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Reconstructing education in post-conflict Sierra Leone

Grace Pai

Introduction

Post-conflict reconstruction in Sierra Leone has primarily focused on building security through peacekeeping, concomitant with re-establishing functioning markets and a functioning democracy (Novelli, 2011). Issues of social inequalities that also undergirded the civil war that lasted from 1991 to 2002 in Sierra Leone have thereby been relegated as secondary concerns. This is despite the fact that many scholars have attributed the rise of the Revolutionary United Front to a corrupt system marked by unequal access to social opportunities such as obtaining a basic education (Keen, 2005; Richards, 1996).

In considering the relationship between conflict and education, however, there has been growing awareness and consensus from elsewhere in the Middle East and Africa that education can just as easily contribute to conflict as it can prevent it (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Burde, 2014; King, 2013). As a preventative measure, Thyne (2006) has found that the provision of education can create social cohesion while mitigating inequalities. Education can also have other positive effects, such as improved economic growth and improved health outcomes (Hanushek and Woessmann, 2012; Peña, Wall, and Persson, 2000; UNESCO, 2013). However, education – particularly in the form of unequal access to schooling – can also lead to negative outcomes. Countries with a ‘youth bulge’ and a lack of access to education are at a higher risk of conflict (Barakat and Urdal, 2009; Collier and Hoeffler, 2004). This was indeed the case in Sierra Leone when youth who did not complete primary education were found to be much more likely to rebel (Humphreys and Weinstein, 2008). Negative content or curricula can also breed intolerance and attitudes towards violence (King, 2013; Shafiq and Sinno, 2010).

These dual-natured results show the importance of understanding the individual perceptions that mediate education and conflict. Against this backdrop, it may be asked: how do parents, local leaders, and out-of-school children in rural communities of Sierra Leone perceive the country’s post-conflict educational reconstruction efforts, and what policy prescriptions can
be generated from these perceptions? Out-of-school children and their parents were selected as the focal point of this study because they represent the population of youth who have yet to reintegrate into the mainstream education system since the end of the civil war in 2001. Additionally, they remain the most marginalized group, whose voices are often ignored in the literature stemming from both academics and practitioners.

Using data from 101 interviews conducted in spring 2014 across three geographically dispersed rural villages, this study finds that by prioritizing universal development programmes instead of employing a conflict-sensitive approach rooted in attending to the specific inequities present in Sierra Leone, the current education system is ignoring the needs and desires of certain sub-populations of youth. Specifically, although the state has been very successful in increasing overall access to basic education for both boys and girls in rural Sierra Leone, the current focus on improving the quality of academic education has sidelined the growth of technical and vocational education that many youth desire. Instead, sectors such as tertiary education are prioritized above all else.

Furthermore, the presence of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) soldiers from Nigeria and Guinea during the war introduced behaviours such as drugs, alcohol, and gambling. These foreign cultural influences are affecting rural youth and turning into social problems that have yet to be recognized by the government or non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The establishment of technical and non-formal education to employment pipelines can serve to engage these youth, thereby creating more equity and positive peace.

This chapter will proceed as follows: first, a background on the chronological events and origins of the civil war in Sierra Leone will be provided. This background will be followed by an explanation of the methodology that guided the study. Finally, the chapter ends with a presentation of the study’s findings and results and a discussion of policy recommendations.

The Sierra Leone civil war

**Chronology of the Sierra Leone civil war**

The civil war began in Sierra Leone in 1991, when the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) entered into the eastern part of the country from Liberia through the Kailahun district. Led by Foday Sankoh, a ‘renegade soldier’ who had been jailed for a coup attempt against former President Siaka Stevens (Alao, 1999), the RUF announced a political agenda to overthrow the sitting President Joseph Momoh and his All People’s Congress (APC) one-party regime, in order to reintroduce a multiparty democracy to Sierra Leone (Richards, 1996).

In 1992 a group of junior military officers mutinied over their salary and conditions. After the execution of one of his loyalists, Momoh fled to Guinea,
and the mutinous soldiers appointed Captain Valentine Strasser as chairman of a National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC). In addition to suspending the constitution, the new military government sought to bring an end to the war while rectifying the corruption and mismanagement of the state that had occurred under APC rule. This entailed calling for the first multiparty election since former President Siaka Stevens constitutionally enshrined Sierra Leone as a one-party state led by the APC in 1978.

However, instead of ending the war, Strasser was ousted in another military coup led by his defence minister, Julius Maada Bio (BBC, 2015) in January 1996. A month later, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah was elected president and proceeded to sign a peace treaty with the rebels. By the following year, not only had the peace deal collapsed, but Major Johnny Paul Koroma led the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) in deposing President Kabbah. Koroma, however, brought about more uncertainty by suspending the constitution and abolishing political parties yet again. With the help of ECOMOG troops and the Civil Defence Forces (also known as the kamajors, who were traditional hunters of Mende origin), Kabbah returned to the country in 1998 and drove the rebels out from Freetown. Violent fighting ensued in Freetown, destroying the city and leaving 5,000 dead by 1999.

It was not until two years after the Lome Peace Accord of 1999 failed that the disarmament of the rebels finally occurred. In January 2002, the war was finally declared over. Half of the population had been displaced, fifty thousand people were estimated to have died, and thousands more had been assaulted, raped, or amputated (Human Rights Watch, 1999). As of 2014, the country has a population of about 6.3 million and a GNI per capita of $700 (World Bank, 2015).

**Origins of the Sierra Leone civil war**

An often-used paradigm to understand the motivations for conflict is Collier and Hoeffler’s (2004) greed versus grievance framework. A greed model suggests that the search for economic profit or political power explains a rebel’s desire to instigate conflict. A grievance framework suggests that conflict may be spurred by individual grievances over injustices such as inequality or oppression. In the case of Sierra Leone, the civil war can be explained using both frameworks. In alignment with the greed theory, the war can be considered a resource conflict in which the RUF rebels fought to win control of the diamond deposits in the northern area of the country (Alao, 1999). In fact, many of the battles were selectively fought in regions with the richest diamond reserves, as armed groups sought to access and control the country’s diamond wealth (Keen, 2005).

A grievance framework highlights the endemic government corruption and intolerant political oppression, which bred a culture of youth resistance that in turn fuelled the war (Abdullah, 2004). Rampant unemployment among the youth population further intensified their aspirations...
for socio-economic advancement, leading to additional social discontent (Richards, 1996). Lack of access to public education was also used as a justification by both the National Paralympics Committee (NPC) and RUF to overthrow the government (Wright, 1997). Moreover, stemming from the establishment of the first missionary schools in Freetown in the early 1800s (Sumner, 1963), unequal educational access has long fallen along geographic rural–urban lines. For instance, in addition to having reduced access to schooling, rural children in the northern region experience a pupil to qualified teacher ratio of 160:1, as compared to a 71:1 ratio in the western area (World Bank, 2007).

Methods and data

Data for this analysis are based on 101 qualitative interviews conducted with out-of-school children, their parents, and local leaders in three rural chiefdoms in Sierra Leone. Rural sites were chosen for two reasons: first, as of 2014 over 60 per cent of the population in Sierra Leone lived in rural areas (CIA World Factbook, 2015); and second, a plethora of literature has documented the higher rates of out-of-school children in rural areas (UNICEF, 2008; World Bank, 2007).

Three rural sites were purposively sampled to represent geographically dispersed chiefdoms: Bunumbu chiefdom in the eastern Kailahun district, Bramaia chiefdom in the northern Kambia district, and Nongoba Bullom chiefdom in south-western Bonthe district (see Figure 12.1).

These sites – which used to be about a two-day journey from Freetown for the average person before the recent introduction of paved roads – have the additional advantage of being socio-economically varied. Although precise poverty indices do not exist at the chiefdom level, these sites rank respectively in terms of three proxies for socio-economic development: literacy, possession of a radio, and access to electricity (see Table 12.1).

This also holds true for primary education completion rates. By targeting settings that fall on a spectrum of socio-economic and educational attainment levels, the hope was to both capture the heterogeneity of rural locales and create a sample that is more representative of the wider population of out-of-school children in rural Sierra Leone. Finally, it is important to note that the chiefdom of Bunumbu is the site where the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) soldiers first entered the country from Liberia during the civil war (Richards, 1996).

In total, this undertaking amounted to interviews with 86 children and parents (or 43 dyadic pairs), in addition to twelve local leaders, and three teachers and education officials (see Table 12.2).

Families were recruited within each of the three sites through a snowball sample, beginning with families recommended by the local leaders. However, to mitigate any ‘key informant bias’ that would come about from only interviewing one social network (Pelto and Pelto, 1975, in Maxwell, 2012), the
research used multiple points of departure for within-site snowball samples by tapping into different networks of families. Parents were recruited based on self-reports of having a child between 8 and 18 years of age who had either never attended or had dropped out of primary school. Since mothers and fathers often have different perceptions of the education of their children, the study interviewed both fathers and mothers; 56 per cent of the 43 parents interviewed were mothers.
All interviews took place through the assistance of locally recruited translators. It should therefore be recognized that some responses could have been affected by the interpretation or vocabulary of the translator. However, efforts were made to attenuate this concern by employing two translators at each site, with the exception of Nongoba Bullom, where there were three translators. In this way, some variation could be ensured in translation and interpretation. All interviews were recorded and transcribed, then analyzed using the software Nvivo 10.

All ethical requirements were met as per the ethics research policy of the New York University Institutional Review Board. Names are not used in this chapter, to protect the anonymity of the interviewees. Due to the sensitive nature of discussing the war, the study uses a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 2009), entailing an iterative process of reflecting on interviews to selectively ask questions based on the comfort level of the interviewee. Contexts and persons were defining factors of who could be asked certain questions. However, a limitation of not using a structured interview protocol is the inability to compute frequencies to provide a sense of the representativeness of themes that arose from the data.
Results

Increased peace and primary school access

First and foremost, interviewees spoke of the increased peace in their communities since the conflict ended in 2002. For example, a 31-year-old mother of five children in the village of Kukuna in Bramaia chiefdom remarked that ‘since I got married, I have given birth to five children with no fighting. There is peace’. The local councillor of Bramaia chiefdom also confirmed ‘there is now more peace in the chiefdom [and] the whole country’. Peace also takes the form of greater social cohesion, as is exemplified by the town speaker’s observation that ‘there is a strong sense of unity’ and cooperation between the chiefs and community members.

Most interesting, however, is the attribution of this peace to the government. One common challenge of post-conflict reconstruction is state building. In 2004, two years after the end of the war, the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission concluded that ‘[T]he state is an abstract concept to most Sierra Leoneans and central government has made itself irrelevant to their daily lives’ (UNESCO, 2011, p. 222). This, however, starkly contrasts with interviewees’ recognition of the government’s role in the current prevalence of peace throughout the country. For instance, when asked what improvements had been made in the education system since the war ended, one mother responded:

We were at war but then the president said that I will do by all means for Sierra Leoneans to go to bed safely and wake up safely, [and] now we are enjoying peace and our children are going to school. This is one effort the government has made.

Through the provision of safety and schooling, it seems the state is gradually establishing relevance and credibility with its citizens.

Part of what has promoted the proliferation of peace is the school construction projects that have swept the country. Although similar projects have taken place elsewhere, Sierra Leone has been particularly successful in increasing access to primary schools. For example, much focus has been put on reopening schools in Liberia after its civil war left over half of schoolchildren without a classroom (UNDP, 2010). However, the primary school net enrolment rate was still just 33 per cent five years after the end of the civil war (IBIS Liberia, 2011). This contrasts with the situation in Sierra Leone, where the construction of over 1,300 schools pushed the net enrolment rate to 75 per cent just two years after the war ended (World Bank, 2007).

Interviewees corroborate the success of the Sierra Leonean government’s efforts in rebuilding educational institutions. The town chief of Bramaia chiefdom in the north-west, for instance, described how ‘formerly, we [didn’t] have structures but now the government has given us structures’. Similarly,
the uncle of a 15-year-old boy who dropped out of school in Class 4 spoke of how ‘first there was no Western education within our community [in Bramaia] but now we have a lot of schools here’. Another mother added that ‘[T]here was only one primary school here but now we have six, and also two secondary schools’. A community teacher in the southern chiefdom of Nongoba Bullom also described the construction of primary schools in local villages in their region: ‘Before the war, there was only two schools in Baoma and Gbap here. But after the war, we have a school in Motifu … [and] there are many schools now. Up to seventeen schools as compared to the past years’. In this way, interviewees repeatedly commended the school construction projects spearheaded by the government, with organizations such as World Vision, UNICEF, and Action Aid. These projects have undoubtedly helped to make primary school access more equitable for rural children, who previously had to walk miles to their nearest school.

Not only has access to primary schools helped to close the rural–urban gap, recent state efforts to specifically enrol girls have also brought about more gender parity. One mother of six children in the chiefdom of Bunumbu told of how ‘in the past … my parents said no woman should go to school. No girl should get education. But modern time [sic], I love that girls are going to school’. Another woman in Bramaia chiefdom reiterated this when she recalled that ‘during the days of our grandfathers, girl child were not allowed to go to school. [But] now we see changes here. Girl childs [sic] are now admitted to schools’. Another parent added that this change came about because of ‘the change of the law giving access for girl childs to learn’. In this case, the government’s education policy was successful not only in changing the behaviour of parents who previously had kept their girls at home, but also in changing their mindset to believe that girls have the right to attend school as well as boys.

**Lack of vocational education pathways for some**

Although the government has been widely lauded for instilling peace through increased educational access to primary schools in rural communities, the state is falling short in providing educational prospects that are linked to future employment. Interviewees consistently echoed the notion of there being few jobs available, even for graduates, much less school dropouts. Consequently, 70 per cent of youth in Sierra Leone are estimated to be unemployed or underemployed (UNDP, 2015), and almost half of the working age population still engages in subsistence farming (CIA World Factbook, 2015). Although the GDP has grown by about 8 per cent per year between 2000 and 2007 (Cubitt, 2011), almost 90 per cent of the GDP in 2010 was in the the agricultural, construction, and services sectors (African Economic Outlook, 2012). That being said, there has been little emphasis on educational opportunities that would speak to the growth of these sectors.
Against this backdrop, children and parents in this study expressed a desire for more opportunities, particularly in rural areas, to pursue vocational education that can lead to either formal employment or self-employment. For instance, the younger brother of the current paramount chief of Nongoba Bullom explained how it was through vocational education that he is one of the few to be employed in his community. After being a kamajor fighter during the war, he was sent to a technical college as part of the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) programme. Given that ‘there are no job opportunities … [for] even those from colleges’, he attributes his current carpentry and construction job to the technical training he was fortunate enough to receive: ‘The trade I am doing now – this work in the community – I am the only one doing this. So I am lucky to have little jobs to do’. When asked how the training impacted him, he replied, ‘If not for that, I wouldn’t be doing this’. Similarly, a student in Bunumbu described how vocational training provided his friend an alternative route after he dropped out of their secondary school in Form 3:

Now he is doing vocational work. He decided to do that just because he is not too much good on education [sic]. During that time when he was in school, he felt discouraged. But he is now okay … [and] very happy. He is now working and getting income from engineering on motorbike. A mechanic.

A problem, however, lies in that opportunities for technical training are not readily available for residents of rural areas. This person had to attend a training programme in the nearest town of Kenema, which is still about an hour and a half by motorbike on dirt paths and not easily accessible for many youth in Bunumbu. When asked if children would participate if a vocational centre was built in Bunumbu, the town chief replied, ‘Yes, because a lot of them, they cannot follow the academic’. For youth who do not excel at traditional academics, ready access to vocational education pathways is crucial in keeping them engaged. ‘Otherwise’, as the previous student from Bunumbu continued in his interview, ‘they would just be sitting here’.

The two tracks do not have to be mutually exclusive. The town chief of Bunumbu went on to describe how vocational education is built into regular schooling for all children just across the border in Guinea: ‘You learn vocational in the morning, and academic in the afternoon. So you have both … So if you drop, say your academic work is not so good, you can go back to your vocational skills’. This contrasts with Sierra Leone’s heavy emphasis on academic education, which according to the town chief is ‘why people are developing little by little, because you cannot say you are only doing academic work only … We depend on academic, academic, academic. But not everyone can do academic. Some must go to vocational’.
Neglect of the sociocultural impact of war

In addition to the lack of opportunities to pursue technical education, interviewees shared how the government and NGOs have paid little attention to one crucial aspect of post-conflict life: the lasting sociocultural impact of war. Specifically, social problems such as drinking and gambling are becoming endemic, particularly in the two communities of Bunumbu and Bramaia. For instance, a mother of two children in Bramaia chiefdom explained that after the war, ‘the boys are drug addicted and gambling’. In both chiefdoms, and particularly in Bunumbu, one can hardly walk anywhere without seeing, littered all over the ground, discarded plastic wrappers from the hard alcohol packets that are widely consumed and sold for as cheap as what converts to $0.25 USD a packet (which amounts to about two cups of rice). Even seven- or eight-year-old children consume the alcohol, perhaps because its colourful packaging makes it resemble juice packs. In Bunumbu, interviewees spoke of teenagers and adults gathering around tables at night to gamble with cards and dice. One 17-year-old boy estimated that ‘above 70 per cent of boys are drinking all the time. About 20 per cent of boys are gambling’.

When asked what led to the emergence of these practices and the ‘disobedience’ of children, a 32-year-old man with five children in Bramaia chiefdom stated, ‘just as war entered into this area, it started these things’. In particular, it was the ECOMOG troops that not only ‘mixed up’ nationalities but also different ‘sorts of life’, as explained by a retired local primary school head teacher who has lived in Bunumbu his entire life with the exception of the civil war period:

The war played an important part because during the war, there was a mix up of races like the ECOMOG people, the Liberians, the Nigerians, the Guineans. There was an influx of that in the community here. Guineans came here, Liberians came here, ECOMOG Nigerian soldiers came here to Bunumbu … When they intermingled with the people, they mix up with them, the sort of life they lead remained with the children after they left. They were wayward.

No doubt the present prevalence of drinking, drugs, and gambling is due in part to increased globalization and the movement of people and ideas. However, the head teacher identifies the ‘wayward’ soldiers coming from neighbouring Liberia, Nigeria, and Guinea as integral to the initial introduction of these habits:

When the war was here, they [the soldiers] came to support the government so they can drive away the rebels … [but] they brought the ideas, like smoking, drinking … Mainly with these people children began to smoke, then to drink.
Although globalization, along with improved roads and transportation, has decreased the isolation that previously faced these communities, it was particularly with the ECOMOG soldiers that many children learned to smoke and drink. Moreover, those children have now grown to become adults and parents of their own children, as the headteacher continues to explain: ‘Those children are now parents … [and their] children are among us. These children are wayward … and the soldiers have left, they have gone back to their countries. That is the impact, the bad side of the war’.

In this way, the ‘wayward’ practices left behind by foreign soldiers have not only remained in these communities, but are now being passed on to the next generation, demonstrating the lasting and inadvertent cultural impact that war can have.

Discussion and conclusions

Although the general perception of the Government of Sierra Leone’s post-conflict reconstruction efforts have been largely positive, particularly in regards to increasing peace and access to primary education, calls for a ‘conflict-sensitive’ approach to education (Smith, 2005; INEE, 2015) have yet to be formally enacted. Such an approach would build development and peace by conducting ‘systemic analysis of education systems from a conflict perspective as a routine part of educational planning and practice’ (Smith, 2005, p. 387). Johan Galtung (1990) distinguishes between building negative and positive peace, where the former entails actions taken to terminate violence, while the latter entails enacting structural changes to address the injustices that cause conflict. Within this framework, conflict-sensitive education can be considered a positive peace approach that aids in transforming ‘the underlying structural drivers of conflict’ (Novelli, 2011, p. 8). For Sierra Leone, this would mean tackling the inequalities that led to the rise of the Revolutionary United Front and the ensuing war (Keen, 2005; Richards, 1996).

However, despite geographic disparities and widespread joblessness, post-conflict reconstruction efforts have opted for a negative peace agenda focusing on security, instead of a positive peace agenda focusing on addressing inequities (Novelli, 2011). Considering that youth unemployment was one of the main drivers of the civil war, and that 60 per cent of the population is comprised of youth under 25 years of age (CIA World Factbook, 2015), there has not been enough sustained effort at promoting positive peace through initiating structural reforms to gainfully employ youth. Interview results suggest that the state’s failure to provide jobs has reinforced the ‘wayward’ practices, such as drinking and gambling, that were initially introduced to rural communities by foreign ECOMOG troops during the war. A more balanced peacebuilding model may consider promoting negative and positive peace, particularly by reducing socio-economic inequalities through creating what I call ‘education-to-employment pipelines’, especially for children who do not excel in traditional academics. This study reveals that although there is
a demand for vocational or technical training programmes in masonry, carpentry, or mechanics, rural youth have few opportunities to pursue such paths since most of these programmes are in larger towns. One policy recommendation is therefore to expand on access to technical and vocational education programmes, particularly in rural regions. Moreover, many post-war skills trainings have been found to be irrelevant or misaligned, for instance focusing on temporary cash- or food-for-work jobs (Cubitt, 2011), or conducting trainings in subjects like carpentry where few people could afford to buy furniture (Sesay, Ukeje, Gbla, and Ismail, 2009). Such programmes must therefore be carefully designed to lead to actual future employment prospects. This would help to engage the significant numbers of unemployed youth throughout the country.

Instead of establishing more education-to-employment pipelines through technical education, medium-term reconstruction goals in Sierra Leone make no mention of such a goal. Rather, the national agenda mainly focuses on improving the ‘quality and monitoring’ of education alongside addressing issues of equity (Government of Sierra Leone, 2013). Although these are prudent priorities, they are also part of general educational development programmes that are carried out across low-income countries with little consideration of the specificities of Sierra Leone’s particular post-conflict setting. In addition to employing the standard development approach of improving the quality of basic education, there needs to be a concerted effort to help children who might be marginalized from the traditional education system, by building more learning channels for them to pursue alternative forms of technical and non-formal education linked to future livelihoods. This may even take the shape of establishing apprenticeships, such as those in Ghana, which have been found to increase earnings by as much as 50 per cent for individuals with no formal education (Monk, Teal, and Sandefur, 2008).

Furthermore, the government’s budgetary allocations to education have been paltry. Since 2012, the total education budget has remained meagre, vacillating between 8.5 and 9.8 per cent of total government expenditure (Budget Advocacy Network, 2014). The underfunding of primary and vocational education is also made clear by the fact that 75 per cent of the education budget for 2012 went to tertiary education. In contrast, road construction, foreign affairs, and security accounted for about 60 per cent of government spending. A second policy recommendation is therefore to increase the education budget and, within that, the financing for technical and non-formal education. Without a reproportioning of funding away from sectors like roads, security, and tertiary education, the country risks exacerbating the disengagement that many youth experience.

Finally, little attention has been paid to the longer-term social consequences of war. Even though some scholars have found positive effects of war, such as increased voter registration and civic participation (Bellows and Miguel, 2009), interviewees from this study described the negative consequences of war in the form of ‘wayward’ practices that youth now exhibit.
Although the ECOMOG troops introduced vices like gambling and alcohol and drug consumption to local communities during the war, the current lack of educational and employment opportunities for out-of-school youth reinforces such behaviour. This is further bolstered by the widespread availability of packet alcohol. In fact, packet alcohol, which is said to be ‘more abundant than purified water in some regions of West Africa’, is both an outcome of, and contributor to, youth unemployment: ‘For many [young people], it’s a vicious cycle: unemployment leads to drinking, which contributes to further unemployment’ (Drasher, 2014). Further research could empirically examine the mechanisms by which these practices are adopted by youth, as well as the link between the adoption of these habits and youth unemployment. Most of all, these social issues must be brought to the fore and addressed before they further erode communities and the youth population.

In sum, a universal challenge facing post-war countries is how to put people back to work and build their human resource skills. The development of technical skills is a critical component of this challenge. For instance, Collier (2009) has argued that establishing training programmes for construction skills should be prioritized at an early stage in the reconstruction process. As countries recover from war, this chapter ultimately corroborates the importance of promoting positive (alongside negative) peace through enacting conflict-sensitive education. In the case of Sierra Leone, this study suggests that education can be used to prevent conflict through balancing formal and informal education to maximize opportunities for social and economic inclusion. This in turn can facilitate the path towards addressing grievances and creating equity. Failure to do so risks creating circumstances similar to those that have contributed to conflict in the past.

Notes

1 This research was supported by the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Minority Dissertation Fellowship in Education Research. I would like to thank Dana Burde, Lisa Stulberg, and Elisabeth King for their feedback and support throughout this study. This study does not represent the views of AERA, and any errors are my own.

2 Interviews were conducted between 24 February 2014 and 1 April 2014, before the outbreak of the Ebola virus.

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