Education in Post-War Somalia: Developing an Integrated Thematic Model of History Curriculum for Secondary Schools

التعليــم في الصومال مـا بعـد الـحـرب : تطويـر نمـوذج مـواضيعى متكـامـل لمنـهـج التـاريـخ للمـدارس الـثانـويـة

by

FAWZIA OTHMAN ISSA

A thesis submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATION

at

The British University in Dubai

November 2019

Education in Post-War Somalia: Developing an Integrated Thematic Model of History Curriculum for Secondary Schools

التعليــم في الصــومال مــا بعــد الــحــرب : تطويــر نمــوذج مواضيعى متكــامـل لمنــهـج التــاريــخ للمـدارس الـثانـويــة

by

FAWZIA OTHMAN ISSA

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Eduction
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATION
at
The British University in Dubai
November 2019

Thesis Supervisor
Professor Abdulai Abukari

Approved for award:

_____   _____
Name   Name
Designation   Designation

_____   _____
Name   Name
Designation   Designation

Date: _____

DECLARATION

I warrant that the content of this research is the direct result of my own work and that any use made in it of published or unpublished copyright material falls within the limits permitted by international copyright conventions.

I understand that a copy of my research will be deposited in the University Library for permanent retention.

I hereby agree that the material mentioned above for which I am author and copyright holder may be copied and distributed by The British University in Dubai for the purposes of research, private study or education and that The British University in Dubai may recover from purchasers the costs incurred in such copying and distribution, where appropriate.

I understand that The British University in Dubai may make a digital copy available in the institutional repository.

I understand that I may apply to the University to retain the right to withhold or to restrict access to my thesis for a period which shall not normally exceed four calendar years from the congregation at which the degree is conferred, the length of the period to be specified in the application, together with the precise reasons for making that application.

Fawzia Othman Issa
Signature of the student

COPYRIGHT AND INFORMATION TO USERS

ENGLISH ABSTRACT

Post-conflict Somalia disintegrated into three regions: Central Southern Somalia; Puntland; and the self-declared Republic of Somaliland. Each of them independently established its own education system. Religious schools remained the only source of effective early childhood education during the collapsed period. The UNESCO and the UNICEF played major roles in funding, supervision, and most importantly, providing learning resources and material for students in opened schools. Then in 1995, upon withdrawal of UN forces, local community efforts contributed to revive the education system. New schools were built in the Southern region by NGOs who owned the majority of schools. Despite this positive developments, Somalia still has issues related to national identity and consciousness. As part of efforts to use research to help deal with these issues, this study examined the history curriculum of secondary schools in Somalia (Moqadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland) with the aim to propose a new curriculum that will help address the current identity crisis. The study adopted three interrelated theories to build underpin its theoretical framework, namely: Multidisciplinary frameworks of Social Identity Theory; Intergroup Emotional Theory (IET), and the Constructivism Learning Theory. The Design and Development Research (DDR) model was selected as the research methodology. The DDR is a significant methodology that bridges the gap between theory and practice by testing theory and validating practice. It is a developmental research that uses empirical research to investigate the problem in real-context and, consequently, provides better theoretical understanding of the problem which reflects on developed practice. Questionnaire and semi-structured interviews were used to collect empirical evidence. A total of 300 students responded to the questionnaire in Mogadishu, Hargessa, and Garwe and 11 educators participated in semi-structured interviews.

Results from the questionnaire showed that students from the three locales showed significant differences in several areas and that students struggled to think historically to develop national consciousness and identity. Interpretation of in-depth interviews reveal that the history curricula of Somalia has no merit or worth in terms of developing national consciousness and identity in students. Qualitative interviews revealed five themes that appeared to be characteristic of a meritorious curriculum: Relevancy, Powerful Knowledge, Cause and Consequences, Change and Continuity, and Difficult History. The finding enabled the development of an integrated thematic instructional model which can help to determine suggestions for the development of an integrated thematic curriculum designed to deliver a new content and narrative that seeks to develop social cohesion and reconciliation and reconstruct national identity in post-conflict Somalia. The new content which is underpinned by powerful knowledge will enhance students' ability to develop historical understanding of what happened in the past and make connections with the present to inform future actions. This meaningful knowledge will enable students to understand the civil war of 1991 from a historical perspective and use their understanding of the historical narrative surrounding civil war to take a stand on the contemporary issues.

ARABIC ABSTRACT

الصومال ما بعد الحرب قد تفككت إلى ثلاث اقاليم رئيسية الإقليم الأول هو الإقليم المركزي الجنوبي،الثاني اقليم بونت-لاند، والُإقليم الثالث إقليم أرض الصومال والذي أعلن نفسه جمهورية مستقلة أو ما يعرف بجمهورية أرض الصومال ، وقد قام كلا من هذه الأقاليم منفردا بتأسيس نظام للتعليم خاص به، علما بأن المدارس الدينية كانت المصدر الوحيد لتوفير تعليم فعال للطفولة المبكرة خلال فترة الإنهيار، اليونسكو واليونسيف قاموا بدور رئيسي في المراقبة والإشراف بالإضافة إلى توفير الدعم المادي لتوفير المصادر التعليمية للطلبة في بعض المدارس التى كانت مفتوحة خلال فترة إنهيار الدولة.، و عند انسحاب قوات الأمم المتحدة في 1995 ساهمت جهود المنظمات المجتمعية المحلية ، بإعادة بناء النظام التعليمي، كما أن المنظمات غير الحكومية قد قامت بإنشاء مدارس جديدة في الإقليم الجنوبي ، حيث أنها كأنت تمتلك غالبية المدارس هناك.

على الرغم من هذا التطور الإيجابي ، الصومال لا تزال تعاني من معوقات تتعلق بالهوية الوطنية والوعي الوطني. ، وكجزء من الجهود الجادة لإستخدام البحوث للتغلب على هذه الصعوبات فإن هذه الدراسة قد قامت بفحص منهج التاريخ للمدارس الثانوية في الصومال في ثلاث مناطق مقديشيو، أرض الصومال، بونت لاند وهذا بهدف تقديم مقترح لمنهج جديد مما قد يسهم في معالجة الأزمة الراهنة للهوية.

الدراسة تبنت ثلاث نظريات مترابطة لبناء اساس للإطار النظري وهو ما يعرف بإطار متعدد المجالات والذي يتألف من نظرية الهوية الإجتماعية ، و النظرية العاطفية لبين الجماعات المتعددة ، واخيرا النظرية البنائية التعليمية.

تم اختيار نموذج بحث التطوير والتصميم كمنهج البحث لهذه الدراسة ، حيث أنه منهج هام و له القدرة على أن يسد الفجوة التى توجد بين النظرية والتطبيق العملي وهذا بواسطة فحص كلا من النظرية والتطبيق ، بالإضافة إلى أنه بحث تطويري يعتمد على البحث الميداني لبحث المشكلة في الواقع وبالتالي يوفر فهم نظري افضل للمشكلة مما ينعكس ايجابا على جودة التطبيق المطور.

تم الحصول على الأدلة الميدانية بإستخدام الإستبيان وإجراء المقابلات شبه الممنهجه، 300 طالب شاركوا في ملء الإستبيان وهذا في مقديشيو، جروى وهرجيسه، بالإضافة إلى 11 تربوى تمت مقابلتهم ، مقابلات شبه ممنهجه، نتائج الإستبيان قد أشارت إلى وجود فروق جوهرية في إجابات الطلبة في الثلاث مناطق بالإضافة

إلى أن الطلبة قد واجهوا صعوبة في القدرة على الإستيعاب المنطقى لمادة التاريخ مما أثر سلبا على اكتسابهم لمفهوم الوعي الوطني والهوية.

أما تفسير المقابلات التي تمت بشكل مكثف مع التربويين فقد اسفرت عن أن مناهج التاريخ في الصومال تفتقر إلى االمضمون القيم الذي يساعد الطلبة على استيعاب مفهوم الهوية والوعي الوطني ، بالإضافة إلى أن تحليل المقابلات شبه الممنهجة قد أظهرت خمسة محاور أساسية والتي في مجملها تمثل خصائص المنهج الغنى وهي المعرفة المثرية ، السبب والنتيجة ، التغيير والإستمرارية ، واخيرا التاريخ العصيب.

النتائج بشكل عام قد أسهمت اسهاما بالغا في تطوير نموذج مواضيعى متكامل لتوجيه طرق وأساليب التدريس والذي سيطرح بدوره مقترحا لتطويرمنهج مواضيعي متكامل ، والذي يحتوي عتلى مادة تعليمية تهدف إلى تحقيق الترابط الإجتماعي والتصالح ، واعادة بناء الهوية الوطنية في الصومال ما بعد الحرب.

تقديم المادة العلمية المقترحة ستعتمد على توفير المعرفة الثرية والفاعلة والتي ستعزز مقدرة الطلبة على اكتساب المهارات اللازمة الإستيعاب ومن ثم فهم ما حدث في الماضى وربطه بالحاضر لإستخلاص الخبرة اللازمة للتعامل مع المستقبل. هذه المعرفة الهامة والمهارات المكتسبة ستمكن الطلبة من فهم الأحداث المصاحبة للحرب الأهلية 1991 من منظور تاريخي للتعامل مع الأحداث الجارية .

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my parents; my mother Fatima Yousef Qambi, who dedicated all her life to me and my siblings and my Father Othman Issa, whom I lost him in unnecessary war. And finally, I also owe this to my beloved brother Arif Othman. Arif's last words gave me the strength to reach for stars and chase my dreams.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Education is a powerful tool for social development, especially in post-conflict states where education has the potential to promote social change and reconciliation (Barakat, 2008; Burde et al., 2017; Ellison, 2014; Hilker, 2011; Naylor, 2015; Rappleye & Paulson, 2007; Schwartz, 2010; Smith, 2011; Tawil & Harley, 2004). Despite the positive and significant role of knowledge, education's role is argued in conflict situations because of the potential "two faces" where it could either lead to conflict resolution or escalate divisiveness and inequality through content and structure (Barakat, 2008; Ellison, 2010; Naylor, 2015; Rappley & Paulson, 2007).

Divisive aspects, such as educational policy and school systems have the potential to strongly contribute to intergroup antagonism through the divisive content of history text books as used in Rwanda between the Hutu and Totsi (Ellison, 2014; Barakat, 2008; Smith, 2010) and in Srilanka, whose textbooks stereotyped the Tamil as "historic enemies" (Ellison, 2014; Naylor, 2015). Social inequalities of school systems usually provoke disputes (Ellison, 2014; Barakat, 2008), such as the educational policy in South Africa during the anti-apartheid struggle. Barakat (2008) observed that "white government" was highly polarised to encourage class ideology in school curricula between whites and blacks and even among blacks themselves. Similarly, in Palestine, the Israeli government aimed to promote Zionist culture and ignore Palestinian history in school curricula (Barakat, 2008).

The potential of education to fuel conflict through school systems alerts international organizations and donors to review the structural changes of education in post-conflict societies (Ellison, 2014; Naylor, 2015; Tawil, 2004). Cunningham (2014) and Naylor (2015)

highlighted a conflict transformation approach to address root causes of conflict through curriculum content to enhance meaningful knowledge and skill to tackle structural violence and encourage societal change at the inter-group level. Ellison (2010) advocates social conflict transformation and conflict analysis as a complementary approach for "transformation processes". Ellison comments that conflict transformation is a changing process of group relationships, attitudes, and behaviour. Ellison asserts that it is a collective activity, and all society should be engaged.

In addition to the role of education in social transformation, in post conflict nations, the study of history has the potential to reinforce national identity and social values (Yazici & Yildirim, 2018). History also enables students to get the opportunity to visit and rediscover the past to understand the present and inform future action (Naylor, 2015; Yazici & Yildirim, 2018). In addition, historical narratives can enhance reconciliation while a manipulative content could drive conflict and "sectarian attitudes" (Naylor, 2015). Due to the contentious content of history, curriculum is usually dominated by state policy and thus interests of the political parties are emphasized (Yazici & Yildirim, 2018). This questions the accuracy of the content.

Weldon (2009) argues that using the traditional approach of a formal history curriculum creates an inefficiently constructed national identity that is irrelevant to content. Ahonen (2014), Naylor (2015), Paulson (2015), and Smith (2011) advocate the multi-perspective as a contemporary approach to teach history. The multi-perspective approach emphasizes disciplinary skills, such as comparison, interpretation and causation, and evaluating primary and secondary evidence. The knowledge underpinning multi-perspectives encourages students to construct learning experiences that incorporate different sources and multiple perspectives (Ahonen, 2014; Paulson, 2015). Weldon (2009) also recommends using a multi-perspective approach to construct identity within the national context.

Development of a history curriculum is fundamental for societies that have emerged from conflict to have social cohesion and reconciliation (Naylor, 2015). However, curriculum change in post conflict societies is extremely different from that of developed nations, especially as the curriculum is often the only resource for teachers in post-war societies (Westbrook et al., 2013). Wiles and Bondi (2011) contend that evaluation is fundamental for curriculum design and implementation. Judgment of curriculum merit and worth is a must to provide youth with meaningful knowledge and skill which enabled learner to break the cycle of violence that leads to civil war and instability (Naylor, 2015).

Analysis of post-conflict context precedes curriculum designing (Naylor, 2015) which is often a challenge for policy-makers because of the gap between local needs of "experience and knowledge" and nation-building (Naylor, 2015). Furthermore, Burde et al. (2017) stated that there is little or no scholarly research examining the relationship between curriculum and conflict.

Paulson (2007) and Rappleye and Paulson (2007) affirmed that conflict theorists have ignored the relationship between education and conflict. Absence or lack of common ground determines status-quo of the field, along with the miss-match between policy, research and practices in conflict or post-conflict eras. Paulson (2007) attributes this to the absence of a solid theoretical framework and rigorous theoretical understanding in the domain of education and conflict, which has a negative impact on implemented educational policies in societies affected by conflict.

Similarly, Burde et al. (2017) criticised the theoretical framework underpinning educational intervention that serves beneficiaries of these programs, or demonstrates political power which informs decision making of educational policies in post-conflict. Burde et al. highlighted the need to design a genuine theoretical paradigm to address real life issues, such

3

as group interpersonal relationships in post-conflict societies. The limited number of research studies in this area has contributed to the scarcity of data which has left decision-makers with no "strong evidence" of what should be addressed in an emergency context (Burde et al., 2017). Most importantly, the majority of available research has been conducted by outsiders—"foreigners"—unfamiliar with the local context. This questions the relevance of these textbooks in the context of Somalia.

Following this, Paulson (2007) advocates that context is a key factor for any successful intervention as empirical evidence demonstrates that educational initiatives led by local people and organizations are more successful than international intervention. Comparativists advocate importing the best educational practices and models regardless of the relevancy of post-war context. International education scholars overlook such practices (Paulson, 2007; Rappley & Paulson, 2007). Rappley and Paulson (2207) recommended any transferable models should be designed based on the analytical processing of different causes of conflict.

In the context of Somalia, the former President Mohammed Siyad Barre's military regime, clan dominance over political power, and external factors had triggered violent conflict. Most importantly, Kapteijns (2013) asserted that civil war was essentially a "cleansing war" when violence shifted against innocent civilians who resided outside the "hierarchical structures" such as Barre's clan of the Daarood group (Doornbos & Markakis, 1994; Kimenyi, Mbaku & Moyo, 2010; Lewis, 2002). Somalia collapsed on 26 January 1991 (Carr-Hill, 2015; Moyi, 2012) and remained a disintegrated state for more than 23 years—the longest period of all the neo-colonial states (Menkhaus, 2007; Paul, Clarke & Serena, 2014). Paul, Clarke and Serena commented that generally when a state fails there is generally a norm for state-failure, but Somalia demonstrates an irrational case as it unexpectedly disintegrated. Hohne (2006) asserted that civil war was a "political and national crisis".

Post-collapse, some school buildings were demolished while the rest of them became shelters for displaced people (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). The lack of political stability and security strongly discouraged parents from sending their children to the schools. Post-collapse, the state disintegrated into three regions: Central Southern Somalia, Puntland, and the self-declared Republic of Somaliland. Each of them independently established its own education system. The systems were relatively stable in Puntland and Somaliland, but the southern system was vulnerable (Cassaneli &Abdikadir, 2008).

Cassaneli and Abdikadir (2008) commented that early in 1990, priority was for basic needs, and education was seen as unessential. Unfortunately, two Somali generations were deprived of access to basic education and acquiring needed skills (Carr-Hill, 2015; Moyi, 2012).

The first national government of the Federal Republic of Somalia was formed on 20 August 2012 (Loubser & Solomon, 2014). The main priority was to offer education for all children, and, shortly, 700,000 children were enrolled in formal schools. The majority of the schools were based in urban regions. Despite the modern building, the majority of the nomad children were deprived because of distance, timing of schools, and a rigorous yearly timetable that often clashed with domestic duties to support families in grazing (Moyi, 2012).

According to UNICEF statistics (2018), the total population of Somalia is around 10.8 million. Half of the population (around 5. 8 million) is under age of 18 years, 1.8 million are under the age of 5 years, and 2.6 million are adolescents and youth between the ages 10 to 19 years. Nomad pastoralists are the majority of the population (40 per cent). They live in rural areas where poverty is high and have very limited access to education. UNICEF (2018) launched a new education program for Somalia for 2018-2020. The program aims to provide learning opportunity for all children and adolescents from age 3-18.

Cassaneli and Abdikadir (2008) and Hussein (2015) contend that the national curriculum needs to be improved to address the socio-political needs of post-conflict Somalia. The drawback of a poor economy added to the MOE's burden to meet the expenses of necessary resources and curriculum developers. Hussein (2015) suggests that developing the curriculum might involve adding or removing subjects which is less expensive than developing a new curriculum which can take years before a "new one emerges". Hussein (2015) asserts that any curriculum improvement should aim to design an educational model that can identify and resolve national challenges.

Somalia is a homogenous community that shares one faith, religion, and culture; hence, history education has the potential to support reconciliation and to revive national identity. However, the quality of the school curriculum, lack of access to education, untrained teachers, and shortage of textbooks and learning materials remain challenges for reform of the national education system (Cassaneli & Abikadir, 2008; Hussein, 2015; UNESCO, 2008).

In regard to Somalia, no studies have been completed post-war to develop a history curriculum for secondary school. This thesis aims at filling this gap by carefully examining the current history curriculum with the intention of proposing a new history curriculum for secondary schools within the context of Somalia. This chapter is structured to provide the rational, and main focus of the study. The first section states the research problem that aims to provide a brief summary of conflict in Somalia and its profound consequences on education. Purpose and objective are highlighted in second section. The third section presents research questions and the aim of the study. This chapter ends with an overview of the research study to provide an overview and structure of the thesis. It states the number of chapters contained in the thesis and briefly explains the focus and content of each chapter.

1.2   Brief background of Conflict in Somalia

Prior to violent conflict, Somalia was known as the Somalia Democratic Republic; however, in post conflict, the country fragmented into three regions: Southern Somalia, Puntland, and Somaliland. Internationally known as the Federal Republic of Somalia, it has been described as a "fragile state" that lacks political stability and economy growth (Thomas, 2016; Kapteijns, 2013).

Somalia's strategic location on the African horn positioned Somalia along "European trade routes" that drew the attention of the UK and Italy. Somalia was colonised by the British in the north and Italians in the south (William and Cummings, 2015). Colonial administrations were concerned due to political interests being attacked; therefore, colonial authorities armed Somali groups to protect economic interests in the region. Linke and Raleigh (2011) believed that this was the beginning of the violent history of Somalia.

The Republic of Somalia was born in 1960, when Italian and British Somaliland gained independence from the colonists. Straight after independence, the Somali public elected President Aden Abdullah Osman and Prime Minister Abdirashhied Sharmarke to form the legitimate authority (Dawson, 1964).

In 1969, President Sharmarke was assassinated and Major General Mohamed Siad Barre came into power in "a bloodless coup d'état". Barre and the Supreme Revolutionary Council banned the formation of political parties, and dismissed parliament (Loubser & Solomon, 2014; Linke & Raleigh, 2011).

The US and the Soviet Union competed over Somalia during the Cold War. The US provided military support for the new-born country (Republic of Somalia) but then withdrew aid from Somali when Mohammed Siad Barre declared Somalia to be a socialist country, based on the alliance formed between Barre's regime and the Soviet Union. However, this relationship did

not last for long. In 1974, the Soviet Union entertained the Mengistu socialist system in Ethiopia; hence, Barre expelled all Soviets from Somalia, which was the end of diplomatic relationship (Linke & Raleigh, 2011).

Consequently, the absence of the Soviet Union from Somalia paved the way for the US to have an international exchange with Barre; henceforth, the US resumed military support. Upon receiving enormous resources, Somalia soon had the "largest army in the Horn of Africa". Further, Somalia-US cooperation flourished from 1977 to 1978 during the Ogden war (Linke & Raleigh, 2011; Loubser & Solomon, 2014).

In 1980, Barre used the military forces to quell growing internal opposition from the northern-based Somali National Movement (SNM). The relationship between Barre's regime and the Somali National Movement SNM is debatable. On one hand Linke and Raleigh (2011) stated that Barre imposed extreme violence against the opposition and "bombed northern cities heavily through the late 1980s" (p. 3). On the other hand, Kapteijns (2013) argues that the civil war in 1991 was a cleansing war where the United Somali Congress (USC), supported by Somali National Movement and Somali Patriotic Movement, shifted violence against innocent civilians who fell outside the "hierarchical structures", mainly, Barre's clan group of Daarood. The USC and allies cultivated a "socio-cultural rhetoric that supported collective anti-Darood violence".

In addition, the external political status complicated the internal situation of Somalia. Western governmental bodies suspended all financed projects because of internal conflict within the Barre government and its opposition to the Somali national movement (World Bank, 2005).

Loubser and Solomon (2014) believed that aid withdrawal from the US and other international organizations weakened the Barre regime and significantly contributed to civil

war that broke out in January 1991, when Siad Barre was ousted and the state reigned in the "Hands of the United Somali Congress". Shortly, Isaaq clan declared Somaliland an independent state from Somalia (Loubser & Solomon, 2014; Linke & Raleigh, 2011; Kapteijns, 2013; Thomas 2016).

Later, international organizations made several peace initiatives to form a legitimate government; however, lack of public consensus contributed to the failure of formed institutions (Loubser & Solomon, 2014). In 2002, the Inter-Government Authority and Development (IGAD) attempted to form a legal government in Somalia. The first meeting was held in Kenya with former partners from the European Union (EU) (World Bank 2005). Recommendations and policies were implemented in three stages. The initial phase "pledged parties to a cessation of hostilities" (World Bank, 2005, p. 14). The second phase addressed the key issues of conflict through reconciliation and co-existence. The third phase aimed to encourage negotiation of "power sharing" (World Bank, 2005, p. 14). Parliament seats were distributed equally between clans; however, few members attempted to promote clan identity in the parliament. Surprisingly, the third phase ended with a successful election process in October 2010. Abdulla Yusuf was elected president of the transitional Federal Government (TFG) (World Bank, 2005; Loubser & Solomon, 2014).

The National Constituent Assembly (NCA) in Djibouti outlined the need of the transitional Federal government (TFG) to have a national constitution. Shortly, the Kampala Accord was signed in Uganda. The Kampala Accord was extended (TFG) by one year to 20 August 2012.

The Kampala Accord emphasized task accomplishment by 20 August 2012. Further, it announced a road map that encompassed security, constitution, reconciliation, and good governance as future goals of TFG. The latter officially ended with the successful election of

President Hassan Sheikh Omar, the social activist (Loubser & Solomon, 2014). Mohammed Abdillehi was elected in February 2017.

Despite successful elections, Somalia is known as a "fragile state". Likewise, Somalia has world attention because of its complete political and economic failure (Loubser & Solomon, 2014; Linke & Raleigh, 2011). On 26 January 1991, Somalia collapsed into civil war. Triggers of this are debatable. Kapteijns (2013) noted that during the civil war, the structure of the society that precisely included the Daarood group which is Barre's clan. Doornbos and Markakis (1994), Kimenyi, Mbaku and Moyo (2010) asserted that Somalia's collapse in 1991 was a puzzle and cannot be understood in a homogenous community that shares culture and unity of religion and language. Clan favouritism in one way or the other contributed to armed conflict in Somalia (Menkhaus, 2007; Paul, Clarke & Serena, 2014). Loubser and Solomon (2014) and Lewis (2002) strongly agreed that centrality of intergroup relationships, clan dynamics, clan identity and traditional culture system underpinning tribal lineage were root causes of conflict.

Loubser and Solomon (2014) believed that the Somali national crisis asserted a complexity and multidimensionality of phenomena; therefore, in-depth analysis is a must. Kapteijns (2014) asserts that the multi-dimensionality of the crisis in Somalia is "analytically, politically, and discursively something new". Kimenyi, Mbaku, and Moyo (2010), and Menkhaus (2007, 2009) argued a traditional perspective that identifies clannism as the only factor of state-collapse and violent conflict, and advocate the necessity to adopt an adequate analytical and critical approach to uncover conflict dynamics and reveal complexity.

1.3 The Research Problem

The long period of war and absence of a national government overwhelmed the education system, especially the school curriculum. There was no national curriculum after the state-collapse in 1991 (Cassaneli & Abikadir, 2008; Hussein, 2015; UNESCO, 2008). The importing of school curricula from different countries (who were mainly involved in funding education) added to the disparity of communities and extremism, especially in the South Central part of the country. This was because these curricula reflected the original country's ideologies and political interests (Cassaneli & Abikadir, 2008; Hussein, 2015). Lack of citizenship education "to promote social and moral responsibility" was identified as a main reason for the increase in clan-based politics (Barakat et al., 2014) and the "breakdown in social norms between youth and elders" in Puntland and Somaliland. Also, the school curriculum's lack of knowledge and modern entrepreneur skills contributed to deployment and criminality of youth (Barakat et al., 2014). Therefore, there is a need for curriculum development in areas such as history, which is appropriate for the context of Somalia to address the root causes of the country's conflict. The present research focuses on this aspect.

1.4 Purpose

The main purpose of this study is to examine the current history curriculum in Somalia with the aim to propose appropriate characteristics/features for a new history curriculum for secondary schools within the context of Somalia. It analysis the status of history curriculum of secondary schools in Moqadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa, evaluated educator perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum, students' perception of national identity, and developed history curriculum for secondary school for Somali context.

1.4.1 Objectives

The objectives of this thesis are as follows:

- To examine in order to understand the history curriculum of secondary schools in Moqadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa.

- To find out educators' perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum.

- To understand secondary school students' attitudes towards national identity.

- To make recommendations for the development of a new secondary history curriculum and identify the characteristics of the new history curriculum.

1.5   Background of the researcher

It is often argued that in research, being objective also means that a researcher declares her/his relationship to the research context and explaining strategies that are put in place to ensure that this does not unnecessarily obstruct the researcher's objectivity and criticality in the process of the research. In view of this, this section provides some relevant background information in relation to the researcher's links to the researcher context. The research hails from Somalia, the context of this research, but grew up in the UAE. She still has many of her family living in Somalia. During the civil war which lasted until 1991, the researcher lost her father and other distant relatives in the war. From this point, the researcher developed interest in the affairs of Somalia through her mother who has a strong sense of national pride and identity. This had a profound influence on the researcher's perspective and positive intention towards Somalia in terms of contributing to its socio-political and economic development. This academic endeavour emanated from the interest of the researcher at both personal as well as professional levels. From the periodic discussion with her mother, the researcher became aware of the challenges relating to education in Somalia.

From the professional front, the researcher works in the education sector in the UAE and has vast experience in education policy and leadership. She holds a master of education degree and has worked in many international schools in different roles, and this significantly shaped her educational philosophy to believe that many social problems can be resolved through

appropriate education provisions. Unfortunately, many Somalis did not get access to education and this has remained the same after the civil war with high poverty level in the country. The researcher realised that until and unless Somalia develops an efficient and effective national education system, the situation will not change. Hence, the researcher's enrolment into the PhD programme in 2013 was partly for professional reasons and partly to contribute towards resolving the current educational issues in Somalia. The research has remained conscious throughout the research process to ensue that her connections with the context of the research does not influence her critical analysis and conclusions – conclusions and findings were based on the evidence from the data.

1.6 Rationale of the study

The aim of this study is to develop an appropriate history curriculum for secondary schools in Somalia to deliver a new content and narrative that seeks to develop social cohesion and reconciliation to reconstruct national identity in post-conflict Somalia. The new content should be underpinned by powerful knowledge that will enable students to develop historical understanding of what happened in the past and make connections with the present to inform future actions. This meaningful knowledge will enable students to understand the civil war of 1991 from a historical perspective and use their understanding of the historical narrative surrounding civil war to take a stand on contemporary issues. Curriculum evaluation must be conducted to judge the merit and worth of curriculum to extrapolate effective practices and to identify characteristics of meritorious curriculum.

1.7 Overview of the Research Study

The first chapter provides a reflective introduction in regards to education in conflict and curriculum development and includes a brief summary of education in Somalia post-collapse. In addition, purpose and aim of the research are discussed and key research questions are

listed. The second chapter provides a contextual overview of socio-political development in Somalia and discusses change and continuity in national identity and nationalism through the modern history of Somalia. The third chapter provides an overview of literature and theoretical frameworks that underpin the study. It includes multidisciplinary frameworks of social identity theory by Tajfel and Turner (1986), Intergroup Emotional theory (IET) by Mackie, Maitner, & Smith (2009), and the constructivism learning theory of Piaget (1980). The fourth chapter discusses the design and development methodology of a developmental study. Also, the chapter provides justification of the site, participants' selection, instruments and methods of data collection, data analysis, pilot study, limitations, and ethical considerations.

The fifth chapter provides analysis of the data, and results that have been obtained by qualitative and quantitative instruments. The final chapter elaborates upon the findings of the study that led to suggestions for developing an Integrated Thematic Model. Also, the chapter outlines the implications of the study and includes recommendations and conclusion.

Chapter 2: Contextual Overview

1.8 Introduction

The main purpose of this study is to examine the history curriculum with the aim to propose a new history curriculum within the context of Somali students in secondary schools. Curriculum evaluation does not occur in a vacuum, but stems from social and political change (Hamilton, 1977). Van Den Akker (1999) also advocated preliminary research as a formative activity for curriculum evaluation. Therefore, this chapter provides an overview of the socio-political context in Somalia to identify national needs for the development of a history curriculum and to provide thick and rich descriptions of the curriculum evaluation process.

This chapter discusses nationalism and national identity in the context of Somalia. This chapter also focuses on the modern history of Somalia through four main sections. The first section talks about Sayyid Muhammad Abdille Hassan and the Dervish movement (1900-1920) during the colonial period in Somaliland from 1900-1959. The second section talks about the independence of the Somalia Republic on the 1st of July 1960 and the military regime of General Mohammed Siyad Baree from 1969-1990. The third section talks about the Ogaden war (1977-1978) as a national crisis and the dissolution of Somalia. The fourth section talks about Somalia post-collapse. The entire section ends with discussion and conclusions.

1.9 Nationalism, Nations, and National identity

Somalia is one of the few genuine nations in Africa. Being a mono-ethnic community distinguishes Somalia from the rest of the other African states that struggled with

multiethnicities to build the nation (Lewis, 2002 and 2004; Loubser & Solomon, 2014; Thomas, 2016).

Clan allegiance, shared blood, and clan affiliation have exclusively shaped social structure in Somalia. Lewis (2004) and Besteman (1993) described Somalian national genealogy as an "ethnic family tree" that consists of kinship and lineage. Clans and sub-clans formed "party-lineal lineages" which endowed Somalia with the ethno-nationalism that profoundly shaped Somalia national history.

In order to explore the nationalism of Somalia, it is important to have definitions of nationalism, nation, state, and national identity. Verdugo and Milne (2016) defined nationalism as primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent (Gellner, 2006). National identity is a sense of belonging to and being a member of a geopolitical entity (Verdugo & Milne, 2016). "Nation" is a geopolitical construct. That is, belonging and being a member of a nation is based on blood, ethnicity, history, ancestry, common values, kinship, and language (Verdugo & Milne, 2016). State is a geopolitical construct where membership and belonging are based on shared civic values about citizenship (Verdugo & Milne, 2016).

Nationalism is a powerful phenomenon. The essence of that power stems from myth, memories, traditions, and symbols which significantly shape the national identity and feeling of community members (Guibernau & Hutchinson, 2004; Leerseen, 2006). Nationalism is a controversial and debatable phenomenon. On one hand, Guibernau and Hutchinson (2004) believe nationalism is a "historical phenomenon" while on the other hand, Smith (2000) advocates that nationalism is a historical phenomenon with multi-facets, such as affection or sentiments, political, and ideological movements. Smith (2000) defines nationalism as a "named human population occupying a historic territory or homeland and sharing common

myths and memories, a mass public culture, a single economy, and common rights and duties for all members" (p. 63). Smith emphasizes the social and historical aspects of nationalism. In addition, nations and national identity are key components of the phenomenon (English, 2008; Guibernau & Hutchinson, 2004; Leerseen, 2006; Lewis, 2002; Smith, 1999).

Nationalism is a complex phenomenon with multi-facets. To reveal the complexity of historical/cultural nationalism, Smith (2010) critically analysed two paradigms. The first one is social constructionism that neglects or deliberately ignores the antiquity of nationalism. The social constructionists strongly argue that modernity or nationalism is a contemporary phenomenon. The second paradigm is ethno-symbolism. Nationalism scholars such as Smith, John Armstrong, and John Hutchinson proposed an ethno-symbolic approach that advocates the past and "pre-modern" existence of a nation. When debating nationalism, social constructionist scholars argue against the antiquity of nationalism and claim it is contemporary. However, the ethno-symbolic approach advocates the antiquity of nationalism. A study of the pre-modern and past of nations is imperative to reveal the complexity of nationalism (Smith, 1999, 2000).

Ethno-symbolism consists of seven themes or headings: la longue duree, ethnics and nation, ethnic myths, memories and symbols, ethnic bases of nations, routes of nation formation, and the role of nationalism persistence and change of nation.

 "La longue duree" and routes of nation formation will be discussed next.

1.9.1   La Longue Duree

Smith advocates la longue duree in social cultural analysis to reveal "the complexity of the relationship between past and present." The main claim in ethno-symbolism is the importance of understanding the past and present over long periods of time. In addition, it asserts that nations are historical phenomena. Smith explains that a nation "emerges" through "historical

processes" over a long period of time called "time-spans." Over time, individuals develop and cultivate national identity through shared memories, myth, and traditions (Smith, 2010, p. 61).

1.9.2 Routes of Nation Formation

A nation is "a named social group with common historical memories and mass culture, occupying an historic territory or homeland, and possessing a single division of labour and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith, 1999, p. 189).

Ethno-symbolism argues that nations have formed through ethnic communities. Smith defines "ethnic" as "a named unit of population with myths of common ancestry, shared memories and cultures, [and as an] association with a homeland and sentiments of social solidarity" (Smith, 2010, cited in Horowitz, 1985).

Factors, such as religion, including Islam and Christianity, significantly influence nation formation (Smith, 2000). Smith (1999, p. 189) asserts that mono-ethnic communities have the potential of political configuration and nationalist goals as follows:

1. The nations have to cultivate the distinctive "national identity" through cultural symbols.
2. The nations have to make some sort of "political power" political configuration in order to be unified.
3. Ethnic communities have to develop loyalty and patriotism to be above their individual interests.
4. Freedom is essential for individuals who live in the nation.
5. Only free nations can have peace and "security."

Smith (2000) critically argues the connection between past and present, and the influence of this reciprocal relationship in understanding nations and nationalism. The author further

explains that the past constitutes "cultural parameter," and traditions shape "present understanding, needs, and interest" (Smith, 2000). "We can only begin to grasp the power exerted by such pasts if we extend our analysis of nations and nationalism well before the onset of modernity to the collective cultural identities and communities of pre-modern epochs" (Smith, 1999, p. 64).

Connor believes that ethno-nationalism stems from ethnic ties, kinship that forms social-psychological bonds (Smith, 2010, cited in Connor, 1992). There is a debate on whether ethno-nationalism is a rational choice or an irrational one. Smith (2010) says that Connor and Fishman believe that nationalism can be a "rational quest for collective goods"; civic nationalism such as patriotism demonstrates nationalism that in principle is a rational choice. However, this does not justify or explain the wide appeal of nationalism (Smith, 2010).

Connor advocates ethno-nationalism, "love of ethno-nation," as a genuine phenomenon that can never be explained rationally, but can be "analysed and invoked." Ethno-nationalism is frequently associated with sentiments and emotions stemming from blood-ties, and nations and leaders "never hesitated to appeal to it" (Smith, 2010, cited in Connor, 1994, p. 197). Similarly, Lewis (2004) asserts that socio-political identity is a prominent product of ethnic-nationalism "that flows in the blood and must be taken for granted."

Ethno-nationalism significantly influenced the modern history of Somalia in a controversial way, which has made Somalia a case that puzzles the world (Doornbos & Markakis, 1994; Kapteijns, 2014; Kimenyi, Mbaku & Moyo, 2010; Lewis, 2002; Luling, 1997; Tripodi, 1999).

Given this, it is important to analyse critically how nationalism, nation, and national identity evolved in the past and present of Somalia.

1.10 Modern History of Somalia

1.10.1 Colonial Period in Somaliland, 1900-1920

Somalia has the longest coast (100 miles) on the Indian Ocean. The coastline extends 700 miles on the Gulf of Aden. Somalia shares borders with Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya (Dawson, 1964; Loubser & Solomon, 2014; Thomas, 2016). In spite of its strategic location, Somalia, unfortunately, suffers little or no attention from the world (Dawson, 1964).

The history of European colonization in Somalia is uncertain. On one hand, Jardine (1923) asserts that the colonists' history goes back to 1827 when Somalian coastal laborers rescued British soldiers when their ship was wrecked off the Berbera coast; Jardine asserts after this incident that the trade relationship noticeably developed between British forces in Aden and Somalia. On the other hand, Lewis (2002) states that due to lack of resources in Aden, the British garrison struggled to have a sufficient food supply for 182 officers. Somalia, well-known to have rich resources of livestock, was the best option for the British colonial administration. British administrators definitely found Somalia's natural resources of sheep, goats, and camels to be an adequate alternative (Jardine, 1923; Kendie, 2002; Lewis, 2002).

British colonists conquered Somalia to control Bab-el-Mandeb, the strategic link between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden (Kendie, 2003). This enabled British officers to oversee the French movement in Djibouti. Also, British authority encouraged Italy to establish forces in Southern Somalia as a counterforce to France and to keep a close eye on Ethiopia (Kendie, 2003).

France and Italy shared imperial interests in the regions generally and Somaliland especially (Lewis, 2002). France had two colonies in China and Madagascar, and it was imperative to be linked to her territories via a base on the Red Sea. The Egyptian garrison withdrew from

Harrar, and the Turks were hesitant to play an active role in Tajura and Zeila (Lewis, 2002, p. 44). This paved the way for Italy to occupy Eretria with the support of Britain.

The influence of British colonists in Somaliland increased day by day, especially their political relationship with Ethiopia when both countries signed a boundary agreement in 1897. Upon completing the Anglo-Ethiopian agreement, the latter completely controlled the Ogaden territory. Somalian people were deliberately ignored, neither consulted nor informed. This was the seed of the disputes and stress of the Somali-Ethiopian relationship until the present time (Lewis, 2002).

The purpose of the Berlin Conference, also known as the Congo Conference, was to regulate European trade policy in west Africa and, most importantly, to regulate the colonists' race to the black continent (Abrahm, 2007; Adebajo, 2010; Andreasson, 2005; Bain, 2012). In 1897, colonists advocated the partitioning of Great Somalia as the only way to secure imperial interests on the Somalian coast; consequently, Somalia was partitioned into five regions from north to south: French Somaliland, British Somaliland Protectorate, and the Italian colony of Somalia, British Northern Kenya, and Ethiopian Ogaden (Lewis, 2002; Lewis, 2004; William & Cummings, 2015).

That partition agreement caused multiple disputes between the indigenous of Somaliland and Italian Somaliland territory. European forces could not resolve clan issues. The stress caused by the partitioning of great Somalia was the root of violence in Somalia (Lewis, 2002; Linke & Raleigh, 2011).

This historical period profoundly shaped Somalia's present and future in terms of political and social aspects until today (Drake-Brockman, 1912; Jardine, 1923; Lewis, 2002). There is general agreement that it is difficult to control or govern Somali people due to their complex

nature as Jardine described in *Irish Man of Africa*. This can be attributed to their aggressive nature and clan vanity (Jardine, 1923; Lewis, 2002).

In the context of Somalia, Sayyid Muhammed Abdillahi Hassan's nationalist movement (1900-1920) was the first political movement against colonization powers in Somalia. Lewis (2002) described it as a national movement that was "culturally specific," as when leader and followers "swim within" a social culture of myth, memories, traditions, and symbols (English, 2008, p.40). Given this, cultural components are at the core of nationalism, notably, to demonstrate power and solidarity (Smith, 1999, 2010).

Smith also emphasized the nationalist role in history and the importance of constantly reflecting on their lives by "modern nationalist intelligentsias" (Smith, 1999, p. 9). In spite of this, literature reviews have indicated that little or no attention has been given to the history of the Dervish movement as the most powerful national movement in Somaliland. Further discussion follows.

1.10.2 Sayyid Muhammad Abdille Hassan and the Dervish movement (1900-1920)

The colonists in fragmented Somaliland strictly controlled nomad movements and, subsequently, deprived Somalians of freedom in their own land and left them with limited resources of water used primarily for sheep and camels in the harsh environment. Most importantly, the Ethiopian (Abyssinia) power dominated the Ogaden region; furthermore, the missionary schools in Somaliland caused a real threat to the Somali religion.

Lewis (2002), Jardine (1923), and Dawson (1964) affirm that these factors strongly fired Somali patriotism. Shortly, in 1900, Sayyid Muhammad Abdille Hassan declared war against colonists in Somaliland, and Dervishism arose as the longest anti-colonial national movement.

In 1920, airplanes landed in Berbera and from there struck Dervish forts in Taleh. Sayyid Mohammed Abdillahi Hassan and the Dervishes were surprised by the new technology (Irons, 2013; Jardine, 1923; Lewis, 2002). Many Dervishes were killed, but Sayyid Mohammed Abdillahi Hassan survived and went back to Ogaden where he shortly died of a disease. Some said it was influenza; others said malaria. This was the end of the longest anti-colonial movement in Africa. It was the first time in Africa that Britain had used air forces to bomb an anti-colonial movement.

Jardine (1923) asserts that the British administration deprived Somaliland of acquiring Gordon College as was planned, declining to give £20,000 to establish Gordon College in Somaliland. However, the HM government endorsed financial aid of £80,000 first and then £20,000 to found Gordon and Kitchenent College in Sudan that significantly enhanced higher education in Sudan.

Also, shortly the British administration established a railway and telegraph of 900 miles to improve the economic condition in Sudan. The protectorate of Somaliland was far behind in social, educational, and medical services. As Jardine describes, "It is Somaliland's misfortune that her 21-year war left her with nothing but a few ramshackle Ford cars that have seen better days" (Jardine, 1923, p. 316).

1.10.3 Colonial Period in Somaliland 1920-1959

The British government lost millions of pounds in the war against the Dervish. The British administration, therefore, adopted an indirect policy to address territory internal affairs (Lewis, 2002) to prevent further confrontation with Somalis that might provoke violence as happened with Mohammed Abdillahi Hassan (Geshekter, 1985). Somalis described the British administration in Somaliland as a "deaf government that is not interested and does not want to spend money" (Geshekter, 1985, p.18). Subsequently, no serious attempt was made

to improve Somali welfare (Lewis, 2002, Sheik-Abdi, 1977) in spite of the Berlin Act statement to improve social services in all African territories. Somalis criticised the passive approach and confirmed that British colonists failed to build even one railroad in Somaliland despite 75 years of colonization (Geshekter, 1985).

After forty years, Sayyied Muhammed Abdillahi Hassan's national movement certainly influenced Somalis and inspired a new generation of nationalists such as Haji Farah Omar and his Islamic Association. The Haji Farah movement adopted a peaceful approach to attain protectorate social development (Lewis, 2002). Haji Farah Omar frequently approached the British administration to convey Somali desires and complaints (Lewis, 2002, Sheik-Abdi, 1977).

Somali educators were frustrated because of the discrimination policy that the Colonial administration imposed in the workplace (Lewis, 2002). Somali were deprived and jobs were offered to Indians and Arabs. Somali nationalists felt their "national aspiration" was widely ignored (Sheik-Abdi, 1977). This encouraged Haji Farah Omar and other nationalists to form a structured political configuration.

At the end of the Fascist regime, nationalists were active in all organizations and formed clubs and semi-clubs (Lewis, 2002). On 13 May 1943, the Somali Youth Club (SYC) was established in Mogadishu in the south. The SYC consisted of prominent religious men. The SYC significantly increased its membership to around 25,000 members in Somalia, British Northern Somaliland, Haud, Ogaden, and Kenya (Lewis, 2002). The SYC embraced the national aspiration of "Greater Somalia" and shared a national agenda consisting of: unity of Somalia; fighting clannism, tribal prejudice, and consolidating solidarity; providing education for youth; securing Somali interests; and adopting "Osmania" for writing the Somali language. The SYC became significant and one of strongest clubs in Somalia (Lewis, 2002).

In 1947, the SYC changed its name to the Somali Youth League (SYL). Members of the league took roles in the unification of Somalia and British Somaliland (Egal, 1968; Lewis, 2002; Sheik-Abdi, 1977).

Colonial powers became concerned about the growing SYL influence that might encourage opposition in the rest of the country. Consequently, authorities immediately banned the SYL from Ogaden, the Northern Frontier in Kenya. In spite of British actions in Somaliland, patriotic spirit led Somalis to form the Somali National League (SNL) (Lewis, 2002).

At the end of the Second World War in 1945, it was the Somalia misfortune to have a "new scramble" (Lewis, 2002, p.117). Upon Britain's triumph in the Second World War, the British took back all the Italian colonies in Africa. Given this, the British controlled Italian Somaliland from February 1941 until March 1950 (Lewis, 2002; Reyner, 1960; Sheik-Abdi, 1977). British colonists signed a land demarcation agreement with Ethiopia which enabled Ethiopia to control Ogaden (Lewis, 2002; Reyner, 1960; Sheik-Abdi, 1977). Kenya also kept the Northern Frontier based upon a boundaries agreement with the colonist administration. Abdi (1981), Egal (1968), Laitin (1976), Lewis (2002), Reyner (1960), and Sheik-Abdi (1977) agreed that Somalia's partitioned and colonial boundaries profoundly harmed Somalia's future and stability. Most importantly it "poisoned" Somalia's relationship with neighbours Ethiopia and Kenya.

When the Second World War ended in 1945 and Britain gained control over all Somali territories, the SYL found it a good time to approach the colonial administration for unifying Italian Somaliland with the rest of Somalia which would pave the way for the unity of Somalia into "Greater Somalia" (Lewis, 2002).

The Paris Peace Treaty was signed in 1947 and Italy was deprived of all colonies. The four main powers could not decide how to handle Italian Somaliland. Hence, the Council of

Foreign Ministers sought advice from the UN. In 1948, the "Four-Power Commission" representing the big powers—Britain, France, the USA, and the Soviet Union—who were active in the Horn affairs, visited Somaliland to explore the political situation and social circumstances (Lewis, 2002; Egal, 1968; and Sheik-Abdi, 1977).

In 1950, Italy sought to reclaim "trusteeship administration" control over its former colonies in Africa. The United Nations declined Italy's request, except for the former colony in Somalia (Tripodi, 1999). In February 1950, the UN endorsed Italy to have "trusteeship administration" for ten years in South Somalia. During the trusteeship period, Italy was to prepare Somalia for independence through economic development and social empowerment (Reyner, 1960; Lewis, 2002; Tripodi, 1999)**.** On April 1, 1950, Italy officially took over authority from the United Kingdom. October 1950, (eight months later) Italy began its official ten years of trusteeship (Reyner, 1960; Lewis, 2002; Tripodi, 1999).

In 1954, when the British had authority over Reserving area and Haoud, it officially ceded Ogaden to Ethiopia. Egal (1968) and Lewis (2002) assert that the rich grazing lands in Ogaden were a valuable resource and contained several reservoirs. Abdi (1981), Egal (1968, p. 223), Lewis (2002), Lewis (1960), and Sheik-Abdi (1977) agree that Ogaden's rich resources would cause troubles and disputes in Somalia's future. Egal describes it as "the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back" (Egal, 1968, p. 223).

The Italian government in order to prepare Somalia for independence launched a seven-year development plan (1954-1960). The Italian government established a "Territorial Council," consisting of Somali members and Italians keen to bring Somalia on board on future reform plans in Mogadishu. Most importantly, the council encouraged Arabic and Italian as the official languages of Education (Tripodi, 1999). Higher education was emphasized by the opening of a school of political and administration on 20 September 1950 that offered a

three-year program. The Institute of Social Science, Economics, and Law opened in 1953. Tripodi believes this paved the way for the establishment of Somalia's University (p. 368).

Tripodi (1999) asserts that in spite of Italy's humble efforts, it could not fulfil the UN trusteeship mission, and the seven-year development plan achieved little in Mogadishu. Tripodi assumes Italian national prejudice underpinned Italy's Trusteeship administration in Somalia in spite of political and economic constraints. In conclusion, Tripodi (1999) says that Somalia was far behind in accomplishing an autonomous economy and needed 15 to 30 years to develop a state economy.

1.10.4 Somalia Republic Independence

Abdi (1981) asserted that the desire of Somali at the time of independence was not to form a new state, but rather to re-continue Somali culture and history in an autonomous state that had political freedom. In December 1959, the United Nations decided to end the trusteeship mission in South Somalia on 2 December 1960. At the time, Somalia's economy remained poor, and there was limited access to education. Italy itself struggled to cope with the economic challenge in Mogadishu. On November 9, 1959, the UN received Italy's petition to "advance" the independence date of South Somalia to July 1, 1960. Upon Italian economic constraints, the UN agreed to Italy's request (Lewis, 2002; Reyner, 1960; Tripodi, 1999). However, the UN confirmed that the region was not ready yet for independence. This decision had a tremendous effect on nationalists in Somaliland. On 6 April 1960, the legislative council collectively decided to have independence and unification with Somalia. They willingly agreed on execution of these political plans to take place on 1 July 1960 (Laitin, 1979; Lewis, 2002, 1960).

In mid-April 1960, delegates from Somaliland met with government representatives in Mogadishu. By this time, the Somali constitution was completed successfully. The

constitution stated instructions for the selection of president, prime minister, national government, and flag (Lewis, 2002). However, South Somalia and Somaliland would function individually economically and would have different judicial systems because of differences in political and social situations (Lewis, 2002).

On 2 May 1960, in a London conference and in the presence of Somali delegates, Britain happily disassociated Somaliland. Lewis (2002) asserts that Britain had always seen the protectorate as the "least rewarding of its possessions" (Lewis, 2002, p. 163). The colonial secretary shared with Somali representatives that 1 July 1960 was the proposed independence date for Somaliland. Somalis protested and caused serious trouble in protectorate. Britain advanced the proposed date to 26 June 1960 to prevent further confrontation. Five days later, South Somalia declared independence and joined Somaliland to form the Republic of Somalia. Somali now considers this period as its golden age (Abdi, 1981; Egal, 1968; Farah, Hussein, & Lind, 2002; Dawson, 1964; Laitin, 1979; Lewis, 2002; 1960; Reyner, 1960; Sheik-Abdi, 1977).

1.10.5 Military Regime of General Mohammed Siyad Baree, 1969-1990

Civilian leadership successfully implemented institutions and parliament. This type of practice impressed Western countries and great powers who assumed Somalia was democratic and a stable state. Somalia's public was frustrated with the humble performance of Sharmake's civilian government and Muhammad Egal, the Prime Minster Laitin (1976). On 15 October 1969, President Abdul-Rashid was assassinated by one of his bodyguards (Dawson, 1964; Laitin, 1979/76; Lewis, 2002; Sheik-Abdi, 1977).

Internal disturbance paved the way for military officers who had a waited for a long time to step in through military coup in 1969 (Laitin, 1976; Lewis, 2002; Sheik-Abdi, 1981). Military forces controlled strategic points and suspended the constitution. Parliaments were disbanded,

the supreme court and political parties were cancelled, the national assembly was closed. The SRC "caught and locked up" parliamentarians (Lewis, 2002; Sheik-Abdi, 1981). Officials announced governance by the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC).

On 1 November, the SRC revealed General Muhammad Siad Baree as the new president of the Supreme Council which consisted of two vice-presidents and 22 officers from different ranks (Lewis, 2002; Sheik -Abdi, 1977). Siad began his career in the police force and then he became a police inspector and a senior official in the British military administration who had been exclusively locally-recruited. During the Italian administration in 1950, General Siad had military training in Italy where he studied political philosophy (Lewis, 1982). Siad Baree planned strategically to attain the national agenda. Priority was given to resolve internal issues of the poor economy, development, and the fight against nepotism. Once these were in place, then irredentist issues and border disputes with Ethiopia, Kenya, and French Somaliland would be addressed (Lewis, 2002).

The coup's name was changed to "Kaan" in the Somali language which means "revolution" (Lewis, 2002, p. 209). One year later in celebration of the military coup, General Siad Barre declared scientific socialism to be the ideology of the SRC, "Kaan" in the Somali language (Lewis, 2002, p. 209). Siad was remarkably talented and able to make socialism appropriate to the Somali context when socialism is successfully blended with Islam and influenced by nationalism (Laitin, 1979; Lewis, 2002; Sheik -Abdi, 1977).

Siad strongly supported developing close cooperation with the Soviet Union. Accordingly, in 1974, a successful relationship flourished in the "Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation." Upon signing the treaty, the Soviets used Somalia ports in Berbera and Kis-mayyo to build military bases (Laitin, 1976, 1977; Lewis, 2002). Somalia alone received generous grants of $63 million. This was significantly larger than all financial aid to the rest of Africa that

equalled $67 million (Laitin, 1976, 1977; Lewis, 2002). Consequently, the economy was booming, several development projects were established such as milk factories, new schools, roads, hospitals, radio stations, and canning factories (Laitin, 1976, 1977; Lewis, 2002).

Siad also developed a relationship with the African Unity Organization and the Arab World. Siad became an active member and was well-known for "ideological support". Siad's approach upset the SU and caused a conflict of interest; consequently, the SU suspended lubricant and oil supplies to Somalia (Lewis, 2002). Siad did not have any other option than to seek help from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia; subsequently, Siad developed close relationships with Gulf countries (Laitin, 1977).

Although Siad wisely spent international grants on state development, he was not satisfied, thinking that Somali over-relied on financial aid. Siad's expectation was to reduce Somalia's dependency on the international community as he commented, "A fully independent country never…seek[s] money for the actual running of its machinery from a foreign country" (Laitin, 1977, p. 50).

Ravenhill's (1980) study aimed to compare two types of regime—the civilian and military regimes. Ravenhill affirms that the Siad military government's performance was exceptionally good at improving the economic status and controlling the increase in food prices. However, military expenses slightly increased. Laitin believed the military regime of General Siad in Somalia was "honest and public" (Laitin, 1976, p. 455).

1.11 Ogaden War, 1977-1978

Ogaden was geographically located in Somalia. In spite of artificial borders (Abdi, 1980; Geshekter, 1985), the two had cultural and ethnic ties. The name of the Ogaden region was derived from the Ogaden Somali clan (Lewis, 1981). Tekle (1989) emphasizes the emotional ties that Somalis have toward Ogaden because it is the "birthplace of Somali culture and

nationalism." Tekle points to Sayied Muhammad Abdillahi Hassan who was the leader of the Darwish religious movement in the nineteenth century (Lewis, 2002).

The British administration in Somaliland proposed the unity of Somalia to reinforce prosperity and economy growth. Ernest Bevin, the British prime minister, strongly advocated the "Greater Somaliland" dream; consequently, Bevin introduced a plan for Somaliland unification. Bevin shared the proposal with the four powers (USA, Britain, USSR, and France) at their Paris conference in 1946 (Abdi, 1981; Lewis, 2002; and Sheik-Abdi, 1981). This plan was strongly declined by France and the Soviet Union who claimed by such action the British Empire aimed for further expansion (Geshekter, 1985).

Upon the UN's failure to demark boundaries between adversaries Somalia and Ethiopia, the British re-affirmed Ogaden to Ethiopia in 1954/55 when British authority fully regained authority over the area and Haoud (Lewis, 2002). There is a general consensus among scholars that the turnover profoundly impaired relationships between Somalia and Ethiopia (Abdi, 1981; Dawson, 1964; Geshekter, 1985; Jackson, 2010; Laitin, 1979/76; Lewis, 2002 and 1981; Reyner, 1960; Schwab, 1978; Sheik-Abdi, 1977; Tekle, 1989; Quirin, 1988; Yihun, 2014).

Lewis (2002) asserted that Siad's priorities for the first four years were to improve the economy and reinforce the authority of the military regime. Improvement of the internal situation encouraged him to resume diplomatic relationships with African neighbouring states as a part of the foreign policy of the new-state (Lewis, 2002; Laitin, 1977). Siad was actively involved in resolving African outstanding issues and mediated to resolve a Tanzania and Uganda dispute. Upon Siad's peace efforts, his name was nominated by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for the chairman's position.

As part of the chairman's role, Siad participated in "pre-independence negotiations" to assist Angola and Mozambique to have independence (Lewis, 2002). Soon, Siad was recognised as a political figure and active member of the OAU. Lewis (2002) comments that one of Siad's greatest achievements in his new role was reaffirmation of Somalia's relationship with the Arab world. The Arab League happily accepted Somalia's membership despite the new-state being a "non-Arabic speaking" country (Lewis, 2002, p. 226). Siad's intention was to form allies from Africa, the Arab world, and the Soviet Union to support Somalia's irredentism in Ogaden, the Northern Frontier, and French Somaliland (Geshekter, 1985; Laitin, 1979/76; Lewis, 2002; Sheik -Abdi, 1977).

By that time, the Somali army was well-known as one of strongest armies in Africa thanks to the Soviet Union's support who remarkably assisted Siad's regime and successfully trained army forces. In return, the USSR expanded farther by renting facilities in Berbera and Mogadishu (Abdi, 1981; Dawson, 1964; Laitin, 1979/76; Lewis, 2002; Reyner, 1960; Schwab, 1978; Sheik-Abdi, 1977; Tekle, 1989). Tekle (1989) concludes that the Ethiopia-Somalia dispute, in addition to the Eritrean conflict directly contributed to the general instability in the Horn of Africa.

The Siad military regime strove to resolve the Ogaden dispute (Jackson, 2010; Laitin, 1976, 1979; Lewis, 2002; Schwab, 1979). Lewis (1981) commented that there had been increasing insistence from military officials and the Western Somali Liberation front (WSLF) to liberate the Ogaden region from Ethiopian sovereignty since the beginning of the Siad Military regime in 1969. Upon the downfall of Haile Selassie in 1974, Somali officers were steadily persistent (Lewis, 2002; Lewis, 1981; Schwab, 1978), especially as at the time Somalia had a well-equipped army. Despite army consensus, Siad explicitly disagreed, since he knew that Somalia was not prepared yet for such an offensive against Ethiopia (Lewis, 2002; Lewis, 1981; Schwab, 1978).

Siad consistently called on the international community on more than one occasion to support Somali rights in Ogaden (Schwab, 1978). The purpose of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was to preserve the integrity of borders. Hence, Siad Barre frequently approached the OAU to get Somali lands back from adversaries Ethiopia and Kenya. Unfortunately, these attempts were never considered (Jackson, 2010; Laitin, 1976, 1979; Lewis, 2002; Schwab, 1979). All he got was a "deaf ear"; moreover, the OAE conference at Cairo in 1964 strongly reinforced existing borders. The OAU at end of the Cairo resolution explicitly stated that it was their duty to maintain and advocate the "sanctity" of artificial borders (Jackson, 2010; Laitin, 1976/1979; Lewis, 2002; Schwab, 1979).

Tareke (2009) asserts that the political and internal instability of Ethiopia in 1977 strongly encouraged Somali army officials to make a strong move in Ogaden. Until that time Siad did not prefer to have armed confrontation with the neighbouring country, Addis Ababa (Lewis, 1982; Schwab, 1978). Upon Djibouti independence in 1977, Somali leadership strongly inflamed national spirit, especially with Siad's intensive efforts advocating anti-clannism. This did not leave any excuse for Siad to postpone military action to free Ogaden land.

 Siad at this time had two options, either to abandon the dream of Great Somalia and agree to the international and AU decision to guard the "sanctity" of borders, or to respect the desire for national unity. Siad was hesitant for two reasons. First, he knew that Somali nationalism was made more powerful by the Ogaden war and this would be at stake. Second, Siad was fully aware that Somalia's economy needed a longer time to recover and it was not a convenient time for military intervention (Lewis, 1982; Schwab, 1978). The Somali National Army (SNA) invasion on 23 July 1977, strongly escalated the Ogaden war (Jackson, 2010; Lewis, 2002; Yihun, 2014).

Tareke (2009) commented that in spite of Addis Ababa's mighty forces that consisted of 35,000 to 47,000 soldiers, the Ethiopian army was far behind. Supplied with poor, outdated, and discarded equipment, military forces also profoundly lacked well-planned strategic tactics. Somalis had modern weapons and well-trained forces. Tareke (2009) noted that Somali forces had a very high level of technical mobilization, in addition to armour and tanks. This certainly enabled Somali forces to tactically move 700 kms into Ethiopian land and capture 350,000 square kms of territory.

Ethiopia received consistently enormous military support from the Soviet Union. This was sufficient to defeat the Somali national army. Siad tried to cope with dramatic changes (Besteman, 1996; Dawson, 1064; Jackson, 2010; Laitin, 1979; Lewis, 2002; Schwab, 1978; Tareke, 2000). Ogaden was beyond military defeat. It was a national crisis (Geshekter, 1985; Laitin, 1979/76; Lewis, 2002; Tekle, 1989; Sheik -Abdi, 1977).

In Somalia, Siad denounced the friendship treaty with the Soviets and declined socialism ideology. Given this, Somalia was deprived of all military and financial aids (Gilkes, 1989). Siad developed relationships with the Arab world, including Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Their funds significantly contributed to sustain Somali development.

Somali were emotionally disturbed and became vulnerable to anger and frustration which provoked hidden clans and tribal ties that had been carefully controlled and temporality suspended by the Siad Regime (Lewis, 1981). This was strongly reinforced by the general feeling of insecurity upon the changing policy of the superpowers toward the Siad regime. The Soviets abandoned Somalia and the US did not show any interest in replacing the Soviet Union's role in Somalia; however, the US retained a strategic interest in Somalia. Britain was one of the important contributors to the EEC budget. Also, the EEC established trade and

other relationships that were highly developed. Given this, the Somali returned to advocating lineage and clan ties as the only source of security (Lewis 1981).

1.11.1 From Greater Somalia to the Dissolution of Somalia

Fierce nationalism fired back at the cultural traditional system. Withdrawal of Somali forces caused national trauma, and extreme consequences profoundly aggravated partitioning inside Somalia (Lewis, 1982). Yihun (2014) affirms that bankruptcy of the dream of Greater Somalia certainly paved the way for rebel uprisings and later to the destabilization of Somalia. Lewis (1982) comments that Somalia was at a stage of "bankruptcy and collapse," as is explored below.

Yihun (2014) comments that after the defeat of the Somali national army, military officers, in particular, generals from the Mijertein clan, were outspoken in their criticism of Siad's mismanagement of the Ogaden War and shared this with the public. Yihun states they were encouraged by Mijertain who had been very powerful during the civilian leadership, whereas Abdul Rashid Shermake disagreed with Mijeratin.

Upon this dissatisfaction, these officers attempted a military coup in 1978. This failed and was followed with another coup in 1980 (Lewis, 1981, 1982, 2002; Sheik-Abdi, 1981; Yihun, 2014). Siad survived the 1978 coup, and the dissident group escaped to Ethiopian and formed the Somali Salvation Front in Ethiopia (SSF). This caused instability in Siad's regime. Lewis (1982, 1982) and Michaelson (1993) confirmed that it was a fatal mistake, especially, when the majority of Mijertein joined the Somali Salvation Front, whereas the Mijertein clan was well-known to be the most militant and most fierce (Lewis, 1981, 1982, 2002). Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf was appointed as military head of the SSDF when he arrived in Ethiopia after the abortive coup in Mogadishu in April 1978 (Yihun, 2014). Abdulahi Yusuf formed

the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) after the Ogaden defeat. Then after ten years, the Isaaq clan-based group formed the Somali National Movement (Michaelson, 1993).

This situation overlapped with the paralysed Somalia economy due to the cut-off relationship with the Soviet Union who used to supply a substantial share of financial aid. European aid was insufficient (Bestemen, 1996; Lewis 1982).

Siad developed a relationship with Western communities such as the US when Siad signed a military pact in 1980. In return, the US acquired naval and air bases in Mogadishu and Berbera (Ododa, 1985; Tekle, 1989, p. 81).

Siad's expectation went beyond actual military support, whereas the US frequently imposed constraints on Somali because of stressful relationships between Somalia and its neighbouring states Ethiopia and Kenya. The US administration promised to increase weapon support only in case Somalia became endangered (Laitin, 1977). Siad subsequently agreed to address internal issues to encourage the US to release the required amount of military aid (Lewis, 1982). Siad implemented minor changes to reorganise the government. Two prominent prisoners from the Isaaq clan were released. The first one was General Mohmmed Abshir, Commander of the Police, and the second one was Mohamad Haji Ibrahim Egal, who occupied the prime minister post during Abdul Rasheed Sharmake's leadership. Lewis (1982) comments that Siad's goal was to please opponents from Isaaq.

There were clashes between Isaaq and Ogaden refugees. Further escalation occurred upon the SNM's failed attack on army forces in the airport and military headquarters. The army aggressively responded to SNM guerrillas and it was claimed that "mercenary pilots, former Rhodesians, flew bombing missions for the government" (Bestemen, 1996; Gilkes, 1989). In November 1988, the SNM managed to control strategic towns in the north of Somalia such as Borao and Hargeisa. In the South, Ethiopia encouraged rebels from Hawiye and Habr Gidir to

destroy government infrastructure in Mogadishu (Bestemen, 1996; Gilkes, 1989, p. 55; Michaelson, 1993; Yiuhin, 2014).

Lewis (1982) says that civil clashes evolved when the SNM continued to hold operations against clan militia. The state government sent to Dolbahunta, the Daroud clan, for reinforcements, but Dolbahunta refused to participate or confront civilians not with the SNM. However, Ogaden responded with 8000 troops sent to Hargeisa (Bestemen, 1996). This immediate Ogaden response came based upon the strong influence of the Minister of Defence, Major General Adan Abdullahi "Gebiyu", from the Ogaden clan. Ogaden's immediate response provoked the anger of General Mohammed Siyad, known as Morgan. He had conflict with Gebiyu. As a resolution, Gebiyu was moved to the post of Minister of Information and Tourism. Morgan was appointed to be Deputy Minister of Defence (Bestemen, 1996; Gilkes, 1989).

Somalia also struggled with a poor economy, and the internal conflict made the collapse even worse. Violent confrontations with SNM militia absorbed the majority of government resources. Yihun (2014) states that Somalia could not pay back foreign debt which put future projects on hold due to lack of finance from the US and international donors.

The US extended the port area from the original location to accommodate larger ships. In 1987, military funds decreased to $5 million and the US blocked $55 million as a penalty for the government violating human rights (Gilkes, 1989). Consequently, the economy collapsed. The terrible inflation increased food prices, and, in some cases, food items disappeared from the market. Oil prices greatly increased, and, in 1988, Somalia had frequent shortages of electric power and water supplies. These situations impeded Siad's regime and state government (Loubser & Solomon, 2014).

In August 1990, the SNM joined forces with two other recently formed opposition groups, the Ogadeni-based Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) and the Hawiye-based United Somali Congress (USC). Siad, in his last speech on Mogadishu TV/Radio, sent a call to war leaders to leave innocent people alone as they did nothing to be punished for. Siyad reminded them of Somali kinsmen and nationalism and the religion of Islam.

These forces had the upper hand in creating issues in Somalia. It was this alliance which ousted Barre in January 1991 (Gilkes, 1989; Michaelson, 1993; Yiuhin, 2014), and led to violence that escalated to armed violence "which marked bloody history" mainly between clans and sub-clans. Somalia had violent conflicts which left Mogadishu in anarchy (Clarke & Serena, 1991-2010; Loubser & Solomon, 2014; Linke & Raleigh, 2011; Kapteijns, 2013; Thomas, 2016; Farah, Hussein, & Lind, 2000). The city lacked food, electricity, clean water, and eventually Somalia collapsed and had a terrible humanitarian crisis (Farah, Hussian, & Lind, 2000; Paul, Clarke, & Serena, 1991-2010).

In August 1990, rebel forces gained control over the majority of state lands. The SNM under Abdi Rahman Ahmed Ali controlled the North. The Somali United Congress under the leadership of Farah Aided controlled Mogadishu (the capital) and Baidoa. Kismayu was controlled by Omar Jese, the head of the Somali Patriotic Front (SPF) (Farah, Hussian, & Lind, 2000; Paul, Clarke, & Serena, 1991-2010).

In the beginning, the goal was to overthrow Siad Barre. When it happened, the internal conflicts began between "non-state actors" for power. After the overthrow of Siad, the Hawiye claimed power and control of Mogadishu. Actually, this clan did not have an active role in the state collapse and only interfered a few months before the overthrow of Siad (Michaelson, 1993). The USC made an individual decision on the interim president without the rest of members' consent as per the August agreement.

When the USC shared the announcement of Ali Mahdi as the interim president, this resulted in an immediate split of the USC along sub-clan lines. The Habar Gedir-based faction, led by General Mohammed Farah Aideed and the Abgal-based group led by Ali Mahdi began a brutal intra-clan struggle for power (Michaelson, 1993). The "horrific feature" of this war was the opposition leaders of SNM and Hawiye, the Ali Mahadi, and General Aideed who targeted Daroud-clan members inside Mogadishu and other areas (Farah, Hussein, & Lind, 2000).

One fact about the civil war when it erupted was that the Daroud clan was precisely targeted, killing innocent civilians. Later the war became known as the "cleansing war". Kaptejins (2013) argues that the USC, SN, and SPF deliberately targeted Daroud from where Barre was descended. This anarchy was followed with the worst famine crisis in 1992. Mangistu left also in May 1991 (Farah, Hussein, & Lind, 2002). Shortly, Somaliland seceded from the Somalia Republic and the SNM announced Somaliland as a "self-declared" republic (Kapteijns, 2013; Loubser & Solomon, 2014; Linke & Raleigh, 2011; Luling, 1997; Thomas, 2016).

1.11.2 Post-Collapse

After the civil war, Michaelson (1993) comments there were several attempts by international communities, including the UN and the US, to actively become involved to support people in need and support peace intervention to resolve the clans' war. In spite of great effort, all these attempts neither made significant progress nor achieved any agreement. Gros (1996) attributes the failure of peace missions to inefficient polices. Gros (1996), Paul, Clarke, and Serena (1991-2010) criticised the role of the UN in Somalia in 1992, where the intervention was beyond UN mandate. The Somali mission failed because of so-called "mission creep," meaning that the more limited objective of feeding starving Somalian was eventually superseded by others, such as disarmament.

In early 2000, for the first time in Somalia's post-collapse, there was a serious and peaceful attempt presented by Ismail Omah Guelleh, who was elected as the new President of Djibouti. This initiative was sponsored by IGAD and funded by the Gulf States, Libya and Egypt. The purpose was to form a central government of Somalia with a rigorous political configuration (Healy, 2011).

The Transitional National Government (TNG) was a successful outcome of Arta peace. The TNG was headed by Abdulqasim Salat Hassan. The Salat government was supported by a businessmen's association in Mogadishu and by Islamists. In 2004, Kenyan took the initiative to address Somalia's crisis. The Kenyan government called all clans to attend a peace conference held in Nairobi. This was considered to be significant progress when a peace agreement was signed and a "Transitional Federal Government" (TFG) was declared. The peace agreement was known as the Nairobi Peace Accord. There were no further operational activities (Paul, Clarke, & Serena, 2014). Eventually, a Somali parliament was designated, and seats were distributed equally among different clans. The Transitional Federal Charter stated a five-year plan aimed to strengthen the centralised government, draft the constitution, and arrange for elections. Abdulahi Yusuf was appointed as TFG president, and Ali Mohammed Gedi was elected as prime minister. However, authorities of Somaliland remained out of the TFG (Healy, 2011; Menkhuas, 2009; Paul, Clarke, & Serena, 2014).

Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf was elected to be president of the TFG who called for unity and was "tasked with administering a five-year political transition." But again, Somali were hesitant about the new government since Abdullahi Yusuf was an ally of the Ethiopian government, and the Mogadishu government at the time was dominated by the President's and Prime Minister's clans. Most importantly, Abdillahi Yusuf was known with animosity by political Islamists (Menkhuas, 2009).

Two years later in 2006, the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (ICU) ascended to power. The ICU efficiently demonstrated leadership that manifested in successful practices to provide a secure environment, which brought back order to Mogadishu, the "reassertion of subnational governance in the country, private business security, and most importantly arming the vulnerable groups of agricultural communities" (Paul, Clarke, & Serena, 2014) Because of ICU efforts, Mogadishu was safe for the first time since the civil war in 1991. Subsequently, business boomed in Mogadishu, where Islamist businessmen invested in public service projects such as hospitals and schools. Also, the ICU managed to re-open the seaport and the international airport (Paul, Clarke, & Serena, 2014).

Eventually Somalia would have some stability upon signing the Kampala Accord in June 2011. According to the Kampala agreement, the TFG service period was extended one year to complete TFG tasks by 20 August 2012 (Loubser & Solomon, 2014). It also sought to achieve road map objectives of security, writing the constitution, emphasizing good governance, and promoting reconciliation. On 20 August 2012, the TFG was replaced with the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS). In 2012, Hassan Sheikh Mohamud was elected as President of the Federal Republic of Somalia. Hassan Mohamud adopted a Six-Pillar plan, constituted of "revive unity, law and justice, the economy, build upon multinational relationships, and reconcile both security and service delivery" (African Union Peace and Security Department cited in Çancı & Medugu, 2015, p. 13).

1.12 Discussion and Conclusion

The Federal Republic of Somalia had a democratic election in January 2017. On 8 February 2017, Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed won the election and became the ninth President of Somalia.

Paul, Clarke, and Serena (2014) were impressed by the way Somalia was improving. In spite of the challenges that Somalia had, there was a potential for further development where the state needed to build-up security forces to bring back peace and stability to Somalia. Also, Hohne (2006) recommended that the new Somali government priorities needed to reinforce peace and security in the south; then later peace negotiations could start with Somaliland. After state collapse and civil war which disintegrated the cultural identity (Hohne, 2006), political identity became dominant in serving the state agenda as the re-emerged state of Somaliland in the northwest, Puntland in the northeast, and Mogadishu. Each district emphasized clan identity as the Isaaq in Somaliland, the Majertin (Darood) in Puntland, and the Hawiye in Mogadishu (Hohne, 2006; Yihun, 2014).

Hohne (2006) argued that inconsistency existed between political institutions and clan-identity where Somaliland claimed ownership of the Sool and Sanaage regions which were inhabited by the Dholbahantte. The author argued that the Sool and Sanaage did not belong to Somaliland. The Puntland government tried to persuade Dhulbahante and Wasrsangeeli as Hairti Darood to reinforce Puntland's claims to Sool and Sanaage lands in order to achieve unity of Somalia.

Hohne (2006) emphasized that formation of these states contributed significantly to slight stability. However, if one of these political identities tried to have full control, then Somalia might relapse into violent conflict.

In spite of Lewis's endorsement of the clan cultural system, Lewis (2002) argues that internal politics of the state strongly influenced cultural identity. However, Loubser and Solomon (2014) emphasized the colonial role and stated that colonists deliberately manipulated the clan system in Somalia to serve the European Colonialism agenda. Colonists reinforced "hierarchical forms of tribe"; consequently, resources and power became privilege.

Furthermore, "Every Somali had to be a legitimate subject of a chief in a hierarchical system of subject, tribe, chief, and colonial administration (Loubser and Solomon, 2014; p.3).

Doornbos and Markakis (1994) and Farah, Hussein, and Lind (2014) critically analysed the state collapse in Somalia in light of a nation-state concept and argue the traditional system, whereas there are extreme mismatches between the political system and the nature of Somali civil society and a traditional system.

Doornbos and Markakis (1994) and Farah, Hussein, and Lind (2014) argued that the concept of the nation which is a key factor of building states is not applicable to Somali because of its nomadic nature, especially, when nomads represent the majority of the population who lack essential skills to build state institutions. However, their cultural system enabled the Somali to practice democratic life to the limit of anarchy (Lewis, 1980).

Consequently, the urban minority elite who had Western educations or were "westernised" exploited the farmer and nomad. This paved the way for one political system to control the post-colonial state which is described as authoritarian and militarised. Doornbos and Markakis (1994) assert that the MOD which strongly encouraged political hegemony was a manipulative system that reinforced clan coalition.

Tripodi (1999) attributes poor relationships between civil society and state institutions to the colonial legacy. Tripodi (1999) comments that the Italian administration assigned to prepare Somalia for independence failed in this mission, and, most importantly, exported a poor state model that Somali leadership copied and was highly inefficient for the post-colonial state in terms of state institutions. Lack of education where the majority of the community were nomads and failed to have participatory role was also a serious problem.

Doornbos and Markakis (1994) recommend that the relationship between state institutions and civil society needed to be transformed carefully. Doornbos and Markakis concluded the

importance of Somali adopting a creative approach that can be an assimilated feature of a traditional society which he called orthodox and "original thinking." This can construct a political system that can balance the power and organise the relationships between state institutions and a civil community. At the end, Doornbos and Markakis (1994) highly recommended such an initiative as the only one that could be appropriate in a "largely pastoral context."

Besteman (1980) believed that when a state has access to funds and weaponry without "internal constraints" which impose responsibility and accountability, this definitely harms the stability of states as in Somalia's case. Besteman asserts that state-building in some manner paved the way to class formation of elite urban business men who manipulated and controlled state power defined by race, status, region as "primarily and secondarily kinship" (p. 589).

Bestemen (1980) argues that civil war occurred not because there were "unrelated" factors. Kinship and segmentary opposition fought for power and "control of resources" in a highly militarised atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. Second was external influence such as "colonial policy, Cold War geopolitics, and donor funding."

Van Notten (2003) adopted a different path, where he advocated a historical path which predicts foreseen conflict. Van Notten asserts that what happened was to be expected as the consequences of the Ogaden War in 1978. The defeat of the Somali national army by Ethiopian forces with European intervention profoundly undermined the solidarity and unity of the nation. Van Notten (2003) said that in a secure environment, the aftermath of the Ogaden War encouraged Somali to return to their traditional system of clan loyalty. Given this, Notten was one of few scholars who acknowledged the role of the Ogadan War as a main dynamic of state collapse.

Menkhaus (2009, 2007) advocated a broad perspective to identify internal and external factors and considers dynamic interaction between internal factors such as manipulative social strata and external actors' interests in regional stability. After the 11 September attacks in 2001, the term of "failed state" was widely introduced in the US. Call (2008) comments that failed state phenomena received wide attention because anarchy and insecurity strongly encouraged terrorism which threatened political stability in the rest of the world. Also, the term of "failed state" was a focal point of concern when the national state collapsed in Somalia in early 1990.

The term of "failed state" is controversial (Call, 2008; Christopher, 1997; Eriksen, 2011; Jones, 2008; Wolff, 2010) as there is no common definition, but generally states fail when "they are unable to perform these basic functions of providing territorial control or security, rule of law, basic social services, economic goods, and political services for long periods of time over a substantial portion of their territory" (Call 2008, cited in Clement, 2005, p. 4).

Wolff (2010) argued the validity of a failed state definition in two dimensions — ends and means. Any state needs some sort of means preliminary to delivering the output or ends. Wolff asserts that failure of a state to provide essential means, ultimately cannot achieve goals (ends). Given this, Wolff argues that the definition of a failed state is a shallow one and does not reveal the complexity of phenomena.

Call (2008) believed that state failure can be described as a state that is unable to provide for the basic needs of citizens. It provides little or no benefit to explore a state which completely collapsed as the case of Somalia in 1991, either internally or externally for the international community for a long period of time where Somalia remained collapsed from 1991 to 2013 in the absence of an authorised regime and a recognised passport (Call, 2008). Somalia was the only state in the world that has remained collapsed for such a long period.

Further, Call (2008) argued the term of "failed state" is highly inefficient and works poorly. It lacks in-depth explanation of the phenomena where it explicitly ignores the dynamics of conflict. Therefore, Call (2008) and Wolff (2010) advocated an analytical approach on multi-levels that provide an in-depth understanding which may reveal the complexity of failed and fragile states. Wolff (2010) strongly recommends exploring the region of the failed state as an important dimension in a failed state.

Kimenyi, Mbaku, and Moyo (2010) disagreed with Call (2008) and Wolff (2010) and asserted that state failure is a multifaceted phenomenon and is based on a set of internal and external factors, structural and economic factors, social factors, and political and institutional factors that overlap in dynamic interactions. In spite of the variety of causes, Kimenyi, Mbaku, and Moyo (2010) asserted that the colonial legacy of colonization was a prominent factor of state failure in Africa. This can be perceived in two ways.

First, colonists upon leaving Africa at the time of independence imported a colonial political configuration to post-colonial states to serve the colonial agenda. Their policy was to maintain the artificial borders that were always considered to be an inherited colonial legacy. This displaced people from their lands and formed a heterogeneous nation that had different ethnics, languages, and religions (Kimenyi, Mbaku, & Moyo 2010).

The post-colonial regime used coercion to form the states as the only way to have authority which resulted in violent conflict on the Black continent. African governments failed to have full authority over "the territory of the artificial states, which they inherited from the colonialists. A good example is the DRC, whose government has been unable to extend its control to all parts of the vast country since independence from Belgian in 1960" (Kimenyi, Mbaku, & Moyo, 2010).

In the case of Somalia, the colonization process entailed the division of Somalia, giving Somalia's land through artificial borders to other countries who have different languages, state systems, and religious beliefs. The new state used coercion on Somalis to demonstrate national identification and loyalty to the governments of Kenya, Ethiopia, and France (Kimenyi, Mbaku, & Moyo, 2010).

States do not operate in isolation; instability among neighbours can destabilise the state. Hence, the neighbourhood in which the state finds itself is an important indicator of fragility. In Somalia's case, the border dispute and conflict caused tension in relationships between Kenya and especially the Ethiopian-Somali relationship because of the Ogaden dispute (Yihun, 2014).

Other factors such as a poor economy, poverty, and over-all economic decline were identified as indicators of state-failure (Kimenyi, Mbaku, & Moyo, 2010). Every failed or failing state in the world today is a low-income country. States which are unable to provide well-being for the majority of its citizens over a prolonged period of time increase the likelihood of failure.

Christopher (1997) argued the concept of state in Africa. Christopher describes African states as "quasi-states" that failed to have full control or authority or sovereignty over territory. The discourse of "failed states", "collapsed states", and "quasi-states" does not provide a great help either to reveal the "nature" of states or state processes that lead to weakness or strength of states. Also, this discourse highly ignored the colonization influence on the formation of neo-colonial states in Africa.

Colonization undermined security and stability and disintegrated the nation—all of which contributed to state-collapse. Christopher (1997) argued that even upon the independence of a state, decisions were made to serve the colonists' agenda. Christopher concludes that internal and external factors contradict each other. State internal and external dynamics contradict the

47

idea of the state and undermine the potential of a state to achieve status of the ideal-modern state.

Christopher (1997) asserts that contemporary Africa's problems are rooted in the colonial era. The quasi-state is the only political form or structure that successfully serves colonial interests in Africa in the post-colonial period. One dominant aspect was that the authoritarian regime was inadequate to nation-building. The artificial boards divided ethnicities and caused disparity. Force or the employment of the force was the only way to unity; however, this is seriously undermined social development and, consequently, impeded economic growth.

One important aspect of being a quasi-state was that it never had an independent economy. For 30 years, it relied on financial aid and the support of post-colonial powers. Indeed, these funds were driven by strategic and economic imperatives designed to serve the agenda of the US and the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Similarly, Englebert (1997) noted that colonization and the inherited colonial practices of "domination, oppression, and exploitation" in neo-colonial African states undermined relationships between governance and civil society, even after 40 years of independence.

Imported practices were European in origin and exogenous, and were set up to serve a pre-colonization agenda and not for the interests of Africa. The practices were inadequate to African needs and consistently caused identity issues which gave the impression they were African states but not African. "The contemporary state in sub-Saharan Africa in not Africa" (Englebert, 1997, p. 767).

Englebert (1997) strongly agrees with Dia's statement "that the African state is a failed state because it is not African." Englebert points to the mismatch between institutions and society (civil community) (Englebert, 1997, p. 769). Also, Englebert (1997) argued that the World Bank confirms that a poor relationship between state and society is a key obstacle to

democratic configuration and economic growth because of corruption and manipulating resources. Englebert (1997) concluded that Africans have to address the persistent issue of what he called "imported statehood". This is a key impediment of development in Africa.

Eriksen (2011) asserted that state institutions in the third world do not function efficiently. This is considered by international organizations as the main obstacle of economic growth. Eriksen (2011) criticises the discourse of "failed states" where the approach is to analyse the "model of a modern state" and related discourse. The author believed this discourse does not provide or reveal the nature of states in depth. Also, the idealised model of a "modern state" should not be used to analyse the failure state in African post-colonial states. The drawback of this model being that it does not explore either the state as itself or the processes that relate to state-building. Englebert (1997) strongly agrees with Eriksen (2011). Of course, both of them explicitly agree that the colonial foundation strongly hindered state-formation in Africa.

Eriksen (2011) argued that states have to be understood as a "category of practices". Given this, the author advocated that the formation of post-colonial states has to be analysed through two categories. First is the "inter-relationship between the idea of the state and actual state practices." Second, attention must be given to "the ways that states have become linked to domestic society on the one hand and their relations with the external world on the other (Christopher, 1997; Eriksen, 2011, p. 229; Jones, 2008).

Jones (2008) critiqued the "failed states" discourse. Jones believes it fails to provide in-depth explanations of failed states and, most importantly, lacks the analytical perspective to identify conflict dynamics in Africa which abuse African states when "Peace for Funds" failed-states index identifies the majority of African states as being weak. Therefore, Jones (2008), adopted an analytical framework that identified the global political economy as the root cause of conflict and crisis in African failed states.

Jones (2008) attributed the political crisis in neo-colonial states in Africa to the political economy being underpinned by colonial historical legacy. At the time of state-independence in Africa, colonists aimed to transform the governments of post-colonial states to serve their future interests in the post-colonial stage. Hence, colonist practices transformed post-colonial structures, encouraged authoritarian regimes, and impeded democratization practices and leadership, reinforced ethnic clashes (factional struggles) by political economic interventions which reshaped the cultural identity of a state to be a political identity and a politicised ethnicity.

In the case of Somalia, described as a "textbook failed state" (Jones, 2008, cites Rageh Omaar, 2006), Somalia presents the principles of failed states in Africa. Jones indicated that "colonial and postcolonial conflict of local and regional political economics" triggered "intractable violent conflict and disintegrated Somali society." Moreover, the fluctuating Cold War policy of the African Horn was driven by strategic and economic interests that had strong influences on the political economy where no or little interest was given to social development. The enormous military aid that the US and Soviets gave to their "client states" strongly contributed to state-collapse in Somalia (Jones, 2008).

Crummey (2003) highlights boundary disputes as root causes of conflict in failed states. Crummey refers to it as "regional history", an outstanding issue in Africa that the failed-state definition and discourse fail to elaborate. Crummey comments that the war in Africa between Ethiopia and Eretria cost millions of dollars, and thousands of innocent people lost their lives. Funds for military expenditures could have been invested in education and state development.

Crummey argues that state institutions have to adopt "historical integrity" to resolve on-going conflicts. Also, UN and international community interventions need to be more efficient to address African issues that are complicated and cannot be resolved by shallow attempts.

Bah (2012) confirmed that state failure is a helpful notion to explore war-torn countries in Africa, but the term fails to examine the phenomena and identify conflict dynamics underpinned by socio-political contexts and the economy. Bah (2012) proposed the term "state decay" which adopts an analytical approach to examine preconditions of "civil war and state failure in Africa". State failure and state collapse can be used interchangeably. State collapse is defined as "the situation where the structure, authority (legitimate power), law, and political order have fallen apart and must be reconstituted in some form, old or new" (Bah, 2012, cites William Zartman, 1995, p.1). In Africa, the failed state is the norm, and the collapsed state is the exception which is very rare.

Michaelson (1993) describes what happened in Somalia as a tragedy that very rarely exists in other parts of the world. Somalia's national tragedy was constituted of political anarchy, destroyed infrastructure, and devastating famine. Known as a terrible humanitarian crisis, approximately 300,000 have lost their lives since January 1991 because of famine and violence.

Michaelson (1993) strongly disagreed with identifying the traditional system of clans as the driver of conflict in Somalia. Michaelson believes that the Somalia tradition is indeed adequate and appropriate to Somalia as homogeneous nation, and it reflects their national, cultural identity.

 Michaelson (1993) affirmed the colonial legacy in provoking violent conflict in Somalia. First, he refers to the role of British colonists in the North and Italian colonists in the south. Both contributed to promote colonist practices to impose colonial authority and centralised government. Also, colonials suppressed the traditional system and undermined clan elders' authority. After independence, the elite and the foreign-educated transferred European

practices which did not serve Somali needs and clashed with Somalia's unique cultural system.

Michaelson (1993) believed that post-colonial powers were kept to play roles in Somali during the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union. As a part of geopolitics, both powers used Somalia to serve their geopolitics agenda. First with the Soviets that were the best allies of the Siad regime and then when the Soviets abandoned Somalia as strategic partners and supported Ethiopian in the Ogaden war, Somalia turned to the US for financial and military aid. Michaelson asserts both the US and the SU heavily militarised Somalia which was "armed to teeth" (Michaelson, 1993, p. 54).

Shultz (1995) asserted that the post-Cold War complicated issues in Somalia. The author stated that Siad first received financial and military support from the Soviet Union first and then the US. When the Cold War ended, Somalia's geo-politics importance declined. This was proportionate with military and financial aid. This weakened the Baree regime and provoked ethnic and clan faction violence which eventually led to state disintegration.

Gros (1996) asserts that the big powers of the US and the former Soviet Union had major roles in the failure of African states Somalia, Rwanda, and Liberia through economic policies that undermined economic growth. Gros (1996) also argues that "Fourth World, collapsed states" were the product of the US and the former Soviet Union's manipulative policies.

Gros discussed the relationship between militarised states and the intensity of failure. Gros asserts that as much as a state is militarised that much failure is found. As an example, Somalia and Liberia were top recipients of US military aid during the Cold War. Gros (1996) assures that the Third World would be a "growth market for arms merchants." This was supported by Samatar (1987) who attributes Somalia's collapse to over-dependence on foreign aid which subjugated and manipulated the state regime.

According to data pulled from the *1990 World Bank Development Report*, Somali, Rwanda, and Haiti recorded some of the lowest growth rates between 1965 and 1988. Somalia was at 0.5% (Gros, 1996). Samatar (1987) recommends that Africa needed to reform their economic policy to have "self-reliance" to have control over its future. Most importantly, it has to give up the temptation of militarization.

State failure has increased rapidly in the international system (Tusalem, 2016). Many scholars strive to analyse or to uncover the causes of state failure. Recent research highlighted political instability, regime type, and economics which "strongly influence" state fragility and failure. Tusalem (2016) argues that research has ignored or given little attention to the historical background or colonial history that impeded state-building and undermined relationships between state and civil communities, especially "unique cases" of nation-states.

Tusalem (2016) advocated the "historical path dependency approach" to reveal the complexity of failed or collapsed states. Understanding the history of a state highlights past legacies and practices of colonists that contributed to current, inherited issues. This knowledge allows policy makers to adopt efficient methods and practices to resolve state issues such as instability.

Ahmad (2017) highlights the complexity and multi-dimensionality of the recent crisis in Middle East and North Africa as "non-state" armed groups, transnational movements, fragmented states, and identity-based conflicts. Ahmad argues that neither the ideal classic-state model nor international relationships will be able to resolve or explain on-going conflict-resolution processes which become "ill-suited" (p. 417).

Ahmad recommends that policy makers adopt the innovative approach of "forward-looking", which uses critical and analytical skills to uncover the root dynamics of conflict and analyse

state failure phenomena. The innovative approach needs to be a grounded multi-interdisciplinary approach that uses "instrumental tools" to examine identity-based conflicts.

Discussion

Somalia is located in the Horn of Africa and shares borders with Kenya and Ethiopia. Somalia has a strategic location on the Red Sea and also has the longest coast on the Indian Ocean. Somalia is a mono-ethnic community, and the population shares unity of religion (Islam), language, and culture (Besteman, 1993; Dawson, 1964; Jardine, 1923; Lewis, 2004). The Somali nation is constituted of clans and sub-clans who share family ties and lineage, which makes Somalia one of the few genuine nations in the world (Lewis, 2002). Major clans are Hawiye, Daarod, Rahanweyn (Digil, Mirifle), and Isaaq (Dawson, 1964; Lewis, 2002). The majority of Somali are nomads and pastoralists. Somalis adopted a mobility system to cope with the harsh environment and scarcity of resources (Geshekter, 1985). Nomads relied heavily on the western region of Ogaden land for grazing for livestock.

The Federal Republic of Somalia had a democratic election in January 2017. On 8 February 2017, Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed was elected to be the ninth President of Somalia. President Mohamed Abdullahi is successor to Hassan Sheikh Mohamud who was president of the Somali Federal Government that replaced the TFG on 20 August 2012, as per the Kampala Accord (Healy, 2011; Loubser & Solomon, 2014). The Uganda Treaty by Arta agreement was a successful outcome of the Somalia Reconciliation Conference arranged by Ismail Omar Guelleh, the President of Djibouti, who was the first to explicitly exclude war lords from peace talks and exclusively invited Somali clan elders and intellectuals (Healy, 2011).

The purpose of peace talks was to reach an agreement to establish a national Somali government after the overthrow of the Siad Baree regime which led to state collapse and civil

war in January 1991 (Gilkes, 1989; Michaelson, 1993; Yiuhin, 2014), when the SNM joined

forces with two other recently formed opposition groups, the Ogadeni-based Somali Patriotic

Movement (SPM) and the Hawiye-based United Somali Congress (USC). These forces had

the upper hand in provoking and creating issues in Somalia. It was this alliance which

overthrew Barre in January 1991 (Gilkes, 1989; Michaelson, 1993; Yiuhin, 2014) which lead

to violence that escalated to armed violence "which marked bloody history" mainly between

clans and sub-clans." Somalia then had a violent conflict which left Mogadishu in anarchy

(Clarke & Serena, 1991-2010; Loubser & Solomon, 2014; Linke & Raleigh, 2011; Kapteijns,

2013; Thomas, 2016; Farah, Hussein, & Lind, 2014).

Hohne (2006) comments that the civil war was a "political and national crisis." Doornbos and

Markakis (1994), Kimenyi, Mbaku, and Moyo (2010), Lewis (2002), Luling (1997), and

Tripodi (1999) assert that Somalia's collapse in 1991 was a puzzle and cannot understood in

a homogenous community that shares culture and unity of religion and language. Doornbos

and Markakis (1994) Kimenyi, Mbaku, and Moyo (2010) comment that intractable conflict

would be understandable if Somali had regional, ethnic, or linguistic disparities as found in

Ethiopia, the Sudan, and Kenya. Kapteijns (2014) describes the civil war that erupted in

Somalia in 1991 as a cleansing war that mainly targeted the Daroud clan. Menkhaus (2007)

and Paul, Clarke, and Serena (2014) state that Somalia remained collapsed for more than 23

years, the longest period in all neo-colonial states.

The complexity of Somalia's case is debatable. Çancı and Medugu (2015), Lewis (2002),

Loubser and Solomon (2014), and Paul, Clarke, and Serena (2014) identified clan factions as

the key factor. Somalia was described as a failed state; however, Christopher (1997), Eriksen

(2011), and Jones (2008) argued that the meaning of "failed state" and discourse is shallow

where it lacks the analytical perspective. Tusalem (2016) advocates the "historical path,

dependency approach" to reveal the complexity of failed and collapsed states. By

understanding history and colonial legacy, this enables the ability to resolve inherited conflicts.

Ahmad (2017) confirms the traditional approach is not appropriate to reveal the complexity of the 21st century crisis. Furthermore, Ahmad advocates the innovative approach of "forward-looking", that underlies critical and analytical skills to uncover the root dynamics of conflict.

The complexity of national phenomena in Somalia can be analysed through ethno-nationalism to reveal complex relationships between past and present. The nation in Somalia is mono-ethnic (shared ancestry) with shared language and religion. Ethno-nationalism in the context of Somalia is a political ideology to attain and maintain unity, autonomy, and the identity of the nation and its people (Smith, 2010). Sentiment, economy, and geopolitics were key factors that shaped the ethno-nationalist movement.

The Somali national movement can be tracked back to the sixteenth century when Imam Ahmed Guray defeated Abyssinia forces in what was the "Conquest of Abyssinia" (1527-1548) (Jenkins, 2000) to maintain Somali autonomy. Ahmed Guray's army could not reach Addis Ababa upon Portuguese intervention.

In the nineteenth century, after the scramble for Africa and partitioning of Somalia, Sayyied Mohammed Abdillahi Hassan and the Dervish movement became the longest anti-colonial movement in Africa (1900-1920). The British could not achieve peace in Somaliland and lost millions of pounds which informed their policy in Somaliland to put a hold on any development project so there was no social mobilization (Jardine, 1923; Lewis, 2004).

"Greater Somalia" was a national theme for all nationalists in Somalia, and it was manifested symbolically in their blue flag at independence on 1 July 1960. Then in 1969, after a military coup, Siad adopted socialism as a means for social development. Due to the geopolitical

location of Somalia, Siad signed a friendship agreement with the Soviet Union who granted substantial financial aid. Siad initiated a reform policy of internal development. The Somali language script was a remarkable national achievement.

Because of the poor economy and a geopolitical agenda, Siad adopted a peaceful approach to tackle the Ogaden dispute. In spite of several attempts, there was no progress. Siad did not prefer to have military action, but could not decline the national desire which stemmed from passion and sentiment. This enabled Somalis to win early in the war. The Soviet Union intervention to support Ethiopia and US policy, however, left Somalia alone in the war.

The Somali army defeat in Ogaden traumatised the Somali nation. The huge number of refugees was beyond the ability of the state budget to assist. Army officials accused Siad of mismanaging the war. Upon failure of a military coup, Somali officers left for Ethiopia which was fatal mistake that Smith called "irrational nationalism that cannot be explained, but it can be analysed." Apparently, Somalia needed longer to recover from the war. Ogaden War ended the dream of "Greater Somalia".

The dissolution of Somalia began at the intervention of external actors, limited foreign aid, poor economy, and the sickness of an old man, all of which contributed to state collapse and civil war. The role of external actors remains active to provoke internal conflict. In 2006, there was successful national movement of the Islamic court which had support from all Somali regardless of their clan and, for first time, brought security to Mogadishu. There were several attempts from the UN, US, and Ethiopia to resolve on-going conflict in Mogadishu, but none of these was successful. Only Djibouti interventions which were included for first time the true nationalists of clan elders and also had the attachment and affection of the Somali nation. When Djibouti was part of Greater Somalia, Siad had a major role in

supporting Djibouti to gain independence from French colonization. Despite state collapse, Somalia came back and formed the Federal Government Republic on 21 August 2012.

This contextual overview sheds the light on main historical events that shaped Somalia's modern history, and explicitly identified the external and internal factors that triggered civil war in 1991, despite the different opinions on what caused division and disparity among Somali. The literature demonstrated that Somali endowed national sentiments, and irrational nationalism that "cannot be explained, but it can be analysed."

The civil war of 1991 left Somalia's children without education for more than two decades; however, some efforts were made to provide educational opportunities for students through international interventions and local efforts (Hussein, 2015; Cassaneli & Abikadir, 2008).

Education in conflict is complex and debatable (Ellison, 2014; Hilker, 2011; Naylor, 2015; Rappleye & Paulson, 2007; Schwartz, 2010; Smith, 2011; Tawil, 2004); therefore, curriculum change often comes as interventions or strategies to reconstruct the education system to promote values of social cohesion, identity, and reconciliation through school curriculum (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011; Westbrook et al., 2013). In post-conflict Somalia, the national government strives to build up national capacity through developmental projects in education (Hussein, 2015; Cassaneli & Abikadir, 2008) and works to transfer the national policy from the macro level of state to the micro level of the school with the aim to achieve certain outcomes (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011; Westbrook et al., 2013).

The ongoing conflict in Somalia, long absence of national government, lack of access to education, poor infrastructure, shortage of textbooks, inadequate learning materials, and untrained teachers remain obstacles for the progress of a national education system (Cassaneli & Abikadir, 2008; Hussein, 2015; UNESCO 2008) and undermine developing a national uniform curriculum (Barakat et al., 2014).

Adopted curriculum was mainly used in 49.9% of secondary schools. 85.7% of North West Zone (NWZ) schools, and 94.1% of Sool and Sanag schools used this curriculum. 29.6% of North East Zone (NEZ)/Puntland schools applied the adopted curriculum beside the Kenyan curriculum (UNESCO, 2008). In CEZ, 33.9 % of schools used an adopted curriculum, and 31.2 % used the Kenyan one. NE and CS schools adopted the Djibouti and UAE curriculum. The Saudi Arabian curriculum is utilised in all zones except Sool and Sanag (UNESCO, 2008).

Valeryevich (2011) advocates the developmental role of history that strongly contributes to the development of national identity, especially in societies that are in a transitional stage such as post-war Somalia, whereas history education has the potential to address root causes of conflict. Tusalem (2016) advocates the "historical path" to reveal the complexity of failed and collapsed states. By understanding history and colonial legacy, this enables the ability to resolve inherited conflicts. Ahmad (2017) advocates the importance of adopting the innovative approach of "forward-looking".

Given this, a multidisciplinary approach that underlies critical and analytical skills to uncover the root dynamics of conflict is more appropriate than other traditional approaches (Ahmad 2017). In post-collapse Somalia, importing school curriculum from different countries who were mainly involved in funding education "added" to the disparity of communities and extremism, especially in the South central. These curricula reflected the origin country's ideologies and "political interests" (Barakat, et al., 2014). Similarly, lack of citizenship education "to promote social and moral responsibility" was identified as a main reason for the increase in clan-based politics and the "breakdown in social norms between youth and elders" in Puntland and Somaliland.

There is a need for a national history curriculum to address the difficult history of 1991 to revive the national history of Somalia and assure the continuity of national sentiment and identity. Given this, curriculum evaluation is a fundamental for curriculum design and implementation, judgment of curriculum merit, and worth which significantly influence data collection and interpretation (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). Evaluation is a critical analysis of different aspects of curriculum, such as documents, planning, and instructional design (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009, p. 27). Lincoln and Guba (1979) state that the function of evaluation is to judge the value of the "thing being evaluated".

1.13 Education in Somalia

This section aims to provide an overview of the history of education in Somalia. Quranic schools offered traditional learning in the precolonial period. These schools remained an important source of education during the colonial period. Despite the well-established colonial schools in the north and south Somaliland, these institutions had poor attendance because of an education design that aimed to serve colonial purposes (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008).

Post WW II, the colonial powers introduced formal schooling in the North and South of Somaliland (Abdi, 1998; Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). During the time of independence, the civilian leadership strongly encouraged Somali to attend formal schooling. The government was very keen to offer education to all, not only the elite. Poverty, lack of resources, and different languages (English in the north and Italian in the south) were constraints on any development.

Education significantly developed during the time of Siad Baree's military regime. He offered the nomads (the majority of Somali) an opportunity to learn in the Somali language

upon successful creation of a language script (Abdi, 1998; Cassaneli and Abdikadir, 2008; Lewis, 2002). In 1991, upon new violent conflict, Somalia as a state collapsed; subsequently, the education system fell apart. Post collapse, NGO and international donor efforts contributed significantly to reviving the national education system (Moyi, 2012; William & Cummings, 2015).

1.13.1 Pre-Colonial and Colonial Education

Somali received education before colonials arrived in the nineteenth century. Religious leaders were the main source of literacy (Abdi, 1998; Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). The Sufi religious order was common in Somalia, and many Sufi leaders established associations and learning centers. In fact, the teaching of history in Somalia began with Koranic schools that provided informal education. Koranic schools adopted the Islamic approach that was built upon the principles of Islam and spiritual values. In addition, Sufi teachers were actively involved in teaching Islam principles, Arabic language, and arithmetic (Abdi, 1998; Cassaneli and Abdikadir, 2008; Lewis, 2002). This strongly encouraged the indigenous to send children to Koranic institutions (Moyi, 2012; William and Cummings, 2015).

The Somali diaspora community included soldiers who served in the British army, seamen, traders, and travellers for trade and pilgrimage. This community brought wide knowledge with them upon returning home, and their thoughts contributed significantly to changing the local perspective. Cassaneli and Abdikadir (2008) asserted that these two sources significantly shaped early education in Somalia that can be described as Islamic education.

Upon British and Italian colonization of Somalia, Western education was introduced as part of social development. This was strongly resisted by local Somali upon a call from Mohammad Abdille Hassan, a religious and national leader in the Somaliland protectorate

(Abdi, 1998; Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Lewis, 2002). Mohammad Abdille Hassan believed that the proposed education in colonial schools served the colonial agenda.

Upon anti-colonial movement of the Dervish, the British administration was hesitant to build any schools in the North (Lewis, 2002). However, the colonial authority attempted to establish a few elementary schools in Berbera, Zeylac, and Bulxaa. English was the language of instruction and the Arabic language was discouraged (Abdullahi, 2017). In 1920, as an additional expansion, British authority planned to establish six new elementary schools and one intermediate school in Buro (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). The colonial administration was reluctant to spend any funds in the North; hence, British officers sought to impose a new tax on livestock to finance the proposed project. This triggered violence in Burco, the local District Commissioner died, and the project was abandoned (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008).

In 1929, the British government adopted different approaches to promote education in the northern protectorate. First, the Colonial Authority strongly engaged leaders of the Quranic schools and offered them financial incentives to teach writing and math and Arabic in addition to religion and the Quran (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). Also, in 1933, the British administration awarded five Somali students with scholarships to pursue higher education at Gordon College in the Sudan. Abdullahi (2017), Cassaneli and Abdikadir (2008), and Lewis (2002) confirm that Somali educators who received good educations and returned from Sudan realised from the experience that Somaliland was far behind in education and it was important to adopt a transformative approach to encourage modern education. They formed a national association to raise awareness and to attract more Somali to enroll in schools.

Koranic schools remained the only source of education in Somalia until 1945, when the British colonists introduced a formal education system after WW II (Abdullahi, 2017; Moyi, 2012; William and Cummings, 2015). In the best cases, the total education budget in

Somaliland was not more than £1,800 in 1941 (Geshekter, 1985). In 1944, the British administration allowed the new Superintendent of Education to recruit Islamic religious leaders for teaching staff as a good faith action to assure the adherence of Western education to Islam norms and culture and to encourage Somali tribes to send their children to school (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). From 1945 to 1950, education had rapid growth in the protectorate. The British administration opened new elementary schools at Berbera, Hargesia, and Burco. This was reinforced by a media campaign and "mobile cinema" to promote enrollment and education (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). By 1945, the enrollment rate had increased significantly. Four hundred Somali students joined seven elementary schools. Nineteen Quranic schools which taught Arabic and mathematics received compensation. Two intermediate schools were opened in 1950, and future plans were proposed to open secondary schools (Cassaneli &Abdikadir, 2008).

In Italian Somaliland in the South, Somali also resisted Italian education. The Italian administration's approach was completely different from that of the British in the North territory. The Italians adopted segregated schools for Europeans and local inhabitants. The Somali intellectual community's "notable" efforts flourished in opening the first high school in the South (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). In the North, the first girls' school opened in 1949. The British administration established more schools with the total number of elementary schools reaching 29 in 1950, serving an enrollment of 1600 students and 45 teachers.

Despite the new schools, Somali did not benefit much from the knowledge they received in Colonial schools since the purpose behind Western education was to employ locals who could serve in the colonial system at lower ranks (Abdi, 1998; Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Dawson 1964). The allocation for primary education in 1939 was less than 500 pounds. In 1942, the British administration in the Somaliland protectorate confirmed that only 16

students were enrolled in formal "schooling. In 1955, only 1000 students were enrolled in 19 elementary school that recently opened, and only 64 girls attended elementary school. Financial expenditure was slightly increased by the British government to prepare the protectorate for "anticipated" independence in 1960. The British government allocated 340,000 pounds for education as part of a three-year plan of 1957 (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008).

In the south, education was led by SYL "social activists" and UN trusteeship (Abdullahi, 2018). Cassaneli and Abdikadir (2008) asserted that ten years of Italian Trusteeship Administration (AFIS) had paved the way for higher education in the South. First, they tried to provide high school graduates with semi-professional training, and then in 1950, the Italian administration established the Institute of Administration and Politics. In 1954, the education system was expanded further to include more schools such as the School of Economics and Law, and the University Institute, known later as Somali National University. Cassaneli and Abdikadir (2008) referred to Italian efforts in educational development to empower Somali educators to be ready for leadership roles at a proposed independence date. In 1953, the Italian government also opened a training institute for the teachers in Mogadishu that offered a two-year program.

Cassaneli and Abdikadir (2008) concluded that colonial efforts to enhance education in the north and south of Somaliland would not be successful without religious leaders who were involved as a teachers and planners. Most importantly, the Somali youth who received an opportunity for modern education either in or out of Somaliland played significant roles to raise public awareness of Somali rights to independence and education. The association of SYL was a transformative tool in the country's future—first as a rise of Somali nationalism and unity of Somalia that eventually lead to independence (Abdullahi, 2018). Then the main priority of SYL became to encourage modern education as a vehicle for social development

(Abdi, 1998; Cassaneli and Abdikadir, 2008; Dawson 1964; Lewis, 2002). SYL took a constructive approach to embrace modern education where Somali could acquire necessary knowledge and, at the same time, preserve their cultural identity (Cassaneli and Abdikadir, 2008).

British and Italian colonists' main drawback was that little or no effort was made to engage nomad pastoralists in the learning process, despite the fact that nomads represented the majority of the population—around 90% before 1960 (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). Similarly, Dawson (1964) attributes the "colonial limitation" of education progress in Somalia to colonists as they were not planning to stay longer in Somalia—despite the fact that colonisers stayed more than 75 years in Somaliland (Geshkart, 1985). Abdullahi (2018), Cassaneli and Abdikadir (2008), Jerdaine (1925), and Lewis (2002) assert that British management lost millions of pounds in several expeditions sending the British army against Mohammed Abdillahi Hassan's anti-colonial movement. This damage remained irrecoverable until date in Somalia, especially with the country's poor economy.

1.13.2 Post-Independence Education

On 1 July 1960, former British Somaliland joined the Italian south region to form the Republic of Somalia (Abdurahman, 2017; Moyi, 2012; William & Cummings, 2015). At the time of independence, 2,020 pupils were enrolled in 38 elementary school for boys, and 319 girls enrolled in 3 elementary schools. Intermediate schools had 1039 boys (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). In two secondary schools, the total enrollment was 70 students. Also, the British government had sent 150 students to study abroad on scholarship, and 45 Somali teachers were trained by the British administration in the North. The educators were known as "elite" and became "national leaders". They remarkably improved education and formed the Ministry of Education that recognised Quranic schools as informal education. Students had to memorise 10 chapters of the Quran and it remained essential for formal schooling that

used English language as the medium of instruction. Arabic schools with teachers from Egypt also offered scholarships for Somali graduates to join the Al Azhar University for higher education (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008).

In 1964, during civilian leadership, the Somali Ministry of Education with UNESCO's cooperation developed a national curriculum for primary schools. This task was completed within one year, and at the end of the period the curriculum was ready for distribution (Goodwin, 1970). After one-and-a-half years, in 1966, the Somali government re-appointed the curriculum advisor of UNESCO to develop the curriculum for middle and secondary schools (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Goodwin, 1970).

The enrollment of the boys rapidly increased to 38 with a total number of 220 students in elementary schools. Girls' enrollment number declined to 310 in 3 elementary schools (Moyi 2012; William & Cummings, 2015). The enrollment of boys increased significantly to 1,039 in 12 intermediate schools, while only 70 boys enrolled in two secondary schools.

The British built the first secondary boarding school in Sheikh, and other secondary schools were established by the Soviet Union, Italy, and the EEC. The EEC, also, established a college of teacher training in Hargeisa (Goodwin, 1970). Vocational education was a focal concern of the Somali government; therefore, two vocational institutions were established in Moqadishu, and 150 graduates received scholarships to study abroad. A school of professional development was established for elementary school teachers, and secondary teachers studied abroad in the UK, Lebanon, and Sudan (Dawson, 1964).

The Somali government met several challenges to improve the national education system and to unite the British and Italian school systems once offered in the north and in the south: lack of formal curriculum, insufficient textbooks, incompatible capacity of the teachers, and the demands for adequate teacher training (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Dowson, 1964).

To unite the formal school system was the main obstacle for the MOE. The British and Italian school systems were extremely different in several aspects. In the north, the parents paid a school fee, the school term consisted of three years, Arabic was the language of instruction for the first two years, and then the English language was offered in the third year. In the South, education was free, and the education term was four years. Italian was the instruction language after the second year (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008).

School teachers delivered the learning contents in three languages: Arabic, Italian, and English. Deciding which language to use was a complex issue (Abdullahi, 2018; Dawson, 1964). After independence, the Ministry of Education reformed school national education systems to be 4-4-4: four years for elementary, four years for intermediate, and four for secondary school. It was decided that English would be the medium of instruction in the third year (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). In 1965, the Ministry of Education formulated a new policy to require Arabic as the language of instruction for elementary schools and English for middle and secondary schools. Italian schools agreed to be operated in Italian, which was also the dominant language in higher education and the formal language of the administration (Abdullahi, 2018; Dawson 1964).

Expatriate teachers were the majority in intermediate and secondary schools, numbering around 112, whereas 89 were Somali. Cassaneli and Abdikadir (2008) highlighted two factors that contributed to lack of Somali teachers: first was the lack of incentives. Many of them left to get better jobs; the second related to the quality of training programs offered in the National Teachers College at Lafooley where the focus was on content course and theory more than practical experience. The limitation of graduates to impact teaching practices and teacher struggles to engage students caused between 50 to 75 percent of students to drop out school after elementary school. Quranic School remained a pre-requisite of formal schooling (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008).

The Ministry of Education proposed a five-year action plan to gradually resolve the drawbacks of curriculum quality, insufficient textbooks, and lack of teachers. The plan aimed to have "new building and improvement of existing facilities, the provision of separate buildings for schools, establishment of libraries, up-grading and improving the teaching profession, a more efficient school inspection system, the preparation of more suitable text books, and the allocation of a larger proportion of the national budget to education" (Dawson, 1964, p. 212).

The Somali government planned for the Somali language to be the medium of instruction for the education system. The objective in essence was national, in addition to providing each Somali with an equal opportunity to learn. Until that time, Somali was a spoken language without a written script. This was a priority of the national agenda at the time of independence, and it was strongly debated (Abdi, 1998; Abdullahi, 2018; Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Dawson, 1964; Lewis, 2002). Dawson (1964) described it as a revolution in the modern education of Somalia despite the lack of resources and financial allocation that could discourage the national attempt. The educational allocation of Somalia was the lowest in Africa. The share of Somalia's national budget was 7. 5% as compared with 18% in Kenya and Tanzania, and 27% in Uganda (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Dawson, 1964).

1.13.3 Siyaad Barre Regime and Education Reform

Upon the military coup in 1969, Siad Barre became the President of Somalia (Abdi, 1998; Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Dawson, 1964; Laitin, 1976; Lewis, 2002). At that time, the enrollment rate of students was 31% (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). In 1970, Siad declared Social Scientific as the new ideology since Siad had developed a strong relationship with the Soviet Union who had granted Somalia huge financial aid (Abdi, 1998; Dawson, 1964; Laitin, 1976; Lewis, 2002; William & Cummings, 2015).

In the SYL national agenda, the priority was to form a script for the Somali language (Laitin, 1976; Lewis, 2002). The former civilian leadership could not accomplish the task because of a difference of opinion whether to choose an Arabic or Latin script. The national project embraced Siad's vision to provide all Somali, especially the nomads, with access to education and reinforce their public participatory role (Laitin, 1976; Lewis, 2002). The only way to facilitate the process was to have a written script for the local Somali language.

For the military government, there were three options: Latin, Arabic, and Cismaniya. Cismaniya was a script that was locally developed but was declined for two causes. The first one was because Cismaniya had been invented by a certain sub-clan which might undermine government efforts to fight clannism; the second was the Cismaniya script needed modern machines which were not affordable by the government at this time (Laitin, 1976). Latin which was technically adequate was resisted by religious leaders because of the misconception that it represented unbelievers opposed to the Islam religion. Arabic was grammatically inappropriate for the Somali language that used many vowels (Laitin, 1976).

In the military regime, after consulting with the literacy committee in 1972, Siad gave the green light for committee members to adopt the Latin alphabet which was more appropriate to the Somali language. Religious leaders strongly opposed Siad's decision and accused his actions as being against the Islam faith. In fact, this was considered to be a cultural revolution and Siad was praised for having the courage to sort out this issue which had been pending for a long time (Dawson, 1964; Laitin, 1976/79; Lewis, 2002; Sheik Abdi, 1977). In 1973, Siad introduced the slogan "If you know, teach; if you don't know, learn" for a mass literacy campaign (Lewis, 2002)

General Siad explained in a speech on Women's International Day on 8 March 1974:

"The key…is to give everybody the opportunity to learn reading and writing…It is imperative that we give our people modern revolutionary education…to restructure their social existence…It will be the weapon to eradicate social balkanization and fragmentation into tribes and sects" (Lewis, 2002, p. 217).

Intensive writing classes were introduced to government employees and army officials who had been told in case of their failure in language writing, they might lose their jobs (Lewis, 2002). Illiterate urbanites were also invited to classes and were supervised by General Ismail "Ali Abokor", the Minister of Information and National Guidance (Laitin, 1976; Lewis, 2002).

In 1974, Siad launched the "Rural Prosperity Campaign" with a cost of 10 million pounds. Thirty-thousand secondary students and teachers were sent to the northern region to teach the nomads reading and writing. The campaign also included doctors and veterinarians. Participants were encouraged by monthly financial incentives (Lewis, 2002). Unfortunately, this remarkable national literacy campaign did not last for long because of the drought that struck Somalia in 1975. It is considered the worst drought in Somalia's history (Lewis, 2002).

The drought caused a famine that affected most of Somalia and was considered a national catastrophe to a state that struggled with financial burdens and a scarcity of resources. But Siad brilliantly resolved related issues locally when nomads were encouraged to re-settle in the south. The majority of them re-settled along the Shebelle and Juba rivers to work as fishermen and learn the new profession of cultivation (Lewis, 2002). This helped the regime to achieve two long-term policies of "sedentarization of nomads and detribalization" (Lewis, 2002, p. 218). The Soviet Union Air Force transferred people from drought regions to the South and provided road transportation.

With huge financial funds and an invented script of local language, Siad strongly transformed the education system. This led many scholars (Abdi, 1998; Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Dawson, 1964; Laitin, 1976; Lewis, 2002; William & Cummings, 2015) to consider this as a turning point in the history of Somali education. The Somali government established 60 secondary schools which enrolled 1400 students. Boarding schools were opened to address needs of rural children. A teacher training institute opened in Moqadishu to provide teachers with appropriate training and professional development (Moyi, 2012). A national university was opened in Moqadishu for higher education. The majority of secondary school graduates were offered scholarships from the Soviet Union for higher education. Abdulrahman (2017) comments on this as a Cold War policy and a political move. The political situation and Cold War profoundly influenced education in Somalia where the majority of secondary graduates were offered scholarships from the Soviet Union (Abdurahman, 2017).

In 1972 and 1974, all the textbooks were prepared and distributed to students in primary and intermediate classes. In 1974, the Siad Somali government launched the first campaign for curriculum development in schools. Fifteen committees were formed, consisting of a curriculum specialist, 268 teachers, curriculum planners from Egypt, and one UN expert. The goal was to re-write subject textbooks into Somali (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Lewis, 2002) such as mathematics and "philosophy of socialism". The commission successfully revised and translated 135 textbooks into the Somali language and they were introduced to the first year of secondary school.

Siad launched two campaigns to educate the Somali masses. The first campaign was launched in 1973 to address urban needs, and second one was in 1974 to address nomads' rural needs (Abdi, 1980; Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Laitin, 1976; Lewis, 2002). The urban literacy program successfully enabled 400,000 citizens to gain basic literacy skills. The rural campaign was known as the "Rural Development Campaign (RDC)" (Cassaneli & Abdikadir,

2008, p. 100). The government had schools closed for one year to send all teachers and students to the North to teach nomads how to write the Somali language, do mathematics, and care for livestock. The Somali government, also, offered financial incentives to students to acknowledge their efforts (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008).

In 1975, the Ministry of Education declared a national education policy that stated that formal education was compulsory from age six to fourteen and the number of school years in primary and intermediate was shortened to six years rather than eight to encourage national manpower for the "job market". Failure of the experience showed that graduates lacked quality of learning outcomes. The MOE changed the policy and re-added the two years (Cassaneli and Abdikadir, 2008). In addition, the Somali MOE adopted constructive strategies to engage secondary school graduates in community service projects. All students upon earning their secondary certificate had to teach in primary schools as a part of a national service program. From 1976 to 1977, 1,680 graduates successfully completed the mandatory period (Cassaneli and Abdikadir, 2008).

This innovative practice was locally adopted to resolve the shortage of Somali teachers. The evidence shows that the national service project significantly contributed to an increased student enrollment in primary schools from 40,000 in 1970 to 300,000 students in 1979. Accordingly, the Somali government expanded the teacher training program to accommodate the needs of the growing number of students (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). Unfortunately, this did not last for long as the country suffered a severe drought between 1974 and 1975. The government gave priority to deal with the drought problem and help displaced people. Teachers and students sent to help displaced people to re-settle in the South were encouraged to teach nomads the new Somali script (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Lewis, 2002).

The Ogaden war between the Somali national army and Ethiopia in 1977 to 1978, profoundly damaged Somalia's economy. Siad renounced the friendship treaty with the Soviet government after it offered financial and military support to Ethiopia; consequently, Somalia was deprived of any financial support (Abdi, 1998; Lewis, 2002, 1982; Carr-Hill, 2015; Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Moyi, 2012; William & Cummings, 2015). This caused an additional burden on the Somali government that welcomed millions of Somali refugees who fled from Ogaden and re-settled them in the North (Lewis, 1982). The Somali government struggled to survive the tough time despite the financial and military aid from the US, European, and Arab countries (Laitin, 1979; Lewis, 2002; Sheikh-Abdi, 1977). Unfortunately, the Somali government cut off the education budget (Abdi, 1998; Carr-Hill, 2015; Moyi, 2012; William & Cummings, 2015). Consequently, education deteriorated from 1980 to 1989. The majority of schools were closed down, teachers left the profession and looked for employment opportunities out of Somalia, and enrollment rates strongly declined. Schools had a difficult time retaining teachers and students. The total number of enrolled students was 1500 in six schools. In 1988, the US and Western countries decided to withdraw financial aid from Siad's regime because of internal issues between the Somali government and the oppositions group; hence, the system unexpectedly collapsed (Moyi, 2012). Six hundred schools remained open to offer education to 15,000 students in 1991 (William & Cummings, 2015). Schools strove to maintain buildings and retain teachers who suffered from lack of training and a shortage of learning resources. Students also lacked textbooks (Moyi, 2012). On January 1990, Siad was overthrown and the state collapsed.

1.13.4 Post-Collapse Education

Post-collapse, many school buildings were demolished while the rest of them became shelters for displaced people (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). The lack of political stability and security strongly discouraged parents from sending their children to the schools. Cassaneli

and Abdikadir (2008) comment that early in 1990, priority was for basic needs, and education was seen as unessential. Unfortunately, two generations were deprived of access to basic education and acquiring needed skills (Carr-Hill, 2015; Moyi, 2012).

Post-collapse, the state disintegrated to three regions: Central Southern Somalia, Puntland, and the self-declared Republic of Somaliland. Each of them independently established its own education system. This was relatively stable in Puntland and Somaliland; however, in the south, education was unstable (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008).

In spite of state collapse and civil war, religious schools remained the only source of early childhood education during the collapsed period (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Moyi, 2012; William & Cummings, 2015). The traditional "Quranic School and its teachers were highly appreciated" by the community. This type of school was sponsored by local community who built the school (dugsi) and paid the teacher (macallim) the incentives and compensation. Quranic schools provided quality education reflected in learning outcomes. Teachers noticed that children who attended Quranic schools tended to learn faster at the formal school. "'Observers have noted that children who attend Quranic schools tend to pick up learning at the formal school much faster" (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008)

Quranic schools were accessible in rural regions. School timetables were flexible and strongly accommodated the needs of nomadic children who performed additional family duties such as moving with livestock as a part of helping to support their parents (Moyi, 2012; William & Cummings, 2015). Quranic schools during the time of collapse lacked necessary building maintenance. Only a few schools at Moqadishu were in good shape (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008).

In spite of the crucial role of religious schools, the majority of children could not attend these schools because of limited numbers of school buildings. In 1993, there was little

improvement in the general situation of security which hindered the efforts of Somali educators who remained in Somalia during the war. These educators pulled together, however, and launched a few educational projects with the support and intervention of UNOSOM in Moqadishu in Southern Somalia (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). Old school buildings were repaired and re-opened with efforts of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and international organizations such as UNESCO and UNICEF.

UNESCO and UNICEF played major roles in funding, supervision, and, most importantly, providing learning resources and material for students in opened schools. International donors re-printed the textbooks from grade one to four in limited quantity where small numbers of students could benefit from this project (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; William & Cummings, 2015). UNICEF reviewed the primary curriculum from grade 1 to grade 6 in the core subjects of Islamic studies, Somali and Arabic languages, mathematics, social studies, and science. Curricula were developed to be taught in Koranic schools as well as formal schools (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; William & Cummings, 2015). The collaborative work of NGOs, clans, and UNESCO and UNICEF significantly contributed to enhance student learning post collapse (William & Cummings, 2015).

Then in 1995, upon withdrawal of UN forces, local community efforts contributed to revive the education system. New schools were built in the Southern region by NGOs who owned the majority of schools. In Puntland and Somaliland which were relatively stable politically, the Ministry of Education (MOE) oversaw educational progress (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). In Somaliland (Northwest)—the self-declared Republic—the MOE, with the support of NGOs, the UN, and international "donors", reconstructed more than 180 schools. In 2000, the number increased significantly to 230 schools, primary and secondary, with a total enrollment of 70,000 students and 2000 teachers. A teachers' training college was developed to address future needs (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). The education system remained 4-4-

4-4: four years for lower primary, and another 4 for upper primary. Secondary school consisted of four years and higher education also four (Moyi, 2012).

Puntland had enrollment growth in primary and intermediate with a total number of 50,250 students in 253 schools. In secondary schools, the total number of students was 3500 with 1,617 teachers. Higher education also revived when the MOE established two institutions (Cassaneli and Abdikadir, 2008). In Puntland, the medium of instruction in primary schools was the Somali language and English for secondary schools. The education system was slightly different from Somaliland, consisting of 14 years as 2-8-4: two years of early childhood education, then 8 years of primary school, 4 years lower primary, and 4 years upper primary. Secondary school consisted of four years with students earning a secondary certificate upon successful completion of the "Puntland exam of secondary school" (Moyi, 2012). In spite of the availability of formal schools, the majority in Puntland preferred Koranic schools despite inadequate structure because of their resilient approach which suited the nomadic social life (Moyi, 2012).

In the south-central region, due to the absence of a national government, the profound efforts of the NGO association known as the "Formal Private Education Network in Somalia (FPENS)" contributed successfully to re-establishing the school education system in 1995 (Cassaneli and Abdikadir, 2008). The FPENS was actively involved in implementation of educational strategies to organise and improve all learning processes. FPENS performed, also, all assigned duties that normally come under the role of a national government such as reviewing curriculum, printing text books, teacher training, and, most importantly, monitoring the standards of the school secondary examination to obtain the educational board affiliation. FPENS efforts brought back 90,000 students to 150 schools. It also issued the secondary certificate that is internationally recognised which facilitated student enrollment in higher education institutions out of Somalia (Cassaneli and Abdikadir, 2008).

These efforts significantly contributed to provide Somali children with educational access in a conflict zone. However, the quality of the curriculum and an inconsistent education system had special attention from international organizations such as the "Education Sectoral Committee of the Somali Aid Coordinating Body". The members of this organization arranged for meetings every two months in Nairobi to discuss the challenges of education in Somalia with little or no NGO participation (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008).

The Somali peace agreement which was known as the "Nairobi Peace Accord" was signed in 2004, and shortly the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was formed (Paul, Clarke, & Serena, 2014). In 2005, international donors had a meeting to decide about the future of education in Somalia. This was a debatable topic and the participants had many different opinions. Some preferred to delegate educational development to international donors, and others strongly recommended re-building Somali's capacity with the UN and UNICEF reinforcing national efforts (Cassaneli and Abdikadir, 2008), and the Islamic court contributing by providing safe access to schools.

The education system in 2008 was generally incompatible in all schools that were funded by local or international NGOs. The school educational models were one of two, either 4-4-4 as was the national education system post-independence in 1960, or 6-3-3, as Arab education model was. Both systems constituted of twelve years of education which was consistent with international schooling systems (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). The medium of instruction in primary schools could be in Arabic, Somali, or English whereas in secondary schools, Arabic and English were the dominant languages. The availability of textbooks, trained teachers, access to secondary education, and proposed opportunities of higher education after graduation—these determinants were critical to choosing the instructional language. The majority of the parents preferred Arabic-medium schools (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). This having been said, all the schools shared a number of core subjects such as the Islamic

studies, mathematics, languages, social studies, and science in primary school. At the secondary level, ten subjects were introduced: the Somali language, English, Arabic, Islamic studies, mathematics, physics, biology, chemistry, geography, and history.

However, after the establishment of the Transitional Federal Government, the government was far from concerned about education when the focus was to resolve political issues (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008)**.** In fact, the education sector remarkably revived post-collapse; however, many children were left behind because of schools' limited seats, and the majority of girls lost access to schools (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; UNICEF, 2018). In 2002-2009, UNICEF, in collaboration with Somali educators and international donors launched a school campaign to get one million children into schools. 2.4 million children were successfully enrolled in formal schools. UNICEF (2018) asserts that lack of security was consistently an obstacle for education progress.

1.13.5 Federal Republic of Somalia Education System

The first government of the Federal Republic of Somalia was formed on 20 August 2012 (Loubser & Solomon, 2014). The main priority was to offer education for all children, and soon 700,000 children were enrolled in formal schools. The majority of the schools were based in urban regions. Despite the modern building, the majority of the nomadic children were discouraged from attending these schools because of distance, timing of schools, and the rigorous timetable that often clashed with domestic duties needed to help support their families (Moyi, 2012).

The number of formal schools was insufficient to accommodate the growing population that reached 10 million in 2013. Half of the population was under age 18 (Qasim, 2013). Unfortunately, four million children were out of school, private schools offered education for 20% only, meaning 80% were out of school. The "Go-to-School" initiative launched by the

Somali government with the cooperation of UNICEF and the "Netherlands community" as an international donor aimed to offer free education for one million children beginning in 2013-2016 (Qasim, 2013; UNICEF, 2013). They intended to offer primary basic education for children from age 6 to age 13, alternative basic education to serve youth education, and institutional education to facilitate learning of adolescents who had dropped out of school and unemployed youth (UNICEF, 2013).

Inadequate curriculum and lack of teachers undermined MOE efforts to improve the quality of education. The Puntland Education Policy Paper (PEPP) identified some of the obstacles as "Limited and unequal access to education skewed heavily against the rural poor and girls, poor quality of educational provisions, an unresponsive school curriculum, absence of standards, inadequate management and planning capacity, a weak financial base, and the existence of numerous and poorly coordinated education provisions" (Moyi, 2012. p. 3). The absence of a national policy of education after the collapse left schools with different curricula; subsequently, different learning outcomes made the education system inefficient and inadequate. Qasim (2013) strongly recommended provisions for a unified national curriculum.

According to UNICEF statistics (2018), the total population of Somalia is around 10. 8 million, with half of the population (around 5.8 million) under age of 18 (1.8 million under the age of 5 years and 2.6 million are adolescents and youth between the ages 10 and 19 years). Nomad pastoralists (40 %) are the majority of the population. They live in rural areas where poverty is high and they have very limited access to education. UNICEF (2018) launched a new education program for Somalia for 2018-2020. The program aims to provide learning opportunity for all children and adolescents from age 3-18, also to children who have been socially excluded such as girls. UNICEF aims to improve learning outcomes by 2020. The programmatic approach is underpinned by three pillars: increase student

enrollment in formal and vocational education programs; eliminate the causes of dropouts in primary schools by improving the quality of teaching and learning in schools; improve school leadership, governance, inspection framework, and Education Monitoring Information System (EMIS); and offer courses on conflict-sensitive Education in Emergency (EiE).

In spite of significant improvement in school enrollment numbers since 2011 (2.6 million children enrolled in school), the national Gros Enrollment Ratio (GER) remains low for primary and secondary education. Primary enrollment is 30 percent, and secondary enrollment is 26. 5 percent (UNICEF, 2018). In Puntland and Somaliland, the GER is 55.4 and 44.3 respectively. The GER in southern Somalia is the lowest at 20% for primary because of "instability and insecurity".

Secondary education enrollment has reached 41 percent in Somaliland and 14 percent in Puntland. While GER declined in Southern Somalia reaching 13 per cent, in "rural areas which are considered as socially excluded," the GER is the lowest with secondary dropping to 9.7 per cent. Primary is 19 per cent. Multiple factors have contributed to the unsatisfactory education index in rural regions such as: insufficient number of teachers, distance from home, lack of learning resources such as the textbooks, "timing of the school", and inadequate curriculum content. Although the Quranic schools are an appropriate alternative, access to formal schools that provide basic education is a must to address cultural and social needs. UNICEF (2018) identified in 2017 that the drought was an obstacle that impeded well-being of children and learning in a safe environment.

1.13.6 School Curriculum

Curriculum, according to Toombs and Tierney (1993), refers to a plan for learning that is well-developed and is based on the assessment and evaluation of the existing literature on the subject. On the other hand, Cay (1996) defined it as a master plan that is formulated by the

educators or other participants in the community that can best serve the needsof the children. Schools in post-conflict Somalia lack a national uniform curriculum. Adopted curriculum is mainly used in 49.9% of secondary schools. 85.7% of North West Zone (NWZ) schools, and 94.1% of Sool and Sanag schools use this curriculum. 29.6% of North East Zone (NEZ)/Puntland schools apply the adopted curriculum beside the Kenyan curriculum (UNESCO, 2008). In CEZ, 33.9 % of schools use an adopted curriculum, and 31.2 % use the Kenyan one. NE and CS schools adopted the Djibouti and UAE curriculum. The Saudi Arabian curriculum is utilised in all zones except Sool and Sanag (UNESCO, 2008).

Similarly, school textbooks and learning materials were collected from different resources to fill the shortage of learning resources, more than as a genuine response to the national educational policy (Hussein, 2015; Cassaneli & Abikadir, 2008; UNESCO, 2008). Some new text books were imported from Kenya and the Arab World, and some schools re-used school textbooks that were printed in the Somali language post-collapse in 1970 to 1980. The ratio of text-books to students "varied widely". Urban schools were the best equipped. The majority of schools in rural areas struggle to get a sufficient quantity of textbooks and basic learning resources such as stationary, pencils, and blackboards (UNICEF, 2018).

The efforts of UNESCO and UNICEF in 2008 contributed significantly to the printing of a sufficient quantity of grade 7 textbooks, but the absence of national instructional guidance undermined the achievement of expected learning outcomes (Cassaneli & Abikadir, 2008; Hussein, 2015). The education network FPENS also provided Arabic language textbooks from grade 1 to grade 6. This project was financed through the Islamic Development Bank. Cassaneli and Abdikadir (2008) commented that lack of cooperation between UNESCO, UNICEF, and FPENS was an obstacle to resolving the educational challenges of post-conflict Somalia using a holistic approach.

Despite the efforts of MOE to improve the national education system in post-conflict Somalia, the absence of incentives, low salary, lack of professional development, brain draining, and challenging work environment were obstacles and barriers for development a national school curriculum (Abdinoor, 2008; Moyi, 2012; William & Cummings, 2015). The national educational policy adopted 21 years before certainly would not serve future goals (Cassaneli & Abikadir, 2008; Hussein, 2015). Abdinoor (2008) identified that lack of a "standardised" curriculum remained a challenge for MOE.

1.13.7 Curriculum development

In 2011, the MOE adopted efficient strategies that aimed to unify the different curricula of public and private schools, and reinforce the MOE provisions to improve and evaluate the school curriculum (Somalia National Education, 2011). The ongoing conflict in Somalia, long absence of national government, poor infrastructure, inadequate learning materials, and untrained teachers challenged the education sector. Improvement of school curricula in this difficult environment was a necessity. Somali students need curricula that guided them and provided them with necessary skills like problem-solving to meet future challenges. Curriculum was needed to enhance leadership skills (BBC Monitoring Africa, 2013; Barakat et al. 2014).

The curriculum reform committee worked closely with ministries in three regions to review, revise, and evaluate the current curriculum. This provided a good opportunity to introduce a learning about peacebuilding courses. The revisionists asserted that the curriculum was irrelevant to the Somalia context and failed to address different socio-cultural-political needs of the country (Barakat, et al., 2014). The importing of school curriculum from different countries who were mainly involved in funding education "added" to the disparity of communities and extremism, especially in the South Central. These curricula reflected the origin country's ideologies and "political interests".

Similarly, lack of citizenship education "to promote social and moral responsibility" was identified as a main reason for the increase in clan-based politics and the "breakdown in social norms between youth and elders" in Puntland and Somaliland. Also, the school curriculum's lack of knowledge and modern entrepreneur skills contributed to unemployment and criminality among youth (Barakat et al., 2014).

Barakat et al. (2014) suggested that adequate teacher training will enhance implementation of a reformed curriculum. Barakat et al. (2014) believed that priority must be given to training teachers in peacebuilding and citizenship that emphasizes peace and conflict resolution. This type of training will "equip" teachers with the necessary skills to be peace agents and to mediate and resolve conflict in the community, and will also provide teachers with necessary pedagogical skills to handle controversial issues that might raise in classroom.

Barakat et al. (2014) asserted that instability and lack of investment in education are significantly undermining education development in all three zones and are reflected in low "school education indicators". Education and management information systems (EMIS) were implemented in Somaliland and Puntland in 2012 with technical support from UNICEF; however, South Central Zone (SCZ) lacks EMIS "two decades from the collapse".

In 2015, the MOE reviewed the curriculum of primary schools in South Central Somalia in order to develop peace-building content appropriately tailored for the context of conflict. Insufficient literacy materials and inadequate teaching methods undermined this process (UNICEF, 2018).

Cassaneli and Abdikadir (2008) and Hussein (2015) advocated that the national curriculum needs to be improved to address the socio-political needs of post-conflict Somalia. The drawback of a poor economy added to the MOE burden to meet the expenses of necessary resources and curriculum developers. Hussein (2015) suggested that developing the

curriculum might involve adding or removing subjects which is less expensive than developing new curriculum which takes years before the "new one emerges". Hussein asserts that any curriculum improvement should aim to design an educational model that identifies and resolves national problems.

As a response to the needs of society, the Somali MOE (not Somaliland) confirmed the 4-4-4 system: four years of lower primary, four years in upper-primary, and another four years in secondary. Upon successful completion of these years, students will be eligible for joining the institutions of higher education (UNSOM, 2018).

Due to the shortage of text books post-collapse, the country acquired textbooks from ten countries which led to English and Arabic becoming dominant languages (UNSOM, 2018). In September 2018, the MOE introduced a new curriculum for primary schools, unified by the Somali language. The new curriculum is designed to address the different languages of school instruction. The key feature of the new curriculum is the Somali language which is now the main language of instruction for primary schools, whereas Arabic and English will still be used in secondary schools. The number of subjects will remain seven: science, mathematics, social studies, and Somali, English, and Arabic languages. Islamic studies and classes centered on the Koran will be included within Islamic studies classes. Cross-cutting topics such as peace and health will be introduced (UNSOM, 2018). Also, ICT will be introduced as a new subject due to its importance.

The new curriculum will be adopted for private and public schools in Somalia (Xinhua 2018). UNESCO, asserted that Somalia has one of "the lowest enrollment rates for school-aged children in the world." According to UNESCO, there are 4. 4 million children out of school, almost half of the population that totals 9. 2 million. In general, "only four out of ten children are in school". Mr. Abdul Khadir, the former Director-General in the Federal Ministry of

Education asserted that the Somali government will adopt the educational policy of free and compulsory formal education. Mr. Abdul Khadir hopes the new curriculum will enhance student learning which will increase the school enrollment rate (UNSOM, 2018).

The main focus of the national government is to bring peace back to Somalia in addition to building up the national capacity through developmental projects, especially in education. The quality of the school curriculum, lack of access to education, untrained teachers, shortage of textbooks, and learning materials remain obstacles for the progress of a national education system (Cassaneli & Abikadir, 2008; Hussein, 2015; UNESCO, 2008). It is important for the MOE to adopt a reform policy to improve the school curriculum and to develop an educational model to appropriately address the social and national needs of a post-war context (Hussein, 2015; Cassaneli & Abikadir, 2008). Education in conflict is complex and debatable (Ellison, 2014; Hilker, 2011; Naylor, 2015; Rappleye & Paulson, 2007; Schwartz, 2010; Smith, 2011; Tawil, 2004).

1.14 Conclusion:

This chapter has discussed the modern history of Somalia and a presented socio-political overview. In 1897, Somalia was partitioned into five regions from north to south: French Somaliland, British Somaliland protectorate, the Italian colony of Somalia, British Northern Kenya, and Ethiopian Ogaden (Lewis, 2002; Lewis, 2004; William & Cummings, 2015). In the context of Somalia, Sayyid Muhammed Abdillahi Hassan's nationalist movement (1900-1920) was the first political movement against colonization powers in Somalia during the colonial period in Somaliland from 1900-1959. Then SYL was modern national movement to have independence. The colonial secretary shared with Somali representatives that 1 July 1960 was the proposed independence date for Somaliland. Somalis protested and caused serious trouble in protectorate. Britain delayed the proposed date to 26 June 1960 to prevent further confrontation. Five days later, South Somalia declared independence and joined

Somaliland to form the Republic of Somalia (Abdi, 1981; Egal 1968; Farah, Hussein & Lind, 2002; Dawson, 1964; Laitin, 1979; Lewis, 2002; 1960; Reyner, 1960; Sheik-Abdi, 1977).

The SYL had national agenda to form a Greater Somalia. Upon Somali national desire, Somali entered the Ogaden war with Ethiopia in 1978. Despite early victory, the national army could not sustain it because of limited resources and enormous support that Ethiopia had received from Russia. Withdrawal of Somali forces caused national trauma, and extreme consequences profoundly aggravated partitioning inside Somalia (Lewis, 1982).

Yihun (2014) affirms that bankruptcy of the dream of Greater Somalia certainly paved the way for rebel uprisings and later to the destabilization of Somalia. Lewis (1982) commented that Somalia was at a stage of "bankruptcy and collapse". The Ogaden war was a turning point in Somalia. Fierce nationalism fired back at the cultural traditional system. In 1991, Somalia had a civil war known as the Clan War.

State-collapse and violent conflict in 1991 shed light on the dynamic nature of national identity in Somalia. The past history showed strong nationalism while the civil war and disintegrated state showed the identity crisis. Hence, it is important to identify the causes of change and continuity in Somali national consciousness, especially that Somalia is known as a mono-ethnic community that endowed Somalia with Ethno-nationalism for ages. Connor (1992) believed that ethno-nationalism stems from ethnic ties, kinship that forms social-psychological bonds.

Frustration and anger of Somali upon the national army's defeat in the Ogaden war, and the impression they had to lose Ogaden for a second time led to Somalis' anger and prejudiced attitudes. Indeed, any analytical approach should address the ingroup relationship that is frequently associated with sentiments and emotions stemming from blood-ties. Most

importantly, a history curriculum has the potential to consolidate national identity in post-conflict Somalia.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of relevant literature based on research studies concerning theories that provide essential information to investigate or explore development of a history curriculum in the context of post-war Somalia. The scope of the literature includes theoretical background regarding the socio-political context in Somalia to provide an in-depth understanding of conflict and the current school curriculum. It provides an overview of education and conflict, and curriculum reform in contemporary post-conflict history curriculum, curriculum philosophy, and evaluation models. Finally, the review presents curriculum evaluation by using the Eisner model to examine the merit and value of history curriculum in developed nations (Table 2.1). This was done to identify and examine characteristics and best practices in developing a new history curriculum particularly for secondary schools in a post-conflict society from the point of research and literature.

Table 1: Data on reviewed articles for developed secondary history curriculum

Authors name	Year	Title/ref	Theme	Context
Loftstrom, J.	2014	Lofstrom, J. (2014). How Finnish upper secondary students conceive transgenerational responsibility and historical reparations: implications for the history curriculum.	Historical consciousness	Finnish

		Journal of Curriculum Studies, Vol. 46, No. 4, pp 515-539.		
Gil, I.	2007	Gil, I. (2007). Teaching the Shoah in History Classes in Israeli High Schools. *Israel Studies*, vol. 14 (2), pp. 2-24.	Difficult history	Israel
Ommering, V. K	2015	Ommering, V. K. (2015). Formal history education in Lebanon: Crossroads of past conflicts and prospects for peace. *International Journal of Educational Development*, vol. 41, pp. 200-207.	Difficult history	Lebanon
Shreiner, T.	2017	Shreiner, T. (2017). Helping Students Use World Historical Knowledge to Take a Stand on a Contemporary Issue: The Case of Genocide. *The History Teacher*, vol. 50 (3).	Historical knowledge	United States of America

Rodewell, G.	2017	Rodewell, G. (2017). A National History Curriculum, Racism, a Moral Panic and Society Theory. *Issues in Educational Research*, vol. 27 (2), p. 2017.	Powerful knowledge	Australia
Cutrara, S.	2018	Cutrara, S. (2018). The Settler Grammar of Canadian History Curriculum: Why Historical Thinking Is Unable to Respond to the TRC's Calls to Action. *Canadian Journal of Education*, vol. 41 (1), pp. 251-275.	Historical thinking	Canada
Ormond, B.	2017	Ormond, B. (2017). Curriculum Decisions: The Challenges of Teacher Autonomy over Knowledge Selection for History. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, vol. 49 (5), pp. 599-619.	Powerful knowledge	New Zealand

Harris, R. & Burn, K.	(2016)	Harris, R. & Burn, K. (2016). English History Teachers' View on What Substantive Content Young People Should Be Taught. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, vol. 48 (4), pp. 518-546.	History as disciplinary knowledge	United Kingdom
Harris, R. & Ormond, B.	2018	Harris, R. & Ormond, B. (2018). Historical Knowledge in a Knowledge Economy: What Types of Knowledge Matter. *Educational Review*, pp. 2-17	Disciplinary knowledge	England and New Zealand
Harris, R. & Reynolds, R.	2018	Harris, R. & Reynolds, R. (2018). Exploring Teachers' Curriculum Decision Making: Insights from History Education. *Oxford Review of Education*, vol. 44 (2), pp. 139-155.	Powerful knowledge	United Kingdom

The review presents theories of the research study that shape up the theoretical framework, including social identity, intergroup emotional theory, and learning theory of constructivism, philosophy, and the proposed interdisciplinary model.

Education is generally perceived as a powerful tool for social development, especially in post-conflict areas where education has the potential to promote social change and reconciliation (Barakat, 2008; Burde et al, 2017; Ellison, 2014; Hilker, 2011; Naylor, 2015; Rappleye & Paulson, 2007; Schwartz, 2010; Smith, 2011; Tawil, 2004). Despite the positive and significant role of knowledge, Barakat (2008) highlights the divisive nature that education could have in post-war nations. This sheds the light on identity and ethnicity as a main factor underpinning conflict. Smith (2010) overlooked the relationship between identity and education. Despite group-identity being widely recognised as a trigger for conflict, Smith (2010) argued that "identity is working in isolation, where there are other conflict determinants such as power and desire of controlling economic resources. Smith (2010) identified these as "horizontal inequalities" which cause disputes. When resources are controlled by specific ethnic group, this results in ethnic conflict which Smith calls "vertical inequalities" (Smith, 2010) Both of these factors influence the shaping of educational ideologies in post-war nations such as "state-building" or "nation-building". Nation-building involves state development that is distinguished by a homogenous community—people who share religion, culture, and language. This includes citizens who live out of state boundaries as in diaspora.

Barakat (2008) conceived educational policy and schooling system as divisive aspects of education systems that may contribute to dividing society. For example, the educational policy in South Africa during the anti-apartheid struggle where Barakat points out that "white government" was highly polarised to encourage class ideology in the school curriculum between white and black and even among blacks themselves. Inequality of school curricula and segregated schools were manifestations of discrimination (Barakat, 2008). Similarly, in Palestine, the Israeli government aimed to promote the Zionist culture and ignore Palestinian history in school curricula. Ellison (2014) and Naylor (2015) strongly agreed that education

92

explicitly contributed to intergroup antagonism through the divisive content of history text books as in Rwanda between the Hutu and Totsi, and in Srilanka stereotyped the Tamil as "historic enemies". Ellison (2014) and Barakat (2008) noted that social inequalities in a school system usually provoked disputes and conflict.

Paulson (2007) affirmed that conflict theorists ignore the relationship between education and conflict despite "a broad space for inquiry", absence or lack of "common ground that determines status-quo of the field", associated miss-match between policy, research, and practices in conflict or post-conflict era. Paulson attributes this to the absence of a solid theoretical framework and rigorous theoretical understanding in the domain of education and conflict which have negative impact on implementation of policies in societies affected by conflict. Similarly, Burde et al. (2017) criticised theoretical frameworks underlying educational intervention which serves "beneficiaries of these programs, or demonstrates political power which inform decision-making of educational policies in post-conflict.

This could be true in the post-conflict context of Northern Ireland (NI) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Baha) where development of school curriculum in two post-conflict societies demonstrated two faces of education. In NI, the dynamic nature of the past strongly influenced the school system and emphasized the disparity in communities (Browne 2016; Hancock 2014; Todd, 2015). McGrattan (2014) posited that the dynamic nature of the past where identity, memory, and legacy of the past have a complicated dynamic relationship is the root cause of ethnic, religious, social, and cultural dispute—"persistence of unresolved issues from past". Keen argues "hostile imagination" and the role of traumatic memories in creating enmity and hostility, and points out that, "Before the weapon, comes the image" (Fischer 2011 cites Sam Keen, *In faces of the Enemy,* 1986, p. 80).

In Baha, the political battle transferred to the school system, and the school curriculum was delivered to reinforce ethnic identity and disparity rather than unity. Unfortunately, the political agenda was prominent in curriculum implementation and segregation of students. Divisive contents undermined progression of common core curriculum and challenged implementation of a joint Framework curriculum agreed upon by the international community (Berman, 2004).

The limited amount of research of post-conflict situations has contributed to the scarcity of data and has left decision-makers with no "strong evidence" of what should be addressed in an emergency context (Burde et al., 2017). Empirical research is strongly recommended in post-conflict contexts to examine the validity of assumptions, educational policies, and practices in the field (Burde et al., 2017; Paulson, 2007; Rappleye & Paulson, 2007). In Somalia, education has long been a victim of conflict.

Due to almost continuous conflict, Somali children have limited opportunities to attend school and curriculum efforts on the part of educators have constantly been hindered. Barakat et al. (2014) asserted that instability and lack of investment in education are significantly undermining education development in all three zones and are reflected in low "school education indicators". A brief history of Somali conflict follows to assist in understanding the problems facing educators in this war-torn land.

2.2   Education and Conflict

Education is generally perceived as a powerful tool for social development, especially in post-conflict areas where education has the potential to promote social change and reconciliation (Burde et al, 2017; Ellison, 2014; Naylor, 2015). A study conducted by Kula and Paik (2016) emphasized the importance of education in dealing with the poverty and negative experiences of the immigrants. For instance, the South Asian refugees faced

problems in acculturation and adaptation in the US after the Vietnam War. A world development report in 2011 states that 60 percent of all countries that suffered civil war were at risk of being exposed to a second violent conflict. Therefore, attention to the role of education in post-conflict nations must be tremendously increased to achieve Millennium Development Goals which identify education as first priority (Ellison, 2014). Burde et al. (2017) conducted a review of research on education in "emergencies" and stated there is growing interest in education in conflict. This topic is a focal point of international organizations such as UNESCO, particularly to address the needs of children in conflict.

According to Schneider (2018), state rebuilding in post-conflict is an overarching or multidimensional process consisting of security, reconciliation, governance and participation, economy, and social progress. Schwartz (2010) also identifies the education system as fundamental for social development and post-conflict reconstruction.

Ellison (2010, p. 187) and Naylor (2015) stated the role of education is controversial in post-conflict environments. There are "two faces of education"; therefore, it is important to distinguish between "negative" peace which coincides with the absence of violence and "positive" peace which addresses social inequalities in education systems and assists in making structural changes. Thomas (2015) analysed the impact of education on the onset of civil war and revealed that if the length of compulsory education is increased then internal conflict is reduced. It serves as equaliser between the individuals and also the nations.

Despite the positive and significant role of knowledge in promoting peace and amity, Bentrovato et al. (2016) highlighted the fact that education has often been used as a weapon for collective struggles. Similarly, Pherali (2016) and Pherali and Lewis (2017) also noted that formal education can also be a perpetrator of divisiveness, social destruction, segregation and violence. For instance, the author noted that restricting access to education, manipulating

textbooks, imposing teaching of dominant language on the indogenous groups serves as a tremendous repressive force. Ellison (2010) highlighted the divisive nature that education could have in post-war nations and noted educational policy and school systems as divisive aspects of education systems that may contribute to dividing society. Such ideas can also be derived from the British Council Report by Gallagher et al., (2018). The authors argued that although education may not be the direct cause of conflict, it can considerably influence incidence of conflicts through interaction at various individual and societal levels. It can shape attitude, values and beliefs among the generations and foment religious, social, and political tensions across the groups. The role of schools in shaping the mental set-up is also emphasized by the authors. Referring to the educational policy in South Africa during the anti-apartheid struggle, Smith (2010) points out that "white government" was highly polarised to encourage class ideology in the school curriculum between white and black and even among blacks themselves. Inequality of school curricula and segregated schools were manifestations of discrimination. Pherali (2016) argued that the revision in the school curriculum is used as a weapon to propagate dominant ideology and maintenance of political leadership interests. Such biasness in the content of the curricula enforces authoritarianism and produce a chauvinistic identity of the nation. Bush and Saltarelli (2000) noted that manipulation of history for securing political interests often create conflict in societies. For instance, in Palestine, the Israeli government aimed to promote the Zionist culture and ignore Palestinian history in school curricula. Ellison (2014) and Naylor (2015) strongly agreed that education explicitly contributed to intergroup antagonism through the divisive content of history text books as in Rwanda between the Hutu and Totsi, and, in Srilanka, textbooks stereotyped the Tamil as "historic enemies". Ellison (2014) and Barakat (2008) noted that social inequalities in a school system usually provoked disputes and conflict.

Bush and Saltarelli (2000) highlighted some of the significant negative implications of education. As noted by the authors it is "as a panacea for a broad spectrum of social ills, from racism to misogyny" (p.9). The authors pointed out the socially destructive impact of education that perpetuates hostility and tensions. Moreover, Bush and Saltarelli (2000) also noted that in ethnically stratified societies, the privileged ethnic group receive higher education compared to others less-privileged groups. Thus uneven distribution of education often creates conflict in societies and creates cultural oppression. One of the significant example in this regard is of South Africa whereby education system is segregated between the blacks and the whites as it was believed that the instruction methods are lower for the blacks than the whites (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000)

This sheds the light on identity and ethnicity as a main factor underpinning conflict. Smith (2010) overlooked the relationship between identity and education. Despite group-identity being widely recognised as a trigger for conflict, Smith argues that "identity is working in isolation, where there are other conflict determinants such as power and desire of controlling economic resources". Smith identified these as "horizontal inequalities" which cause disputes. When resources are controlled by specific ethnic group, this results in ethnic conflict which Smith calls "vertical inequalities". Both of these factors influence the shaping of educational ideologies in post-war nations such as "state-building" or "nation-building". Nation-building involves state development that is distinguished by a homogenous community—people who share religion, culture, and language. This includes citizens who live out of state boundaries as in diaspora.

Leung and Yuen (2012) emphasized on teaching depoliticised civic education that includes little or absolutely no content related to politics. The authors noted that there are a number of regions in Asia along with Hong Kong who practice that follow a depoliticised nature of education. Jin (2010) in this regard stated that depoliticization of civic education primarily

97

take place due to the varying interpretation of the term citizen that refers to the members of a same community. Depoliticization of civic education also arose due to the problems associated with politicised content that often is accused on indoctrinating the students with specific political belief system and ideologies and thus interfering the development of the students' own perspective and thoughts. When school curricula promote group identity, this leads to attitudes which fuel identity-based conflict (Ellison, 2014; Smith, 2011). Higgins and Novelli (2018) also questioned the curriculum's contribution towards peacebuilding in conflict ridden areas. The study was carried out in Sierra Leoneans and critically assessed the role of curriculum in peace education.

The divisive aspect of education in schools and the potential to fuel conflict thus alerts international organizations and donors to review the structural changes of education in post-conflict nations (Ellison, 2014; Naylor, 2015). Galtung's (1975) conflict theory encouraged positive peace by removing the root causes of violence and making structural changes that address social injustice. How to implement or plan constructive systems is debatable. Cunningham (2014) and Naylor (2015) highlight using a conflict transformation approach to address root causes of conflict through curriculum content to enhance meaningful knowledge, skill to tackle structural violence, and encourage societal change at inter-group levels. Similarly, Ellison (2010) advocates social/conflict transformation and conflict analysis as a complementary approach for "transformation processes". Ellison comments that conflict transformation is a changing process of group relationships, attitudes, and behaviours. Ellison asserts it's a collective activity and all society should be engaged.

Leung and Yuen (2012) critically examines the "politicised" nature of education through an analytical approach of process and practice such as educational policy. Paulson (2007) highlights the relationship between educational policy and post-conflict context. The author determines the challenges undermining educational policy such as the influence of politics on

school curricula as in Croatia post-war. The political education lacked appropriate mechanisms to engage teachers and students in the "learning process" of the new subject of citizenship and democracy as a new subject introduced post-conflict to facilitate reconciliation. Educational policy did not integrate into a traditional education system as in Great Lakes in Africa. Paulson attributes a drawback of educational policy as the lack freedom of policy makers to formulate policy when there's a competitive relationship between the local government, local authorities, or the international donors, which complicate relationships that affect the policy. Second it highlighted the importance of emphasizing the youth role in peace building through education in post-conflict societies.

There have been a number of theoretical discourse on the causes of conflict and the role played by education in minimizing such conflicts. For instance, Davies (2003) highlighted equity theory of conflict that posits that conflict stems from the people's perspective on distributive justice. For instance, the author noted that people become distressed if they witness inequal distribution of resources or access to resources. This can also be related to the idea provided by Bush and Saltarelli (2000) who noted that often inequal access to education creates conflict in societies like South Africa where the whites predominate the black and restrict them to gain full access to quality education. Another important theory is field theory that sees people's action as the outcome of several contextual forces as well as other push and pull factors that are shaped by families, communities, and educational contexts (Davies, 2003). As per the theory these psychological felds have significant influence on attitudes and behaviour of the individuals. Thus, following Gallagher et al., (2018) it can be stated that education plays the critical role in shaping the values and belief system of the individuals. Thus, there needs to be a proper framework that promotes the kind of education that fosters compassion, tolerance, and unity among individuals.

99

Thomas (2015) noted that there exist considerable discourse that link education with conflict. Most of these studies viewed the positive impact of education on conflict resolution, romoting greater acceptance, and amicability. For instance, Higgins and Novelli (2018) highlighted the significant role played by the framework of peace education that aims at a behavioural and attitudinal changes among the students in the conflict ridden contexts. Such frameworks has also been endorsed by global organizations and agencies like UNESCO (2011). Novelli et al. (2017) also proposed a 4R's Framework to analyse the contribution of education in promoting sustainable peacebuilding in conflict affected areas. The framework promotes dialogues between different stakeholders on various challenges and dilemmas in education during the time of emergencies. The framework was applied in Myanmar and depicted redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation can promote social justice. Peace education, according to Pherali and Lewis (2017), has significant application in Somalia in promoting dialogue between regions to control political instability and thus can pave way for peacebuilding. The authors employed a participatory approach which is research-based that involved students, NGOs, academics, who are the significant stakeholders supporting peace rogrammes in Somaliland. The study revealed that there are cultural disconnections and difference in understanding that can only be mitigated by collaboration from all the stakeholders.

In contrast to the peace education framework, highlighted by Higgins and Novelli (2018) and Novelli et al. (2017), Davies (2019) focused on preventing violent extremism or in short PVE. The author sees conflict as inevitable and normal within societies and argued that conflics cannot be changed by merely focusing on the attitudinal changes. Diverging from the peace education framework, Davies (2019) focused on fostering dialogues between various social groupings to promote a better understanding of each other's values, beiefs, and thereby

enhancing collaboration and cooperation. Education is regarded as medium to build resilence to extreme violence as education can help individuals conflict from multiple perspectives.

Another significant role of education in conflict is highlighted by Shanks (2019). In comparison to peace education that highlights the importance of an inclusive education system, Shanks (2019) emphasized the role of education in social security. Social security refers to the ability of the society to protect and safeguard its original and essential characteristics under threats and changing conditions. Shanks (2019) noted through education culture and identity of communities can be reinforced providing greater social security. Situations where group identity is threatened education can serve as promoting social identity and offer greater security.

Burde et al. (2017), however, criticised theoretical frameworks underlying educational intervention which serve "beneficiaries of these programs, or demonstrate political power which inform decision-making of educational policies in post-conflict. The authors asserted that genuine theoretical paradigm design needs to address real-life issues such as group interpersonal relationships in post-conflict society. The limited amount of research done on post-conflict situations has contributed to the scarcity of data and has left decision-makers with no "strong evidence" of what should be addressed in an emergency context. Also, the majority of available research has been conducted by outsiders, "foreigners" unfamiliar with local contexts.

2.2.1 Secondary School

Schools are established by society to fulfil "certain ends" (Wiles & Bondi, 2011), and students may be perceived as agents of social change. Secondary school is a critical stage in learners' lives. Any decision taken by parents or students will affect the learner's future life. For example, the student who decides to drop high school rather than finishing his studies

will struggle to find employment opportunities in the future (Mathys, Veronneau, & Lecocq, 2019). In the first year of secondary school, considered a transitional stage, students are generally exposed to changes in motivation. Students tend to have "negative attitudes which could be caused or increased by poor instructional practices (Lowe, 2012). Maslow's motivation theory states that motivation encompasses several needs divided into high-order needs such as self-actualization, self-esteem, and "social acceptance", while the lower-order needs consist of "safety, security, and basic physiological needs" (Chua & Mosha, 2015).

Schwartz (2011) states the "UN program defines youth as those aged 15-24". In war and post-conflict, the definition of childhood and adulthood is different because of crisis. Extreme violence tremendously disrupts psychological development so children emotionally grow up faster. This consequently changes children and adult identities. Similarly, motivation and the needs of Maslow's theory will be understood differently where the priority for low-order needs of safety and security are concerned. Students actively engage in social processes related to conflict. Youth are the key factor for understanding the conflict and the focal point for any intervention attempt to resolve conflict (Hammack, 2010; World Development Report, 2007). However, when transitioning from war to peace, youth who grew up in war are challenged to cope with education and to participate in peacebuilding. Schwartz, (2011) comments that the role of youth in successful social reconstruction is widely misinterpreted and the relationship is not well developed. This stemmed from the potential of youth to resolve or escalate conflict. The kind of intervention during post-conflict reconstruction determines positive or negative response of youth. Therefore, it is important to plan carefully for education programs. Any intervention model needs to provide youth with meaningful knowledge and skills which enable learners to "break the cycle of violence that leads to civil war and instability" (Schwartz, 2011). Students will gain better understanding of peace and conflict. In the future when they lead the country, their decision to choose reconciliation or

"renewed conflict" will be informed by the knowledge and experience they had as children. Although curriculum knowledge reflects state ideologies, curriculum is considered a powerful tool for social change. For instance, Higgins and Novelli (2018) revealed that peace education promoted by United Nations (UN) can successfully result in behavioural changes among the individuals. In the conflict affected societies, such programmes can be adopted to identify the conflict drivers and addressing them through proper educational intervention. Westbrook et al. (2013) commented that curriculum change often complements curriculum development; however, in undeveloped countries, curriculum content can be manipulated to emphasize the power of the "dominant group involved". Quite often conflict evolves from curriculum, where curriculum "can be contested" between people who prefer status-quo and those seeking social change, and where post-conflict curriculum excludes certain ethnicities or groups.

The role of schools in conflict has also been emphasized by Gallagher et al., (2018). The authors noted that the development of mass education as observed during the nineteenth century was one of the significant aspects of the nation building process. The schools play an important role in infusing the sense of identity. However, Green (2013) stated that on the adverse aspect it my also reproduce differentiation among the social groupings in the society. The author further noted that children develop the understanding of 'other' from what they learn in schools and the language skills that they acquire for effective participation in the society also significantly determine their level of integration in the society at a later stage of their life (Gallagher et al., 2018).

2.3   Education in Post-Conflict Societies

This section will shed light on the development of school curricula in two post-conflict societies of Northern Ireland (NI) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Baha), and also explores the two faces of education. In NI, the dynamic nature of the past strongly influenced the school

system and emphasized the disparity in community (Browne, 2016; Hancock, 2014; Todd, 2015). In Baha, the political battle transferred to school system, and the school curriculum was delivered to reinforce ethnic identity and disparity rather than unity.

2.3.1 Difficult History

Ahonen (2014) conducted a comparative study of history curriculum in post-conflict cases of Finland, Baha, and South Africa to investigate the new role of history in post-colonialism where history education has the potential for reconciliation; therefore, history education became included in "multi-perspectival studies". History education today is based on skills of critical thinking, and emphasizes "local, vernacular, history culture". Ahonen (2014) concludes that discussions of civil war as difficult history was a challenge for teachers because students have different interpretations of truth which demonstrates the ethnic powers in Baha. Historical events are a critical aspect of collective memory and the public. Consequently, teachers preferred to adopt a turn-the-page approach and leave 1992 events untold. This approach was complemented by 2007 guidelines of international organizations which advocated removing civil war narratives from school curriculum.

Ahonen (2014), Nelles (2006), Stabback (2008), and Tawil (2004) concluded that education reform failed to address ethnic-division in the schools of Baha. Nelles (2006) asserts that the curriculum development process in Baha lacked an interdisciplinary approach, cross-sect oral, and a policy-relevant approach to curriculum changes. Similarly, Stabback (2008) criticised curriculum goals and objectives that served political ideologies and divisions. Stabback emphasized that any curriculum change had to keep society's need of reconciliation in the forefront as a main curriculum goal. Ahonen (2014) identified several factors underpinning the vulnerable school system in Baha, such as state leaders who strongly emphasized strong "ethnic nation-building projects" and reluctance of teachers to adopt a

multi-perspective approach of history, especially in mono-ethnic schools. Finally, obstacles in segregated schools undermined "dialogue" among teachers and students (Ahonen, 2014).

2.4 School Curriculum, and Curriculum Development

Curriculum is a tangible document consisting of syllabi, textbooks, teachers' guides, and learning packages and other resources (Wiles & Bondi, 2011). The word "curriculum" is derived from curere in Latin which means "to run" or "run the course" (Wiles & Bondi, 2011, p. 3). The first use of curriculum as a work was in 1820. Then, with time, school curriculum was defined as a means to deliver a "course of study". Tawil (2004) states that curriculum is holistic and consists of educational philosophy, objectives, teaching and learning, and organizational structure. Wiles and Bondi (2011) stated that curriculum specialists perceive curriculum as a broad concept entailing plans, activities, and outcomes that are delivered using multiple methods and in different contexts.

Nieveen (1997) defined curriculum at different levels. First at the micro level as in the classroom, "the curriculum refers to a plan for concrete instructional activities (p. 10). Curriculum may be defined as "an educational program for a school or institution". Curriculum at the macro level is used to indicate a more general curricular framework for a district, state, or nation. Ideal curriculum is formal, perceived, operational, experiential, and attained. Finally, curriculum can be described as being "site specific" or "generic" (Nieveen, 1997, cites Walker, 1990). Site-specific curriculum works better for small target groups who are close and know each other such as corporate training. "Generic" curriculum is designed for "diverse and large groups".

Early in the 20th century, education was introduced as a formal process of gaining knowledge in schools. There was no consensus on type of school expectation or any definition of curriculum as specific structured content or product (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011).

Curriculum developers overlooked traditional curriculum that could not accommodate the different needs of learners (Wiles & Bondi, 2011). In addition, right-to-education policies endowed everyone with the right to learn which contributed to the diversity of school populations. All these changes had social implications on school outcomes. Attention became centered on acquiring skills more than knowledge. Curriculum specialists also began curriculum development and evaluation of different educational programs and processes (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011).

Wiles and Bondi (2011) stated that social forces and expectations of school had strongly changed the definition of curriculum. The growing concern for the last 50 years was centered on the quality of educational programs in terms of accountability and standard-based curricula which diverted professional attention to "results" or "ends" of curriculum

2.4.1 Approaches to Curriculum Development

Wiles and Bondi (2011) defined curriculum development as a systematic process (deductive) initiated by a set of questions focusing on certain values reflected in the planning processes of developed program and evaluation. Olivia (2009, p. 22) describes curriculum development as "a more comprehensive" term. It includes planning, implementation, and evaluation. Curriculum improvement also "implies change and betterment, so it is quite often curriculum improvement is used interchangeably with curriculum development. Similarly, Nieveen (1997) comments that in literature the term development is used interchangeably with design, and "distinction between both of them is not always clear". However, Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) differentiate between curriculum development "which tends to be more technical and scientific" and curriculum design that refers to the way we conceptualise the curriculum and arrange its major components (subject matter or content, instructional methods and materials, learner experiences or activities) to provide direction and guidance as we develop the curriculum (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009, p. 16).

106

Curriculum design is concerned with the nature and arrangement of four basic parts: objectives, content, learning experiences, and evaluation (Ornstein and Hunkins (2009). Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) asserted that theoretical and practical aspects in the field of curriculum knowledge, curriculum development, and design are critical in any curriculum text. Curriculum development aims to analyse school curriculum to develop it via a "logical step-by-step model".

Curriculum development processes consist of the following (Nieveen, 1997):

Analysis: either for context, problem, content and task analysis

Design: choosing a certain component of curriculum for development such as subject matter, aims and objectives, instructional strategies

Construction: "constructing and revising prototypes of the curriculum"

Evaluation: reviewing and testing proposed "prototypes"

Implementation: "applying the curriculum" in practice.

It is important for curriculum developers to have stakeholders on board to make informed decisions. Nieveen (1997) strongly recommended using a systematic approach, a relational approach.

According to Olivia (2009), curriculum change consists of three main processes; (1) curriculum planning, (2) curriculum implementation, and (3) curriculum evaluation. (1) Curriculum planning is the step where curriculum developers make decisions and take action to develop the plans. (2) Curriculum implementation relates to the operational step when the plans are converted to actions inside the classroom where the teacher and students have clear instruction for what should be taught and how it is to be taught, known as the instructional

area. (3) Curriculum evaluation is the last step in curriculum development. The proposed curriculum is assessed to determine success in terms of learning outcomes.

Olivia also states that "school curriculum not only reflects but is also a product of its time". Which means that curricula have to respond to changes in society which significantly influence the development of curriculum. The field of curriculum development has ample models for organizing the processes. Olivia (2009, p. 125) states "models are essentially patterns serving as guidelines to action".

Any development model begins with philosophy that is explicitly stated or a "set of objectives". This model includes student assessment, content selection and organization, implementation, and evaluation (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). Philosophy or learning theories are formulated when curriculum planners identify the core values. It is important for curriculum developers to be clear about value or the set of values they intend to transmit through the curriculum (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). Wiles and Bondi (2011, p. 2) noted the influence of education philosophy in content selection to address national and local needs. Philosophy also informs decisions related to new program activities such as goals, objectives, lesson plans, and learning outcomes.

During the evolvement of curriculum where it became a significant focus of professionals in education, there was a need for clear guidance in curriculum planning to address main questions relating to what, who, why, and when. The answers to these questions enable curriculum specialists to choose and organise curriculum models (Wiles & Bondi, 2011). Curriculum developers have identified five principals of curriculum planning: "social forces, treatment of knowledge, human growth and development, learning as process, and technology" (Wiles & Bondi, 2011, p. 20).

Olivia (2009, p. 37) advocates that any process of curriculum development needs to be comprehensive and systematic, since "systematic curriculum development is more effective than trial and error". Olivia emphasized curriculum developers have to adopt a systematic approach for any model of curriculum development that briefly outlines the sequence of steps to be followed. This will make them more "effective and successful".

Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) advocated non-technical models. Similarly, Ornstein and Hunkins believed that technical models discourage change, which they treat as disruptive and inefficient. Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) asserted that everything should be "relational and contextual"; however, this cannot be generalised since there is no "universal principle".

Olivia (2009, p. 127) explains that models "are essentially patterns serving as guidelines to action". Olivia (2009) described curriculum development in the modeling process as "the process for making programmatic decisions and for revising the products of those decisions on the basis of continuous and subsequent evaluation. The author introduced three models of curriculum development. The first one is the Tyler model, the second is named for Hilda Taba, and third is the Saylor, Alexander, and Lewis Model. All these models are linear and prescriptive and aimed to guide the curriculum planners toward what should be done (Olivia, 2009). The Tyler model and the Saylor, Alexandra, and Lewis model are deductive, where the Taba model is inductive, encouraging critical thinking skills.

The first model of curriculum development, the Ralph Tyler model (the objectives model) is known as a comprehensive model for curriculum development. The Tyler model is organised around four main principles: first is identifying educational purposes (objectives), second is the designing of educational experiences (curriculum) to obtain these educational purposes, third is how these experiences can be organised, and number four determines whether these purposes have been achieved (Nieveen, 1997; Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011).

The Tyler model is led by four basic principles, known as "The Tyler rationale". The Tyler rationale formulates what is known as educational objectives. Tyler uses three main sources to identify these objectives: students, society, and subject matter (Nieveen, 1997; Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011).

After identifying these objectives or purposes, they need to be filtered through two main screens. The first one is the educational philosophy of the schools and the second is psychology of learning. "The general objectives that successfully pass through these screens become known as "instructional objectives", "behavioural objectives", or "educational purposes" (Nieveen, 1997; Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011).

In 1950, Tyler added analysis to curriculum development. The process of planning begins with identifying the learner's different needs and interests such as social, educational, and psychological needs (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). This information can be collected by interviews, observations, and questionnaires. The second step requires curriculum developers to examine social needs, which is broad in nature; hence, developers have to categorise needs according to certain aspects such as health, family and vocation. For subject matter, curriculum planners need to distinguish the characteristics of a discipline (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). After forming broad objectives, Tyler recommends that curriculum developers view educational objectives through a philosophical screen which represents the values of the schools (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011).

Hilda Taba's model adopted a grassroots approach where Taba believed the process of curriculum development should be handled or initiated by the teachers (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). Taba's model also is a teacher approach, and learner's needs are at the core of curriculum. Taba's model consists of seven steps: Analysis of learner and society needs, statement of learning objectives, selection of the learning content, organization of learning

content, selection of the learning experiences, organization of learning activities, and testing and evaluation (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). Taba advocated an inductive approach. Curriculum planners who adopt Taba's model begin the process from specific units to general programs (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011).

Steps in Taba's model (or frame work) (Olivia, 2009):

1. Diagnosis of learner needs and expectations of the large society

   Diagnose gaps, deficiencies, and variations in student's backgrounds

2. Formulation of learning objectives

   To add to knowledge learners possess

   To enable students to perform skills which otherwise they would not perform

   To develop certain understanding, insights, and appreciations

   Analysis of the particular culture and society which the educational programs serve

3. Selection of the learning content

   Should match the objectives

   Validity and significance

4. Organization of the learning content

   Decide the level of maturity of learners and their readiness to confront subject matter

   Their levels of academic achievement

5. Selection of the learning experience

Pupils internalise the content through the learning activities created or selected by the planner-teacher

6. Organization of learning activities

Based on achievement level

7. Determination of what to evaluate and the means of evaluation

Select from a variety of techniques appropriate for determining whether the objectives of the curriculum have been met

The strengths of the Taba model give teachers a greater role. Curriculum is seen as a plan for learning and gives importance to objectives in order to establish a sense of purpose for deciding what to include, exclude, and emphasize in a curriculum.

The Tyler model represents a deductive approach to educational experience, which starts with a general design to outline philosophy, aims, and goals and then works down to specifics such as "objectives, instructional techniques and evaluation". Olivia (2009) asserts the majority of curriculum planners find the Tyler model appealing and it is widely discussed and used.

In the 1990s, the concept of post-modernism dominated school curricula. Curriculum was characterised as more complex and pluralistic, an unpredictable system (p. 5). Hence, curriculum has been defined in terms of "process as activated through a development process" (Wiles & Bondi, 2011, p. 8).

Olivia (2009) pointed out the necessity to distinguish between two terms in curriculum development, "interest" and "wants". Wants are the affections or attitudes toward "something like history". "Want" encompasses desires and wishes. Olivia says needs are derived from three main sources: learners, society, and subject matter. These have two dimensions of levels

and types. Student needs are classified per types as physical/biological, educational, developmental tasks, and socio-psychological needs.

Socio-psychological needs are fundamental and complex in nature. Olivia states social and psychological needs often overlap and separating them is not an easy task. The need for affection is a type of emotion that is well known as a psychological need, but in a social context of interaction with others, it transforms to a social need. Olivia perceived acceptance, affection, and belonging as socio-psychological needs, while for students who "mentally and emotionally" deficient, Olivia identified them as psychological needs.

"Needs of society" can be classified by levels as human, international, and national. Olivia (2009) recommends curriculum planners investigate the social economic situation of the country to articulate its society's needs. Most importantly, Olivia identified a reciprocal relationship between learner needs and society needs.

A third source of needs is derived from subject matter or subject structure to provide meaningful knowledge which a curriculum planner uses to identify the scope and sequence. Scope is the key concept the learners have to know in order to gain mastery of skills, while sequence determines the "prescribed order" and the time of the lessons (Olivia, 2009).

2.4.2 Curriculum development in post-conflict

Wiles and Bondi (2011) argued that the role of education is not just to transmit knowledge but is to provide meaningful knowledge as a response to national needs and to address the future challenges of globalization. In a post-conflict society, education is perceived as critical to reconstruct the country. A well-developed curriculum will enhance a national agenda. However, "dysfunctional curriculum can threaten any nation's existence" Wiles and Bondi (2011) believe different methods may be used to develop curriculum since the process itself is well-known.

Developing and developed nations identify their national needs and construct different educational programs to "those ends", and to address the challenges of the future. However, when there is a crisis or what Wiles and Bondi called a "system break," then "the process begins anew on a micro level it calls curriculum development" Curriculum change often comes as interventions or strategies to reconstruct the education system to promote values of social cohesion, identity, and reconciliation through school curriculum, to transfer the national policy from the macro level of state to the micro level of the school with the aim to achieve certain outcomes (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011; Westbrook et al. 2013). Similarly, Ellison (2014), Smith (2011), Tawil (2004) advocated curriculum improvement to reduce violence and encourage peace culture. Tawil (2004) said that the process of curriculum improvement is presented as an action to fix the weaknesses of a national education system, such as inappropriate content and divisive textbooks which promote division and disparity. Wiles and Bondi (2011) noted that curriculum development in societies that have emerged from conflict is extremely different from that of developed countries, especially when curriculum is often the only resource for teachers especially in undeveloped countries (Westbrook et al., 2013). Tawil (2004) distinguishes between two types of curriculum in post-conflict societies that often undermine implementation of education values. The first one is a planned or official curriculum constituted of curriculum framework, instructional materials, and textbooks. Tawil pinpoints out that learning outcomes of "real curricula" are far behind those expected of planned curriculum. The second one is a hidden curriculum that is delivered implicitly through teachers' attitudes, language, methods of assessment, and the learning environment in the classroom (Tawil, 2004).

Naylor (2015) states that first step in curriculum development is analysis of the post-conflict context. Curriculum designing is often a challenge for policy-makers because of the gap between the local needs for "experience and knowledge" and the needs of nation-building

114

and "national development" (Naylor 2015). In South Sudan, when a peacebuilding program was designed based on the reform policy of Education and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST), and then the new program integrated into the national curriculum, PBEA evaluation revealed the new program failed to actively engage the local community.

Tawil (2004) and Smith (2011) advocated a state-development and nation-building approach to change the curriculum after the war. State-building approaches promote reconciliation and social cohesion values. Nation-building aims to instil collective memory and consolidate national identity and which is strongly recommended in identity-based conflicts (Tawil, 2004). As an example of curriculum reform policy in ethnic-division societies, the UNESCO International Bureau of Education launched a project in 2002-2003 called the "Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-Affected Societies". The program was intended to support social development by examining education policy change and its implications for national citizenship within the context of identity-based conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Baha), Guatemala, Lebanon, Mozambique, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, and Srilanka.

Wiles and Bondi (2011) emphasized that any curriculum development has to keep the context upfront and curriculum has to address national goals. Despite the importance of curriculum development, in post-war societies the process is challenged by grey policies, crisis, and "regional or provincial politics" (Weldon, 2009).

Despite the importance of curriculum development, there is a consensus on the complexity of the process (Nieveen, 1997; Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). Nieveen (1997) identified several aspects of complexity, including stages, activities, interests, and actors. The prominent one relates to characteristics of the new curriculum which will influence the rest of the development process such as the place where curriculum will be used. Level is also important. If it is on a macro level, it will certainly involve socio-political processes and

communication with stakeholders. Nieveen (1997) confirms developing a "highly innovative curriculum" which requires more activities that are "different from developing a formal/standard curriculum".

Ornstein and Hunkins (2009, p. 205) also highlighted the complexity of curriculum design, which evolves from concept and implementation; therefore, Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) advocated careful design of curriculum with emphasis on achieving curriculum aims related to concepts, attitudes, and skills. The majority of curriculum writers are influenced by more than one design and approach.

2.4.3 History Education

Yazici and Yildirim (2018) asserted that history education is a tool for a nation-building as the study of history has the potential to spread the social values that create a national identity. Also, there is "a close relationship between history education and nationalism and their importance in influencing mass psychology"

Yazici and Yildirim (2018) said that it is important to visit the past and try to rediscover it to understand the present and seek the "new future". This is possible through the study of history, and, due to the "vital role" of history, is quite often dominated by "state-policy". Iglesias (2013) comments history is "one of the many instruments available for the persuasive construction of a nation".

Valeryevich (2011) advocated the developmental role of history that strongly contributes to the development of national identity, especially in societies that are in a transitional stage. History is closely intertwined with nationalism. Valeryevich (2011) said that "nationalist intellectuals have the role to develop a historical narrative in "nationalist terms … This activity by nationalists contributes to the diffusion of standards of historical research".

116

Societies emerging from conflict, strive to have nation-building and social development (Naylor, 2015; Weldon, 2009; Smith, 2011). Education policy is the vehicle used to embrace "political vision" for change—to draw the line between past and present in school curriculum (Tawil 204; Weldon, 2009). Curriculum is the key "instrument" to communicate political ideology either explicitly in formal curriculum or implicitly in hidden curriculum (Naylor, 2015; Smith 2011; Tawil, 2004).

However, Naylor (2015) emphasized that education is not politically neutral and thus education has the potential to fuel conflict or to resolve it. This could be manifested in school curriculum such as geography, literature, language, and history. Text books could be biased and include divisive contents to underestimate particular ethnic groups. Moreover, during building a new national identity, the link between past and present is structured in a way to "provide continuity". Iglesia (2013) said that history discourses as a narrative aims to encourage society to develop relationships within society "even though it is imaginary" that makes it important to carefully write the content. History also can be manipulative and may be used as a "political weapon" (Iglesia, 2013, p. 783).

Smith (2011) claimed that national subjects are fundamental for nation-building. History education has always been known as a storage of collective memories and national identity (Naylor, 2015; Paulson, 2015; Smith, 2011; Weldon, 2009). Despite this importance, quite often authorities or governments have the upper hand in dictating the curriculum content.

Paulson (2015) and Naylor (2015) highlighted that the role of history education in post-conflict societies is determined by the way curriculum is structured. History education has always been known as a powerful discipline to "instil collective memory to consolidate national identity" (Gross & Terra, 2018). In the 19th century, history as a subject was introduced in formal school curricula to empower citizens with knowledge and skills to

contribute to nation-building. Naylor (2015) stated the role of history reconciliation is shaped by the way it is delivered in the classroom, either to promote social cohesion or to encourage negative attitudes such as prejudice and stereotyping. Paulson (2015) comments that a nationalist approach dominated teaching history for a long time to promote national figures and revive national events as part of collective memory. Cheskin (2012) differentiated between historical memory and collective memory, where Cheskin distinguishes collective memory that refers to the past which plays an integral role in the formation of our identities in the present, while history refers to a past which does not. Historical memory is a memory which is transmitted to us via various media including written and oral accounts, images, and monuments to which we have no direct experience (Cheskin, 2012). Cheskin (2012) believed that this type of memory is at the core of formal history and enables individuals to gain historical thinking to reflect on historical events which, consequently, will generate multiple interpretations and different views of reality which are debatable between different groups which adds to the complexity of history as a formal knowledge. Cheskin (2012) described it as "democratization of memory".

2.4.3.1 Disciplinary Knowledge

The traditional approach of teaching history to transmit collective memory and emphasize national narrative came as a response to national needs early in the 20th century. Post-colonialists wanted to reinforce and reconsolidate national identity (Ahonen, 2014; Naylor, 2015; Paulson, 2015; Smith; 2011; Weldon, 2009). Late in the 20th century until today, social and economic changes caused a challenge for all societies. History curricula began to be developed where the objectives were reshaped by national agenda to prepare students for the future by developing skills of problem-solving and critical thinking (Ahonen, 2014; Naylor, 2015; Paulson, 2015; Smith; 2011; Weldon, 2009). This was a turning point in teaching history as traditional narratives of the past. Gross and Terra (2018) affirm the discipline of

history had a fundamental shift in the 20th century because of socio-political changes and imperialism. This was accompanied by violent conflict and genocide. This new context emphasized a socio-cultural approach and historical understanding of the content to reveal the complexity of 20th century phenomena.

Ahonen (2014), Naylor (2015), Paulson (2015), Smith (2011) advocated a multi-perspective view as the contemporary approach to teach history. Multi-perspective approaches emphasize disciplinary skills such as comparison, interpretation and causation, and evaluating primary and secondary evidence. This knowledge underpins multi-perspectives and encourage students to construct learning experiences that incorporate different sources and multiple viewpoints (Ahonen, 2014; Paulson, 2015).

The multiperspective approach is an approach that is used in the teaching of history and current gains importance among researchers and practitioners in the teaching of history (Grever & Van Boxtel, 2014; Nordgren & Johansson, 2015). The evidence can be found in the study conducted by Wansink et al. (2018; 2014) and Nordgren & Johansson (2015) who applied this perspective in the history education. The underlying tenet of this perspective is that history is subject that requires thorough interpretation and subjective analysis across multiple perspectives that coexist on a particular historical event (Wansink et al., 2018). Thus, the authors have commented such an interpretational approach should not be left to the relative understanding of the students to compare and judge various narrative by using disciplinary critera (Stoel et al., 2017; Wansink et al., 2018). The proponents of this multiperspective approach have also expressed normative expectations. These authors have suggested that since societies are culturally diverse, an exploration of different perspectives would be required by the students in order to develop themselves as responsible citizens (Wubbels et al., 2017; Grever, 2012). However, adopting such practices in the educational context is not easy as it requires the teachers to be equipped with subject matter knowledge,

pedagogical expertise, and classroom management skills (Wansink et al., 2018). These practices and teaching approaches are adopted in western societies and are effective in developing national identity. By understanding different cultures, norms, and values the students can engage in evaluation and develop their national identity (Stoel et al., 2017).Yazici and Yildirim (2018) call it a scientific approach and state the importance of adopting it for history teaching and a means to re-construct nationalism and to deliver citizenship values. What Yazici and Yildirim (2018) meant is to adopt innovative approaches in curriculum and pedagogical practices must support the development of analytical skills that stem from scientific approaches to deliver meaningful knowledge.

Du Preez (2014) agrees with curriculum scholars and states the necessity of adopting new approaches to understanding curriculum. However, there is a debate on how this can be implemented. This era lacks consensus among curriculum scholars. Naylor (2015) says evidence demonstrates that meaningful knowledge and historical thinking which promote critical analysis skill and causation are necessary to understand the relationship between cause and effect and have the potential to reshape attitudes and perspectives of learners. This will enhance peace building in post-conflict societies. Weldon (2009) agrees that the traditional approach of formal history curricula inefficiently constructs national identity and is not relevant to the lives of students. Weldon emphasized a multi-perspective approach which strongly constructed "identity within the national context historical knowledge meaningful for students (Weldon, 2009).

Intervention in post-conflict societies demonstrates that, unlike standard history teaching, multiple-perspective teaching history can "positively" affect student behaviours and perception. Teaching multiple perspectives of history has two approaches: 1) inquiry approach through critical analysis of conflicting sources and 2) dual narrative approach to history education (also called "joint history textbooks") (Burde et al., 2017).

Practitioners presumed that the first approach allowed students to be critically engaged with "primary and secondary evidence on conflicting historical perspectives which would transform conflict-ridden societies". This was supported with empirical research which demonstrated that the inquiry approach to teaching history had significant "impact on changing student attitudes and perceptions about the contested past and out-group members" (Burde et al., 2017)

Furthermore, Ahonen (2014) conducted a comparative study of history curricula in post-conflict societies such as Finland, Bosnia and Herzegovina (Baha), and South Africa. The purpose was to investigate the new approach of teaching history in post-colonialism states. History education was included in "multi-perspectival studies". History education today is based on skills of critical historical thinking and emphasizes the "local, vernacular history culture". Ahonen (2014, p. 86) also emphasized the importance of historical consciousness as an essential feature of history in contemporary times. "As historical consciousness is an all-human faculty, a post-conflict generation needs the school as an arena to deal with the burden of the past and connect the achieved understanding to aspirations for the future".

Although multiple-perspective curricula received scholars' consensus, there are debates on the content of history curriculum and the structure of historical narratives. Du Preez (2014) states that historical narrative is imperative in reconciliation in post conflict societies because it addresses root causes of problems through transmitted knowledge of traumatic conflict from past to present. Gross and Terra (2018) comment it is a very challenging task.

Smith refers to epistemological issues. Smith (2011) promotes history education as one way of building identity in nation-building and highlights the implications of epistemological issues on curriculum content, single narrative versus multiple perspective approaches, and

how these debates reflect on curriculum goals to be "driven by content or by skills and learning outcomes".

Burde et al. (2017) conducted an empirical study that revealed that political context in post-conflict societies influence or shape how schools function or informs the school ideology and textbook development using as an example the two cases of Rwanda and Bosnia. Both of these countries suspended teaching history in schools post-conflict because the government was not sure how the legacy of conflict could be taught, and the government was not sure how a legacy of war could fuel conflict once again. Teachers were prohibited from discussing ethnic divisions in the class room. They were encouraged to teach the government "narrative" to revive national identity while excluding the "difficult" history. Burde et al. (2017) believed this will keep students from learning critical skills needed to analyse conflict and to evaluate "historical evidence".

On one hand, it is important to present the "traumatic past" since it evolved around national challenge; on the other hand, content and pedagogy are always debatable (Du Preez, 2014; Gross &Terra; Guyver, 2016; Duckworth, 2015). Du Preez (2014) advocated using a reflective approach that critically reviews history curriculum content to bring the legacy of conflict into the forefront. Curriculum scholars believe that without such an approach and analytical review of historic narratives that consist of analytical reviews of the past legacy of conflict, there is no hope for success or sustainability for peace education. Historic narratives enable students to understand what happened in the past, including violence, and "memories of death and suffering" (Grodofsky, 2012; Paulson, 2011). In spite of these challenges, Gross and Terra (2018) emphasize the importance of students learning about "difficult history" as this enhances learning of historical understanding which enables them to comprehend or analyse the present issues, especially in post-conflict societies to achieve what Gaultung calls "positive peace".

Du Preez (2014) highlights two issues. First, the majority of curriculum practitioners tend to "tackle social issues on a superficial level rather than look deeply to the roots of the problem". This promotes a political agenda with "little or no attention to ethical consideration". Gross and Terra (2018) identified a framework to develop the narrative of "difficult history" which follows:

1. Difficult histories need to capture prominent events in national history such as war or civil violence.

2. Difficult histories generally contradict national values and morale and national assumptions and versions of the past.

3. Difficult histories are quite relevant to contemporary national issues and challenges.

4. Difficult histories tackle the violence aspects of the conflict committed either between groups or states.

5. Difficult history aims to challenge the habits of minds and assumptions underpinning current historical understanding that shapes the relationship between state and nation or even intergroup relationships.

Duckworth (2015) critically argues the drawback of teaching history in classrooms. Guyver (2016) and Duckworth (2015) believe that the goal of peace education must go beyond "classroom discussion and learning skills". History education must be linked strongly to resolve root causes of violence conflict. Hence, Duckworth (2015) pinpoints that historical narratives consist of conflict trauma and controversial scenarios are a rich source for curricula content rooted in reflective approaches to teaching history. It is by carefully examining traumatic conflicts of the past, involved parties, and causes of dispute that significantly reveals "the role of the heavy hand of history in conflict." This enables teachers to effectively "interrupt transgenerational cycles of violent conflict". Students gain meaningful knowledge that enables them to critically evaluate inherited legacies and reveal the taboos of traumatic

conflict. Duckworth (2015) and Gross and Terra (2018) advocate having students adopt reflective approaches when they tackle the "sensitive past". Critical thinking will empower students in their search for truth and to identify root causes of conflict which will illuminate social divisions. Gross and Terra (2018) state the importance for teachers to adopt effective pedagogical practices to encourage students to handle the challenges of their "traumatic past" in classroom.

Here, interpretation of historic trauma is a group activity where teachers and students collectively engage in interpretation of the past "transgenerational transmission of historical trauma" (Duckworth, 2015; Gross and Terra, 2018). Du Preez (2014) presents the concept of "curriculum theorizing" through intersections, where apartheid history in dialogical nostalgia and apartheid narrative are compared.

However, Du Preez (2014) emphasizes ethical considerations in curriculum theorizing. Nostalgic, critical content provides learners with better understanding of social injustice which paves the way for reconciliation and building collective identity. "Sensitive past" is a global phenomenon and is not exclusive to post-conflict societies. To adopt a contemporary approach is to incorporate violent conflict and trauma into history curriculum which is known as "difficult history" (Gross & Terra, 2018, p. 35).

The "dual narrative approach" requires students from both in-group and out-groups to learn historical narrative. Experimental research shows mixed results as in the Israeli-Palestinian context. Palestinian secondary students show no interest in Israeli perspectives with negative reactions to the latter's narrative. In Northern Ireland, students who been taught "subject" to "dual history curriculum showed more interest in out-group narratives, but struggled to fully engage with alternative historical perspectives (Burde et al., 2017).

Paulson (2015) identified globalization as a third approach and comments that globalization has taken the history discipline far from the main purpose which is "nationalization" to "de-nationalised" and has shifted from nation-state to more global issues and perspective. History is no more a distinct subject but is integrated into other subjects like civic or social studies. Paulson believes globalization will enhance students' understanding of other communities.

However, Naylor (2015) comments that in spite of the important role of history, there's a scarcity of research on "the impact of history education in post-conflict" states. Du Preez believes that it "is important for curriculum theorizing in South Africa and other post-conflict societies to adopt reflective approaches to tackle the content of history curricula. This perspective enables us to have dialogical narratives that allow us to be critical about the root causes of conflict, understanding differences and emphasizing similarities to "arrive at intersections of understanding one another in the context of our ethical responsibilities towards one another. Reflective, dialogical nostalgia is important" (Du Preez, 2014, p. 16).

2.4.4 History Education in conflict-affected societies

History education has been recognised as the key for sharing identity, fostering collective memory, and sharping affiliation across communities (Paulson, 2015). It inculcates in the young people the history of the nation, influences their idea of self, and indicates the necessity to learn the future. Studies conducted in the field of education in emergencies highlight the importance of history education especially its potential to increase violence and conflicts in societies. By reinforcing the communal identities, representing a biased identity of 'others', and naturalizing dominance of the superior, history teaching can significantly impact the incidence of violence in the society (Davies, 2003). Zembylas and Beckerman (2008) stated that the debate is not about whether children should be taught about the past, but also how they rember and interpret it.

However, the contribution of history education is not always negative. As reflected by Bellino (2014), history education serves as as transmitter of past memory that has shifted from indoctrination to influence and inspiration. This results in an engaged citizen rather than obedient citizens. It was also assumed that the right perspective will create a shared identity and foster civic sense among the young individuals. This shift in perspective from prescriptive to influential necessitates emergence of teaching methods that are democratic and incusion of histories of marginalised groups in the society.

As discussed earlier, multi-perspective approach is significant in studying history (Grever & Van Boxtel, 2014; Nordgren & Johansson, 2015). For instance, in the history curriculum or Northern Ireland such approach to teaching has enabled children to gain awareness of multiple concepts. In Northern Cyprus, the history textbooks presents a social-constructivist model that highlightsnationalism and national identity and encourages pupils to critically think and analyse from a multiple-perspective (Paulson, 2015; Latif 2010). In addition to this, history is taught as a part of social studies syllabus in number of countries like Rwanda (King 2014), South Africa (Weldon, 2010). This approach has helped the students to explore social scientific knowledge and understand the concept of citizenship.

In Peru and Guatemela history curriculum incorporates the incidence of recent conflicts alongside peace education and subjects on human rights (Paulson, 2015). As highlighted by Oglesby (2007), past is used here as a guide to act in the present as well as in the future. The authors noted that conflict here is depicted as brutality of restoration of democracy whereby the victims are drained out of their identities. It has been highlighted that the culture of violence is now replaced with culture of peace. Thus Oglesby (2007) stated that the structural reasons of conflict is not highlighted.

According to Weldon (2010), in South Africa history education is a part of value-driven curriculum that is focused on citizenship education. The textbooks presents the facts in an apolitical note without going deep nto the injustice of the system. Such history education system aims at creating individuals who are productive, self-sufficient, and do not demand a lot from the state. However, Staeheli and Hammett (2013) noted that social segregation continues to segregate people and constrain equal access to opportunities to all.

In contrast the history education in Rwanda upholds a false claim of ethinic unity in the country (King, 2014). Moreover, the researchers have shown that there exist discrepancies between the narratives disemminated by the Rwandan government and the actual historical records (Freedman et al., 2011; King, 2014) that questions the core purpose of history education. This is contradictory with the principles of multi-perspective approach that emphasizes open dialogue, debate, and critical thinking. Similar approach is also followed in Yemen whereby the government has published narratives that have been incorporated in the textbooks (Young, 2010). Thus, both in Rwanda and Yemen such mythical unity among the social groupings served as maintaining the authoritarian rule of the government (King, 2010).

Thus, from the above discussion, it can be stated that history education has been used positively as well as negatively. While usage of multiple-perspective provides scope to the students for an open discussion and critical analysis, in practice, they are not followed as evident from the case of Rwanda. The fact that are presented in the textbooks are often misleading and do not provide a holistic picture of the context.

2.5 Education Philosophy and Curriculum Development

Educational philosophy is at the core of curriculum development processes; it is also fundamental to guiding curriculum planners as they select and organise content (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Ryan, 2008; Wiles & Bondi, 2011).

Wiles and Bondi (2011) pinpoint philosophy as the source of reflective practices, and Ralph Taylor advocates philosophy as the "screen for selecting educational objectives" (Olivia, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011, p. 35). Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) emphasized the importance of philosophy in helping educators to understand the function of the school and to determining the value of school subjects. Most importantly, educational philosophy enables educators to decide upon the best learning materials and design the best methods and practices.

Educational philosophy stems from the metaphysics of goodness, truth, and reality which underpin the new curriculum. Contents respond to these values through addressing three fundamental questions: What is real? What is good? What is true? How individuals respond to these inquiries significantly influences and shapes the type of educational philosophy (Wiles & Bondi, 2011). There are three categories of educational philosophy: axiology represents goodness, epistemology entails truth and knowledge, lastly, ontology represents the reality (Wiles & Bondi, 2011). These components have different functions when they are integrated into curriculum to inform content and practices. Axiology informs values that should be taught, epistemology informs "medium of learning", and ontology relates to "content of study". Wiles and Bondi (2011) highlight that the abstract concepts of values, truth, and reality are transformed to the tangible substance of learning when translated in school contexts. This is not an easy process because of the enormous knowledge available in the world; hence, Wiles and Bondi (2011) introduced four questions to guide curriculum planners in selecting an appropriate educational philosophy. Curriculum developers should have a clear understanding of content, the role of the teacher, and the role of the student in the teaching and learning processes, and have a school or organization plan to implement the change.

Perennialism, Essentialism, Progressivism, and Reconstructionism are prominent educational philosophies (Ryan, 2008; Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011) which focus on curriculum aspects and what should be taught (Ernest et al., 2016; Ryan, 2008). These philosophies are an outgrowth from four "major" philosophies of idealism, realism, pragmatism, and existentialism (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

2.5.1 Perennialism

Perennialism focuses on the personal development of the learners. It is teacher-centered where knowledge is constructed by the teacher and the student role is passive. Perennialism is known as a conservative and traditional approach towards curriculum and liberal education. Perennialism stemmed from realism (Ryan, 2008; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). In perennialism, curriculum is subject-centered. Curriculum content is organised around discipline knowledge, strongly emphasizes literature, mathematics and science. There are no options for electives or vocational subjects (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). This theoretical framework can be helpful in understanding theknowledge development process of the Somali students. It can also help to examine history curriculum of secondary schools in Moqadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa.

2.5.2 Essentialism

Essentialism philosophy is conservative and is based on the traditional approach. Essentialism underpins realism and idealism. Essentialists focus on facts and the fundamental principles of core knowledge as defined by three "R"s: reading, writing, and arithmetic. These skills are emphasized in elementary school (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Ryan, 2008; Wiles & Bondi, 2011).

Essentialists' secondary school curriculum emphasizes a rigorous structure of subject matter such as the core subjects of English, mathematics, science, and history. As essentialism focuses first on essential skills, essentialist curricula thus tend to be much more vocational

and fact-based, and far less liberal and principle-based (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Ryan, 2008).

Essentialism like perennialism is a teacher-centered approach. The teacher is the person who owns knowledge and master skills to design the "lecture and practice" (Ryan, 2008). Both philosophies underestimate subjects such as physical education, music, art, and vocational courses (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Ryan, 2008; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). Perennialism totally rejects these subjects while essentialism incorporates them into curriculum as very limited options. Essentialists accept the idea that this core curriculum may change. Schooling should be practical, preparing students to become valuable members of society. It should focus on facts—the objective reality outside of school. This theoretical model can also help assess the history education. It can be applicable in understanding instructional method shape knowledge development of the students in Somalia.

2.5.3 Progressivism

Progressivism stems from pragmatism traditional philosophy and is also known as experimentalism. Progressivism came as a counter-response to perennialism. Progressivism is a contemporary philosophy of education reform in the US in the 1900s (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Ryan, 2008; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). John Dewey embraced the progressivism philosophy as it focused on the relationship between education and democracy. Dewey believed education's role was to prepare learners to be active citizens; hence, school should enhance student learning by providing them with knowledge and skill to establish democracy societies (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2009). Progressivism can help understand secondary school students' attitudes towards national identity. This is important as the formation of national identity is crucial for a conflict-ridden society in Somalia.

2.5.4 Social Reconstructionism

Social reconstructionism is a contemporary and liberal philosophy (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2009) derived from progressivism (Ryan, 2008). It came as a response to the increased influence of progressive education which mainly focused on the elite and middle class. Scholars argue that progressivism ignored the social issues of the US during the 1920s and 1930s. Progressive education failed to address inequalities, poverty, and unemployment in the US during the 1920s and 1930s (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Ryan, 2008; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). For this reason, reconstructionism is known as "crisis philosophy" (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2009, p. 53).

Social reconstructionism curriculum is socio-economic oriented, encourages values of social justice, and opposes inequality and discrimination. Teachers and students are agents of social change (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Ryan, 2008; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). This is another crucial framework to understand the social construction of knowledge. Although it does not highlight social issues it can be useful to understand how social justice can be restored through history education. This can be useful in analyzing educators' perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum.

2.5.5 Existentialism

Existentialists believe in individual existence, in freedom, and the ability of individuals to execute actions. Therefore, the learner is capable of defining truth, reality, and goodness. Students demonstrate "authentic thinking" and become involved in genuine learning experiences. Existentialism curricula focus on learners' ability to develop to "self-direction" and "self-actualization" (Ryan, 2008; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). Finally this model can help develop recommendations for development of a new secondary history curriculum.

2.6 Curriculum Evaluation

2.6.1 Definition and Nature of Curriculum Evaluation

Lincoln and Guba (1979) state that the function of evaluation is to judge the value of the thing being evaluated. Evaluation is a critical analysis of different aspects of curriculum, such as documents, planning, and instructional design (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009, p. 27). Curriculum evaluation is fundamental for curriculum design and implementation, judgment of curriculum merit, and worth which significantly influences data collection and interpretation (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, Wiles & Bondi, 2011). Olivia (2009) states evaluation is a continuous process. Olivia embraced the approach of "if, then" to demonstrate the relationship between research and evaluation. If evaluation is a process of judgment, then research is the tool of collecting data which serves as a basis for judgment intended to improve curriculum.

Lincoln and Guba identified two aspects of evaluation—merit and value. Merit is an intrinsic value. Lincoln and Guba comment that both merit and value are variables; however, they assert judgement of worth is more valuable than merit. It could be inferred that merit judges the intrinsic characteristics of the entity itself, while judgment of worth depends upon the interaction of the entity with some context. Furthermore, merit is mostly constant, while worth can and does change dramatically—change the context and you change the worth. Determination of worth requires an ad hoc evaluation. Lincoln and Guba (1979, p. 10) emphasized using an ad hoc approach to obtain a thick description. "Worth, an extrinsic property of the entity being evaluated, is determined by comparing the entity's impact or outcomes relative to some set of external requirements" (p. 10), e.g. the results of a needs assessment or context evaluation.

Lincoln and Guba (1979) state there is misconception or myth that merit evaluations are formative and worth evaluations are summative. They emphasize both merit and worth are subject to summative or formative evaluations.

Özüdoğru (2018) defines evaluation in three dimensions of "identification, clarification, and application" by applying certain "defensible" criteria to judge the value and merit of curriculum. Conclusions made at the completion of the evaluation process have empirical and normative facets which determine program value. Evaluation is a dynamic process that takes place through all processes of curriculum development. Accordingly, underlying rationales are different (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). For example, evaluation taking place at the beginning of curriculum change has the purpose of reviewing content and learning experiences to examine the merit and worth of the old curriculum to propose a new one (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). The aim of examining curriculum at the end of curriculum development is to inform the final decision either to accommodate changes or eliminate some curriculum aspects such textbooks (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

Stavropoulou and Stroubouki (2014) pinpoint the beginning of curriculum evaluation in 1930 when Tyler conducted a longitudinal study of schools to evaluate practices. Tyler adopted what was known as a "traditional approach" (Olivia, 2009, p. 195; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). Tyler's evaluation was objectives-oriented as a step to curriculum development. In 1967, Scriven introduced two new concepts of evaluation (formative and summative) to differentiate evaluator roles during curriculum development and implementation, either to judge the value of a new program while it was under development (formative) or appraise the quality of learning at the end of the program in terms of outcomes (summative) (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014). Summative evaluation examines the merit of the program which measures the student achievement, while formative "evaluation" determines students' progress during the program.

Olivia (2009) distinguishes between summative evaluation and formative evaluation. Formative evaluates processes (progress), and summative evaluation examines outcomes (product). Formative evaluation can also occur during teaching of existing curriculum or when new curriculum is delivered. During this stage, formative evaluation is used to judge pedagogical practices of teachers and learning of students (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) found curriculum evaluators approach formative evaluation in different ways depending on curriculum complexity. The informal approach usually is adopted to review one learning unit; in this process, evaluators may involve only teachers who are teaching the unit. Ornstenin and Hunkins recommend the approach to be highly structured and systematic when the aim of evaluation is to design a new program for all school zones.

Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) and Stavropoulou and Stroubouki (2014) describe the evaluation process as a complex process. This could be attributed to socio-economic and political changes and increased demands on schools and educators to have quality of outcomes and enhance the learning of students to acquire skills and intellectual competencies which consequently reflect on school outcomes. Enormous knowledge (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014) related to different methods of learning, instructional, and pedagogical practices challenge curriculum evaluators to provide stakeholders, decision makers, and governance with evidence to demonstrate the efficiency of school programs. This brings to the fore the importance for evaluators to conduct systematic processes and informative reports. Despite the difficulty of the examining process, evaluation receives a lot of criticism (Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014) in the education field and is viewed as problematic. Stavropoulou and Stroubouki (2014) identify a number of reasons such as the impracticality of evaluation instruments, students being excluded from the reviewing process, low completion rates, and reluctance of teachers and school staff to

134

participate. Despite the importance of curriculum evaluation, it is widely ignored in curriculum design because of the complex and ambiguous nature of the evaluation process (Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014).

2.6.2   Approaches to Evaluation (Scientific & Humanistic)

Unlike curriculum development, evaluation processes are uniform and can be adapted to examine the effectiveness of any curriculum. Evaluation consists of collecting data and integrating it with objectives or "goals" (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). Despite the systematic processes of evaluation, interpretation of data is not a linear process. Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) comment that people while processing evaluation data are driven by their own philosophical and psychological believes and assumptions. Those who believe in a behaviouristic approach judge curriculum in terms of learned specific behaviour, while evaluators who embrace a humanistic approach are more concerned with the affective and emotional domains of curriculum and how far learning transforms or improves student self-concepts.

Evaluators are free to select an appropriate evaluation approach; however, Olivia; Ornstein, & Hunkins (2009) highlighted that evaluators have to achieve three main goals: (1) have a clear understanding of what should be removed, replaced, or retained in existing curriculum; (2) instructional evaluation of pedagogical practices and student learning; (3) conclusions which determine whether to retain or reform an organization and the delivered curriculum.

Özüdoğru (2018) asserts curriculum evaluators aim to determine unfulfilled needs and inform best practices to develop and improve quality of outcome. At the beginning of curriculum implementation, evaluation tends to identify weakness and strengths of delivered curriculum. Özüdoğru strongly advocates using a systematic approach for data collection and analysis which ensures quality and "adequacy" to assure the value and merit of the new program.

135

Özüdoğru (2018) concluded from her analytical study of different research on curriculum evaluation models that few studies adopted a curriculum evaluation model. Özüdoğru commented despite the importance of curriculum evaluation, it has been neglected or ignored widely among curriculum evaluators. Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) and Stavropoulou and Stroubouki (2014) identified two approaches to curriculum evaluation: a scientific approach and a humanistic approach.

2.6.2.1   Scientific Approach

Scientific "evaluators" are inclined toward student learning and therefore collect quantitative data in the form of assessment scores to explain different results of student achievement either within a school or among different schools. Scientific evaluators believe that the experimental approach is well structured and more rigorous than a humanistic approach. This assumption is derived from quantitative research and descriptive data that can be statistically analysed, which informs their decision to retain or change the school curriculum (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Stavropoulobu & Stroubouki, 2014).

Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) state that the first curriculum evaluation was conducted in 1897-1898 by Joseph Rice. It was a comparative study to compare the performance of 30,000 students in urban schools in a spelling test. Rice's study was followed by a study of Robert Thorndike to encourage positive change in student behaviours in the classroom. An eight-year study (1933-1941) conducted by Ralph Tyler was a turning point in education. This was a national study to evaluate high school curricula and outcomes. Thirty high schools were involved in Tyler's study (Olivia, 2009, p. 195; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). Scientific evaluators developed three models based on technical and statistical approaches to judge curriculum value, including the Stake Congruence-Contingency Model, Stufflebeam's Model, and the Illuminative Evaluation Model (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014).

2.6.2.2 Stake's Congruence-Contingency Model

Stake's model statistically approached formative curriculum evaluation. Stake developed an evaluation model consisting of three components: antecedents, transactions, and outcomes (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014).

Antecedents describe prior conditions or previous learning environments that might impact or influence final outcomes. This can be related to students such as attitude and behaviour, enthusiasm to learn, assessment scores and grades. Antecedents could also identify teacher characteristics, level of education, and number of years of experience.

Transaction describes the teaching process, interaction between student and teachers, interaction of students among themselves in classrooms, and pedagogical practices (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014).

Outcomes identified by final results of learning in cognitive and behavioural domains also may determine teacher competency levels.

Olivia (2009), Ornstein and Hunkins (2009), and Stavropoulou and Stroubouki (2014) assert that Stake's model is beneficial; however, congruence of all criteria cannot be completed. Student learning can be affected by external factors (antecedents) which subsequently influence student achievement (outcomes); hence, the evaluation is not valid.

2.6.2.3 Stufflebeam's Model: Context, Input, Process, Product

Daniel Stufflebeam developed a comprehensive model to evaluate four facets: context, input, process, and product. The model is known as CIPP. The model was developed based on the rationale of a "decision-management" approach (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014).

The model's purpose is to identify needs and ends of a curriculum or a program. Stufflebeam designed the CIPP model to address four main questions (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014):

1. What should be done?
2. How should it be done?
3. Is it being done?
4. Is it succeeding?

Context evaluation concerns curricula or programs which identify needs and whether they have been addressed or not. If not, then the evaluator should analyse the reasons for unfulfilled needs (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014).

Input evaluation focuses on the resources required to accomplish the objectives of the curriculum. Process evaluation concerns the link between theory and practice and the implementation of the curriculum.

Product evaluation refers to the end-result, the extent to which the curriculum objectives have been met.

2.6.3 Humanistic Approach

Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) argue that a scientific approach prevents evaluators from gaining full pictures of curricula. Ornstein and Hunkins advocate a humanistic and non-traditional approach which is holistic and comprehensive. Humanistic approaches explore people's perceptions, interactions, and uncover emotions which influence their interpretations of reality in different social contexts (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

Humanistic evaluators are more concerned with why rather than what, and seek to be interpretive more than to be objective. Humanistic efforts emphasize interaction in the

evaluation process more than outcomes which demonstrate the descriptive nature of humanistic evaluation reports.

Hamilton (1977) complimented (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009) the humanistic approach and expressed evaluation as a practical morality, or goodness, as being debatable in the field of curriculum evaluation. Hamilton divided the evaluation process into ethical and practical divisions, the former one guided by an established set of rules to address the question of "what we should do" which enables evaluators to judge the value of the curriculum. The empirical part is factual and examines curriculum merit which responds to "what can we do". Hamilton (1977) comments curriculum evaluation does not occur in a vacuum, but it stems from social and political change. Therefore, evaluation of a social process should reflect society's needs—if not, then it's meaningless. Most importantly, Hamilton (1977) concludes curriculum evaluation models should be linked to curriculum design. The evaluation responds in similar practice to the developed curriculum.

Humanistic evaluators developed the Illuminative Evaluation model, Connoisseurship and Criticism evaluation, and Action-Research models (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014).

2.6.4 Illuminative Evaluation Model

The Illuminative Evaluation model was developed by Malcolm Parlett and David Hamilton (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). The Illuminative model adopted qualitative methods of interviews, observation, and document analysis to illuminate different issues of the curriculum and identify specific features.

The Illuminative model consists of observation, further inquiry, and explanation.

1. Observation. Evaluators get a summary of the program and then describe the context of the school, including relevant information such as learning materials, teachers' lesson plans and teaching methods (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

2. Further inquiry. In this step, the evaluator focuses on a school program or curriculum to judge value. Evaluators spend more time in school and investigate other resources to gain sufficient knowledge to judge the program. Evaluators analyse student portfolios, conduct interviews, and give questionnaires to parents and teachers (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014).

3. Explanation. It's descriptive, more of an explanation of programs and reflects on causes or factors affecting the program. Explanation usually is presented to decision-makers (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

2.6.5 Eisner's Connoisseurship and Criticism Models

Elliot Eisner was an art teacher in high school and also was a painter. When Eisner received his PhD, he taught at Stanford university in the art and education colleges. In education, his expertise was in curriculum and instruction (Donmoyer, 2014).. At the time Eisner believed in the art of curriculum and that there was potential to transfer his art experience into education. Eisner perceived education as a broad phenomenon and using a qualitative, humanistic approach enables curriculum evaluators to craft evaluation processes to explore schools and interact with individuals which provides insight to evaluators to discover new aspects of programs (Nordin & Wahlstrom, 2019; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014). Eisner encouraged evaluators to be actively involved in qualitative methods to have better judgment and communicate accurate reports to schools or district management (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

Eisner criticised scientific evaluators who overvalued descriptive data which prevents evaluators from getting the big picture and undermines change of curriculum which is the

main objective of the evaluation process. Nordin and Wahlstrom (2019) and Stavropoulou and Stroubouki (2014) comment that this philosophy shaped Eisner's beliefs to perceive school as a "living system", causing Eisner to develop the Connoisseurship and Criticism models for curriculum evaluation (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Shahidi et al., 2014; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014).

Eisner asserts the importance for evaluators to look at educational programs (curriculum) in a real learning environment (Donmoyer, 2014). Eisner adopted a humanistic approach to develop both models. Qualitative evaluation judges curriculum value based on holistic views of individual and educational phenomena. Humanistic evaluators explore social interaction in educational contexts. Qualitative researchers are more concerned about education quality than outcomes (Shaidi et al., 2014). Eisner's humanistic approach encourages reflective teaching where teachers are able to integrate "contextual aspects" into their classroom and students are encouraged to apply inquiry and critical thinking skills. Nordin and Wahlstrom (2019), in order to achieve this goal, say the national narrative should not be linear (known as single-narrative model). Also, it requires that teaching methods and pedagogy practices should be improved and students should be more engaged (i. e. social and economic history) (Paulson, 2015).

Eisner successfully developed his Connoisseurship model of curriculum evaluation. According to Eisner, curriculum evaluators can be connoisseurs (Donmoyer, 2014). The expert or specialist can notice fine characteristics which others cannot observe. Connoisseurs at end of the process can generate evaluation reports with artist touches such as literary work, not documents that were the norm in social sciences (Donmoyer, 2014). Nordin and Wahlstrom (2019) feel the connoisseurship model enables the evaluator to discover the context to determine the curriculum value. Eisner "described" Connoisseurship as the ability to "appreciate the qualities that constitute some objects, situations, or events" (Ornstein &

Hunkins, 2009, p. 289). Connoisseurship consists of five components that reflect different aspects of curriculum: intentional, structural, curricular, pedagogical, and evaluative. Intentional is a personal assessment of curriculum worth, value, and merit. Structural evaluation examines curriculum design and context of an educational organization itself (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Shahidi et al. 2014; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014). Curriculum evaluation examines knowledge, content, scope, and sequence. Pedagogical assessment evaluates instructional design. Evaluative evaluation judges evaluation itself (Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Shahidi et al., 2014; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014).

Eisner believed that connoisseurs should be able to evaluate the program critically as "art critics" do. Eisner added criticism as a main component of evaluation. Eisner believed that art can have a role in social inquiry. Eisner developed both models on critical perspective and art (Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014). Stavropoulou and Stroubouki (2014) state that Criticism is another model of Eisner. The Criticism Model encompasses: (1) description: evaluators narrate the educational organization and curriculum; (2) interpretation: evaluators discuss and explain the finding to stakeholders; this can promote thorough interpretation of educational experience to explain the program based on epistemological theory – to social theory-foundation to make relevant meaning or meaningful knowledge; (3) evaluation: analysis of "new programs to determine educational value; evaluation , where Eisner asserts that evaluators should give special attention to worth and value of educational programs; (4) thematic: to deduce unfolding themes, the evaluator needs to indicate an overarching theme yielded from evaluation and characterises the educational program (Donmoyer, 2014; Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Shahidi et al., 2014). Eisner described connoisseurship as the art of appreciation and criticism is the art of disclosure. "If connoisseurship is the art of

appreciation, then criticism is the art of disclosure" (Donmoyer, 2014, p. 444, cites Eisner, 1985).

Eisner encouraged evaluators to be actively involved in qualitative methods to have better judgment and communicate accurate reports to schools or district management (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). Shahidi et al. (2014) highlight the critical nature of the Eisner model. Evaluators who adopt the Eisner model tend to "search critically" all aspects related to context and individuals such as curriculum, activities, and products. At the end of the process, evaluators are able to uncover unique and significant qualities of programs. The Connoisseurship and Criticism model was the premise for the development of art-based research methodology (Cahnmann-Taylor & Siegesmund, 2008).

2.6.6 Evaluation of Secondary History Curriculum in Developed Countries by Using Eisner's Connoisseurship and Criticism Frame.

The purpose of this study is to examine the history curriculum with the goal of proposing a new history curriculum within the context of Somali students in secondary schools. This part aims to evaluate the value of secondary history curricula in developed countries through critical review of ten of journal articles published between 2007 to 2018 to evaluate the worth and merit of history curricula of secondary schools in developed countries, including Finland, New Zealand, Australia, Israel, United Kingdom, and Australia.

Documents as secondary sources in qualitative research serve as an essential tool that facilitates researchers to discover new areas that can be addressed through interviewing or observations. Documents provide "historical, demographic, and sometimes personal information that is unavailable from other sources" (Glesne, 2011, p. 85). Archival materials are valuable sources of historical knowledge of research context, which enables qualitative researchers to explore certain phenomena (Glesne, 2011). Content analysis is "used to

analyse documents". The articles were selected to elicit knowledge and understanding of best practices to develop meritorious curriculum.

This is a developmental evaluation to determine characteristics of a meritorious history curriculum (Guba & Lincoln, 1979). Meriam (2009) recommends that content analysis should consist of systematic procedures; hence, the Eisner Connoisseurship and Criticism frame was adopted to provide a systematic review of published research. Eisner's Connoisseurship and Criticism Frame consists of four components: description, interpretation, evaluation, and it "yields "themes developed from particular case studies (Nordin & Wahlstrom 2019; Olivia, 2009; Özüdoğru; 2018; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Shahidi et al. 2014; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014).

2.7 Article Reviews

2.7.1 Article 1: Lofstrom (2014)

Lofstrom, J. (2014). How Finnish upper secondary students conceive transgenerational responsibility and historical reparations: implications for the history curriculum. *Journal of Curriculum Studies,* Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 515-539.

Description

Loftstrom (2014) believes the concept of historical responsibility and consciousness is not well developed in Finland, although there is a plenty of literature about it. In reality, the citizens are not aware of this concept, and little or no research has been conducted to explore historical consciousness. However, people have gained some idea of "transgenerational responsibility" since it has been discussed in literature which explores local community perceptions towards injustice "that their community has committed in the past".

Interpretation

144

Loftstrom (2014) asserts that no evidence of research been conducted to review the feasibility of historical reparation. Lofstrom critically examined secondary students' perception of historical consciousness and "historical reparation". The purpose of empirical research is to integrate the findings to reform Finnish national core curricula in basic education and in upper secondary school that would be implemented in 2016.

Loftstrom (2014, p. 516) defined historical consciousness as "the mental disposition in how people conceive of the interconnections between the past and the present and the future, how they explain historical processes, and how they invest the historical narrative with moral meanings".

1. Lofstrom formulated research questions as follows (p. 516):
2. What was the cause of what happened? Who was responsible?
3. Who is morally entitled to speak on behalf of the perpetrators and victims of past injustices? Do states and nations have historical continuity that carries historical moral responsibilities with it?
4. Can people of another historic period be judged with the moral standards of today? Can historians pronounce moral verdicts on people of the past?

Lofstrom adopted a multidisciplinary approach as his theoretical framework that stemmed from social sciences, history, and philosophy to address the overarching nature of historical reparation and historical consciousness that underpinned social culture which gives historical narrative a moral meaning.

Method

Lofstrom adopted a qualitative approach as the best to address research questions to explore student feelings and perceptions of the two concepts of historical responsibility and historical reparation. Qualitative research is mainly interested in understanding how people "make

sense of their world" and how this reality can be socially constructed (Merriam, 2009). Additionally, Glesne (2011) discusses the exploratory and descriptive nature of qualitative research whereby qualitative researchers aim to create opportunities to be engaged in social interaction in specific contexts to have in-depth understanding of social phenomena. Qualitative researchers focus on the context of specific settings where the social activities occurred. Long, in-depth interaction with participants in "one or several sites" provide qualitative research with rich description of the social phenomena (Fraenkel, Wallen, Hyun, 2015; Glesen, 2011).

 Lofstrom selected upper-secondary students from eight different schools to have focus group discussions. Lofstrom chose students who demonstrated controversial skills to enhance discussion and enrich the study. The purposive sample consisted of 14 to 53 students, male and female, with different scores. Lofstrom preferred focus group methods because of the sensitive topic. Also focus groups are recommended when the participants are at a "young age" between 17-19 years. Interview times lasted 45 to 70 minutes. A topic guide was used the discussions evolved from four questions: "Can historical injustices be repaired? Who can make historical reparations and to whom? What could be the best result from historical reparation? Why have institutional historical apologies proliferated recently? (Loftstrom, 2014, p. 125). These questions were discussed in the historical context of two cases. The first one was the Finnish Civil War in 1918, and the second case was the public apology of the Finnish Prime Minister to the Jews for expelling them from Finland during World War 2.

Topic guide questions represented key themes of historical consciousness such historical understanding, continuity and change, past and future, value, and "individual and collective responsibility".

Discussions were recorded and then transcribed and coded. Lofstrom states that students showed negative attitudes toward transgenerational moral responsibility and historical reparation. Students demonstrated difficulty in perceiving "historical reparations" in history classrooms. In addition, students denied responsibility and justified it saying that there was no rationale for why someone must hold moral responsibility for conflict that happened in the past, especially when the victims who should claim their right from preparators are not alive anymore. Based on this, students affirmed discontinuity between the past and present.

Evaluation

Loftstrom (2014) commented that Finnish core curriculum is well developed to emphasize the discipline knowledge where students were encouraged to use analysis skills on sources and obtain evidence from historical contexts. Lofstrom concluded that there is a mis-match between cultural history and upper secondary history curriculum (core curriculum).

Lofstrom attributed this to the drawback in curriculum content because of the absence of fundamental facts related to moral and political dimensions of conflict which were "sensitive", whereas historical knowledge promoted the legacies of colonization. Structured narratives of difficult past events inhibited students from developing historical consciousness. This was reflected in the difficulty students had in perceiving the meaning of historical responsibility. Furthermore, Lofstrom asserts that society perceives culture and history in one way and that social reality is absent in history curriculum.

Lofstrom asserts that in spite of the freedom of Finnish teachers to choose the topic and methods, poor content is the main obstacle for student's lack of improvement. Lofstrom asserts teaching "sensitive issues" is always neglected or ignored in terms of educational instruction and pedagogical practice, and even in classroom it lacks in-depth discussion.

Lofstrom, when conducting the qualitative research, did not mention that he had obtained ethical forms or consent of gate keepers. Evaluation needs to be ethical (Olivia, 2009), especially with sensitive issues like historical responsibility.

The researcher selected an appropriate qualitative approach and method of focus group discussions to address overarching themes of transgenerational responsibility and historical reparations. However, the researcher was not specific or precise about the process used to obtain Gatekeeper consent which undermined the validity of data which is drawback of the study.

Thematic step

The Lofstrom study yielded the theme of historical consciousness. Lofstrom argues the drawback of Finnish history curriculum of upper schools to develop change and continuity undermined students' ability to grasp the meaning of transgenerational responsibility. Most importantly students denied their responsibility towards victims. Lofstrom (2014) said this concept could be developed through developing curriculum content and teaching practices.

Lofstrom (2014) recommends that teachers encourage students through classroom discussions to be critical thinkers and reflect on moral and political aspects of history content and also to develop historical consciousness to have a better understanding of "social reality". Lofstrom also strongly recommends using an integrated approach which reinforces understanding "dark past". In anthropology, this includes looking at traditions, rituals, myths that support "social reality" and politics (Difficult history).

2.7.2   Article 2: Gil (2007)

Gil, I. (2007). Teaching the Shoah in History Classes in Israeli High Schools. *Israel Studies*, vol. 14 (2), pp. 2-24.

Description

The teaching of Shoah became a mandatory subject in the national school curriculum in 1980 as per the policy of the "Compulsory State Educational law". The teaching approach was more sentiment and promoted Shoah (Holocaust) as an essential part of "collective memory" to consolidate the national identity.

In 1999 and 2000, the government decided to change the approach towards teaching the topic of Shoah in secondary history curriculum to encourage students to acquire disciplinary skills.

Interpretation

The focus was to restructure and improve the Shoah content to be constructed as historical knowledge where the "disciplinary" skill and historical concepts had to be concurrently developed. This was a challenge for educators because of the dogmatic perspective of the content.

Gil (2007) examined whether Shoah was constructed as a historical discipline in the secondary history curriculum. Was it also in text books and was it emphasized in final assessments or not? For this purpose, Gil evaluated four main components (Gil, 2007, p. 5):

1. Armed resistance, steadfastness, ghettos, and the participants—these themes presented in the old curricula to promote national values. Gils examined how these themes integrated to the new curricula and were embedded in appropriate historical context.

2. Work, regional studies, and others, introduced as new themes of historical research.

3. Integration of Jewish history with general history including ideology.

4. Academic skills consisting of processes and content analysis.

For evaluation purposes, Gil divided the topic into two categories: subject matter and content, and historical skills.

Academic skill

For academic skill, Gils says the purpose of history in secondary schools is not just to gain knowledge, but also to learn subject discipline skills. Historical events should be taught as a meaningful process presented in narrative and not "chronology". Gils says that Shoah, presented in text books and "different programs" as a process, consisted of three "main stages"(Gil, 2007, p.18): Nazi activities against German Jews (1933-1939), the expulsions and ghettos in Eastern Europe(1939-1942), and the systematic destruction through the "final Solution" (1942-1945).

These processes have been presented differently in the narrative where the emphasis occurs on one stage. Breadth of content was inconsistent which made it difficult for students to comprehend the process.

Analysis skill, reinforced by availability of primary resources, underpinned historical research. Textbooks provided plenty of documents. However, students were not encouraged to incorporate reading and analysis of documents. Also, school exams barely highlighted documents.

"Aspect", academic skill books, critically engaged students by causing reflection on the process of Shoah as a "developmental approach", but summaries and exams presented Shoah as a set of historical facts.

Evaluation

Gil concluded there was a gap between "curricula and textbooks and teaching". Curricula and textbooks presented facts in historical context, while the new subjects of research and

discipline skill summaries and exams emphasized nationalist aims which were prominent in old curricula, such as the Steadfastness topic where the content describes daily life and struggle in the "ghettos". Exam main questions concentrated on the youth movement. Gill emphasized the importance of teacher training to deliver the message of any new or developed program.

In conclusion, Gil comments that new curriculum and text books lacked historical benchmarks and exams did not evaluate the discipline knowledge of history such as analysis skills which are important to understanding history. Pedagogical practices of teachers continued delivering sentiment and nationalist views which impeded the main objectives of curriculum.

Thematic

The theme yielded from the Shoah curriculum was traumatic events represented a dark and difficult history. Designing a difficult history narrative needs a historical approach to encourage historical understanding for students to learn the skills and knowledge of the discipline. Most importantly, the new content should emphasize historical criteria and evaluation needs to reflect expectations. Furthermore, teachers have to design appropriate classroom practices to deliver the objectives of curriculum.

2.7.3 Article 3: Ommering (2015)

Ommering, V. K. (2015). Formal history education in Lebanon: Crossroads of past conflicts and prospects for peace. *International Journal of Educational Development*, vol. 41, pp. 200-207.

Description

Ommering (2015) explores the relationship between history education and conflict and critically analysed the role of history education in peace building in the "protracted conflict" Lebanon.

Interpretation

Ommering conducted an ethnographic study which revealed that a formal education system is ineffective because of a "turn the page" approach of teaching. Vulnerable historic narratives undermined understanding of traumatic of violent conflict, where the legacy of civil war is left in the past, and poor curriculum content is dictated and interrelated by one dominant party, the of lack important historical episodes of the country, and conflict analysis. Teachers are deprived of the discussion of violence disputes, which, consequently, cause an obstacle for students achieving better outcomes. Most importantly, this approach overwhelmingly leads to the reoccurrence of conflict.

Evaluation

Ommering (2015) emphasized the political nature of history, which "is a cultural product of a particular time and place". Ommering asserts that political authority influences the curriculum content to ignore conflict, "political struggles for legitimacy and representation" (p. 202).

Further, the existence of several religions in Lebanon also significantly contributed to misconceptions and undermined the interpretation of historic events in history textbooks. Ommering (2015) gives an example of the extreme perspectives of Christians and Muslims to explain French presence in Lebanon. Christians because of their ties with France showed a "positive to neutral stance ", while Muslims considered this to be an "occupation "and the French were "invaders".

Thematic step

"Difficult history" is a challenging concept. Because type of its contentious contents, government dominates decisions of what is to be included and how it is to be developed in school curricula. Therefore, historic narrative either ignores it or illuminates it. Teachers are hesitant to tackle such issues and do not encourage student debate. The themes of difficult history have to be designed carefully along with appropriate teaching practices.

2.7.4   Article 4: Shreiner (2017)

Shreiner, T. (2017). Helping students use world historical knowledge to take a stand on a contemporary issue: The case of genocide. *The History Teacher*, vol. 50 (3).

Description

Shreiner (2017) states there is an increasing demand on schools to provide students with global citizenship education which enables students to begin understanding contemporary global issues. Schools are striving to develop appropriate curriculum and programs of global citizenship.

Interpretation

Shreiner selected the topic of genocide which is an overarching theme that overlaps with world history and "global citizenship education". Shriener designed a thematic unit based on "genocide" to be delivered separately from a world history curriculum.

Shreiner with the support of a history teacher designed a genocide unit within a world history curriculum. Shreiner and his colleague modified the unit based on continuous analysis of student work. Shreiner also presented an instructional unit to teach a difficult history. Due to complexity of the topic, Shreiner and colleague gave special attention to the selection of

content to cover both breadth and depth, where it is common in genocide literature to emphasize only breadth of the content.

Rationale

Shreiner believes that world history has the potential to provide students with global understanding when it's delivered with a global approach. Shreiner also comments that rich content with global concepts could provide opportunities for acquiring meaningful knowledge.

Goal of the Unit

Shreiner believes that students can utilise their historical understanding and concepts to develop global understanding. Student will extrapolate their knowledge of genocide to explore contemporary cases in present time.

Objectives

The objectives of the unit were:

1. Enables student to define genocide and distinguish genocide characteristics.
2. Identify genocide cases that happened in the past and present.
3. Analyse different narratives with respect to context, root causes of genocide, international intervention, and "historical antecedents.
4. Based on historical knowledge, students will critically analyse US current policy "toward genocide".

Scope

Scope of the content aimed to address depth of the phenomena rather than breadth. An instructional "Genocide" unit was designed to provide students with necessary skills. The designed unit revolved around two themes: systematic analysis and sustained reflection.

Assessment

Shreiner encouraged grade 10 students in US secondary schools to use their knowledge or historical knowledge of world history to reflect on "genocide" as a new phenomenon. Assessment was a critical assignment where students had to identify a country that was at risk of genocide and then write a report and recommend an intervention policy to the US. This was delivered for two years and delivered by two teachers.

Shreiner and a colleague made class observations and analysed students' work. They were able to identify drawbacks in student analyses of "past cases of genocide" which undermined their understanding of contemporary cases and, consequently, undermined student ability to present well-developed arguments on US policy.

Evaluation

Shreiner states the developed unit of Genocide successfully introduced concept formation which is essential to enable students to develop understanding of the core concept and then reflect or criticise it. However, Shreiner said this concept was formulated through a very narrow approach. Students work emphasized the overarching nature of the genocide concept.

Teaching genocide as an historical aspect of world history enabled students to identify the problem of genocide. However, students failed during the first year to develop the ability to compare between past and present cases of genocide, particularly the part related to cause and consequence.

The instructional unit enhanced students understanding of genocide; however, teachers have an essential role to guide the development of understanding main concepts of history.

Shreiner said the analyses of student work revealed the importance of "explicit instructions" to enable students develop the required skill of analysis.

Shreiner concludes that historical knowledge is very important for students to be able to tackle the complexity of genocide. In order to achieve such a goal, Shreiner recommends that history educators have to develop adequate instructional and effective strategies to enhance students historical knowledge which enables them to be "informed, competent, global citizens". It is important for teachers to play their role in lesson instructions, giving priority to historical concepts.

The process begins with selection of key concepts by forming concepts, then enabling students to explore selected concepts and identify overarching attributes. Developing historical narratives consists of putting events in the past and present together with adequate instructional methods. Students are encouraged to develop skills of debate, interpretation, change, and continuity which enables them to address contemporary issues related to genocide concepts as in the Shriener study.

2.7.5 Article 5: Rodewell (2017)

Rodewell, G. (2017). A national history curriculum, racism, a moral panic, and risk society theory. *Issues in Educational Research*, vol. 27 (2), p. 2017.

Description

The history curriculum in Australian education is highly politicised, based upon social panic in the aftermath the Cronulla riots on 11 December 2005 and other drivers for social change such as risk society. The policy makers decided to develop a national history curriculum. The Australian Curriculum: History (ACH) was proposed to address national and social needs. In this article, Rodwell (2017) examines ACH.

Interpretation

Rodewell states the Australian colonial government mandated education in all public schools since 19th century; therefore, the historical content of school programs was highly politicised. Rodewell described the "Cronulla race riots" in 2005 as a moral panic for Australian society (Rodewell, 2017. p. 366). After the Cronulla events, Prime Minster Howard and the Minster of Education who represented the conservative party proposed a new national history curriculum to emphasize Australian values. Assignment of writing the content was delegated to the Labour party. Consequently, ideologies of both governments strongly influenced writing of the new curriculum- which impacted or politicised the ACH narrative.

Rodwell (2017) critically analysed the theories underpinning ACH. Rodewell looked for oral panic theory (at work) and a risk society theory.

Moral Panic Theory

The race riots which occurred in 2005 were a challenge to cultural norms in Australia and provoked society or moral panic. This led politician and educators to focus attention on changing the curriculum to address social issues; however, Rodwell argues different ideologies dominated the new content.

Moral panic embraced two other factors: social class and youth perception. Rodwell affirms the relationship between moral panic and youth. This could refer to different factors such as youth at the transitional stage from "childhood and adulthood". At this age, youth are vulnerable to change or dramatic changes because of adolescence.

The second factor is social media which significantly influenced public opinion. In Australia, social media such as Facebook and Twitter contributed to the transmission of society panic and increased racism during the Cronulla race riots".

Risk-Society Theory

Risk society refers to how society responds to the risk of a moral panic. As in Australia, the event of the Cronulla riot drained society. As a response to minimise the effect of what happened in Australia, education reform was best made through the history curriculum due to the constructive role in teaching meaningful knowledge and national values to Australian youth.

Evaluation

Rodwell (2017) concluded that AHC was a product of risk-society theory to control the risk of moral panic of events like the Cronulla riot. However, the contents were highly politicised because this was not new in Australia. This was the approach of colonial governments who began mandating public schools in the 19th century. Two types of history were studied: the formal curriculum which been taught in compulsory schools and the informal one such as used in research papers.

Rodwell advocated the overarching nature of history as a discipline where historiography is the main source of knowledge, not politics. Rodewell strongly recommends educators and teachers teach history as an "academic discipline" with special skills and adopt appropriate instructional methods. Most importantly, they should elaborate on the political domain of historical content.

Thematic step

When a history curriculum is developed as a response of moral panic, the risk society could provide an appropriate theoretical framework; however, curriculum content needs to be underpinned by powerful knowledge of the discipline and necessary skills.

2.7.6 Article 6: Cutrara (2018)

Cutrara, S. (2018). The Settler Grammar of Canadian History Curriculum: Why Historical Thinking Is Unable to Respond to the TRC's Calls to Action. *Canadian Journal of Education*, vol. 41 (1), pp. 251-275.

Description

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) in 2015 in its efforts to reinforce reconciliation with the Aborigines, the indigenous people of Canada, aimed to transform the education system to include residential schools to share more of the Aboriginal experience to illuminate discrimination and colonialism (Cutrara, 2018)**.** Therefore, it developed and introduced a new history curriculum.

Interpretation

Cutrara (2018) states the TRC initiative was successful with English teachers, and in classrooms students interacted with the local languages of Inuit and Metis. Unlike history subjects which emphasized colonization and colonialism, teachers in residential schools adopted a "brush" approach to discussing different topics. They did not go into depth, but "brushed over" sensitive topics.

Teachers, in order to respond to TRC policy, had to decolonise historical content and tackle different issues of their difficult past. Using the traditional approach of teaching contested content was a real challenge for history teachers. Cutrara commented that since 2011, the historical thinking of Seixas as "structural organiser" dominated history curricula and promoted "settler grammar" which provoked disparity and division between Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian knowledge systems (p. 4)

"The historical thinking approach focuses on teaching students the skills to think and do like historians"—assess significance, interpret evidence, understand patterns of continuity and

change, think through cause and consequence, and appreciate the ethics of different perspectives. This approach began as a response to the "problem" of competing narratives in a complex world" (Cutrara, 2018, p. 4).

Cutrara evaluated the Canadian history curriculum and how the new curriculum could respond to TRC needs. Cutrara applied a framework of six benchmarks of historical thinking to examine the validity of indigenous epistemologies and history curriculum. The historical thinking framework consists of six components: historical significance, primary source evidence, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspective-taking, and ethical dimensions.

Cutrara evaluated the history curriculum that underpinned the Sexias (2012) framework of historical thinking and indigenous epistemologies for Marker (2011). Cutrara identified truth, respect, and relationality as three main criteria in comparative theoretical analysis. Cutrara formulated the following questions:

1. Where is the respect?
2. Where is the truth?
3. Where is the relationality needed for reconciliation?.

Colonialism content was delivered as appreciation of the past and colonial mentality. Cutrara said there was no room for critical thinking or need to investigate colonialism existence. Cutrara believes they emphasized discrimination and racism which were embedded in the curriculum and concluded that respect was absent from the content.

Truth is controversial and debatable since the truth is influenced by one's beliefs and perceptions. In the context of TRC's aim, the truth of Euro-Canadians differs from indigenous truth. Cutrara believes this is a very challenging point, whereas Seixas (2012)

uses the "Benchmark of Primary Source Evidence" to highlight settler narratives of truth over "indigenous epistemologies".

Cutrara advocates Marker's (2011) views of truth where Marker believes when listening to the past stories of the indigenous, it is not necessary for the material to be scary. Marker suggested that testimony "as truth" can be incorporated in "our" study of the past. This requires a different approach—to listen without judgment which this can enhance "respecting testimony" and will enhance reconciliation.

Relationality

Through the concept of cosmopolitan, Sexias (2012) argued that the aim of historical thinking is to provide students with necessary skills to face the future. The Indigenous epistemologies are "insular knowledge" that cannot make "any sense today". Cutrara argues that Sexias defined cosmopolitan "from above" which is the colonial perspective without any consideration of relational aspects which are the main features of the contemporary world or what known as relational. Cutrara agrees with Marker that indigenous epistemologies provide a better approach which is holistic to understand modern "reality". However, indigenous studies provided an opportunity to understand the past which can be "tenuous and tension-laden".

Evaluation

Cutrara concluded that indigenous epistemologies do not fit in Sexias historical thinking, while Marker (2011) asserts that the contradictory nature of indigenous and colonialism versions of the past is always dominant in history curriculum.

Cutrara (2018) criticised the framework of the history curriculum in Canada. The history content delivered in the classroom was far behind expectations and the objectives of historical thinking. There's no coherent of historical knowledge of past, present, and future

which undermines the reconciliation. Part of this is because the epistemological basis of history is to promote colonization because of the indigenous epistemology of their past and present. Cutrara says that historical thinking (structural historical thinking) increased the gap between Aborigines and non-Aborigines. In general, the six bench marks do not fit or serve the goals of TRC.

Thematic

Historical thinking needs to be adequately structured to reinforce reconciliation and truth to develop relationships between different ideas about the past, present, and future. "Reconciliation will require us to display "more openness, innovation, and willingness to take risks" in our study of the past (Cutara, 2018, cited Brownlie, 2009, p. 33).

2.7.7   Article 7: Ormond (2017)

Ormond, B. (2017). Curriculum decisions—the challenges of teacher autonomy over knowledge selection for history. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, vol. 49 (5), pp. 599-619.

Description

Ormond (2017) investigated educational phenomena in New Zealand. For the first time, secondary school history teachers were authorised to design a new history curriculum. This broke away from the national authorities always holding the decision of curriculum planning.

History was taught as a separate subject for secondary schools level 6-8 and, during the final three years of school, history was an optional subject. Curriculum objectives were formulated in broad terms consisting of a number of concepts such as "cause, consequence, perspectives, trends, contestability, and significance"(Ormond, 2017, p. 604). The content of the new curriculum will be critically selected, and organization of knowledge will be structured to emphasize historical thinking to develop students' skills of analysis.

Rationale (conceptual framework)

Ormond (2017) adopted the theoretical foundations of social realism as a base to explore the epistemological challenges of teachers in their role as curriculum designers to construct the knowledge or the content (historical knowledge).

Social realism recognises the social principles of knowledge. Knowledge is reliable and real despite the social context, "despite social origin". Ormond states that social realists strive to investigate different forms of knowledge that could address the needs of learners in their present and future lives. Social realists identify qualities or characteristics related to discipline knowledge such as history.

Ormond identified the concept of powerful knowledge that enables students to think out of the box, which is also known as theoretical knowledge.

Ormond stated that Young and Muller identified some characteristics of powerful knowledge such as: (1) constructed by specialists in the "academic community"; (2) emergent, which can be changed and re-interpreted; and (3) is both realistic and fallible as it is open to criticism and is contestable. History as a discipline fulfills criteria of powerful knowledge, and evolves through interpretation and critique. There is no absolute truth. Truth has different interpretations of reality, so it is more objective than subjective. These epistemological debates are the foundation of history curriculum. This is an important point for teachers who became curriculum makers. The misunderstanding of this epistemological foundation might undermine the selection of knowledge, which will prevent teachers from delivering powerful knowledge.

Ormond (2017) stated that history as a school subject "has the potential to deliver powerful knowledge". This depends on two factors: rigorous knowledge and appropriate pedagogic practices. Ormond emphasized two concepts of Bernstein's (2000) the Official Re-

contextualizing Field (ORF). It relates to the way the subject is introduced in official policy documents and the Pedagogic Re-contextualizing Field (PRF) refers to the teacher practices needed to deliver the content in the classroom.

Ormond identified different forms of knowledge that contributed to powerful knowledge of history such as substantive knowledge of time, and place which enables students to develop an understanding of historical context, ideas, and actions of the past. The second type is knowledge of concepts such as continuity, change, cause, and consequence. The third type is knowledge of procedures and examining primary resources. All these forms of knowledge and processes contribute to structuring a framework of historical thinking that supports discipline knowledge to encourage student interpretations of history and enables them to gain understanding of contestability.

Ormond highlights that teachers were challenged to identify the main purpose of the curriculum, content or knowledge, and assessment.

Ormond emphasized more issues related to knowledge or contents such as breadth and depth, "overview" or "in-depth" selection, and the "inter-connection between the two". Ormond advocates that teachers to be clear on rationale which will lead them to determine breadth and depth of knowledge. Broad knowledge always is preferable as it provides information needed to enhance student skills of analysis and interpretation.

Methodology

Ormond (2017, p. 606) conducted qualitative research to address the question of "What are the challenges for teachers in their selections of knowledge for secondary history programs". Ormond conducted semi-structured interviews and documents analysis of national curricula and assessment to gain better understanding of knowledge expectations and curriculum outcomes. For the interviews, participants were selected via purposive sampling consisting of

six teachers who were either heads of department or experienced teachers. All of teachers were working in Auckland, one of the biggest cities in New Zealand. The teachers were asked about their foundation of curriculum development. He avoided asking leading questions such as about difficulties that teachers encountered in decision-making relevant to knowledge.

Qualitative data transcripts were coded for analysis and teachers had the chance to check transcripts for accuracy. Then data were coded into three main categories: (1) challenge to select historical knowledge which can fit in assessment "requirement" and guidelines, and content related to substantive knowledge; (2) Depth and breadth of historical context and concerns undermining curriculum coherence; and (3) development of a history curriculum which retains student interest.

Findings reveal that teachers advocated freedom in selecting knowledge for the secondary program, but in practice this was a very challenging task. They prefer to have specificity to manage teaching.

For internal assessment that assesses performance based on two standards, the first one is cause and consequence, and the second one is "significant historical events". Teachers commented that internal assessment was managed efficiently, but teachers were challenged to meet the external assessment as teachers had no control over selecting historical context that fit both standards. Hence, there was contradiction between teacher selections and external examiner content which would undermine students' performance.

Teachers acknowledged difficulty with balancing breadth and depth of knowledge selection because of the national framework which encouraged a broad understanding of historical thinking concepts. Substantive knowledge underpinning cause and consequence requires broad historical context to encourage analytical skill; however, narrow topics are preferable

in examinations. Teachers highlight this issue which keeps them from meeting the expectations of a broad framework.

Teachers commented on the difficulty of holding students' attention in selected knowledge because the topics of such knowledge was excluded from assessment. Students always prefer to be engaged in lessons that might be included on exams as students form correlations between lessons and exam credit. In other words, if the teacher has selected an historical context for interpretation, but this topic will not be in exam, students will not be motivated to participate.

Evaluation

The teachers in New Zealand delivered powerful knowledge of history curriculum; however, the contradiction between substantive and procedural knowledge, and the balance between breadth and depth undermined the worth of the new curriculum.

Thematic

Knowledge of discipline is known as "powerful knowledge" and consists of substantive and procedural knowledge.

2.7.8 Article 8: Harris & Burn (2016)

Harris, R. & Burn, K. (2016). English history teachers' view on what substantive content young people should be taught. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, vol. 48 (4), pp. 518-546.

Description

Harris and Burn (2016) examined the gap between policy-makers and school teachers. Teacher voices were almost always absent in any curriculum development of history in the UK, such as the proposed change of national history curriculum by the Coalition government. Harris and Burn examined the proposed curriculum based on several curriculum models.

Interpretation

Harris and Burn (2017) stated that knowledge is at the core of curriculum. Selection of appropriate substantive knowledge is fundamental to engage students in the learning process. For history, the type of delivered knowledge is debatable because of contentious contents. Harris and Burn highlighted the dilemma to identify history as a "body of knowledge or as discipline of knowledge". In 2013, the Coalition government in the UK proposed a new history curriculum consisting of a set of topics which discussed events and individuals. Content was expected to be delivered chronologically and systematically. Teachers opposed the new program because of the limited nature of the scope and sequence of substantive content.

The new curriculum theoretical framework underpinned the Young and Muller model. This model summarises the fundamental principles needed to construct a curriculum. There are three bases which are known as "Future 1", "Future 2", and "Future 3".

Future 1: revolves around the main principles. Precise knowledge is at the "core of the model" which Young calls the "knowledge of the powerful". Young criticised these models that underpinned the "draft curriculum proposal of 2013" as they did not challenge the status quo and failed to provide students with meaningful knowledge. This model adopted a cultural approach rather than an educational approach that is an essential of school history.

Future 2: deals with learning methods or how the child learns new knowledge to develop critical skills. The focus of the model is on practice or method, and little attention is given to the purposes of gaining knowledge or making use of what has been learnt.

Future 3: are social realism models based on the assumption or belief that knowledge is socially constructed, which gives students powerful historical knowledge.

Harris and Burn (2016) refer to the powerful nature of historical knowledge as historical thinking that provides students with the ability to read and interpret past events and reflect on the future which provides the opportunity for human development which characterises history as a discipline.

Studying change and continuity enables students to draw or connect between the past and present. However, Harris and Burn (2016) advocate using a "usable" framework of historical knowledge to achieve the preceding goals and purposes. Using a framework is important to encourage students to develop historical consciousness, to make sense to understand what happened in the past, and to "see future action".

The issue in selecting a framework is how it teaches a "coherent, chronological narrative" (p. 525). This "intuitive" approach enhances students' ability to develop sequential understanding of past events. This is an ineffective approach. Students develop better understanding by "comparing people, events, and periods to certain references points" (Barton, 2009).

Methodology

Harris and Burn (2016, p. 528) formulated two research questions to investigate teacher perceptions toward proposed history curriculum:

1. What do their reactions to the proposed prescribed content knowledge reveal about teachers' views about what young people should be taught?

2. What do teachers' reactions reveal about their understanding of the nature and purpose of history?

Harris and Burn (2016) in 2013 were assigned by the Historical Association in the UK to conduct quantitative research. An online survey was sent (Likert scale) to all history teachers in the UK. The majority of questions covered different aspects of teaching history. A specific question asked teachers to give their opinions about the proposed curriculum. 544 history teachers participated by answering the electronic survey.

The data revealed that teachers were not satisfied with the specific knowledge and content in proposed history curriculum; the epistemological knowledge was derived from Young and Muller's "Future 1" model which demonstrates a political ideology.

Teachers also commented that the theoretical framework of the proposed curriculum lacked clarity, whereas a broad framework would enhance student learning and understanding of the modern world which requires including more geographical topics, which was not feasible. Harris and Burn (2016) argued that teachers focused more on context, not on concept.

Evaluation

Harris and Burn (2016) concluded that several factors undermined the value of the proposed history curriculum. History teachers rejected the proposed history curriculum; also, teachers did not have the robust knowledge to develop an appropriate theoretical framework for a history curriculum. The teachers were challenged by the content of the curriculum that lacked a rigorous framework which kept them from delivering meaningful knowledge to students. Teachers' theoretical understanding was a mixture of "Future 2" to develop curriculum

content which would enhance historical thinking, and "Future 3" which emphasized a disciplinary approach.

Teachers perceived their role in the proposed curriculum was to serve the more generic aims of education than encourage students to develop historical understanding.

Thematic

The theoretical framework underpinning Muller's (3) model advocated that knowledge is socially constructed and is fundamental to teaching history as a discipline of knowledge.

2.7.9   Article 9: Harris & Ormond (2018)

Harris, R. & Ormond, B. (2018). Historical knowledge in a knowledge economy—what types of knowledge matter? *Educational Review*, pp. 2-17.

Description

Harris and Ormond (2018) argued the new trend of "knowledge economy" and the policy of using curriculum reform objectives to emphasize competences and skills. The argument of Harris and Ormond (2018) was based on lack of clarity on the nature of the knowledge that needed to be delivered; also, this could not be generalised in all disciplines as history curriculum that could contribute to society through powerful disciplinary knowledge and coherent framework.

Interpretation

Harris and Ormond (2018) differentiated between two kinds of historical knowledge— substantive and disciplinary knowledge. Substantive knowledge outlines events, people, and ideas, and consists of substantive first-order concepts such as nationalism which enables learners to develop rationales to connect "different historical periods and places".

Disciplinary knowledge has two dimensions; the first one is procedural and the second one is conceptual. Procedural thinking is about critical thinking. It defines the process of development and interpretation to "construct arguments". Conceptual dimension is based on "second-order" concepts such as a cause, consequence, change and continuity, which suggest different ways in which history can be thought about and ordered.

So, the focus today is on disciplinary knowledge, procedural thinking, second-order history concepts, and "understanding how history is constructed".

Harris and Ormond (2018) conducted a comparative qualitative study to explore teacher perceptions towards new policy and the future plans to implement principles of the knowledge economy in a history curriculum. This process was difficult because of different contexts and policies in England and New Zealand.

Participants were teachers who were heads of department in England, a convenience sample consisting of 11 teachers in two southern schools. In New Zealand, a purposive sample consisted of teachers who worked as HOD or teachers who had experience with curriculum designing. Participants were selected from different schools in Auckland.

Researchers obtained ethical approvals from universities to conduct semi-structured interviews. Then researchers obtained informed consent from participants and agreements to record the interview sessions. Transcripts of all interviews were shared with teachers for validation.

The participants were asked different questions. In New Zealand, teachers were asked about their selection of content and topics and how they were delivered in the classroom. Participants in England were asked about criteria for their "program of choice". Researchers also collected additional documents such as scheme of work.

Data revealed that teachers advocated disciplinary knowledge; however, more attention was given to second order concepts during implementation. The knowledge, also, was not designed in a constructive way in the curriculum and was not comprehensive; it lacked a coherent framework which impeded history from contributing to the knowledge economy.

Evaluation

The authors concluded that history, with "its interpretative elements and disciplinary strengths, combined with the potential to develop a usable framework of knowledge". The authors, however, found that teachers were not fully aware of "disciplinary knowledge and appropriate frameworks", and that curriculum change should have teachers on board and they should be provided with essential background.

Thematic

Disciplinary knowledge is important to deliver history education that can contribute to the knowledge economy. Harris and Ormond (2018) commented that history education should develop student skills to investigate the past and present to "inform future thinking".

2.7.10 Article 10: Harris & Reynolds (2018)

Harris, R. & Reynolds, R. (2018). Exploring teachers' curriculum decision making: Insights from history education. *Oxford Review of Education*, vol. 44 (2), pp. 139-155.

Description

A new history curriculum was introduced which covers the "key periods" or main events (main focus on teaching British history); however, teachers have the freedom to choose specific content. In "free schools" which are funded by the government, teachers have more freedom in organizing the content even if it is not in the national curriculum. History teachers in these schools are decision makers of curriculum content.

Harris and Reynolds (2018) investigated "teachers' decision making" by evaluating history topics that 11 teachers selected in 10 schools in England. Harris and Reynolds also examined teaching approaches to deliver selected topics.

Interpretation

Emphasizing the important role of teachers, Harris and Reynolds described teachers as facilitators of "enacted curriculum". Despite this importance, little or no attention has been given to how teachers deal with different activities related to curriculum such as type of content, methods, and teaching practices. Moreover, Harris and Reynolds assert that "understanding teachers' decision making" helps to improve professional development programs and classroom practices (pedagogical). Most importantly, it guides policy related to "teacher education".

Epistemological Foundation

Harris and Reynolds (2018) identify three epistemological issues relating to history education or history curriculum: (1) history as a form of knowledge, (2) specific content that is considered significant, and (3) usability of specific content (p. 141).

Forms of Knowledge

The main epistemological issues in history are the form of knowledge related to the ontology question "what is the knowledge", and what subject knowledge can be developed.

Young and Muller (2010) believe the aim of education is to prepare students for the future and, by this, identified educational future 1, future 2, and future 3. The future 1 model aims to focus or deliver substantive knowledge and existing knowledge delivered by a master. Students in this model are able to master the body of knowledge and develop cultural literacy or collective memory.

Future 2 focuses on methods of teaching and learning, as in how students learn, and competences and generic skills "unrelated to specific knowledge". Development of students is subject to the experience they gain. Both future 1 and future 2 were criticised as a basis or foundation of history curriculum because of the imposed "prescribed version of the past". Students do not have time to interpret the past and, consequently, understand the reality. However, Harris and Reynolds (2018) strongly advocate the future 3 model because it supports disciplinary knowledge as powerful knowledge. Students are actively involved in constructing knowledge which underlies using concepts of the second order to explain or interpret the past such as cause and consequence, change and continuity.

Powerful knowledge has been criticised as difficult knowledge. Despite this, powerful knowledge provides students with an understanding of "social worlds".

Choosing Content that Is Seen as Significant

Harris and Reynolds (2018) found there to be no clarity of "body of substantive knowledge". To some teachers this content could be determined by curriculum goals. Harris and Reynolds argue that few research studies have been conducted to examine what teachers would like to teach.

Content and Its "Usability"

Harris and Reynolds (2018) highlight relevancy as the main challenge of history education. Today's students perceive no connection between curriculum content and their daily lives. This has been identified as a common issue. This is addressed by providing a clear framework of knowledge to enhance students' ability to build connections between past, present, and future which Harris and Reynolds described as "usable".

Coherence is fundamental for a usable framework. Another challenge is the different opinions about how to determine scale and nature. This could be chronological or thematic.

Research Aim

Harris and Reynolds (2018, p. 143) intended to explore the perceptions of history teachers towards the selection of topics in the history curriculum. Harris and Reynolds introduced three main questions:

1. To what extent do these teachers explicitly teach history as a disciplinary form of knowledge?
2. What substantive content do they choose to include in what they teach?
3. What approaches to developing a substantive framework of knowledge do these teachers adopt?

Methodology

Sampling

Harris and Reynolds adopted a qualitative approach to developing an in-depth understanding of teacher perceptions. Harris and Reynolds used purposive and convenience sampling. History teachers who worked as heads of history departments in "state-maintained" schools were selected via convenience or availability sampling to reach teachers in the south provinces.

The invite was sent to 100 heads of schools, and only 11 teachers from 10 different schools agreed to participate. All interviews were conducted on university premises, and researchers obtained ethical approval from the university and the British Educational Research Association (BERA). Informed consent forms were signed by participants and agreements were obtained to record all interviews.

Two qualitative methods were used for data collection. The first one was document analysis of schemes of work for teachers, consisting of lesson planning that covered substantive

content, objective, duration of time, and recommended activities and resources. Schemes were for KS3 where the history subject is compulsory.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 11 teachers for half an hour. Teachers were asked to identify the reasons of selection the topics, whether there was any priority and whether there were any changes to topic during last three or four years. If yes, what was the reason?

Data Analysis

Schemes were "coded deductively" to answer questions 1 and 3. Harris and Reynolds borrowed concepts of substantive knowledge and second-order. If the scheme consisted of an indicator of second-order such as cause, evidence, or change, it was coded as a "disciplinary approach", where contents demonstrated substantive knowledge. The researchers also used content analysis to address question no 2. To ensure validity of data, researchers adopted a "comparative approach" to cross check generated codes from one transcript and test the new one.

Findings

Q1: To what extent do these history teachers explicitly teach history as a disciplinary form of knowledge?

Harris and Reynolds' analysis showed that there was explicit evidence that teachers had adopted a disciplinary approach to teach history. They focused on substantive knowledge and process or the second order concept of causes and consequences. Historical interpretation was absent from teachers' scheme.

Q2: What substantive content do these teachers choose to include in what they teach?

There was close agreement among teachers on the type of topics they chose to teach. In fact, the topics all focused on British history. Some teachers acknowledged that world history is almost absent from the curriculum.

Q3: What approaches to developing a substantive framework of knowledge do these teachers adopt?

The majority of teachers adopted a chronological approach and less focus on an overarching thematic framework. It was more in-depth studies than breadth.

Evaluation

The new history curriculum focused on the "analytical structure of history as a discipline" as change, continuity, and causation. However, little attention to process of the past was established.

Thematic

Powerful knowledge is a process to understand how knowledge or truth is constructed. Schools shared the same content or topics; however, schools were widely different in the time spent on each topic. The content tackled English history with very limited content on world history which undermined coherence of the curriculum.

Construction of content was based on a chronological overview which impeded students' in-depth understanding of the past. Harris and Reynolds (2018) commented that the curriculum lacked a robust framework of knowledge.

2.8   Emerging themes from the review of relevant literature

A number of features emerged from the review of relevant literature on the history education in a number of countries. One of the significant aspect that emerged from the critical review is the openness of mind to engage in critical analysis. For instance, Loftstrom (2014) noted

that a multidisciplinary approach would be effective in developing historical consciousness among students and assign moral connotations to the narratives that can enrich the understanding of the historical events, sequential developments or change, and inculcate the value of collective responsibility. According to Gil (2007) such a sense of collective responsibility and memory creates the foundation for national identity and citizenship.

Moreover, the review suggested that mere presentation of facts and events would not be adequate. What is required is developing critical analytical ability among the students that can provide them a nuanced understanding of the events and develop their original perspective from evaluation. This is one of the positive contribution of history education that can hep in reducing violence in conflict-affected societies. However, Ommering (2015) reflected that such identity formation can be impeded by poor curriculum content that may be dictated by the dominant political party looking to satisfy vested self-interest. Such biased content can imbue negative feeling among the youngsters and contribute towards perpetration of conflict and violence in the society. Rodewell (2017) similarly revealed about the highly politicised nature of history curriculum in Australian History Curriculum (AHC) led to continuation of race riots that also required to bring in a change in the curriculum for addressing the social issues. In order to control such social tensions, education or in particular history curriculum was viewed as one of the effective medium. Thus the author emphasized teaching history as an academic discipline with appropriate instructional methods and provide the students with necessary skills and knowledge.

Teacher's participation in the curriculum design and their teaching method emerged as another significant aspect of history education. For instance, Ormond (2017) who studied history education in New Zealand reflected that teachers face challenges in understanding the core purpose of the curriculum, content, and assessment. Moreover, when the content of the

study is not related to the assessment, it becomes difficult to motivate children to participate in the teaching.

In addition, from the review it is also clear that the national framework and the schools' internal assessment process need to be aligned so that it covers the holistic understanding of the historical contexts and facilitates development of conceptual understanding among the children. In order to achieve this, it is important that the teachers are included in the history curriculum design (Harris and Burn, 2016). The authors also noted that teachers also need to be aware of the teaching methods and present the content in a sequential manner to enhance students' understanding of the chronological ordering of historic events (Harris and Reynolds, 2018). Another notable aspect that is pointed out by Harris and Burn (2016) is that the teachers are focused more on the context rather than on the concepts that lacked a robust theoretical approach in teaching history. Thus, Harris and Ormond (2018) also suggested using disciplinary knowledge and coherent framework to impart knowledge in any discipline. According to the authors, disciplinary knowledge is important to deliver history education that can contribute to the knowledge economy.

Thus, from the above synthesis, it can be stated that in Somalia a number of aspects is relevant. For instance, it has been noted that schools in post-conflict Somalia lack a national uniform curriculum and school textbooks (Qasim, 2013) and learning materials were collected from different resources to fill the shortage of learning resources (Hussein, 2015). Thus, while developing the national curriculum it would be important to involve the teacher to better align the national education framework with the school system. In addition, teachers are also required to provide proper training to adopt suitable teaching methods in imparting knowledge among studets. Although existing literature did not clearly highlight the history education in Somalia, it can be stated that the development of a national framework can provide a strong foundation. In addition, it has been observed that the textbooks and teaching

materials are mostly imported from other regions. This indicate one of the significant challenge as it may not reflect the conflicts, violence during the pre-colonial era faced by the country and thus nullifies the purpose of history education. Thus, these has to be written internally so that it clearly presents the facts and knowledge about the history of the land. Barakat et al. (2014) also emphasized on peacebuilding eduction that has been also found in the article written by Ommering (2015). Such form of education is directed towards conflict resolution and citizenship building that would help Somalia to overcome conflicts and violences. Moreover, training of the teachers is another significant aspect that can help them equip with suitable teaching methods and techniques to instill critical thinking, conceptual understanding, and historical event analysis.

2.9 Summary

The above reviews shed light on secondary history curriculum in developed nations such as Finland, Israel, Lebanon, the United States of America, Canada, United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand. The aim of this review was to judge the merit and value of history curricula to extrapolate effective practices for developing history curriculum in Somalia's curriculum (Cutrara, 2018; Harris & Burn, 2016; Harris & Ormond, 2018; Harris & Reynolds; 2018; Ormond, 2017; Rodewell, 2017; Shreiner, 2017).

Eisner's theoretical frame was used for evaluation of secondary history curricula. The Criticism Model encompasses: (1) description: evaluators narrate the educational organization and curriculum; (2) interpretation: evaluators discuss and explain the finding to stakeholders; this can promote through interpretation of educational experience, to explain the program based on epistemological theoretical—to social theory—foundation to make relevant meaning or meaningful knowledge; (3) evaluation: analysis of "new programs to determine educational value and evaluation where Eisner asserts that evaluators should give special attention to worth and value of educational programs; (4) thematic: deduce unfolding

themes; evaluator needs to indicate any overarching theme yielded from evaluation and characterises the educational program. (Donmoyer, 2014; Olivia, 2009; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009; Shahidi et al., 2014).

Evaluation also yielded overarching themes consisting of concepts such as difficult history (Gil, 2007; Ommering, 2015), powerful knowledge (Rodewell, 2017; Ormond, 2017; Harris & Reynolds, 2018); historical consciousness (Loftstrom, 2014); historical knowledge (Shreiner, 2017); and skill of historical thinking (Cutrara, 2018). There was agreement on the importance of powerful knowledge in history curriculum, also on the concepts of historical thinking, the "big six" that consisted of: (1) historical significance, (2) primary source, (3) continuity and change, (4) cause and consequence, (5) historical perspective, and (6) historical interpretation (Cutrara, 2018; Harris & Reynolds, 2018).

In conclusion, the secondary review supports the importance of conducting empirical research for curriculum design using the qualitative approach. Qualitative research is mainly interested in understanding how people "make sense of their world" and how this reality can be socially constructed (Merriam, 2009). Also, qualitative approach provides in-depth understanding of the context which consequently informs decisions of curriculum design to provide students with meaningful knowledge that is relevant to the real-world, whereas quantitative approaches do not reveal the reality in the real-world. Quantitative data do not explore all aspects of educational experience.

Semi-structured interviews and focus groups with students and teachers were key methods to obtain the empirical data. Content analysis (document analysis) was also used. Eisner's criticism model can be used effectively to judge the merit and worth of educational programs. An interpretation step provides preliminary epistemological foundations. The traditional approach of history education constrained delivering meaningful knowledge to students.

Meritorious history curriculum should deliver powerful knowledge of history whereas knowledge, content, and relevancy were identified as key challenges in curriculum (Cutrara, 2018; Harris & Burn, 2016; Harris & Ormond, 2018; Harris & Reynolds; 2018; Ormond, 2017; Rodewell,, 2017; Shreiner, 2017). Yielded themes can enhance the designing of instructional methods to improve learning.

Smith (2011) advocates using a "thematic focus on the teaching of history". Given this, an interdisciplinary history curriculum is proposed to address the overarching nature of history.

2.10 Conclusion

Developmental evaluation examined the merits of different history curricula, which identified the format of history curriculum structure as process, theoretical frame work, content, and analytical structure which underlie the worth of curriculum and, most importantly, the development of relevant and coherent curriculum (Cutrara, 2018; Harris & Burn, 2016; Harris & Ormond, 2018; Harris & Reynolds; 2018; Ormond, 2017; Rodewell, 2017; Shreiner, 2017).

Evaluation also yielded overarching themes consisting of concepts such as difficult history (Gil, 2007; Ommering, 2015), powerful knowledge (Rodewell, 2017; Ormond, 2017; Harris & Reynolds, 2018); historical consciousness (Loftstrom, 2014); historical knowledge (Shreiner, 2017); and skill of historical thinking (Cutrara, 2018). There was agreement on the importance of powerful knowledge in history curriculum, also on the concepts of historical thinking, the "big six" that consisted of: (1) historical significance, (2) primary source, (3) continuity and change, (4) cause and consequence, (5) historical perspective, and (6) historical interpretation (Cutrara, 2018; Harris & Reynolds, 2018).

Meritorious history curriculum should deliver powerful knowledge of history whereas knowledge, content, and relevancy were identified as key challenges in curriculum (Cutrara,

2018; Harris & Burn, 2016; Harris & Ormond, 2018; Harris & Reynolds; 2018; Ormond, 2017; Rodewell,, 2017; Shreiner, 2017). The traditional approach of history education constrained delivering meaningful knowledge to students. Smith (2011) advocates using a thematic focus on the teaching of history. Given this, an interdisciplinary history curriculum is proposed to address the overarching nature of history.

2.11 Theoretical Framework

In post-conflict contexts, primary and secondary education are the target groups for international intervention (Burde et al., 2017). Further, formal and hidden curriculum might strongly contribute to triggering conflict by communicating values and beliefs that influence intergroup relationships as well as teacher actions and attitudes in the classroom (Burde et al., 2017).

Curriculum design is a rigorous method to bridge the gap between theory and practice (Sullivan, 1983). Wiles and Bondi (2011) commented that curriculum definitions and purposes of education were constantly reviewed and developed; however, curriculum design was static. This could be referred to as the nature of curriculum development as a practice which is always dominated by theory (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

Burde et al. (2017) conducted an educational study to investigate the relationship between theory and research in conflict societies. Burde et al. examined the theoretical framework that shaped the relationship between education and conflict and the underlying assumptions. Their research reveals that curriculum content fuels conflict by promoting in-group prejudice and stereotypes, and does not tackle the relationship between social conflict and education.

Burde et al. (2017) highlighted the problem between theory and practice in post conflict nations in that the school curriculum does not address inter-group relationships which is the root cause of conflict.

The field of curriculum involves making use of both theoretical and practical knowledge. Theoretical knowledge entails "the most advanced views within a field". Theory is important for curriculum development which presents the rationale underpinning the framework which enables practitioners and researchers involved in curriculum change to analyse data, emphasize concepts and principles, and propose "new ideas" and relationships (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009, p. 19). Most importantly, theory determines the best actions to be taken. Curriculum theory involves "decisions about the use of a curriculum, curriculum designs, and curriculum evaluation". Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) state that good practice demonstrates good theory.

Curriculum design is not a linear process but "evolves as one action or choice that leads to another". Ornstein and Hunkins (2009) recommended that practitioners must encourage integrating theory to have a systematic approach and to design effective practices such as methods, skills, and instructional procedures. Practitioners also should think out of the box to gain a reflective perspective to design best practices. This is not feasible without collaboration and effective communication between practitioners and theoreticians (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

As far as history education is concerned, there is limited research on history curriculum in post conflict societies. There is no clarity in theories that underpin history curricula or evaluation criteria (Naylor, 2015). Van der Leeuw-Roord (2009) affirms that "Writing perfect history curricula is an impossible mission: there are simply too many requirements to fulfil; so many desires have to be combined that reality and theory are often separated by a wide fissure" (p. 89).

In context of post war Somalia where little is known about the phenomenon under study, existing theories do not seem to provide the answer to their "political and national crisis"

(Hohne, 2006). Therefore, it is important to develop a theoretical framework to address different dimensions of intergroup relationships.

For purpose of the study, a multidisciplinary approach was adopted to reveal the complexity of the group, intergroup identity phenomenon in Somalia. A multidisciplinary approach is a type of study or research that draws from two or more disciplines in order to gain a more well-developed perspective, or discover something new "which enables" societal change at different levels, as intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergroup relationships" (Tinker, 2016).

A multidisciplinary approach consists of three theories. The first one is social identity theory. The purpose is to explore the various aspects of social interaction among groups, such as identity and prejudice. Second is intergroup emotional theory. The purpose is to examine the ambiguous nature of attitude. Intergroup Emotional theory (IET) explains antagonistic emotions toward out-group members. One of most influential models is the multicomponent model, which examines attitude consisting of three components: cognitive, affective, and behaviour.

The third theory is the learning theory of constructivism. Piaget's learning theory is also known as classical developmental theory. According to Piaget, children go through different stages of growth as they develop their cognitive structure. Children constantly change their form of knowledge through social interaction through a number of processes. The child is an active individual who constructs "internal structure via a reflexive process" (Case, 1993).

2.11.1 Social Identity Theory

Tajfel states that an individual identifies himself to consent to group norms and engrained beliefs. This results in ingroup favouritism. The cognitive aspect of self-categorization enables an individual to "view himself as a group member rather than as a unique individual. " Furthermore, "individuals acquire a social identity by belonging to different groups. The

need for a positive evaluation of themselves requires them to establish comparisons between groups favourable to their own" (Valentim, 2010, p. 587). Given this, self-categorization underlies two principles: (1) individual consent among groups and (2) associated intergroup behaviour and action (Valentim, 2010; Eagly, & Fine, 2010). Similarly, Sinclair and Lun (2010) found that exposure to social influence for long periods shapes an individual's attitude and behaviour.

Harris and Findley (2014) state that while an individual categorises himself with a group, he develops emotional relationships toward in-group members to the extent where he develops pride of in-group and antagonism toward out-group; consequently, individuals associate positive attitudes towards in-group and negative ones toward out-group such as prejudice and hatred. Prejudice is defined as "antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization; it may be felt or expressed" (Mackie & Hamilton, 2014, cited Alport, 1954, p. 10). Prejudice, according to a dual process model, distinguishes two categories: explicit prejudice is "flexible, labile, motivated, and intelligently sensitive to situational cues. It is on a conscious level, and more likely according to social desirability" (Devine & Monteith, 1999, p. 862). Implicit prejudice is at an unconscious level, and is a result of direct association with norms and beliefs of social realms (Hardin & Henry, 2006).

Both prejudice types are influenced by intergroup relationships (Lowery et al., 2001); however, implicit prejudice might be impermeable and difficult to change. Also, "implicit prejudice may have some flexibility; however, different situations in a culture of intergroup conflict and prejudice may well "call out different implicit attitudes". Lun and Sinclair (2010) interpreted ethnic prejudice and stereotyping phenomena through Sheriff and Sheriff's perspective of intergroup attitudes and behaviour theory, which suggests "the individual's directive attitudes, which define and regulate his behaviour to other persons, other groups,

and to an important extent even to himself, are formed in relation to the values and norms of his reference groups" (Lun & Sinclair, 2010; Sheriff & Sheriff, 1953, p.167).

On one hand, individuals seek to be identified socially and have "inner presentation"; therefore, they strive to adhere to the group traditional system consisting of norms and beliefs . On the other hand, if they develop ethnic prejudice toward out-group members, this could be implicit or explicit in attitude and behaviour. Lun and Sinclair (2010) believe that people tend to manage biases of ingrained prejudice in attitude or manner that are "socially appropriate".

Sinclair and Lun (2010) believe that intergroup members share norms and beliefs such as social reality, and develop their attitudes and behaviour accordingly. This is known as a "dyadic approach", which reinforce the self-categorization theory that has evolved from "consensus among groups". They believe that individuals within same social culture develop "consensus among groups", where members interact "dyadically", tending to imitate each other .

Prejudice theories stress the negative attitude of prejudice where attitude itself is a controversial concept. Zanna and Rempel (1988, p. 319) defined attitude as "the categorization of a stimulus object along an evaluative dimension". Mackie & Hamilton (2014) advocated affective and cognitive as main concepts of analytical framework to uncover the complexity of intergroup processes, including the multiple aspects of social interaction, such as prejudice and stereotypes.

SI was used to understand the complexity of the phenomenon in Somalia and to gain a better understanding of nature of the context to enable developing relevant and meaningful knowledge/curriculum development. The theoretical understanding provided understanding of group identity formation among the students in Somalia and thus understand secondary

school students' attitudes towards national identity, which is the third objective of the research.

2.11.2 Intergroup Emotional Theory

Contemporary theorists introduced several models to examine the ambiguous nature of attitudes. Intergroup Emotional theory (IET) explains antagonistic emotions towards out-group members. One of most influential models is the multicomponent model which views attitudes as consisting of three components: cognitive, affective, and behaviour. Maio and Haddock (2009) consider this model as a taxi CAB. This metaphor determines the importance of these components to explain the nature of attitudes.
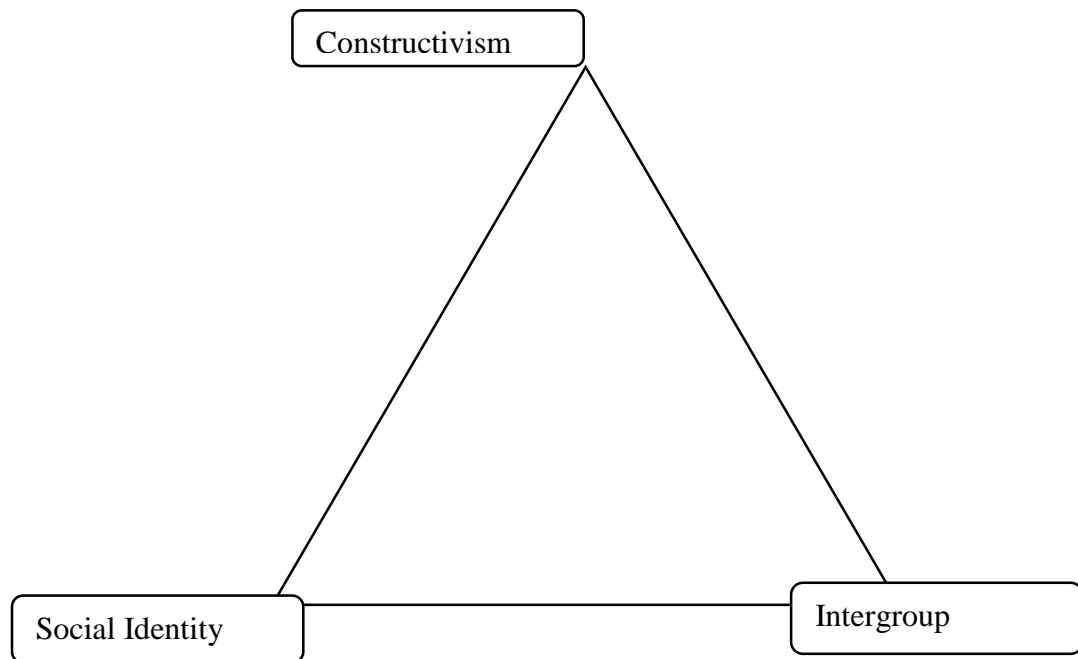
Figure 1: The Theoretical Framework (Multidisciplinary Approach)

The cognitive component refers to thoughts and beliefs, while the affective component refers to "feelings or emotions associated with an attitude object" (Maio & Haddock, 2009). These components do not function in isolation, but have "synergistic" relationships, which means positive beliefs consequently have positive affective effects and behaviours. Most attitude studies emphasize both cognitive and affective component.

Given this, emotions are defined as "including appraisals or appreciations, patterned physiological processes, action tendencies, subjective feelings, expressions and instrumental behaviours" (Mackie & Hamilton, 2014, cited Fischer, Shaver, & Cornichon, 1990, p. 85).

Individuals explicitly develop emotions which categorise identity to groups. This emotion significantly influences intergroup relationships and behaviours, known as "structural emotions" (Eagly & Fine, 2010, cited Kemper, 1977]). This sheds light on emotion as an essential component in societal interaction and how emotions influence identity formation.

Attitude (affective dimension) and its influence on emotions is explained by Intergroup Emotional Theory (IET). "When social identification is salient, the out-group appraisal engenders distinct emotions of antagonism". Glick, P. and Fiske (2007) believed that affect is an important mediator that influences attitudes such as ethnic prejudice. Affective and cognitive components inform attitude strength. Maio and Haddock (2009) debated the influence of strong attitude versus weak attitude. Strong attitude is characterised by four key aspects: (1) strong attitude is more stable over time, (2) strong attitude is rigorous and is difficult to change, (3) "Strong attitudes are more likely to influence information processing" (p. 42), and (4) strong attitude significantly influences behaviour.

As far as attitude functions are concerned, several models have been developed to explain attitude functions (Maio & Haddock, 2009, cited Smith et al., 1956) found that attitude has three main functions: (1) object-appraisal is the attitude ability to interpret positive and negative attributes of objects in social setting; (2) externalization, here attitude function is used to protect the individual's self-esteem against ego conflict; and (3) social-adjustment, where attitude function enables association with group members whom we like and avoidance of people whom we do not like. Given this, individuals explicitly develop emotions which categorise identity and membership in groups. This emotion strongly

influences intergroup relationships and behaviour and are known as "structural emotions" (Eagly, & Fine, 2010, cited Kemper, 1977). This means that individuals not only categorise themselves as members of the in-group but also "react emotionally when situations or events affect the in-group".

Mackie and Hamilton (2014) believe there are four aspects of inter-group relationships where cognition and emotions intertwine: (1) social categorization, (2) action of others, (3) characteristics of contact settings, and (4) discussion of the affective consequences of stereotype activation.

Cognitive and emotional aspects related to self-categorization and formation of group identity such as prejudice, stereotyping, and bias, were the focus of scholars over the years, not because of its complexity but because of the negative effects on intergroup relations which caused intergroup conflict (Eagly & Fine, 2010).

Rogers, Schroder, and Scholl (2013) proposed a "stereotype content model (SCM)" to study the complexity of these phenomena. SCM measures two dimensions: warmth (do others have good intentions) and competence (are they capable of carrying out their intentions). According to this model, in-groups have positive emotions toward in-group members, while the extreme opposite toward out-groups. The intergroup relationships lie at extreme ends. Accordingly, group members organise their emotions and behavioural response which could be active, passive, or harmful, such as bias attitude, which consists of three components: cognitive, affective (emotional prejudice), and behavioural (stereotype) (Rogers, Schroder, & Scholl, 2013).

In this case, bias attitude is located at the extreme ends of group attitude. These are key factors of social group categorization and later organise behavioural and emotional responses. (Cuddy, Glick & Fisk, 2007, p. 631).

In addition, such competition not only happens between different ethnic groups, but also might occur within a single ethnic group where there is competition for resources or power (Beyene, Hussein, 2015). Strong ethnic identity is a key factor in "causing or prolonging war" (Harris & Findley, 2014). This theoretical model has also been useful in addressing the complexity of the context of Somalia and understand how the ethnic identity is formed through emotional dynamics of the students. It helped in gaining clarification of inter-group relationships, formation of group identity, social stereotypes, and group attitudes that helped in assessing the national identity formation among the Students in Somalia.

2.11.3 Constructivism

Constructivist schools rely strongly on the foundational philosophy and psychological research primarily done by John Dewey, Jerome Bruner, Lev Vygotsky, and Jean Piaget (Case, 1993; Miranda, 2011; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). Constructivism works as an approach of knowledge and theory of learning, not of teaching (Case, 1993; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

Allen (2008) states that Piaget was a Swiss "philosopher and psychologist"; also, Piaget was "was widely known as the father of constructivism". Allen says that Piaget "developed his theory as a disagreement with empiricist and nativist schools of thought. This evolved from epistemological debates between the two schools of empiricist and nativist schools.

The empiricists believe that knowledge is build up through time, an "accumulation of knowledge". Nativists assume that a child is born with a core of ideas which represent the basis of knowledge. Piaget took a moderate position and assumed acquisition of knowledge took place in the middle and called it constructivism (Allen, 2008). Piaget strongly believed the child is capable to learn through a continuous process of "self-construction" which becomes more prominent as the child grows.

Piaget's learning theory is also known as classical developmental theory. According to Piaget, children pass through different stages of growth, developing cognitive structure. Children constantly change their form of knowledge through social interaction through a number of processes, where the child is an active individual who constructs an "internal structure via a reflexive process"(Case, 1993).

Abbott and Ryan (1999) stated that constructivists believe that learning is active and each child constructs his own knowledge of the world to create his own system where he connects new experience and facts, "understanding in a subjective way that binds the individual into rational and meaningful relationships to the wider world".

Learning in constructivism is a "personal process" and is subjective, not objective. Abbott and Ryan (1999, p. 69) concluded that "constructivism is not only an open-ended form of learning; it is essentially about reality, connectivity, and search for purpose". In constructivism, the learner is a key person who generates knowledge and is actively involved in learning and thinking processes (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

A student does not take what he learns for granted, but questions and reflects to construct knowledge. Most importantly, a student links what he knows, "existing knowledge", to real life (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). Ornstein and Hunkins (2009, p. 129) comment that learning occurs when a student becomes fully aware of different cognitive processes such as "structuring, inventing, and employing" where he learns use obtained knowledge which is known as metacognition. As students develop understanding and perception, then students use this knowledge as a means to interact with the world and then use their experience to interpret different concepts of context through the cognitive process.

Piaget promotes environmental experience that motivates the child to integrate the knowledge that he learned from new experience to the ones that already exist. Piaget called this stage

"assimilation". The teacher is a facilitator that encourages students to build knowledge. However, there are other processes besides assimilation that take place when students encounter complex situations (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). Miranda (2011) advocates constructivism because of the outcomes and "desirable results" that are rarely found in traditional schools. Constructivism gives special attention to processes and different views of interpreting the world. Most importantly, it encourages learners to develop problem-solving skills.

Furthermore, constructivism as an instructional design approach is strongly influenced by other theories of cognitive psychology (Allen, 2008; Miranda, 2011; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). Various pedagogical methods have adopted the constructivist approach such as discovery learning, inquiry-based learning, and problem-based learning. In all these types, the common thread is that the student has an active role and the teacher's role is just a facilitator (Allen, 2008; Miranda, 2011).

Allen (2008) states that learning in constructivism uses a hands-on approach. Students learn the concept before action and a well-designed activity enables students to gain the knowledge.

Inquiry-based learning is based on complex problems which have different solutions. Students have to work on complex problems and reach solutions in different ways. The complex problem triggers or drives student learning.

Complex problems are also known as ill-structured problems. This problem could be represented through case study or "scenario"; this activity has to be preceded with sufficient information about the problem. This is instructionally incorporated. When learners have the pre-requisite knowledge, they can then apply prior knowledge and skill to a "proposed situation to formulate a plausible solution".

Allen (2006) contended that critical thinking skills are a fundamental "component" of instruction designed in constructivism, such as discovery learning, problem-based learning, inquiry-based learning. In constructivist learning activities, students are encouraged to "question" information that he receives (Allen, 2006). When students reach a conclusion, they have to re-examine their belief system which influenced them to reach such a conclusion. Then learners need to compare between "what they believe to be true versus what is actually observed. If they are in conflict, the learner is forced to rethink the problem".

Constructivisim has been used in this study to provide students with problem solving and critical analysis to tackle the real life issues and challenges. Most importantly, it informed appropriate teaching practices for teaching history as integrated thematic model. This helped the researcher to make recommendations for development of a new secondary history curriculum.

2.11.4 Philosophy of History Curriculum (progressivism)

In curriculum design, it is important to have a philosophy or "a clear set of assumptions that will guide decision making". Most importantly the philosophy needs to respond to social forces in a post-conflict country that embraces a policy of development and improvement of curriculum to address the transition from conflict to peace or to address the change of society from peace to conflict (Wiles and Bondi, 2011; Olivia, 2009). Olivia (2009) stated that a curriculum philosophy is a statement setting forth beliefs about the purposes of history education, society, and the roles of teachers and learners (Olivia, 2009).

Ernest et al. (2016) emphasized the rationale of a philosophy is derived from social context and individual interactions. Both of these components influence aims and determine curriculum values such as national identity. Ernest et al. (2016) introduced two questions relating to philosophy: "Why does philosophy matter" and "Why does theory in general

matter". First, because it helps to structure research and inquiries in an intelligent and well-grounded way and second it offers a secure basis for knowledge.

Ernest et al. (2016) believed analysis of a philosophy of history instruction should address five main questions:

1. What is history?
2. How does history relate to society?
3. What is learning (history)?
4. What is teaching (history)?
5. What is the form of knowledge in history education?

Ernest et al. (2016) asserts the importance of addressing the questions in the curriculum. Failure to address one of the key questions will undermine the holistic approach by "promoting a particular philosophical position" and will not serve the advance of knowledge.

Experimentalism, sometimes called progressivism, arrived in the United States early in the 20th century and has been reinforced by human development studies" (Wiles & Bondi, 2011). Experimentalists believe that reality or truth is constructed and objective. Goodness and value are determined by society. Wiles and Bondi (2011) state experimentalists embrace changes and strive to solve problems by finding different ways.

Progressivists were opponents of: (1) authoritarian teaching, (2) textbooks as the only source of knowledge, (3) rote learning by drill and repetition, and (4) separation of education from social life and reality (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2009).

Progressivists believe that education should be focused on the "whole student", their needs and abilities. It is a learner-centered approach where students are encouraged to construct their own knowledge by methods of inquiry and skills of critical thinking. Students are

encouraged to gain skill and civic responsibility to contribute to "a democratic society" (Ryan, 2008; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

School to an experimentalist is a dynamic place where teachers and students are involved actively in structuring learning activities. The teacher is facilitator of discovery learning, and students construct knowledge and acquire problem-solving skills (Wiles & Bondi, 2011; Ryan, 2008; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009).

Progressivism distinguished itself from the other three philosophies by the special focus or emphasis on students in teaching and learning (Wiles & Bondi, 2011). This theoretical framework has been useful in developing recommendations for development of a new secondary history curriculum and address the third research objective.

2.12 Interdisciplinary History Curriculum

Curriculum integration is not a new notion since it was discussed by educational theorists such as Dewey and Kilpartic in the 20th century (Loepp, 1999). Wiles and Bondi (2011, p. 153) consider integrated curricula to be "content-rich and skill-rich". Kysilka (1998) states that integrated curriculum is highly advocated in the United States and has been used to resolve school issues. Pountney and McPhail (2017) confirm interdisciplinary education is not a new "phenomenon" or approach as it emerged in the 20th century because of its ability to enhance students' learning and knowledge from two or more disciplines.

Loepp (1999) commented that broad knowledge influenced school subjects which functioned in isolation and, subsequently, impeded meaningful knowledge. However, in interdisciplinary curriculum, content covers or "cuts across subject matter and around real life". Interdisciplinary learning provides consistency of content that contributes to the relevancy of content. Interdisciplinary curricula enable students to investigate and explore "different

196

aspects of their environment" which empowers students to understand the complexity of different phenomena (Wiles & Bondi, 2011).

Loepp (1999) distinguishes curriculum integration from interdisciplinary curriculum. Loepp defines integrated curriculum as content that is constructed or derived from different disciplines. Loepp emphasizes that context needs to be precisely defined to maintain the boundaries of subject-matter or discipline. Loepp defines interdisciplinary as a holistic approach, "that applies methodology from more than one discipline to examine a central theme". This interdisciplinary approach emphasizes different relationships between and among disciplines. Most importantly, Loepp comments that curriculum design is an innovation to resolve a problem. Hence, "interdisciplinary curriculum should only be used to face the problems of fragmentation, relevance, and growth of knowledge".

Loepp comments that regardless different definitions, integrated or interdisciplinary curriculum has to give special attention to curriculum goals which demonstrates the rationale of "educational choices" to provide students with skills to resolve real world problems that are relevant to their lives and environment. Interdisciplinary curricula have the potential to engage students in answering an ontology of knowledge and can be delivered in schools.

Holley (2017) affirms that interdisciplinary research and programs are widely recognised and appreciated. Such approaches are known as creative and resilient and can be adopted to address social and economic needs. The nature of interdisciplinary processes enables teachers to use knowledge derived from different disciplines to deliver knowledge in unique and creative ways.

Loepp (1999) affirms that educational research demonstrates that integrated curriculum significantly contributes to an increase in "intellectual curiosity", improved student attitudes, and, most importantly, motivates students when they are involved in problem solving. Holley

(2017) states that people involved in the "process of interdisciplinarity learning" develop knowledge in different disciplines which is the source of integrated content such as ideas and concepts. Holley asserts that to achieve interdisciplinarity outcomes, it is important to carefully select integration models between various disciplines to have significance of content. Most importantly, Holley states that interdisciplinary understanding occurs when knowledge is constructed from integrated disciplines which enhance the relevancy of the curriculum, unlike traditional curriculum.

Despite this importance, little attention has been given to the challenges of developing an interdisciplinary curriculum or learning experience (Holley, 2017). Kysilka (1998) state that despite the importance of integrated curriculum, there is a debate on the meaning of integrated curriculum and how it can be established in a school curriculum. Loepp (1999) comments that interdisciplinary curriculum is a challenge for scholars who strive to merge theory and practice. Wraga (1997) explains there is a need for interdisciplinary curriculum to reflect problems of the real world. Wraga adds the decision of different patterns and interrelationship among different disciplines is made to reflect different dimensions of social phenomena.

Wraga (1997) highlights the controversial debates between separate subject disciplines and practices as interdisciplinary patterns evolve from theory, where there is mismatch between theory and practice. Wraga said this issue was identified by educational societies at the end of the 19th century. Wraga says that curriculum theorists' approaches in the "last two decades" have isolated theory from the fields of curriculum and school practice which is puts interdisciplinary curriculum at risk of not delivering meaningful knowledge. Wraga assures that theorists must keep school practice in the forefront of curriculum theory to deliver constructive knowledge.

Pountney and McPhail (2017, p. 169) find that methodological issues occur when curriculum developers integrate concepts from different disciplines to enhance student learning. However, how far interdisciplinary instruction can enrich learning process depends on two concepts which can be identified as the methodological issues of "language of description" and "robust concepts".

Pountney and McPhail (2017) state that the "call" for interdisciplinary approaches are based on Moore's (2011) work for "radical change" and "apocalyptic ontology" in education to prepare students for future challenges. According to Moore, this new knowledge is feasible through process "rather than content"; hence, the focus turns to competent generic skills, "meta-skills", which are essential for a knowledge economy. Curriculum continuum is determined by three factors: (1) the role of discipline (subject matter) in organization of the content, (2) the role of processes (thinking about the curriculum), and (3) teacher and learner roles "in developing and carrying out the curriculum" (Kysilka, 1998). Pountney and McPhail (2017) emphasize that integrative needs have to be identified early in the process of designing interdisciplinary curriculum. Pountney and McPhail adopted "concepts of knowledge structures and language of description to theorise a continuum of approaches to curriculum integration".

Pountney and McPhail (2017) confirm that the integrative needs of interdisciplinary curriculum had a significant impact on curriculum continuum in two aspects. The first is the structure of epistemology and the second is "synthesis of disciplinary concepts". This curriculum continuum has two ends: first is "functional integration" and "principled integration" is the second. Pountney and McPhail state selection of integration type depends on the sort of knowledge that influences the curriculum.

2.13 Curriculum Integration and Powerful Knowledge of History

Bouwmans and Beneker (2018) explored powerful geographical knowledge in an integrated curriculum in Netherlands schools. First, Bouwmans and Beneker investigated Bernstein's (1975) explanation of curriculum to clarify the practice of integration. Bernstein identified a curriculum collection code and an integrated code. The curriculum collection code retained the context or boundaries of the subject while the integrated code paid little attention to subject matter. Bernstein introduced the term of "classification" to demonstrate the strength of the boundary between disciplines, as in collection code the classification is strong, whereas in an integrated code the boundaries are almost absent which demonstrates weak collection. When classification is strong, the emphasis is on depth of knowledge, while in an integrated code, the content is shared between teachers and each one can teach content derived from other disciplines.

Bouwmans and Beneker (2018) and Loepp (1999) state that Fogarty (1991) introduced ten models of integration that describe integration from full to little implementation. Five of these models described integration between two or more disciplines, while the other described "integration within single disciplines and integration within single disciplines and integration within and across learners" (p. 446).

Sequenced models are characterised by little integration and strong focus on a subject matter discipline; there is isolation of knowledge and skills. In a shared model, integration has more space than a sequenced model and knowledge and skills are linked between two disciplines; however, boundaries of disciplines are clearly demonstrated. In webbed models, also known thematic models, the focus is on overarching themes across the curriculum, and broad knowledge is critical to tackling the issue from different perspectives and disciplines. Threaded models underpin big themes or big ideas such as thinking skills. Integrated

curricula construct knowledge from different disciplines which focus on overlapping skills and concepts to develop a coherent curriculum (Bouwmans & Beneker, 2018).

(Bouwmans & Beneker, 2018 cited Young & Muller, 2010). Young argued that knowledge is widely ignored in policy documents and policy "debates". Young claims that content of integrated curricula threaten the coherence of curriculum because little subject matter is included. Furthermore, Young and Muller advocate powerful knowledge that provides student with critical skills and empowers them with knowledge they can use to participate in social and political debates. Bouwmans and Beneker advocated powerful knowledge for Young and Muller (2010); however, focusing on subject matter curriculum or one type of knowledge undermined or impeded relationships between other disciplines' "knowledge". Therefore, it is important to give special attention to the "meaning and consequences of dominance of one type of knowledge".

Social realists strive to discover or explore the correct knowledge that enables students to acquire high order knowledge to understand the present and future. This is known as powerful knowledge or theoretical knowledge (Harris & Ormond, 2018; Harris & Reynolds, 2018). Social realism is derived from the sociology of knowledge (Ormond, 2017). In principle, social realism asserts the social nature of knowledge. Social realists believe that ontology or truth is socially constructed and has different interpretations. This epistemological stand distinguishes social realists from the postmodern school of thought.

Theoretical knowledge should be academic and well-structured content; "elusive" is subject to multiple interpretations, and "realist and fallible as it is open to criticism and is contestable". Consequently, the content of the discipline of history which fulfils the requirement of powerful knowledge has the potential for different interpretations and critiques which make the ontology, "truth", objective and absolute (Ormond, 2017).

Ormond (2017) points out that a disciplinary approach to history has the potential to deliver powerful knowledge depending on the selection of rigorous content and well-designed pedagogic practices. Ormond emphasized convergence between academic and pedagogy in terms of Bernstein's (2000) the Official Re-contextualizing Field (ORF). It relates to the way the subject is introduced in official policy documents and the Pedagogic Re-contextualizing Field (PRF) refers to the teacher practices used to deliver the content in the classroom.

Harris and Reynolds (2018) assert the importance of developing curriculum that provides opportunities for learners to gain experience and knowledge. In history education, the main debate is on type of knowledge that should be delivered to students (Harris & Ormond, 2018; Harris & Reynolds, 2018; Ormond, 2017) and process of learning, how students should learn, acquiring substantive knowledge as "culture capital", and designing a progression of disciplinary understanding of history "which implies a familiarity with and capacity to use subject-specific concepts that structure knowledge and an understanding of how claims to knowledge are constructed" (Harris & Ormond, 2018; Harris & Reynolds, 2018; Ormond, 2017).

Harris and Reynolds (2018, p. 141) highlighted two issues related to history education, the first one is "history as form of knowledge", and second is curriculum content that can be described as significant. For subject knowledge, Harris and Reynolds referred to Young and Muller (2010) who distinguished three educational futures. Future 1 aims to present substantive knowledge which are incontrovertible subjects. It is a substantive model that works as a means to develop student cultural literacy or what is known as collective memory that essentially develops national identity. This approach helps to have a single common version of the past which enhances the knowledge of individuals and events that are "historically significant".

Future 2 is related to how students learn and focuses on generic skills development at the "expense" of "specific knowledge". Due to advanced technology which makes knowledge accessible to everyone and in any place, this has made learning flexible and requires less presence of teachers (Harris & Ormond, 2018). Hence, the challenge has become how learners will get the benefits of acquired knowledge; hence, generic competencies enable students to deal with knowledge.

Future 1 and future 2 models, known also as generic approaches, were challenged to be foundations of history curriculum because of assumptions which underlie historical narratives of the past that cannot be revisited or criticised (Harris & Ormond, 2018; Harris & Reynolds, 2018). The future 3 model advocates powerful knowledge that is discipline oriented, which encourages students to become involved in constructing knowledge and reflecting on it through a thinking process (Harris & Ormond, 2018; Harris & Reynolds, 2018). Harris and Reynolds confirm this approach is more appropriate to history since it emphasizes history and the "body and form of knowledge" which enhances historical thinking underpinned by strong disciplinary concepts that explain the nature of the past such as cause and consequence, change and continuity.

Despite the importance of using a disciplinary approach in history, there is argument whether learning history is useful for learners or not. Harris and Ormond (2018) comment that students could not make use of their historical knowledge nor could they relate it to their social reality. Harris and Ormond (2018) affirm that historical knowledge has to be relevant to students' daily lives by allowing young learners to establish continuity and change which enables them to make connections between the past and present (Harris & Ormond, 2018).

Harris and Ormond (2018) introduced the concept of historical consciousness that enables historical knowledge to be useful for learners to understand the past and its connection to the

present and how it has the potential to inform decisions of the future. Four approaches are used to tackle historical consciousness. The first two are "exemplary" and "traditional" (p. 6) and emphasize sentiments and morals towards events of the past and cultural rituals as symbols of collective memory. Critical and generic models applied critical approaches to investigate the prescribed version of the past.

Harris and Ormond (2018, p. 6) and Harris and Reynolds (2018) stress the importance of developing a coherent framework. Harris and Reynolds (2018) points to different opinions about the nature of the framework which needs "to be developed", but they consider scale and nature. Scale shows the quantity of history and indicates geographical spaces that need to be included, such as "chronological narratives of the national past". The Shemilt (2009) framework consists of four essential themes, including "modes of production, political and social organization, growth and movement of people, and culture and praxis" (Harris & Ormond, 2018; Harris & Reynolds, 2018).

As far as nature is concerned, Harris and Reynolds (2018) explain that to determine a framework, two questions have to be asked: Is it chronological or thematic? Is it related to historical narrative as an object or instrument of teaching? Harris and Reynolds affirm this is debatable.

Harris and Ormond (2018, p. 6) and Harris and Reynolds (2018) advocate that any framework needs to provide students with a "big picture" of the past to make use of historical knowledge.

Chapter 4: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher discusses the study approach and methodology such as site, participants' selection, instruments and methods of data collection, data analysis, and ethical consideration. The purpose is to examine the current history curriculum in Somalia with the aim to propose a new history curriculum for secondary schools within the context of Somalia.

Design and development methodology was adopted for empirical study. Van Den Akker (1999) pointed out that the main aim of Design and Development Research (DDR) is to help the developer cope with the challenges of the complex process of change including problems which are ill-defined and the uncertainty about the effectiveness of proposed interventions.

Educational design research (EDR) aims at development of intervention or practice as a viable solution to "complex problems" in real contexts (Alias, 2015; Ben-Horin et al., 2017; Joseph, 2004; Van Den Akker, 1999). Developmental research with mixed method was used. ISSP questionnaire was applied in the quantitative part, and semi-structured "open-ended" questions were used in the qualitative part. The overarching question of "What is the current history curriculum in Somalia" was explored through four sub-questions:

1. What is the status of history curriculum of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa?

2. What are educator perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum?

3. How do secondary students perceive national identity?

4. Can a new history curriculum of secondary school be developed? Are there any specific characteristics required to make it relevant for the Somali context?

3.2 Theoretical Underpinning

As highlighted in the review of literature, there are unmet needs in curriculum development in post-conflict societies. Paulson (2007) affirms that conflict theorists ignore the relationship between education and conflict despite "a broad space for inquiry". Paulson also identifies the miss-match among policy, research, and practices in conflict or post-conflict eras. Paulson attributes this to the absence of a solid theoretical framework and rigorous theoretical understanding in the domain of education and conflict which has a negative impact on implementation of policies in societies affected by conflict. Burde et al. (2017) also criticised theoretical frameworks underlying educational intervention which serve "beneficiaries of these programs or demonstrate political power which informs decision-making of educational policies in post-conflict".

Burde et al. (2017) assert the importance of having a genuine theoretical paradigm design to address real-life issues such as group interpersonal relationships in post-conflict contexts. The limited amount of research done on post-conflict situations has contributed to the scarcity of data and has left decision-makers with no "strong evidence" of what should be addressed in an emergency context. Also, the majority of available research has been conducted by outsiders, "foreigners" unfamiliar with local contexts. As far as history education is concerned, there is limited research on history curriculum in post conflict societies.

This could be true in the post-conflict context of Somalia. The problem of Somalia is ill-defined in literature, and there is a little research on curriculum development to address root causes of conflict (Hussain, 2015). In the context of post-war Somalia where little is known about the phenomena under study, existing theories and knowledge strove to provide an answer to their "political and national crisis". The main purpose of this study is to examine the current history curriculum in Somalia with the aim to propose a new history curriculum for secondary schools within the context of Somalia. Empirical research is strongly

recommended in post-conflict contexts to examine the validity of assumptions of educational policies and practices in the field (Burde et al., 2017; Paulson, 2007; Rappleye & Paulson, 2007).

A multidisciplinary approach is a type of study or research that draws from two or more disciplines in order to gain a more well-developed perspective or discover something new "which enables" societal change at different levels such as intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergroup relationships" (Tinker, 2016). A multidisciplinary theoretical framework is strongly recommended to address intergroup relationships in post-war Somalia.

Despite their importance, traditional research using quantitative methods such as correlational tests and surveys do not have the capacity to provide rigorous solutions to complex problems in post-conflict situations because of "descriptive knowledge" that offers little or no information (Van Den Akker, 1999). Most importantly, traditional research is rarely effective when adopting a multidisciplinary framework because of limited "narrow views" (Van Den Akker, 1999).

Educational design research (EDR) aims at development of intervention or practice as a viable solution to "complex problems" in real contexts (Alias, 2015; Ben-Horin et al., 2017; Joseph, 2004; Van Den Akker, 1999). EDR provides an empirical research to investigate the problem in real-context and, consequently, provides better theoretical understanding of the problem which reflects on developed practice (Alias, 2015; Ben-Horin et al., 2017; Joseph, 2004; Van Den Akker, 1999). Design and development research (DDR) is "action-oriented, interventionist-orientated, participant-centered, and collaborative" (Alias, 2012; Van Den Akker, 1999). Collaborative work between researchers and "participants" is a prominent characteristic of EDR whereas the aim is to enhance the design through addressing practice and theory issues in different activities/processes of the research (Alias, 2012). Ben-Horin et

al. (2017, p. 5) strongly advocates EDR as a framework and research methodology. This could be referred to the iterative nature of EDR which can be considered an important aspect of the research (Alias, 2012). Ben-Horin et al. (2017, p. 5) describes EDR "as a vehicle for innovation in educational practices".

Van Den Akker (1999) points out that the main aim of Design and Development Research (DDR) is to help the developer cope with the challenges of the complex process of change including problems which are ill-defined and there is uncertainty about the effectiveness of proposed interventions. Van Den Akker describes development research as "a problem-oriented, interdisciplinary research methodology". Alias (2015) says that (DDR) is "theory driven" which means that any proposed intervention should be underpinned by a multidisciplinary framework resulting from the syntheses of a number of theories and grounded in rigorous analyses.

Gunaydin and Karamete (2016) strongly emphasized the systematic character of DDR and identified design and development and evaluation as key processes (Gunaydin & Karamete, 2016). Alias (2015) distinguished DDR from traditional approaches by designing interventions that underpin the construction of the theory from the beginning of process until the end of it. This is generated to resolve local conflict.

Van Den Akker (1999) and Vrasidasa and Solomouh (2013) used development research as an umbrella term consisting of design and development research. Van Den Akker (1999) says that development research enables researchers to combine more than one approach and most importantly allows researchers to fill the gap between theory and practice (of curriculum). Development research, therefore, enables the researcher to adopt an evolutionary and iterative approach to tackle complex problems. Similarly, Tracey (2009) advocates DDR to

bridge the gap between theory and practice where DDR is "practical to test theory and validate practice".

3.3 Formative Research / Developmental Research

Van Den Akker (1999) interchangeably used DDR and development research. Formative research is type of development research that encompasses several research activities conducted during an "entire" development of specific educational interventions. This consists of exploratory studies that can be either formative or summative. The goal of these activities is to enhance the quality of the product or "intervention" and/or to evaluate the "design principle."

In the field of curriculum, formative research is conducted for two purposes. The first one is to inform decisions relating to the development process of a product (prototypical) to enhance quality of developed product (Van Den Akker, 1999), and the second one is to provide the researcher or developer with methodological guidance for development and evaluation. Formative evaluation consists of the iterative processes of analysis, design, evaluation, and revision. Iteration could be cyclic or spiral. Revision activities repeatedly occur until sufficient balance is reached between expected and actual outcomes (Van Den Akker, 1999).

Developmental formative research consisted of four main activities: (1) preliminary research or "investigation"; (2) integrated to theoretical framework; (3) empirical research; and (4) systematic documentation, "analysis and reflection on process and outcomes" (Cronje, 2013; Van Den Akker, 1999).

Preliminary research is a type of research that the researcher conducted to analyse the situation through a "literature survey". The designer conducts this research with the aim of identifying user needs.

After completing the previous step, the designer looks for theories or a theoretical framework which provides the rationale for educational intervention as a proposed resolution. Empirical testing is done to gauge the feasibility and effectiveness of the proposed intervention Systematic documentation, analysis, and reflection on process and outcomes provide insight to developers about effective practices to improve the developed product.

The main purpose of this study is to examine the current history curriculum in Somalia with the aim to propose a new history curriculum for secondary schools within the context of Somalia. For the purpose of this study, formative evaluation of the current history curriculum was conducted to judge the merit and worth of the curriculum to extrapolate effective practices and to identify characteristics of a meritorious curriculum.

Van Den Akker (1999) emphasized theoretical embedding and empirical research as key activities in formative evaluation. For the aim of this study, preliminary research and in-depth analysis of the socio-political context of Somalia is included to provide richness of information and "productive" knowledge. To achieve this aim, formative research consisted of three main activities: (1) preliminary research, (2) theoretical embedding, (2) empirical research.

3.3.1   Preliminary Research

Preliminary research offers critical analysis of different aspects of the socio-political context of Somalia during different historical periods. Pre-colonialization, post-independence, Ogaden war, pre-collapse, and post-collapse. Analysis of different historical events identified the users' needs. Synthesis significantly contributed to insight on the development of a history curriculum.

3.3.2 Theoretical Embedding

Eisner's Connoisseurship and Criticism Model was adopted as a theoretical framework for curriculum evaluation. "It qualitatively describes history" curriculum and educational activities, and obtains educators' perceptions and opinions about the history curriculum of secondary schools. This framework consists of the four steps of "description, interpretation, evaluation, and themes" (Nordin & Wahlstrom, 2019; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014). In the descriptive step, the evaluator addresses the question of "why". The evaluator describes current secondary history curriculum and explores educators' opinions to uncover the "educational environment". This enables evaluators to delineate an "educational process".

In the interpretative phase, the evaluator tries to address the questions of "why" and "how". Why does the secondary history curriculum have the current situation and how has it been structured? Through interpretation, the evaluator can develop an understanding of the curriculum through getting meaning and concept, so, at end of the process, the evaluator can determine "educational activities". In the evaluation step, the evaluator judges curriculum criteria and "compares" current curriculum with a more appropriate one. The thematic step according to Shaidi et al. (2014) "means a generalization of finding". In qualitative approaches, generalization is not considered.

Nordin and Wahlstrom (2019) and Stavropoulou and Stroubouki (2014) affirm that Eisner criticised scientific evaluators who overvalued descriptive data which prevents evaluators from getting the big picture and undermined change of curriculum which is the main objective of the evaluation process. They commented that this philosophy shaped Eisner's beliefs to perceive school as "living system".

3.3.3 Empirical research

Empirical research is conducted to judge merit and worth of secondary school history curriculum and to identify characteristics of a new curriculum. Developmental study uses an iterative pragmatic approach that enables researchers to use both quantitative and qualitative methods (Alias, 2015; Van Den Akker, 1999).

3.4 Research philosophy

Research philosophy, according to Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill (2012) is the worldview that consists of some underlying assumptions with which the researcher approaches the study. It provides researcher a direction to conduct the research and helps selection of research approaches. There exist two broad classification of research philosophy, i.e., ontology and epistemology based on which further classifications entail positivism, interpretivism/constructivism, and pragmatic (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2015). Positivism follows the ontological research paradigm and sees social situations to have objective elements that can be studied by applying quantitative lenses. On the other hand, interpretivists follow the epistemological research paradigm that underlie the belief that aims to understand meaning of reality out in the world. Further it posits, reality is socially constructed which might have multi-interpretation where no boundaries of reality exist. Thus the reality can only be understood through subjective interpretation and analysis. "Many different traditions of interpretive have developed, but they share the goal of understanding human ideas" (Glesne, 2011, p. 8). Positivism philosophy, on the other hand, facilitates only objective analysis of the phenomena and thus disregards the incricate aspects of social life that is useful for arriving at a contextual understanding. Pragmatic research philosophy, combines both quantitative and qualitative aspects of the research and attempts to provide a detailed account of the social phenomena (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2015). Thus, pragmatic research philophy seems best applicable for this study. Since the topic entails

understanding of the historical conflicts of Somalia, a quantitative-qualitative analysis would be more applicable to understand the chronological ordering of the events and how history curriculum can best address the conflicts and violence in the region.

Constructivism is a term that is often used interchangeably with interpretivism, where both aim to explore the phenomena in social context. Although, the phenomena are socially constructed, they can be interpreted differently, which gives the assumption that multiple realities can exist in social context (Merriam, 2009, p. 8; Creswell, 2014). However, Glesne (2011) states that the constructed reality of a phenomenon that people share in a social context is embedded in values and beliefs which shape cultural patterns of "thought and action for that group"; whereas, methodology focuses on the best means of gaining knowledge. For this present research, mixed method approach is best suitable to analyse how education can help address the challenges faced by the conflict-affected areas of Somalia. It helped in understanding the history of the region and how conflict can be controlled through history education. By applying a qualitative analysis, the researcher gained a detailed insight into the Somalian context and the challenges faced by the region in terms of education. In addition, the quantitative approach helped understanding how history curriculum can foster secondary school students' attitudes towards national identity. Such a detailed analysis can also helped in designing an effective history curriculum to address the challenges and conflicts of the region.

Qualitative research aims to investigate and explore phenomena which are socially constructed; therefore, it is important for the researcher to have a long, in-depth interaction with participants in a social setting to gain an in-depth understanding of individuals' views which shape beliefs, behaviours, and attitudes (Merriam, 2009; Glesne, 2011; Cresswell, 2008). The qualitative approach emphasizes "understanding the social world from the point of view of the participants in the study—an emic perspective" (Merriam, 2009, p. 520).

213

Merriam believes that qualitative research is a broad "umbrella term covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world." Merriam (2009) strongly argued that qualitative research is mainly interested in understanding how people "makes sense of their world", experiences, and how this reality can be socially constructed. Similarly, Cresswell (2008, p. 46) states that qualitative research is a "type of educational research in which the researcher relies on the views of participants, asks broad, general questions, collects data consisting largely of words (or text) from participants, describes and analyses these words for themes, and conducts the inquiry in a subjective, biased manner".

3.5 Research approach

Research approaches "are plans and procedures for research that span the steps from abroad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation" (Creswell, 2014, p. 3). Research approach can be categorised into inductive and deductive. These two approaches take different course to study the research topic. While deductive reasoning moves from general theoretical framework, deduce hypotheses and test them based on empirical evidences, inductive logic first looks at the specific instances and then generalises them to the broader social contexts. Based on the research purpose and aim the selection of the research approach is done. Saunders et al. (2012) stated that inductive approach is suitable when the availability of data or literature is few and needs an in-depth exploration to understand the context of the research. The present study has adopted a mixed method research approach to understand the research objectives and combine both quantitative and qualitative approach to gain a better understanding of the research phenomenon.

3.6   Research design

Research design, according to Bryman and Bell (2011) is the blueprint that serves as a roadmap to guide the researcher to the sequential steps of research. A well-formulated research design helps the researcher to execute the research is an organised and systematic manner and attain the desired aims and objectives. The design of the study primarily depends on the aim of the research and can be divided into qualitative and quantitative. However, the present study is based on a mixed method research design that blends both quantitative and qualitative approach and arrive at a better understanding of the context of Somalia.

Glesne (2011) advocates the exploratory and descriptive nature of qualitative research whereby the qualitative researcher aims to create an opportunity to be engaged in social interaction in a specific context to gain in-depth understanding of social phenomena. Significantly, the qualitative researcher focuses on the context of a specific setting where the social activities occurred. Long, in-depth interaction with participants in "one or several sites" provides a qualitative research with rich description of the social phenomena (Fraenkel, Wallen, Hyun, 2015; Glesen, 2011).

Furthermore, Johnson & Christensen (2014) believe that qualitative research underlies an inductive process that draws a conclusion that is "probably true", where the researcher relies on interaction with participants and observes their attitudes and actions that enable interpretation of social phenomena. Given this, subjective views might be true which are relative, not absolute (Merriam, 2009). Significantly, participants' views complement full interpretation of social settings.

Qualitative research complements theoretical frame work where qualitative research enables multiple-interpretation of reality that has been socially constructed in Somalia where

individual perspectives are extremely different from one clan to another "which enables understanding of participants' views of the situation being studied" (Glesne, 2011, p. 8).

The main purpose of this study is to examine the current history curriculum in Somalia with the aim to propose a new history curriculum for secondary schools within the context of Somalia. Qualitative research enables the researcher to examine history curricula in a real-world context.

Van Den Akker (1999) advocates triangulation for any formative research to enhance efficiency of the intervention. Mixed methods enables researchers to acquire complementary data from qualitative and quantitative sources to enhance generalizability and to provide rigorous evidence for conclusions (Wakeling et al., 2015). Triangulated mixed-methods enable researchers to obtain rich amounts of information (Javankan et al., 1999). Triangulation is a rigorous approach where quantitative and qualitative data are mixed to collect different but complementary data on the same topic. Triangulation also is recommended for validation (Creswell, 2006).

Formative evaluation adopted a mixed-methods triangulation design to answer the overarching questions of what is the current history curriculum in Somalia and what type of history curriculum is appropriate for secondary schools within the context of Somalia.

The mixed-methods approach uses methods from both quantitative and qualitative forms of research. Mixed-methods research can be defined as "research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both quantitative and qualitative approaches" (Ogilvie & McCrudden, cited in Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007, p. 4).

The mixed-methods approach is valuable in context of Somalia where there is little or no prior research about the problem (West et al., 2017). Mixed methods also provide

explanations and exploration for rigorous formative evaluation and to achieve the aim of the study (Rauscher & Greenfield, 2009). Mixed methods enabled the researcher to use both qualitative and quantitative methods to address the complexity of the phenomena. Mixed methods research is strongly recommended to investigate complex phenomena by using "two or more data sets to confirm, refute, or question the findings" (Parry, 2018).

 Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p.123) assert that the eclecticism of mixed methods enables the researcher to select carefully the best technique to investigate in depth the phenomena of "interest", and to address the research questions. Rauscher and Greenfield (2009) recommended using a mixed methods approach to uncover the breadth and depth of understanding complex phenomena.

The triangulation design consisted of a one-phase design where researchers used quantitative and qualitative methods at same time with "equal weight". In a "convergent parallel design", the researcher first separately analysed the data, and then merged both qualitative and quantitative during interpretation with the aim to have better understanding of current history curriculum and to come up with "valid conclusions" by obtaining different but complementary data (Creswell, 2006; Ghonsooly et al., 2017**;** Rauscher & Greenfield, 2009).

Triangulated mixed method consisted of qualitative semi-structed interviews with the rationale to explore perceptions of principals, vice principals, MOE advisors, and teachers about the current history curriculum of secondary schools and the possibility of developing a new curriculum. Quantitative method of self-questionnaire was administered to understand secondary student perceptions of national identity. Creswel (2014) recommends mixed methods design to address the overarching and sub-questions and to reduce limitations of

qualitative and quantitative phases.
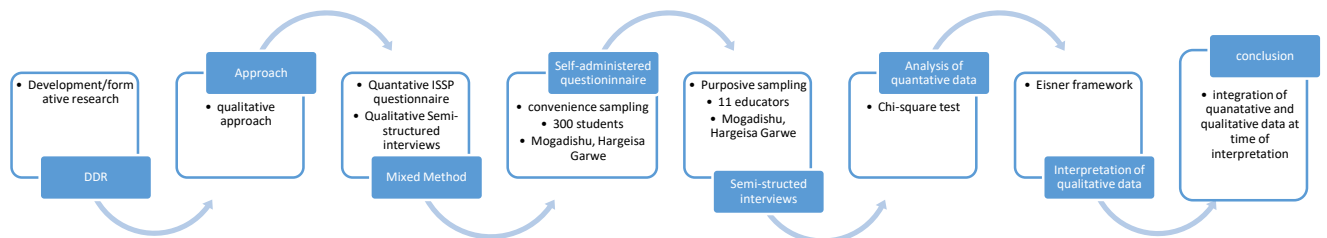
Figure 2: Design diagram

3.7 Research process

Based on the mixed method research design, the study was carried out both quantitative and

qualitative analysis with a focus on qualitative aspect. A self-administered questionnaire was

prepared and circulated among the students of secondary schools in the quantitative phase

with the aim to understand student perceptions towards the Somali national identity. This

method was effective in understanding the attitudes and perception of the respondents. The

content of the questionnaire was developed based on the International Social Survey Program

of National Identity (ISSP 2003) to enhance the validity of the research instrument. In

addition to this, semi-structured interview with 11 school heads were conducted to

understand the history curriculum of secondary schools in Moqadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa

and analyse educators' perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum. The

combination of qualitative and quantitative approach with a focus on qualitative provided the

researcher with a greter insight into the history curriculum of the secondary schools in

Somalia. The quantitartive analysis was done using statistics analysis and qualitative analysis

was carried out by the method of thematic analysis.

218

3.8 Methodology

This section presents the site, subjects, and data collection instruments with the aim to investigate history curriculum in a real-world context. This study adopted a qualitative approach with mixed methods.

3.8.1 Site and subject selection

The sites for this study were three secondary schools, one each in Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland. The targeted population for semi-structured interviews included history teachers, principals, and vice principals who worked in secondary schools and included Ministry of Education (MoE) advisors. The participants of interviews were selected based on a purposive sampling method (Glesne, 2011; Merriam, 2009) that is appropriate for developmental study.

Research population refers to the entire universe that is covered under the study. However, it is not practicable to study each and every unit of the population and hence sampling is considered as one of the significant aspect of research (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2010). To derive conclusion from the sample, it is important that the sample adequately presents the population to which the results will be generalised. Creswell and Plano Clark (2010) stated that generalizability is one of the significant consideration in sampling. According to Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill (2012) smapling can be divided into probability and non-probability sampling. In the former type every unit of the population receives a fair chance of inclusion in the sample. In the latter method, sample is slected based on certain predetermined criteria of the researcher such as population characteristics, convenience etc. Bryman and Bell (2011) stated that convenience sampling is one of the significant type of non-probability sampling method. In this tyepe, the researcher choses the sample that is convenient and easily accessible. This is deemed to be the most suitable type of method for conductin the research. The researcher used purposive or convenience sampling method

which targeted potential participants who were likely to respond to the questionnaire because the context of the research is not conducive to use random sampling methods. Moreover, the research was narrowed down to cover only the secondary schools where the history curriculum was evaluated.

The convenience sampling also helped the researcher to gain access to the students in the secondary school. By using this method 300 male and female students from secondary schools in Somalia were selected to participate in the survey. In addition, purposive sampling method is employed to select the heads of the secondary school to understand their perspective regarding history curriculum. In this sampling method, the researcher applies her own judgments to select the sample. This is the non-probability sampling techniques and helps selecting those respondents who are ideal fit for the study (Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, 2012). Interview responses enabled the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of educator opinions about current secondary history curriculum. Similarly, the questionnaire instrument was invaluable in understanding secondary students' beliefs and attitudes towards national identity.

3.8.2   Setting of the Study

Case studies provide natural settings which provide in-depth description for formative evaluation in real-contexts (Cronji, 2013). Multiple case studies included three high schools in regions of Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland. Cases were selected based on clan demographic distribution. Post-collapse, each clan controlled its own region. The Haiwye clan is centered in the south in Mogadishu, the Isaaq clan is centered in Somaliland, and the Darwood clan is in Puntland.

The case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2008, p. 18).

Selection of the site was informed by the research problem. All selected schools were in Somalia. This was a good opportunity for the researcher to develop new understanding of the phenomena and to challenge preformed assumptions that might result because of familiarity with a certain group or culture (Glesene, 2011). Cases that provide richness of context have the potential of technical issues for empirical study. Yin (2003, p. 4) identified these challenges as "the richness of context means that the ensuing studies will likely have more variables than data points". Most importantly, the "richness of the context means that the study cannot rely on single data collection methods, but will likely need to use multiple sources of evidence".

As explained above, the target population of this study was students, teachers, principals, vice principals of three secondary schools from three regions in Somalia as well as MOE educational advisors.

For confidentiality purposes, the name of selected secondary schools was removed for anonymity (Table 1.1). "A" School is located in the southern regions in Mogadishu, and "C" School is located in Garwe. Both regions are part of the Federal Republic of Somalia. "B" School is located in Hargeisa which the capital of Somaliland (a self-declared republic).

Table 2: Site and Subject Selection

	School	Nature of student population	Location of school
1	School A	male, females	Mogadishu
2	School B	male, females	Hargeisa

3	School C	male, females	Garwe

3.8.3 Selection of Participants

The formative evaluation selection of participants for semi-structured interviews was based on purposeful sampling that consisted of history teachers, principals, and vice principals in secondary Somali schools and MoE advisors who were key informants. These were "information-rich cases which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry" (Merriam, 2009, p. 77).

Purposive sampling consisted of 11 subjects: history teachers (M=5), principal (M=1), vice principal (M=2), and educational advisors (M=3). For the quantitative phase, purposive sampling consisted of 300 (N=300) male and female students who were studying in the secondary schools in Somalia. The researcher selected a large sample for generalization and to reduce "sampling error" (Creswell, 2008).

Student ages ranged between 14 and 18 years. Students had both Somali parents. Table 1.2 shows population and site details.

Table 3: Sites and population

	School	No. of academic staff	No. of secondary students (male and female)	Location of institute
1	A Secondary School	2 teachers 1 Vice principal	100	Mogadishu

		1 education/MOE advisor	223	
2	B Secondary School	2 teachers 1 Vice principal 1 education advisor	100	Hargeisa
3	C Secondary School	1 teacher 1 vice principal 1 education advisor	100	Garwe

3.8.4 Data Collection Methods

Table 4: Data collection methods

Type of Method	Instrument for data collection	Sample	No. of participants	Population
Quantitative	Self-administered questionnaire ISSP	Purposive sampling	300	3 Secondary schools (Mogadishu, Hargeisa, Garwe)

Qualitative	Semi-structured interviews	Purposive sampling	11 educators	3 Secondary schools (Mogadishu, Hargeisa, Garwe)

Selection of methodology is determined by type of research questions (Udoewa, 2018). Data collection instruments for the triangulation study were chosen within the domain of development formative research and were appropriate to the proposed framework and literature review with the aim to provide appropriate answers for overarching questions: What is the current history curriculum in Somalia and what type of history curriculum is appropriate for secondary schools within the context of Somalia. This is explored through four sub-questions:

1. What is the status of history curriculum of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa?
2. What are educator perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum?
3. How do secondary students perceive national identity?
4. Can a new history curriculum of secondary school be developed? Are there any specific characteristics required to make it relevant for the Somali context?

This section provides an explanation of key aspects of instruments used in mixed methods research. Based on a triangulated mixed-methods, convergent models consist of qualitative and quantitative methods as in Figure 4.1. In the qualitative phase, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 11 educators. An ISSP questionnaire was administered to 300 students

of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Hargeisa, Garwe. In mixed-method parallel design, the data are analysed separately and merged at the time of interpretation (Creswell, 2008).

3.8.4.1 Semi-structured Interviews

The qualitative research method underpins a naturalistic approach to reveal complexity of specific phenomena in real contexts such as the real world. Qualitative methods in formative evaluation provide in-depth information about programs and assist in understanding of the educational environment (Yüksel, 2010).

Qualitative data collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with (N= 11) teachers, principals, and MOE advisors with the aim to have their opinion of current secondary history curriculum and to learn participants' views on the feasibility of developing a new curriculum and to identify some of the characteristics of a new history curriculum.

Purposive sampling consisted of 5 history teachers of secondary schools (N= 5), one principal and 2 vice principals, and 3 educational advisors who worked in the Ministry of Education in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa. These were considered as rich cases which "reflect the research purpose" and provide in-depth data (Glesne, 2011; Fraenkel, 2015; Merriam, 2009).

3.8.4.2 Self-Administered Questionnaire

 A pencil and paper questionnaire was administered to the students of secondary schools in the quantitative phase with the aim to understand student perceptions towards the Somali national identity.

The paper-and-pencil techniques used structured, closed question in order to obtain information from respondents. The questionnaire is considered to be a major method of data collection and is very popular in educational research as an instrument to identify beliefs and attitudes of participants (Creswell, 2008). In the cross-sectional questionnaire, the researcher intended to collect much information from different subjects in a short time.

The content of the questionnaire used in this study was based on the International Social Survey Program of National Identity (ISSP 2003). The ISSP is a multi-scale instrument which is considered to be a significant tool to measure the national identity in different countries. The ISSP is a "cross-national collaboration program conducting annual surveys on different topics of social sciences" (Home, 2018). The researcher sought a second opinion from a university professor who recommended that ISSP contents should be modified to be culturally appropriate to Somalia. Hence, some questions were modified, and irrelevant ones were removed.

Ghonsooly et al. (2017) recommended translation of the questionnaire to remove language barriers and enhance the feasibility of the study. The ISSP questionnaire was translated from English to the Somali language by an expert translator fluent in three languages English, Somali, and Arabic. Then the ISSP pencil-paper questionnaire was distributed to 300 students of high schools in Mogadishu, Hargeissa, and Puntland. Purposive sampling was recommended for generalization purposes.

Figure 3: Triangulation Design: Convergent Parallel Design
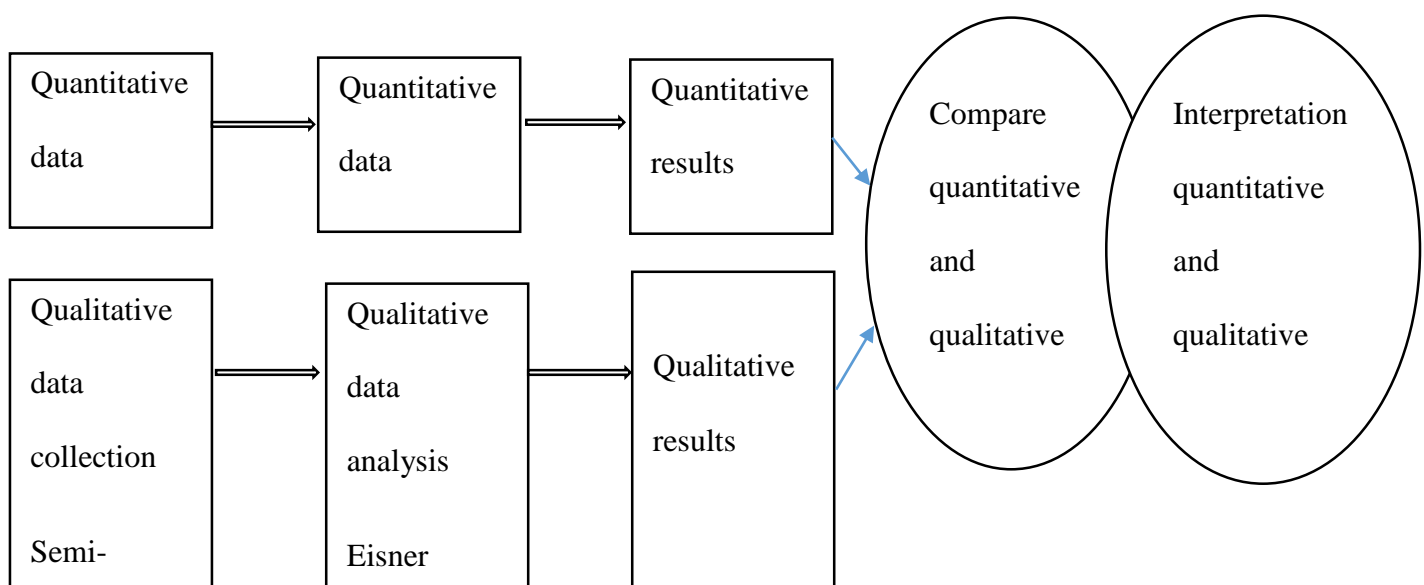
3.9 Pilot study

A pilot study is also known as a feasibility study and aims to determine the possibility of having a full-scale research (Schreiber, 2012; Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2011). Pilot studies usually last a short time and involve a small number of participants. The pilot is highly recommended to examine potential obstacles before conducting the full study (Schreiber, 2012). Pilot studies can be conducted for quantitative phases and/or qualitative phases (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2011). A pilot also enables the researcher to gauge the validity of the instruments. The researcher conducted a pilot study for the quantitative and qualitative instruments.

3.9.1.1 Piloting the Self-Administered Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of three parts. The first part consisted of a cover page to explain to secondary students the purpose of the study. The second part was designed to gather demographic information through close-ended questions consisting of age, gender, and region.

In the third part, there were 12 questions with 47 items in total to measure student beliefs and attitudes toward national identity using a 5-point Likert scale.

Van Teijlingen and Hundley (2011) recommended using a pilot study which enables the researcher to uncover "local politics or problems that may affect the research". The researcher conducted a pilot study at a secondary school in Hargeissa, the capital of Somaliland. This region is an autonomous region which declared itself as a republic post-civil war in 1991. Due to that, the researcher preferred to assure feasibility of the actual study.

The researcher obtained the principal's consent and assured confidentiality of information. Upon receiving the principal's consent, the research assistant distributed the Somali version of the ISSP questionnaire to secondary students (M=12, F=13). The first draft of the ISSP

questionnaire consisted of 22 questions. After consulting with the professor, 12 questions were eliminated as irrelevant to the Somali context. The researcher modified the rest of questions to be more appropriate to Somali students in secondary schools and then had them translated to the Somali language by an expert translator. In addition, each question had multiple items to measure behaviour, attitudes, and feelings toward Somalia national identity. The items used a Likert scale from 1-5.

Table 5: Pilot Study Summary

Setting	Region	City	No. of population		Rate of participation
			M	F	
D secondary school	Somaliland	Hargeissa	2	13	100%

At the time of analysis, the researcher had back-translation done for questionnaires from Somali to English. The participation rate was 100%.

Question number 12 explored student perceptions about the unity of Somalia. The question had two statements: The first one said, "It is essential that Somalia remains one country." The second statement said, "Parts of Somali should be allowed to become fully separate states if they choose to". Students could choose to either agree or disagree with each statement.

One of students did not choose to either agree nor disagree, but critically analysed the Somalia context post-war to identify different factors contributed to civil war. The student

implicitly agreed with the second statement that allowed parts of Somalia to become fully separate states as the best option due to the current situation and national interests.

3.9.1.2   Reliability of ISSP Questionnaire

One of the purposes of a pilot study is to confirm reliability of the questionnaire (Trobia, 2011). Janvan et al. (1999) asserts the importance of gauging the reliability of the research questionnaire in formative evaluation before beginning with the empirical study. For this purpose, the researcher calculated a ISSP reliability coefficient achievement score using Cronbach's Alpha.

3.9.2   Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient

Trobia (2011) states that Cronbach's alpha is a statistic used to measure the internal consistency among a set of survey items. Tavakol and Dennick (2011) described Cronbach's alpha test as one of the most important concepts used in the evaluation and assessment of a questionnaire. When conducting a quantitative research through questionnaire as a means of gathering data, it is important for the researcher to apply Cronbach's alpha test to add validity and accuracy to the developed questionnaire (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). For the purpose of this study, descriptive analysis was applied to measure reliability of the ISSP questionnaire, also to ensure consistency of ISSP items towards national identity and that these items correlated with each one to which confirms validity of the scale. The reliability coefficient was 0.68 which determined that Cronbach alpha was statistically significant. This confirmed that the ISSP scale was reliable and coherent.

Table 6: Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	No. of Items
0.685	30

3.9.3 Piloting Semi-Structured Interviews

In semi-structured interviews, a purposive sample was formed of 2 educators. One of them was a history teacher and the second one was school principal. A purposive sample is a non-probability sample. Selection of participants in qualitative research is made based on special characteristics intended to serve the research purpose and to provide in-depth description (Creswell, 2006; Glesne, 2011; Fraenkel, 2015; Merriam, 2009).

Both interviews were conducted in D Secondary School. The interviews were audio-taped for 45 minutes after obtaining participants' permission. All interview questions were translated from English to Somali with the assistance of a Somali translator. Participants were asked 4 questions to obtain demographic information. These were followed by 9 questions to gain in-depth understanding of educator opinions of the current history curriculum.

The pilot study helped the researcher to ensure the validity of interview questions. It also enabled the researcher to confirm the feasibility of full interviews in actual research. Indeed, selecting a site where the researcher never lived adds to the validity and trustworthiness of interviews (Glesne, 2011).

3.10 Methods of Data Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analyzed to achieve the research objectives. The quantitative data that was collected with the survey method was analyzed using statistical tests and other quantitative measures. The interview transcripts that provided

qualitative data was analyzed by using interpretive techniques. These were further

corroborated using perspectives of the authors discussed in the literature review chapter.

3.10.1 Analysis of Quantitative Data

Descriptive and inferential statistical techniques were used to analyse data. Analysis of ISSP

questionnaire data was carried out by using the chi-square statistic test. The chi-square test is

"a nonparametric test of the statistical significance of a relation between two nominal

(categorical) or ordinal variables" (Linton, 2012, p. 2). In this study, the chi-square test was

used to identify whether any differences exist among secondary students in understanding

national consciousness and identity. P-values of the chi-square test enabled the researcher to

understand the perceptions of secondary students in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa as to

national consciousness and identity.

3.10.2 Analysis of Qualitative Data

The Eisner's Connoisseurship and Criticism Model was adopted as a theoretical framework

for qualitative data analysis. "It qualitatively describes history" programs, curriculum, and

educational activities, and obtains educator perceptions and opinions about the history

curriculum of secondary schools. This framework consists of four steps of "description,

interpretation, evaluation, and themes" (Nordin & Wahlstrom, 2019; Stavropoulou &

Stroubouki, 2014). Kavle and Brinkmann (2009) found that a "researcher may read through

his or her interviews again and again, reflect theoretically on specific themes of interest, write

out interpretation, and not follow any systematic method or combination of techniques".

Interviews were recorded with each participant's consent and then translated from Somali

into English, and then were transcribed. This was an iterative process. The transcript of each

interview was verified several times by listening to the interview recording. "The text of each

interview as then coded. The researcher used ideas from literature and reading the transcript
repeatedly to generate codes. Themes were then noted.

Table 4.4 summarises the research questions and the technique used to answer these
questions.

Table 7: Research questions and different methods to address the questions

What are the questions?	How to answer the question?
What is the status/state/characteristics of history curriculum of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Puntland, and Somaliland? 2. What are educators' perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum?	Literature review Semi-structured interviews Educational Criticism Model for qualitative data analysis
3. How secondary students perceive national identity?	Literature review ISSP questionnaire Descriptive analysis Pearson Chi-square test
4. Can a new history curriculum of secondary school be developed? Are there any specific characteristics?	Literature review Semi-structured interviews ISSP questionnaire Qualitative data analysis Descriptive analysis

	Pearson Chi-square test

3.11 Ethical Consideration

Prior to conducting the study, the researcher was very careful to obtain all documents to ensure the study meets the Buid ethical guidelines. The purpose was to protect the privacy of participants and ensure the study would not affect the safety and well-being of the subjects. The researcher informed participants that their participation was voluntarily and would have the right to withdraw whenever they liked without any consequences. Participants were also informed about the purpose of the study and of their role during the interviews. The interviewees were fully aware of the time that interview would take and agreed for audio-taping during the course of the interview.

Since secondary students were involved for the questionnaire, the researcher informed the school principal who was "gatekeeper" with the purpose of the questionnaire, and students had the option either to participate or withdraw.

Upon successful completion of informed consent, the researcher's ethical forms were approved by the British University in Dubai's Ethics Committee.

3.12 Conclusion

The aim of this study is to examine the current history curriculum in Somalia with the aim to propose a new history curriculum for secondary schools within the context of Somalia. This is a developmental study using DDR methodology to address the overarching question of "What is the current history curriculum in Somalia." This is explored through four sub-questions:

1. What is the status of history curriculum of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa?

2. What are educator perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum?

3. How do secondary students perceive national identity?

4. Can a new history curriculum of secondary school be developed? Are there any specific characteristics required to make it relevant for the Somali context?

The developmental study adopted a qualitative approach to enable the researcher to have in in-depth understanding of the context which informs the development/designing of history curriculum for secondary students. Hence, the sites were three secondary schools, one each in Mogadishu, Hargeisa, and Garwe. The design and development study consisted of mixed methods. An ISSP self-administered questionnaire was administered to 300 students in 3 secondary schools. Students were selected purposively. Purposive sampling of 11 educators in Mogadishu, Hargeisa, and Garwe. Three MOE advisors, three vice-principals, and 5 history teachers were participated in open-ended questions. A pilot study was conducted to gauge the validity of instruments

The researcher obtained participants' consent prior to semi-structured interviews. The researcher informed the school principal who was "gatekeeper" with the purpose of the questionnaire, and students had the option either to participate or withdraw. Upon successful completion of informed consent, the researcher's ethical forms were approved by the British University in Dubai's Ethics Committee.

The chi-square test was used for quantitative data analysis, and Eisner's criticism frame was used for interpretation of qualitative data.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis and Results

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the findings of a mixed methods design are analysed and presented. The purpose of the study was to examine the current history curriculum in Somalia with the aim to propose a new history curriculum for secondary schools within the context of Somalia. To achieve this objective a mixed methods design was adopted which included quantitative and qualitative instruments. An ISSP questionnaire was applied in the quantitative part, and semi-structured "open-ended" questions were used in the qualitative part.

Obtained data was analysed to address the overarching question of: What is the current history curriculum in Somalia and what type of history curriculum is appropriate for secondary schools within the context of Somalia?

This is explored through four sub-questions:

1. What is the status of history curriculum of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa?

2. What are educator perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum?

3. How do secondary students perceive national identity?

4. Can a new history curriculum of secondary school be developed? Are there any specific characteristics required to make it relevant for the Somali context?

The Design and Development Research (DDR) model was selected as the research methodology. The DDR is a significant methodology that bridges the gap between theory and practice by testing theory and validating practice. It is a developmental research that uses empirical research to investigate the problem in real-context and, consequently, provides better theoretical understanding of the problem which reflects on developed practice

The study followed a parallel/divergent mixed-analysis design. A questionnaire and semi-structured interviews were used to collect empirical evidence. A total of 300 students responded to the questionnaire in Mogadishu, Hargessa, and Garwe and 11 educators participated in semi-structured interviews. Results from the quantitative and qualitative parts of the research study were separately conducted and analysed.

Van Den Akker (1999) advocates triangulation for any formative research to enhance efficiency of the intervention. Mixed methods enabled the researcher to collect complementary data from qualitative and quantitative sources to enhance generalizability and to provide rigorous evidence for conclusion (Wakeling et al., 2015). Selection of methodology is determined by type of research questions (Udoew, 2018). The questionnaire is considered to be a major method of data collection and is very popular in educational research as an instrument to identify beliefs and attitudes of participants (Creswell, 2008). Quantitative data described in this chapter were collected through ISSP questionnaire. The ISSP is a multi-scale tool which is considered to be a significant device to measure the national identity in different countries. 300 students were selected purposively from three secondary schools in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa. The quantitative phase was carried out with the aim to answer the research question of "how do secondary students perceive national identity".

Analysis of ISSP questionnaire data was carried out by using the chi-square statistic test. The chi-square test is " a nonparametric test of the statistical significance of a relation between two nominal (categorical) or ordinal variables" (Linton, 2012, p. 2). In this study, the chi-square test was used to identify whether any differences exist among secondary students in understanding national consciousness and identity. The p-value of the chi-square test enabled the researcher to understand the perception of secondary students in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa as to national consciousness and identity.

236

Qualitative data were obtained by open-ended interviews with a purposive sampling of 11 school teachers, principals, vice principals, and MOE advisors in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa. Purposive sampling represented "information-rich cases which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry" (Merriam, 2009, p. 77). Eisner's Connoisseurship and Criticism Model was adopted as a theoretical frame for qualitative data interpretation. Eisner's Connoisseurship and Criticism Model "qualitatively describes history programs, curriculum, and educational activities" (Nordin & Wahlstrom, 2019; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014). Component of evaluation and themes enabled the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of educator opinions about current secondary history curriculum and to address following research questions:

1. What is the status of history curriculum of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa?
2. What are educator perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum?
3. Can a new history curriculum of secondary school be developed? Are there any specific characteristics required to make it relevant for the Somali context?

4.2   Quantitative Results

A cross-sectional questionnaire was employed to collect data from student responses. Descriptive and inferential statistical analyses were used to analyse data, including demographics and Chi–Square test.

4.2.1   International Social Survey Programme of National Identity (ISSP 2003).

The purpose of the ISSP survey was to investigate secondary student perceptions of national identity. ISSP is a multi-scale questionnaire which is considered to be a significant tool to measure the national identity in different countries. The ISSP consists of twelve questions

having in total 47 items which were used to measure student beliefs and attitudes toward national identity using a 5-point Likert scale. (See Appendix XX.

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyse the data. Data cleaning and subsequent analysis was performed in order to analyse the perception of students. This was attempted by using the ISSP questionnaire using purposive sampling. The questionnaire acquired data for answering the following research question: How do secondary students perceive national identity?

Three-hundred participants consisting of both male and female students responded to the questionnaire. Data analysis began with data cleaning and descriptive statistics for the rate of investigating secondary student perceptions towards national identity. A frequency distribution was generated for each question in order to examine input error and missing values.

An examination of the differences among three demographic variables was conducted, including: participants' gender, region (town), and age. Chi-Square was used to test the statistical significance for students' national consciousness and identity through seven variables: relationship between individual and country; feeling of closeness; perceptions of factors required for being truly Somali; perception of Somalia; pride associated with Somalia; Somalia and media and international policies; and relation to Somalia.

4.2.2   Reliability, Validity, and Generalization

Reliability

Heale and Twycross (2015) defined reliability as the accuracy of an instrument (in other words, "the extent to which a research instrument consistently has the same results if it used in same situation on repeated occasions)" According to Heale and Twycross (2015) reliability can be determined by measuring internal consistency, "the extent to which all items on a

scale measure one construct". Cronbach (α) is a common test that is used to gauge reliability of an instrument. Acceptable reliability scores start from 0.7 and higher to confirm reliability (Heale & Twycross, 2015). In this study, ISSP reliability was determined through the pilot study prior to conducting actual research. Cronbach alpha was ($\alpha = 0.685$) which demonstrate that ISSP is a reliable and accurate instrument.

Validity

According to Heale and Twycross (2015). Validity is defined "as the extent to which a concept is accurately measured in a quantitative study". Since the ISSP questionnaire measured national consciousness and identity, it was important to ensure that different components of the questionnaire covered all dimensions of national identity consciousness. There two ways to verify validity of identity. First is content validity. This category looks at "whether the instrument adequately covers all the content that it should with respect to the variable or construct it was designed to measure (Heale & Twycross, 2015). This is verified where some of items in the original version of ISSP were removed as inappropriate to the research context. The second one was "construct validity" or homogeneity to ensure that the instrument measures consistently the construct of identity through the ISSP questionnaire (Heale & Twycross, 2015).

Generalization/Generalizability

Although quantitative method enables a researcher to generalise results obtained from a large sample using a chi-square test, generalizability is not possible since the chi-square test does not allow one to generalise from the sample to the population from which it was drawn" (Linton, 2012, p. 2). The quantitative result of this study could not be generalised.

Sample size

One of important indicator to determine accuracy/reliability of chi-square results is the size of the sample which could enhance p value and statistical significance (Capraro & Yetkiner, 2012).

4.3 Results

### 4.3.1 Demographic Information of the Participants

This section presents the results of the survey that was carried out with students who were studying in secondary schools in Somalia. The survey (Appendix A) investigated the perception of national identity that these students hold towards their country, 300 students completed the ISSP survey. ISSP aimed to rate national consciousness of secondary students in three regions of Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Garwe. The ISSP consisted of two categorical variables (secondary students' national identity and the region) which are dependent variables. This type of bivariate data called for bivariate analysis which is one of the simplest forms of statistical analysis and is used to find out if there is a relationship between two sets of values" (Linton, 2012),

The chi-square test is "a nonparametric test of the statistical significance of a relation between two nominal (categorical) or ordinal variables" (Linton, 2012, p. 2). Since students were selected purposively, the Chi square test was adopted to answer research questions of how secondary students perceive national identity (Linton, 2012).

P known as chi-square probability of error. P-values indicate the probability of obtaining the difference observed in a purposive sample (Capraro & Yetkiner, 2012; Linton, 2012).

In order to interpret chi square results, is important to calculate p-value. If it is less than .05 or .01 (alpha value which represent significant level) then there are significant differences among groups; if a p-value is higher than (alpha) value then there are no significant differences (Capraro & Yetkiner, 2012; Linton, 2012).
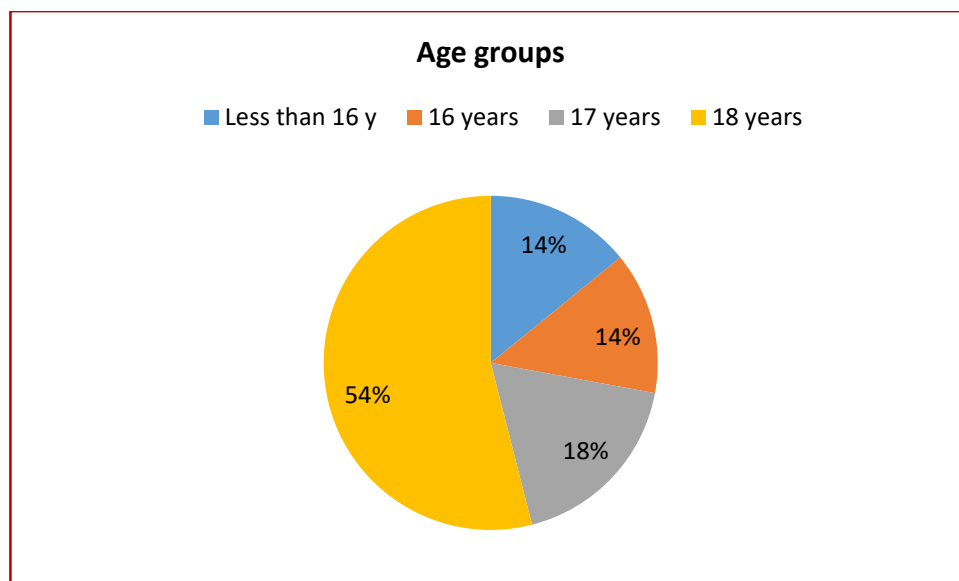
The results indicated that 58% of the sample population were males, and 42% were females as can be seen in the Figure 1. 35% of students were from Mogadishu, 32% from Somaliland, and 33% from Puntland as it is illustrated in Figure 2. Participants had a mean age of 18 years (SD=18) as can be seen in Figure 3.
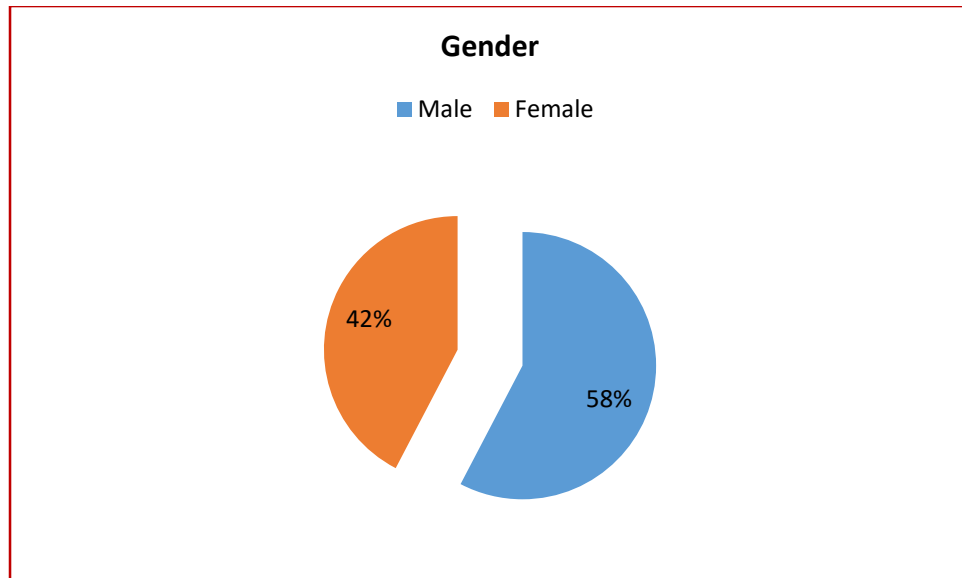
Figure 4: Gender


Figure 5: Region

241
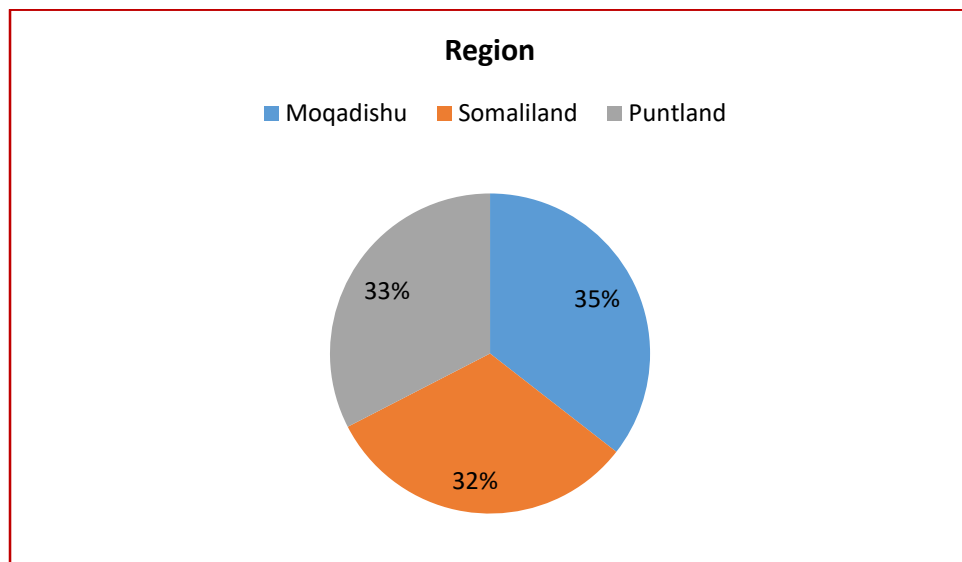
Figure 6: Region

4.3.2 Relationship between Individuals and Country

Post-collapse, political identity became dominant in serving the state agenda as the re-emerged state of Somaliland in the north west, Puntland in the north east, and Banadir/Mogadishu at the south. Each district emphasized clan identity as the Isaaq in Somaliland, the Majertin (Darood) in Puntland, and the Hawiye in Mogadishu (Hohne, 2006; Yihun, 2014). With formation of Federal republic of Somalia, the provisional constitution allowed self-governing states such as Puntland to share power with the central federal government at Mogadishu.

The participants were requested to rate the importance they hold for their clan or tribe, their religion, their nationality, and the area in which they live in Somalia with respect to their self-identity.

As can be seen in Figure 4, when asked to rate their clan/tribe, 46% of the students from Mogadishu rated it as the most important, 29% rated it as second most important and 25% of the students from Mogadishu regarded it as third most important. On the other hand, 36% of the students living in Somaliland regarded their clan/tribe as the most important, 34% as

second most important, and 31% as third most important. Finally, only 17% of the students living in Puntland regarded their clan/tribe as the first most important, 18% as the third most important and 66% as the third most important. The above regional differences were significant [χ^2 (4, N = 288) = 41.437, p<0.01].
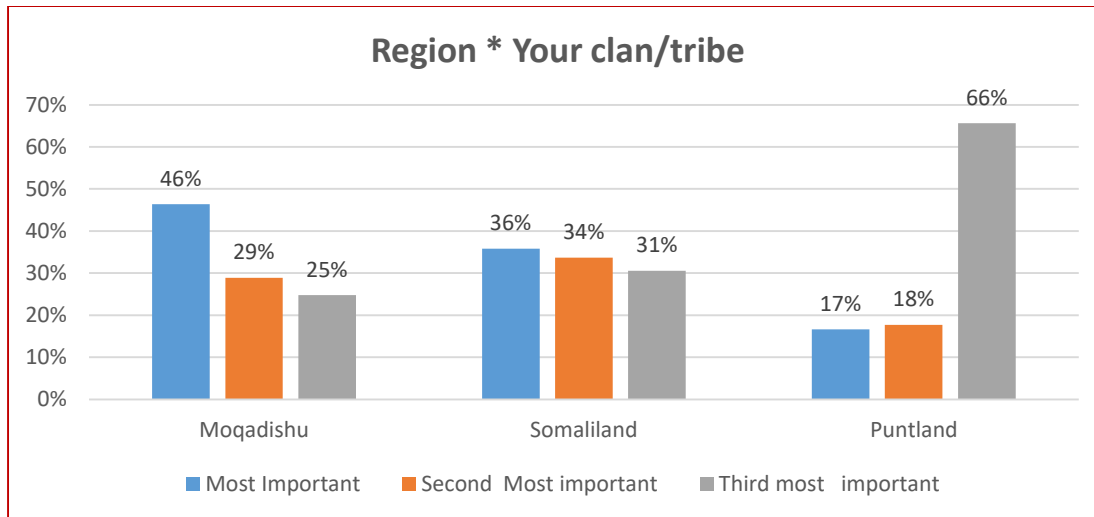
Figure 7: Importance of Clan/Tribe

As can be seen in the Figure 5 below, when asked to rate the importance of religion, 82% of the students living in Mogadishu classified their religion as the most important part of their self-identity, 4% regarded it as second most important, and 14% regarded it as the third most important. 91% of the students from Somaliland noted religion as the most important aspect, 6% as the second most important aspect and 3% as the third most important aspect. Finally, 98% of the students from Puntland reported religion as the most important and1% each reported religion as the second most and the third most. The above regional differences were significant [χ^2 (4, N = 300) = 21.874, p<0.01].
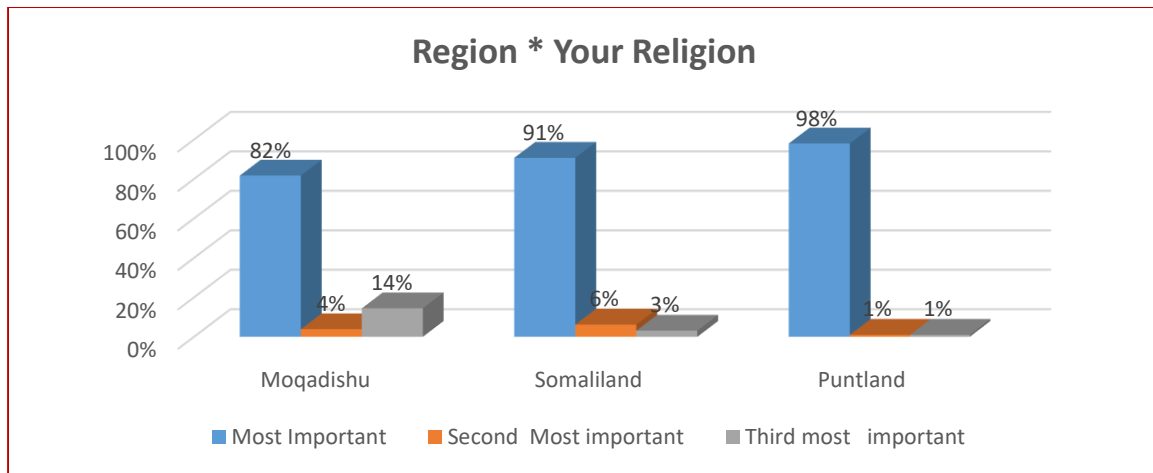
Figure 8: Importance of Religion (p<0.01)

As can be seen in cross tabulation table 1 below, there is no significant relation between the nationality's relative importance based on the region that students were from [χ^2 (4, N = 289) = 7.02, p=0.13].

Table 8: Nationality Importance Based on Region

		Your Nationality			Total
		Most Important	Second Most important	Third Most important	
Region	Mogadishu	52%	40%	7%	100%
	Somaliland	48%	35%	16%	100%
	Puntland	59%	34%	7%	100%
Total		53%	36%	10%	100%

Significant differences were found [χ^2 (4, N = 289) = 12.476, p<0.01] between the regions where the students were from and the relative importance of the part of Somalia they lived in. Figure 6 shows that 44% of the participants from Mogadishu reported that they consider the

part they live in as the most important, 27% considered it as the second most important, and 29% were considered as the third most important. Similarly, 32% of the students from Somaliland considered it as the most important, 47% considered it as second most important, and 21% considered as third most important. Finally, 40% of the people from Puntland considered it as most important, 43% as second most important, and 14% as third most important.
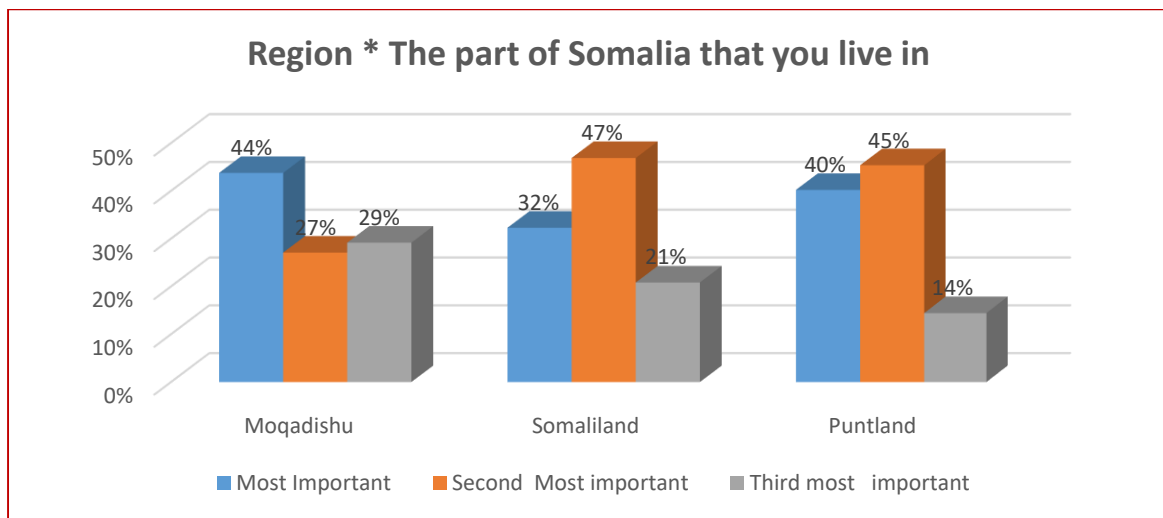

Figure 9: Importance of part of Somalia they live in

4.3.3 Feelings of Closeness

The students were asked to rate how close they feel to their province or region, Somalia, and Somaliland. The difference between where the students were from and the rate of closeness they feel to their province or region was found to be significant [χ^2 (8, N = 292) = 18.98, p<0.01]. As can be seen from the below Figure 7, 81% of the students from Mogadishu stated that they felt very close to their province or region, 6% stated that they could not choose, and 13% of the students felt not close at all to their province or region. Similarly, 61% of the students from Somaliland stated that they felt really close to their province or region, 3% could not choose, and 35% did not feel close at all. Finally, 66% of the students from

Puntland stated that they feel really close to their province or region, 4% stated that they could not choose, and 30% stated that they did not feel close at all.
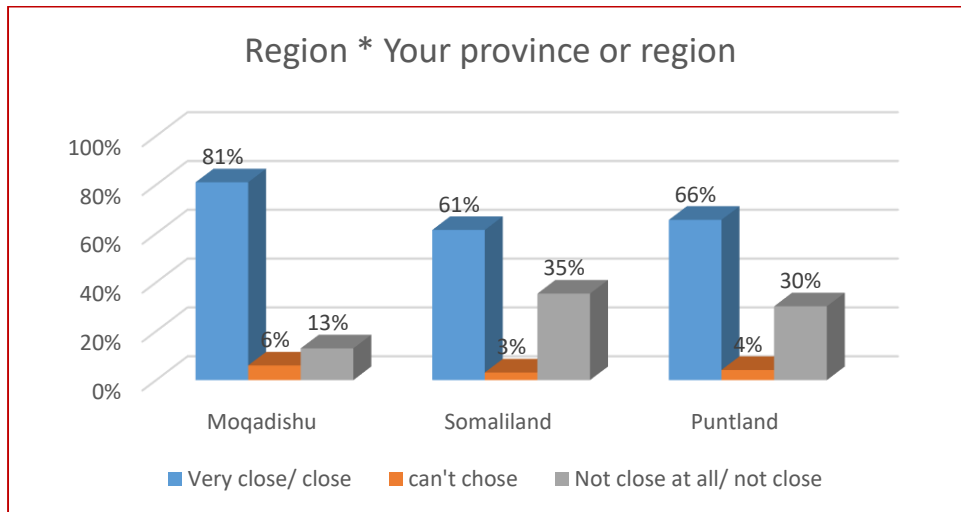
**Figure 10: Closeness to the province or region**

The students were then asked to rate their closeness to Somalia (Figure 8). The difference between the regions and the closeness they feel to Somalia was found to be significant [χ^2 (8, N = 299) = 55.51, p<0.01]. 77% of the students from Mogadishu reported feeling very close to Somalia, 5% could not choose, and 18% of the students did not feel close at al. 48% of the students from Somaliland stated that they felt very close to Somalia, 1% said that they could not choose, and 51% of the students from Somalia did not feel close to Somalia at all. Finally, 79% of the students from Puntland felt very close to Somalia, 1% could not choose, and 20% did not feel close at all.
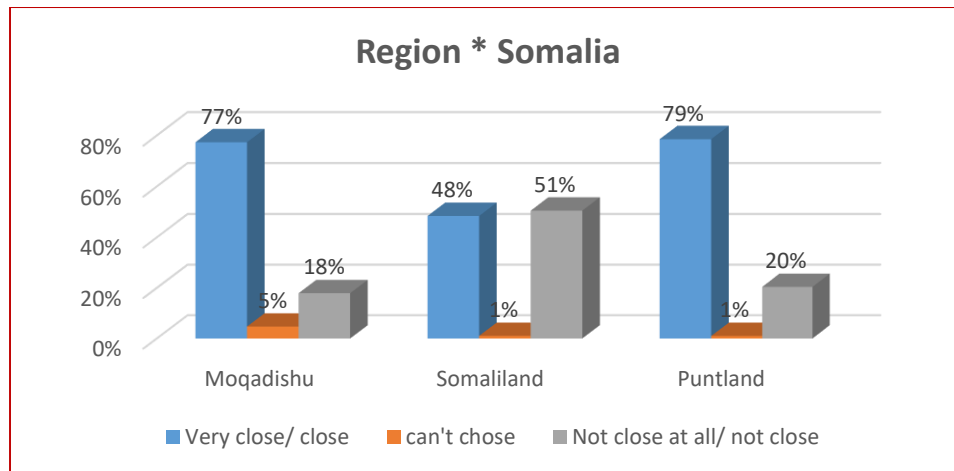
Figure 11: Closeness to Somalia

Finally, the participants were asked to rate their closeness to Somaliland. A significant difference between the results of the students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland and the closeness felt to Somaliland was found [χ^2 (8, N = 285) = 122.74, p<0.01]. It was found that 21% of the students from Mogadishu felt really close to Somaliland, 15% of the students felt that they could not choose and 64% of the students did not feel close to Somaliland. Furthermore, it was noted that 52% of the participants from Somaliland felt really close to Somaliland, 2% could not choose, and 46% of the students did not feel close to Somaliland. Finally, 88% of the students from Puntland felt really close to Somaliland, 4% could not choose, and 8% were not close at all. The results can be seen depicted in Figure 9.
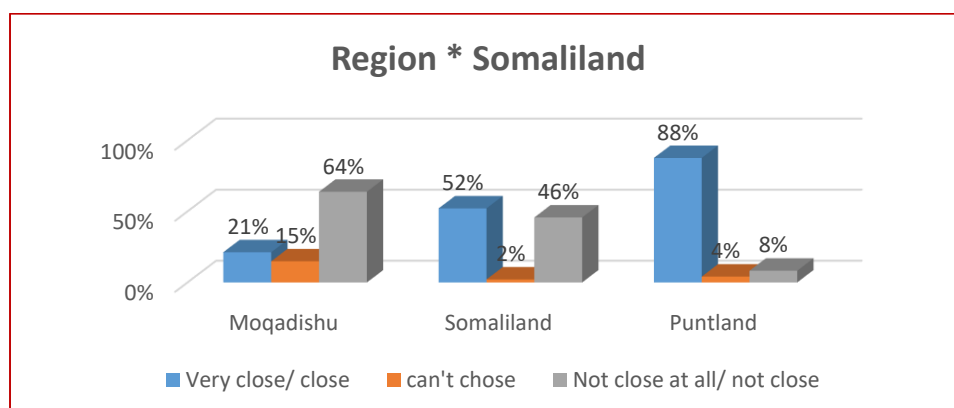

Figure 12: Closeness to Somaliland

247

4.3.4 Perceptions of Factors Required for Being Truly Somali

The students were asked what they felt were the prerequisites for being true Somali. In other words, they were asked to rate the importance of being born in Somalia, to be a Somali citizen, to have lived in Somalia for most of their lives, to be able to speak Somali, to be a Muslim, to respect Somalia's political institutions and laws, and finally to feel Somali.
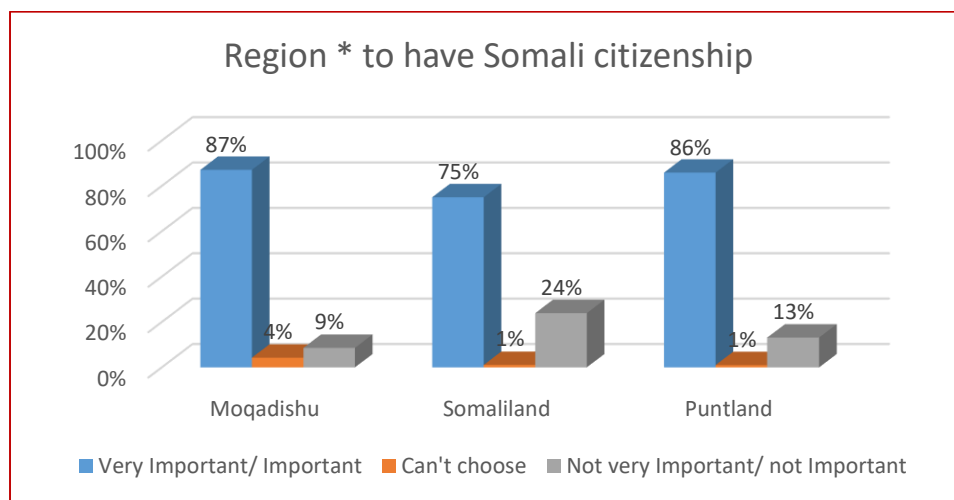
The difference between the regions and their perceptions of the importance of being born in Somalia as a factor of Somali national identity was found to be significant [χ^2 (8, N = 296) = 38.85, p<0.01]. It was noted that 79% of the students from Mogadishu felt it is very important to have been born in Somalia, 3% could not choose, and the remaining 18% felt it was not very important. Similarly, 63% of the students from Somaliland felt it was very important to have been born in Somalia to be considered a true Somali, 1% stated that they could not choose, and 36% stated that they felt it was not very important. In terms of the students from Puntland, 88% said it was very important, and 13% said that it was not very important. See Figure 10.
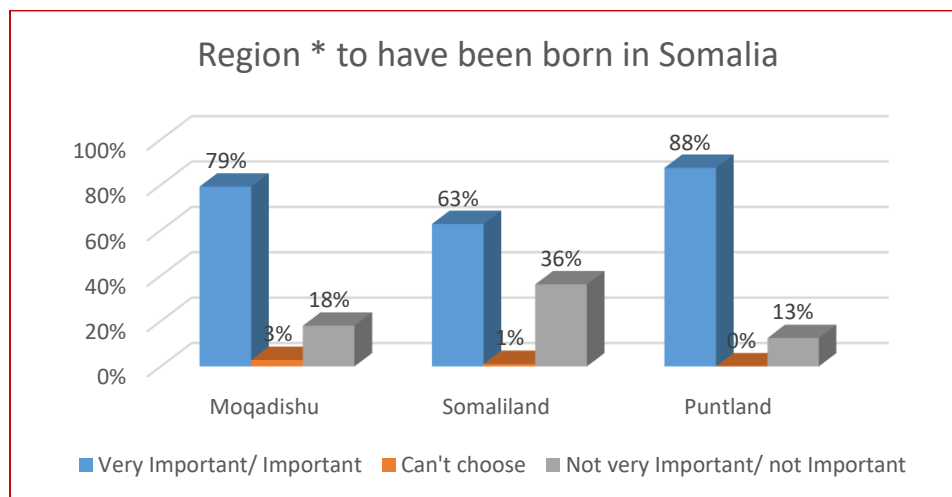
Figure 13: Importance of being born in Somalia

The difference between the regions and their perceptions of the importance of having Somali citizenship (Figure 11) as a factor of Somali national identity was found to be significant [χ^2

(8, N = 284) = 18.95, p<0.01]. It was noted that 87% of the students from Mogadishu feel it is very important to have Somali citizenship, 4% could not choose, and the remaining 9% feel it is not very important. Similarly, 75% of the students from Somaliland felt it was very important to have Somali citizenship to be considered a true Somali, 1% stated that they could not choose, and 24% stated that it was not very important. For the students from Puntland, 86% said it was very important, 1% could not choose, and 13% said that it was not very important to have Somali citizenship to feel Somali.

**Figure 14: Importance of having Somali citizenship**

The difference between the regions and their perceptions of the importance of living in Somali most of one's life (Figure 12) was found to be significant [χ^2 (8, N = 297) = 56.74, p<0.01]. It was noted that 81% of the students from Mogadishu feel it is very important to have lived in Somalia for most of one's life, 2% could not choose, and the remaining 17% feel it is not very important. Similarly, 37% of the students from Somaliland felt it was very important to have lived in Somalia for most of one's life to be considered a true Somali, 4% stated that they could not choose, and 59% stated that they it was not very important. For the

students from Puntland, 76% said it was very important, 3% could not choose, and 21% said

that it was not very important to have lived in Somalia for most of one's life.
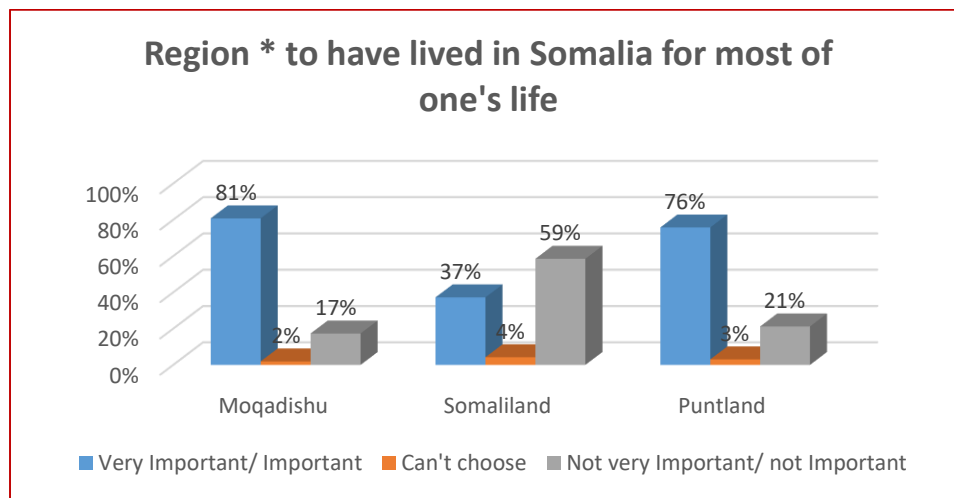
Figure 15: Importance of having lived in Somalia for most of one's life

The participants were asked to rate the importance of being able to speak Somali as a core

part of the Somali identity. A significant difference between the results of the students from

Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland and the importance of being able to speak Somali was

found [χ^2 (8, N = 296) = 26.94, p<0.01]. It was found that 84% of the students from

Mogadishu felt it was important to be able to speak Somali, 2% of the students felt that they

could not choose, and 14% of the students did not feel is important to speak Somali

Furthermore, it was noted that 97% of the participants from Somaliland felt it was important

to be able to speak Somali, and 3% of the students felt it was important to be able to speak

Somali. Finally, 97% of the students from Puntland felt it was important to be able to speak

Somali, and 3% did not consider it important at all. The results can be seen depicted in Figure

13.
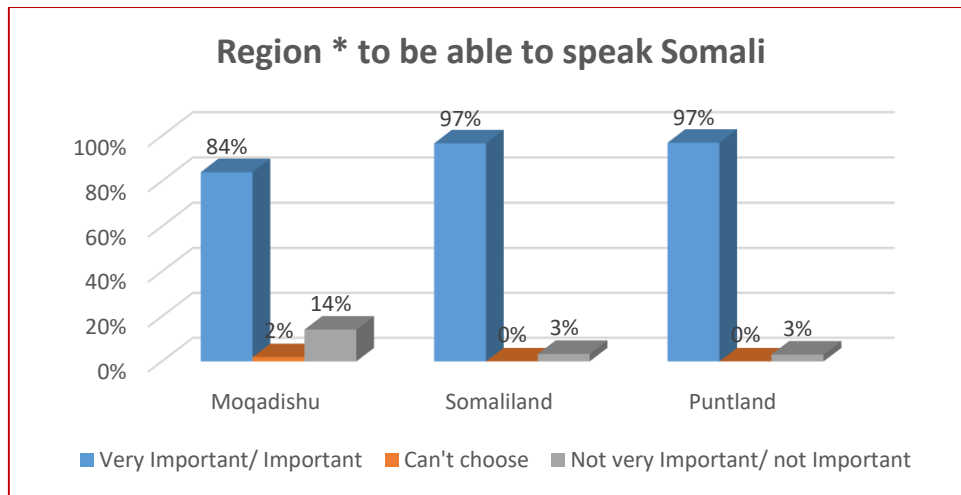
Figure 16: Importance of being able to speak Somali

The participants were asked to rate the importance of being a Muslim as a core part of the true Somali identity. A significant difference between the results of the students from Mogadishu, Somaliland and Puntland and the importance of being a Muslim was found [χ^2 (4, N = 286) = 10.33, p<0.05]. It was found that 88% of the students from Mogadishu felt it was important to be a Muslim, 1% of the students felt that they could not choose and 11% of the students did not feel it was important to be a Muslim. Furthermore, it was noted that 93% of the participants from Somaliland felt it was important to be a Muslim, and 7% of the students felt it was not important to be a Muslim. Finally, 99% of the students from Puntland felt it was important to be to be a Muslim, and 1% did not consider it important at all. The results can be seen depicted in Figure 14.
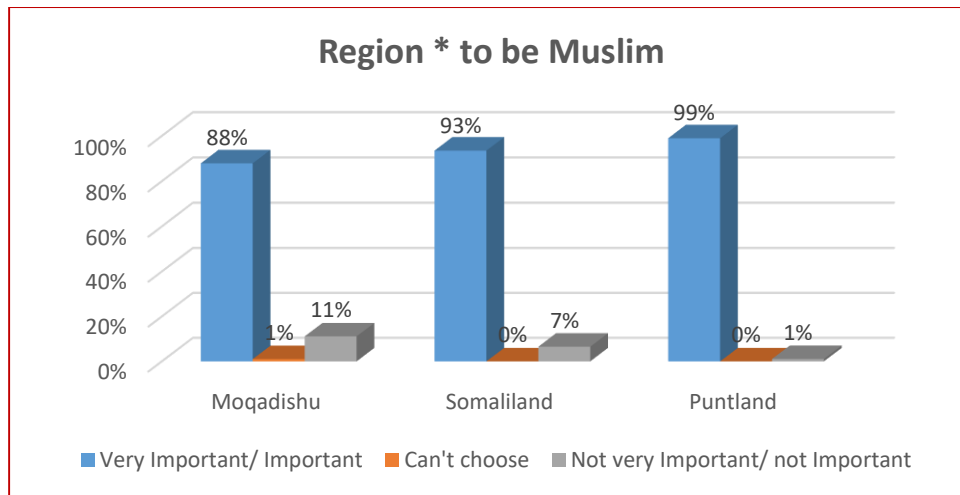
Figure 17: Importance of being a Muslim

The participants were asked to rate the importance of respecting Somalia's political institutions and laws. A non-significant difference between the results of the students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland and the importance of respecting Somalia's political institutions and laws was found [χ^2 (8, N = 293) = 10.33, p=0.28]. The cross tabulation is presented below in Table 2.

Table 9: Importance of respecting Somalia's political institutions and laws

Region		Very Important	Fairly important	Can't choose	Not very important	Not important at all	Total
	Mogadishu	46%	31%	1%	10%	13%	100%
	Somaliland	38%	33%	1%	10%	18%	100%
	Puntland	49%	35%	3%	5%	7%	100%
Total		45%	33%	2%	8%	13%	100%

The participants were then asked to rate the importance of feeling Somali as a core part of the true Somali identity. A significant difference between the results of the students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland and the importance of feeling Somali was found [χ^2 (8, N = 297) = 52.14, p<0.01]. As can be seen from Figure 15, it was found that 82% of the students from Mogadishu felt it was important to be feel Somali, 5% of the students felt that they could not choose, and 13% of the students did not feel it was important to feel Somali. Furthermore, it was noted that 80% of the participants from Somaliland felt it was important to feel Somali, 1% could not choose and 19% of the students felt it was not important to feel Somali. Finally, 96% of the students from Puntland felt it was important to be feel Somali, 1% could not choose, and 3% did not consider it important at all.
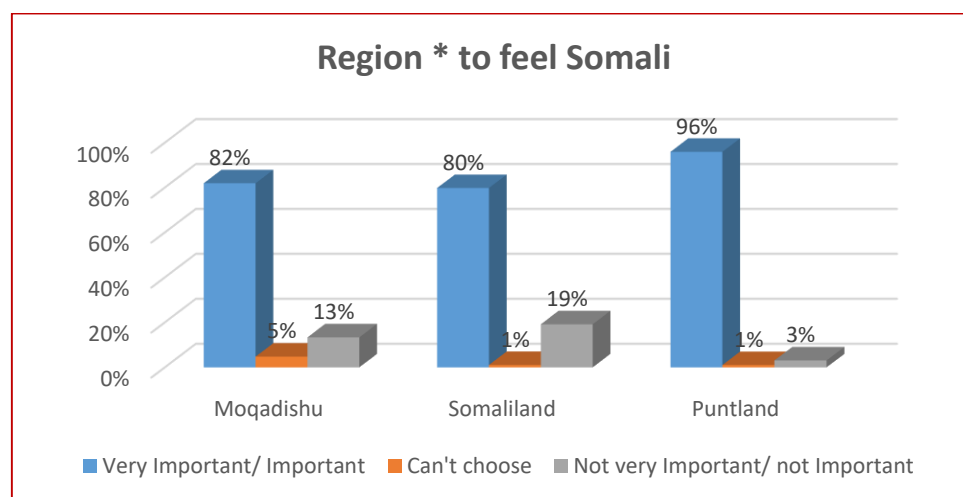
Figure 18: Importance of feeling Somali

4.3.5 Perception of Somalia

4.3.5.1 Citizenship

The participants were asked if they would rather be a citizen of Somalia than of any other country and the difference of results obtained for the students of Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland were found to be non-significant [χ^2 (4, N = 302) = 8.74, p<0.068] as well as for if they feel proud to be Somali when their country does well in international sports [χ^2 (4, N = 295) = 3.597, p=0.463]. Finally, the difference in the results was non-significant for when the

students were asked if they feel less proud to be Somali that they would like [χ^2 (8, N = 293) = 2.69, p=0.95].

The cross tabulations are provided below (Table 3) for each of the above-mentioned parameters.

Table 10: Cross tabulations for three parameters

		I would rather be a citizen of Somalia than of any other country in the world					
		Agree strongly	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Total
Region	Mogadishu	82%	9%	2%	6%	1%	100%
	Somaliland	61%	18%	6%	7%	8%	100%
	Puntland	71%	14%	7%	4%	4%	100%
Total		72%	14%	5%	6%	4%	100%

		When my country does well in international sports, it makes me proud to be Somali					
		Agree strongly	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Total
Region	Mogadishu	66%	15%	12%	2%	5%	100%
	Somaliland	50%	21%	17%	9%	3%	100%
	Puntland	71%	8%	11%	4%	5%	100%

|		Agree strongly	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Total
Total		63%	15%	13%	5%	4%	100%

I am often less proud of Somalia than I would like to be.

		Agree strongly	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Total
Region	Mogadishu	29%	22%	13%	22%	14%	100%
	Somaliland	28%	23%	8%	28%	13%	100%
	Puntland	32%	24%	10%	22%	11%	100%
Total		30%	23%	11%	24%	13%	100%

On the other hand, significant difference was found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland for if the students wanted to be a citizen of Somaliland than any other country [χ^2 (8, N = 300) = 66.278, p<0.00]. Figure 16 represents the results obtained.
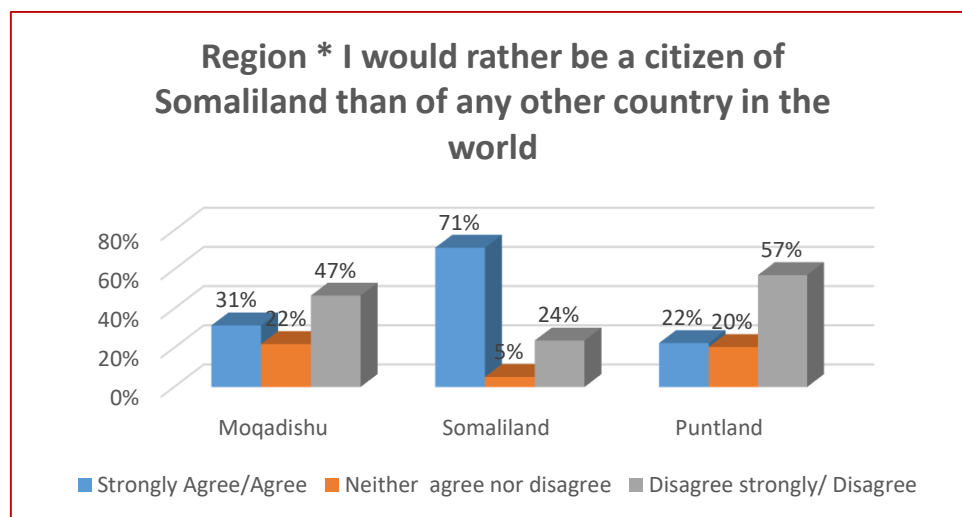
**Figure 19: I would rather be a citizen of Somaliland than of any other country in the world**

255

Similarly, significant difference was found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland for if the students considered Somalia better than any other country [χ^2 (8, N = 293) = 49.04, p<0.00]. Figure 17 represents the results obtained.
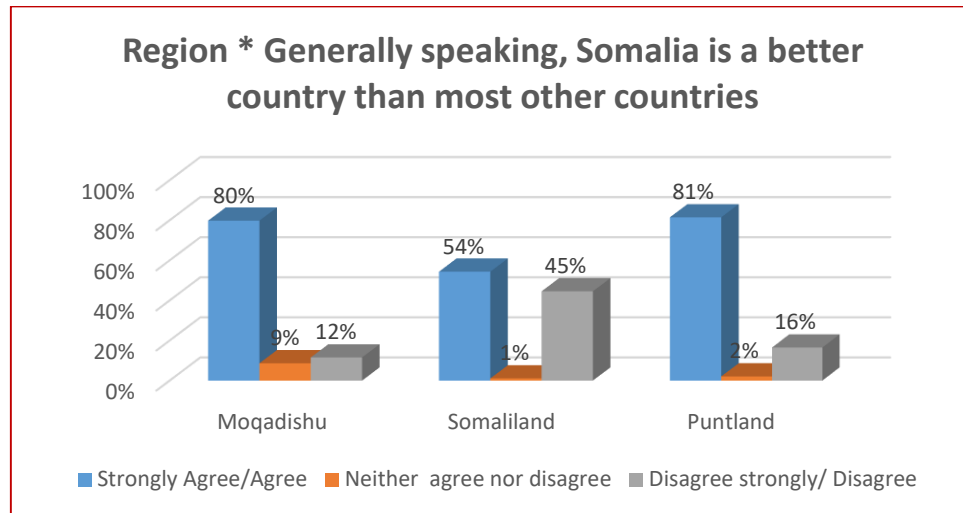
Figure 20: Somalia is a better country than of any other country in the world

Furthermore, significant difference was found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland for if the students considered supporting their country even if the country is wrong [χ^2 (8, N = 295) = 21.697, p<0.05]. Figure 18 represents the results obtained.
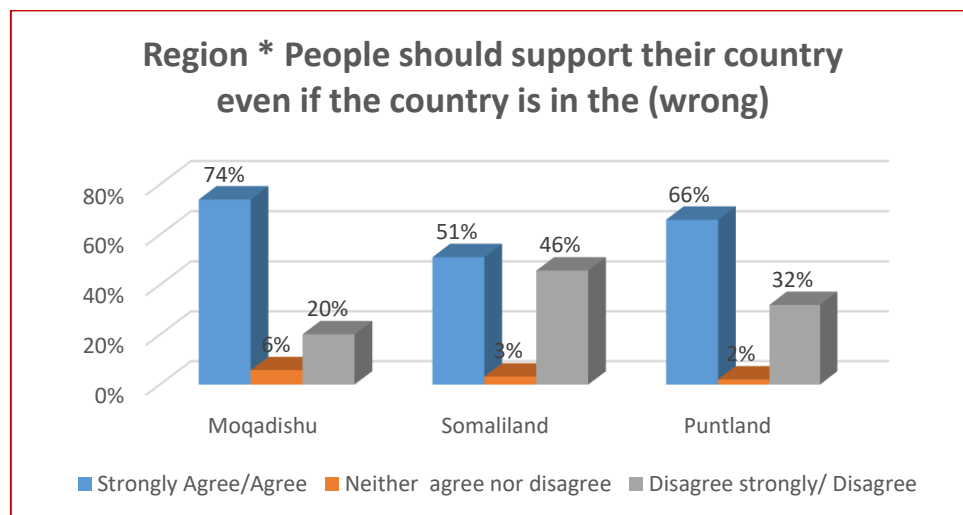
Figure 21: Somalia is a better country than of any other country in the world

4.3.6 Proudness associated with Somalia

Students were asked to rate how proud they felt for the social cultural system of the country, its history, and its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society. The participants were asked if they feel proud of the social cultural system of the country and the difference of result obtained for the students of Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland were found to be non-significant [χ^2 (4, N = 303) = 5.762, p<0.218] as well as for if they feel proud its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society [χ^2 (4, N = 296) = 5.196, p=0.268]. The cross tabulations are provided below (Table 4).

Table 11: Cross tabulations for two parameters

		It's social cultural system					
		Very proud	Somewhat proud	Can't choose	Not very proud	Not proud at all	Total
Region	Mogadishu	71%	21%	1%	1%	6%	100%
	Somaliland	61%	28%		2%	9%	100%
	Puntland	55%	41%		1%	3%	100%
Total		63%	30%	0%	1%	6%	100%
		Its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society					
		Very proud	Somewhat proud	Can't choose	Not very proud	Not proud at all	Total

Region	Mogadishu	35.9%	21.4%	4.9%	12.6%	25.2%	100.0%
	Somaliland	30.2%	13.5%	5.2%	29.2%	21.9%	100.0%
	Puntland	32.0%	20.6%	2.1%	28.9%	16.5%	100.0%
Total		32.8%	18.6%	4.1%	23.3%	21.3%	100.0%

Significant difference was found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland for if the students feeling proud of the country's history [χ^2 (4, N = 300) = 11.240, p<0.05]. Figure 19 represents the results obtained.
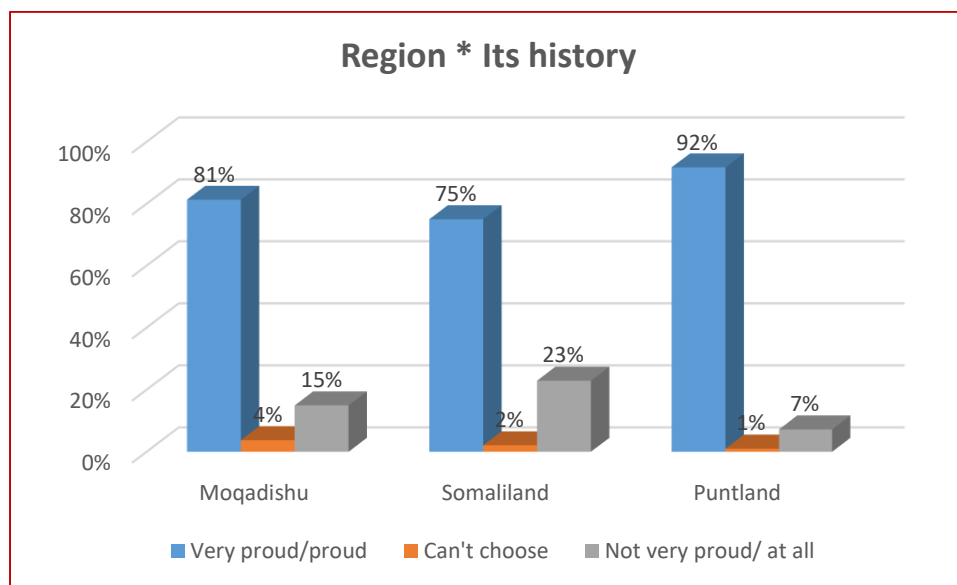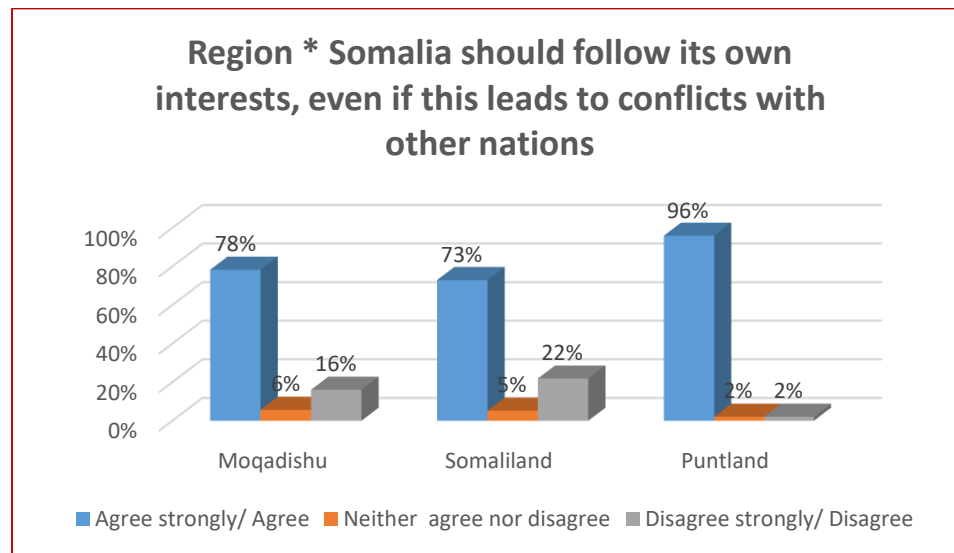

Figure 22: Feeling proud of the history

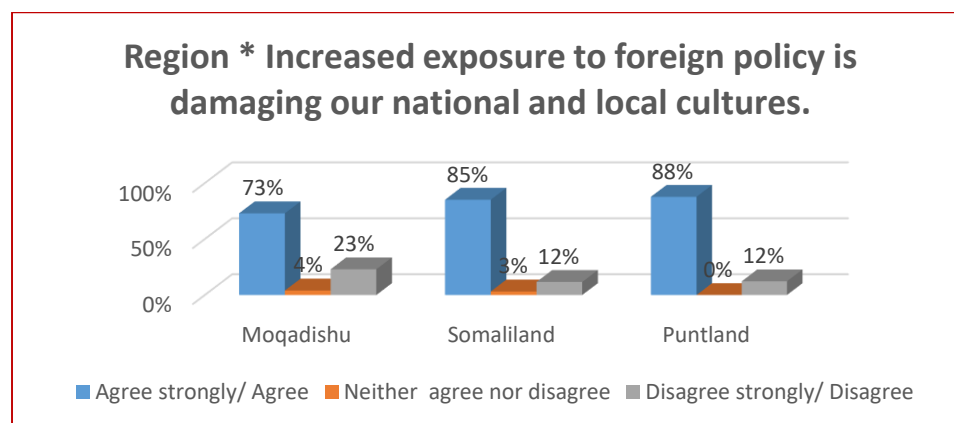### 4.3.7 Somalia and Media and International Policies

Students were asked to rate the country's media and international policies. The results are presented below (Figure 20).

Significant difference was found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland with respect to if Somalia should follow its own national interests as even if it creates conflicts with other nations [χ^2 (8, N = 300) = 23.493, p<0.05].

Region * Somalia should follow its own interests, even if this leads to conflicts with other nations

Moqadishu: Agree strongly/ Agree 78%, Neither agree nor disagree 6%, Disagree strongly/ Disagree 16%
Somaliland: Agree strongly/ Agree 73%, Neither agree nor disagree 5%, Disagree strongly/ Disagree 22%
Puntland: Agree strongly/ Agree 96%, Neither agree nor disagree 2%, Disagree strongly/ Disagree 2%

■ Agree strongly/ Agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Disagree strongly/ Disagree

Figure 23: Somalia is a better country than of any other country in the world

Significant difference was found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland with respect to if increased exposure to foreign policy is damaging Somalia's national and local cultures [χ^2 (4, N = 292) = 10.243, p<0.05]. Figure 21.

Region * Increased exposure to foreign policy is damaging our national and local cultures.

Moqadishu: Agree strongly/ Agree 73%, Neither agree nor disagree 4%, Disagree strongly/ Disagree 23%
Somaliland: Agree strongly/ Agree 85%, Neither agree nor disagree 3%, Disagree strongly/ Disagree 12%
Puntland: Agree strongly/ Agree 88%, Neither agree nor disagree 0%, Disagree strongly/ Disagree 12%

■ Agree strongly/ Agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Disagree strongly/ Disagree

**Figure 24: Increased exposure to foreign policy is damaging our national and local cultures**

259

With respect to if the students think the benefit of the Internet is that it makes information available to more and more people worldwide, the results were found to be non-significant $[\chi^2 (4, N = 292) = 6.013, p=0.198]$. Figure 22.
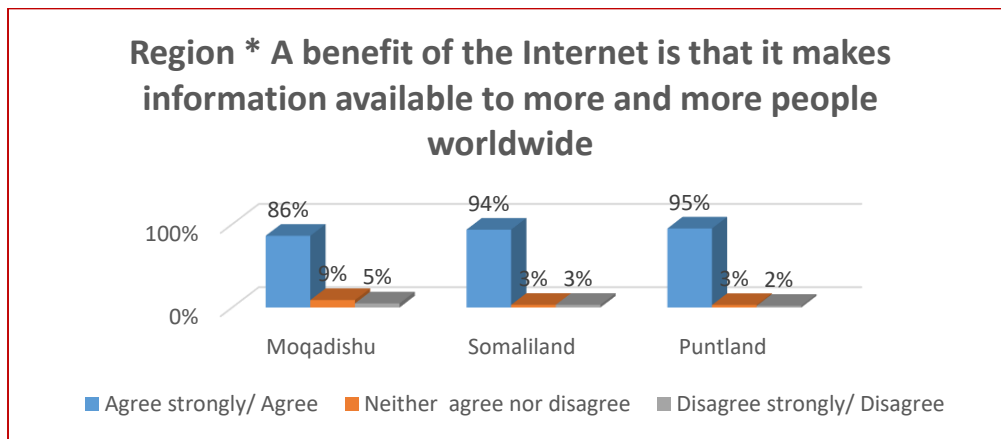
Figure 25: Benefit of the Internet is that it makes information available to more and more people worldwide

4.3.8 Relation to Somalia

The students were asked if they were citizens of Somalia and the difference between the regions was found to be significant $[\chi^2 (2, N = 280) = 21.856, p<0.01]$ and are presented in Figure 23.
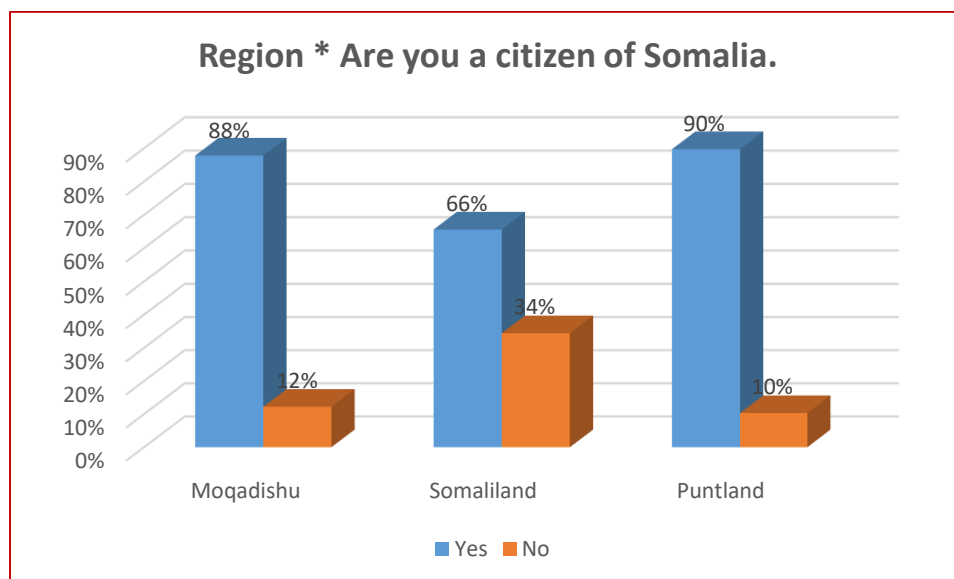
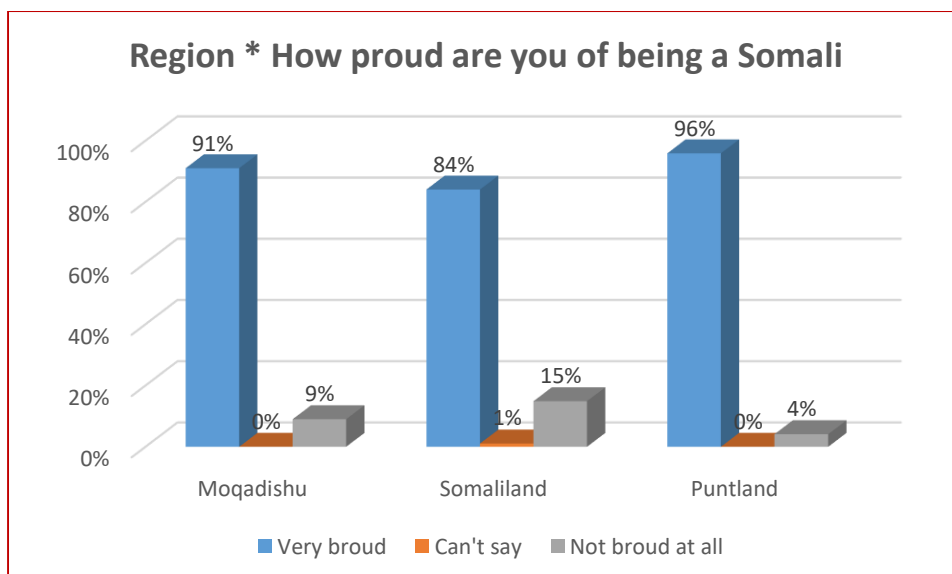**Figure 26: Citizens of Somalia**

260

The students were also asked to state if their parents were citizens of the country at the time of the student's birth and the regional differences were significant [χ^2 (6, N = 293) = 41.54, p<0.01] and are presented in Figure 24.
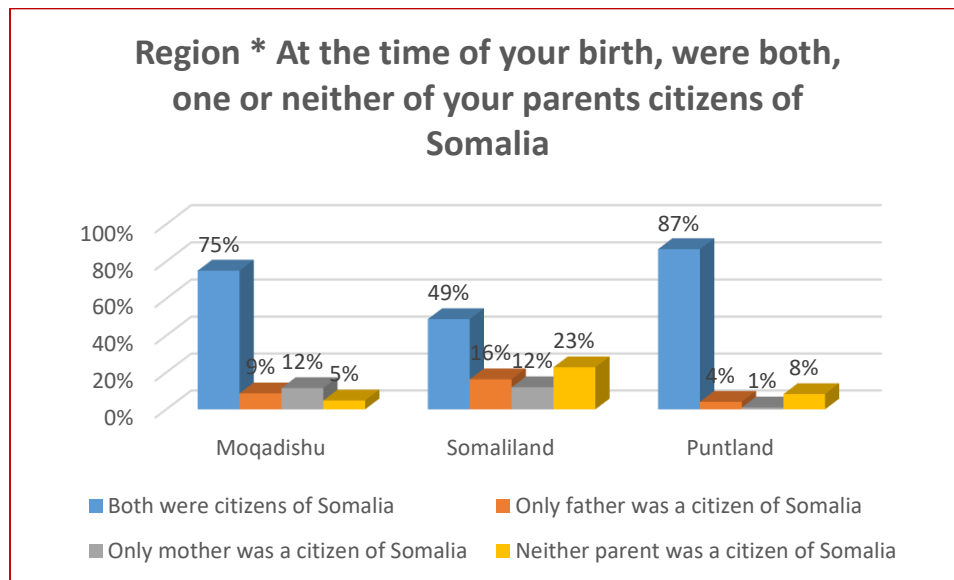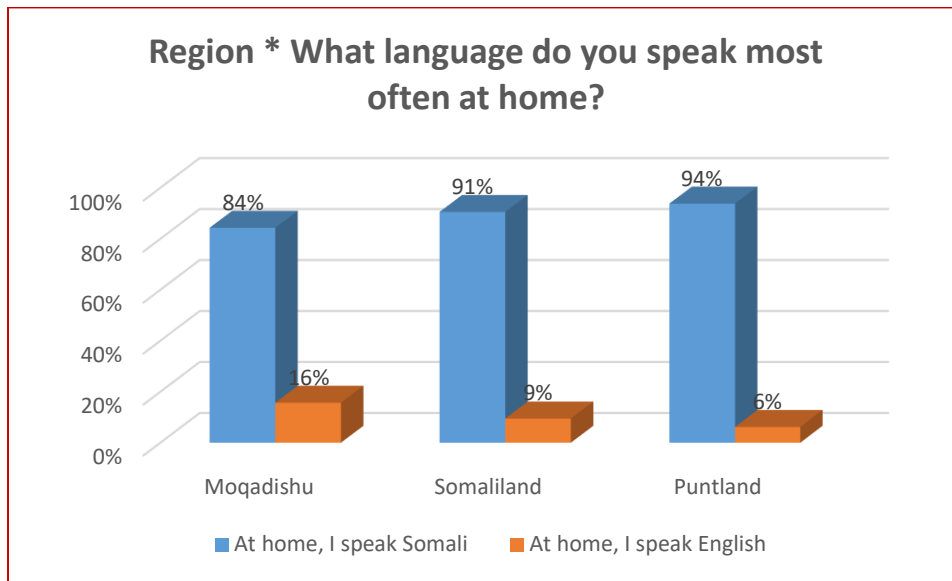

Figure 27: Parental Citizenship

It was also seen that there was no significant difference between the regions in terms of the proudness the students felt for being Somali [χ^2 (4, N = 291) = 8.823, p=0.066], and in terms of the language that was used to communicate at home [χ^2 (2, N = 294) = 4.928, p=0.085]. The results are depicted in Figures 25 and 26 respectively.
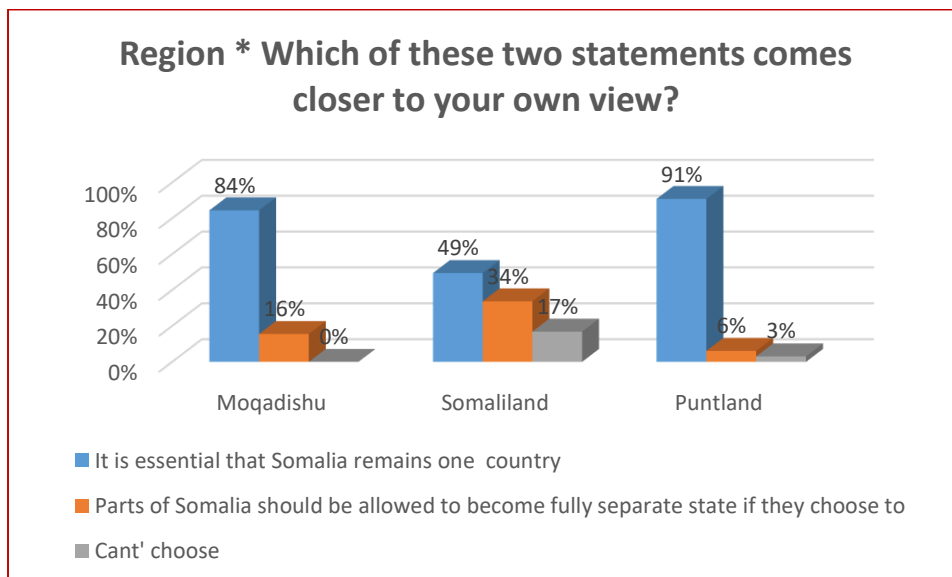
Figure 28: Proud of being Somali

Region * What language do you speak most often at home?

Moqadishu: At home, I speak Somali 84%, At home, I speak English 16%
Somaliland: At home, I speak Somali 91%, At home, I speak English 9%
Puntland: At home, I speak Somali 94%, At home, I speak English 6%

■ At home, I speak Somali ■ At home, I speak English

Figure 29: Spoken language at home

Finally, it can be seen from Figure 27 that there were regional differences between the belief that Somalia should remain one country or be allowed to separate as Somaliland [χ^2 (4, N = 290) = 56.601, p<0.01].

Region * Which of these two statements comes closer to your own view?

Moqadishu: 84%, 16%, 0%
Somaliland: 49%, 34%, 17%
Puntland: 91%, 6%, 3%

■ It is essential that Somalia remains one country
■ Parts of Somalia should be allowed to become fully separate state if they choose to
■ Cant' choose

Figure 30: Unity or separation of Somalia

The ISSP survey was distributed to secondary students in Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland to answer research question of "how do secondary students perceive national

262

identity". Responses of 300 students were analysed by Chi-square test, the quantitative results showed there are significant differences between secondary students in understanding national consciousness and identity on different domains of relationship between individuals and country, feeling of closeness, perception of factors required for being truly Somali, perception of Somalia, proudness associated with Somalia, Somalia, and media, and international policy, and relation to Somalia.as follows

First component of relationship between individuals and country: There were significant differences in relationship with clan/tribe [χ^2 (4, N = 288) = 41.437, p<0.01]. Also, significant differences in importance of religion [χ^2 (4, N = 300) = 21.874, p<0.01]. Significant difference between the regions where the students were from and the relative importance of the part of Somalia they lived in [χ^2 (4, N = 289) = 12.476, p<0.01]. There is no significant relationship between the nationality's relative importance based on the region that students were from Nationality importance based on region. [χ^2 (4, N = 289) = 7.02, p=0.13].

Feeling of Closeness:

The students were asked to rate how close they feel to their province or region, Somalia, and Somaliland. The differences between where the students were from and the rate of closeness they feel to their province or region was found to be significant [χ^2 (8, N = 292) = 18.98, p<0.01]. The students were then asked to rate their closeness to Somalia. The difference were significant [χ^2 (8, N = 299) = 55.51, p<0.01]. Finally, the participants were asked to rate their closeness to Somaliland. A significant difference between the results of the students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland and the closeness felt to Somaliland was found [χ^2 (8, N = 285) = 122.74, p<0.01].

Perception of Factors Required for Being Truly Somali:

The students were asked what they felt was the prerequisite for being a true Somali. In other words, they were asked to rate the importance of being born in Somalia, to be a Somali citizen, to have lived in Somalia for most of their lives, to be able to speak Somali, to be a Muslim, to respect Somalia's political institutions and laws, and finally to feel Somali. The difference between the regions and their perceptions of the importance of being born in Somalia as a factor of Somali national identity was found to be significant ($p<0.01$).

The participants were asked to rate the importance of respecting Somalia's political institutions and laws. A non-significant difference between the results of the students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland and the importance of respecting Somalia's political institutions and laws was found [χ^2 (8, N = 293) = 10.33, p=0.28].

Perception of Somalia:

The participants were asked about different components of citizenship, such as if they would rather be a citizen of Somalia than of any other country. Difference of results obtained for the students of Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland was found to be non-significant [χ^2 (4, N = 302) = 8.74, p<0.068]. The difference was non-significant as well for "if they feel proud to be Somali when their country does well in international sports" [χ^2 (4, N = 295) = 3.597, p=0.463]. Finally, the difference in the results was non-significant for when the students were asked "if they feel less proud to be Somali that they would like" [χ^2 (8, N = 293) = 2.69, p=0.95]. The participants were then asked to rate the importance of feeling Somali as a core part of the true Somali identity. A significant difference between the results of the students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland and the importance of feeling Somali was found [χ^2 (8, N = 297) = 52.14, p<0.01].

On the other hand, significant difference was found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland for "if the students wanted to be a citizen of Somaliland than any

other country" [χ^2 (8, N = 300) = 66.278, p<0.00]. Similarly, significant difference was found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland for "if the students considered Somalia better than any other country" [χ^2 (8, N = 293) = 49.04, p<0.00].

Furthermore, significant difference was found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland for "if the students considered supporting their country even if the country is wrong" [χ^2 (8, N = 295) = 21.697, p<0.05].

4.4 Proudness Associated with Somalia

Students were asked to rate how proud they felt for the social cultural system of the country, its history, and its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society. The participants were asked if they feel proud of the social cultural system of the country and the difference of result obtained for the students of Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland were found to be non-significant [χ^2 (4, N = 303) = 5.762, p<0.218] as well as for if they feel proud its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society [χ^2 (4, N = 296) = 5.196, p=0.268]. Significant difference was found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland for "if the students felt proud of the country's history" [χ^2 (4, N = 300) = 11.240, p<0.05].

4.5 Somalia and Media and International Policies

Students were asked to rate the country's media and international policies. Significant difference was found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland with respect to "if Somalia should follow its own national interests as even if it creates conflicts with other nations" [χ^2 (8, N = 300) = 23.493, p<0.05]. Significant difference was found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland with respect to "if increased exposure to foreign policy is damaging Somalia's national and local cultures" [χ^2 (4, N = 292) = 10.243, p<0.05].

With respect to "if the students think the benefit of the Internet is that it makes information available to more and more people worldwide", the results were found to be non-significant [χ^2 (4, N = 292) = 6.013, p=0.198].

Relation to Somalia

The students were asked "if they were citizens of Somalia" and the difference between the regions was found to be significant [χ^2 (2, N = 280) = 21.856, p<0.01].

The students were also asked to state "if their parents were citizens of the country at the time of the student's birth" and the regional differences were significant [χ^2 (6, N = 293) = 41.54, p<0.01]. It was also seen that there was no significant difference between the regions in terms of the "proudness the students felt for being Somali" [χ^2 (4, N = 291) = 8.823, p=0.066], and "in terms of the language that was used to communicate at home" [χ^2 (2, N = 294) = 4.928, p=0.085]. There were regional differences between the belief that "Somalia should remain one country or be allowed to separate as Somaliland" [χ^2 (4, N = 290) = 56.601, p<0.01].

4.6 Qualitative Analysis

The present section provides a detailed analysis of the qualitative data that has been gathered through the process of semi-structured interview with the principals, teachers, and MOE advisors of the school. The analysis has been carried out based on Eisner's criticism framework.

4.6.1 Trustworthiness, Reliability, Validity, and Generalization

Since interview text was theoretically analysed using the Eisner criticism framework, the validation of theoretical interpretation of the interview texts could not be achieved through general methodical procedure as followed in other research studies. It is extremely important to establish reliability, validity of of the interpretations made to increase its credibility and generalizability.

According to Shaidi et al. (2014) and Vars (2002), Eisner introduced three ways to enhance the credibility of "educational criticism": 1) "structural corroboration" by triangulation; 2) "consensual validation" agreement among "competent others"; 3) "referential adequacy"—the "extent to which criticism reveals what might otherwise be overlooked". In this direction, this study adopted a triangulated mixed method and used an ISSP questionnaire to obtain quantitative data to confirm credibility of interpreted data. In this method, the researcher compared the findings across both the datasets and attempts to validate the outcome by supporting the findings obtained from each of the analysis. Referential adequacy was achieved by providing in-depth description of the context and data analysis. This was done to engage the reader to develop understanding of the subject matter.

Analytical generalization "rests upon rich contextual description and includes the researcher argumentation for the transferability of the interview findings to other subjects and situations" (Kavel & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 265). Merriam (2009) recommended thick and rich description to enhance transferability (generalization). According to Eisner, findings/results could be generalised "in similar educational conditions" (Shaidi et al. 2014).

4.6.2   Principals, Vice Principals, Teachers, and MOE Advisors.

The main purpose of this study was to examine the current history curriculum in Somalia with the aim to propose a new history curriculum for secondary schools within the context of Somalia. Eisner's criticism model was the qualitative method to provide thick description of phenomena (Creswell, 2014, p. 8). Data were collected through semi-structured interviews. Participants were 11 educators from Mogadishu, Puntland, and Somaliland. Educators were selected as purposive sampling. As per participants' choice, the interviews were conducted either in the principal's office or the MOE advisor office. Interviews lasted for 45-60 min. Interviews were conducted and recorded with researcher assistance. All interviews were conducted in Somali. For the purpose of analysis, data were transcribed in Somali and then

translated into English. Analysis of open-ended questions was an iterative process. After reading transcripts several times, codes/themes were generated based on theoretical knowledge and using ideas from literature. Codes and themes obtained from one transcript were cross-checked with new transcripts to ensure "robustness of generated codes".

Eisner's criticism frame was used for theoretical analysis of qualitative data. Shahidi et al. (2014) emphasized the critical nature of the Eisner model: An "evaluator who adopts the Eisner model tends to 'search critically' all aspects related to context and individuals such as curriculum, activities, and products". Data analyses using this model were extended to description, interpretation, evaluation, and themes (Eisner criticism model).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 11 educators to address the research overarching questions of "What is the current history curriculum in Somalia and what type of history curriculum is appropriate for secondary schools within the context of Somalia?

These were explored through three sub-questions:

1. What is the status of history curriculum of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa?
2. What are educator perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum?
3. Can a new history curriculum of secondary school be developed? Are there any specific characteristics required to make it relevant for the Somali context?

One principal, 2 assistant principals, and 5 teachers from 3 secondary schools in Mogadishu, Hargeesa, and Garwe participated in the semi-structured interviews. Three MOE advisors were also were interviewed. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with each of the participants in their region, and participants were selected purposively as the educators who were approached were working either in secondary schools or the MOE in Somalia. The

interviewees have different levels of experience in their "leadership roles" and teaching years.

Participants were asked open-ended questions about their perspective and understanding of current history curriculum. Informed consent was obtained from all participants before conducting the interviews. Participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and they could withdraw at any time. Upon participants' agreement, interviewees talked for 45-60 minutes about the current history curriculum of secondary schools, how far it reflected national needs, about the content of the program, and characteristics of a new curriculum if a new one should be developed. Interviews were conducted and recorded by the research assistants. The researcher translated the interviews from Somali into English. The transcribed data was reviewed and then analysed.

At beginning of interviews, participants were asked three questions related to age, designation/job, and experience years. Table 1 shows participant demographic information.

Table 12: Summary of Participants' Profile

School members (Male)

Age	36-47 years
Gender/No	11 (Male)
Principal experience	5 years (avg.)
Teaching experience	5 years (avg.)
Advisor at MOE	4 years

Participants were asked 9 questions:

1. To what extent is the content of history curriculum of secondary school embedded in the present day?

2. In 1991, Somalia had violent conflict. In your opinion why did this conflict happen?

3. Past, present, and future—to what extent does the current history text book of secondary schools tackle these dimensions in order to provide learners with opportunity to make meaningful learning of the past?

4. What is the role of history education in the process of socio-political transformation in Somalia?

5. To what extent does clan identity shape relationships in the secondary school community?

6. In your opinion, what characteristics should a new history curriculum have in order to address the "divisions of the past"?

7. How can the new narrative of traumatic memories provide an opportunity to reconstruct national identity in a post-conflict context?

8. How do current history text books tackle blind spots of the past.

9. How can secondary students from different clan backgrounds interact with multiple history curricula?

Analysis of open-ended questions was an iterative process. After reading transcripts several times, codes were generated based on theoretical knowledge and using ideas from literature. Codes obtained from one transcript were cross-checked with new transcripts to ensure "robustness of generated codes".

4.7 Results

Eisner's criticism framework was adopted for theoretical analysis of qualitative data. Analysis consisted of description, interpretation, evaluation, and themes.

4.7.1 Interpretation

4.7.1.1 Relevancy of the current history curriculum in Somalia

One of the objectives of this study was to analyse the existing history curriculum of Somalia. In order to understand this aspect, the participants were asked questions that attempted to understand the extent to which the secondary school history curriculum is embedded in the present-day context or in other words the extent to which it addresses the current social context of the country. As mentioned earlier the data was collected from three cities including Moqadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa. The below analysis provides a detailed analysis of the above.

Mogadishu

Participants advocated the important role that history curriculum could play in social development. A vice principal emphasized the role of history in building national identity when he said, "History has an important role to let students know about the past since those who do not have a past do not have a present". However, the existing history curriculum is irrelevant to the current situation of Somalia. "Current history curriculum is irrelevant to society needs. However, history has a significant role in state building if it's written in an adequate way to discuss the past, present, and national history of Somalia. Unfortunately, the secondary curriculum of schools in Somalia is written by others which is a big loss of Somalia" (MOE Advisor, Mogadishu). From the opinion of the participant, one of the major problem of the region is identified that is lack of national authors for writing the history textbooks. This finding can be corroborated by the perspective provided by Hussein (2015) and Cassaneli and Abikadir (2008) who stated that school textbooks and learning materials were collected from different resources to fill the shortage of learning resources. Some school

text books were imported from Kenya as well a the Arab World, and some schools re-used school textbooks that were printed in the Somali language post-collapse in 1970 to 1980. This indicates the issue of relevance of the history text books that are used for teaching Somalian history. The books written by other authors may not reflect the indogeneous experience of the people in pre-Colonial and colonial era as well as the changes in the post independence phase.

Some of regions have short narratives of Sayyied Mohammed Abdillahi Hassan and the Dervish movement, but these are included as nostalgia and are not well structured. Teacher 2 said: "The current history of Somalia does not talk about the national history of Somalia; however, there are some regions that offer little about that history such as the history of Sayyied Mohammed Abdillahi Hassan". Abdullahi (2018) pointed out the significant contribution of Mohammed Abdillahi Hassan in anti-colonial movement. The damage that took place through the series of expeditions during that period is significant in understanding the state of the current economy of the region. If the students do not acquire knowledge of such historical events, their knowledge development will not be comprehensive and they will suffer from poor analytical skill.

Furthermore, the teachers advocated the importance of historical knowledge, especially for rebuilding post-conflict societies. Two teachers argued that the secondary curriculum does not address post-conflict issues in Somalia. "The history has a very important role to inform students of what happened in the past and the challenges that old governments had. This will help know and understand what is going on in the present—especially that we live now in what is known as post-conflict societies. In spite of this importance, the current secondary history does not touch upon the current history of Somalia.

Hargessa

The Advisor said, "there is no relevancy of curriculum content. Although history curriculum is important to inform students about historical events in the past, the current history curriculum fails to have such content; subsequently, students are not aware of the past in Somalia". Although historical knowledge is fundamental for students to know their origins, the historical narrative does not provide such content "Despite the important role of history to inform students about the achievement of their ancestors, unfortunately, the current history curriculum is irrelevant to present situation (Principal, Hargessa). This is similimar to the idea provided by Yazici and Yildirim (2018) who argued that it is important to visit the past and try to rediscover it to understand the present and seek the "new future". This indicates the need to reflect the actual content that reflects the history of the country and thus provides the student with adequate knowledge of past events.

Similarly, teachers agreed the current curriculum is irrelevant to Somaliland/Somalia. "History should have a significant role to teach students what happened in the past so they can learn from what happened and ensure they do not repeat the mistakes that occurred in the past" (Teacher 1, Hargessa). Irrelevant content of history could undermine national development and reconciliation where students cannot know what happened in the past; subsequently, there is huge potential to repeat mistakes of the past." The role of history in national identity formation has been emphasized by a number of authors like Valeryevich (2011), Naylor (2015), Weldon (2009), Smith (2011), and Gil (2007). As noted by these authors understanding historical significance of events can contribute to development of national identity and thus may lead to social transformation. It also helps in combatting clan prejudice and by emphasizing social cohesion and national identity.

Similar to the above Teacher 2 also stated that "history has an important role for students. It is important for the person to know from where he came from and where he is going to achieve his target. Also, history is important for the nation's development, whereas a history

curriculum offers the opportunity to narrate the historical events in the past and present, where the people can learn from the past and to assure similar mistakes will not be repeated in the future" (Teacher 2, Hargessa). Thus, history education is important for the students in developing understanding of the past, analyse the present, build national identity, and also prepare for the future in a better way.

Garwe

History curriculum is not well structured, it is irrelevant, and lacks a national narrative of Somalia. The content reflects the history of other countries because of two reasons: first, school curriculum is exported from different countries. As noted by Teacher 1 "unfortunately, there is no curriculum for the national history of Somalia. The current one touches briefly on some aspects, but the majority of the content talks about history related to other countries which is irrelevant to the history of Somalia". The second reason is state collapse, where the education system is completely ruined and lacks important resources. "Post-war, the education system collapsed. There was no attention given to secondary education, but the focus was on primary and middle school. Upon intervention of national and foreign agencies, they advocated the importance of placing attention on secondary education" (MOE Advisor). In addition, the MOE advisor also noted the absence of a well-structured curriculum in Somalia. The Advisor asserted that education was much better pre-collapse when there were intensive efforts to provide financial support for education development. "Before the war, education was better to a certain extent. Pre-collapse the government used to handle all education affairs, exams, and monthly salaries for MOE employees".

Because of exported curriculum and irrelevant narratives, the majority of students do not have an interest in history as a subject and they prefer new technology as the vice-principal

commented, "the history curriculum is irrelevant; therefore, there is no role for history, and history is not a favourite subject of students. They are more into new technology".

Furthermore, there is an inconsistency issue due to multiple history curricula which impact student learning outcomes and performance, especially with transferred students who struggle with assessment: "There is a difference in school exams which impacts teachers and students. For example, the student who is a good performer in Somaliland might fail when he transfers to Mogadishu, and a student who is a good performer in Puntland might fail when he transfers to Mogadishu or Puntland" (Teacher 2).

Thus, following the participants' response, it can be stated that the existing history curriculum in Somalia is inadequate in meeting the essential purpose of history education. The exported learning material do not reflect the major historical events in the past that has left its remark in the present day Somalian context. The foreign authors often writes from their own perspective and tha narratives used do not fit the struggles and experiences of the indogeneous people of Somalia. Moreover, in the absence of a nationalistic framework has further created problem in measuring the learning outcomes of the students and assessing performance. Moreover, such a curriculum also falls short in terms of development of national identity. Thus, in terms of relevancy, it can be stated that the history curriculum does not meet the goal to inculcate among the students a sese of their origin, the struggles of their ancestors, and fail to foster a collective national identity. The analysis provided in this section addresses the research objective of analyzing the existing history curriculum of secondary schools in three cities in Somalia as well as the perspectives of the educators in this regard. It revealed that the country has some major gaps in its curriculum that indicates the need for further development.

4.7.1.2 Causes and Consequences of conflicts

The study attempted to understand the role of history curriculum in conflict-affected region of Somalia. Thus, it attempted to analyse the history of conflicts in the country and identify the major causes.

Mogadishu

Clannism has been identified as main cause of civil war in Somalia in 1991. The open-ended questioning with educators revealed there were several factors for Somalia having a civil war in 1991. The Advisor strongly believed that the civil war cannot be tracked to one reason, but there are several reasons, internal and external. The internal causes included poor economy, the Ogaden war, incompetent politicians. In the words of the Advisor "poor economy which failed to address society's economic needs, the Ogaden war, and disappointing of people. This can be connected to the opinion provided by Yihun (2014) who stated that Somalia could not pay back foreign debt which put future projects on hold due to lack of finance from the US and international donors. Thus, Somalia struggled poor economic condition as well as economic conflicts that led to its collapse.

Incompetent politicians had no political vision which was unfortunate for Somalia. Finally, the Bedwin who came to Mogadishu wanted to have leadership positions". The advisor further added that clannism and social inequality also were identified as triggers of civil war. "Clannism that influenced power access and misuse of power which lead to social inequality" (MOE Advisor, Mogadishu). Similarly, the Mogadishu vice-principal added, "Absence of social justice. If justice was there, definitely the war wouldn't have happened". This finding is similar to the research conducted by Lewis (2004) and Besteman (1993) who stated that clan allegiance, shared blood, and clan affiliation have exclusively shaped social structure in Somalia. In such a divided society, it is important that education promotes social cohesion

and solidarity. This can be connected to the idea of Barakat et al. (2014) who stated that citizenship education can promote social responsibility among individuals and can help reduce clan-based politics. Thus, the authors emphasized the importance of training teacher to undertake peacebuilding education that can lead to conflict resolution.

Another cause is the lack of civic and national education. The public did not have any national or civic education; consequently, people could not have a participatory role to contribute to state-building during the Siad Barre leadership. The focus was on socialism ideology. "Siad Baree built the country but not the people. Siad did not teach the people about ownership and the land belongs to them" (Teacher 2, Mogadishu). However, as highlighted by a number of authors, during the regime of Siad Baree, the education system developed as the majority of the Somalians received the opportunity o learn Somali language (Cassaneli and Abdikadir, 2008; Lewis, 2002). Lack of political awareness and how to introduce change triggered conflict which led to state collapse and anarchy. "There was no clear vision of what change should be introduced in politics. It was *more of a chaotic action which destroyed the country—rather than make positive changes, they destroyed the country" (Teacher 1, Mogadishu).*

Because of lack of national awareness and due to the Ogaden war and a great number of Somali refugees, struck-off Hargeissa—all these caused instability inside Somalia and provided an opportunity for Ethiopia and other countries to interfere in Somalia's internal affairs and support opponents against the Siad regime which led to state-collapse and violent conflict.

Post-collapse, the south could get back peace because of Islamic court initiatives, but later due to power conflicts between Ali Mahdi and Aideed, the war escalated and led to UN

military intervention. "*Whereas if Ali Mahdi and Aideed had agreed to have peace talks, this would have ended the war in the South*" (Teacher 2, Mogadishu).

Hargessa

In Hargessa educators stated that an authoritative regime and power conflict resulted in social inequality and clan prejudice and clannism. "I believe there were two causes of civil war. The first one was the authoritative regime and conflict about power. The second trigger was clannism" (Principal). Thus, similar to the MOE Advisor in Mogadishu, the principal in Hargessa also emphasized the reason of clan differentiation as one of the primary cause of conflict in Somalia. Also, there are historical events such as independence of British Somalia land and then unity with Italian Somaliland; this was a challenge considering the poor economy. "The root of conflict goes back to the time of independence and unity between Italian Somaliland and the British protectorate on 1 July 1960. The conflict started from this time" (Teacher 1).

The Ogaden war was also identified as a cause of violent conflict, where defeat of Somali army left Somali frustrated and caused disparity and division. Also, the number of refugees who left Ogaden and came to Somalia which also had poor resources because of the war, in addition, to internal instability. "The Somali army lost the war and this was a national crisis and the beginning of division and disparity of the nation because the Somali national dream was to get back Ogaden from Ethiopia. Somalia was left alone upon the big powers' refusal to provide military support to the Somali army. The third reason is the declining economy post-Ogaden war" (Teacher 2).

Garwe

Similar tro the educators of Mogadishu and Hargessam, Garwe's educators identified clannism as the main trigger of conflict in 1991. Clannism existed because of old regime

practices and power conflicts. "…To clannism and competition between clans for power and resources; each one want to be the first and the best' (Vice-Principal). In addition to social inferiority, "The first one is clannism, and second is dictator regime. The third one is related to social inequality, whereas according to the clan system in Somalia, some people were deprived of social rights because they belonged to Tomal and JarJarri, who were unrecognised in Somalia because they had inferior rank" (Teachers). This can be connected to the strong clan culture as highlighted in the discussion of the literature. For instance, Lewis (1982) stated there have been a number of clan clashes.

Most importantly, colonialization and then Somalia's economy at independence time disabled promotion of civic education that can prepare the public for participatory roles. Upon a military coup, Siad's government strove to provide formal education. The focus of school curriculum was on core subjects; however, a national subject was not a priority. Indeed, Somalia's close relationship with Russia had an impact on education where socialism ideology was taught in schools. The Advisor commented "the reason was education, public lack of civic, democratic education to develop political awareness which would enable them to participate in national building, such as 'civic education'—although it was at the core of fundamental needs for the country. Indeed, due to colonialization there was no chance to offer such education for people, even at independence time. … The real change in the education sector came post-revolution after a military coup. However, rather than teaching civic, national education to people to help them play their participatory role effectively, the government taught the communism-socialism ideology of Russia to educate people with rights and duties. This type of knowledge undermined the development of political and national understanding for Somali people—which lead to chaos and misinterpretation of nationalism". This is one of tehe significant aspect that has been pointed out by the advisor. The idea can also be substantiated by the existing authors who highlighted the importance of

civic and national education in collective identity building (Barakat, et al., 2014; Leung and Yuen, 2012; Novelli, 2018). However, as evident from the data provided by the advisor, Somalia did not focus much on such teachin and instead focused on socialism as an ideology that did little to foster participation among people in nation building.

Thus, it can be stated that there have been a number of reasons for conflicts in Somalia. Differences in clan, poor economic condition, Ogaden war, incompetent politicians, and lack of civic and national education system contributed to the perpetration of conflicts in Somalia. The analysis carried out in this section provided insight into the history of conflicts in the country and indicated the gaps that can be filled to deal with the issues of such a dconflict-affected region.

4.7.1.3   *Powerful Knowledge*

In order to understand the role of history curriculum, the participants were asked a number of questions that attempted to analyse the extent to which current secondary school text books can address conflicts and provide learners with the opportunity to make meaningful learning of the past. The opinions obtained from the respondents are detailed below.

Mogadishu

Participants agreed it is important to have national content that provides meaningful knowledge, while there is no such narrative because of exported curricula. "What is available now are only text books exported from different countries which have inadequate and inappropriate content for secondary history curriculum" (MOE Advisor). There is a need to have appropriate content consisting of historical concepts such as civil war of 1991 that provide students with fundamental historical knowledge to tackle current issues. "What Somalia needs now is a new content of conflict that should be well-structured and well-

developed which enables learners to understand the past and to develop understanding of present events. Unfortunately, what is taught in schools now is history of other countries, not the history of Somalia. Probably there is content that touches briefly on some cultural aspect of Somalia" (MOE Advisor). Thus, what is required is a curriculum that is focused on the national history of Somalia. Such an understanding is important as through such a curriculum "students will have the opportunity to know what happened in the past and this will enable them to identify causes of conflict so they will not be repeated in the present or future". This is one of the most significant challenges identified in the context of Somalia. Majority of the text books are exported and are written by foreign authors that undermines the national history of Somalia. Even if they contain some cultural aspects, those are fragmented and do not provide the students with a holistic picture of the struggles that the country faced in the precolonial and colonial era and the challenges it faces today. Since the students are unaware of the past they do not develop the critical analytical ability and thus fails to develop their own perspective of the historical events. A similar opinion is provided by a number of different authors like Ormond (2017) who argued that substantive knowledge underpinning cause and consequence requires broad historical context to encourage analytical skill. Harris & Reynolds (2018) also emphasized on "analytical structure of history as a discipline". However, as has been observed from the responses, development of such analytical ability is not possible in Somalia due to lack of proper national curriculum as well as inadequacies of the textbooks.

Furthermore, Teacher 2 added that the type of narrative used in the textbooks enables students to master disciplinary skills such as analytical skill to explore the causes of the conflict and then reflect what will prevent them from having a similar scenario. "When students have knowledge about traumatic events, this will raise awareness because then they will know the reasons for war and will try to prevent them from reoccurring". Similarly, the

Vice-Principal added, "If we managed to develop a history course to include historical events that happened in the past, this is going to add a lot of things for students. Students will have the opportunity to know what happened in the past and this will enable them to identify causes of conflict so they will not be repeated in the present or future". Despite this importance, there is no content either about civil war or the causes. "In general, no content of meaningful knowledge, historical consciousness, and understanding"(Teacher 2). Thus, history education is not only mportant for understanding the past, it is also significant for developing the analytical ability among the pupils so that they are able to relate and connect the past with the present and understand causal relationships between phenomena.

Socio-political transformation and development come from powerful knowledge that provides different historical events that are related to context and space. From these things, students are able to identify the importance of places or values such as partitioning or unity of Somalia and the Ogaden war. Understanding historical significance will contribute to understanding and consolidate national identity and social transformation. "History will not have any role in socio-political development unless a new history curriculum is developed which contains academic content that reflects the past and the present. Only then does history become efficient and may change the society and contribute to curriculum development" (Advisor); also "When the history curriculum content is real and reflects reality and contains historical analysis, then this type of history has a significant role to change the mentality of the people and increase public awareness. Also, this curriculum has the potential to change politics and society. It will combat clan prejudice and will strongly emphasize social cohesion and national identity". This his another significant role of history curriculum that helps in shaping the national identity of the individuals (Yazici and Yildirim, 2018; Valeryevich, 2011). Valeryevich (2011) stated that it is the responsibility of the nationalist intellectuals to develop narratives that reflects nationalistic thoughts that helps in building national identity.

However, following Ommering (2015) it can bestated that such identity formation can be impeded by poor curriculum content that may be dictated by the dominant political party looking to satisfy vested self-interest. This needs to be addressed and the content have to be biased and impartial t truly drive nationalistic thoughts among individuals.

The Vice-Principal said, "history education has a positive role. Content will provide students with knowledge that enables students to know the historical events and the wrong decisions that their ancestors made. This will enable students to identify the mistakes of the past so they will not happen again". The teachers also added that "history has an important role to change the situation in Somalia because if the students learn about the past, historical events, and conflict and crisis, then students will avoid or prevent these issues from happening once again either in the present and future. Students will need to develop skills of research, critical skills and analysis, problem solving skills, and reasoning". This aspect is highlighted by Hilker, (2011) and Naylor (2015) who viewed education as a medium to promote positive social change in conflict-ridden regions. The social transformation is also highlighted by Social Reconstructionism philosophy whereby the teachers and studets are viewed as agents of social change.

Hargessa

Educators in Hargessa have pointed out that curriculum narrative is poor and lacks epistemological principles/foundations; most importantly there is no knowledge about past or present. "There is no history curriculum that contain narratives of the past or even tackle events of the present. And even if history curriculum is existing, the content is inappropriate. Historical events lack facts, evidence, and credibility" (Advisor). This might be because of the foreign authors who written the text books instead of the national authors. They failed to capture the experience and struggle of the country and thus did not present a holistic picture

or the history of the country. However, there are some narratives that have historical aspects, but this for primary. Secondary schools do not have such narratives, even if the syllabus exists, it is inappropriate. "There are no clear objectives and the content is poor" (Principal).

Historical concepts play an important role to develop student historical understanding and interpretation, such as the concept of civil war. Learning concepts will provide historical knowledge for students to identify and analyse causes of the war and consequences that Somali had post collapse. This aspect is highlighted by Gill (2007) who studied teaching of holocaust (Shoah) in the Israeli high schools. The authors emphasized on construction of historical knowledge and development of historical concepts. "It is important for history curriculum to address the past and the civil war, where students can understand the current situation and identify the causes of poverty and disparity which explain why Somalia is behind (Teacher 1). The national movement against colonisers, the independence of Somalia, and the role that Somali leadership had in Africa—these narrations and concepts of the golden age encourage students to feel historical significance to reconsolidate national identity. "… to know about the powerful role of Somalia in Africa which has been one of political achievement. Despite this importance, current history curricula do not address any one of these dimensions" (Teacher 1). This drawback of current history curriculum, indeed, undermined students' ability to develop historical understanding which certainly hindered national building. "Current history curricula do not cover these dimensions which are important to have content that tackles the issues of the past which has consequences on the present situation of Somalia (Teacher 2). The argument provided by the advisors or the principals and teacher reflect the same idea of lack of proper nationalistic framework for historical curriculum as indicated by the participants in Mogadishu cities. The role of history education in national identity building has been emphasized repeatedly by the participants. However, for that what is required is construction of proper learning material that truly refect

the history of the region. It is because of this reason the advisor emphasized the importance to have curriculum evaluation to ensure that curriculum has appropriate content. "Curriculum content needs to be revised and reviewed before writing [materials for] the curriculum".

There was consensus regarding a need for new history curriculum consisting of powerful knowledge with substantive knowledge of historical events in the past and present of Somalia with disciplinary skills as claim and evidence. "We need this kind of history, especially as the current history curriculum is poor and lacks content and structure. The new curriculum should be academically developed to include historical events based on facts and evidence" (Advisor). The principal emphasized "reasoning, historical analysis, and interpretation as an important component of new curriculum" (Principal). Similarly, teachers identified the importance to have a national narrative: "A new history curriculum should present the national history of Somalia" (Teacher 1) that emphasized characteristics of history as discipline and a nation-building approach. The new curriculum should serve Somali needs and not political agenda. "It should present national history to re-build the nation, emphasize the history as a discipline with objectives and goals, and not only to reinforce sentiments. Most importantly, the new curriculum should not be dominated by government. The main objective should be nation-building. That has to be the forefront of the new curriculum" (Teacher 2). The idea provided by the teachers can be substantiated by the argument of a number of authors like Bush and Saltarelli (2000), Bentrovato et al. (2016), Pherali (2016) and Pherali and Lewis (2017), Gallagher et al., (2018) who reflected how education can negatively affect the societies. These authors argued that often education is used as a medium to secure dominant ideologies of the political parties and creates further divisiveness and conflict in societies. From the opinion of the participants it is clear that there is a need for change in the history curriculum in Somalia that strengthens nation-building approach. Rather than being dominated by the government, it should provide the students with a deeper

understanding of the past and present of the country so that they can play an active role to build a better future.

Educators believe that well-written history curriculum enables social transformation. "History has an important role in socio-political transformation only when it is written appropriately and consists of past and present. This efficient curriculum has the potential to reinforce social transformation". Also, "Indeed history has an important role in socio-political transformation only if the national history curriculum is developed to provide students with meaningful knowledge which enables students to learn from the past" (Principal). Meaningful knowledge enables students to develop analytical skills to tackle different historical events. Teacher 1 said: "There is an important role of history where meaningful knowledge provides students with national and historical events in the past which enables students to develop analytical skills and [the ability to] interpret past events which increases their critical skills, and provides them with problem solving skills to get them out of darkness. Indeed, this will positively reflect on society and the public who are the agents of social-political transformation". Similarly, teacher 2 commented, "History has an important role in social-political transformation if it consists of meaningful knowledge about the past which will enable students to develop critical skills to interpret what went wrong from government pre-collapse. This knowledge will enhance students' ability to make some resolutions for contemporary issues so they will not have the same mistakes of the past". These recommendations provided by the participants can be used to formulate new curriculum.

Garwe

Garwe's advisor clarified the two faces of education: "Each country should have its own national history. This is because those who do not have a past will not have a future. This is because a history curriculum should include fundamental knowledge and historical events.

Content of substantive knowledge is absent from current secondary history curriculum and this because of exported curriculum that consists of historical narrative of other countries such as Iraq and the concept of Islamic culture at (Abbasi and Omawi), which enhanced students understanding to this country. "The current curriculum does not tackle the history of Somalia; subsequently, students do not have prior knowledge of their country. Current curriculum talks about Islamic culture (Abbasi and Omawi)" (Teacher 1). Teacher 1 noted that this deprived Somali students of gaining knowledge of their national history; subsequently, they do not have an understanding of national challenges that Somalia have at the present time University graduates also lack historical literacy and some of them are unable to find the geographical location of Somalia on a map. "Therefore, students cannot develop any understanding of what happened in Somalia nowadays because they are not aware of the past". This is one of the significant gaps that has been identified by the teacher at Garwe secondary school. The history of Somalia is not adequately represented in the textbooks because the books are written by the foreign authors who have little detailed knowledge of the events and past history. The textbooks refelect the foreign history that did not have any impact on the development of national identity of the Somalians. This indicates the need for a new curriculum to address the gaps and develop a curriculum that promotes national interests and revive the conflict-affected economy of the country.

Teacher 1 stated that "university students nowadays do not have any historical knowledge of Somalia. Some of them do not know basic information about Somalia, such as the map of its geographical location. Moreover, if students are asked about the history of other countries such as Iraq, they will immediately respond. This demonstrates the poor content of history curriculum which definitely will not serve the development of Somalia". Teacher further stated that "history has a very important role in the development of politics, and this only if

the history curriculum developed is based on knowledge discipline and disciplinary skills… which unfortunately are not available".

The participants at Garwe also indicated the need for a new curriculum. For instance, the vice principal stated that "there is a need for a history curriculum that includes the national history of Somalia, including historical events such as war (civil war). This meaningful knowledge enables students to understand past and present to reinforce national identity and re-consolidate the unity of Somalia meet the future challenges". In addition, the advisor commented that "history curriculum when it is developed adequately and includes meaningful knowledge can enable learners to acquire analytical skills. Only then can the history curriculum be efficient to play an important role in development. But when history content is inappropriate or lacks credibility, this type of education will lead to chaos and political instability and undermine national development".

The vice principal further commented: "history curriculum that consists of right content enables students to learn about the past and present which for sure will raise student awareness. This type of history has an important role in socio-political transformation".

Powerful knowledge: The advisor said there is intention of the government to develop a new curriculum of history that consists of national narrative: "These dimensions of past, present, and future are completely absent and never existed in current history curriculum. But the MOE has future plans to have a new curriculum to address the past and consist of meaningful knowledge" which will contribute to provide students with historical analyses of what went wrong in the past and develop interpretation to understand what is going on now in Somalia. "And help students in the future which will enable learners to learn from mistakes that happened in the past so they won't repeat them. "Also, this knowledge will help students to understand what is going on now in Somalia to learn the lessons from history which will

288

develop their perception of national identity" (MOE Advisor). Any new history curriculum should consist of national narrative underpinning disciplinary skill which will enable students to have an active role in social development "I strongly advocate such an idea and embrace a new history curriculum with rich content to provide students with meaningful knowledge and skill to be the agent for social development"(Teacher 1).

Therefore, from the comments of the participants it is clear that there is a genuine need to develop curriculum that is particularly focused on the history of Somalia. This is important for the students to know the past so that they can understand the present in a better way and adopt suitable approaches to build the future in an effective manner. The knowledge of the past also enables them to develop critical thinking and understand the relationship between various events. The participants also emphasized on the development of the concepts like civil war of 1991 so that the students are aware of the national history and significant historical events. In addition, these can also shape their identity and develop nationalistic thoughts and feeling which is important in a conflict-ridden society like Somalia. This would also serve to consolidate social classes and various ethnic groupings and deal with the issues of clannism that segregates the society. However, at the initial stage what is required is the development of a national education curriculum as well as textbooks that reflects the history of Somalia. Thus, exported textbooks cannot meet the needs and requirememts of the history curriculum in peacebuilding or national identity formation. The results obtained are substantiated by the arguments put forward by the existing authors and that strengthens the findings of the study. The discussion carried out in this section also helped in meeting the objective of highlighting the recommendations for development of a new secondary history curriculum. It also identified the characteristics of the new history curriculum and how it can help the currently faced challenges of the region.

4.7.1.4   Change and Continuity

In order to analyse the current scenario of the secondary schools and how far the clan culture has affected the education system, the respondents were asked a number of questions. The responses are analysed below.

Mogadishu

Clan ties are significant aspects of Somali culture; tribal ties shaped Somali nationalism that has an important role in national building. However, nationalism and national identification have changed over time. Civil war in 1991 was a turning point in the modern history of Somalia, despite being absent from current history curriculum because of exported curriculum. Teacher 2 stated "*The current history curriculum does not talk about Somalia's history, but the contents talk about the history of neighbouring countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, and East of Africa. This because the curriculum was exported from these countries during the collapse of Somalia. Curriculum exported from Arab countries like Saudi Arabia, their content talks about the history of the Arabian Peninsula*". Since these foreign content and textbooks do not reflect the context of Somalia it does not also highlight the clan system that is widely prevalent in the region. Thomas (2016) stated that clan system is essential for understanding the context of the country.

Clans and clannism in Somalia are used interchangeably. The MOE Advisor said*: "Clannism is a complex cultural phenomenon. Clannism is deep in Somali culture, which is a complex phenomenon* ". Teachers have differentiated between clan and clannism. The first one, clan, is a cultural aspect of Somalia and is one way for people to know each other as it is written in the Quran. "*People, we have created you from a male and female, and made you into nations and tribes that you might know one another*" (Holy Quran, 13 Al-Hujurat). But clannism is the prejudice or stereotype which is rejected and unpleasant: "*Clan is acceptable but clannism is unpleasant*". This could be because clannism contributed to fuel civil war in

290

1991, and, since then, clannism became rooted in Somalia. In addition, the advisor commented that *"I'm wondering how such clannism can trigger civil war". Clannism was not prominent before the war, but civil war emphasized and strengthened this clannism and it became more visible after the war"*. This is similar to the idea provided by Menkhaus, 2007; Paul, Clarke, & Serena, 2014 who stated that clan favouritism has fuelled thearmed conflict in Somalia. Loubser and Solomon (2014) also supported this view and stated that centrality of intergroup relationships, clan dynamics, and clan identity were the root causes of conflict. In such a scenario, it is important that the history curriculum in the secondary schools encompass the clan system that is entrenched in the Somalian society. Understanding the clan system can open up various dimensions and the students will be able to analyse the causes and consequences of various conflicts that happened in the past. This will also provide them with a critical perspective for analysis and evaluation of past, present, and future.

Despite this, school community is far from such practices of clannism. *"Clannism*, *however, it might exist in all places in Somalia, but Al Hamdulleh, clannism does not exist in school"* (Teachers). The vice-principal confirmed there is no clannism in school: *"Maybe the family raised the student on clannism, but from the school community, either students or teachers, this is not the case. There has not once been deals or acts based on clannism neither by teachers nor students"*. Advisors, however, believe: "In schools, there are some good principals, but some of them explicitly demonstrated this clannism. Students, as well, have demonstrated clannism when they call each other with the names of their tribes. Students need to be more aware of the negative impact of clannism". Indeed, irrelevant history curriculum reinforced positive attitudes of school community towards clannism. "Currently there is no history curriculum but only irrelevant textbooks. The content of textbooks does not talk about clans, but all students from different backgrounds are studying school books" (Advisor).

The vice-principal said: "Regardless of teacher clan or the clan of the curriculum writer, students do not deal with clannism and are willing to learn. And teachers do not accept to be biased based on clans in school and within the school community". Teachers asserted: "The books of history do not talk about clans and do not talk about the history of Somalia, but talk about other countries".

Is important for history curriculum to have content related to civil war since it is considered historically significant. "It would be great to have a national history curriculum for Somalia. This would enable students to learn about culture and history. This would emphasize national identity for students" (Teacher 2). However, this was debatable. When asked about narrative of 'traumatic memories and the way it can provide an opportunity to reconstruct national identity in post-conflict context MOE Advisor said, "A new narrative of traumatic events can generate a lot of resentment and might emphasize clannism because of sad memories" (Advisor). The vice-principal advocated civil war content because it will provide students with analytical skills to identify the causes of the war and then be able to make their interpretation and judgments which will resolve the historical legacy of war and contribute to national development: "Such a narrative will change a lot of things and will contribute to consolidate and strengthen national identity" (Vice-Principal). Despite this, "the phenomena of clannism needs to be addressed through an awareness campaign and it needs collective efforts to fight the negative aspects of clannism" (Advisor.)

Hargessa

Educators in Hargessa used clan and clannism interchangeably. They confirmed there is no clannism between students or even in school communities, where all students are very keen to complete their education. "Although clans are within the Somali culture, they are completely absent in school. Students when they come to school, they are coming to learn, and the relations inside the school are relationships between student and teacher" (Teacher 1).

Teacher 2 also confirmed that "Clannism is completely absent in school … although it's deep in Somali culture. Students from different clans learn together, but neither teachers nor school leadership practices clannism in the school".

The principal said some students do not know their tribe and this is an indicator that clannism does not exist in school or within the school community. "Students did not deal with clannism and some students don't even know their clan or tribe. Teachers, also, in their role as educators do not practice any sort of clannism". However, the principal pointed out that "there are some students who have behaviour issues and can misuse clannism. Also, some university graduates who do not have jobs could be involved in negative attitudes of clannism".

The history curriculum in Hargess might consist of some content that emphasizes clannism, but teachers ignore it. "Yes, the history curriculum may include state historical events that lack facts and evidence, but students believe in their teacher and whatever they hear or learn from teachers is considered true "(Advisor).

In terms of school history, the content is irrelevant. "In current history text books there are no content talks about clannism in direct ways. … Despite the different history curricula, none of them have any impact on students who come from different regions in Somalia and hold different clan identities, and this is because students come to learn and to achieve a good education" (Advisor). Similarly, the principal commented: "Students do not know about clannism and the current books do not talk about or promote clannism". Teachers also agreed where they said, "There are no specific textbooks for clans. Students' attention is not given to clan or writer's clan, but their focus is on studying, and they do not show any interest in clannism" (Teacher 1). Teacher 2 said: "Students study the history textbook to pass the examination in Somaliland, but when I look to current history textbooks, they give

importance to historical events in neighbouring countries. Even SNM history is rarely there. But at the end of the day, the focus is to help students pass the exams which have impact on higher education".

Educators at Hargessa have different opinions towards clannism as a concept of history curriculum if a new one is constructed. Teachers assert the importance include the historical events of independence of Somalia and the unity between Italian and British Somaliland in 1 July 1960. Teachers believe this knowledge will enable students to understand the consequences on Somaliland's present. Current history curricula do not cover these dimensions which are important to have content that tackles the issues of the past which have consequences on the present situation of Somalia. As an example, the unity between Italian and British Somaliland on 1 July 1960. The participants noted that this was a wrong decision to combine or integrate two independent regions in one state—especially since both Italian and British Somaliland lacked a rigorous political structure. Students, if they have opportunity to learn about this, indeed, will not repeat such experience. A teacher added: "Since we had this experience in the past, we should learn the lesson, and we should not sacrifice our independence for the sake of national unity".

The Advisor advocated to have clannism as a theme in a new history curriculum. Teachers need to be careful to select appropriate teaching methods to deliver such content in classroom. "I recommend to have a theme of clannism in any attempt of curriculum development for secondary school. Moreover, teachers have to be trained to adopt adequate practices in classroom to tackle 'clannism' and to educate students about negative aspects of clannism, to show students how clan prejudice has destroyed Somalia".

Thus, from the discussion so far two diverging opinion can be observed. On one hand the participants indicated that since the textbooks are imported from outside it do not include the

history of Somalia and thus ignores the clan system. This has a positive impct and it provides the students with a sense of equality and solidarity. However, on the other hand, due to the ignorance of the clan culture, the students are not fully aware of the past historical events and thus fail to develop a comprehensive knowledge of the country's past and present. This also hampered the development of critical analytical ability to assess past events. Moreover, since clan system is not the part of the curriculum, the students remained unaware of the mistaken that happened in the past that provided them limited understanding of their future actions.

Garwe

Here the Advisor highlighted the context to address the rapid change of social-cultural within clans. "Before answering this question, I would like to distinguish between clan-identity and clannism. The first one is part of culture and the purpose is a practice where the people know each other. As it came in the Holy Quran: 'People, we have created you from a male and female, and made you into nations and tribes that you might know one another' (Holy Quran, 13 Al-Hujurat). And in context of politics is known as clannism and consists or includes prejudice and serotypes; however, this clan system has been approached politically, where it became known as clannism. "The clans became somehow part of a political system which indeed would impact teachers and students" (Advisor). People often use the term clan and clannism interchangeably. Clan identity is acceptable, but clannism is rejected"

Clan identity is a cultural aspect of Somalia, where there is common practice between Somali to ask each other about which tribe they belong to and this as a form of introduction without intention of prejudice of clannism. "Clan identity is part of Somali culture and no one cannot deny it" (Vice-Principal). The Advisor added "Sometimes, students ask their teacher about his clan as not to stereotype him, but this became a common practice among Somali… Despite this, clannism does not exist in schools, and there is no clannism or clan prejudice between students" (Vice-Principal). Similarly, the Advisor emphasized, "The political system

in Puntland does not encourage clannism and it does not exist among students and teachers".

The education system strives to facilitate learning opportunities for students all across

Somalia. "Students are transferred yearly across regions without attention to their clans. This

is demonstrated through free transfer of students among regions such as students who

transferred across regions such as Puntland to Mogadishu, and some students transferred

from Hargeesa and Burama to Puntland" (Advisor.)

While there is no clannism in the school community in Puntland, there are practices of

clannism in Hargessa/Somaliland, especially among teaching staff. "In Garwe, I did not face

such attitudes, but clannism exists among teachers. In Somaliland, I had an unpleasant

experience where the principal was biased and favoured one of the teachers because both of

them shared tribal ties"(Teacher 1). "For students they also suffer from clannism but this in

other regions, where Puntland relatively better… However, the situation is different among

students and depends on the city or region they live in. Such as Puntland, there is no clannism

between students because students are busy in their studies. But in other regions there is

clannism, and Puntland is considered a better place" (Teacher 1).

Indeed, the Clan system needs to be elaborated upon in the history curriculum for students to

analyse causes of change and continuity. "Educated people have the responsibility to raise

awareness and guide students to develop their understanding of clans as part of Somali

culture" (Advisor.)

In terms of clannism in the history curriculum, the Garwe MOE Advisor said: "There is no

well-developed national history curriculum. What schools do have are only different syllabi.

This could be attributed to divisions in political governments. Somaliland probably has its

own history which talks about only Somaliland. In general, I did not notice that students from

different ethnic backgrounds encounter challenges dealing with different history textbooks".

At the end, the Advisor commented, "Somalia needs historical intellectuals who can develop a unified national curriculum".

The vice-principal said: "Students from different clans do not face any issues about interacting with different curricula of history because the syllabus is very brief and presents general information or common facts that relate to all Somali and not specific to any clans.

Teacher 1 highlighted an important assessment issue where he said: "There is a difference in school exams which impacts teachers and students. For example, the student who is a good performer in Somaliland might fail when he transfers to Mogadishu, and a student who is a good performer in Puntland might fail when he transfers to Mogadishu or Puntland.

Although there is little effect of clannism in the context of education, it still is the very basis of the social framework in Somalia. Clan system has fuelled violent conflicts in the past and has left significant mark in the country. In such a scenario, it is important that students are made aware of the devastating effect such differentiation can bring into the conflict-affected region of Somalia, so that the future generations do not engage in such crime. While on the positive side the foreign textbooks did not emphasize of the clan system contributing towards social cohesion and solidarity, it cannot be denied that clannism is deeply entrenched in Somalia and annot be abolished easily. Thus, students must understand such a system and be aware of the negative impacts it can bring into the society. The purpose of the history curriculum is not to preach the value of the clan system, but to educate them and make them aware of the deep-rooted social problems that can trigger conflict and violence in the society. With a greater understanding and knowledge, it is expected that the students will not engage in such social evils and instead build national identity to combat conflicts and violences.

4.7.1.5 *Difficult History*

Mogadishu

The educators stated that difficult history does not exist because of two reasons: The first one is irrelevant curriculum that is offered to students. Second is the government policy to illuminate sensitive topics. "Current history text books do not tackle the past. This is because each government would like to talk about good achievements and try to hide the conflict issues by using a turn-the-page approach" (Vice-Principal). Difficult history themes do not exist because the current curriculum is inappropriate and inadequate. The Advisor comments: " There is no national history curriculum to tackle historical events in the past. But what students are studying is history of different countries or curriculum that was taught before the collapse". Apparently the exported curriculum is the main barrier in Mogadishu because students are not aware of the national past of Somalia. Students lack the pre-requisite skills and knowledge to tackle or discuss traumatic narratives. "Curriculum is the society mirror. Unfortunately, the history curriculum of secondary schools does not have quality and lacks connections to past and present historical events. There is a serious attempt to deliver good content of history in primary which I think is good start" (Advisor).

Teachers asserted: "Unfortunately, there is no academic program or curriculum of national history of Somalia. Students are studying several history curricula for other countries; however, there are a few schools who offer curricula that touch briefly on the history of Somalia".

Mogadishu educators had a different approach about whether to have difficult history in anew history curriculum. The Advisor preferred to ignore such narratives since they are quite sensitive to the current situation of Somalia, and may cause more challenges. "In general, I do not encourage such narratives to be written. I would prefer to leave what happened in the past—such as Rwanda, which did not include the narrative of civil war". The argument is

silimar to Gil (2007) who commented that teaching difficult history is challenging as different students have different interpretations of the same event and is thus sensitive. The teacher would require appropriate teaching skills to impart such knowledge and thus, it is better to avoid such events or topics (Ommering, 2015)

The teachers advocated using a critical approach to enable students to gain skills of historical consciousness. "This type of content, which discusses the historical events in the past despite the traumatic events, will indeed enable students to adopt analytical approaches to uncover historical events in the past. Most importantly, these narratives would enable students to acquire interpretation and reasoning skills which will emphasize national sentiment (national identity)". The vice-principal emphasized appropriate content and adequate instruction as important components to enhance students' learning of the civil war as difficult history "only if the history curriculum is written objectively and an academic approach is used to tackle the national history of Somalia. This for sure will contribute to social development and building of the nation. And would emphasize the national identity."

Hargessa

Educators commented that such content is not available because national history curriculum does not exist. "History text books do not have such things" (Teacher 1). Curriculum content is irrelevant to Somalia's current issues. "History text book content is politicised, biased, and lacks factual events. This undermines the important role of history of addressing the current issues of Somalia (Director/Advisor). Similarly, the principal agreed, "The current history curriculum does not tackle painful memories".

However, even if the curriculum exists to include difficult history, the principal prefers to ignore such content for the sake of students so they will not be disturbed emotionally. "From my point of view, this decision was made for the sake of students to encourage them to

proceed in their education, whereas such content might disturb their studies because of emotional involvement. However, some of these events are touched briefly in a few poems, but not in the history curriculum where this type of content causes disparity and division". Teachers preferred to have turn-the-page approach. "History text books do not have such things, but I prefer to avoid such history, especially when people are still suffering from traumatic events and open the wounds that cause disparity and division—unless people decide to forget and forgive as what happened in Rwanda" (Teacher 1). "When such blind spots are mentioned in the curriculum, teachers and curriculum advisors advocate the turn-the-page approach as a means to avoid such discussions, or they can be touched briefly" (Teacher 2).

The director/advisor had a different opinion to advocate a forward approach. "History text book content is politicised, biased, and lacks factual events. This undermines the important role of history of addressing the current issues of Somalia. Therefore, it is important to approach history curriculum with a "forward approach". This indicates the lack in the current educational system in Somalia because of the imported textbooks that do not refect the history of the country.

The educators asserted that civil war was historically significant and left the country in division and disparity. Educators had different opinions of whether to include civil war in a new history curriculum, "Civil war is a traumatic memory, and, for sure, no one would like to have this memory back" (Teacher 1). The educators prefer to have ignorance of a civil war narrative that might cause conflict because it was sensitive issue and tragedy for Somalia. The educators confirmed such a narrative would not help Somali people to move forward. "The narrative of civil war will open wounds of victims due to bad memories" (Advisor). Similarly, the principal confirmed, "This kind of narrative does not exist. Civil war had torn Somalia and any narrative of the war will not contribute to building national identity. Most

importantly, students might also be disturbing their studies because of emotional involvement".

Educators advocate denial and forgiveness to tackle narratives of violence conflict. The principal advocated a "forget and forgive" approach as what happened in South Africa to promote reconciliation between white and black people. "Forget and forgive" as in the case of South Africa, when the blacks and whites agreed on forgiveness under Mandela's leadership, where revenge was not an option". Similarly, Teacher 1 advocated forgiveness as approach for national development. "If Somali decided to move forward and have back national unity, Somali first should forgive each other as what happened in Rwanda".

Teacher 2 called for denial of traumatic memories as one way of reconciliation, "In any country that has such war, the efforts of government aim to remove any symbols that could remind people of traumatic events such as songs and flags. This is an attempt to encourage people to forget unpleasant experiences". The perspective of omitting difficult history in the curriculum is therefore, conceived as a way to build solidarity and unity in the Society. However, this contrast with the earlier perspective of critical thinking that can be only developed through a comprehensive understanding of the past events and connecting the same to the present day phenomena. The opinion provided by the participants highlighted that there are both advantages and disadvanatages in teaching difficult history. It may engender conflict in the society by reminding people about the past traumatic events. On the other hand, teaching the nuanced details also is considered important to understand the historical concepts and understand the development of the Somalian society.

Garwe

Current history curriculum lacks a rationale and clear objectives. Exported curricula do not contain either national history or narrative of difficult history. What students study is the

formation of Islamic states in Arab countries such as Iraq. "There are different history syllabi which ignore discussing historical facts. Books from other countries tackle formation of Islamic states in Arab countries such as Abbasi and Amawi which are indeed irrelevant to Somalia". The Teacher 1 also wondered what the rationale was for this type of curriculum, and how such content was related to Somali students". This is similar the opinion provided by the advisor at Hargessa. The foreign textbooks do not provide detailed knowledge of the Somalian context and thus does not reflect the indogeneous struggle of the people. Such content thus also does not contain the difficult history and experiences of the people.

Current history curricula lack difficult history narratives. "Black history does not exist in the books. Even if it's there, it should not be said since is not beneficial for students. Teachers preferred to talk briefly about sensitive issues without many details" (Advisor).

Although there no narratives of difficult history, educators preferred to ignore or deny such narrative that might undermine social development. "The situation in Somalia is getting better now in education, health, and politics, and everyone is trying to forget what happened in the past and to leave in the what happened in the past, Teachers preferred to talk briefly about sensitive issues without many details" (Advisor).

Civil war as a contemporary phenomenon in modern history of Somalia due to political and social consequences and impact is important to be studied. This was debatable between educators in the case of development of a new history curriculum. Some educators were hesitant to have traumatic narratives as they might cause division and it would be preferred if such history could be ignored. "Teaching students about the past such as civil war is going to emphasize disparity between students. Traumatic events of the past need to have a brush approach…There are different history syllabi in schools, but the common teaching approach towards such memories is to ignore sensitive topics to give time for victims to heal the

wounds. Traumatic memories are strongly avoided. Instead, Puntland curriculum highlights topics related to the unity of Somalia" (Vice-Principal).

The Advisor emphasized that civil war content, if it is delivered as a historical concept, underpinned historical analysis to identify causes and effects on Somali communities, enabling students to develop historical understanding that consolidates national identity and enhances perception of social cohesion and reconciliation. "Somali students should understand that all Somali are brothers and civil war was a vital mistake. It happened because of external and internal factors, and some Somali did not have nationalism. All of us we should learn from what happened and it should not be repeated. Somalia is united because of a homogeneous community that shares language, religion, and culture which are components of ethno-nationalism".

Narratives of violence conflict are sensitive; therefore, it is important for curricula to consist of historical knowledge that is pre-requisite to understanding the complexity of the war. "The new history curriculum should present historical events of the past which demonstrate nationalism and national identity. This preliminary knowledge is important for students to understand the traumatic narrative" (Teacher 1).

From the responses of the participants it is clear that majority of the participants are in favour of ommitting the difficult history from the history curriculum because of the sensitive nature of the topic and its impact on the mind of the young readers. However, few argued in favour of it and emphasized the lack of the currently used textbooks and highlighted the importance of including the details of the past events to develop critical thinking ability among the students. Therefore, in the final analysis it can be stated that what is required is cautious teaching of such traumatic events. Teachers need to be equipped with appropriate skills and teaching methodologies to impart knowledge without any value judgments. Moreover, they

must also be aware of the concept developments and the interpretations students make out of such events. If required those need to be corrected. The quantitative data helped in analyzing

4.7.2 Evaluation

The results of semi-structured interviews revealed drawbacks of the secondary history curriculum of Mogadishu, Hargessa, and Garwe. The curricula lack both worth and value. Firstly, one of the major lacks was the absence of a national framework in Somalia. This created disparity between the schools and its teaching across the country. Secondly, the textbooks were imported from outside countries like Kenya, Arab world etc that did not clearly reflect the experiences and struggles of the country in the precolonial or post-colonial era. It also failed to include the major historical events like Ogaden war and thus, historical concept development did not take place. Due to the lack of past knowledge, the students failed to develop comprehensive knowledge that led to development of poor analytical ability. They were unable to develop the connection between phenomena and analyse the present connecting its root to the past events. In addition to this, it also hampered development of collective national identity among the students in Somalia. By soliciting quantitative data the national identity development among the students was measured. Questions primarily centered on the importance attached by the students in respect of their citizenship, Somali linguistic ability, respect for the poiltical institutions of Somalia, social and cultural system, its history, and the like. Although the data revealed that the citizens have allegiance to the country there are still major areas of improvement. For instance, it has been revealed that 44% of the respondents are not proud of the system of fairness and equal treatment of all groups in society. This revealed ethnic, religious, and clan differences that continues to divide the region and indicates the need for the development of a curriculum that provides holistic ientity formation. From the responses of the participants therefore, the nature of existing curriculum is understood that indicated the need for a robust nationalist

framework for history education. The analysis carried out so far helped in addressing the research objectives and provide recommendations for a new history curriculum in Somalia. The quantitative data helped in understanding the real scenario of the region while qualitative data helped in the curriculum design that can effectively mitigate such issues faced by the region.

4.7.3 Themes

The results of the present study revealed that current secondary history curricula lack five key themes: (1) relevancy, (2) powerful knowledge, (3) lack of understanding of causes and consequences of conflict, (4) change and continuity, and (5) difficult history. These themes were identified from the content analysis of the responses obtained from the participants. Each of the themes is supported with relevant arguments from the participants as well as their interpretations. In addition, the perspectives of the existing authors also have been incorporated in the analysis to strengthen the research findings and compare the outcome with the existing studies. The analysis reveals some useful findings related to the existing history curriculum of the region and sheds light on some useful recommendations that can be incorporated to formultate new national history curriculum.

Although qualitative and quantitative data have been collected from two difference sources, it can be converged to interpret the current situation in the Somalia. In the quantitative data it has been revealed that although the students feel strong attachment with the country, they also ascribe importance to regional, religious, ethnic, and tribal origins. Results from the questionnaire showed that student struggled to develop national consciousness in several areas such as there were regional differences between the beliefs that Somalia should remain one contry or be allowed to separate as Somaliland Students [χ^2 (4, N = 290) = 56.601, p<0.01].

These difference can create difference in the society and create conflict. This can, however be mitigated with the application of history education that has been found to be useful to reduce difference and promote nationalism. If such unity and nationalistic identity can be promoted among the students then there will be less conflict in the society of Somalia.

4.8   Conclusion

The purpose of the empirical study was to examine the current history curriculum in Somalia with the aim to propose a new history curriculum for secondary schools within the context of Somalia. To achieve this objective the Design and Development Research (DDR) model was selected as the research methodology. The DDR is a significant methodology that bridges the gap between theory and practice by testing theory and validating practice.

Development followed a parallel/divergent mixed-analysis design, and a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews were used to collect empirical evidence. A total of 300 students responded to the questionnaire in Mogadishu, Hargessa, and Garwe and 11 educators participated in semi-structured interviews. Obtained data was analysed to address the overarching question of "what is the current history curriculum in Somalia and what type of history curriculum is appropriate for secondary schools within the context of Somalia".

This is explored through four sub-questions:

1. What is the status of history curriculum of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa?
2. What are educator perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum?
3. How do secondary students perceive national identity?
4. Can a new history curriculum of secondary school be developed? Are there any specific characteristics required to make it relevant for the Somali context?

Results from the quantitative and qualitative parts of the research study were separately conducted and analysed.

The quantitative phase was carried out with the aim to answer research question of how do secondary students perceive national identity. Analysis of ISSP questionnaire data was carried out by using the chi-square statistics test. The Chi-square test was used to identify whether any differences exist among secondary students in understanding national consciousness and identity. P-values of chi-square tests enabled the researcher to understand the perception of secondary students in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa. to national consciousness and identity. The quantitative results showed there are significant differences among secondary students in understanding national consciousness and identity on different domains such relationship between individuals and country ($p<0.01$), feeling of closeness ($p<0.01$), perception of factors required for being truly Somali ($p<0.01$), perception of Somalia (citizenship), ($p<0.01$), proudness associated with Somalia ($p<0.05$) Somalia, and media, and international policy ($p<0.05$), and relation to Somalia ($p<0.01$). A non-significant difference between the results of the students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland and the importance of respecting Somalia's political institutions and laws was found (χ^2 (8, N = 293) = 10.33, p=0.28).

Participants were asked about different components of citizenship such as if they would rather be a citizen of Somalia than of any other country. Differences of results obtained for the students of Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland were found to be non-significant [χ^2 (4, N = 302) = 8.74, $p<0.068$], as well as for if they feel proud to be Somali when their country does well in international sports [χ^2 (4, N = 295) = 3.597, p=0.463]. Finally, the difference in the results was non-significant for when the students were asked if they feel less proud to be Somali that they would like [χ^2 (8, N = 293) = 2.69, p=0.95].

With respect to if the students think the benefit of the Internet is that it makes information available to more and more people worldwide, the results were found to be non-significant [χ^2 (4, N = 292) = 6.013, p=0.198].

It was also seen that there was no significant difference between the regions in terms of the proudness the students felt for being Somali [χ^2 (4, N = 291) = 8.823, p=0.066], and in terms of the language that was used to communicate at home [χ^2 (2, N = 294) = 4.928, p=0.085].

Eisner's Connoisseurship and Criticism Model was adopted as a theoretical frame for qualitative data interpretation. Eisner's Connoisseurship and Criticism Model "qualitatively describes history program, curriculum, and educational activities" (Nordin & Wahlstrom, 2019; Stavropoulou & Stroubouki, 2014). The following research questions were used:

1. What is the status of history curriculum of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa?

2. What are educator perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum?

3. How do secondary students perceive national identity?

4. Can a new history curriculum of secondary school be developed? Are there any specific characteristics required to make it relevant for the Somali context?

Components of evaluation and themes enabled the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of educator opinions about current secondary history curriculum. Qualitative results enabled the researcher to determine that current history curricula of secondary school have no worth or value. Qualitative results, also yielded five key themes of 1) relevancy, (2) powerful knowledge, (3) causes and consequences (4) change and continuity, and (5) difficult history.

Chapter 6: Discussion, Recommendations, and Conclusion

5.1   Introduction

This chapter examines and elaborates upon the findings of the study based upon the research questions, current literature (how consistent or inconsistent were the findings and relevance of results to previous research conducted within the area of study). The chapter consists of four sections. The first section presents and discusses the findings of the study the second section suggests a new curriculum model, the third section outlines implications of the study, and the final section presents the conclusion.

5.2   Study overview

5.2.1   Context of the Study

Education is important for social transformation, especially in post-conflict societies through school curricula. National narratives in identity-based conflict states aim to instil collective memory and consolidate national identity that strongly empowers reconciliation and social cohesion (Tawil, 2004). Divisive narrative can also undermine conflict resolution. History education demonstrates the dual nature of education and refers to the contentious content of school history. Despite this ambiguity of history's role in post-conflict situations, history curriculum is widely recognised as one way to promote nation building in post-war contexts.

In the context of post-war Somalia which engaged in a civil war in 1991, history education has the potential to facilitate social cohesion and reconciliation to re-construct national identity. Despite this importance, the development of a history curriculum is challenged by the poor situation of the national education system post-collapse and the absence of a national government which left the country in anarchy for around 30 years. Consequently, Somali students lost access to education for three decades (Carr-Hill, 2015; Moyi, 2012).

Efforts of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) built the majority of schools to provide education opportunities for Somali children. Upon successful collaboration with international organizations such as UNESCO, UNOSOM, and UNICEF, the educational sector slowly recovered (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). A shortage of text books and curricula were the main roadblocks for stakeholders to proceed with learning plans. International organizations provided a limited numbers of text books for primary schools, whereas secondary students were left with no learning resources. NGOs tried to address school needs by exporting text books and curricula from Kenya and Djibouti, and Arab countries such as the UAE and Saudi Arabia who were involved in funding education (Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008). Although this initiative resolved part of the problem, the exported curricula reflected the origin country's ideologies and "political interests". Subsequently, their efforts fueled disparity and extremism, especially in the South Central (Barakat et al., 2014).

Indeed, this type of school curricula undermined national government efforts to support nation building and development in Somalia. Curriculum evaluation is a must to judge merit and worth of curriculum. Evaluation is necessary to design appropriate curricula to address Somalia's national needs. Examining the current history curricula provides the theoretical foundation with the aim of proposing a new history curriculum for secondary schools within the context of Somalia.

5.2.2   Rationale of the Study

The aim of this study is to develop an appropriate history curriculum for secondary schools in Somalia to deliver a new content/narrative to the conflict that seeks to develop social cohesion, and reconciliation to reconstruct national identity in post-conflict Somalia. The new content underpinned powerful knowledge that enhance students to develop historical understanding of what happened in the past and make connection with present to inform future actions. This meaningful knowledge will enable students to understand the civil war of

1991 from a "historical perspective" and use their understanding of the historical narrative "surrounding" civil war to take a stand on the contemporary issue. Curriculum evaluation is conducted to judge merit and worth of curriculum to extrapolate effective practices and to identify characteristics of meritorious curriculum.

5.2.3 Aim of the Study/Objectives/Research Questions

The main purpose of this study is to examine the current history curriculum in Somalia (Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland) with the aim to propose a new history curriculum for secondary schools within the context of Somalia.

The objectives of this thesis are as follows:

- To examine in order to understand the history curriculum of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Puntland, and Hargeissa

- To find out educators' perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum.

- To understand secondary school students' attitudes towards national identity.

- To make recommendations for the development of a new secondary history curriculum and identify the characteristics of the new history curriculum.

The overarching question could be stated as: What is the current history curriculum in Somalia and what type of history curriculum is appropriate for secondary schools within the context of Somalia?

- What is the status of history curriculum of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa?

- What are educator perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum?

- How do secondary students perceive national identity?

- Can a new history curriculum of secondary school be developed? Are there any specific characteristics required to make it relevant for the Somali context?

5.2.4 Theoretical Underpinning

The study adopted three interrelated theories to underpin its theoretical framework, namely: Multidisciplinary frameworks of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986); Intergroup Emotional Theory (IET) (Mackie, Maitner, & Smith, 2009), and the Constructivism Learning Theory of Piaget (1980).

The first one is Social Identity Theory. The purpose is to explore the various aspects of social interaction among groups, such as identity and prejudice. Second is Intergroup Emotional Theory. The purpose is to examine the ambiguous nature of attitude. Intergroup Emotional theory explains antagonistic emotions toward out-group members. One of most influential models is the multicomponent model, which examines attitude consisting of three components: cognitive, affective, and behaviour.

The third theory is the learning theory of Constructivism. Piaget's learning theory is also known as Classical Developmental Theory. According to Piaget, children go through different stages of growth as they develop their cognitive structure. Children constantly change their form of knowledge through social interaction through a number of processes. The child is an active individual who constructs "internal structure via a reflexive process" (Case, 1993).

5.2.5 Methodology

The Design and Development Research (DDR) model was selected as the research methodology. The DDR is a significant methodology that bridges the gap between theory and practice by testing theory and validating practice. It is a developmental research that uses empirical research to investigate the problem in real-context and, consequently, provides better theoretical understanding of the problem which reflects on developed practice. Formative research is a type of development research that encompasses several research

activities conducted during the entire development of specific educational interventions (Van Den Akker, 1999). Formative study is conducted using divergent parallel mixed methods, consisting of quantitative and qualitative instruments. Divergent parallel mixed methods enabled the collection of complementary data from qualitative and quantitative sources to enhance generalizability and to provide rigorous evidence for conclusions (Wakeling et al., 2015). An ISSP questionnaire was applied in the quantitative part, and semi-structured "open-ended" questions were used in the qualitative part.

The purpose of the ISSP survey was to explore secondary student perceptions of national identity. The purposive sample consisted of three-hundred students from three secondary schools in Mogadishu, Hargeesa, and Garwe. Chi-square was used for quantitative data analysis. The qualitative phase consisted of semi-structured interviews. Purposive sampling (N=11) consisted of teachers, principals, vice principals, and MOE advisors from Mogadishu, Hargeesa, and Garwe. Participants were asked 12 questions. Four questions were demographic and the rest of the questions centered around current history curricula. The Eisner Criticism model was used for qualitative data interpretation.

Design and Development Research (DDR) methodology was employed in this study to be consistent with the research purpose that aimed to develop a history curriculum. DDR is theory-driven research, grounded in theoretical framework of development research that is "action and interventionist oriented". Development of a new model of history as intervention is enhanced by a cultural approach of a multidisciplinary theoretical framework consisting of social identity, intergroup emotional theories, and constructivism learning theory.

5.3 Summary of the Research Findings

The following section addresses the research questions and presents the key findings.

The main purpose of this study was to examine history curricula of secondary schools in Somalia with the intention to propose a new one by addressing the overarching questions, "what is the current history curriculum in Somalia" and "what type of history curriculum is appropriate for secondary schools within the context of Somalia".

This is explored through four sub-questions:

1. What are characteristics of history curricula of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa?
2. What are educator perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum?
3. How do secondary students perceive national identity?
4. Can a new history curriculum of secondary school be developed? Are there any specific characteristics required to make it relevant for the Somali context?

Findings of divergent parallel mixed methods from questionnaires and interviews were used to answer the research questions to judge the merit and worth of current history curricula of secondary schools and to explore educators' views on current history curricula and to investigate secondary students' perceptions of national identity. Results provide an in-depth understanding of different aspects of current secondary history curricula from educators' and students' points of view.

5.3.1 Research Question 1:

What are characteristics of history curricula of secondary schools in Mogadishu, Garwe, and Hargeissa?

Educator responses from semi-structured interviews revealed that current history curricula are irrelevant. The historical narrative is completely absent from curricula. There is no coherence, and the content is inappropriate for the Somali context. The advisor of MOE in Mogadishu said, "*Current history curriculum is irrelevant to society needs. However, history*

has a significant role in state building if it's written in an adequate way to discuss the past, present, and national history of Somalia. Unfortunately, the secondary curriculum of schools in Somalia is written by others which is a big loss of Somalia".

This is because a few new text books were imported from Kenya and the Arab World, and some schools re-used school textbooks that were printed in the Somali language post-collapse in 1970 to 1980 (UNICEF, 2018). Puntland schools applied the adopted curriculum beside the Kenyan curriculum (UNESCO, 2008). In CEZ, 33.9 % of schools used an adopted curriculum, and 31.2 % used the Kenyan one. NE and CS schools adopted the Djibouti and UAE curriculum. The Saudi Arabian curriculum is utilised in all zones except Sool and Sanag (UNESCO, 2008). "*What is available now are only text books exported from different countries which have inadequate and inappropriate content for secondary history curriculum" (*MOE Advisor*).

The export of curricula from different countries who were mainly involved in funding education added to the disparity of communities and extremism, especially in the South Central. These curricula reflected the origin country's ideologies and "political interests" (Barakat et al., 2014). Teachers of Garwe said, *"Unfortunately, there is no curriculum for the national history of Somalia. The current one touches briefly on some aspects, but the majority of the content talks about history related to other countries which is irrelevant to the history of Somalia"*.

Most importantly, there is no unified national history curriculum. All three regions have different history text books. There is brief content on the Dervish movement. Apart from that, a national history of Somali does not exist.

The absence of a national policy of education after the collapse left schools with different curricula; subsequently, different learning outcomes made the education system inefficient

and inadequate (Qasim, 2013). Current history curricula are irrelevant to Somalia's context and fail to address different socio-cultural-political needs of the country (Barakat et al., 2014).

5.3.2   Research Question 2:

What are educator perceptions of the secondary school history curriculum?

Educators perceived that the history curriculum is poor, and content lacks the appropriate epistemological foundations of powerful knowledge: (1) substantive content such as a national narrative of past and present historical events in Somalia such as the national movement of Sayyied Mohamed Abdillahi Hassan (although it was briefly mentioned in the Mogadishu syllabus), independence of Somalia, the Ogaden war, colonialization, civil war and collapse; (2) historical thinking skills such as historical analysis, causes and effect , significance, change and continuity. As a teacher in Mogadishu said, "… because if the students learn about the past, historical events, and conflict and crisis, then students will avoid or prevent these issues from happening once again in the present and future. Students will need to develop skills of research, critical skills and analysis, problem solving skills, and reasoning".

With the absence of a national narrative, there is a potential for reoccurrence of past mistakes because students are not aware of what happened in the past. This deprives students of developing historical understanding as a teacher of Hargessa commented, "History should have a significant role to teach students what happened in the past so they can learn from what happened and ensure they do not repeat the mistakes that occurred in the past". Educators flagged drawbacks that might triggers national issues. Educators asserted that current history curricula have neither worth nor value.

5.3.3   Research Question 3

How do secondary students perceive national identity?

The student responses on ISSP showed significant differences in perception and understanding of national consciousness and identity in the three regions Mogadishu, Puntland, and Somaliland. In categories related to relationships between individual and country, students showed significant differences (p<0.01) on the importance of clan or tribe and religion as key components of Somali cultural identity. When students were asked to rate the importance of their clan or tribe, 46% of the students from Mogadishu rated it as the most important. 36% of the students living in Somaliland regarded their clan or tribe as the most important. Finally, only 17% of the students living in Puntland regarded their clan or tribe as the most important.

82% of the students living in Mogadishu classified their religion as the most important part of their self-identity, 91% of the students from Somaliland noted religion as the most important aspect, 98% of the students from Puntland reported religion as the most important, and 1% each reported religion as the second most or the third most important.

Students were then asked to rate their closeness to Somalia. The difference between the regions and the closeness they feel to Somalia was found to be significant [χ^2 (8, N = 299) = 55.51, p<0.01]. 77% of the students from Mogadishu reported feeling very close to Somalia, and 48% of the students from Somaliland stated that they felt very close to Somalia. Finally, 79% of the students from Puntland felt very close to Somalia. A significant difference among the results of the students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland, and the closeness felt to Somaliland was found [χ^2 (8, N = 285) = 122.74, p<0.01]. It was found that 21% of the students from Mogadishu felt really close to Somaliland, 52% of the participants from

317

Somaliland felt really close to Somaliland, and 88% of the students from Puntland felt really close to Somaliland.

Students showed significant differences in their perceptions of what made them a "true" Somali (language, religion, feeling of national identification). Participants were asked to rate the importance of being able to speak Somali as a core part of the Somali identity. A significant difference between the results of the students from Mogadishu, Somaliland and Puntland and the importance of being able to speak Somali was found [χ^2 (8, N = 296) = 26.94, p<0.01]. 84% of the students from Mogadishu felt it was important to be able to speak Somali, 97% of the participants from Somaliland felt it was important to be able to speak Somali, and 97% of the students from Puntland felt it was important to be able to speak Somali.

Participants were asked to rate the importance of being a Muslim as a core part of the true Somali identity. A significant difference between the results of the students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland and the importance of being a Muslim was found [χ^2 (4, N = 286) = 10.33, p<0.05]). 88% of the students from Mogadishu felt it was important to be a Muslim, 93% of the participants from Somaliland felt it was important to be a Muslim, and 99% of the students from Puntland felt it was important to be a Muslim.

Significant difference was found for student responses from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland if they considered supporting their country even if the country is wrong [χ^2 (8, N = 295) = 21.697, p<0.05]. 74% of students from Mogadishu strongly agreed/agreed to support Somalia even if it is wrong, and 66% of students in Puntland. 51% of Somaliland students strongly agreed/agreed to support country if the country is wrong.

Significant difference was found for student responses from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland for if the students felt proud of the country's history [χ^2 (4, N = 300) = 11.240,

p<0.05]. 81% of student felt very proud in Mogadishu, 75% of students in Somaliland, and 92% students at Puntland felt very proud of Somalia's history.

Significant differences were found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland with respect to if Somalia should follow its own national interests even if it created conflict with other nations [χ^2 (8, N = 300) = 23.493, p<0.05]. Agree and strongly agree responses were 78% at Mogadishu, 73% Somaliland, 96% Puntland.

Significant differences were found for students from Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland with respect to if increased exposure to foreign policy was damaging Somalia's national and local cultures [χ^2 (4, N = 292) = 10.243, p<0.05]. Agree/strongly agree responses were 73% at Mogadishu, 85% at Somaliland, 88% Puntland.

There were regional differences between the beliefs that Somalia should remain one country or be allowed to separate as Somaliland [χ^2 (4, N = 290) = 56.601, p<0.01]. 84% believed that it is essential that Somalia remain one country at Mogadishu. 49% of students in Somaliland and 91% of students in Puntland believed that it was essential that Somali remain one country.

Participants were asked if they would rather be a citizen of Somalia than of any other country and the results obtained for the students of Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland were found to be non-significant (p<0.068).

Finally, the difference in results were non-significant when the students were asked if they felt less proud to be Somali than they would like (p=.095).

No significant differences were found between the regions in terms of the proudness the students felt for being Somali (p=0.066).

5.3.4   Research Question 4:

Can a new history curriculum of secondary school be developed? Are there any specific characteristics required to make it relevant for the Somali context?

Educators have agreed that current curricula are irrelevant to Somalia, and there is a need for a new history curriculum that consists of powerful knowledge to provide students with historical skills that are important to enable students to think historically, such as problem-solving skills to meet future challenges (BBC Monitoring Africa, 2013; Barakat et al., 2014).

Open-ended questions yielded essential characteristics that a new history curriculum should have. These characteristics centered around five themes: (1) Relevancy: a new national narrative should be appropriate to Somalia's context and culture; (2) Powerful knowledge: consisting of historical concepts such as colonialization, Dervish national movement, Great Somalia/partitioning of Somalia, modern history, including information about the independence of Somalia, the Ogaden war, and civil war; (3) Cause and consequences: analysis of different historical events through historical periods to determine associated political and social implications, such as civil war; (4) Change and continuity: the new narrative must capture the dynamic nature of nationalism and national identity during different historical periods of Somalia and identify turning point events such as civil war that led to division and disparity; (5) Difficult history: new content on traumatic events in the history of Somalia such as the Ogaden war that was a national crisis in 1977-1978, the civil war in 1991, and the bombing of Mogadishu in February 2018.

5.3.5   Discussion of the Results

As this study is underpinned using a naturalistic qualitative approach with divergent mixed methods, qualitative and quantitative data can be integrated at the time of interpretation (Creswell, 2006). In this study, both data sets complemented each other. The qualitative

320

results revealed that current secondary history curricula have no worth since these curricula lack historical knowledge and historical thinking. Consequently, significant differences on the ISSP affirmed different understanding of national aspects. Secondary students struggle to think historically to develop national consciousness.

Powerful knowledge that is discipline-oriented actively engages students to construct knowledge and causes them to reflect which develops thinking skills (Harris & Ormond, 2018; Harris & Reynolds, 2018). A historical thinking framework consists of six components: historical significance, primary source evidence, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspective-taking, and ethical dimensions (Cutrara, 2018). Secondary history curricula based on powerful knowledge supports students' ability to develop historical consciousness to perceive interconnections among past, present, and future, and to acquire historical skills to understand historical processes and to make meaningful interpretation of historical events (Loftstrom, 2014).

1.   Historical Significance

The curricula lacked a national narrative about the golden age of Somalia and historical accomplishments such as the national movement of Sayyied Mohammed Abdillhai Hassan, known as the Dervish movement against colonisers (Irons, 2013; Jardine, 1923; Lewis, 2002) and the SYL struggle for independence of Somalia that ended with the unification of British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland on 1 July 1960 (Abdi, 1981; Egal, 1968; Farah, Hussein & Lind, 2002; Dawson, 1964; Laitin, 1979; Lewis, 2002, 1960; Reyner, 1960; Sheik-Abdi, 1977). Also lacking was a description of the determination of the Somali nation to get back occupied land from Kenya and Ethiopia. Absence of substantive knowledge undermined students' ability to develop a sense of historical significance to feel proud of Somalia's accomplishments ($p<0.05$).

2. Cause and Consequence

There was a lack of substantive knowledge about the partitioning of Great Somalia in 1897 during the Berlin conference. Great Somalia was partitioned into five regions from north to south: French Somaliland, British Somaliland Protectorate, the Italian Colony of Somalia, British Northern Kenya , and Ethiopian Ogaden (Lewis, 2002; Lewis, 2004; William & Cummings, 2015).The stress caused by the partitioning of Great Somalia was the root of violence in Somalia (Lewis, 2002; Linke & Raleigh, 2011). Somali people had several armed conflicts with colonizers and the neighbouring countries of Ethiopia and Kenya to reunite Great Somalia.

The Ogaden war with Ethiopia in 1977 was a turning point in Somalia's modern history. Despite the poor economy of Somalia post-independence, the national desire to support the freedom of Ogaden led Somalia to declare war despite the disagreement of big powers. The Somali army won the war at the beginning, but could not sustain this victory because of limited resources. Russia offered enormous military aid to Ethiopia, and this was enough to defeat the Somali army. Since then the Ogaden war has been known as a national crisis.

Absence of such knowledge caused students to struggle to identify cause and consequence in Somalia's history which negatively shaped student perceptions of Somalia's foreign policy. Student responses to different components of foreign policy include: (1) support Somalia even if it's wrong; (2) Somalia should follow its own interests even if this creates conflict with other countries; (3) increased exposure to foreign policy is damaging Somalia's national and local cultures. Responses showed a drawback of student national consciousness ($p<0.05$).

3. Change and Continuity (Unity of Somalia)

Lack of substantive knowledge of national struggles from 1900 until 1977 to defend the sovereignty of Somalia deprived students from acquiring historical memories that are

essential for developing a collective identity. Lack of a historical narrative including difficult history such as the violent conflict in 1991 and state collapse which left Somalia in anarchy for 30 years left students with no idea of the triggers of conflict.

Subsequently, students are unable to understand change and continuity of Somali nationalism and national identity. Lack of pre-requisite knowledge of the past strongly demonstrated anti-nationalism. Lack of content of the civil war in 1991 which left the nation in disparity, conflict, and division affected students who struggle to develop a consolidated national identity. Regional differences exist over whether Somalia should remain one country or be allowed to separate as Somaliland (p<0.01).

Despite limitation of national consciousness, secondary students in Mogadishu, Somaliland, and Puntland have showed a strong sense of national identity where the difference in results were non-significant when the students were asked if they felt less proud to be Somali than they would like (p=.095). Also, no significant differences were found between the regions in terms of the proudness the students felt for being Somali (p=0.066).

5.4 Synthesis of Results: A Suggested Integrated Thematic Instructional Model of a History Curriculum for Secondary Schools in Somalia.

5.4.1 Introduction

This section fulfils the major purpose of this study which is to develop a model of an appropriate new history curriculum within the context of secondary education in Somalia. An Integrated Thematic Curriculum (ITC) is appropriate to use for the development of a new history curriculum for secondary schools.

The ITC proposed is based on findings of formative research, a theoretical frame of evaluation, and a literature review. The aim of developing an integrated thematic curriculum for secondary students in Somalia is to deliver a new narrative to the conflict that seeks to

develop social cohesion and reconciliation to reconstruct national identity in post-conflict Somalia.

The proposed curriculum model adopts an interdisciplinary approach that is strongly recommended by scholars (Chumdari et al., 2018; Moyer, 2016; Wiles & Bondi, 2011). Interdisciplinarity instruction enhances relevancy, which provides students with learning opportunities to be engaged with real world problems to explore their living context. Similarly, interdisciplinary instruction also is strongly recommended to address curriculum issues such as fragmentation, relevance, and growth of knowledge (Loepp, 1999). Holley (2017) affirms that interdisciplinary research and programs are widely recognised and appreciated. Such approaches are known as creative and resilient and can be adopted to address social and economic needs.

In the field of curriculum, formative research is conducted for two purposes. The first one is to inform decisions relating to the development process of a product (prototypical) to enhance the quality of a developed product (Van Den Akker, 1999), and the second one is to provide the researcher or developer with methodological guidance for development and evaluation. Obtained themes from the evaluation model of Eisner criticism provided insight for the development of an ITC for secondary schools. ITC demonstrates interconnections between a curriculum evaluation model and curriculum design (Hamilton, 1977). Integrated curricula construct knowledge from different disciplines which focus on overlapping skills and concepts to develop a coherent curriculum (Bouwmans & Beneker, 2018). In webbed models, also known thematic models, the focus is on overarching themes across the curriculum, and broad knowledge is critical to tackling the issue from different perspectives and disciplines (Bouwmans & Beneker, 2018). This is fundamental for inquiry-based learning process to develop student analytical skills (Price & Richardson, 2015).

5.4.2   Curriculum Objectives

ITC aims to deliver a new content or narrative to the conflict that seeks to develop social cohesion and reconciliation to reconstruct national identity in post-conflict Somalia. The new content underpins powerful knowledge that will enhance students' ability to develop historical understanding of what happened in the past and make connections with the present to inform future actions. This meaningful knowledge will enable students to understand the civil war of 1991 from a "historical perspective" and use their understanding of the historical narrative "surrounding" civil war to take a stand on contemporary issues. The purpose of the proposed curriculum is to enhance the analytical ability among the students by establishing a strong link between the past events and the present context. It can also provide the students with better understanding of the history and develop national identity.

To address curriculum objectives, the new ITC content should be organised around the overarching themes of: (1) relevancy; (2) substantive knowledge/powerful knowledge; (3) understanding cause and consequences of conflicts; (4) change and continuity; and (5) difficult history. This will provide students with a big picture of history as a discipline. These themes are derived from the systematic content analysis of the responses obtained from the research participants.

5.4.3   Integrated Thematic Instructional Model

If the curriculum is about what, then instruction is about why. Instructional design is the process to deliver the curriculum (Tracey, 2007). Gagne et al. (2005) defined instructional design (ID) as the method of organizing resources and process to achieve learning objectives. ID is also defined as "…an interdisciplinary teaching approach that presents subject matter according to themes or topics. Each theme or topic is presented in extended units so that students have enough time to develop understanding and to find connections to what they know and value. This approach integrates knowledge from different disciplines and

encourages students to explore topics deeply, reading many different sources and engaging in a variety of activities" (Gardner et al., 2003, cited in North Central Regional Educational Laboratory, 2001, p.162). The thematic approach is well known as a pedagogical concept. Unit-based themes enable connections of knowledge from different disciplines and allow students to integrate different themes to real-life experience and problems which enhance meaningful learning (Mathison & Freeman, 1998; Price & Richardson, 2015).

In thematic approaches, Price and Richardson (2015) and Shanahan (1997) recommended careful attention should be given to the integration process and boundaries of "separate disciplines". Shanahan (1997) affirmed that the curriculum designer should develop clear learning outcomes for the processed integration process and to provide a fundamental rationale to select an adequate integration model. An interdisciplinary model aims to integrate specific subject matter to enhance relevant knowledge. An overarching theme organises subject content to preserved cognitive and social-cultural aspects of discipline boundaries (Price & Richardson, 2015; Shanahan, 1997).

Arrangement and planning of a thematic instructional model consists of: (1) define subject matter/discipline; (2) basic competencies and indicators; (3) subject matter and description; (4) learning strategies; and (5) evaluation/assessment (Chumdari et al., 2018).

Shanahan (1997) asserts that thematic instruction units must provide students with hands-on experience to practice what they learn which demonstrates the worth and value of the curriculum. Also, thematic units should consist of broad themes to enhance their disciplinary nature and allow students to construct knowledge from different resources which encourages critical thinking skills which "add intellectual depth to the curriculum".

Figure 31: A Suggested Integrated Thematic Model for History Curriculum of Secondary Schools in Somalia
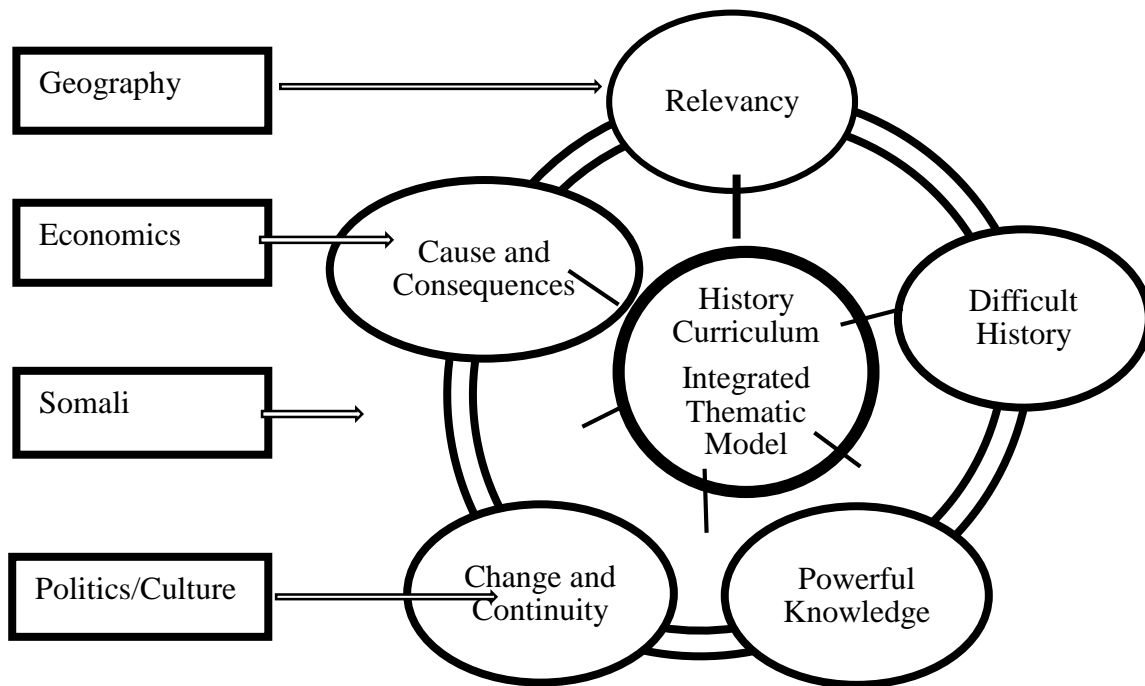
Source: Author

The above diagram depicts the ITC for history education in Somalia. The framework adopts an essentially cross-disciplinary approach that teaches by taking inputs from a number of different subjects. For instance, in order to understand the history of Somalia, one has to understand the politics and culture of the region and gain knowledge of the clan cultutre that is one of the main components of the social system of Somalia. Only with such a broader understanding students can have a better understanding of the history and analyse the causes and consequences of events. In addition, as the model demostrates the curriculum will be centred around the five thematic components identified from the qualitative data analysis. Thus the curriculum will be relevant, i.e., it will have contextual significance. In order to achieve that textbooks will be developed in Somalia and the foreign imports will be restricted. The teaching will also encompass understanding the length and breadth of the topic so that the students can have a clear understanding of the causes and consequences of each of the system. Thus the content of the study material will clearly reflect the past and help the

327

students understand the causal relationship between phenomena. Moreover, the content will be unbiased and represent the true facts. No politicised content will be included in the curriculum and will be designed keeping in mind the academic purpose and objectives. The nationalist ideology will also be kept in mind to encourage the students develop collective identity in the post-conflict society of Somalia. ITC will be generalised across Somalia and will serve to bring uniformity across all the schools. The new curriculum will help reduce violence and conflict and emphasize unity across all the class differences.

5.5   Discussion and Implication of the Findings:

5.5.1   Implications on Practice

Curriculum development in post-conflict societies has been challenged by the lack of an adequate theoretical framework that is essential to exploring conflict. This drawback increased the gap between the local need for "experience and knowledge" and the needs of nation-building "national development" (Naylor, 2015).

The findings of this study contribute to the practice of curriculum design and development by addressing the gap between theory and practice. A carefully designed theoretical framework can successfully guide the development of an integrated thematic model for history curriculum that is appropriate to meet the national needs of post-war Somalia. Integrated thematic model is an effective instructional design (ID) as the method of organizing resources and process to achieve learning objectives. Thematic content emphasizes a disciplinary knowledge of history. Also, it will provide meaningful knowledge from different disciplines which will provide students with the big picture to understand real-life issues. Such learning experiences will help students to develop historical thinking and historical knowledge. Constructivism learning will enable students to take an active role in their learning which is

important in conflict education in order to develop understanding and take a stance on contemporary issues**.**

Thematic content emphasizes a disciplinary knowledge of history. Also, it will provide meaningful knowledge from different disciplines which will provide students with the big picture to understand real-life issues. Such learning experiences will help students to develop historical thinking and historical knowledge. Constructivism learning will enable students to take an active role in their learning which is important in conflict education in order to develop understanding and take a stance on contemporary issues**.**

The proposed integrated thematic model provided validated instructional practices that enables history teachers to enhance learning of students. And to ensure positive outcome in cognitive, and affective learning domain. Thematic approach is well known as a pedagogical concept. Unit-based themes enable connections of knowledge from different disciplines and allow students to integrate different themes to real-life experience and problem which enhance meaningful learning.

The findings of this study emphasize the importance of having systematic, rigorous evaluation of curriculum. Using a humanistic approach to curriculum evaluation is recommended in post-conflict contexts to help researchers to explore people's perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs.

The Eisner connoisseurship and criticism model is strongly recommended for curriculum designers in post-conflict. The Eisner model enabled the investigation of Somalia's educational experience in real context.

5.5.2   Implications on Policy

Despite recent national efforts to revive the education sector in Somalia, education remains far behind for several causes such as state collapse and the long period of anarchy.

After tracking the history of education in Somalia since the time of colonialization, it can be seen that Quranic schools were the main source of education, and secular schools were strongly resisted by local Somali upon a call from Mohammad Abdille Hassan, a religious and national leader in the Somaliland protectorate (Abdi, 1998; Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Lewis, 2002).

Concerned by the anti-colonial movement of the Dervish, the British administration was hesitant to build any schools in the North (Lewis, 2002). Education significantly developed during the time of Siad Baree's military regime. General Siad offered nomads, the majority of Somali, an opportunity to learn in the Somali language after the successful creation of a language script (Abdi, 1998; Cassaneli & Abdikadir, 2008; Lewis, 2002). In 1991, after violent conflict, Somalia collapsed; subsequently, the education system fell apart.

Post-war, education was revived with national and international effort. The main obstacles were lack of appropriate text books and curricula, especially for secondary schools. Those available were exported from Saudi Arabia, UAE, Iraq, Kenya and Ethiopia. These curricula probably served children's educational needs for short term, but undermined national development. The findings of this study showed that current history curricula of secondary schools have poor content and lack merit and worth. Students tend to struggle to have historical thinking and historical consciousness and many fail to develop an understanding or sense of national identity. Students in Mogadishu, Hargessa, and Garwe showed significant differences in different components of national identity. History is an important subject for national-development, especially in Somalia. Poor quality of curricula will not help the national government of Somalia to move forward.

The findings of this study proposed an innovative model of integrated thematic instruction for a new history curriculum for secondary schools in Somalia. Thematic curriculum begins with

a national narrative to emphasize disciplinary knowledge of history. Powerful knowledge will enhance students to ability acquire meaningful knowledge, also to develop historical consciousness regarding change, continuity, cause and consequences. Relevancy will empower students to be conscious of their history and enable them to tackle present and future challenges. Students can learn to be active to play participatory roles in society. This will provide opportunities for reconciliation and social cohesion to reconstruct national identity. Most importantly, it will help to prevent Somalia's relapse into conflict.

In post-conflict states, the majority of research is conducted by foreigners (Burde et al., 2017). This study is unique since the newly designed model for curriculum and research was developed by national researchers who are well aware of the local context. Findings of this study provide evidence-based research for policy makers to reform history education for secondary schools in Somalia.

Due to security issues in Somalia, the focal point of concern is to rebuild the military. Hence, policy-makers need to delegate development of school curricula to national practitioners who are able to design appropriate models for Somalia. Policy makers should take necessary precautions such as monitoring content of imported textbooks to illuminate divisive aspects that might lead to intergroup antagonism.

5.6   Contribution of the research

5.6.1   Theoretical Implications

The theoretical implications of the study contributed to address the mismatch between theory and practice in post-conflict educational systems. This issue is widely identified by conflict theorists who have widely ignored the relationships between education and conflict and status-quo as the main characteristics (Paulson, 2007; Rappleye & Paulson, 2007). Van der Leeuw-Roord (2009) affirms that "Writing perfect history curricula is an impossible mission:

there are simply too many requirements to fulfil; so many desires have to be combined that reality and theory are often separated by a wide fissure" (p. 89).

Paulson (2007) states there is a gap in theoretical understanding of the nature of conflict and the development of appropriate curricula. It is important to have an in-depth understanding of context to develop an adequate theoretical approach to identify the society's needs and real-life issues such as interpersonal relationships that are the causes of conflict (Burde et al, 2017).

The findings of this study contribute to the field of knowledge of education and conflict. Design theories and frameworks provided a rationale for the development of a new history curriculum of secondary schools in Somalia. Syntheses of social identity and intergroup emotional theories helped to address intergroup relationships and to reveal the complexity of conflict in Somalia. The learning theory of constructivism was incorporated to provide students with meaningful knowledge to develop essential skills such as critical thinking and problem-solving skills that are fundamental to understand the reality of conflict. This theoretical understanding and integration successfully guided the design of a new curriculum and also enhanced the quality of the product.

5.6.2   Implications for Methodology

The design and development research model was selected as the research methodology for the study for two reasons. The first is that a multidisciplinary theoretical framework cannot be systematically reviewed using a traditional approach because it is limited to "narrow views" (Van Den Akker, 1999).

The second thing is the type of research questions determined selection of methodology. The questions were open-ended to explore educator perceptions of current history curricula in Somalia. Subsequently, the qualitative approach was adopted. Since questions aimed to propose or design a new history curriculum, there was a need for designed-based research or Design Development Research (DDR) characterised by "theory, iteration, and contextualization".

Formative research was adopted as a type of DDR, also known as developmental research that uses empirical research to investigate the problem in real-context and, consequently, provides better theoretical understanding of the problem which reflects on developed practice (Alias, 2015; Ben-Horin et al., 2017; Joseph, 2004; Van Den Akker, 1999). Formative study consisted of four main activities: (1)preliminary research or "investigation"; (2) integrated to theoretical framework; (3) empirical research; and (4) systematic documentation, "analysis and reflection on process and outcomes" (Cronje, 2013; Van Den Akker, 1999).

The findings of this study demonstrate that DDR is a significant methodology to bridge the gap between theory and practice by testing theory and validating practice which enabled the researcher to successfully develop an Integrated Thematic Instructional model for history curriculum. The new narrative will contribute to social cohesion and re-construct national identity. Ben-Horin et al. (2017, p. 5) describe EDR "as a vehicle for innovation in educational practices".

Developmental research enables researchers in post-conflict environments to have in-depth understanding of the context. Most importantly, the iterative nature of DDR produced high quality data which contributed significantly to enrich the field of empirical research in post-conflict Somalia whereas the field generally is identified by scarcity of data (Burde et al., 2017; Paulson, 2007; Rappleye & Paulson, 2007).

5.6.3 Recommendations

Integrated thematic instructional model was proposed to deliver a new content and narrative that seeks to develop social cohesion and reconciliation in order to reconstruct national identity in post-conflict Somalia. For teachers, IT is well known as an efficient pedagogical practice, that enables them to deliver meaningful lessons, unit-based themes enable connections of knowledge from different disciplines, and allow students to integrate different themes to real-life experience and problems which enhance meaningful learning.

Curriculum practitioners should develop carefully thought out theoretical integration to have a better understanding of conflict (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009). Practitioners need to adopt an analytical approach to identify roots causes of conflict as the majority of curriculum practitioners tend to "tackle social issues on a superficial level rather than look deeply to the roots of the problem" (Du Preez, 2014).

The proposed model can assist policy-makers in Somalia to change current history curricula to construct one that supports a Somalia national identity.

Despite the ability of DDR methodology to produce high quality results, the processes are very challenging. Researchers who attempt to conduct DDR research need to be aware of the following:

1. The main constraint of DDR is the iterative nature. It is a time-consuming process that may take longer than expected. Hence, the researcher should be patient and plan enough time to develop different processes.

2. Intensive amount of resources.

3. The researcher needs to keep a close eye on the purpose of the study as it will be easy to become distracted due to the length of time required of DDR, its iterative nature, and the massive amount of information obtained.

4. The researcher should get sufficient information and seek guidance early in the process.

5.7 Limitations

DDR research has limitations like other traditional research. Some of following limitations might have an effect on findings of the study.

Firstly, due to the security situation in Somalia, the researcher could not travel to conduct interviews face-to-face, and the task was given to a researcher assistant. Face-to-face interaction could possibly enhance interview findings. Secondly, the researcher could not observe students during their history lessons which could enhance the trustworthiness of the qualitative data. Thirdly, the gender issue was a problem when the researcher assistant could not interview female teachers in selected schools. It could help to have female teacher views on current curricula. Fourthly, due to the uniqueness of the research topic, currently there is no developed protocol to examine history curricula or to construct semi-structured interviews. Therefore, the researcher developed qualitative and quantitative instruments such as interview questions, and used an ISSP questionnaire with special consideration of the scope of the study, social, and cultural concerns.

5.8 Conclusion

Development of a quality history curriculum is identified as one way to support reconciliation in post-conflict societies. In post-war Somalia, because of the long period of collapse, school curricula are not well structured. This called for a study with the intention to examine history curricula of secondary schools in Somalia with the aim of proposing a new one. This was addressed through asking the overarching questions of "what is the current history curriculum in Somalia" and "what type of history curriculum is appropriate for secondary schools within the context of Somalia". Curriculum evaluation was conducted to judge the merit and worth of the current curriculum to extrapolate effective practices and to identify characteristics of a meritorious curriculum.

The findings of qualitative data showed that educators judged current history curricula to lack merit and worth. Five themes were identified from the interviews which identified characteristics of meritorious curriculum: relevancy, change and continuity, powerful knowledge, cause and consequences, and difficult history.

Quantitative results showed significant differences in understanding different components of national identity. Students tend to struggle to think historically and to develop understanding of national consciousness because current secondary history curricula lack a national narrative, powerful knowledge, and historical thinking.

The findings of the study affirmed there is a need for a new history curriculum. An integrated thematic instructional model was proposed to deliver a new content and narrative that seeks to develop social cohesion and reconciliation in order to reconstruct national identity in post-conflict Somalia. The new content is underpinned by powerful knowledge that enhances students' ability to develop historical understanding of what happened in the past and make connections with the present to inform future actions. This meaningful knowledge will enable

students to understand the civil war of 1991 from a "historical perspective" and use their understanding of the historical narrative "surrounding" civil war to take a stand on contemporary issues.

The thematic approach is well known as a pedagogical concept. Unit-based themes enable connections of knowledge from different disciplines and allow students to integrate different themes to real-life experience and problem which enhance meaningful learning..

The information obtained from this study identified a serious gap in the current education system in Somalia. The proposed model can assist policy-makers in Somalia to change current history curricula to construct one that supports a Somalia national identity. Although security is the current priority of the Somali government, developing and implementing a national history curriculum is vital to achieve successful social-political transformation.

References

Abbott, J. & Ryan, T. (1999). Constructing knowledge, reconstructing schooling. *Educational Leadership*. Available at: https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ597085 [Accessed 19 March 2019].

Abdi, A. (1998). Education in Somalia: History, destruction, and calls for reconstruction. *Comparative Education*, vol. 34 (3), pp. 327-340.

Abdi, S. (1981). *Northeast African Studies* [online]. Vol. 2/3 (3/1), pp. 153-162. Available at: http://www.jstor.org [Accessed 14 November 2017].

Abdinoor, A. (2008). Community assumes the role of state in rducation in stateless Somalia. *International Education*, pp. 43-61.

Abdullahi, A. (2017). *Making Sense of Somali History:* Vol. 1. Adonis and Abbey Publishers.

Abraham, G. (2007). "Lines upon maps": Africa and the sanctity of African boundaries. *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, vol. 15 (1), pp. 61-84.

Adebajo, A. (ed.). (2010). *The Curse of Berlin: Africa after the Cold War*. United States of America: Columbia University Press.

Adewuyi, M., Kimble, L., Dormire, S. & Sudia, T. (2018). Dementia care content in prelicensure nursing curricula: A pilot mixed-methods study. *Journal of Nursing Education*, vol. 57, pp. 88-96.

Ahmad, A. (2017). A twenty-first century foreign policy for Canada in the Middle East and North Africa. *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis*, 72(3), pp. 413-423.

Ahonen, S. (2014). Education in post-conflict societies. *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education*, 1(1), pp. 75-87.

Ait-Mehdi, H. (2012). Teaching the history of colonization and decolonization in France: A shared history or to each their own? *Prospects*, 41, pp. 191-203.

Alazzi, K. (2017). Jordanian seventh- and eleventh-grade students' views on citizenship education. *Educational Research Quarterly*, 40(4), pp. 3-22.

Alias, N. (2012). Design of a motivational scaffold for the Malaysian e-learning environment. *Educational Technology & Society*, 15(1), pp. 137-151.

Alias, N. (2015). Designing, Developing and Evaluating a Learning Support Tool: A Case of Design and Development Research (DDR). London: SAGE Publications, Ltd.

Allen, M. (2008). Promoting critical thinking skills in online information literacy instruction using a Constructivist approach. *College & Undergraduate Libraries*, 15, pp. 21-38.

Andreasson, S. (2005). Orientalism and African development studies: The 'reductive repetition' motif in theories of African underdevelopment. *Third World Quarterly*, 26(6), pp. 971-986.

Bah, A. (2012). State decay: A conceptual frame of failing and failed states in West Africa. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 25(1/3), pp.71-89.

Bain, W. (2012). Repaying the national debt to Africa: Trusteeship, property and empire. *Theoria*, 59(133), pp. 1-20.

Barakat, B. (2008). Education and intra-alliance conflict: Contrasting and comparing popular struggles in apartheid South Africa and Palestine. *Research IN Comparative & International Education*, 3(1), pp. 5-18.

Barakat, Connolly, Hardman, Lewis, Lineker, Menkhaus, Rzeszut & Shanks. (2014). *Beyond Fragility: A Conflict and Education Analysis of the Somali Context* [online]. Post-war Reconstruction & Development Unit, The University of York; Institute for Effective Education, The University of York; United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Available at: https://www.york.ac.uk/media/prdu/documents/publications/Beyond%20Fragility-a%20conflict%20and%20education%20analysis%20of%20the%20Somali%20context.pdf [Accessed 29 September 2018].

Barnes, C. (2006). Gubo-Ogaadeen poetry and the aftermath of the Dervish Wars. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 18(1), pp.105-117.

BBC Monitoring Africa. (2013). Implementation of Somalia's "Go to School" campaign said challenging. London: BBC Worldwide Limited.

Bell, E. & Bryman, A. (2011). *Business research methods*. Oxford university press.

Bellino, M. J. (2014). Whose Past, Whose Present?: Historical Memory mong the "Postwar" Generation in Guatemala. In *(Re) Constructing Memory* (pp. 129-151). Brill Sense.

Ben-Horin, O., Chappell, K., Halstead, J. & Espeland, M. (2017). Designing creative inter-disciplinary science and art interventions in schools: The case of Write a Science Opera (WASO). *Cognet Education*, 4, pp.1-20.

Bentrovato, D., Korostelina, K. V., & Schulze, M. (Eds.). (2016). *History can bite: History education in divided and postwar societies* (Vol. 141). V&R unipress GmbH.

Besteman, C. (1996). Violent politics and the politics of violence: The dissolution of the Somali nation-state. *American Ethnologist*, 23(3), pp. 579-596.

Besteman, C. (1998). Primordialist blinders: A reply to I. M. Lewis. *Cultural Anthropology*, 13(1), pp.109-120.

Blakkisrud, H. & Nozimova, S. (2010). History writing and nation building in post-independence Tajikistan. *Nationalities paper*, 38(2), pp. 173-189.

Bouwmans, M. & Beneker, T. (2018). Identifying powerful geographical knowledge in integrated curricula in Dutch schools. *London Review of Education*, 16(3), pp. 445-459.

Bracey, P. (2006). Teaching for diversity? Exploring an Irish dimension in the school history curriculum since c.1970. *History of Education*, 35(6), pp. 619-635.

Branch, D. (2014). Violence, decolonisation and the Cold War in Kenya's north-eastern province, 1963–1978. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(4), pp. 642-657.

Burde, D., Kapit, A., Wahl, R., Guven, O. & Skarpeteig, M. (2017). Education in emergencies: A review of theory and research. *Review of Education Research*, 87(3), pp. 619-658.

Bush, K. D., & Saltarelli, D. (2000). The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: Towards a peacebuilding education for children. Research Report. UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre

Cahnmann-Taylor, M. & Siegesmund, R. (2008). *Arts-Based Research in Education*. New York: Routledge.

Call, C. (2008). The fallacy of the "Failed State". *Third World Quarterly*, 29(8), pp. 1491-1507.

Capraro, R. & Yetkiner, Z. (2012). *Encyclopedia of Research Design*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Carlson, A., Costa, A., Duara, P., Leibold, J., Carrico, K., Gries, P., Eto, N., Zhao, S. & Weiss, J. (2016). Nations and nationalism roundtable discussion on Chinese nationalism and national identity. *Nations and Nationalism*, 22(3), pp. 415-446.

Carr-Hill, R. (2015). Education of children of nomadic pastoralists in Somalia: Comparing attitudes and behaviour. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 40, pp. 166-173.

Case, R. (1993). Theories of learning and theories of development. *Educational Psychologist*, 28(3), pp. 219-233.

Cassanelli, L. & Abdikadir, F. (2008). Somalia: Education in transition. *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies*, vol. 7.

Castillo, J., Dorman, C., Gaunt, B., Hardcastle, B., Justice, K. & March, A. (2016). Design research as a mechanism for consultants to facilitate and evaluate educational innovations. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation*, 26, pp. 25-48.

Cay, D. F. (1966). *Curriculum: design for learning*. Bobbs-Merrill.

Central Intelligence Agency (2012). *Somalia: Economy drift*. Available at: https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP89S01449R000200210001-4.pdf. [Accessed 20 April 2018].

Christopher, A. (1997). 'Nation-states', 'quasi-states', and 'collapsed-states' in contemporary Africa. *GeoJournal*, 43 (1), pp. 91-97.

Chua, C. & Mosha, H. (2015). Managing school internal mechanisms for performance improvement in secondary education: Case of six secondary schools in the Eastern Zone in Tanzania. *SAGE Open*, pp. 1-9.

Chumdari, Anitah, S., Budiyono, & Suryani, N. (2018). Inquiry-based integrated thematic instruction on character education of primary school students. *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies*, 6(2), p. 69.

Cox, A. & John, V. (2016). Transformative learning in post-apartheid South Africa: Disruption, dilemma, and direction. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 66(4), pp. 303-318.

Creswell. (2006). *Choosing a mixed methods design* [online]. Available at:

https://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/10982_Chapter_4.pdf [Accessed 9

October 2018].

Cronje, J. (2013). What is this thing called "design" in design research and instructional

design? *Educational Media International*, 50(1), pp. 1-11.

Crummey, D. (2003). The Horn of Africa: Between history and politics. *Northeast African

Studies* [online]. 10(3), pp. 117-138. Available at: http://www.jstor.org [Accessed 14

November 2017].

Cutrara, S. (2018). The settler grammar of Canadian history curriculum: Why historical

thinking is unable to respond to the TRC's calls to action. *Canadian Journal of Education*,

41(1), pp. 251-275.

David, L. (1977). Revolutionary change in Somalia. *MERIP Reports*, vol. 62, pp. 6-18.

Davies, L. (2003). *Education and conflict: Complexity and chaos*. Routledge.

Davies, L. (2019). Education and violent extremism: Insights from complexity

theory. *Education and Conflict Review*, *2*, 76-80.

Dawson, G. (1964). Education in Somalia. *Comparative Education Review*, 8 (2), pp. 199-

214.

Deeming, C. (2016). Classed attitudes and social reform in cross-national perspective: A

quantitative analysis using four waves from the International Social Survey Programme

(ISSP). *Journal of Sociology*, 531(1), pp. 162-181.

Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (2011). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, *4th ed.*

Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Development and next generation. (2007). [online]. Washington, DC: The World Bank. Available at: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2007/Resources/OverviewFull.pdf. [Accessed 25 January 2019].

Donmoyer, R. (2014). Elliot Eisner's lost legacy. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 35(3), pp. 442-452.

Doornbos, M. & Markakis, J. (1994). Society and state in crisis: What went wrong in Somalia?. *Review of African Political Economy*, 21(59), pp. 82-88.

Doull, K. & Townsend, S. (2018). Investigating the issues and implications of 'Big Picture' history: Deconstructing the 'long arc of development'. *Education*, 46(6), pp. 685-699.

Drake-Brockman, R. (1912). *British Somaliland*. Vhttps://ia801605.us.archive.org/17/items/in.ernet.dli.2015.81470/2015.81470.British-Somali-Land.pdf [Accessed 3 August 2017].

du Preez, P. (2014). Reconciliation through dialogical nostalgia in post-conflict societies: A curriculum to intersect. *A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 44(1), pp. 117-135.

Duckworth, C. L. (2015). History, Memory, and Peace Education: History's Hardest Questions in the Classroom. *Peace & Change*, *40*(2), 167-193.

Dury, S., Dierckx, E., Vorst, A., Elst, M., Fret, B., Duppen, D., Hoeyberghs, L., De Roeck, E., Lambotte, D., Smetcoren, A., Schols, J., Kempen, G., Zijlstra, G., Lepeleire, J., Schoenmakers, B., Verte, D., Witte, N., Kardol, T., De Deyn, P., Engelborghs, S., & De Donder, L. (2018). Detecting frail, older adults and identifying their strengths: Results of a mixed-methods study. *BMC Public Health*, 18, pp. 1-13.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R., & Jackson, P. R. (2015). *Management research*. Sage.

Egal, M. (1968). Somalia: Nomadic individualism and the rule of law. *African Affairs*, 67 (268), pp. 219-226.

Ellison, C. (2014). The role of education in peacebuilding: An analysis of five change theories in Sierra Leone. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 44 (2), pp. 186-2017.

Elmi, A. (2010). Understanding the Somalia Conflagration. Oxford: Pambazuka Press.

Englebert, P. (1997). Feature review the contemporary African state: Neither African nor state. *Third World Quarterly*, 18(4), pp. 767-776.

Englehart, N. (2011). What makes civil society civil? The state and social groups. *Polity*, vol. 43 (3), pp. pp. 337-357.

English, F. (2008). The Art of Educational Leadership: Balancing Performance and Accountability. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Eriksen, S. (2011). 'State failure' in theory and practice: The idea of the state and the contradictions of state formation. *Review of International Studies*, 37(1), pp. 229-247.

Ernest, P., Skovsmose, O., van Bendegem, J., Bicudo, M., Miarka, R., Kvasz, L. & Moeller, R. (2016). *The Philosophy of Mathematics Education*. Switzerland: Springer Nature, pp. 1-25.

European Union. (2017). Global Partnership for Education Grants US $5.6 million for Quality Education for Children in the Puntland State of Somalia. Lausanne: African Press Organization. Available at: https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/34346/global-partnership-education-grants-us56-million-quality-education-children-puntland-state_en [Accessed 29 September 2018].

Fogarty, R. (1992). 10 ways to integrate curriculum. *The Education Digest*, 57(6), pp. 53-57.

Fraenkel, J. R., Wallen, N. E., & Hyun, H. H. (2011). *How to design and evaluate research in education*. New York: McGraw-Hill Humanities/Social Sciences/Languages.

Franke, T., Ho, T. & Christie, C. (2012). The Chi-Square Test: Often used and more often misinterpreted. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 33(3), pp. 448-458.

Freedman, S. W., Weinstein, H. M., Murphy, K., & Longman, T. (2011). Teaching history in post-genocide Rwanda. *Remaking Rwanda: State building and human rights after mass violence*, 297-315.

Gallagher, T., Robinson, G., Hughes, J., & Connolly, D. (2018). *Education in conflict-affected areas: Final report*. [online] Available at:

https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/global_education_security_and_stability_report_0319.pdf

Gardner, E., Wissick, C., Schweder, W. & Canter, L. (2003). Enhancing interdisciplinary instruction in general and special education. *Remedial and Special Education*, vol. 24 (3), pp. 161-172.

Gellner, E. (2006). *Nations and Nationalism, 2nd Ed.* New York: Cornell University Press.

Gerholz, K., Liszt, V. & Klingsieck, K. (2018). Effects of learning design patterns in service learning courses. *Active learning in Higher Education*, 19(1), pp. 47-59.

Geshekter, C. (1985). Anti-colonialism and class formation: The eastern Horn of Africa before 1950. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 18(1), p. 1.

Ghonsooly, B., Hassanzadeh, T., Samvarchi, L., & Hamedi, S. (2017). A mixed-methods approach to demotivating factors among Iranian EFL learners. *Issues in Educational Research*, 27(3), pp. 417-434.

Gil, I. (2007). Teaching the Shoah in history classes in Israeli high schools. *ISRAEL STUDIES*, 14(2), pp. 2-24.

Gilbert, R. (2011). Can history succeed at school? Problems of knowledge in the Australian history curriculum. *Australian Journal of Education*, 55(3), pp. 245-258.

Gilkes, P. (1989). Somalia: Conflicts within and against the military regime. *Review of African Political Economy*, 16(44), pp. 53-58.

Glesne, C. (2011). *Becoming Qualitative Researchers, 4th Ed.* Boston: Pearson.

Goodwin, W. (1970). Somalia curriculum development. *Unesdoc.unesco.org* [online]. Available at: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0000/000004/000403eo.pdf [Accessed 15 August 2018].

Green, A. (2013). Education and state formation. In *Education and state formation* (pp. 82-114). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Grever, M. (2012). Dilemmas of Common and Plural History. *History education and the construction of national identities*, 75-91.

Gros, J. (1996). Towards a taxonomy of failed states in the New World Order: Decaying Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda and Haiti. *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 17 (3), pp. 455-471.

Gross, M. & Terra, L. (2018). What makes difficult history difficult? *Phi Delta Kappan*, 99, pp. 51-56.

Guibernau, M. & Hutchinson, J. (2004). History and national destiny. *Nations and Nationalism*, 10 (1-2), pp. 1-8.

Gunaydin, S. & Karamete, A. (2016). Material development to raise awareness of using smart boards: An example design and development research. *European Journal of Contemporary Education*, 15 (1).

Hamilton, D. (1977). Making sense of curriculum evaluation: Continuities and discontinuities in an educational idea. *Review of Research in Education*, 5 (1), pp. 318-347.

Harris, R. & Burn, K. (2016). English history teachers' views on what substantive content young people should be taught. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 48(4), pp. 518-546.

Harris, R. & Ormond, B. (2018). Historical knowledge in a knowledge economy: What types of knowledge matter? *Educational Review*, pp. 2-17.

Harris, R. & Reynolds, R. (2018). Exploring teachers' curriculum decision making: Insights from history education. *Oxford Review of Education*, 44 (2), pp. 139-155.

Heale, R. & Twycross, A. (2015). Validity and reliability in quantitative studies. *Evid Based Nurs*, 18 (3).

Healy, S. (2011). Seeking peace and security in the Horn of Africa: The contribution of the inter-governmental authority on development. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944*, 87 (1 January 2011), pp. 105-120.

Higgins, S., & Novelli, M. (2018). The potential and pitfalls of peace education: a cultural political economy analysis of the emerging issues teacher education curriculum in Sierra Leone. *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, 6(1), 29-53

Hilker, L. M. (2011). The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: The case of Rwanda. *Prospects*, *41*(2), 267-282.

Hohne, M. (2006). Political identity, emerging state structures and conflict in Northern Somalia. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 44(3), pp. 397-414.

Holley, K. (2018). The role of threshold concepts in an interdisciplinary curriculum: A case study in neuroscience. *Innov High Educ*, 43(17), pp. 17-30.

Hues, H. (2011). "Mandela, the Terrorist": Intended and hidden history curriculum in South Africa. *Education Media, Memory, and Society*, 3(2), pp. 74-95.

Hussein, A. (2015). Educational challenges in post-transitional Somalia: Case Study Mogadishu. *Heritage Institute for Policy Studies*, pp. 1-17.

Irons, R. (2013). Churchill and the Mad Mullah of Somaliland: Betrayal and redemption 1899-1921. Available at: https://books.google.ae/books [Accessed 8 August 2017].

ISSP (N/D). Home. (2018). Available at: http://www.issp.org/ [Accessed 20 October 2018].

Jackson, D. (2010). The Ogaden War and the demise of detente. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 632(1), pp. 26-40.

Jardine, D. (1923). *The Mad Mullah of Somaliland*. Osamania: Osmania University. Available at: https://archive.org/details/ TheMadMullahOfSomaliland [Accessed 2 July 2017].

Jenkins, E., 2000. *The Muslim Diaspora: A Comprehensive Reference to the Spread of Islam in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas, 1500-1799 (Vol. 2)*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company Incorporated Pub.

Jin, S.H. (2010). *The Heart of Fraternity: citizens' public spirit*. Paper presented at the Civic Education and Spiritual Education Conference, 2-4 April, in Hong Kong.

Jones, B. (2008). The global political economy of social crisis: Towards a critique of the 'Failed State' ideology. *Review of International Political Economy*, 15(2), pp. 180-205.

Kangas, R. (1996). Collapsed states: The disintegration and restoration of legitimate authority. I. William Zartman. *The Journal of Politics*, 58 (3), pp. 903-905.

Kendie, D. (2003). Toward northeast African cooperation: Resolving the Ethiopia-Somalia disputes. *Northeast African Cooperation: Resolving the Ethiopia-Somalia Disputes*, 10 (2), pp.67-109.

Kimenyi, M., Mbaku, J. & Moyo, N. (2010). Reconstituting Africa's failed states: The case of Somalia. *Social Research*, 77 (4), pp. 1339-1366.

King, E. (2014). *From classrooms to conflict in Rwanda*. Cambridge University Press.

Kula, S. M., & Paik, S. J. (2016). A historical analysis of Southeast Asian refugee communities: Post-war acculturation and education in the US. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement*, *11*(1), 1.

Kvale, S. and Brinkmann, S., 2012. *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing, 2nd Ed*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Kysilka, M. (1998). Understanding integrated curriculum. *Curriculum Journal*, 9 (2), pp. 197-209.

Laitin, D. (1976). The political economy of military rule in Somalia. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 14(3), p. 449.

Laitin, D. (1979). The war in the Ogaden: Implications for Siyaad's role in Somali history. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 17(1), p. 95.

Laitin, D. D. (1976). The political economy of military rule in Somalia. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *14*(3), 449-468.

Latif, D. (2010). Dilemmas of moving from the divided past to envisaged united future: Rewriting the history books in the North Cyprus. *Special Issue Int'l J. Educ. L. & Pol'y*, 35.

Leerssen, J.T., 2006. *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Leung, Y. W., & Yuen, T. W. W. (2012). Competition between politicised and depoliticised versions of civic education curricula: The case of Hong Kong. *Citizenship, Social and Economics Education*, *11*(1), 45-56.

Lewis, I. (1960). The new East African Republic of Somalia. *The World Today*, 16(7), pp. 287-296.

Lewis, I. (2004). Visible and invisible differences: The Somali paradox. *Africa*, 74(04), pp. 489-515.

Lewis, I., 2002. *Modern History of the Somali: Revised, Updated and Expanded*, *4th Ed*. Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Lincoln, Y. & Guba, E. (1979). The distinction between merit and worth in evaluation. *Annual Meeting of the Evaluation Network*. Ohio, United States. ERIC. [Accessed 19 February 2019].

Linke, A. & Raleigh, C. (2011). State and Stateless Violence in Somalia. *African Geographical Review*, 30 (1), pp. 47-66.

Linton, J. (2010). Chi-Square Test. *Encyclopedia of Research Design*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., pp. 145-149.

Loepp, F. (1999). Models of curriculum integration. *The Journal of Technology Studies*, 25(2), pp. 21-25.

Lofstrom, J. (2014). How Finnish upper secondary students conceive transgenerational responsibility and historical reparations: Implications for the history curriculum. *Curriculum Studies*, 46(4), pp. 515-539.

Loubser, H. & Solomon, H. (2014). Responding to state failure in Somalia. *Africa Review*, vol. 6 (1), pp. 1-17.

Lowe, G. (2012). Lessons for teachers: What lower secondary school students tell us about learning a musical instrument. *International Journal of Music Education*, 30 (3), pp. 227-243.

Luling, V. (1997). Come back, Somalia? Questioning a collapsed state. *Third World Quarterly*, 18 (2), pp. 287-302.

Mamoon, D. (2017). Post conflict reconstruction efforts in tribal areas of Pakistan through informal education. *Journal of Social and Administrative Sciences*, 4(3), pp. 243-249.

Mathison, S. & Freeman, M. (1998). *The Logic of Interdisciplinary Studies. Report Series 2.33*. Chicago: American Educational Research Association.

Mathys, C., Veronneau, M., & Lecocq, A. (2019). Grade retention at the transition to secondary school: Using propensity score matching to identify consequences on psychosocial adjustment. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 39 (1), pp. 97-133.

Menkhaus, K. (2009). Somalia: They created a desert and called it peace (building). *Review of African Political Economy*, 36 (120), pp. 223-233.

Merriam, S. (2009). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation, 2nd Ed.* San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons.

Michaelson, M. (1993). Somalia: The Painful Road to Reconciliation. *Africa Today*, 40(2), pp. 53-73.

Miranda, Jr., J., 2011. Constructivism in the non-traditional system of education. *Philippiniana Sacra*, *46*(137), pp. 313-344.

Morah, E. (2002). Old institutions, new opportunities: The emerging nature of Koranic schools in Somaliland in the 1990s. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 20, pp. 305-322.

Moyer, C. (2016). A thematic instruction approach to teaching technology and engineering. *Technology and Engineering Teacher*, pp. 8-12.

Moyer, J. & Sinclair, A. (2016). Stoking the dialogue on the domains of Transformative Learning Theory: Insights from research with faith-based organizations in Kenya. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 66(1), pp. 39-56.

Moyi, P. (2012). Who goes to school? School enrolment patterns in Somalia. *International Journal of Educational Development*, vol. 32, pp. 163-171.

Naylor, R. (2015). *Curriculum development in fragile states to encourage peace and reduction of conflict*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham. Available at: https://gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/HDQ1313.pdf [Accessed 29 September 2019].

Nordgren, K., & Johansson, M. (2015). Intercultural historical learning: A conceptual framework. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 47, 1–25.

Nordin, A. and Wahlström, N., 2019. Transnational policy discourses on 'teacher quality': An educational connoisseurship and criticism approach. *Policy Futures in Education*, 17(3), pp.438-454.

Novelli, M., Lopes Cardozo, M. T., & Smith, A. (2017). The 4Rs framework: Analyzing education's contribution to sustainable peacebuilding with social justice in conflict-affected contexts. *Journal on Education in Emergencies,* 13(1), 14-43

Ododa, H. (1985). Somalia's domestic politics and foreign relations since the Ogaden War of 1977-78. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 21(3), pp. 285-297.

Ogilvie, E. & McCrudden, M. (2017). Evaluating the social validity of the early start Denver model: A convergent mixed-methods study. *J AutismDev Disord*, 47, pp. 2899-2910.

Oglesby, E. (2007). Historical memory and the limits of peace education: Examining Guatemala's memory of silence and the politics of curriculum design. *Teaching the violent past: History education and reconciliation*, 175-202.

Ormond, B. (2017). Curriculum decisions: The challenges of teacher autonomy over knowledge selection for history. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 49(5), pp. 599-619.

Ornstein, A. & Hunkins, F. (2009). *Curriculum: Foundations, principles, and issues, 5th Ed*. United States of America: Pearson.

Özüdoğru, F. (2018). Analysis of curriculum evaluation studies conducted in foreign language education: 2005-2016. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*, 14(2), pp. 113-134.

Parry, Y., Hill, P. & Horsfall, S. (2018). Assessing levels of student nurse learning in community-based health placement with vulnerable families: Knowledge development for future clinical practice. *Nurse Education in Practice*, 32, pp. 14-20.

Paul, C., Clarke, C.P. and Serena, C.C. (2014). *Mexico Is Not Colombia: Alternative Historical Analogies for Responding to the Challenge of Violent Drug-Trafficking Organizations, Supporting Case Studies*, *Vol. 2*. Rand Corporation.

Paulson, J. (2007). Policy, education, and conflict. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 2(3), pp.172-175.

Paulson, J. (2015). "Whether and how?" History education about recent and ongoing conflict: A review of research.

Pherali, T. (2016). Education: Cultural reproduction, revolution and peacebuilding in conflict-affected societies. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Disciplinary and Regional Approaches to Peace* (pp. 193-205). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Pherali, T., & Lewis, A. (2017). Higher education partnerships for peace and development. *Education and Conflict Review*, *1*, 13-16.

Poulsen, J. (2013). What about global history? Dilemmas in the selection of content in the school subject History. *Education Sciences*, (3), pp. 403-420.

Pountney, R. & McPhail, G. (2017). Researching the interdisciplinary curriculum: The need for 'translation devices'. *British Educational Research Journal*, 43 (6), pp.1068-1082.

Price, E. & Richardson, R. (2015). Integrating the thematic approach into information literacy courses. *Reference Services Review*, vol. 43 (1), pp. 125-136.

Rappleye, J. & Paulson, J. (2007). Educational Transfer in Situations Affected by Conflict: towards a common research endeavour. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 2 (3), pp. 252-271.

Rauscher, L. & Greenfield, B. (2009). Advancements in contemporary physical therapy research: Use of mixed methods designs. *Physical Therapy*, 89, pp. 91-100.

Ravenhill, J. (1980). Comparing régime performance in Africa: The limitations of cross-national aggregate analysis. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 18 (01), p. 99.

Reyner, A.S. (1960). Somalia: The problems of independence. *Middle East Journal*, *14*(3), pp.247-255.

Reynolds, B. (2014). A mixed-methods approach to investigating first- and second-language incidental vocabulary acquisition through the reading of fiction. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 50(1), pp. 111-127.

Rodewell, G. (2017). A national history curriculum, racism, a moral panic and risk society theory. *Issues in Educational Research*, 27(2), p. 2017.

Ryan, T.G. (2008). Philosophical homogeneity in pre-service education: A longitudinal survey. *Issues in Educational Research*, *18*(1), pp.73-89.

Samatar, A. (1987). Somalia impasse: State power and dissent politics. *Third World Quarterly*, 9(3), pp. 871-890.

Sant, E. (2017). Can the subaltern nation speak by herself in the history curriculum?. *Educational Studies*, vol. 53 (2), pp. 105-121.

Savenije, G. M., Van Boxtel, C., & Grever, M. (2014). Learning about sensitive history: "Heritage" of slavery as a resource. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *42*(4), 516-547.

Schneider, M. K. (2018). *Raising Hope in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Youth, Education, and Peacebuilding in the Post-war State* (Doctoral dissertation).

Schreiber, J. (2012). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Schwab, P. (1978). Cold war on the Horn of Africa. *African Affairs*, 77(306), pp. 6-20.

Schwartz, S. (2010). *Youth and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Shahidi, L., Vahidi, M., Mahram, B., Namdar, H. & Zarghi, N. (2014). Professional identity development in nursing students: Eisner's Evaluation Model. *Res Dev Med Educ*, 3(1), pp. 39-46.

Shanahan, T. (1997). Reading-writing relationships, thematic units, inquiry learning: In pursuit of effective integrated literacy instruction. *The Reading Teacher*, *51*(1), p.12.

Shanks, K. (2019). Societal security and education in deeply divided societies. *Education and Conflict Review*, (2), 15-19.

Sheehan, M. (2010). The place of New Zealand in the New Zealand history curriculum. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 42(5), pp. 671-691.

Sheik-Abdi, A. (1981). Ideology and leadership in Somalia. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 19 (1), p. 163.

Sheik-Abdi, A., 1977. Somali nationalism: Its origins and future. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *15*(4), pp. 657-665.

Shreiner, T. (2017). Helping students use world historical knowledge to take a stand on a contemporary issues: The case of genocide. *The History Teacher*, 50 (3), pp. 359-380.

Shultz Jr., R. H. (1995). State disintegration and ethnic conflict: A framework for analysis. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *541*(1), pp.75-88.

Smith, A. (2011). *The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education.* [online]. Education for All Global , UNESCO. Available at:

https://www.ulster.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0011/231968/EFA-2011-Think-piece.pdf [Accessed 19 January 2019].

Smith, D. (1999). *Myths and Memories of The Nation.*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Smith, D. (2000). *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*. United Kingdom: Polity Press.

Smith, D. (2010). *Nationalism, 2nd Ed.* United Kingdom: Polity press.

Smith, J. (2016). What remains of history? Historical epistemology and historical understanding in Scotland's Curriculum for Excellence. *The Curriculum*, 27(4), pp. 500-517.

Smythe, T., Owen, R., Le, G., Uwizeye, E., Hansen, L., & Lavy, C. (2018). The feasibility of a training course for clubfoot treatment in Africa: A mixed-methods study. *PLoS ONE*, vol. 13(9), pp. 1-11.

Snyder, C. (2008). Grabbing hold of a moving target: Identifying and measuring the Transformative Learning Process. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 6(3), pp. 159-181.

Staeheli, L. A., & Hammett, D. (2013). 'For the future of the nation': Citizenship, nation, and education in South Africa. *Political Geography*, *32*, 32-41.

Stavropoulou, A. & Stroubouki, T. (2014). Evaluation of educational programmes: The contribution of history to modern evaluation thinking. *Health Science Journal*, vol. 8 (2), pp.193-204.

Stoel, G., Logtenberg, A., Wansink, B. G. J., Huijgen, T., van Boxtel, C., & van Drie, J. (2017). Measuring epistemological beliefs in history education: An exploration of naïve and nuanced beliefs. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 83, 120–134.

Sullivan, G. (1983). A formal approach to curriculum theory analysis. *Marilyn Zurmuehlen Working Papers in Art Education*, *2*(1), pp.49-54.

Tareke, G. (2009). *The Ethiopian Revolution: War in the Horn of Africa*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Tawil, S., & Harley, A. (2004). Education and identity-based conflict: Assessing curriculum policy for social and civic reconstruction. *Education, conflict and social cohesion*, *9*.

Thomas, M. K. (2015). Education: A More Powerful Weapon Than War?.

Thomas, S. (2016). Somalia challenges and opportunities in peace-building. [online]. Available at: http://www.cfpar.org [Accessed 2 July 2016].

Toombs, W. E., & Tierney, W. G. (1993). Curriculum definitions and reference points. *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, *8*, 175-175.

Thornhill, A., Saunders, M., & Lewis, P. (2012). *Research methods for business students*. Prentice Hall: London.

Torsti, P. (2007). How to deal with a difficult past? History textbooks supporting enemy images in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *39*(1), 77-96.

Tracey, M. (2009). Design and development research: A model validation case. *Education Tech Research Dev*, 57, pp. 553-571.

Tripodi, P. (1999). Back to the Horn: Italian administration and Somalia's troubled independence. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 32 (2/3), pp. 359-380.

Trobia, A. (2011). *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publication.

Tusalem, R. (2016). The colonial foundations of state fragility and failure. *Polity*, vol. 48 (4), pp. 445-495.

Udoewa, V. (2018). Agile Corps: A public service-learning program. *Design Research. International Journal for Service Learning in Engineering, Humanitarian Engineering and Social Entrepreneurship,* vol. 13 (2), pp. 93-119.

UNESCO (2018). High school survey. Available at: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/image/0021/002167/216761e.pdf [Accessed 15 August 2018].

UNICEF (2018). UNICEF Somalia Education Strategy Note 2018-2020. [online] Available at: http://files.unicef.org/transparency/documents/Somalia%204.%20Education.pdf [Accessed 25 July 2018].

UNSOM (2018). UN Strategic Framework Somalia 2017-2020. [online] Available at: https://unsom.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/un_strategic_framework_2017-2020_somalia.pdf. (Accessed 25 July 2018).

UNSOM. (2018). "A new way to educate in Somali schools starts in August [EN/SO]". *reliefweb* [online]. Available at: https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/new-way-educate-somali-schools-starts-august-ens [Accessed 13 September 2018].

Van Den Akker, J. (1999). *Design Approaches and Tools in Education and Training*. Dordrecht: Springer Science + Business Media.

Van Hauwermeiren, R. (2012). The Ogaden War: Somali women's roles. *AFRIKA FOCUS*, 25 (2), pp. 9-30.

van Notten, M. (2003). From nation-state to stateless Nation: The Somali experience. *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per I'Africa e I'Oriente*, 58(2), pp. 147-157.

van Teijlingen, E. & Hundley, V. (2011). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Verdugo, R. & Miline, A. (2016). *National Identity: Theory and Research*. United States of America: Information Age Publishing.

Villasenor, S.F., Tersbøl, B.P., Negussie, D., GebreMariam, A., Tilahun, A., Friis, H., & Rasch, V. (2014). Antenatal care strengthening in Jimma, Ethiopia: A mixed-method needs assessment. *Journal of Environmental and Public Health*, 2014, 1-10.

Vrasidas, C. & Solomou, M. (2013). Using educational design research methods to examine the affordances of online games for teacher learning. *Educational Media International*, vol. 50 (3), pp. 192-205.

Wakelling, S., Clough, P., Connaway, L., Sen, B. & Tomas, D. (2017). Users and uses of a global union catalog: A mixed-methods study of worldcat.org. *The association for information science and technology*, 68 (9), pp. 2166-2181.

Wansink, B. G. J., Akkerman, S. F., Vermunt, J. D., Haenen, J. P., & Wubbels, T. (2017). Epistemological tensions in prospective Dutch history teachers′ beliefs about the objectives of secondary education. *Journal of Social Studies Research*, 41, 11–24.

Wansink, B., Akkerman, S. & Wubbels, T. (2017). Topic variability and criteria in interpretational history teaching. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 49(5), pp. 640-662.

Wansink, B., Akkerman, S., Zuiker, I., & Wubbels, T. (2018). Where does teaching multiperspectivity in history education begin and end? An analysis of the uses of temporality. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *46*(4), 495-527.

Weldon, C.G., 2009. *A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum in societies emerging from conflict: Rwanda and South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria).

Weldon, G. (2010). History education and democracy in post-apartheid South Africa. *Special Issue Int'l J. Educ. L. & Pol'y*, 88.

West, A., Berlin, L. & Harden, B. (2018). Occupational stress and well-being among early Head Start home visitors: A mixed methods study. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, vol. 44, pp. 288-303.

Westbrook, J., Durrani, N., Brown, R., Orr, D., Pryor, J., Boddy, J. & Salvi, F. (2013). *Pedagogy, Curriculum, Teaching Practices and Teacher Education in Developing Countries*. London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education.

Wiles, J. & Bondi, J. (2011). *Curriculum Development: A Guide to Practice, 8th Ed.* United States of America: Pearson.

WOLFF, S. (2011). The regional dimensions of state failure. *Review of International Studies*, vol. 37(3), pp. 951-972.

WRAGA, W. (1997). Patterns of interdisciplinary curriculum organization and professional knowledge of the curriculum field. *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 12(2), pp. 98-117.

Xinhua. (2018). Somalia launches new curriculum to improve access to education. *xinhuanet* [online].. Available at: http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-06/19/c_137265298.htm [Accessed 13 September 2018].

Yamin, S. (2011). Revisiting the Discourse on State Failure: Towards a Conflict Resolution Trajectory (Doctoral dissertation), George Mason University.

Yihun, B. (2014). Ethiopian foreign policy and the Ogaden War: The shift from "containment" to "destabilization," 1977-1991. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(4), pp. 677-691.

Young, E. L. (2010). Unifying History: An Examination of Official Narratives in the

Republic of Yemen's Textbooks. *International Journal for Education Law and Policy*, 20-32.

Yüksel, İ. (2010). How to conduct a qualitative program evaluation in the light of Eisner's

Educational Connoisseurship and Criticism Model. *Turkish Online Journal of Qualitative*

Inquiry, vol. 1 (2).

Zembylas, M., & Bekerman, Z. (2008). Education and the dangerous memories of historical

trauma: Narratives of pain, narratives of hope. *Curriculum Inquiry*, *38*(2), 125-154.

Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaire (English)

Date

Dear Student,

International Survey program (ISSP,2003) is attached. ISSP is proposed to measure national identity of secondary students in Somalia. All what you request to do is to express your personal opinion.

You need to tick (√) a box or boxes. For some questions, there is an instruction in CAPITALS or **bold type** explaining what to do.

Thank you for your help.

Kind Regards

The Researcher

Demographic questions

1. **Gender**   □ Male   □ Female

2. **Region**   □ Moqadishu   □ Somaliland   □Puntland

3. **Town (urban) region**   □ Moqdishu   □ Hargeesa   □ Garwe

4. **Age**   _____

_____

We are all part of different groups. Some are more important to us than others when we think of ourselves.

1. In general, which in the following list is most important to you in describing who you are? And the second most important? And the third most important?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX IN EACH COLUMN

	Most Important	Second Most important	Third most important
a. Your clan/tribe	□	□	□
b. Your religion	□	□	□
c. Your nationality	□	□	□
d. The part of Somalia that you live in	□	□	□

2. How close do you feel to….   (Please, tick one box on each line)

	Very close	close	Not very close	Not close at all	Can't choose
a) Your province or region	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Somalia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Somaliland	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3. Some people say that the following things are important for being truly Somali.

   Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following

   is….(Please, tick one box on each line)

	Very Important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not important at all	Can't choose
a) to have been born in Somalia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) to have Somali citizenship	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) to have lived in Somalia for most of one's life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

d) to be able to speak Somali	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) to be a Muslim	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) to respect Somalia political institutions and laws	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) to feel Somali	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Please, tick one box on each line)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a) I would rather be a citizen of Somalia than of any other country in the world	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) I would rather be a citizen of Somaliland than of any other country in the world	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C) Generally speaking, Somalia is a better country than most other countries	□	□	□	□	□	□
d) People should support their country even if the country is in the (wrong)	□	□	□	□	□	□
e) When my country does well in international sports, it makes me proud to be Somali	□	□	□	□	□	□
f) I am often less proud of Somalia than I would like to be.	□	□	□	□	□	□

5. How proud are you of Somalia in each of the following? (Please, tick one box on each line)

	Very proud	Somewhat proud	Not very proud	Not proud at all	Can't choose
a) It's social cultural system	□	□	□	□	□
b) Its history	□	□	□	□	□
c) Its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society	□	□	□	□	□

Now we would like to ask a few questions about relations between Somalia and other countries

6. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Please, tick one box on each line)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose
a) Somalia should follow its own interests, even if this leads to conflicts with other nations	□	□	□	□	□	□

b) Somalia's television should give preference to Somalia films and programmes	□	□	□	□	□	□
c) When my country does well in international sports, it makes me proud to be Somali	□	□	□	□	□	□
d) I am often less proud of Somalia than I would like to be.	□	□	□	□	□	□

7. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Please, tick one box on each line)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Can't choose

a) Increased exposure to foreign policy is damaging our national and local cultures.	□	□	□	□	□	□
b) A benefit of the Internet is that it makes information available to more and more people worldwide	□	□	□	□	□	□
c) I am often less proud of Somalia than I would like to be.	□	□	□	□	□	□

8.   Are you a citizen of Somalia?

Yes		□
No		□

9.   At the time of your birth, were both, one or neither of your parents citizens of Somalia

Both were citizens of Somalia		□
Only father was a citizen of Somalia		□

Only mother was a citizen of Somalia		□
Neither parent was a citizen of Somalia		□

10. How proud are you of being a Somali

Very proud		□
Somewhat proud		□
Not very proud		□
Not proud at all		□
I am not a Somali		□
Can't choose		□

11. What language do you speak most often at home?

At home, I speak Somali		□
At home, I speak English		□

12. Which of these two statements comes closer to your own view?

It is essential that Somalia remains one country		□
Parts of Somalia should be allowed to become fully separate state if they choose to		□
Can't' choose		□

Appendix B: Questionnaire (Somali)

Taariikhda:

Ardayga Qaaliga leh,

Waxa halkan ku lifaaqan su'aalo ku saabsan cilmi baadhis bulsheed oo caalami ah, waddama badanna laga fuliyey. Baadhitaankan oo lambarkiisu yahay (ISSP,2003)u waxa uu qiyaasaya aragtida ardayda dugsiga sareee ku saabsan qarannimada. Waxa keliya oo lagaaga baahan yahay in aad aragtidaada shakhisga ah ka dhiibatid mawduucan.

Kala dooro jawaabaha su'aal kasta ku aaddan, adigoo saxaya taad aaminsantahay ((√). Su'aalaha qaar waxa ku ag qoran sahrraxaad ku saabsna waxa lagaaga baahan yahay. Sharraxaadaa oo khad madaw ama xarfa waaweyn ku qoran.

Aaad iyo aad baad ugu mahadsntahay ka qayb galka baadhitaankan.

Nabad iyo Caano

Cilmi Baadhaha

Mandaqadaada, Jinsigaaga iyo Da'daada

1. Jinsigaaaga   □ Lab   □ Dhedig

2. Mandaqaada   □ Banaadir   □ Somaliland   □ Puntland

3. Magaaladaada   □ Muqdisho   □ Hargeysa   □ Bosaaso

4. Da'daada   _____

_____

Kulligeen waxa aynu ka tirsannahay qayba kala duwan oo bulshada ka mid ah. Qaybahaasi way inoo kala mudan yihiin marak aynu iska warramayno.

1. **Caam ahaan, qodobadan hoos ku qoran, kuwee baad mudnaanta kobaad, ta labaad ama ta sadexaad siin lahayad marka aad naftaada** ka warrantid

   FADLAN SU'AAL KASTA, SADEXDA JAWABOOD MID KELIYA KA DOORO

	Mudnaanta Kobaad	Mudnaanta Labaad	Mudnaanta Sadexaad
a. Qawmiyada ama Qabiilka aad kasoo jeedid	□	□	□
b. Diintaada	□	□	□
c. Qarankaad ka mid tahay ama Dhalasahada aad haysatid	□	□	□
d. Qaybtaad Somaalia kaga nooshahay	□	□	□

2. **Sidee baad ugu xidhan tahay ….** (Fadlan, sadar kasta Jawaab keliya ka dooro adigoo xarriiqaya sanduqa aad dooratid)

	Si aad iyo aad ah	Si aaad ah	Si aan aad ahayn	Kumaba Xidhni	Ma kala dooran karo

374

a. Magaaladaada ama tuuladaada	□	□	□	□	□
b. Somaalia	□	□	□	□	□
c. Somaaliland	□	□	□	□	□

3. **Dadka qaar waxa ay yidhaahdaan: arrimaha hoos ku qoran aad bay halbawle ugu yihiin Somalinimada dhabta ah. Qaar kalena waxa ay yidhaahdaa mihiim uma aha Somalinimada. Adiga maxay kula tahay (Fadlan sadar kasta jawaab keliya ka dooro adigoo xarriqaya sanduqqa aad dooratid)**

	Aad bay Halbawle utahay	Waa Halbawle ilaa xad	Aad Halbawle uma aha	Maba aha Halbawle	Ma kala dooran karo
a. Inaad Somaalia ku dhalato	□	□	□	□	□
b. Inaad dhalasha Somaliyeed leedahay	□	□	□	□	□
c. In aad noloshaada inta ugu badan ku noolayd Somaalia	□	□	□	□	□
d. Inaad ku hadli kartid af Somaaliga	□	□	□	□	□
e. Inaad Muslin ahaatid	□	□	□	□	□
f. Inaad qadarisid kana dambaysid shuruucda iyo laamaha Siyaasadeed ee dalka	□	□	□	□	□
g. In aad lahaatid dareen Somaalinnimo	□	□	□	□	□

375

4. Qodobada hoos ku qoran, inaad raacsantahay iyo inaadan raacsanayn kala dooro.Fadlan sadar kasta jawaab keliya ka dooro.

	Aad iyo aad baan u raacsanahay	Waan raacsanahay	Waa isugu kay mid	Ma raacsani	Aad baan uga soo hor jeeda	Ma kala dooran karo
a. Inaan Dhalasha Somaliyeed haysto baan kaga kalsoonahay inaan dhalasha dal kale hasysto	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. Inaan Dhalasha Somaalilaand haysto baan kaga kalsoonahay inaan dhalasha dal kale hasysto	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. Caam ahaan, Somaalia way ka fiican tahay dalalka caalamka intooda badan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. Dadku waa in ay taageeraan dalkooda sax iyo khaladba	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Aad iyo aad baan u raacsanahay	Waan raacsanahay	Waa isugu kay mid	Ma raacsani	Aad baan uga soo hor jeeda	Ma kala dooran karo
e. Somaalinimada waan ku faana marka dalkaygu meel sare ka galo ciyaaraha aduunka	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. Waqtiya badan, heerka aan ugu faano Somaalinimada aad buu uga hooseeya sidaan jeclaan lahaa ama u rabi lahaa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. Sidee ugu faantaa inaad Somaali tahay, marka laga hadlo qodobada soo socda?

	Aad baan ugu faanaa	Waan ku faana ilaaa xad	Aad uguma faani karo	Kuma faani karo	Ma kala dooran karo
a. Hidaha, Dhaqanka iyo nidaamka bulsheed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. Taariikhda	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

377

		Aad iyo aad baan u raacsanahay	Waan raacsanahay	Waa isug u kay mid	Ma raacsani	Aad baan uga soo hor jeeda	Ma kala dooran karo
c.	Sida ay cadaalad ugula dhaqanto qaybaha kala duwan ee bulshada	□	□	□	□	□	

Suaalaha soo socda waxa ay ku saabsan yihiin xidhiikha udhaxeeya Somaalia iyo dalalka kale ee caalamka

6. Qodobada hoos ku qoran, waxaad kala doorataa inaad raacsantahay, ama inaad kasoo horjeedo. Fadlan sadar kasta jawaab keliya ka dooro.

		Aad iyo aad baan u raacsanahay	Waan raacsanahay	Waa isug u kay mid	Ma raacsani	Aad baan uga soo hor jeeda	Ma kala dooran karo
a.	Somaalia waa in ay danaheeda ilaashataa xita haday taasi keeni karto iska horimaad ka dhex dhaca iyada iyo dalal kale	□	□	□	□	□	□

	Aad iyo aad baan u raacsanahay	Waan raacsanahay	Waa isugu kay mid	Ma raacsani	Aad baan uga soo horjeeda	Ma kala dooran karo
b. Taleefashannada Somaalia waa in ay mudnaanta koobaad siiyaan barnaamijyada iyo filimmada Somaaliga ah, kana fadli yeelaan filimada iyo barnaamijyada aan Somaaliga ahayn	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. Marka dalkaygu ciyaar caalami ah guul fiican ka gaadho, waan ku faanaa in aan Somaali ahay	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. Sidaan ujeclaan ahaa uguma faano Somaalinimada	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. **Qodobada hoos ku qoran, waxaad kala doorataa inaad raacsantahay, ama inaad kasoo horjeedo. Fadlan sadar kasta jawaab keliya ka dooro.**

	Aad iyo aad baan u raacsanahay	Waan raacsanahay	Waa isugu kay mid	Ma raacsani	Aad baan uga soo hor jeeda	Ma kala dooran karo
a. Siyaasadha qalaad dhaawac iyo waxyeella weyn bay dhaqankeena u geystaan heer qaran iyo heer deegaanba	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. Faaidooyinka internetka waxa ka mid ah in dad badani heli karaan wararka iyo macluumaadka ay rabaan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. Sidaan ujeclaan ahaa uguma faano Somaalinimada	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

8. Ma Muwaadin Somaaliyeed oo dhalashada Somaalia haysta baad tahay?

Haa		☐
Maya		☐

9. **Markaad dhalatay, hooyadaa, ama aabahaa ama labadaada waalidba miyey dhalasha Somaaliyeed haysteen; mise midkood ama labaduba ma lahayn dhalasha Somaaliyeed.**

Labada waalidba dhalashada Somaaliyeed bay haysteen		□
Aabahay keliya baa haystey dhalasha Somaaliyeed		□
Hooyaday keliya baa haysatey dhalasha Somaaliyeed		□
Labaduba ma haysan dhalasha Somaaliyeed		□

10. **Sidee ugu faani kartaa inaad tahay Somaali**

Aad baan ugu faanaa		□
Waan ku faanaa ilaa xad		□
Aad uguma faano		□
Kumaba faano		□
Somaali ma ihi		□
Ma kala dooran karo		□

11. **Markaad guriga joogtid, afkee baad ku hadashaa?**

Markaan guriga joogo, af Somaali baan ku hadlaa		□
Markaan guriga joogo, af Ingriisi baan ku hadlaa		□

12. **Qodobada soo socda, qodobkee baa ugu dhaw aragtidaada shakhsiga?**

Waa mihiim in Somaalia ay sii ahaato dal qudha oo isku mida		□

Waa in loo ogoladaa qayba Somaalia ka mid ah in ay ka madax bannanaad Somaalia oo ay dawlad gaara samaystaan hadii ay sidaa doortaan		□
Ma kala dooran karo		□

Appendix C: Consent Letter

Letter of Recruitment

Dear prospective participant,

My name is Fawzia Osman Essa. I am a Doctoral student in the Faculty of Education at The British University in Dubai. I am currently conducting a research study (as partial fulfilment) of the researcher's doctorate degree at the British University in Dubai and would like to invite you to be part of a research study entitled, 'Developing a history curriculum for Somali students in secondary schools'.

The main purpose of this study is to examine the history curriculum with the aim to propose a new history curriculum within the context of Somali students in secondary schools.

Your participation in the research would involve the following:

- Interviewing you for approximately 45-60 minutes.

- With your permission, the interviews will be audio-taped so that I can accurately present your ideas and opinion. Notes also will be written during the interview.

- Interviews will be conducted at a time convenient to you.

- The information you provide will be confidential and your identity would remain anonymous

- Your participation is voluntarily and you can withdraw from participating at any time.

The results of this study will be used for scholarly purposes only (as partial fulfilment) of the researcher's doctorate degree at the British University in Dubai.

Your time and effort are much appreciated. Should you agree to participate in this study,

please call the research assistant at _____

Thank you.

Date_____

Appendix D: Semi-structured Interview Guide and Interview Questions (English)

A. Demographic questions

1. Which of the following age range applies to you

2.   20-25; 26-30; 31-36; 37-42; 43-48; 49-54 ?

3. Are you in any form of employment?

4. For how long you have been working as a principal/education advisor/teacher?

B. Opinion and values questions

1. To what extent is secondary school history content embedded in the present day?

2. In 1991, Somalia had violent conflict. In your opinion, why did this conflict happen"?

3. Past, present, and future to what extent do current secondary school text books tackle these dimensions in order to provide learners with the opportunity to make meaningful learning of the past

4. What is the role of history education in the process of socio-political transformation in Somalia"?

5. To what extent does ethnic/clan identity shape relationships in the school community?

6. In your opinion, what are the characteristics that a new high school curriculum should have to address the "divisions of the past?".

7. How the new narrative of 'traumatic memories can provide an opportunity to reconstruct national identity in post-conflict context.".

8. How do current history textbooks tackle the blind spots of the past?

9. How do secondary school students from different ethnic backgrounds interact with multiple-history curricula?

10. To what extent the content of history curriculum of secondary school is embedded in the present day?

11. In 1991, Somalia had violent conflict. In your opinion why this conflict happened?

12. Past, present and future to what extent current history text book of secondary school tackles these dimensions in order to provide learners with opportunity to make meaningful learning of the past.

13. What is the role of history education in process of socio-political transformation in Somalia?

14. To what extent clan identity shapes relationship in secondary school community.

15. In your opinion, what characteristics that new history curriculum should have to address "divisions of the past"?

16. How the new narrative of traumatic memories can provide an opportunity to reconstruct national identity in post-conflict context?

17. How current history text book tackle blind spots of the past?

18. How secondary students from different clan background interact with multiple history curricula?

Appendix E: Semi-structured Interview Guide and Interview Questions (Somali)

Suaalo (Barayaasaha, Maamulayaasha)

A. *Cimriga iyo khibrada*

1. Khaanadee Cimrigaagu ka mid yahay?

20-25; 26-30; 31-36; 37-42; 43-48; 49-54 ?

2. Nooca Shaqadaada? (Bare, Maamule, Shaqaale)

3. Ilaa goormaad ahayd Maamule dugsiyeed / la taliye xaga tacliinta/ Bare.

B. *Suaalo kusaabsan Aragtidaada*

4. Waxaa ka warrantaa heerka iyo ahammiyadda taariikhdu ku leedahay tacliinta dugsiyada sare waqtigan xaadirka ah

5. Maxay kula tahay baa sababay dagaalka sukeeye ee ka qarxay Somaalia 1991

6. Marka laga hadlo waxa iminka taagan, waxa shalay dhacay iyo waxa dhici kara mustaqbalka, sidee bay kutubta taariikhda ee imminka lagu dhigto dugsiyada sare uga hadlaan dagaallada sokeeye si ay ardayda dhigata dugsiyada sare ay fursad fiican ugu helaan in ay fahmaan waxa shalay dhacay iyo sida looga hor tegi karo in aanay mar dambe dhicin?

7. Waa maxay doorka dhigashada taariikhdu kullahaan kartaa isbdel ku yimaada siyaasadda iyo bulshada somaaliyeed

8. Sidee bay qabyaaladdu usaamaysaa xidhiidhka ka dhaxeeya dadka qayb ka ah dugsiyada sare (Ardayda, Barayaasha, Maamulayaasha, Waalidiinta iwm)

9. Sidee baad u aragtaa sifooyinka uu yeelan karo manhaj cusub oo taariikheed oo si cilmiyeysan uga hadli kara dhibaatooyinka hore udhacay?

10. Sidee baa aragtiya cusub oo ku saabsan xasuusaha naxdinta leh wax uga bedeli karaan astaanta qarameed (National Idetity), dagaallada sokeeye dabadeed.

11. Sidee baa kutubta taariikheed ee iminka lagu dhigto dugsiyada sare wax uga sheegaan waxyaalaha foosha xun ee hore udhacay oo indhaha laga qarsado?

12. Sidee bay ardayda dugsiyada sare ee kala qabiilka ihi ula jaan qaadaan manaahijta kala duwan ee taariikhda?