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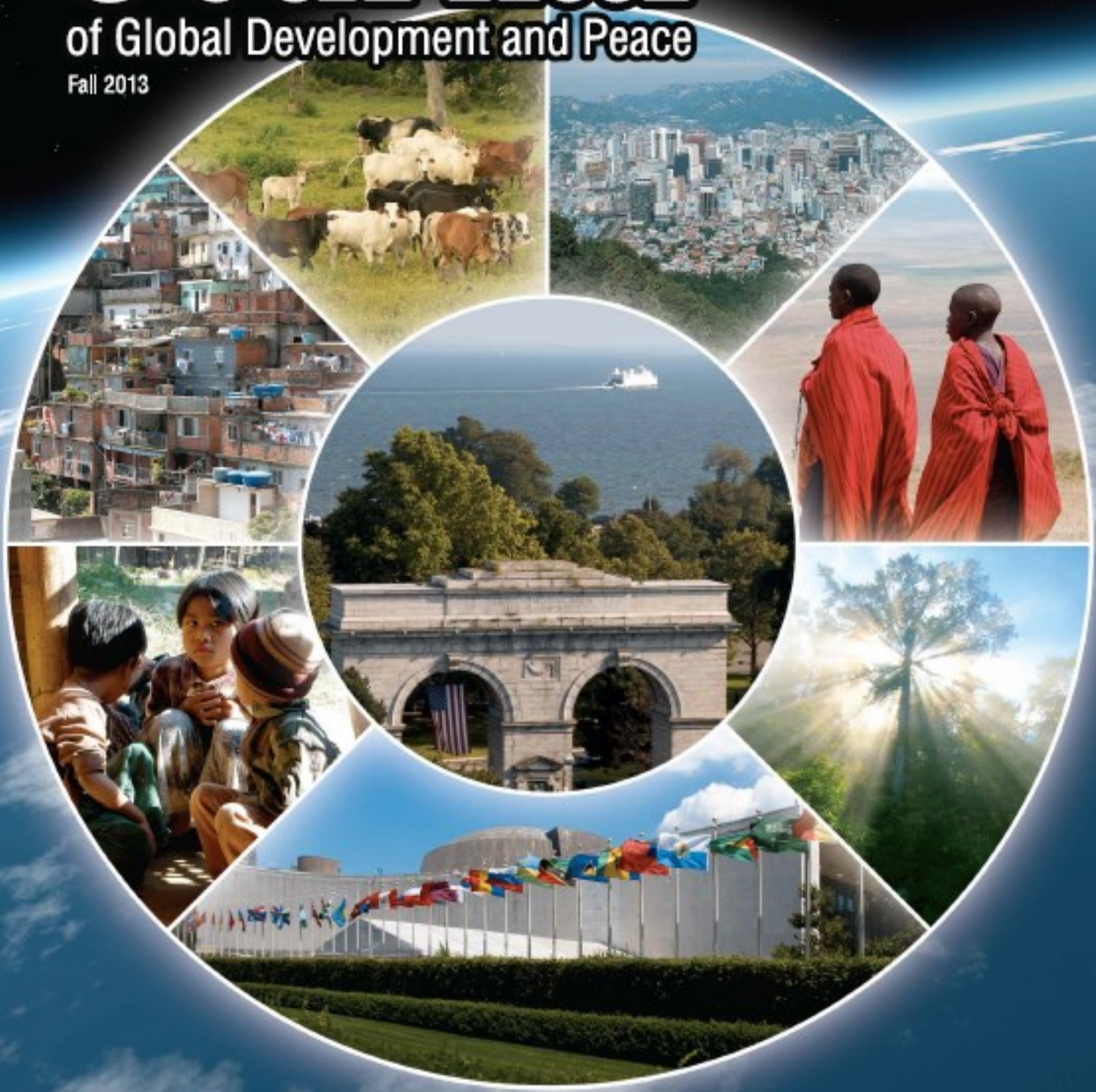

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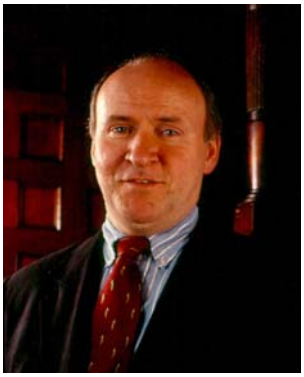
Foreword



Thomas J. Ward

The year 2013 marks the fifth edition of the Journal of Global Development and Peace. The Journal was created with the intent of further awareness and inviting reflection on the extant delicate balance between the initiation of international projects aimed at addressing the manifold dimensions of social, political, economic and cultural progress vis-à-vis the inherent challenges due to the surge of development models that stem from Western models which, increasingly, face challenges when applied in milieus which do not embrace the social and cultural assumptions of the West. The challenges of this dynamic have not only informed the focus of our Journal; they also constitute the raison d'être of the University of Bridgeport's College of Public and International Affairs, first graduate program, the Master of Arts in Global Development and Peace that we began in 2008. Since then we have added a Master of Arts in Global Media and Communication Studies along with a Master of Arts in East Asian and Pacific Rim Studies. We have also created an undergraduate degree in Criminal Justice and Human Security and recently shifted our World Religions program's focus to a Bachelor of Arts in Religion and Politics.

Along with additional graduate and undergraduate degree programs, we have added some new and very talented faculty that also can help to improve the quality of the Journal. This includes Dr. Mohammed Al-Azdee who came to UB from Indiana University. Dr. Al-Azdee was born and raised in Iraq. During the Gulf War, he served as an imbedded reporter. He has written for USA Today, US News and World Report and for Reuters. He came to the United States as a Fulbright Fellow to the United States where he studied Journalism at Indiana University and earned his Ph.D. there. We should also mention Dr. Steven Hess who came to the University of Bridgeport from Miami University where he earned his doctorate in Political Science. Dr. Hess served as a Peace Corps volunteer in China and during that time he developed proficiency in Mandarin as well as a keen interest in East Asian Affairs with a special interest in social movements and their impact in countries whose political systems are in transition from authoritarian to more democratic models. We were also pleased to welcome Dr. Riggs who completed his

Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania in Arabic and Islamic Studies and who developed a keen interest in the Middle East over several years. This was bolstered by his experience of living several years in Jordan and this was accompanied by significant stays in Lebanon and in North Africa. Dr. Riggs oversees our Religion and Politics program and works closely with Dr. Kim Setton, a senior faculty member who has a distinguished record of accomplishment in East Asian studies.

I am pleased to use this edition of the Journal of Global Development and Peace to inform our readers that Dr. Dave Benjamin has been asked to assume new responsibilities with the Journal as Deputy Executive Editor, assisting me with overall supervision of the Journal and helping to move it to a new level. Dr. Benjamin is also to be congratulated for his role of overseeing the Human Rights section of the 2015 Annual Conference of the International Studies Association that will take place in New Orleans, Louisiana. Dr. Riggs has been asked to assume responsibility as Managing Editor of the Journal. Dr. Riggs has interesting plans, which we feel, will help to bring the Journal to the next level. I thank you for your patronage of the Journal. Our new faculty additions, I believe, will bring our publications to a new level. I thank you for following us and urge you to continue to do so.

Thomas J. Ward serves as the University of Bridgeport's Vice President for Internationalization and as Dean of the College of Public and International Affairs.

Somalia: Gaining Momentum in a War-Torn State

Maria Garrett

Abstract

The article addresses the many social, political, and economic challenges in the reconstruction of Somalia as a war-torn state. Civil unrest and conflict have become mundane and the international policies forwarded to resolve the social and political reconstruction of the state are substituted by goals in gender equality, education, health, human consumption, and security. The disparity is that the global norm relies too heavily on implementing "best practices" to rebuild post-conflict states that legitimately, over time, fail to establish independent economic self-sufficiency, leading to both policy and state failure. I argue for innovative resolve alongside recent approaches and offer several reputable and contemporary advances to boost the economy in a manner that constructively fosters growth and independent state security, as required through the independent variable gap.

Biography

Maria Garrett is a 4.0 Summa Cum Laude graduate of Everest College in Springfield, Missouri where she received her BA in Political Science. She was admitted into the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) Distinguished Scholar program where she pursues a Master's degree in International Security and Intelligence Studies (ISIS) at Bellevue University in Bellevue, Nebraska. Ms. Garrett is a Military Intelligence Officer for the Missouri Army National Guard where she was rated the top 10% out of her peers and above center mass. She has contributed to peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations, humanitarian missions, and joint multinational strategic operations in NORTHCOM, SOUTHCOM, EUCOM, and CENCOM.

Introduction

Somalia is a war-torn state in repair. The conception of Somalia's recently reclaimed sovereignty, brand new constitution, and newly formed democratic polity inherited a rule of law beset by secessionism, regionalism, and civil strife from the polarization of Somali politics, which came entrenched in a state security crisis. A constitutional blueprint focusing on the political, social, and economic reconstruction of Somalia is set forth to create an atmosphere conducive to gaining Somalia's independence and establishing a legitimate rule of law. However, the TIS-Somalia, UNDP, CIMIC, and humanitarian aid efforts focus on the social and political reconstruction of the state, while economic restoration is being substituted by goals in gender equality, education, health, human consumption, and security. The disparity is that the global norm relies too heavily on implementing "best practices" to rebuild post-conflict states that legitimately, over time, fail to establish independent economic self-sufficiency, leading to both policy and state failure.

Somalia: Gaining Momentum in a War-Torn State

Since the fall of the Siad Barre regime in 1991, the United Nations served as Somalia's de-facto caretaker in the absence of a credible government in state affairs. For centuries, Somalia has been beset by secessionism, regionalism, and civil strife from the polarization of Somali politics.[1] Over two dozen regional administrators and militia factions divided Somalian territories into four primary groups: The Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC), the Transnational Government (TNG), the Group of Eight, and the Republic of Somaliland.[2] In addition to the polarization of Somalia's politics, after several decades of war and collapse, four different justice systems emerged: the judiciary structures that erected out of international peace processes; xeer, a clan based traditional system; *sharia* courts, based on the Muslim religion; and ad hoc mechanisms derived from militia factions, civil society, and the private sector that accumulated over time.[3]

The complexity in Somalia's judicial structure made establishing a legitimate governing body exhausting and non-existent, which created a state of lawlessness. It was not until recently, on August 1, 2012, when Somalia regained internationally accepted state sovereignty. Somalia formed an inclusive government by creating the Provisional Federal Constitution (PFC) setting forth the legitimacy of the Federal Republic of Somalia (FRS). The PFC was ratified by Somalia's 825 National Constituent Assembly members and approved by the United States, the United Nations, and the United Nations Security Council as legitimate.[4] The PFC sets forth to define Somalia as "A federal, sovereign, and democratic republic founded on inclusive representation of the people, a multiparty system and social justice."[5] Solidifying Somalia's independent sovereignty was the election of the first president since the collapse in 1991, President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud.[6] A constitutional blueprint focusing on the social, political, and economic reconstruction of Somalia was set forth to create an atmosphere conducive to gaining Somalia's independence and establishing a legitimate rule of law.[7] The issue of contention is in addressing the civil unrest and global network of conflict inherited in the aftermath of Somalia's war-torn state in a manner that provides Somalia with the tools to independently restore a stable society.[8]

Civil Unrest: A Stakeholders Agenda

According to the Funding for Peace (FFP) state index (2013), Somalia ranks as the number one failed state in the world.[9] The systematic culture of lawlessness left civil society restless. For decades the people of Somalia were no longer stakeholders in their own interests or state economy. They were not afforded any legal tender, title, or guarantee of expropriation, nor could they predict any positive change for their future, based off past failed attempts to establish a legitimate rule of law. Their past, present, and future were stripped from them without the foreseeability of their state legitimately defending their lot. The only motivation that drove this civil unrest was survival.[10]

Poverty and conflict also contributed to civil unrest. Thousands of people each year abandoned Somalia and shifted their attention toward a thriving proposition across borders in one of the thirty-four Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries in search for asylum. The OECD mission to its member countries and elsewhere is to promote the social well-being of people and governments around the world. This social well-being provides hope for the Somalian people in flight but consequently floods the international community with fleeing refugees. According to the OECD (2013), immigration flows to OECD countries seeking asylum rose by one fifth, exceeding 400,000, since 2003. The most favored states of refuge are the United States, France, Germany, and Italy. In 2012, over 294,000 Somalian refugees flooded the camps in the surrounding states of Kenya and Ethiopia and displaced over one million civilians in the Horn of Africa.[11] The refugee crisis in Somalia is staggering. The only other crises that forced over one million refugees to flee their homes was during the Afghanistan and Iraqi conflicts.

The journey for a refugee presents consequences with life-threatening situations. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime,[12] thousands of men, women, and children fall victim to human traffickers. Often times this victimization occurs during the illegal transit period from one destination to another. With thousands of people illegally migrating across borders, they fall prey to the smuggling ring of human trafficking. The option to remain at home is equally unsavory. Roughly 1.5 million refugees in Somalia live in sub-condition refugee camps. Over one third of Somalia's 7.5 million population are living in forced displacement.[13] The civil resentment and extreme dissatisfaction with the state's prior weak code of justice, fickle democracies, and lack of security manifests into populist movements or recruitment into criminal groups. It will not be until civil society has a social, political, and economic stake in the game, before a clear resuscitation of the state will begin.[14]

Network of Global Conflict: The Porous Dilemma

Failed transitional states, such as Somalia, that exhibit corruption, poverty, and conflict are placed in a vacuum that represents a downward spiral towards the expansion of anarchy with

sporadic governed areas. With a history of versatile criminal organizations, a weak rule of law, slow democratic relief, and large quantities of undocumented cash from drug trafficking, Somalia became the recipe for a breeding ground of armed groups. International terrorist organizations, insurgencies, and militias seek fragile and lawless territories to provide an umbrella of protection.[15] Somalia is the home to the terrorist organization Al-Shabaab and has frequent visits from Al-Qaeda. With guerilla style tactics, Al-Shabaab sets out to overthrow the state's sovereignty and weaken the newly formed fragile Somali government in pursuit of their own social and political agendas.[16] Often times Al-Qaeda uses urban cities as prominent areas for resettlement, resupply, recruitment, and an operations base for coordinated attacks in their holy war against America and other anti-Islamic states.[17] Somalia is strategically located on the shores of the Indian Ocean and acts as a safe passageway from Africa to the Middle East, preferably through Yemen, with its well-traveled trade and fishing routes. Due to the lawlessness that precedes a newly formed sovereign state, borders are not yet completely secure and there is great dysfunction in the state's law enforcement. Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab can easily enter the country and travel to and from each destination with just a boat ride away.[18]

In the meantime, a complex and flexible network of interstate and intrastate conflict spreads across the globe. The expeditious design of financial transactions and high-tech transportation, made dispensable through globalization, has created a platform for a global criminal enterprise in Somalia. The smuggling of humans, arms, antiquities, precious metals, and stones throughout Somalia, coupled with the fast delivery in mass quantity by boat or plane, has made Somalia a free economic zone and the hub for transnational smuggling.[19]

Somalia: A Call for Unity to Secure the Rule of Law

It is not fallible to directly associate Somalia's civil unrest and network of global conflict within the problematic constraints of Somalia's prior lack of government and weak rule of law. As noted, the conception of Somalia's recently reclaimed sovereignty, brand new constitution, and newly formed democratic polity inherited a rule of law beset by secessionism, regionalism, and civil strife from the polarization of Somali politics, which came entrenched in a state security crisis.[20] As Somalia faces complex challenges in maintaining territorial sovereignty, reviving civil society, and establishing security and justice, globalization in the 21st century has beckoned for a response from the international community to act in favor of supporting Somalia's motivation to gain independence and establish a legitimate rule of law by supporting the Transition Initiative Stabilization Somalia (TIS-Somalia) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

TIS Somalia: Civil Society's Stake in the Game

The TIS-Somalia is an initiative developed under the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The focus is on the resuscitation of civil society with a goal to foster good governance, support economic restoration, and reduce the appeal for corruption and extremism. As civil unrest plagues the state, the TIS-Somalia provides citizens hope with a qualitative degree of personal self-worth. It allows citizens to regain their independence by becoming a fundamental asset in the decision-making

process for community projects. The TIS-Somalia simply provides civil society with a stake in their livelihood and ownership in their own growth as a community and as a nation.[21]

Ownership is a primary element in the resuscitation of civil society. It is the psychological makeup that is necessary in solidifying a person's organizational commitment. When people invest their time, labor, and knowledge into community development projects, they tend to exercise personal control over the sustainment and success of those projects. Extending ownership of projects to the people of the communities also mediates the relationship between civil society, the community members, and the governing bodies of the state.[22] The TIS-Somalia provides a community with the opportunity to collaborate together as a single entity and select projects significant to the needs of the people in that community. A project is then contracted and constructed under the supervision and participation of the locals from the inception of the project to its completion.[23]

As of August 2013 the TIS-Somalia has integrated government officials, civil society members, and public sector representatives in the construction of over 450 small grant activities worth over an estimated $38 million. The building projects include water facilities, street lights, playgrounds, schools, and the restoration of government offices, roads, and markets. The USAID TIS-Somalia has over 20 Strategic Planned Workshop facilities located all across Somalia, from the northwest in Somaliland, to the northeast in Puntland, down to the south from Mogadishu to Kismayo.[24]

The TIS-Somalia projects join districts together in a way that transitions from clanism to neighborhoods. For over two decades, Somalia's districts were encased in civil war and primarily concerned with their own survival and individual interests. Now, in Mogadishu alone peace committees and authorities from over 16 districts work together as a single entity with the Transition Federal Government (TFG) officials in developing communal interests and activities. The TFG received an appropriation of $9.5 million to support the TIS-Somalia reconstruction projects. As the activities continue, new lighting systems were used to promote security, over 23,436 metric tons of junk and garbage were removed from the streets, and several schools were built that they now call *Dan Guud*, translated into English as "common good." Over 1,095 community workers were gainfully employed to include almost five hundred prior clan militia members, young prisoners, and prior Al-Shabaab recruits. The TIS-Somalia is also in support of rehabilitating the disadvantaged young back into society by providing alternative options as a means to deter aggression or criminal activity.[25]

UNDP: Global Rule of Law in Action

The UNDP Global Rule of Law Programme understands that Somalia's ability to regain social and political recovery is directly related to its ability to enforce state security and provide a legitimate legal system with transparency and accountability. This understanding signals the UNDP to address Somalia's network of global conflict and weak rule of law. Both security and justice are two necessary elements in defeating criminal armed groups, trafficking, and human rights violations that plague the state.[26]

Although the terrorist group Al-Shabaab was weakened by the African Union (AU) military campaign, sought by a two-pronged United States (U.S.) policy in recent years, it continues

to be a primary concern as a threat to Somalia's territorial sovereignty and security. The insurgency group influences several areas in the southern and central portions of the state and vigilantly pursues control of Mogadishu with bombings, deadly raids, and kidnappings.[27] In response to this security dilemma, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), led by the United Kingdom (UK), expanded Resolution 2036, which transformed the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) from peacekeeping to peace enforcement. This transformation allows AMISOM troops to pursue offensive operations against the threat of terrorism rather than remain in a defensive position, as was previously only authorized under peacekeeping operations. The budget was doubled with an appropriation of $550 million dollars and authorized troop strength was raised to 17,731 personnel. The 2036 Resolution defines the mission for Somalian troops to take all necessary means to eliminate the threat and present conditions favorable to support the legitimacy of Somalia's governance and rule of law. This mission also extends to criminal maritime operations in the Indian Ocean against trafficking and piracy.[28]

As previously noted, globalization has increased the widespread nature of movement, logistics, financial transfers, and communication that caters to the survivability and reach of trafficking and piracy.[29] The 2036 Resolution to fight maritime trafficking and piracy off the shores of Somalia welcomed support from many countries. Mauritius, Seychelles, and Tanzania agreed to imprison pirates, while bi-lateral donors such as Japan and Denmark worked on maritime safety and security through information sharing. The Seychelles Coast Guard was provided $15 million from the United Arab Emirates to strengthen its fleet and an intelligence center was set up in pursuit of piracy leaders and financiers by the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.[30] In order to maintain this security, justice must be present.

Strengthening Somalia's justice system is a key component in enforcing security and building a transparent and accountable rule of law. The UNDP conducts open dialogue with civil organizations, police officers, prosecutors, and elected officials for the purpose of building fair and equitable legal institutions. Within one year, an estimated 2,905 police officers were trained and Police Advisory Committees were formed. These Police Advisory Committees were set up to train, mentor, and monitor police and prison staff members on human rights, gender, and treatment of prisoners. The UNDP Global Rule of Law also responds to gender violence, reduces armed conflict, strengthens citizen security, builds efficient legal institutions, and improves citizen's access to justice. A fair justice system is paramount in protecting human rights, providing reparations for victims, prosecuting criminal violations, and promoting social and political development.[31]

Somalia: Jump Start in the Right Place

There is no question that the reconstruction appropriated under the TIS-Somalia and the UNDP are instrumental in keeping Somalia on the right track toward the social and political revitalization of the state and, in turn, places reputable programs in place to respond to civil unrest and the global network of conflict. As the TIS-Somalia and UNDP focus on education, infrastructure, and security, there is also a need to address the people's basic human consumption. Focus on improving security and establishing a legitimate rule of law means more than integrating civil and government institu-

tions together and building a justice system; it also means providing civil society with the resources to survive.[32]

Basic Survival: The Need for Consumption

The international community adopted best

practices to broaden the focus from effective security forums to providing civil society with basic needs for human survival. An adequate consumption log for humanitarian aid consists of a minimum requirement for food, shelter, water, and medical care.[33] A basic need for human consumption is a dominant necessity following the humanitarian crisis left in the aftermath of Somalia's decades of war, conflict, and drought. According to the Regional Bureau for East and Central Africa, Somalia experienced three major food shortages in the years 2006, 2008, and 2011, with the latter being escalated into an emergency crisis.[34] An estimated 258,000 men, women, and children died from starvation and the UN made an official declaration of famine.[35] The newly sovereign government of Somalia inherited a state that underwent a famine caused from food shortages and dealt with the Islamist terrorist group Al-Shabaab, hindering access to humanitarian aid.[36] As Somalia rebirthed a new political system and governing body, the UN began crisis intervention addressing food shortages that redirected humanitarian aid away from the opposition to their proper venues through the Civil Military Cooperation (CIMIC), while encouraging international donor support.

Civil Military Cooperation (CIMIC): Redirecting Humanitarian Aid

For decades, humanitarian aid was the single greatest point of contention that undermined international efforts to build security or conduct effective counterterrorism operations in Somalia. When the international community attempted to build up security, humanitarian aid resourced the opposition to tear it down.[37] The benefit aid was squandered and used by the terrorist organization Al-Shabaab as a resource of supply, a tool of leverage against the malnourished Somalian population, and a means to overthrow politicization efforts for stabilization. The lack of accountability and the easy access to shipments of food, medical supplies, and equipment catered to the vulnerability of humanitarian aid.[38] As a response and in order to attain control and secure humanitarian aid flow into the country and starve out Al-Shabaab, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) created the Civil Military Cooperation. CIMIC is a comprehensive approach that integrates civil-military relations and operations in support of force protection and civil affairs.[39] This integration includes the cooperation between the United Nations (UN), the government of Somalia, non-governmental organizations (NGO), and private organizations. Some of the major interventions to attain control of humanitarian aid include refugee camp security, civil-military escorts for humanitarian convoys, corridors to famine zones, emergency relief and disaster guidelines, and peacekeeping operations.[40] Although CIMIC is predominantly land based, it also conducts maritime and air operations focusing on anti-piracy, disaster relief, counter

proliferation, embargo control, and emergency response. All of which, land, sea, and air operations, re-direct humanitarian aid to their proper venue and eliminates the previous diversion and vulnerability that made it possible for Somalia to fall into an officially declared famine.[41] Now more international donors are willing to support Somalia's humanitarian relief. According to the financial tracking service for global humanitarian aid flows, as of October 11, 2013, twenty five state actors and various donors donated and pledged over $523 million toward transitional shelters for internally displaced persons (IDP), nutrition and food security, acute malnutrition treatment, child and maternal care, humanitarian air services, clean water accessibility, emergency medical treatment and facilities, and vaccines for childhood communicable diseases. There are also provisions establishing educational facilities with food programs and a campaign to protect victims from human trafficking.[42]

The New Deal Plan: Future of Somalia

Somalia is moving into a new era. Milestones are unfolding and the world is taking note.[43] On September 13, 2013, over 50 delegate states from Africa, Europe, North America, and the Caribbean and Pacific joined together and endorsed The New Deal Plan that pledged $2.4 billion in the course of three years to aid in the security of Somalia's multi-pronged social, political, and economic reconstruction of the state.[44] The unity between global actors illustrates the seriousness that the international community has in securing Somalia as an independent functional state with a legitimate rule of law. Somalia's New Deal Plan was originally derived from President Franklin D. Roosevelt's economic plan to jump start America during The Great Depression in the 1930s.[45]

Somalia's Poverty: A Dividing Point for Growth or Failure

As Somalia and the international community invest in The New Deal Plan to jump start Somalia, it is important to address the dividing point for Somalia's independent growth or state failure. Demand for fresh perspectives on economic recovery to reduce Somalia's poverty is high. Poverty reduction is at the forefront of discussions and remains a primary goal for the United Nations.[46] However, as illustrated in the TIS-Somalia, UNDP, and CIMIC initiatives, as well as the humanitarian aid appropriations, poverty reduction is substituted by social and political goals in gender equality, education, health, human consumption, security, and promoting the rule of law.[47] Although all of these goals are necessary forms of state restoration, they do not directly address the issue of Somalia's need to form independent mechanisms for self-sufficiency, which only exacerbates the malingering of economic state failure and international aid dependency.

Economy: Restoration or Disarticulation

There are three types of variables that measure Somalia's economic restoration from a war-torn state to an independent functional society: dependent variables, controlled variables, and independent variables.[48] All three variables are dependent upon each other to consummate Somalia's political, social, and economic restoration. While dependent variables and controlled variables cater to the political and social needs of the economy, independent variables boost the economy, reduce poverty, and solidify Somalia's independence. Further discussion of the dependent variables and controlled variables demonstrates that Somalia is on the right track toward becoming a fully functional state by em-

placing resources toward the dependent and controlled variables. However, a gap in the independent variable will be the decisive factor for Somalia's full restoration or disarticulation of the state.

Dependent Variables

Dependent variables include educational facilities and tertiary enrollment. Tertiary enrollment is defined as the amount of age-appropriate students enrolled in an educational facility.[49] As previously noted, the TIS-Somalia has set up over twenty Strategic Planned Workshops located all across Somalia, from the northwest in Somaliland, to the northeast in Puntland, down to the south from Mogadishu to Kismayo. The workshops directly sponsor building projects that focus on the construction of schools with community tertiary enrollment.[50]

Controlled Variables

Controlled variables include domestic investment, population growth, and democratization.[51] Domestic investment includes fixed assets of the economy. As noted, the TIS-Somalia appropriated over $38 million on 450 small grant activities toward fixed assets of the economy, some of which included water facilities, street lights, playgrounds, schools, and the restoration of government offices, commercial buildings, roads, railways, hospitals, and markets.[52] Population growth is also covered through CIMIC and humanitarian aid by securing shipments of food, clean water, medical supplies, and vaccines to their proper venue, which reduces infant death, sustains a healthy population, and increases life expectancy. The final controlled variable is democratization. As previously discussed, Somalia is well on its way to democratization. Somalia regained internationally accepted state sovereignty and formed an inclusive government by creating the Provisional Federal Constitution (PFC), setting forth the legitimacy of the Federal Republic of Somalia (FRS). The PFC was ratified by Somalia's 825 National Constituent Assembly members and approved by the United States, the United Nations, and the United Nations Security Council as legitimate.[53] Hassan Sheikh Mohamud was elected the first President since the Siad Barre regime fell in 1991 and a constitutional blueprint focusing on the social, political, and economic reconstruction of Somalia was set forth to create an atmosphere conducive to gaining Somalia's independence and establishing a legitimate rule of law.[54]

Independent Variables

Independent variables include trade dependency, international nongovernmental organization (INGO) dependency, and trade coreness. These independent variables are the three primary areas that foreign policy decision makers must address to counter Somalia's poverty and strengthen its economy toward sustainable independence. The first, trade dependency, is a calculated share of Somalia's gross domestic product (GDP) against the sum of exports and imports of goods and services.[55] Somalia's GDP gained 2.6 percent in 2012 and expanded in terms of GDP growth by 1.6, reaching a high of 30.1, but still remains in a trade deficit. Exports are at USD 520 million where imports exceed at USD 1260 million leaving Somalia in a negative balance at – USD 740 million.[56] This trade gap results in foreign aid dependency and poverty. According to the United Nations Statistic Division (UNSD), the average Somali resident's national income per capita is 107 USD per year averaging 30 cents per day, well below the poverty level.[57] The second independent

variable is INGO dependency. INGO dependency refers to the penetration that INGOs have in Somalia. As noted in a previous section, Somalia is clearly dependent on humanitarian aid for basic human consumption and survival. The offset is how that aid surpluses against the state's GDP. High residual aid can lower the value of goods and services produced from local agriculture and material developments, while low residual aid produces a substantial gain. The balance between aid and the local economy is essential during the economic growth process, which in the long term should reduce or eliminate the INGO aid for social dependency. The third is trade coreness. Trade coreness is based on Somalia's trade network and integration in the world economy.[58] Somalia has three export partners: Oman, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. Somalia has nine import partners: China, Djibouti, Egypt, India, Kenya, Oman, Pakistan, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.[59] The strength in trade coreness is not measured by the amount of partners Somalia has but rather measured by bilateral trade flows between the countries and the costs associated with the goods and services.[60] This trade core variable indicates Somalia has an open door for policy makers to invest in bilateral trade flows when adopting an innovative mechanism for foreign investment, but, if pursuing this route, policy makers must be careful not to become unbalanced on the exploitative side of trade coreness, as so often seen in less developed third world countries.

Globalization: Time to Re-orchestrate the Tune

Globalization has ushered in an era that allows Somalia to become an independent and prosperous state with a legitimate rule of law. The New Deal Plan is paramount in supporting that vision. The disparity is that the global norm relies too heavily on implementing past intervention models, systems, and methods to rebuild post-conflict states that legitimately, over time, fail to establish independent economic self-sufficiency. As discussed, Somalia is on the right track toward becoming a fully functional state by emplacing resources toward the dependent and controlled variables. However, neglect of the independent variable creates an idle economy that over time exacerbates a cycle of civil unrest and conflict that undermines prior social and political reconstruction efforts. The independent variable applied to the current reconstruction efforts toward the dependent and controlled variables is the key to Somalia's social, political, and economic restoration from a war-torn state to an independent functional society with a legitimate rule of law.

Independent Variable: Frame for Fiscal Institutions

The independent variable is reliant on opening up domestic investment and foreign investment in both the domestic market and the foreign market. Building a framework to support the independent variable is contingent upon two key tasks: 1.) Somalia must produce a comprehensive mission statement; 2.) Aid must be rechanneled through Somalia's national budget to build sound fiscal institutions. With these two key tasks as precedents, the door will be open to begin building a wholesome cycle of growth and employment, increase competitiveness in the foreign and domestic markets, reduce aid dependency, strengthen core trade, and activate a synchronized tax based system in the state of Somalia.

Somalia: Comprehensive Mission Statement

The first key task is for Somalia to build a mission statement. The mission statement must incorporate a philosophy and vision that will spell out Somalia's short-term and long-term goals. The goals should address Somalia's future reconstruction strategy, performance expectations, and leadership roles for oversight management.[61] The mission statement must have a clear and realistic goal to meet its objectives but be flexible enough to incorporate reform and build viable economic policies. The mission statement should become a tool to influence external stakeholders or prospectors to forward business toward the state of Somalia while serving as a foundation for the legal and regulatory framework surrounding its business climate.[62]

Rechanneling Aid & Building Fiscal Institutions

Secondly, donors of The New Deal Plan should not dictate reconstruction projects or activities outside the scope of the government's fiscal policy,[63] as with the TIS-Somalia, UNDP, and CIVIC initiatives. Oftentimes donors do not have the same goals as Somalia's government, which causes an influx of redundant and overlapping reconstruction efforts and aid dependency that prevents the economic growth factor from proceeding forward, producing system failure. In order to eliminate system failure, Somalia's newly sovereign government should become the focal point for reconstruction management. The pledged $2.4 billion in the course of three years from The New Deal Plan[64] should be re-channeled through Somalia's national budget. Consolidating aid through Somalia's national budget will build sound fiscal institutions with monetary and exchange rate policies (flexible versus fixed), real sector policies, and external sector policies that will form the centerpiece for Somalia's financial independence.[65] A sound fiscal institution gives Somalia the tools to support innovative mechanisms to fill the independent variable gap that leads to a functional society with a legitimate rule of law.

Innovative Mechanisms: Three Viable Solutions

Gaining momentum in a war-torn state does not mean Somalia is in need of a sophisticated framework. Policy makers need to "keep it simple."[66] There is no reason to offer more than what is essential in forwarding policy recommendations to address the independent variable gap of trade dependency, INGO dependency, and trade coreness.[67] The greatest mistake is to begin a complicated approach that immediately places an undue hardship on the technical, administrative, and managerial capacity of the state.[68] It is important to identify and emplace economic reform where it makes sense. As the mission statement calls out for clear and realistic goals, the economic framework should do the same. I offer and promote three viable solutions to fill the independent variable gap: Governmental subsidy programs for the domestic market, governmental subsidy programs in agriculture, and promoting a micro, small and medium size enterprise (MSME) reform.[69]

Governmental Subsidy Programs: Domestic Market

The first recommendation is governmental subsidy programs for the domestic market. With aid being re-channeled from the New Deal Plan through Somalia's national budget, the government can create jobs by subsidizing domestic firms to recruit and train unskilled

laborers. Training and employing former combatants, refugees, and displaced civilians is paramount in the reintegration process that also ensures a quantifiable degree of self-worth. According to Waters and Moore, unemployment creates high distress, tension, and fatigue, which leads to the perception of a shameful social existence.[70] The creation of jobs is instrumental in providing civil society with a stake in the game, restoring negative self-worth with dignity, and replacing civil unrest and corruption with virtuous employment. Somalia's government will gain legitimacy, security, and social trust with the population by creating jobs while the government's safety net, reduction in expenditures, and lower labor costs will offset the high risk involved in an entrepreneur investing in Somalia's poor business climate.[71]

Governmental Subsidy Programs: Agriculture

The second recommendation is governmental subsidy programs in agriculture. Subsidies and price support programs for agriculture in Somalia should be a top priority for development. According to the CIA World Fact Book, over 40% of Somalia's GDP and 50% of export earnings are dependent upon Somalia's agricultural sector in livestock, hides, fish, and charcoal.[72] Currently, Somalia is dependent upon humanitarian aid for its basic needs, which distorts prices and becomes the primary discouraging factor for agricultural investments.[73] However, with foreign aid re-channeling through Somalia's national budget, it reduces humanitarian aid dependency and boosts the value added for Somalia's agriculture in domestic and foreign markets. With the price distortion substantially decreased, a labor intense market toward bulk commodity in agriculture would be a prime advancement in raising the GDP, lowering unemployment rates, reducing foreign aid dependency, and rectifying domestic and foreign trade coreness. The Somalian government can support agricultural programs through loans and subsidies for equipment, fertilizer, seeds, and drought-resistant crops.

Micro, Small, and Medium Size Enterprise (MSME) Reform

The third recommendation is MSME reform. The epitome of development for Somalia is in the private sector. Over 99% of the region's private sector is MSMEs, with over 110 operating in urban and rural areas.[74] Unfortunately, as it is, the majority of MSMEs are in services and trade, family run, less than five years old, and barely provide the basic subsistence for family support. The downfall is that the majority fail to reach full capacity to yield profit, produce output, or withstand market fluctuations. The problems associated with the lack of growth and running a sustainable business is due to the lack of a unified system, illegal business activity, scarcity of skilled and educated laborers, poor infrastructure, lack of financial resources for start-up or expansion, and a disconnect to the market.[75] Somalia is in need of a comprehensive reform that unifies the local system, improves competition, removes obstacles to growth, and reduces the risk of investment. The framework for MSME reform should include:

- One simple and affordable avenue for licensing and registering MSMEs. The licensing requirement legitimizes business activities and sets forth legal and regulatory guidelines to eliminate illegal activity that distorts market prices.[76]

- Issue business identification numbers with the government. Begin generating a single

and transparent tax-based revenue for governmental self-sufficiency. Begin an affordable low tax rate of 5% to facilitate universal compliance with Somalia's Ministry of Finance (a continuing study is relevant to assess tax liabilities and burdens for MSMEs).[77]

- Provide marketing data and informational material to redress the imbalance between services and trade vs. manufacturing.[78] Many MSMEs are in the services and trade industry with only a handful in manufacturing. Balancing the industry maximizes competitiveness and plays a great role in supply and demand production and distribution.
- Invest in infrastructure. Construct shopping complexes for merchants that have reasonable overage charges and access to basic utilities (water, electricity, internet, telephone).[79]
- Training in human resources, administration, technology, and management. Education broadens the scope for future investments and provides the state with a competent workforce.
- Issue grants and financing to encourage entrepreneurship, growth, or MSME expansion into large enterprises. Somalia is in an era where globalization dominates the trade and investment sectors. Somalia is strategically located in the Horn of Africa with its north, south, and eastern borders directly located on the Gulf of Aden, the Arabian Sea, and the Indian Ocean, making it a primary platform and hub for domestic and international investments.[80] There are many unique investment opportunities in Somalia that can summon exclusive investment in banking, energy, health, and tourism.[81]

Conclusion

Somalia's private sector, if properly managed, plays a key role in economic development that promotes investments, creates jobs, and generates governmental revenue. Economic development and governmental revenue leads to state independence and economic restoration. As previously discussed, Somalia is dependent upon foreign aid to provide society with basic human needs as well as security through the TIS-Somalia, UNDP, CIMIC, and humanitarian aid donor programs. As it is, once the aid diminishes so will society's basic needs and security, exacerbating the cycle of civil unrest and conflict that leads to post-conflict reconstruction policy failure. With the independent variable applied to economic growth and revenue, Somalia's government will be capable of independently providing society with its basic human needs and be financially sound to support, fund, employ, and manage AMISON, the country's leading security force.

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An Evaluation of Education as a Mechanism for Peacebuilding in Conflict-Torn Regions

Brandon LaFavor

Abstract

The role of education in trying to mitigate conflict is a sensitive subject and was analyzed in-depth. This paper walks through the goals of conflict resolution and how education and curricula development can either support or detract from peacebuilding goals based on the educational materials used in class and social conditioning of youth. This qualitative research analyzes three different case studies and the role of education during: The Salvadorian Civil War, the Rwanda Genocide, and the continued Israeli and Palestinian conflict. This paper also examines the changing role of education during times of war or civil unrest. Emergency response education was analyzed using examples of Syrian refugees in Jordan and how the Lebanese education system operated during their civil war.

Biography:

Brandon LaFavor was born in Oregon and is an aspiring Ph.D. student. He holds a Master's degree in International Education where he specialized in comparative education policy, leadership, and conflict resolution. Brandon is fluent in the Spanish language and was awarded undergraduate degrees from both the School of Romance Languages and the School of Economics at the University of Oregon, where he focused in econometrics and cultural sustainable development. His primary educational pursuit is in international economics and global sustainability. Brandon moved with his family to the northeast in 2012, and in 2013 he accepted a position as the Overseas Study Coordinator at the University of Bridgeport, where he is also an Adjunct Professor in The College of Public and International Affairs. He has spent significant time studying, traveling, and working in Central America. Before working with universities, Brandon was a translator for an immigration attorney at a social service agency in Oregon and a development advisor for an independent insurance firm.

Introduction

Education plays an evolving role in the peacebuilding process of conflict-torn societies. From the beginning of a conflict through to the redevelopment of post-conflict societies, education is a tool that can be used to redefine relationships and create innovative solutions for fostering peace in society. Many of the world's conflicts are internal civil wars in divided societies and one of the greatest obstacles in conflict resolution is separating the historical relationships people have developed throughout the existence of a particular conflict. Internal conflicts are typically deeply rooted by years of social conditioning and it is cautioned that the educational response will have to be tailored to the national cultural identity, the political climate, and it must be sensitive to all parties involved in the conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

Understanding the different ways education can impact and potentially interfere with the peacebuilding process is an important aspect of conflict resolution that needs to be analyzed and synthesized by the different policy making entities involved in the conflict. By developing a sound understanding of the different ways to approach education as a means of peacebuilding, educators and facilitators of the process are able to more effectively break down violent structures and barriers that create miscommunication and misunderstanding and construct foundations for which peacebuilding can occur.

Problem Statement

Education as a mechanism to peacebuilding in conflict-torn regions can be a controversial topic. This article provides an introduction to the essential goals and principles of conflict resolution, discusses and evaluates the constructive and destructive aspects of education as a tool for conflict resolution, and compares case studies that analyze the role of education in historical internal conflicts around the globe. Some of the case studies to be examined include the Salvadorian Civil War, the Rwandan genocide, and the continued conflicts in Israel and Palestine. This paper will also look at the current educational efforts as opportunities for peacebuilding for Syrian refugees in Jordan. Additionally, Lebanon will be used as an example for how school systems function during times of conflict.

Essential Goals and Principles of Conflict Resolution

International educators are in a unique position to promote tolerance and understanding as we strive to achieve effective conflict resolution strategies. Those people working to build peace in conflict-torn regions should outline a framework for effective negotiations based on the underlying goals and principals of conflict resolution. Three of the most profound principles to conflict resolution include the separation of people from problems, using objective criteria, and inventing options for mutual gain.

Separating people from the problem-

Often times, when people are deeply involved in a conflict, or when people feel very strongly about a fundamental and imperative issue, emotions can escalate as perceptions are relative to perspective (Bodine & Crawford, 1998). It is not a surprise that when people are confronting a problem, both sides will have a different perspective, which can lead to misunderstanding. Once there is a misunderstanding, people get upset, feelings get hurt, and egos become challenged; "Every problem has both substantive

issues and relationship issues" (Bodine & Crawford, 1998, p. 51). One of the difficulties of conflict resolution is trying to separate the relationships from the problems. Conflict occurs when lines are figuratively drawn, sides are formed, and people become divided. When this happens, people have difficulty working together to solve problems as they have become more concerned with being right instead of finding solutions.

Perception of a problem, or how to best deal with a problem, is a major source of conflict. Typically people can agree that there is a problem but perception of the problem becomes an issue when individuals or groups disagree on the cause, effects, importance, or how to solve a particular problem.

> Every conflict involves differing points of view; thus, every conflict involves differing notions of what is true, what is false, or the degree to which facts are important. Therefore, the "truth" and its importance are relative.
> (Bodine & Crawford, 1998, p. 51)

In addition to perception, emotion and miscommunication may further the divide of any particular conflict. People may need to try and separate from a problem, or mediation may need to occur when opposing sides are fueled by emotions. Like the downward spiral, when people are emotional, effective communication becomes difficult—if people are talking to each other at all. Furthermore, "what one intends to communicate is almost never exactly what one communicates and people misunderstand and misinterpret that which is communicated" (Bodine & Crawford, 1998, p. 52). Once one side becomes emotional, the other side is likely to respond with an equally emotional reaction. If the emotions cause fear within one of the opposing sides, anger is typically the emotional reaction. Further down the spiral, when one side becomes angry the typical emotional reaction is hate (Fisher, Ury, & Patton, 1991). If opposing sides are able to work through perception, emotion, and miscommunication issues, they can begin "to separate the relationship problem from the substantive problem" and they can begin to try and reach a solution that is beneficial to each side (Bodine & Crawford, 1998, p. 52).

Use Objective Criteria-

It is not uncommon for people involved in a negotiation to become overwhelmed by positional bargaining. Using objective criteria is the attempt to use real pieces of information to dictate the extent to which a negotiation should be agreed upon. The real pieces of information should be relevant to the problem and the information should be independent of beliefs or individual agendas. Positional bargaining is the situation that arises when people believe there is a single solution, and they want it to materialize. It is more important, however, for negotiators to focus on interests that drive opposing sides' motives for deciding their position in regards to what they want. "Using objective criteria means that neither party needs to give in to the other; rather, they can defer to a fair solution" (Bodine & Crawford, 1998, p. 54). The use of objective criteria is equated with the time -tested model of deciding how to divide something- essentially, you cut the piece of pie and I choose which piece of pie I want (Bodine & Crawford, 1998).

Invent Options for Mutual Gain-

The mutual gains approach is a process which people can follow to protect relationships while

involved in a conflict (Fisher, Ury, & Patton, 1991). In inventing options for mutual gains, opposing parties do their best to come up with multiple and varying options that could potentially advance mutual interests. There are a number of obstacles that present themselves in the negotiating process of a typical disagreement. It becomes difficult to creatively invent new options if opposing sides form premature judgments, become focused on finding a single answer, believe that either one side or the other (not both) will be able to access a particular resource, or being concerned solely with an individual or a group's immediate interest (Bodine & Crawford, 1998).

There are four fundamental steps in the process for inventing options for mutual gain: preparation, value creation, value distribution, and follow through (Fisher, Ury, & Patton, 1991). These steps are intended to maximize the brainstorming process and to look at problems from multiple perspectives. "Shortsighted, self-concern leads people to develop only partisan positions, partisan arguments, and one-sided solutions" (Bodine & Crawford, 1998, p. 54). By using a mutual gains approach, conflicting parties have the opportunity to discuss the multiple issues on their individual agendas and to create an agreement that focuses on finding common ground and a win-win solution (Bodine & Crawford, 1998).

Looking at the four-step approach for inventing options for mutual gain, preparation is the first step which emphasizes the best alternative to a negotiated agreement. By being prepared with numerous alternate options that address the interests of both sides of the conflict, negotiators increase the chances for coming to a successful agreement. Value creation is the second step and revolves around freely suggesting innovative solutions without committing to anything. This process revolves around the question: what if? By discussing different options, opposing parties can begin to understand the root causes that drive interests of opposing individuals or groups. Additionally, opposing parties should try to reach an agreement by evenly distributing the fair share of the value (real or perceived) amongst all parties involved. This is the third step in inventing mutual gains and is referred to as value distribution. In the fourth and final step, opposing parties need to create a mechanism of follow through to ensure the solution created is fair and creates mutual gains. During the follow through process, negotiators should try and focus on future challenges that have the potential to surface while implementing the new agreement. Opening lines of clear communication, that focus on resolving conflicts as they arise, will result in increased levels of confidence that the agreement can function and will benefit all parties involved.

"Creative-thinking abilities encompass behaviors that enable people to be innovative in problem definition and decision making" (Bodine & Crawford, 1998, p.X). In order to think creatively about solutions to a problem, one must look at the problem from all the possible perspectives. One of the most important aspects of the creative thinking process is brainstorming new ideas in a space free of judgment (Bodine & Crawford, 1998). Critical thinking, on the other hand, is the careful analysis of the options uncovered during the creative thinking and brainstorming process. By comparing and contrasting the different solutions and planning for future obstacles, critical and creative thinking skills are vital in the conflict resolution process.

Goals of Education as a Mechanism for Peacebuilding-

In areas of severe conflict and unrest, passing exams becomes secondary to creating safe, neutral environments that work to redefine relationships and overcome stereotypes and misconceptions. Education is about giving students a choice. Having alternative options to joining military groups and participating in conflict can be empowering for both children and adults. These alternative options are created by "delegitimizing violent force as a means of addressing problems" (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 30). Essentially, problems must be addressed and communication needs to take place.

In general, U.S. society views education as a positive aspect in our fundamental national infrastructure. However, an education system could be succeeding in accord with current measures of success (such as state exams) but at the same time play a pivotal role in further dividing an already conflicted society. This can happen because the social hierarchy is reinforced through unequal distribution of educational resources. Therefore, education as a tool for peacebuilding is less about conflict resolution and more about raising standards and leveling the playing field. The context of every situation is different, and therefore, education as a mechanism for peacebuilding must evolve in order to meet cultural and societal needs.

Education as a Positive Contribution to Peacebuilding-

There are many positive and constructive applications of education in the peacebuilding process. By providing high quality educational opportunities, conflict over access to opportunity could be diminished, linguistic tolerance could be increased, ethnic tolerance could be increased, and history can be redefined to reflect true events (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

In regards to the "conflict-dampening impact of educational opportunity," school systems and educators in high conflict areas should promote curricula for mutual understanding (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 16). Securing curricula for mutual understanding is a good step to creating a climate that is accepting of multiple ethnicities. Peacebuilding is described as a process rather than a product; therefore, the approach needs to be multi-layered and multi-faceted. In addition to teaching methods for understanding, tolerance of ethnicity and language, and conflict resolution, education for peacebuilding can begin to mitigate the outbreaks of violence and intolerance in a geographical locale. By understanding breaking points and conflict catalysts, educators in divided societies could serve as an indicator for predicting future outbursts of violent behavior. The very root of education is to serve as a tool to improve oneself which makes it an important piece to the peacebuilding process. However, depending on the approach and application, education may unintentionally create barriers to the peacebuilding process.

Education as a Barrier to Peacebuilding-

It is widely accepted that education is an im-

portant piece to the foundation of effective societal infrastructure and is generally viewed as a positive and productive means of developing peace and stabilizing conflict. Education as a means of peacebuilding does have merit, but it is important to understand that it is merely one piece of a complex puzzle for redefining hateful relationships and moving towards productive compromise and collaboration amongst opposing parties. Moreover, education could easily be constructed as a tool to separate and divide people rather than unite them. History is easily manipulated by scholars and researchers in order to lobby for political gain. When this is the case, education could become segregated and become a means for promoting inequality and advancing stereotypes (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Apartheid South Africa is a good example of how policy makers were able to manipulate history. The purpose of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, an initiative headed by Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu, was solely to uncover and document a truthful history of events that occurred under apartheid South Africa.

Education for peacebuilding largely depends on the context of society (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Even with the best of intentions, education as a means for peacebuilding could have negative consequences if access to education or the distribution of education only reaches small pockets of the population. If there is an uneven distribution of resources, or if education is used "as a means of creating or preserving positions of economic, social, and political privilege," the result could be civil unrest and further drive a wedge between conflicting groups or social classes (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 34).

Another way that education could negatively impact the peacebuilding process in divided societies is if curricula and teaching materials promote intolerance and further oppress cultural minorities or other sects of the society (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). "Curriculum packages that promote tolerance will have little impact if they are delivered within educational constructs that are fundamentally intolerant" (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. vi). Education, as part of the peacebuilding process, needs to work to breakdown educational barriers that promote hostility as part of the broad scope for conflict resolution.

Education and the Salvadorian Civil War-

The Salvadorian Civil (1979-1992) was a conflict of brooding mistrust between the military-led government and a number of guerrilla groups that banded together to form Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberacion Nacional (FMLN) (Filipov, 2006). The FMLN believed that the government was unsuccessful in responding to societal needs. During the twelve-year Salvadorian Civil War, leadership changed three different times. After the loss of nearly 75,000 lives, it was not until the United Nations intervened and arranged peace talks in an effort to end civilian deaths before any amicable resolution was uncovered (Filipov, 2006). These peace talks produced an agreement that led to the surrender of arms by the FMLN and a reduction in military presence within the government.

The educational system of El Salvador has had to adjust and change both during and post conflict. One of the original social changes that the guerilla groups were lobbying for was socioeconomic equality and a redistribution of tax dollars to serve some of the most impoverished regions in the country (Filipov, 2006). As the FMLN has now become an officially recognized political party that occupies a number of

local municipalities, both the formal and informal education of the nation's political climate has evolved.

In the years following the signing of the peace treaty, El Salvador has invested heavily in developing infrastructure in the poor, and subsequently high crime regions of the country. In addition, because there have been reform efforts to improve the quality of education and increase access, enrollment levels and retention rates have increased and national literacy rates have been slowly but steadily increasing (Filipov, 2006).

> The changes of the economic sector that require educated and skilled employees suggest that education reforms will be crucial for the pattern of unemployment in the country in the long term. Thus, economic and political stability will depend on a large degree on the ability of the labor force to adjust to the requirements of the new economy, which in turns fluctuates according to the levels of training and education. As of now, El Salvador has shown that it is able to conduct strong policies to adjust to the current economic and political realities. (Filipov, 2006, p. 123)

Despite a long history of relationships defined by mistrust, the El Salvador transition into post conflict development appears to be an example that can be modeled as a framework for lasting peace.

Education and the Rwanda Genocide

Education in Rwanda was a prime example of education as a barrier to peacebuilding. Before 1994, education was seen as something that was reserved for those with elite status and was a manner in which the ethnically divided social hierarchy could be reinforced. "Education was not a means of advancement, a symbol of peace, or a repository truth for most Rwandans" (Salmon, 2004, p. 79). The curriculum was designed to support the political agenda, and the Rwanda example highlights how education is not always neutral. It would be difficult to argue that educational inequality and skewed curriculum caused the genocide in Rwanda but it is an example of how it can contribute to the reinforcement of stereotypes in order to advance a political agenda or further divide a society.

> The strong focus on higher education, which currently serves only two percent of the population in the relevant age group, has predictably inequitable results. First, Rwanda's unit costs in higher education are among the highest in the world today and are about 75 times the unit costs in primary education. Second, the best-educated ten percent in a cohort claims more than seventy percent of the cumulative public spending on education received by that cohort. It is thus no surprise that Rwanda's system is one of the least structurally equitable in Sub-Saharan Africa. (World Bank, 2003, p. 16)

During the height of the genocide, in which the ethnically charged power struggle between the Tutsi and Hutu people resulted in the deaths of eight hundred thousand Tutsis and moderate Hutus in a mere one hundred days, schools were damaged and destroyed, teachers were targeted as they represented the elite, and refugees fled to Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Salmon, 2004). The refugees that fled to the DRC found themselves in meager conditions. The Ministry of Education for the DRC believed that providing the refuges education was delaying the repatriation process (Bird, 2003).

The Ministry of Education in Rwanda opened a short two months after the Tutsi-led army regained control of the area in September 1994.

It was a priority of the Ministry to begin drawing children back to the schools as soon as possible as a display of future stability. Rwanda appears to be making reform efforts to create a more inclusive education system. It is illegal to discriminate based on regional or ethnic background and the curriculum now includes peace and reconciliation education in an effort to instill the virtues of tolerance, understanding, and forgiveness in the next generation of students (Salmon, 2004). "Education can be a positive force. It must be supported by schools that are inclusive and based upon merit and based upon funding mechanisms that support all people rather than just the elite" (Salmon, 2004, p. 85). In the middle of recovering after the 1994 genocide, there is no easy solution to improve the state of the Rwanda education system. It will be important to try and foster peace and reconciliation in both formal and informal education arenas to get enough participation from society to be effective.

Education in Israeli and Palestinian Conflicts

The situation in Israel and Palestine is yet another example that we can look to in order to analyze the negative effect of education as a mechanism for peacebuilding. "According to critics on both sides of the debate, the portrayal of the 'other' in Israeli and Palestinian textbooks perpetuates hate, leads to increased violence, and hinders the overall peace process in the Middle East" (Cronin, 2004). Both Israeli students and Palestinian students are conditioned to sustain intolerance and further the hate-fueled conflict. It is common for conflicting groups to promote negative stereotypes within the factions and the situation between Israel and Palestine is a perfect example (Maoz, 2000). By defining the "other side" as inhuman, violent, and threatening, and conditioning these stereotypes in both formal and informal education settings, destructive actions that contradict the peacebuilding process become justifiable as a means for achieving their desired agenda.

The process of conditioning stereotypes leads to groups banding together in a sense of identity, even if the common denominator of the identity is merely that they are not one of the "others." These identities are separately reinforced in both Israeli and Palestinian schools (Cronin, 2004). "Many non-governmental, pro-Israeli organizations find this identity feeds hatred, and ultimately, the violence directed toward Israel" (Cronin, 2004, p. 98). This could be seen by opening up a Palestinian textbook to a world map and discovering that Israel is not on the map and Palestine occupies the entire territory (CMIP, 2002). Therefore, in the eyes of Palestinian students, Israel does not actually exist as a recognized state, which furthers the belief that the Palestinians are protecting what is rightfully theirs. Jewish textbooks, on the other hand, portray Palestinians and Arabs in negative connotations and make arguments to defend and justify a war (Cronin, 2004). However, there is a scholarly debate in regards to curricula as a fuel for conditioning negative stereotypes.

> An analysis of Palestinian textbooks by Firer and Adwan (2001) found that the books portray Jews throughout history in a positive manner and do not use negative stereotypes. However, the examination also points out that, in the day-to-day experiences of Palestinians, Israelis are encountered as an occupier—one who obliterates the Palestinian way of life through killings, land decimation and confiscation (Cronin, 2004, p. 98).

In light of this research, it becomes apparent that it is not only formal education that needs to

be addressed in peacebuilding, but as discussed earlier, peacebuilding needs to be viewed as a multifaceted process that redefines relationships in a variety of formal and informal settings.

There is no way to analyze post-conflict education because conflict is still rampant in the region. It has been noted that Israel has agreed that its texts do perpetuate hateful relationships and paint Arabs in a negative light. Israeli officials have begun to rewrite their textbooks to promote peaceful relations with their Arab neighbors; however, biased teaching tools are still prevalent in the area (Cronin, 2004). Conversely, Palestinian books have not changed much. The textbooks and teaching materials continue to tell an underlying narrative of Palestinian people as a group under siege. "As Israel did in the first few decades of its existence, Palestinians use its educational resources as a vehicle with which to solidify Palestinian unity" (Cronin, 2004, p. 104). The conflict between Israel and Palestine will continue for as long as the opposing sides continue to condition their children into a mentality that revenge and hatred toward the "others" is justifiable. Although schools can be a good place to begin reshaping the formal education, this type of social conditioning needs to be addressed both inside and outside the classroom in order to have lasting impact in redefining the hateful relationships that have been reinforced in multiple aspects of daily life.

Education for Syrian Refugees in Jordan

UNESCO has decided to fund a project to sustain quality education for Syrian refuges by implementing a 4.3 million Euro agenda to promote skill development and job training for displaced youth and citizens who have been affected by this grave humanitarian crisis (UNESCO, 2013).

The goal of the project is to increase opportunities for Syrian refuges to access quality education and "strengthen the future employment prospects of the displaced youth" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 1).

UNESCO outlines their main activities in Jordan:

- Address qualified teachers' gap by building the capacities of Jordanian teachers in pedagogical and mentoring strategies in emergency situations.
- Offer demand-driven informal and non-formal education programs and vocational skill development opportunities for Syrian youth inside the refugee camps and for Jordanian and Syrian youth in urban areas.

The principals laid out are broadly designed in scope to have the educational efforts reach beyond merely serving Syrian refuges but also to help Jordanian children who are being affected by the conflict. This type of inclusive educational response will go a long way in strengthening the future international relations of neighboring territories. By promoting quality of teaching, this project is designed to lend support to the Jordanian government as it struggles to meet increased demand as waves of Syrian refugees are funneled into refugee camps and urban are-

as. "Through building the capacity of the Ministry of Education, its teachers, and other education professionals, this project promotes long-term support to Jordan's efforts to host Syrian refugees while maintaining quality education for all" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 1).

How Schools Cope with War: A Look at Lebanon

When there is severe civil unrest in a protracted region, public institutions, as supported by societal infrastructure, collapse, are disrupted, and have impacts that last generations as youth are robbed of their opportunity to compulsory education (Zakharia, 2004). Stabilizing education systems is imperative in an attempt to "normalize" life during conflict. Often times, as in the case of the Lebanese Civil War, personal safety became the priority. It was reported in interviews with students that many of the teachers and administrators grew to fear students who had been recruited by militia and military leaders. These students brought guns to class and came and went as they saw necessary. The students intimidated administrators, sometimes at gun point, and urged their fellow classmates to join the conflict. During the Lebanese civil war, "students talked about cheating on school exams and on the government Baccalaureate, which involved buying/selling exam questions in advance from teachers or other school staff" (Zakharia, 2004, p. 113).

Despite the obstacles, teachers wanted to teach and students wanted to learn. In discussions with those who were teachers and students during the Lebanese civil war, "several themes emerge from the student and teacher narratives regarding the role of schools in establishing space for positive relationships and the limitations on providing structure and continuity, security, a model for social norms, and academic skills" (Zakharia, 2004, p. 114). Essentially, schools became a place for connections with other people, and shared experience. It is through these shared experiences, positive or negative, that created a sense of friendship and community within the walls of the school.

Conclusion

Education as a mechanism for peacebuilding is an interesting topic that can play crucial roles in further dividing a society, or truly fostering the peacebuilding process. Education as a mechanism for peacebuilding should be looked at in two broad scopes. The first scope refers to emergency response education. This type of peacebuilding is focused on schools as safe zones during a conflict. The aim shifts from passing exams and meeting predetermined standards and moves to personal security and normalization. This first broad scope for education as a mechanism for peacebuilding is framed as a humanitarian response and is designed to shelter youth from the negative impacts that arise when they are exposed to severe violence at such a young age. The second broad scope for education as a mechanism for peacebuilding is the attempt to redefine relationships through new forms of social conditional and conflict-sensitive promotion of peace and reconciliation in the national curriculum. In other words, education reform typically becomes a post-conflict focus and the goal is to create a curriculum with means to access education that does not reinforce negative stereotypes and deepen the societal divide.

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South Sudan and the East African Community: Creating the Foundation for Political and Economic Integration Through Agriculture and Women

Michael F. McCarthy

Abstract

This paper explores the pre-conditions of functionalist theory, using South Sudan's relationship with the East African Community as a case study. As a newly independent state with a monoculture, primary resource-based economy, and a population that lives on less than one United States dollar per day, South Sudan must integrate politically and economically with the East African Community (EAC). This paper focuses on two sectors that are the most neglected in South Sudan's economy: agriculture and women. This paper analyzes the relationship between agriculture and women, explores the role that international and national human rights laws play in empowering women, and examines the importance of microfinance institutions in diversifying South Sudan**'s** economy.

Biography:
Michael McCarthy graduated from the University of Bridgeport's Master's program in Global Development and Peace, earning his degree in 2013. In addition to this, Michael earned a Bachelor's degree from the University of Connecticut in History and a minor in Human Rights. During his time at the University of Bridgeport, Michael worked as a Research Associate at the Yale Child Study Center in the field of early childhood development and education policy where he conducted research in Uganda and Peru. Further, Michael interned at the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Jordan Country Office based in Amman. Michael has also studied at Princess Sumaya University for Technology in Amman, Jordan.

1.0 Introduction

As the world becomes more globalized, developing countries often attempt to stabilize their economies through collaboration with neighboring countries within their regions. Successful political and economic integration, as seen with the European Union, is contingent on groups of economies and societies being able to function together. Many states, however, have dissimilar economies and conflicting ideologies on development and corresponding laws and policy. Two main principles are derived in functionalist theory: development and non-discriminatory and empowering laws that promote economic, social, and political rights.

Grainne de Burca explains the role that law plays in Neo-functionalism. Burca states that law affects a state in five different ways, being that it is an "enabling force," a "constraining force," it "structures" the judicial and executive order of society, creates judicial validity, as well as "provides reasons for action."[1] Burca highlights the importance of the fifth influence of law on society. He elucidates that the notion of non-discrimination in courts, which is an important facet within the European Union, influences the behavior and actions of society.[2] Ultimately, laws, according to Burca, "provides them [actors] with reasons to change and to adapt their behavior in response to legal norms, whether because they believe in the particular values expressed by those norms, or because they respect the processes from which those norms have emerged."[3] Laws play a role in how a society acts, and how people pursue their lifestyle, as well as function.[4] A society, therefore, cannot be predictive or consistently functioning without the creation of non-discriminatory standards.

For functionalism to occur, laws and norms must be representative in all states. A common ground that countries can agree upon is equal and non-discriminatory societal standards. This was reflected from the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in which the preamble states that "the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."[5] As a result, societies are required to create laws that protect the basic human rights of all populations. By doing this, a population can achieve an adequate standard of living.

The notion of non-discriminatory law is reflected in the idea of democracy. Kelly Harris reiterates that democracy must "[place] emphasis on concrete political, social, and economic rights, as opposed to a liberal democracy that emphasizes abstract political rights."[6] A democracy that strays away from abstract liberalism, is promoting a society that secures rights (social, political and economic) that are needed to achieve adequate human development.

Moreover, the pre-conditions to a functionalist state include a set of non-discriminatory laws and norms that promote economic and human development through economic, social, and political rights. This paper explores the preconditions of functionalist theory in a developing, newly formed state that lacks non-discriminatory laws and norms, using South Sudan's relationship with the East African Community as a case study. South Sudan can currently be characterized by its low level of development, economically and socially. The newly formed state, therefore, cannot enter the

East African Community at this time because such premature integration would be detrimental to the strength and function of the East African Community. This paper examines how functionalism can be represented in a state that must meet certain pre-conditions before developing the laws necessary to fulfill functionalist theory.

1.1 Case Study: South Sudan and the East African Community

On July 9, 2011, South Sudan officially raised its flag, illustrating the nation's independence from the North.[7] The newly formed nation faces poor infrastructure and extreme poverty, as more than half of the population is uneducated and lives under one dollar per day.[8] In addition, South Sudan lacks a diverse economy; 98 percent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is dependent on oil.[9] In order to stimulate its economy to meet these challenges, South Sudan must politically and economically integrate with other countries to acquire foreign investments and trading partners. However, South Sudan is far from integration. It must first create the necessary foundation to be able to develop and integrate with bordering countries of the East African Community (EAC).

The EAC is a regional organization that consists of the United Republic of Tanzania, and the Republics of Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, and Rwanda. It was revived in 2000 by Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya, with Burundi and Rwanda gaining membership in 2007.[10] The East African Community has made several strides toward the creation of an East African federation by implementing a customs union in 2005.[11] Additionally, in January 2011 member states began discussing the creation of the East African Monetary Union for the establishment of a common currency.[12] In June 2011 Sudan applied for membership followed by an application from South Sudan on November 11.[13] The EAC rejected Sudan's application due to the objections of Uganda and Tanzania, while deferring South Sudan's submission. According to Article 3 (ii) of the East African Community Treaty, membership "is based on…adherence to universally acceptable principles of good governance, democracy, the rule of law, observance of human rights and social justice."[14] Thus, for South Sudan to successfully integrate into the East African Community, it must share and promote these ideologies, which have served as norms for the successful functionalism of this integration.

The notion of member states sharing similar worldviews is important for the EAC's success when looking at the regional bloc's past failures. The East African Community was first created in 1967 and included Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania. However, the EAC collapsed less than ten years after its establishment. In *Regional Organizations and African Underdevelopment: The Collapse of the East African Community*, Agrippah Mugomba explains that the fall of the EAC was due to the shifting interests and ideologies of the members. For instance, he states that Kenya relied on the "capitalist path to development, in an area dominated by socialist oriented states," which led Kenya to "fully embrace the United States in an attempt to enhance its security."[15] Here, Mugomba illustrates that conflicting ideologies secluded Kenya from the rest of the member states. In addition, Mugomba explains that the "collapse of East African Airways in February 1977, which was quickly followed by Kenya's decision to launch its own international airline, sealed the fate of the Community."[16]

Also, in *The End of the East African Community: What are the Lessons for Regional Integration Schemes?,* Arthur Hazlewood explains that the EAC's breakup was caused by the failure of the members to approve the community's 1977-1978 budget, as well as the closure of the Tanzanian border to Kenya.[17] Both authors illustrate the notion that the lack of regional cooperation and differing political and economic ideologies disturb regional conformity and functionalism. In addition, the EAC's past failures show that having strong relationships between member states is a prerequisite for successful political and economic integration. Without this, disintegration occurs.

Ultimately, to help further political and economic integration in the region, South Sudan must achieve numerous objectives. For example, South Sudan has poor infrastructure that disrupts trade routes with bordering countries. According to the World Bank, there is only one road that runs from Juba, South Sudan's capital, to Uganda.[18] This is vital because South Sudanese shipping vehicles have to pass through Uganda to access other EAC markets. Also, the World Bank has reported that none of the roads in South Sudan are in "good condition," as opposed to the 82 percent of roads in "good" standing that East Africa has as a whole.[19] As a result, poor infrastructure dampers trade, causing freight tariffs to rise to unbearable levels.[20] However, in April 2012, China committed to loaning $8 billion to help South Sudan develop its infrastructure.[21]

Therefore, this paper focuses on two sectors that are the most neglected in terms of political and economic integration: agriculture and women. This paper analyzes the role that agriculture and women can play, if successfully developed, in diversifying South Sudan's economy and financially developing its people to create a consumer-driven population that will participate in the East African markets.

To enhance ripeness between EAC member countries, South Sudan must adhere to the principles of promoting social justice and human rights stated under Article 3 (ii) of the East African Community Treaty. To meet these standards, it is necessary for the government of South Sudan to promote women's rights. Women who live along the border of South Sudan derive their income from informal trade of their goods in Ugandan cities. Thus, South Sudan must bring women into the formal trading market through microfinance institutions, to stimulate the economy, increase goods and exports, as well as encourage formal cross-border trade. Additionally, South Sudan must develop its agriculture sector through the empowerment of women. This will ultimately increase household incomes as well as reduce unemployment. South Sudan therefore must develop a strong foundation for trade, exports, and consumerism through the empowerment of women and the development of agriculture, so it can successfully participate in political and economic integration with East African countries.

2.0 South Sudan's Natural Advantage: Agriculture

The agriculture sector plays a vital role in South Sudanese lifestyle, employing 62.9 percent of the population.[22] The agriculture sector, however, is severely underdeveloped, and currently plays a minimal role in economic growth. South Sudan currently cultivates only 4.5 percent of its suitable farming land.[23] Therefore, the amount of money that is being contributed to the economy from the agriculture sector is relatively small. Out of the 670,000 square kilometers of

farmable land, less than 10 percent of its total worth is actually acquired.[24] The cultivation of land is vital in decreasing unemployment and contributing to economic growth. Currently, unemployment in South Sudan is staggering. The relaxed unemployment rate in 2008 was 29.5 percent for people ages 15 to 24, and 16.5 percent of people ages 25 to 64.[25] Thus, cultivating land can provide jobs to the unemployed. It is necessary to analyze the current state of South Sudan's agricultural sector and examine how agricultural development creates jobs, as well as a consumer-driven population through economic and human development.

2.1 South Sudan: A traditional society with pre-conditional features

According to Rostow, the first stage of economic development is the "traditional society."[26] In past traditional societies, Rostow states that "varying degrees of manufacture developed; but, as in agriculture, the level of productivity was limited by the inaccessibility of modern science, its applications, and its frame of mind."[27] This description parallels that of South Sudan, where subsistence farming dominates the population's mindset. Among the population that works in the agriculture sector, 84 percent are considered non-wage workers.[28] Farmers are, therefore, only producing enough food to meet the needs of their families, ultimately limiting the productivity of the agriculture sector.

Rostow adds that traditional societies "devote a very high proportion of their resources to agriculture."[29] South Sudan currently does not invest oil revenues into the agriculture sector. To tackle this issue, the European Commission has committed to providing €80 million ($106 million) in aid for rural development and food security.[30] The funding is being allocated for the improvement of "rural infrastructure; boosting productivity by providing easier access to services and land; support to small-holders and strengthening water management for sustainable use."[31] Funding for the transportation of goods is representative of Rostow's second stage of economic development, "the preconditions for take-off."[32] Investment in infrastructure is imperative for agriculture development; however, there is still no motivation to produce surplus crops. Foreign investment in infrastructure is impractical unless there is increased production of crops. South Sudan, therefore, does not fulfill all of the characteristics of a traditional society and does not follow Rostow's linear path toward full development.

Rostow's ideology illustrates a linkage between agriculture and industrialization. South Sudan can theoretically use oil revenues to invest in other sectors. However, oil is only profitable when prices are high and there is global demand. Reliance on oil revenues is risky, and creates a mono-culture state. Investment in agriculture is necessary to solidify an economic base needed for reinvestment into the economy. The demand for food production will continue as the global population increases.

Thus, expansion of the agricultural industry can be obtained by stable reinvestment in machin-

ery and land cultivation. As agriculture production increases, so will the demand for labor, ultimately increasing surplus income. A transformation from a subsistence mindset, to a capitalistic approach is therefore necessary to yield higher profits. Profits, however, must be continually reinvested into the sector, as well as the economy. As the industry grows, dependence on oil profits decreases, which facilitates a shift from a mono-culture to a diversified economy.

A surplus of crops is needed for adequate productivity in a traditional society, as well as for the building of infrastructure and transport mechanisms in a society set for economic "take off."[33] The country must first create the necessary foundation for a traditional society by creating a business and commercial class within the agriculture sector to increase productivity. In order for South Sudan to contribute to the EAC's economy, as well as boost its objective of becoming a federation, it must develop a stable economy with a consumer-driven population. The development of an entrepreneurial mindset among the South Sudanese population can help families develop a consistent and stable income. This income paves the path toward two essential pre-conditions for an adequate consumer-driven population: securing economic rights and promoting human development.

2.2 Theoretical Framework: Agriculture's role in human and economic development

J. W. Moller states that there are three essential requirements for agricultural development: labor, land, and capital.[34] Labor, according to Moller, is often in high supply.[35] He explains that "agricultural capital in its traditional forms is created by production processes in which labor is the primary, and, in some cases, the only resource."[36] Labor is a primary resource in developing countries because of high unemployment rates. Labor paves the foundation for economic expansion stimulating an influx of capital which can then be used to purchase more land for expansion, as well as for new technology to modernize the agricultural sector.

W. Lewis illustrates the symbiotic relationship between labor and agricultural development. He explains that "in economies where the majority of the people are peasant farmers, working on their own land, we have a more objective index, for the minimum at which labour can be had is now set by the average product of the farmer; men will not leave the family farm to seek employment if the wage is worth less than they would be able to consume if they remained at home."[37] Underdevelopment limits economic development for both the farm owner and the potential laborer. A land owner cannot simply provide a higher level of income to incentivize people to leave their own farms and work for others. A farmer's wage reflects that of what the farm produces. Thus, incentivizing through increased wages is contingent on a farmer's ability to increase crop production.

A farm, however, cannot increase crop production, unless it can increase its labor. A lack of investment to modernize and expand the sector halts agriculture production. For example, a farm owner can only hire a laborer if production yields a profit that is sufficient enough to provide a wage that is higher than what a laborer can obtain on his or her own farm. Therefore, an initial shift from subsistence farming to producing a surplus is necessary. The first profit a farm owner makes must be reinvested in labor. With more labor, profits can then be increased. Again, a farm owner must use generated profits to reinvest back into the farm by modernizing.

Furthermore, enhancing technical capacity, from reinvestment of generated profits, is necessary to achieve and maintain persistent economic growth. Lewis states that "If we assume technical progress in agriculture, no hoarding, and unlimited labour at a constant wage, the rate of profit on capital cannot fall. On the contrary it must increase, since all the benefits of technical progress in the capitalist sector accrue to the capitalists."[38] Technological advancement, through profit reinvestment, is necessary to keep the rate of revenue steady. Reinvestment of generated profits into modernizing the sector leads to agricultural expansion. Yet, expansion can only occur with an increase of labor. As the industry expands, the demand for labor increases, which ultimately increases production. A cycle is then created. Consistent investment in the sector is therefore beneficial for famers because it permits a cycle of profitable and economic growth.

Economic prosperity, however, cannot occur without a change in mindset. Moller explains that "the greater the value attached to leisure the less incentive to convert leisure into materiel goods."[39] The objective is to convert unused time into productive work. To achieve this, a "transformation of labor time into agricultural output" needs to occur.[40] Moller states that "the level of resource availability, technology and management are the key influences. The more production that can be had for a given amount of labor, the more incentive to the farmer to convert his leisure into materiel goods..."[41] A shift from subsistence farming to producing a surplus of goods to be sold is needed. High profits can stimulate the farmer to place more energy, time, and devotion into creating a more productive farm. As productivity and technology improves, actual labor time decreases, allowing more time to better manage the sector. Thus, a shift from subsistence ideology is needed to achieve Moller's three facets of development: capital, advanced farming technology, and management proficiency.

Developing the agriculture sector is a necessary step to increase production for domestic and regional trade. The agricultural sector also allows individuals in South Sudan to develop the monetary base needed to not only improve their financial state, but also increase their standard of living and well-being. Before a person can participate in EAC markets, they must have developed the capacity to consume goods. A person, therefore, must be able to obtain basic material needs, such as food, clothing, and shelter, as well as basic services needed for survival, such as health care. Achieving adequate human development drives consumerism because it allows a person to invest in other areas once all basic needs have been met. Thus, once a person has achieved a level of comfort, well-being and stability, incomes can then be saved and used toward buying consumer and durable goods.

Moreover, developing the agriculture sector increases the demand for labor, which ultimately increases employment. Employment allows a person to achieve his or her economic rights, which is needed to achieve human security. Shareen Hertel provides a working definition of economic rights, which consists of three sections: "the right to an adequate standard of living (including subsistence rights); the right to employment; and the right to basic income guarantees for those unable to provide for themselves.[42] Hertel classifies "food, shelter, potable water, basic medical care and basic education" as subsistence rights.[43] Thus, there is a linkage between economic stability and attaining basic fundamental human rights. As more

South Sudanese individuals shift from producing enough goods to survive to working on farms as wage earners, economic stability will increase. By obtaining employment, an individual receives a steady income that can be used to solidify one's economic rights by having the ability to purchase services and goods to achieve a better standard of living.

Arjun Sengupta further reiterates the relationship between economic rights and human development.[44] Sengupta states that "Without bringing economic growth explicitly into the picture, the right to development would be confined to the possible realization of only some rights."[45] A person lacking economic growth can achieve some rights, such as the basic right to life, or even shelter, but it cannot achieve all rights. Economic stability allows a person to achieve rights that are of monetary value, such as health services. Sengupta explains that "For economic growth to be included as an element of the claims representing the right to development, it must be consistent with the conditions of realizing all the other claims as human rights."[46] Economic rights and human rights, according to Sengupta, are interchangeable.

This ideology is further explored by Amartya Sen, who states that "sometimes the lack of substantive freedoms relates directly to economic poverty, which robs people of the freedom to satisfy hunger, or to achieve sufficient nutrition or to obtain remedies for treatable illnesses."[47] Sen explores the notion that human rights are often violated because of the lack of economic opportunity. Economic rights are inclusive of human rights, while basic rights are inclusive of economic sustainability. In the case of South Sudan, the agricultural sector provides the opportunity for the population to acquire a standard of adequate living by achieving all basic human rights through economic prosperity. Sen, however, explains that development cannot occur unless an individual has the capability to achieve economic and human rights. His capability approach elucidates that "the capability to function" is "related to the achievement of well-being."[48] Therefore, the South Sudanese population must have the right to economic growth, through farming. Sengupta expands on this notion and states that "such economic growth must be carried out with equity and justice, in a non-discriminatory and participatory manner."[49] Providing the right to economic opportunity, therefore, must be universal.

Moreover, agricultural development provides the opportunity for South Sudan to employ its population. Through employment, economic rights can be achieved, which ultimately solidifies human development. By achieving an adequate standard of living through fundamental rights, such as, food, shelter, water, and health services, a population is able to shift its use of income from material needs for survival to consumer and durable goods. Thus, achieving adequate human and economic development is necessary for the development of a consumer-driven population.

3.0. Women, Microfinance, and the Agriculture Sector

As Sen and Sengupta pointed out, economic growth must be achieved by providing equal access to opportunities. Thus, to develop its agriculture sector, South Sudan must empower women in rural areas. Women consist of the majority of the population in South Sudan. Agriculture is also the highest employed sector, and rural areas are the most populated, there-

fore, investing in women can lead to the production of more crops and higher household incomes. For example, 78 percent of families that live in rural areas depend on their women to farm for their survival.[50] Family income is also supported by women's participation in informal trade. According to the World Bank report *De-Fragmenting Africa: Deepening Regional Trade Integration in Goods and Services*, South Sudanese women who participate in cross-border informal trade are those who live in cities, such as Kaya, at the border between South Sudan and Uganda.[51] These women, who are crossing the border to obtain income to meet daily living expenses, are often uneducated and illiterate.[52] However, these small exchanges add up to a substantial amount of trading revenue. For instance, in 2008 South Sudan and Uganda traded $389 million worth of goods in the *informal* market.[53] This is $143 million more than the trading revenue that was acquired in the *formal* market.[54] Therefore, investing in women in rural areas will lead to the increase of crop production. In addition, as more goods are traded by women, a higher profit will be brought back to families, ultimately increasing household incomes. The rise in household income plays a vital role in creating a consumer-driven population. Thus, increasing household incomes strengthens one's purchasing power.

To empower women financially and to get individuals in the agriculture sector to produce surpluses, the government of South Sudan must establish microfinance institutions throughout rural areas. Microfinance provides loans, insurance, and transfer services to the very poor because banks often do not provide services to people living below the poverty line.[55] Many microfinance centers specifically assist individuals who live under one dollar per day.[56] Traditionally, these institutions serve women, who make up 77 percent of all microfinance customers.[57]

The use of microcredit for the development of the agriculture sector is rare. For instance, in West Africa only 3 percent of agriculture loans came from microfinance organizations.[58] For almost a decade in India, microfinance contributed to a meager 8 percent of agriculture development funds.[59] Currently, 10 percent of women in South Sudan have used microfinance institutions to begin their businesses.[60] It is important to note that 90 percent of South Sudanese women who have started a business acquired funds from money they had saved or from relatives.[61] This statistic portrays the notion that women have access to funds. However, the number of women who have actually started their own business is very low. Therefore, women who have acquired capital from family members or from their own savings represent a small minority in South Sudan. The average South Sudanese individual that is living under one dollar a day is not going to have a savings. Therefore, the likelihood of women obtaining funds from a family member to start a business is not probable.

Microfinance institutions enable women to obtain the necessary capital to invest in agriculture. They can also indirectly commit individuals to produce surpluses and begin exporting. For instance, when South Sudanese women take out loans, they will have to pay them back with interest. Excess crops must be grown to be sold for income so loans can be paid back. These expenses prevent a family from engaging in subsistence farming. Thus, microfinance is important to South Sudan's quest for economic integration because it introduces the notion of surplus production. Furthermore, since the majority of the rural population lives on one dollar

per day, there are limited markets in which to sell crops. As a result, women will have to export their goods to surrounding countries that are capable of buying them, such as Uganda, South Sudan's largest trading partner since 2007.[62]

Therefore, it is important that South Sudanese women have access to funds. Once funds are available, women will have the opportunity to expand their lands, acquire essential farming resources (seeds, fertilizers), and can even become employers. Thus, they become empowered. Currently, most families do not see the reason for producing extra crops because they do not see the benefit. Microfinance, however, can change that perspective. As women are exposed to the notion that producing extra crops can lead to higher income, the production of goods, exporting, and trade could drastically increase. As a result, as profits rise, wealth begins to accumulate and a savings can be established. This savings can then be used to develop and improve a current agricultural business, or can be given to relatives. Microfinance institutions, therefore, can provide loans indirectly. Personal savings that are acquired from businesses that initially began from microcredit can serve as loans to other family members. Thus, the production of surpluses and exports will continue to escalate. Also, as farms expand, the demand for labor will rise, which ultimately provides more jobs.

3.1 South Sudan and the Microfinance Sector: What needs to be done?

The government of South Sudan lacks a microfinance component in the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. However, one of the functions of the ministry is to "establish and manage/supervise an agricultural microfinance and credit banking scheme."[63] The government of South Sudan should consider mimicking India's system on microfinance. In 2007, India passed the Microfinance Sector (Development and Regulation) Bill. The bill calls for the development of a Micro Finance Development Council to "advice the National Bank on formulation of policies, schemes, and other measures required in the interest of orderly growth and development of the micro finance sector."[64] Thus, the government of South Sudan must develop a council similar to this to work with the Central Bank of South Sudan (government operated) as well as with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.

Furthermore, in 2008, the World Bank found that one of the largest obstacles for the success of microfinance institutions is government laws proposing regulations on the amount of start-up capital a microfinance institution must have before it can provide services.[65] India tackled this issue in both the 2007 and 2011 Micro Finance Sector (Development and Regulation) bills.[66] For instance, the 2011 bill calls for an application for the establishment of a microfinance institution to have "a net owned fund, created out of contributions to capital, reserves or grants or donations received by it, of at least five lakh rupees or such other amounts specified by regulations."[67] The government of South Sudan must propose a bill that allows rapid and low-cost start-ups for microfinance institutions. The objective is to have numerous accessible microcredit opportunities for women. Relaxed regulations, such as the ones proposed in India, can persuade more microfinance organizations to establish ties in South Sudan.

The presence of microfinance institutions with low disbursement will initially stimulate the agri-

culture sector. As more people are employed and production of goods increases, the government of South Sudan will have to maintain and increase production. Once microfinance institutions acquire a substantial amount of funds for disbursement, South Sudan must begin looking at financing long-term needs for farmers. For instance, in *What Can Microfinance Contribute to Agriculture in Developing Countries*, Solène Morvant-Roux states that there are two types of goals when providing aid for agriculture development, short- and long-term. The short-term goals for development are obtaining basic farming essentials, such as "seeds, fertilizers and pesticides."[68] As farming becomes more advanced and the production of crops increases, more aid will be needed for advanced machinery, shipping, storage facilities, preservation, and land expansion.[69] As a result, exports have the potential to significantly increase by advancing and modernizing the agriculture sector.

3.2 Agriculture, Microfinance, and Relationship Building

East Africa has faced a severe food shortage in the last few years. Many countries in the EAC, specifically Kenya and Tanzania, are experiencing food insecurity. Currently, South Sudan produces numerous agricultural products, such as sorghum, corn, wheat, rice, sugarcane, and fruits such as bananas and mangoes, as well as, peanuts, beans, and sweat potatoes.[70] The most important agricultural product that South Sudan has is rice.

Rice consumption in East Africa is enormous, but the amount of rice grown in the region is trivial. For instance, Kenya is consuming rice at unprecedented levels, where in 2007 the population consumed 293,722 tons of rice; however, Kenya was only capable of producing 46,256 tons of rice.[71] Thus, Kenya had to import more than $84 million worth of rice.[72] A study on rice production in Kenya by the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI) found that the lack of rice production was due to the limited amount of microcredit taken out by farmers. Only about 5 percent of loans per year for 5 years were distributed for rice in Kenya.[73] Tanzania also shares a similar agriculture problem, where famines are reoccurring because 40 percent of the population lives in areas that have unpredictable rain falls.[74]

South Sudan must consider investing heavily in rice production. The government of South Sudan has the potential to be the main exporter of rice in the region. Unlike other countries, South Sudan has vast amounts of suitable farming land that is densely populated by potential farmers. Establishing strong rice production will not only help South Sudan's current food insecurity, but will also play vital a role in reducing food threats throughout the EAC. In order to achieve this, South Sudan must consider a microfinance bill that obligates microfinance institutions for the first 3-5 years of establishment, to reserve one-third to half of all loans for rice production. Another option would be for the government of South Sudan to compensate farmers for their rice production. For example, South Sudan can reserve 0.5-1 percent of its GDP, as compensation, for farmers who produce rice. This can ultimately serve as a motivation to grow rice. Moreover, the government of South Sudan must begin developing its agriculture sector so it can start pursuing integration with the EAC.

4.0 Women and the East African Community: South Sudan's Responsibility

South Sudan cannot rely on women to develop

its agriculture sector for trade and exporting with other East African countries unless it changes its laws on women. The treatment of women is one of the EAC's top concerns. For instance, after the EAC denied North Sudan's application for membership, Uganda's minister for East African Affairs, Eirya Kategaya, stated that "We [Uganda and Tanzania] rejected their [North Sudan's] application after looking at several issues like…the way they treat women and their religious politics."[75] South Sudan does not have a track record of violence and abuse toward their women, like the North. However, it does have a judicial system that views women as inferior to men. In addition, South Sudan has yet to safeguard women's rights under international law. In the 1970's the EAC collapsed because of conflicting ideologies. Therefore, South Sudan must align itself with the same norms, laws, and policies as the EAC. As a result, conforming to EAC standards will show that South Sudan wants to strengthen its relations with the community.

4.1 The View of Women in South Sudan

Currently, South Sudan has conflicting judicial systems. It has both customary and statutory courts. The statutory courts consist of legal trained judges, while the customary courts are headed by Chiefs who favor patriarchal ideals.[76] For instance, the report *Women's Security and the Law in South Sudan* states that all 50 tribes in South Sudan that practice customary law:

"are inherently patriarchal, relegating women to a lower status in the family and community and perpetuating and enforcing a number of customs and traditions that are harmful to women. Proponents of the law maintain that the role and status of women must be seen in the context of a culture whose upmost value is family cohesion; from this standpoint, women and men's positions are equally critical to the family unit's survival, with the woman's subservient position fulfilling an important social role."[77]

In addition, customary practices allow strict discipline of women by men in the private sector, which can often lead to domestic violence.[78] It is important to note that customary law does not permit domestic violence, but is flexible on what it considers severe.[79] Arranged marriages are often common and involve giving compensation for marriage.[80] Thus, societies under customary law are male dominant. Consequently, these views toward women limit their participation in decision making at both the local and federal levels.[81]

Unfortunately, due to the lack of accessibility of statutory courts throughout the country, 90 percent of court cases pass through customary judges.[82] Many scholars argue that the government of South Sudan must take action against customary law because it violates human rights. However, if the government of South Sudan changes every law that violates women's rights, it will be altering customs and culture. As a new nation, the government of South Sudan cannot take the risk in altering every law against women because it would drastically change the lifestyles of its people in a short period of time.

The government of South Sudan must first focus on promoting two aspects of women rights, property rights and participation in local and federal affairs. Both these rights can play a role in increasing surplus production, exports, and household incomes. Women's participation in decision making is vital for the success of the agriculture sector and microfinance institutions. As contributors to family income through farming, women must be actively involved in the laws and policies that surround

agriculture and microfinance. Property rights are also vital toward the growth of these sectors. As incomes rise from businesses started by microcredit, the expansion of farming land is feasible. Currently, customary law states that men have control over finances and land.[83] Therefore, even if women would like to expand their businesses, their husbands may not allow it. Men may also deny women the opportunity to share their savings with other relatives. As a result, prohibiting these rights can actually halt agricultural growth. To solidify these rights, the government of South Sudan must first ratify regional and international human rights documents.

4.2 Ratification of Human Rights Documents

The government of South Sudan has yet to ratify the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). It is important to note that both documents have been ratified by Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, Burundi, and Rwanda (EAC member states).[84] Thus, if South Sudan ratifies them as well, it will be moving one step closer toward promoting the same worldviews as the EAC community. Ratifying these documents also illustrates that South Sudan wants to move in the right direction in promoting human rights and social justice, which are both requirements to become a member of the EAC.

These documents can aid in the formation of new laws concerning property and women's rights. For instance, Article 14 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights guarantees everyone the "right to property," while Article 18 obligates the state to "ensure the elimination of every discrimination against women."[85] Furthermore, CEDAW specifically states that women are entitled to land. Article 15 states that women must have "a legal capacity identical to that of men and the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. In particular, they shall give women equal rights to conclude contracts and to administer property."[86] Ratifying international law is the necessary step toward the creation of new laws that guarantee property rights to everyone. The government of South Sudan must encourage women to purchase more land and loan their savings to other members so they can invest in the production of crops. The objective is to make it as easy as possible for women to help expand the agriculture sector.

Furthermore, in *Gender and Statebuilding in South Sudan*, Nada Mustafa Ali states that for women to be empowered at the governmental level, the government of South Sudan must reserve 30 percent of government seats to women.[87] Women need to be a part of the government to produce policies regarding agriculture and microfinance. In addition, if women have a voice in government they can promote their rights, specifically property rights. Ratifying CEDAW is imperative for the government of South Sudan to meet this objective. For example, Article 7(c) of CEDAW states that women have the right to participate in and create government policy.[88] Thus, ratifying this document will obligate the government of South Sudan to empower women at the government level.

Achieving a 30 percent proportion of government seats will support the EAC's vision on empowering women. For example, the proportion of women represented in parliament in Rwanda is 56.3 percent, Uganda has 31.3 percent, Tanzania has 36 percent, and Burundi has 32 percent, while Kenya only has 9.8 percent of

women represented in parliament.[89] Four of the five EAC member states have achieved a 30 percent or higher representation of women in government, with the exception of Kenya, who has committed to achieving this goal. If South Sudan also achieves 30 percent or higher, it is showing the EAC that it wants to empower women not just at the local level, but at a government level as well. Thus, South Sudan can illustrate its progress toward meeting EAC standards by ratifying both CEDAW and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

5.0 Conclusion

South Sudan has a long way to go before it can fully integrate with the East African Community (EAC). Since July 2011 South Sudan has viewed infrastructure as its main concern. Additionally, the government of South Sudan has also seen the great potential that agriculture can play in economic growth. Thus, the government is making great strides in developing the country. However, it is failing to see the correlation between non-discriminatory development and political and economic integration.

Due to the mindset of South Sudanese farmers, investing in agriculture will lower unemployment, and nothing more. South Sudan must encourage its rural population to refrain from subsistence farming. To achieve this, South Sudan must empower women in the agriculture sector. Microfinance institutions can motivate people to produce surpluses. Ultimately, they indirectly introduce the notion that producing more crops can lead to a higher income. As a result, higher incomes can lead to the establishment of a savings. These savings will help reduce poverty and create consumerism. Microfinance institutions in the agriculture sector can create the foundation for a consumer-driven population. A population that has the capability to buy goods and spend money on luxuries can benefit the East African Community, because it can expand its markets to South Sudan. In addition, as agriculture becomes more advanced, exports to other countries will rise. This can serve as a relationship-building tool. With fertile land, South Sudan has the resources to develop enough food to aid other EAC member states in eliminating their food scarcities.

Furthermore, the empowerment of women will also enhance ripeness with the EAC. The EAC membership requirements, stated in Article 3 (ii) of the East African Community Treaty, are based on adherence to democracy, rule of law, social justice, and human rights. Thus, as South Sudan develops its agriculture sector to create a consumer-driven population, it will also be adhering to the EAC's worldviews. Additionally, South Sudan must reflect on the EAC's promotion of human rights through the ratification of international human right laws. Following the EAC's commitment to empower women, South Sudan will illustrate its desire to conform to the community's standards.

Moreover, once these pre-conditions are met, South Sudan can move toward the laws and policies that are necessary to fully develop the country as a potential partner in a functional system of political and economic integration.

Endnotes:

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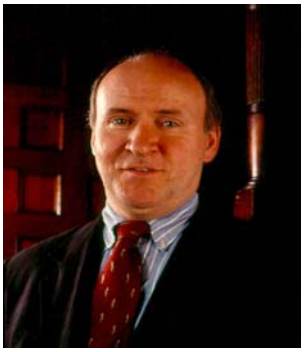
How the Shanghai Rankings Have Transformed French Higher Education



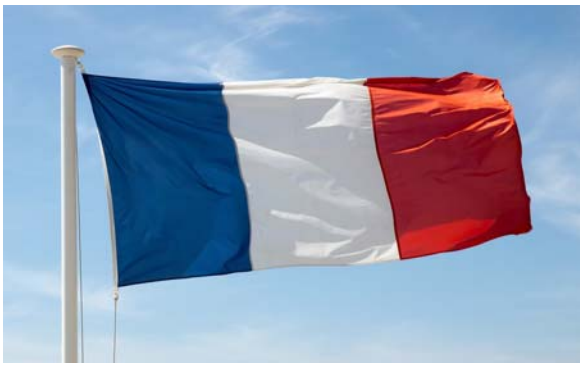
Dr. Thomas Ward

Abstract

A May 1968, student uprising in Paris almost led to the collapse of the government of then French President Charles de Gaulle and his Fifth Republic. A well calculated brand of watching, waiting . and then acting at the opportune moment allowed President de Gaulle to block his opposition's advance and it culminated with De Gaulle's masterful call for elections in the summer of 1968, which allowed President de Gaulle to challenge much of his opposition. Recognizing the universities both as a seat of political power and as a paragon of inefficiency, de Gaulle took advantage of the aftermath of May 1968 to put an end to France's centralized university system. The University of Paris-Sorbonne, for example, was divided in Fall 1968 into thirteen smaller institutions. Power was localized in each institution but the general perception was that the quality of education in France had begun to diminish and that France's educational system had fallen into silos. In the decades that followed, Europeans increasingly looked toward the United States and Great Britain as the reference points for academic excellence. All of this was further reinforced through the Jiaotong University's Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) or the so-called Shanghai Rankings that have taken on increasing prominence in Europe and in France in particular since the rankings protocols first began some two decades. When elected to the Presidency in 2007, Nicholas Sarkozy vowed to reverse that and to make France once again a center of excellence. In the pursuit of excellence, the France of today feels obliged to centralize its academic institutions once again à la '68. This time will the re-centralization of academic institutions in France have the impact and outcomes that are desired by French leadership? This article attempts to introduce the key dimensions of France's current education reform and the challenges that it takes and the risks that it runs.

Biography:

Thomas Ward is Vice President for Internationalization and Dean of the College of Public and International Affairs at the University of Bridgeport in Connecticut. Ward lived and studied in France for several years and was one of eleven American academics selected by the J. William Fulbright Scholarship Commission to participate in October 2013 in the first Fulbright International Education Administrator program in France.



In May 1968 I was a university exchange student in France when strikes that began at the University of Paris-Nanterre spread to the Latin Quarter and the Sorbonne and, from there, ricocheted across campuses throughout France. When the government of French President Charles De Gaulle responded with police in riot gear and by the closure of universities, labor unions, including the powerful General Confederation of Labor or **Confédération générale du travail** (CGT), joined the fray and announced a general strike. They supported the students while also garnering public support for their own grievances against the Ministry of Labor for its unrelenting opposition to an increase in the minimum wage. For a while, France appeared on the verge of a regime change and then rivalries over leadership between Socialist leader and later President François Mitterand and French Communist Party leader George Marchais divided the opposition. Gaullist forces took advantage of the moment. De Gaulle's Prime Minister Georges Pompidou agreed to meet with French labor leaders. This led to the May 27th Grenelle Accords that included a 35% increase in the minimum wage and an end of the general strike.

The once cohesive voice of dissent dissipated and President De Gaulle chose to steal off for a single day (May 29th) to his residence in Colombey-les Deux Eglises. On his return, De Gaulle defied his opposition by insisting that he would not step down as President, as many had demanded. De Gaulle instead dissolved the French National Assembly, calling for new elections. His retort to his opponents *"La reforme oui, la chienlit non"* (Change, yes; havoc, no), first articulated on May 19th, began to "stick." It resonated with the French mainstream who favored reforms rather than breakdown and "revolution." The De Gaulle who had rallied France during the German Occupation managed to retrieve his government from the throes of collapse and 500,000 of his supporters filled the Champs Elysée on the evening of May 30th. On June 30, 1968, in a lopsided vote, his party and its allies took 394 of the National Assembly's 485 seats. De Gaulle remained in office another year. His Fifth Republic survives until today; however, the University of Paris numbered amongst the casualties of the May upheaval.

In July 1968 Charles De Gaulle chose Edgar Faure, both a politician and a respected intellectual, as his new Minister of Education. Faure proposed reforms that resulted in the subdivision of the University of Paris into 13 smaller units, each with significant autonomy. Similar reforms took place in the university systems throughout France. The University of Lyons was subdivided into Lyons 1 and Lyons 2 (and later Lyons 3); the University of Bordeaux became Bordeaux 1, 2, 3, and 4. The subdivisions could be based as much on politics as academic disciplines. For example, the new University of Paris I (Sorbonne-Pantheon) became known for providing its students with an interpretation of the law that tilted to the Left, while its counterpart Paris II (Pantheon-Assas) chose a Right-leaning approach to legal studies.

The decentralization and, in a sense, the fragmentation of the French university system would persist until 2000. Over that period, the reputation of French higher education, long respected for being among the best in the world, lost standing to institutions in the United States and the United Kingdom. The institutional subdivisions of the post-1968 system led to educational silos that failed to recognize and seize opportunities for inter-institutional cooperation.

The Shanghai Rankings

The decline in France's education has been evident in the standings of French universities in "the Shanghai Rankings." The Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education (SJTUIHE) first published its *Research on World Class Universities* in 1993 and it initiated its *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (ARWU) in 2003. The Institute's original intent in publishing these research findings was to serve as a benchmark or reference point so that Chinese universities could compare their educational and research standings with other top universities in the world. However, the ARWU quickly became "the ranking of choice" for more than China. While the Shanghai Rankings have not yet had the same impact in the United States where *US News* rankings remain the measure of choice, they have had a defining influence on the current direction that French higher education and research are taking. The key criterion of the Shanghai Rankings is productivity in scientific research. Factors taken into consideration include an institution's performance in delivering alumni and faculty who garner Nobel Prizes and Fields Medals (the mathematics prize, awarded quadrennially, often compared to the Nobel). The rankings also assess faculty publications in 21 key subject fields and the frequency that an institution's faculty and researchers are cited in leading Science and Social Science Indexes. The Shanghai rankings also take into account an institution's per capita productivity in each of the aforementioned categories. In terms of publications and citations, the Shanghai Rankings only include English language publications, leaving the Chinese, the French, and others at a disadvantage.

The collective national achievements of French academics in Nobel Prizes and Fields Awards are not to be taken lightly. France ranks first in Fields Medalists together with the United States, with each having garnered eleven awards (with France winning two of the four medals in the most recent selection that took place in 2010). France figures fourth in Nobel laureates behind the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany, but ahead of Russia, China, and Japan.

France's most elite educational institutions of higher education are not its universities but its *Grandes Ecoles*. One of them is the *rue d'Ulm*'s *Ecole Normale Superieure (ENS),* alma mater to Louis Pasteur, Henri Bergson, Jean Paul Sartre, and Michel Foucault. *ENS* has produced thirteen Nobel laureates and all of France's Fields medalists. However, largely because of its institutional mission and scope of activity (which, for example, does not include a stand-alone *ENS* doctorate), *ENS* stands at only #71 in the current Shanghai Rankings. Nineteen American universities figure in Shanghai's top twenty-five universities for 2013. Four others are British, one is Japanese, and one is Swiss. The first French universities figure at #37 and #39, with France having only four institutions in the top 100.

A Call for Restructuring

The call for a paradigm shift in French higher education became a cause célèbre in the 2007 presidential campaign that pitted *Union pour un Mouvement Populaire* (UMP) candidate Nicolas Sarkozy against Socialist Party leading figure Ségolène Royal. Following his May 2007 victory in the polls, Sarkozy and the UMP introduced legislation in the French National Assembly for structural reforms in French higher education that would give a boost to France's profile in rankings such as Shanghai's Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU). Sarkozy even went so far as to give specific marching orders to Valerie Précesse, his Minister of Higher Education and Research, asking her to develop a plan that would lead to at least two of the top twenty universities in the world rankings being French. He also specified that French universities should claim at least ten of the top 100 slots. During the 2012 presidential campaign, current French President François Hollande criticized Sarkozy's campaign to repackage French higher education, describing the process as "undemocratic." Nevertheless, since assuming office in 2012, Hollande has allowed most Sarkozy reforms to go forward, even when he suffered criticism from the respected French Center-Left daily *Le Monde*. While President Hollande's Minister of Higher Education Geneviève Fioraso also criticized the ranking systems for having an Anglo-American bias, she chose not to stray too far from the Sarkozy plan. Rankings clearly remain on the mind of the Hollande administration. The crux of their reforms is still an effort to bring together the French universities, *Grandes Ecoles* such as *ENS,* and France's very strong National Scientific Research Centers (CNRS) in five to eight locations in France as leverage to improve French Universities' world rankings.

Until now, the PhD has not had the same weight and visibility in France as in places such as the United States, Germany, Korea, or China. For one thing, the French only address medical doctors as "Docteur." PhD or not, everyone else is still "Madame," "Monsieur," or "Mademoiselle." France's elite *Ecole Nationale d'Administration* (*ENA*) or National School of Administration, overseen by France's Council of State, represents the key training ground for the top political leaders and civil servants, including Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Jacques Chirac, and François Hollande, three of France's last four presidents. In an October briefing to American university administrators, a top *ENA* academic official explained that, during his stay in the United States, he had faced obstacles because of not having a PhD. He had anticipated that, as in France, the *ENA* diploma would speak for itself but found that his American colleagues judged him at least as much on his degree as on the provenance of his education. Leadership at *ENA* is now exploring changes in its curriculum so that its graduates will earn a PhD.

The EU identity and France's part in it has solidified through milestones such as the Treaties of Maastricht (1992) and Lisbon (2009). The need to harmonize the academic standards of the EU member states and other European partners led to the Bologna Accords of 1999. This has allowed for the standardizing of some dimensions of education and the granting of common credit throughout Europe through the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), designed to facilitate educational mobility. To align itself with the Bologna protocols, France surrendered its two longstanding-advanced post -Master's degrees, the *Diplôme Supérieur d'Etudes Specialisées* (Higher Diploma of Specialized Studies) and its *Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies*

(Diploma of Advanced Studies). The unabashedly anglicized "Masters 2" has replaced both of them.

University Conglomerates and the Ambitious Paris-Saclay Experiment

Collaborative academic "conglomerates" have begun to emerge from the post-1968 subdivisions of the University of Paris. These have led to two "new" Sorbonnes: *Sorbonne Universités* and *Sorbonne Paris Cité* each bring together some of the post-1968 subdivisions of the University of Paris as well as certain of the *Grandes Ecoles* and National Scientific Research Centers (*CNRS*) located in Paris. However, the University of Paris-Saclay, located on the outskirts of Paris, is the highest profile of France's new higher education collaborations. Paris-Saclay represents a partnership of two of the greater Paris region universities, as well as seven of the ten most elite of France's *Grandes Ecoles*, including *Ecole Polytechnique* (France's MIT), *Ecole Normale Supérieure* (*ENS*) Cachan, and a top business school, *Ecole de Hautes Etudes Commerciales* (*HEC*), along with top National Scientific Research Centers (CNRS) and private industries covering everything from dairy products to nanotechnology. Once complete, there will be ten thousand academic researchers as well as twenty thousand private sector researchers on site. Since 2010 the leaders of the Paris-Saclay project have been up front that a key *raison d'être* of these collaborations is to catapult the University of Paris-Saclay to near the top in the Shanghai rankings. Paris-Saclay and similar higher education-research clusters in venues such as Paris, Bordeaux, Lyons, and Strasbourg are scheduled to receive generous "endowments" through the French Ministry of Education. The Paris-Saclay project will receive the largest of these, amounting to some 1.8 billion Euros (US$ 2.4 billion). Like most endowments, only earnings on principal will be available for new projects or to supplement annual operating expenses. However, it remains unclear if the universities and their partners will manage these funds by themselves or if the French government will manage them directly.

A Neglected Undergraduate Population?

One challenge that the institutional collaboratives still need to address is the "*décalage*" (gap) between supporting research and graduate studies versus servicing a needy undergraduate population, particularly first year students. French universities, including Paris-Saclay and Paris-Sorbonne, have open admissions for their undergraduate programs. Any student with a baccalaureate has the right to matriculate in a French university. The baccalaureate is attained through a challenging, cumulative exam taken at the conclusion of a student's university studies. The baccalaureate is viewed as the first university-level credential and it is required for entrance into a French university. Students wishing to enter a *Grande Ecole* must not only score well on the baccalaureate but they must also be admitted based on their score on an exam for a specific *Grande Ecole,* usually taken after two additional years of preparatory classes after the baccalaureate that can also count as the first two years of university study. Since 1985 there are

three types of baccalaureates in France: the General baccalaureate or "bac" as it is known is for those on a university or *Grandes Ecoles* track; the technological "bac", in place since 1968, for those planning studies in a technical track; and, most recently, the professional baccalaureate for those normally planning to enter the job force upon graduation. Students holding any of the three baccalaureates are automatically qualified to enroll in any French public university. However, the level of preparation required for these three baccalaureates differs greatly, with the general "bac" being by far the most rigorous.

Nevertheless, the incentives for those with any type of "bac" to continue study can be compelling and may make "taking the plunge" worthwhile. The state-regulated tuition for any French university is less than the library or student activity fees at many colleges in the United States. In academic year 2013-2014, undergraduates pay 183 Euros (US$ 245) per year. Masters degree students pay 254 Euros (US$ 339) and doctoral students pay 388 Euros (US$ 514). In addition, students must pay an annual health insurance fee of 211 Euros (US$ 281). Entry into a university, even if short-lived, allows a student to state on a resume that he or she has done some university study.

However, there are also challenges facing entering freshmen. The academic resource centers found in American universities are lacking. Also, it is not easy in places like Bordeaux for entering freshmen to find off-campus housing. When a student discloses that he or she is a freshman, landlords shy away, knowing that the attrition rate for University freshmen in France is higher than 50% nationwide. Landlords prefer a second- or third-year student or a student at a *Grande Ecole*. They do not want to risk a vacant room in the middle of a school year when an overwhelmed and underprepared first-year student withdraws because of failing grades or stress.

Greater attention is being given to first-year students in some venues in France. Michel Deneken, first Vice President of the University of Strasbourg, recently observed not only that Martin Karplus, 2013 Nobel laureate in Chemistry, had a joint academic appointment at Harvard and at the University of Strasbourg. He added that the University of Strasbourg's three Nobel laureates, the other two being Jules Hoffmann (Nobel Prize in Medicine 2011) and Jean-Marie Lehn (Nobel for Chemistry in 1987), all deliver lectures to first-year students at the University of Strasbourg. Nevertheless, needed resources such as remedial courses, writing centers, and tutoring are sorely lacking in France. The Shanghai Rankings do not factor retention efforts into the rankings because the *ARWU* focus is purely research. If higher rankings are the goal and retention does not fit into the calculus, resource centers, such as we find in the United States, could remain a low priority.

Partly in response to the Shanghai Rankings, the European Union has initiated its own rankings through U-Multirank, which has received €2 million in EU support through the year 2014. The university systems across Europe have established stronger ties through the Bologna Process, which since its inception in 1999 has facilitated cooperation across borders within the European Union. U-Multirank will be rolled out in early 2014. Its rankings' criteria include quality teaching, student learning, the building of partnerships, and internationalization, as well as research. Concern has been expressed that the new rankings may have a bias for EU institutions. Time will tell.

What can United States Higher Education Learn From France's Education Experience and Trajectory?

Over the past five decades, French education has gone full circle from centralized control to devolution of power to local universities beginning in 1968, to the current collaborations that have produced new, super-sized, research-oriented conglomerates such as the University of Paris-Saclay. Hopefully France's longstanding centers of educational excellence including the *Ecoles Normales Superieure*s and the *Ecole Polytechnique* will be able to maintain enough of their identity and autonomy within the new models to offer the intellectual leadership and high quality educational experience that they have provided in the past. The Shanghai Rankings and the shared metrics and standards of the Bologna Process hopefully can serve to orient French education in a both an international and a positive pedagogical direction, even if lacunae exist.

The original intent of the Shanghai Rankings was to measure the quality of Chinese universities vis-à-vis universities in other parts of the world. The rankings were meant to help Chinese universities understand their overseas counterparts' achievements and factor those into building a top flight Chinese system of education. Amazingly, China's higher education system that was decimated by Mao's Cultural Revolution of the 1960s finds itself in the midst of an impressive process of rebuilding. With an economy on steroids and with its tradition of "tiger moms (and dads)," China, through its Shanghai Rankings, and through top flight institutions such as Beijing, Fudan, and Tsinghua universities, appears destined to become as much a player in international education as it is in the South China Sea.

The French effort to play "catch-up" suggests that no country, including the United States, can afford to focus on the current successes and failures of its own institutions of higher education. The self-study process that American universities must undergo periodically to maintain accreditation serves as an important venue for schools to reflect and compare their performance to defined protocols. In the self-study process, universities must provide evidence that they have achieved expected accreditation agency standards or demonstrate how they are working in a productive way towards achieving those standards. This process places the responsibility squarely on institutions of higher learning to meet the criteria established by the accrediting agency. However, the accreditation process implicitly also places increasing responsibility on regional and professional accreditation agencies, as well the US Department of Higher Education, to establish standards based on tracking and learning from successes of universities and educational systems both in the United States and abroad. If American universities and the state, regional, and professional associations that accredit them are not cognizant of the developments that are occurring elsewhere, the United States could face the same challenges a decade or so from now that France confronted in 2007. We should also anticipate that, as time goes by, China will not just be calibrating and ranking research institutions but undergraduate programs as well. Perhaps now is the time to think about what an American version of the Shanghai ranking of world universities should look like.

Pastoralism and Development in Kenya: Raising Standards of Education

Rebecca Witherington

Abstract

For a number of tribes in Kenya, the raising of livestock and subsequent nomadic lifestyle has long been the key to economic stability and success. It also creates a deep linkage between the modern tribes and the traditional culture of pastoralism in East Africa. But while the traditional lifestyle still allows for the economic development of these groups, it may prove a hindrance to their long-term social development with regard to the groups' ability to provide consistent education to their children.

The Millennium Development Goals provide a framework for addressing the most pressing concerns facing developing countries today. Among these goals is one that calls for the universality of primary education for children. Kenya has already taken important steps towards realizing this goal; for example, school fees in the country have been abolished and, as a result, primary school enrollment has skyrocketed. The United Nations is also working to establish a legal framework that would require school-age children to attend classes up to a certain level. Such an action would help in realizing the MDG regarding education, but would create a conflict with the culture of pastoral groups.

This paper will seek to gauge the differences in primary education between the state as a whole and pastoralist tribes in Kenya in order to determine whether or not their nomadic lifestyle is a hindrance to their development in that aspect. In order to do this, the paper will examine indicators of educational development, as designated by the United Nations, such as net enrollment in primary education and literacy rates. Additional social indicators of development such as secondary and tertiary enrollment and school life expectancy will supplement the information. Should the research produce evidence suggesting that nomadic culture does prove an obstacle to consistent education, recommendations will be made regarding approaches to providing education opportunities to children of pastoral communities by referring to models of healthcare accessibility currently being used to treat these communities.

Biography

Rebecca Witherington received her B.A. in Anthropology and Iberian Studies from New York University (New York, NY). Before enrolling in the University of Bridgeport's Global Development and Peace M.A. program, Rebecca was a Community Inclusion Counselor at The Kennedy Center, Inc. (Trumbull, CT), a non-profit organization that offers programs and services to individuals with disabilities. She is currently employed as a Graduate Assistant with the University of Bridgeport's Office of Graduate Admissions.

Introduction

Kenya is home to a significant nomadic population, based on the fringes of society in arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL). These peoples are assembled into tribal groups based on kinship ties and have practiced pastoralism for many generations. The movement of the groups is an important part of their economic livelihood, as well as their culture. But this movement is not conducive to regular school attendance and may hinder school-age children's abilities to receive primary education. As Kenya moves towards realizing the Millennium Development goals, are pastoral children being left behind?

This paper posits that the transient nature of the nomadic pastoral tradition in Kenya, through the example of the Masaai and others, does create a barrier to education. This barrier is intensified by the fact that the state actively seeks to sedentarize nomadic peoples, and the educational system, which only accommodates sedentary people, is an indirect route to instilling pastoral children with sedentary values and undermines the values of pastoral life. Through the example of non-traditional schooling options and mobilized healthcare, this paper will seek to make recommendations by which the pastoral peoples' traditional way of life may carry on, without sacrificing education, and subsequently, their ability to interface with other communities in matters of business or otherwise in an informed and fair manner.

Pastoralism and Development

In order to address an issue regarding development in pastoral society, one must first endeavor to define both pastoralism and development.[1] Therein lies a problem. Both terms are arguably vague. Pastoralism may be defined as "the use of extensive grazing in rangelands for livestock production."[2] But this definition focuses solely on the economic function that a nomadic lifestyle serves for its people. In order to understand the pastoral culture, one must endeavor to look beyond this way of life as merely a mode of production, and understand it as a mode of perception.[3] In other words, it is imperative that pastoralism be defined in terms of the many social and historical conditions under which it occurs.[4] The culture and tradition behind the pastoral way of life should be treated with equal importance. This balance in the relationship between local ecology, domesticated livestock, and people in rangelands is also defined by the landscape in which this lifestyle traditionally occurs. Pastoral societies range in regions where resources are scarce and ecologically variable, often at the threshold of human survival within them.[5]

Additionally, there are three ideal types of pastoralism. Ideal types are used here because groups may adhere to lifestyles that hybridize from these three basic traditions. The first is nomadism. These pastoralists are entirely dependent on the sale and exchange of livestock for their livelihood. For this reason, namely that they may need to explore different markets depending on success rates, their migration routes are irregular. The second ideal type is transhumance pastoralism. These groups have perma-

nent homesteads from which they embark on seasonal migrations. These migrations occur between two fixed points and groups often practice herd splitting. Lastly, there are the agro-pastoralists. These groups are inherently different than the first two in that they are sedentary. They do not practice any form of migration; rather, they rely on a mix of crop production and herding for their livelihood in a fixed location.[6] Again, it is necessary to reiterate that these three types of pastoral life are ideal types designed to categorize groups in simple terms and do not necessarily reflect the individuality of independent groups.

Defining development is likewise, tricky. Because the concept is relatively new, it continues to morph to accommodate the contexts within which it is used. For the purpose of this paper, development will be understood as a process by which an individual, group, or state builds their current economic and social situation so that their overall quality of life is enhanced, and the meaning of economic and social situations and their development addressed. This working definition seeks to avoid the use of biased language and qualitative comparisons of cultures (as opposed to independent assessments of each on their own merits).[7] Because the term development is vague, the definition used herein does not always align with those used by scholars throughout the history of development efforts within pastoral society. In moving forward with an analysis of development and education within pastoral society, this article will address some of the inconsistencies found in past efforts as they affected early development efforts before applying this unique definition to frame suggestions for improvement.

Past development efforts within pastoral communities have relied on more narrow definitions of pastoralism and often revolved around inaccurate stereotypes, lending to their ineffectiveness. As research on pastoral culture began to expand in the 1970s and 1980s, scholars began to emphasize that in order to "understand herders, one must understanding herding"[8]; that is, in order to understand the nuance of pastoralism, one must look at the specific types of pastoral life practiced and the behaviors associated with them.

Unfortunately, pastoralists were often seen as disturbances within the ecosystem they relied on, rather than a long-term and integral part of that system.[9] This perspective, stemming from the "tragedy of the commons" concept,[10] asserts that common property resources shared by pastoralists leads to overgrazing and environmental degradation (i.e. desertification). A long-standing misconception that pastoralism poses a threat, this attitude is especially true of African game parks, where pastoral lands have been appropriated for the creation of reserves. Migratory peoples are seen as an invasion of that space and detrimental to its wellbeing, though little thought is given to the quantity of land being removed from the herding patterns of that people.[11] This view of pastoralism as a disturbance stems from traditional state discourse that frames pastoral life as a string of oppositions: nature vs. civilization, nomadic vs. sedentary, traditional vs. modern, and so forth.[12]

These theories of pastoral effects formed what was considered the "mainstream" view of pastoral development for many years. This view centered on the notion that rangelands were suffering from desertification that was mainly caused by overgrazing domestic animals, caused by an increase in the number of animals per herd. This view suggested that while the technology existed to combat desertification, the

traditional social and economic systems of pastoral culture would militate against any such actions and that the solution was therefore to privatize commercial ranches, grazing blocks, and so forth, and support these land plots with scientific guidance regarding more sustainable techniques through a central bureaucratic institution.[13]

Aside from an inaccurate mainstream view of development, pastoralists face inconsistent but prevailing national attitudes. Pastoralism is viewed in states, such as Kenya, as a "fundamentally flawed way of life"[14] and this notion is perpetuated by the state and permeates the culture. This overall understanding of pastoral life then contributes to the frameworks for common understanding of pastoralism and, finally, affects the ways in which society and pastorals interact within social contexts. This prevailing attitude continues to play a role in undermining pastoral livelihood through incorrect policies, preventing the circulation of accurate, informed knowledge, and by spoiling positive programs into negative outcomes.[15]

Development efforts for pastoral groups have historically served to further marginalize, rather than support. This is attributed to the programs being designed by non-pastoralists who fail to grasp the key social component necessary for success within the culture. Efforts have often tried to emphasize "social change" (an example of the bias often applied within the context of development) rather than "directed progress," the advancement of the group.[16]

Development efforts geared towards pastoral communities have also created political friction between nomadic groups and the state. While nomadic groups continue to seek autonomy and retain the right to move across state borders along traditional routes, the sedentary state strives to dominate and encapsulate these nomads, bringing them into the traditional state structure.[17] Many traditional pastoral groups, such as the Masaai, do not believe in the concept of land ownership per se. Rather, they see grazing and water rights as rights shared by all members of a territorial section,[18] thus state pressure to privatize traditional grazing lands and remain sedentary is contrary to their cultural norms. This is countered by the popular state feeling that nomad movement is offensive to the requirements of a modern state and its administration. States may fail to see cross-political boundary migration as part of the necessary search for water and pasture.[19]

The dichotomy between governance and government comes into play here. Governance, the exercising of authority within a group through an internally evolved set of rules, describes the political structures that exist within individual pastoral groups as a result of years of social evo-

lution. Government, on the other hand, is less inherent to the group. Defined as the formal exercise of control through law and coercion over a group by a state, government embodies the role of the state in the antagonistic relationship between sedentary society and pastoral communities that has hindered successful, holistic integration.[20]

Universal Education

The Millennium Development Goals are a set of goals, adopted by the United Nations, to be achieved by the year 2015. They focus on eight issues of immediate importance in developing countries and the achievement of any or all of these goals would greatly improve the quality of life for many people around the world and help them to better realize their developmental potential. The second goal is of particular interest because it deals with education. It presses that by 2015, children everywhere, regardless of gender, should be able to finish primary schooling.[21]

According to the United Nations, school enrollment in sub-Saharan Africa, though the lowest of all regions, has still increased 18 percentage points (from 58% to 76%) between 1999 and 2008.[22] In addition, a survey conducted by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) assessed the country's literacy rate at 71.4%. For the purposes of this survey, literacy was defined as being able to write in any language and read a whole sentence, or having attended any level of secondary education. It was found that literacy rates declined with age, which may demonstrate that recent changes to education policy have helped to secure primary education for the younger generations, though it is still not universal.[23]

A Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) is determined by calculating the total enrollment in a specific level of education, regardless of the ages of the students, and expressing that number as a percentage of the eligible school aged population. In Kenya, the GER is 116.9% overall, though rural areas have disparate percentages when compared to urban areas.[24] World Bank anticipates that Kenya will be one of two countries to realize the MDG of universal education. This may be largely due to recent legislation, beginning the process of creating legal frameworks, such as The Children's Act (2001), to keep children in school.[25]

Because pastoral specific data is hard to come by, one may deduce that the average literacy rate among these communities is low based on their general rural locations. Therefore, the first barrier to education for pastoral communities is not necessarily cultural.

In Kenya, the total percentage of individuals living in poverty is approximated at 52%, and overall poverty was higher in ASALs. In pastoral districts of Kenya, average poverty levels are much higher: Garissa (92%), Marsabit (87%), and West Pokot (69%). Perhaps as a result, according to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Kenya's GER was 87.1% in 2001, but these same rural districts fell below that national average. Garissa and Marsabit had 12.9% and 41.3% enrollment, respectively. Other regions such as Wajir (19.3%), Mandera (22.2%), and Turkana (32.2%) were also low.[26]

The obvious potential barrier to development with regard to education is the mobile nature of pastoral life.[27] There are, however, other factors that contribute to the difficulty of providing the standard of primary education called for by the MDGs. For example, state or privately run educational facilities follow generally universal curriculum guidelines, whereas pastoralists traditionally learn through apprenticeship or pass knowledge from parent to child.[28] While this form of education may not be as "well rounded" as a school curriculum, there is evidence that the apprenticeship component actually enhances the understanding of complex themes through practical application in the community

and with the livestock.[29]

Another potential barrier is pastoral communities' concerns that education, as the state offers it, poses a threat to their way of life. Pastoralists believe in the value of education and its important role in the development of their communities.[30] It provides pastoral society with a security net by strengthening their access to, and relationships with, outside enterprise.[31] This is countered by suspicions that the forms of education currently available to them are created with the intent to promote, or even force, a sedentary lifestyle.[32]

The counter to this is some pastoralists expressed interest in sending their children to school in order for them to obtain jobs outside of traditional society as a bridge between traditional culture and the sedentary world. This would also provide more stability for the community in times of hardship (drought, epidemics, raids). However, in some cases, parents who expressed interest in educating children only sought to do so with one or two of their children, keeping the others within the fold of the pastoral community to assist with the traditional modes of economic production. This creates a barrier for some children, as families may only send the child they perceive to be the brightest for an education while the rest are not afforded equal opportunity.[33]

Education may further undermine traditional pastoral values through the values assumed by proposed initiatives. For example, the Education For All (EFA) movement is a global commitment to provide quality basic education to all children. It is supported by development agencies such as World Bank and UNESCO.[34] However, it was conceptualized within the context of individual rights, which opposes traditional pastoral values that place the welfare of the family unit above that of the individual. Does this form of schooling then truly empower the individual or socialize pastoral youth in preparation for assimilation into sedentary life? [35] These concerns are interconnected. The lesson taken from these potential barriers to pastoral education should be that focus on the universal value of education makes it difficult to identify cultural and ideological components critical to the success of educational practices.[36]

Another interesting question, within the larger discussion of pastoralism and development, is how to merge traditional education with the mainstream state curriculum, and what the possible impacts of a phasing out of traditional education could mean for pastoralist communities. One study of Maasai boys compared the abilities of individuals who did and did not attend traditional schools. The study concluded that boys who did not attend formal schools, but rather learned through traditional Maasai methods such as apprenticeship, could perform higher order and more complex classifications and identifications of cattle than those who attended school. This demonstrates that cognitive processes are affected by context and that individuals with hands on learning in their specific trade field learned better than those who merely studied the concepts from a distance.[37]

Because pastoralists are heavily reliant on herding and raising livestock for their economic success, it is important that even children who receive formal education be able to pick up this trade once they have finished schooling. For this reason, it is important to consider a blended approach to creating pastoral education programs.[38] By incorporating an internship or apprenticeship aspect in the formal classroom style learning, pastoral students can learn both

their traditional trade and other important topics such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and more that will aid their business skills in future interactions with non-pastoral communities.

There are a number of alternative education models being used around the world to address the issue of pastoral education. The first option is mobile schools. These schools are temporary structures, such as tents, staffed by teachers who move the school along with nomads during their migratory seasons. Such schools have been used in Nigeria and Iran and are best suited to nomad pastoralists who have no permanent residency. However, these schools are not always successful. They face challenges related to financing, non-nomad teachers who are reluctant to travel, and issues with designing collapsible classrooms. Lack of government policy and an irrelevant curriculum also contribute to their failure,[39] although, with an approach that is more culturally integrated into pastoral communities and supported by the government, these mobile schools could be made more viable.

Another option for pastoral education is on-site schools. These schools are located at fixed points along nomads' traditional migratory paths. In order for this to work, the teachers must be familiar with pastoral movement (according to wet and dry seasons) and in turn, pastoralists must be willing to organize their groups' movements in such a way as to ensure they pass within range of educational facilities during their migratory seasons.[40] This option is best suited for transhumance pastoralists because the location of at least one school would coincide with the permanent residency of the pastoral group. Because transhumance pastoralists follow traditional routes, it may not be far fetched to suggest they tailor their travel to coincide with specific school locations along the way in order to secure education for their children.

Other alternatives use a less formal approach through open and distance learning (ODL) methods. One example of an open style of education is the Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK) program in northern Uganda. The program's key points include: facilitators from the community and community contributions towards the welfare of the facilitators, along with learning centers, space, and attendance. The language of instruction is the local language and teaching schedules are structured to work around children's labor needs at home. The curriculum includes livestock education, crop production, environment management, home management, rural technology, rights and obligations, peace and security, and human health—all aimed at cultivating a minimum survival kit of education based on the "3Hs" (head, heart, and hands).[41] The idea is to provide a basic education that is also functional and helps to make students assets to their communities through knowledge and vocational skills.

Distance learning is an alternative for migratory groups that provides instruction in a classroom when the group is in a certain region for an extended period of time. When the migratory seasons come, and the groups leave that fixed location, they are given materials to use for practice in the time spent outside of the classroom. Often, distance learning is accompanied by radio or internet learning; however, this is likely not a viable option for pastoral communities in Kenya because they are mainly located in poor, rural areas and continuous access to these components may not be possible.[42]

Also, in developing approaches to education

for pastoral communities, the model of pastoral health care currently employed in Kenya may provide insights into what works for the community. Pastoralists in the district of Marsabit are at a disadvantage when it comes to healthcare access. Most pastoral communities average a distance of sixty kilometers from the nearest healthcare facility. In addition, poverty among pastoral communities often renders individuals unable to afford services when needed. For this reason, the World Health Organization is endeavoring to decentralize healthcare in the region. By focusing on building the capacity of local and accessible options such as herbalists and midwives, healthcare can be made more available. Training these individuals in hygienic protocols and basic sanitation increases their effectiveness.[43]

Kenya also has a small-scale project in Wajir called the Nomadic Primary Health Care Program (NPHC) that has been designed to accommodate mobility in much the same way that mobile school programs have. By integrating healthcare with the local customs, NPHC has created a holistic approach to pastoral healthcare that has been relatively successful in increasing access. NPHC also initiated a mobile school program in 1995 called the Hunaniye project. This project used a dugsi approach by housing educators with families. This approach, like ABEK, allowed teachers to work class schedules around household labors needs.[44]

Recommendations

Creating a strategy to implement effective school systems within pastoral culture is more complicated in practice than in theory. For this reason, it will require a blended approach that considers past failures, as well as successes. The approach should be holistic in nature, by taking into account all aspects of pastoral culture, environment, and economy, in order to create a system that will allow pastoral children to realize their right to a primary education. The proposed approach of this paper is to create a blended alternative school program, a combination of mobile schools and on-site schools.

On-site schools would be established along traditional migratory routes. Research would first need to be conducted to determine which groups use which routes, how frequently, at what time of year, and so forth, in order to determine effective placement. If possible, schools should be built in areas of high pastoral traffic, preferably at intersections of routes or important stopping points such as watering holes. This will make the schools more diffuse, and accessible to multiple tribes.

These locations would be paired with mobile schools. Mobile schools would be embedded within pastoral groups and would travel as one of the group from place to place. Ideally, the educators for each group would be tribe member themselves; in this manner the educators will be better able to tailor needs to fit the community.

The mobile schools should follow the ABEK model of alternative education. They should be sensitive to the community's need for the children to assist with livestock or with home management, thus classes should be scheduled around peak times for these activities. In addition to a more formalized curriculum concurrent with state standards, there should be time allotted to education pertaining to livestock, farming, sustainable practice, and other topics relevant to pastoralism as an economic activity.

As children get older, they should be taught

how to employ their basic math skills both in the field with regard to the livestock but in situations such as bargaining or bartering, economic situations that may be encountered in more urbanized areas when doing business in a village. By incorporating these elements into the children's education, they will become capable herders, as well as business people. This will enhance their ability to interact with the sedentary community and perhaps give them the advantage in their struggle to maintain their cultural practices.

Another aspect of this approach to education is the structure of the program: how the on-site and mobile elements will interact and compliment each other. In this model, on-site schools would be considered the "home base" for the mobile schools. As groups pass through the area of an on-site school, the structure itself will not so much be for the use of students as for the use of teachers and school administration.

On-site schools will be an important center for collecting grades and data to ensure mobile school effectiveness. The program would require the creation of a paper-based grading system to monitor progress and identify weaknesses in students. These weaknesses would be areas within which the program would evaluate itself to ensure that the mode of delivery is clear and informative. Regular assessments of modes of delivery will allow educators to improve or change their teaching strategies according to the needs of the classes.

On-site schools will be a critical communications point for mobile schoolteachers. These facilities can be used to communicate needs in the field to administrators. If a mobile classroom tent needs repairing, if the teacher needs additional supplies, if additional finances are required, this permanent site can communicate these needs to the program administration who can ensure necessary provisions are available at the next on-site stop on the migratory route.

These check-in points may also be used to further teachers' education by holding workshops to enhance skills or teach new methods. In this way, the program will keep the quality of the education high and the content current. Furthermore, as teachers travel with a group, they may identify students with special needs. An on-site location would be ideal for reporting the needs of the student in order to gain access to materials and training to better equip the teacher to educate that child in a way that would engage the child, as well as effectively communicate core concepts.

Permanent locations also allow an opportunity for teachers to incorporate media into their curriculum. This may include the use of video, radio, or Internet to supplement what the children are learning in their studies. The reinforcement of material through media, especially visual media, may be helpful for many students, as each will have a different learning style.

Lastly, having permanent locations and administration will create conditions to facilitate interaction with the government. In this respect, the proposed program would be better suited to contribute to policy-making and request policies that will support its institutions. A permanent structure will mesh well with sedentary society, making the program easier to understand and acceptable in the eyes of government decision makers.

This proposed program must be coupled with more effective governance over education at the district and local levels. The Kenyan gov-

ernment continues to push forward with one-size fits all legislation to protect a child's right to education, which may hinder pastoral children. Alternative education programs need to advocate, in whatever capacity they are able, for the rights of these children. By making their programs known to government officials, alternative education efforts can build awareness for the pastoral community so that their specialized needs are represented in Kenyan education policy.

Conclusion

Despite years of research, there is still no functioning solution to the question of educating nomad children. Though there is no explicit data concerning pastoral education quality as quantified through literacy rates and enrollment, the severe disparities between the national average and the district averages where the majority of pastoralists reside are telling. Clearly, the community is not utilizing traditional schooling, and so far no permanent solutions have been found to educating nomadic children.

But the failures of the past provide insight into how to better approach new initiatives. The key component to creating an effective program for pastoral education will be the use of a holistic approach. Such an initiative will need to think outside the box and approach education as a blending of cultural factors with curriculum. In order to allow nomads to continue living their traditional lifestyle, programs will need to find ways to accommodate the mobile nature of the community. By creating a permanent "home base" to oversee the mobile classrooms, the proposed program can keep one foot in the pastoral world and one in the sedentary world, effectively creating a bridge between the two that will ultimately benefit the children.

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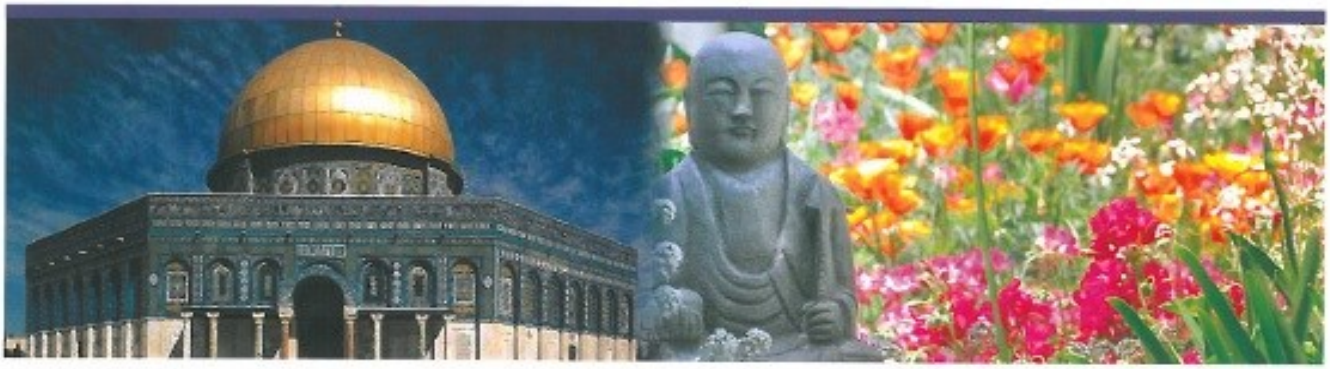

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The Master of Arts in Global Development and Peace answers the increasing demand for professionals who can navigate dynamic and complex relationships on a global level.

Program Overview

The Global Development and Peace graduate program prepares future civil servants and business leaders to respond to the needs of the increasingly international political and business climate of today's world and for careers related to global development. Within the degree students choose one of four tracks: 1. Conflict Analysis and Resolution, 2. Global Communications, 3. Global Management or 4. International Political Economy and Development. Domestic students spend a minimum of two months in an overseas internship. International students may pursue their internship either in the United States or overseas. All courses are offered in a convenient evening format, and the program can be completed in two years.

Internship and Career Opportunities

Students in the Global Development and Peace program have interned for the Council of Europe, International Institute of Connecticut, and the United Nations (Development Program, Environmental Program, Populations Fund, Youth Assembly) with a number of Permanent Missions to the United Nations. Since the program's inception in 2008, graduates have matriculated into careers with federal agencies and at major international non-governmental organizations (INGOs).

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About UB

The University of Bridgeport is an international, doctoral-intensive, comprehensive university, offering award-winning academic programs in a variety of innovative undergraduate and graduate degree programs. Our 50-acre, seaside campus overlooks Long Island Sound on Connecticut's corporate Gold Coast, and is within easy driving distance of New York City and Boston.

Our student-faculty ratio is 15:1, and our full- and part-time faculty members include Fulbright Scholars, National Science Foundation Fellows, Ford Fellows, National Endowment for the Humanities Fellows, American Council for Learned Societies Scholars and Phi Beta Kappa Scholars. Some 32 percent of our students are members of minorities and students from more than 80 countries live and learn within our community.

UB

Master of Arts in Global Media and Communication Studies

College of Public and International Affairs

The Master of Arts in Global Media and Communication Studies is designed to prepare students to become communication specialists who can respond to the information revolution and the globalization of media.

Global Media and Communication Studies Overview

More than ever before, professionals in the communications field need intercultural sensitivity, international awareness and the ability to transcend borders and interpret the communications of other cultures.

This program is designed to prepare you to become a government, NGO or business spokesperson. It is also an excellent fit for students anticipating a career as a foreign news reporter or commentator, a webmaster or content manager for an international firm; a cross-cultural communications specialist; a public relations specialist; or a career in public diplomacy.

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UB Master of Arts in East Asian and Pacific Rim Studies

Concentrations

- Negotiation and Diplomacy
- International Political Economy and Development
- Global Management
- Global Communication

Program Overview

The Master of Arts in East Asian and Pacific Rim Studies is a 12-course, multidisciplinary degree program designed for current and future professionals who require an in-depth understanding of this pivotal engine of the world political economy. The curriculum is intended to equip students with the knowledge, skills and experience necessary to conduct research and interpret developments in the Pacific Rim, as well as develop a foundation in an East Asian language. The program is highlighted by practical hands-on training. As a capstone experience, students complete an overseas internship.

The program prepares students with the crucial background needed for a successful career in this emerging region, whether in business, government or academia. Students may choose from four area concentrations. Students develop an understanding of the political, economic and social issues of East Asia as well as an understanding of the role that language and culture play in its growing political economy. Students accepted into the program may choose one of four tracks in business, global communication, diplomacy or development.

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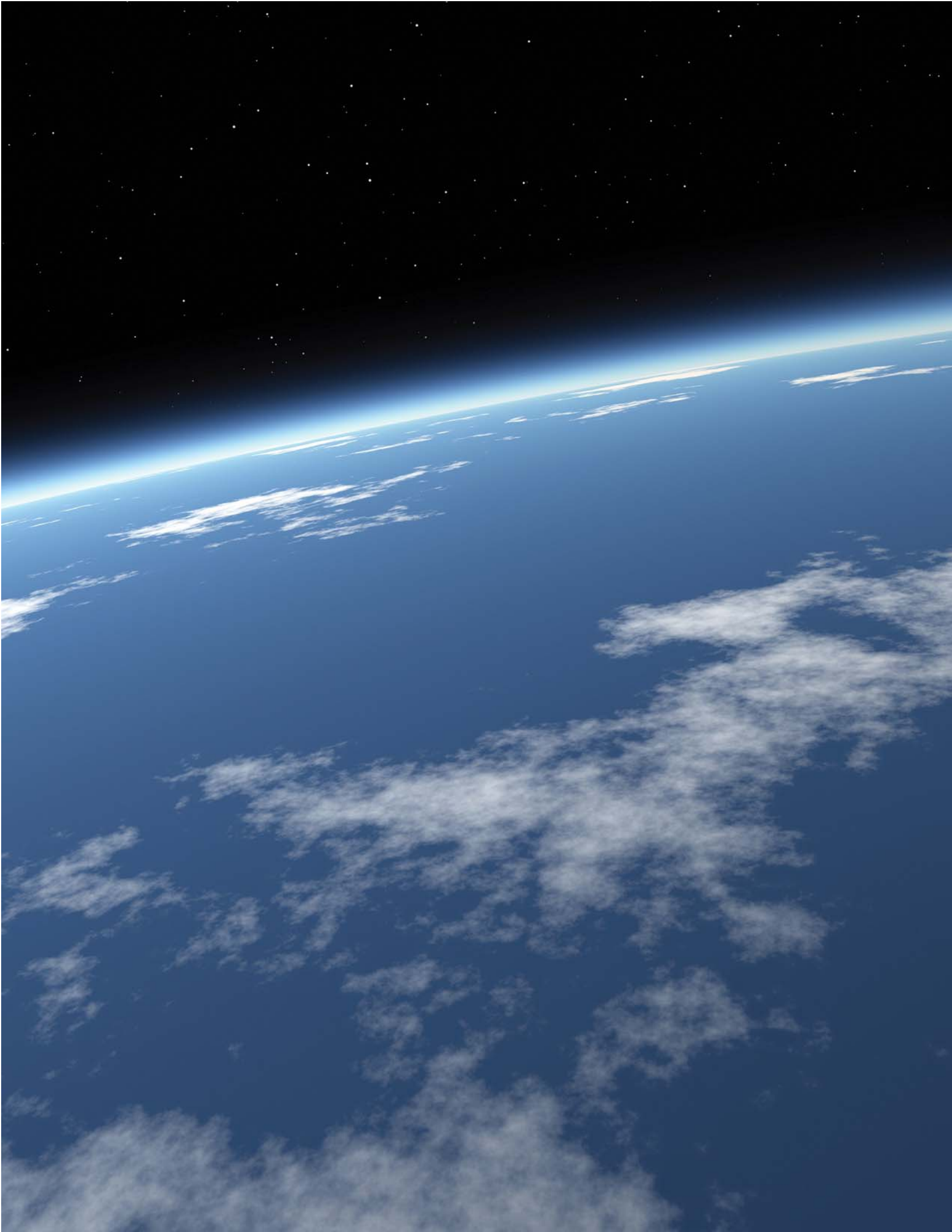
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