annual Report on Ethiopia (2014), three peacebuilding manuals, entitled Positive Discipline in Schools; Peacebuilding Education; and Supplementary Materials for

Grades 5-8 in Civics and Ethical Education, specific to the Benishangul Gumuz regional curriculum, were developed by the MoE in consultation with UNICEF. REB interviewed for this study reported that these manuals were being finalized at the time this field research was undertaken; the PBEA Workplan (2015) indicates that the manuals will be distributed across PBEA schools in the region by the end of 2015.

Finally, as noted above in UNICEF's Behavioural Change Theory noted in **Table 3 and Figure 3, community members** are also expected to be "equipped with skills and knowledge."

Figure 3: PBEA Program Interventions and Outcomes in Benishangul Gumuz



Students discussed the ways in which they had tried to extend the clubs' dispute resolution forums to the community. One student stated, "we have tried to offer workshops in the school courtyard open to community members' on rights—Ethiopian Constitutional Rights and also human rights—that we learned about in civics education class. We've offered three so far this year and though not many people attend, one woman who did come said to me she hadn't even known she had these rights before." Nevertheless, students explained that they wished the changes they had seen happen in the school would extend to the community. Another student remarked that, "we wish we could take what we have here with the forum in the club and take what we have learned to help people in the community deal with issues before they escalate." We note that one program planner in Mao Komo woreda discussed that following a ToT peacebuilding workshop, community members organized a peacebuilding committee intended "to solve problems by compromise because there were lots of problems and there wasn't really a forum or space to address them." However, by-and-large, program planners, teachers, and students indicated that the *provision/inclusion of information/education programming for "dispute management" and "peaceful relations"* was largely confined to teachers and students in the school environment.

### 3.2 Intermediate Outcomes: Changed attitudes and increased capacity for non-violent conflict resolution mechanisms and strategies

The study reports on observations in the field generally related to the observable implications related to the behavioural change TOC underpinning interventions.

Anecdotally, several program planners, school administrators, and teachers offered examples of teachers and students' increasingly using the strategies they learned in CEE classes as well as in civics and ethics and peacebuilding after-school clubs. One teacher explained that in his CEE class now, after he has participated in TOT training:

There is a boy student leader and a girl student leader for each class. This is to include equity in the structure. These students are the "peacemakers" so when there is some disagreement—maybe over the topic, like a debate or more issues like when students segregate themselves and won't sit together, the peacemakers can address it. Sometimes I step in. Sometimes I don't and let them handle it.

Another teacher explained that after having participated in ToT training she came to believe that, "we really wanted the students in the classes to learn peacefully with one another. In my class there are all five ethnicities in the region and this causes some problems—insults and things. So when an issue arises, I stop and as a class we discuss."

Students also shared anecdotes that spoke to the ways in which their attitudes and/or capacities for dealing

with conflicts might be increasing through in-school CEE lessons and activities. For instance, one student testified to attitudinal changes saying:

Learning about the Derg in civics—I could see that there were so many problems because people’s rights were not respected—the government did whatever it wanted and ethnicity drove so much conflict. Talking about it in class—I heard from other students in the class who were from the different ethnicities and I could see how easy it is to only see them as their ethnicities—like the Derg. These discussions really helped us be able to see each other not as our ethnicities only.

Students discussed the ways in which these clubs were utilized by school administrators and teachers as forums for dispute resolution between students. One student explained that, “before [PBEA], students would beat and insult each other, but now we handle disputes in the school in forums like the peacebuilding club.” The school administrator provided a detailed log-book of in-school disputes between students that had been brought to the peacebuilding club forum and reviewed the books’ contents with us. Conflicts were predominately “ethnic insults,” with several occurring between Amharas and Bertas, as well as insults made by male students to female students. (e.g. boys telling girls they did not belong in school). The same school administrator highlighted one specific incident in the logbook that had happened earlier in the academic year:

We had one case where in between class, there were a number of Amhara students who spoke very harshly to the Berta—saying things like they were very backwards, didn’t belong in school...the Berta students were so upset they ran away from the school compound and did not come back until we asked the parents of both groups of students to come in and have a discussion. There was an agreement reached that the Amhara students would apologize to the Berta students and that they would do school cleaning and maintenance projects as a consequence.

The school administrator made clear that the forum offered through the peacebuilding club was not intended to be utilized as a disciplinary forum (though in the case detailed above there was a disciplinary consequence to the resolution), but rather as a space where students could engage in a mediated discussion about the tensions and conflicts that arose between them. A student commented that, “before this club, problems would escalate, but it [the club] has really helped to resolve disputes. It is a space to talk about problems.”

### 3.3 Final Outcomes: Changed behaviours and increased social cohesion.

As noted in the framework and review of the intermediate outcomes above, the Behavioural Change Theory is not matched specifically to the set of PBEA interventions in Benishangul Gumuz. Anecdotally, a number of people expressed their belief that social cohesion was improving due to PBEA interventions, although the research design did not allow us to make any such direct observations.

One consistent theme that emerged was the possibility that through CEE and after-school civics education and peacebuilding clubs, students may come to see themselves as ‘Ethiopian first’ rather than their ‘ethnicity’ first. Several participants discussed how this was indeed materializing. Students discussed that they saw themselves as Ethiopian first in-part because of what they had first learned in CEE, specifically via lessons about the Derg regime. One student stated that, “It [lessons on the Derg] just made clear how we have to be one Ethiopian people or else something like that could happen again—there can’t be singling out just because of ethnicity.” Another student offered an example of how working together on activities in the after-school peacebuilding club had helped him feel more Ethiopian and part of a collective. He explained that there were students from all five different ethnic groups at the school who participated in the club and described a fundraising activity club members had worked on together:

In civics and ethics club, we raised 1150 birr to contribute to the build of the Renaissance Dam project.<sup>18</sup> We worked together to fundraise and make a contribution. It was a big accomplishment and we feel like we really supported each other and didn’t even think about ethnicity.

<sup>18</sup> The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, formerly known as the Millennium Dam and sometimes referred to as Hidase Dam, is a gravity dam on the Blue Nile River in Ethiopia currently under construction.

Program facilitators and teachers also remarked on how students were beginning to see themselves as Ethiopian first and in their opinion thus showing signs of improved social cohesion. One program facilitator explained that, “we work hard on peacebuilding because all ethnicities live here together—there isn’t a separate space so they need to see themselves as Ethiopian first...but I think most see themselves as their ethnicity first. We hope through CEE and the afterschool clubs they might begin to see themselves as Ethiopian first.” Another opined that, “if there is tolerance between students and they grow up tolerant, they will see themselves as one Ethiopian people.” In this political context these responses are not surprising and it is difficult to know the weight they should be accorded. Nevertheless, they emerged throughout the course of the research and are included here as such.

Given education not only contributes to peace, but also to conflict, and that PBEA is committed to considering both “faces” of education, more attention is warranted toward the specific ways in which the set of PBEA interventions in BG is approaching ethnicity and identity. In different contexts, such as Rwanda, some efforts to promote an encompassing Rwandan identity (over ethnic identities) have been met with critique in the way they are silencing dissent and thereby perhaps working against positive peace (King 2014). As the Benishangul Gumuz programme and its ToC are more fully developed, the specific strategies merit further investigation.

Additionally, the study draws upon a KAP survey commissioned by UNICEF and conducted by the BDS Centre for Development Research in the Benishangul Gumuz region in January of 2015.<sup>19</sup> In collaboration with the REBs of the four DRS regions, UNICEF purposively selected 10 woredas (from a total of 22 PBEA sites of implementation) that are characterized by high ethnic heterogeneity and tension. UNICEF also ensured that the number of sample woredas from each region was roughly proportional to the total number of woredas in that region. In Benishangul-Gumuz region, the sample included Mao Komo (a woreda in which research for this case study was carried out). To access students and teachers, researchers randomly chose four schools (primary or lower secondary) in each woreda. The survey instrument focused on two primary outcomes, social cohesion and resilience, as defined by composite indexes including eight domains (Trust and Tolerance, Civic and Social Participation, Inclusion in Governance Processes, Attitude toward Social Services, and Constructive Dispute Resolution, Vulnerability, Coping Strategies for Dispute Resolution, and Support Mechanisms). In all, data was collected and analysed from 3,299 participants. Analysis was separated by region, providing us with Benishangul Gumuz Region-specific data. Analysis centred on descriptive statistics as well as comparing different groups of respondents (male versus female, direct versus indirect beneficiaries, as well as differences among students, teachers, parents, and out-of-school youth) were compared to see which group was better in terms of the composite indicators (social cohesion and resilience) and their eight domains.

The KAP analysis compared people in Benishangul Gumuz region that lived in areas with PBEA target schools to those who did not. It concluded that there is a higher level of trust and tolerance between different ethnic groups in communities where there are PBEA target schools. Students and teachers in Benishangul Gumuz in communities with PBEA target schools also indicated they felt more positive towards the social services provided by the government and more included in local and regional governments as beneficiaries of services.

Since the PBEA program was not randomly assigned, it is possible that the communities that received PBEA programming differ from those that did not. In this sense, it is possible that the PBEA communities would have presented the same results even before PBEA. Further, as the KAP was implemented after PBEA programming began,<sup>20</sup> unfortunately there is no way to rigorously determine if these communities have experienced changes over the course of the programme since there is not have pre-program baseline data. Further, in the event there has been change, the study is unable to attribute change to the set of PBEA interventions specifically as opposed to other potential factors.

<sup>19</sup> The KAP was also carried out in the three other DRS.

<sup>20</sup> The UNICEF Ethiopia CO reports that PBEA programming was first implemented in January of 2013 and then “re-designed” in January/February of 2014 following the Context Analysis. As such, we have indicated that the KAP was carried out approximately one year after PBEA was implemented (as current programming is reflective of the redesign), however the KAP was carried out two years from the initial date of programme implementation.

### 3.4 Summary Discussion

Having explored the ways in which the research design and analysis allow us to report on observations from the field and also identify and explain programme challenges, focus is given here to persistent challenges and questions that are important address to for PBEA programming in Benishangul Gumuz.

In terms of recurrent challenges, PBEA programme interventions in Benishangul Gumuz are not targeted to address specific conflicts. Moreover, there is much to specify in terms of the nature, scope, and scale of conflicts and in some cases, the existence of conflict is denied altogether. Analysis suggested possible areas of intervention through education programming to a wide range of in-school and community-based conflicts, including establishing or strengthening after-school clubs that support in-school Civics and Ethics Education, improved implementation of mother-tongue language(s) of instruction, and the piloting of early-childhood development programming. As discussed throughout, it also remains unclear how interventions targeting students and teachers are intended to facilitate community-level changes.

In regards to the potential for in-school changes to facilitate peacebuilding in wider communities, noted here is Bush and Saltarelli's (2000) approach in the literature review above. They maintain that students may take their knowledge as well as improved attitudes and behaviours from school into the wider community and serve as role models to other community members. This approach takes substantial time and proceeds through indirect means. One program planner reflected on PBEA saying, "while there has been some progress, primarily it has been with smaller disputes between students. There's still fighting over land—especially between the Amhara and the Oromo and indigenous groups." Given the long-standing disputes over land ownership and use in Ethiopia, it is unsurprising that PBEA programming in Benishangul Gumuz has not measurably addressed this issue. Indeed, as noted elsewhere (see i.e. King, 2014), education alone cannot bring about peace but can be an important contributor. However, in order for it to do so in Benishangul Gumuz, further theorizing around programme design and intended outcomes is necessary, as discussed below. As discussed in the outputs section above, students presented an alternate theory of change wherein they may offer workshops directly to community members thereby trying to replicate the knowledge to attitudes to behaviours approach may underlie PBEA programming in Benishangul Gumuz.

More generally, there is more to be done to answer the question as to how PBEA programming in Benishangul Gumuz is intended to "work." That is, how do different programme components (i.e. in-school CEE and after-school peacebuilding and civics and ethics education clubs) mutually reinforce one another to change students' attitudes and then community behaviours? Given students' responses, inferences might be made that CEE provides students a conceptual/theoretical framework in which to ground their practical experiences in after-school clubs. Indeed, both CEE and after-school programming seem to offer forums for students to discuss and work through different school-based conflicts that might facilitate changes in their attitudes and subsequently their behaviours towards members of different ethnic groups. This content/practicum pairing is consistent with literature on service-learning and experiential education; however at present for PBEA programming in Benishangul Gumuz, this pairing requires much more theorizing and explication by programme planners.

<sup>21</sup> See: Billig, S. (2000). Research on K-12 school-based service-learning: The evidence builds. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 658.

## 4. LESSONS LEARNED AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This case study endeavoured to focus upon the ways in which specific ToC have informed PBEA interventions, how these ToC are intended to address known conflict drivers, and if and how programmes are achieving desired impacts. Based upon the findings and analysis, lessons learned and recommendations are offered for each of these areas of focus.

### 4.1 How specific ToC have informed PBEA interventions

- The PBEA Behaviour Change Theory informs PBEA interventions in Benishangul Gumuz.

### 4.2 How this set of PBEA interventions addresses known conflict drivers

- There is widespread reluctance among teachers and programme facilitators to acknowledge or discuss conflict; as such, there is a lack of specificity and discussion about the nature, scope, and scale of conflict in Benishangul Gumuz.
- Children and youth are not reluctant to acknowledge or discuss conflict and offer insight into the nature, scale, and scope of conflicts in Benishangul Gumuz.
- There is variance in type and degree of conflict from one woreda to the next throughout Benishangul Gumuz. More context-analysis throughout the region and down to the woreda level is needed if programme responses are to be shaped in a manner that addresses different conflicts affecting woredas differently. While the KAP includes two woredas from the Benishangul Gumuz region, the CA notes that the 7 woredas (3 DRS and 4 non- DRS) in which PBEA is implemented in the Benishangul Gumuz region are prone to very different levels of conflict. As such, comparative analysis of all these woredas and/or specific kebeles known to be particularly conflict-affected within each woreda would be useful.

### 4.3 How programming has achieved desired results

- Observations in the field that indicate some gains might be made towards **Outcome 3** with regards to changes in students' attitudes.
- Outputs and intermediate outcomes were observed. That these findings are observable in such a short term is promising since social cohesion and resilience (final outcomes) are typically very slow moving processes.
- Social desirability bias is likely a persistent challenge in this research, but identifying it is in itself an important insight into the social environment and the challenges PBEA programming is likely to encounter.

## 5. RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.1 How specific ToC have informed this set of PBEA interventions.

- Consider developing activity-specific ToC for programme interventions in Benishangul Gumuz.
- Develop ToC for the ways in which the interventions work together.
- Extend/deepen research design for evaluation and consider more comparative (possibly experimental), longitudinal, on-going evaluations (collected by UNICEF FO and/or REB and WEO).

### 5.2 Strengthening evidence-base for programming

- Consider conducting additional research (e.g. carried out by UNICEF FO staff) in Benishangul Gumuz for the purpose of further identifying the nature, scope, and scale of conflict in the region.
- To the extent possible, mine existing KAP survey data to better understand local level conflicts and experiences of conflict among different groups surveyed, mindful of potential biases.
- Consider and utilize strategies for carrying out research on conflict with children and youth since they do not appear to demonstrate the same reluctance in identifying and discussing the type and degree of conflict in the region as do adults.

### 5.3 Strengthening programme implementation

- Continue to build on the positive anecdotal accounts of impacts being made to see if and how they may be taken to scale.
- Apply conflict sensitive monitoring to programme interventions to gather data on a regular basis about potential peacebuilding as opposed to conflict-inducing impacts to ensure adherence to 'do no harm'.

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