

Somalia/Somaliland Briefing Note

Transforming Education for Sustainable Futures

Introduction

Why education systems need to be transformed for sustainable futures

Education systems in Somalia/Somaliland need to be transformed for two fundamental reasons. First, they are failing to meet the basic needs of most of the population never mind the ambitions of the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Indeed, education is not even accessible to most of the population. Second, the situation facing Somalia/Somaliland does not exist in isolation. It is deeply influenced by, and bound up with, the future of the wider world.

Vast numbers of people around the world are struggling just to survive while the natural world we all depend on is being destroyed. Part of the problem is that many people do not have access to education, and even when they do, and when that education is high quality, they are often learning ways of living and working that make the problems of unsustainability worse. The situation in Somalia/Somaliland is a specific version of this shared problem.

If the world is to have sustainable development – ensuring that current and future generations can live the lives they value in ways that allow nature to flourish - education will have to change fundamentally. Simply providing more education or improved education is not enough because that education will be undermined by the wider failure to meet human needs within the earth's limits. The path the world is on not only threatens future generations, it is doing enormous harm to the current generation and threatens even those whose lives are relatively comfortable.

The need for systemic transformation has been underlined by COVID-19. The evidence that we have suggests that this deadly disease is caused by the most recent of a series of zoonotic coronaviruses – that is, coronaviruses which jumped from other animals to humans. Such jumps are made much more likely by human abuse of wild animals by mixing them close together in unnatural combinations in meat markets or by humans encroaching onto animal habitats. To minimise the chances of this huge threat recurring, we must treat non-human animals properly and treat each other properly. We must learn this lesson, as part of

the even bigger challenge of addressing the accelerating biodiversity and climate crises if we are to have a sustainable future.

Context

Understanding the context in Somalia/Somaliland is indispensable to analysis of and action on education and UN SDGs

History and government

In the nineteenth century, Britain colonised Somaliland in the north while Italy colonised the south central region and Puntland in the east. In 1960 Somaliland and Somalia (south central and Puntland) became independent and immediately merged to form the Somali Republic.

From 1969 to 1991 Somalia was ruled by the dictator Siad Barre, who was armed by the Soviet Union and then the United States. He invested in the country's education system and developed the economy according to his interpretation of socialist principles. Starting in 1988 he conducted a brutal campaign of domestic repression which in 1991 triggered Somaliland's

unilateral declaration of independence from Somalia and the collapse of the Somali Republic as a functioning state.

From 1991 to 2012, south central Somalia experienced a civil war that destroyed nearly all development since independence. The education system and the wider infrastructure were almost totally destroyed, and waves of famine swept through the country. With regional and global diplomatic and armed support, a Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was established. In 2006 the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) emerged and took control but was defeated by the TFG, Ethiopian troops and Somali warlords.

While some in the ICU joined the TFG, others established al-Shabaab (The Youth), an insurgent force which ever since has sought to overthrow the internationally backed government.

As part of international efforts to stabilise the country, the TFG was replaced by the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) in 2012. Under the new constitution, the country became the Federal Republic of Somalia, with Mogadishu as the federal capital (Benadir Regional Administration) and

Jubbaland, South West State, Hirshabelle, Galmudug, Puntland (which had formed a semi-autonomous administration in 1998) and (formally only) Somaliland.



Somaliland is an FMS formally only because it has been self-governing ever since 1991 but has not achieved international recognition as a sovereign state. It has held free one person one vote presidential elections (2003, 2010, 2017) and parliamentary

elections (though the latter have been delayed repeatedly – the last one was in 2005). The current President is Muse Bihi Abdi.

Since 2013 the international community has adopted what it calls the Special Arrangement, whereby it works directly with the Government of Somaliland (GoSL) as a practical reality while avoiding formal recognition of Somaliland as a sovereign state. This ambiguity of Somaliland being both in and not in Somalia explains why TESF refers to Somalia/Somaliland.

Somaliland has been more or less peaceful since 1991. The exception is occasional armed clashes in its eastern regions which are claimed by Puntland. The clashes are among clans and sub-clans and between Somaliland and Puntland armed forces. There has not been a single terrorist attack in Somaliland since 2008; it is frustrating for people in Somaliland that this is not widely known.

Said Abdullahi Deni was elected President of Puntland by Members of Parliament in 2019 in its fifth indirect Presidential election. Al-Shabaab and to a lesser extent those declaring loyalty to the Islamic State group carry out terrorist attacks across its territory.

Progress towards Goal 4: Key facts about access and quality indicators

SDG 4 is 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all'. While there are some differences in specifics, the overall pattern across Somalia/Somaliland is similar: very little access to formal education (among the lowest rates in the world) and that formal education being of low quality.

Somalis in south central and Puntland have very low levels of access to formal education of any kind:

- Any education ever: 55% of men and boys aged 6 above; 52% of women and girls aged 6 and above; 54% of urban women; 16% of nomadic women; 57% of those 15-19 years of age (the highest for any age group).
- No education ever: 45% male, 48% female.
- Some primary education 28% male, 33% female.
- Completed primary school only: 4% male, 5% female.
- Some secondary school: 6% male, 5% female.
- Completed secondary school: 8% male, 5% female.
- Higher education: 8% male, 4% female.
- Attending school at the correct age for that level: 19% of children at primary, 9% at secondary.

Data from 2018-19 (FRS UNFPA 2020: pp. 24, 36-38).

In Somaliland, around 26% of boys and 22% of girls have attended formal school, with around 25% of women overall literate (45% urban, 10% rural) (RoS MoEHS 2017). In south central Somalia, literacy rates among various groups are as follows: nomads/pastoralists 12%, rural communities 28%, IDPs 32%, and urban dwellers 64%. (MoECHE FGS 2018: vi-vii). The same pattern of low attainment can be seen in Puntland (PSS MoEHE 2016, 2017).

What little formal education exists is mostly of low quality, as measured for example by the predominance of low paid or underqualified staff at all levels and the near absence of quality standards and quality assessment (MoECHE FGS 2018; Wafula Mulongo 2020).

negotiations that led to the formation of Federal Member States (FMS):

elections (though the latter have been delayed repeatedly – the last one was

In 2012 President of Somalia Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud was chosen by 275 members of parliament (MPs) who had been selected by 135 clan elders. In 2017 a new President of Somalia, Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed 'Faarmaajo', was elected by 275 MPs who had been chosen by 14,025 delegates appointed by clan elders. Somalia is officially aiming to hold one person, one vote parliamentary elections in November 2020 and a presidential election in February 2021 but this will be very difficult.

In sum, the FGS has little capacity to govern south central and relies on external support against al-Shabaab. The FMSs are mostly embryonic. Somaliland is self-governing and Puntland is semi-autonomous; both have limited ability to provide state executive, legislative and judicial functions and public services. This historical and constitutional context makes it very difficult to achieve progress on education or the SDGs. That lack of progress cannot be attributed to armed conflict alone, as can be seen from the fact that Somaliland has had nearly thirty years of peace but has not surged ahead of south central Somalia in education and other aspects of development.

(Lewis 2008; Keating Waldman 2018; Herring et al forthcoming).

Demography and culture

The population is approximately 12.3 million in total (3.5 million in Somaliland), with around half being urban (some of them IDPs - internally displaced persons), one quarter nomadic pastoralists (mainly raising goats, sheep and camels) and one quarter rural. Over 2.6 million are displaced, mainly due to conflict or drought. There is also a large Somali global diaspora, mostly refugee in origin.

The population has an exceptionally high proportion of young people: 66% under the age of 20 and 78% under 30.

99%-plus are Muslims (mainly Sunni and Sufi), with a trend towards conservatism and Salafist Sunnism due to the influence of Gulf Arab states and al-Shabaab after the more liberal Islam in earlier years.

The official languages of Somalia are Somali and Arabic; Somaliland also has English as an official language. English and to a lesser extent Arabic are both spoken and taught quite widely, especially in urban areas. In south central, many speak the Maay dialect of Somali while a minority speak Bravenese, which is a northern dialect of Swahili.

Over 90% of the population is ethnically Somali, with ethnic minorities such as Bantu.

Somalia/Somaliland are heterogeneous when viewed from the perspective of clan (extended family including distant relations) and sub-clans, which are central to social order and disorder. Many still remember the 1988-91 massacres of people of the Isaaq clan by Barre, who hailed from the Marehan sub-clan of the Darod. The 4.5 formula was adopted at peace talks in Djibouti in 2000. Despite not being part of Somalia's constitution, it has formed the basis of the elections of Somalia's parliament and president ever since. It divides FGS government posts equally between the four largest clans - Darod, Dir, Hawiye and Digil-Mirifle (also known as Rahanweyn) - with a 0.5 share to minor clans or other ethnic groups. In creating the formula, the Isaaq (who are dominant in Somaliland - mainly in the central part) were framed as being part of the Dir but most Isaaq reject this and the formula.

(Lewis 2008; FRS UNFPA 2014, 2020; Ahmed 2019; Christopherson 2020; Herring et al forthcoming).

The economy and poverty

Somalia/Somaliland is among the poorest countries in the world; this is a key factor inhibiting investment in education systems. Drought, floods, increased intensity and frequency of extreme weather due to the accelerating climate crisis, conflict and limited state capacity all contribute to widespread poverty.

An unconventional way of illustrating how little funding is available for education and development in Somalia/Somaliland is to compare the budgets of the governments and the University of Bristol for 2019. The FGS

had an education budget of \$16 million to serve 9 million people (excluding Somaliland) - a little under \$2 per person for the year - and a budget of \$344 million for the entire government (Sheikh Hussein 2019). The equivalents for Somaliland with over 3 million people were \$15 million and \$182 million (Horn Diplomat 2019). The income of the University of Bristol was \$879 million, and it taught 24,000 students (UoB 2019) - \$36,625 per student per year.

The main sources of income in Somalia/Somaliland are livestock exports, remittances from the Somali diaspora and foreign aid. The COVID-19 pandemic is threatening all three sources of income. The most successful element of the formal private sector is telecommunications. Most employment is informal. Reforms have enabled to Somalia to qualify for international debt relief and increasingly obtain international development financing.

Corruption can be a major obstacle for education and sustainable development. Yuen Yuen Ang (2020) shows that large-scale theft by elites, small-scale theft by non-elites and speed money (payments by non-elites to avoid delays) are all damaging economically. However, she also argues that access money (elite exchanges of money and power) can generate economic growth, though in a financially risky way that also feeds inequality. In relation to Somalia/Somaliland, it is important not to assume that corruption is universal. There are many public servants in senior and junior positions working in a dedicated and professional way, often for little or no pay and at considerable personal risk.

The idea of Somali pirates is prominent in the minds of many but it is now a secondary issue. It started in Puntland in 2001 and escalated around 2005. It has almost disappeared due to international efforts to suppress it since 2012. Furthermore, while to a great extent piracy became a criminal enterprise for profit, it started out in an escalating conflict between Somali fishing crews and foreign fishing vessels engaged in illegal, unregulated and unreported (IUU) fishing. Somalia's ability to engage in sustainable development, including investing in

education, continues to be harmed by foreign IUU fishing.

Basic mobile phone ownership is very widespread: 81% of urban, 67% of rural and 59% of nomadic households have a simple mobile phone with access to FM radio (FRS UNFPA 2020). Basic mobile phones play a crucial role in providing access to mobile banking through locally-owned telecommunications companies – mainly Hormuud Telecom in south central, Telesom in Somaliland and Golis Telecom in Puntland.

Somalia/Somaliland ranked 7th globally and 1st in Africa in 2020 for the lowest average cost of mobile data (Cable.co.uk 2020). However, the extent of internet access (including with smartphones) is low, at 12%, and computer access even lower at 7%.

Food security and health

As of March 2020, 4.1 million people were food insecure (1.3 million of them at emergency and crisis levels) (UN OCHA 2020). Famine killed about 260,000 people in 2012-13 and many areas have repeatedly come to the brink of famine since then. Of children under 5 years of age, 28% are stunted and 23% malnourished (FRS UNFPA 2020).

There are few public health facilities free at point of use, so those who can afford it purchase health care from their household budget. There is almost nothing available in the form of advanced health care in the country; the small number who can afford to have to travel to countries such as Turkey for such care. On the Global Health Security Index, Somalia scored 16.6 out of 100 in 2019, placing it 194th out of 195 countries. Its health care system scored a negligible 0.3 out of 100. (NTI JHCHS 2019)

65% of the population have access to safe drinking water and 57% to sanitation that is not shared with other households. 12% must travel 30 minutes or more to obtain water. 11% are covered by all vaccines included in their national programme. Diarrhoea, acute respiratory infections, malaria and vaccine-preventable diseases are common. In addition, 6% of Somalis suffer from chronic ill-health such as

high blood pressure and diabetes. 5% of women die from causes related to pregnancy during their reproductive lifetime. (FRS UNFPA 2020)

COVID-19

The fact that so many are preoccupied with the basics of survival or with untreated illness is a major barrier to accessing education and indicates that Somalia/Somaliland is a long way from achieving sustainable development. The COVID-19 pandemic has added a massive extra burden. Its preparedness for such a disease was almost non-existent and its vulnerability is still extremely high.

Government efforts to limit the spread of the disease is having major negative educational impacts – direct through school closures and indirect through loss of ability to pay for education (RoS MoFD 2020; RoS MoHD 2020; RoSPSS 2020; PSS 2020; BRA 2020). COVID-19 combined with responses to it could be devastating in terms of damage to the already marginal health care infrastructure, disruption to crucial vaccination programmes for other diseases, death or long-term illness of breadwinners, poverty and starvation due to collapse of incomes for many who are already living hand-to-mouth, and disproportionately heavy costs for the already most marginalised and excluded.

The FGS produced an education sector COVID-19 response plan (FRS 2020) aimed at limiting the spread of the disease through the education system, supporting continuity of learning and facilitating safe return to face-to-face learning. It remains to be seen what funding it attracts or what impact it has.

COVID-19 response is a massive and unprecedented effort at public education aimed at behaviour change at extremely high speed and involving all stakeholders (e.g. RoS MoICNG 2020). This means there is a massive and unprecedented opportunity to learn about such efforts and to consider how they can be carried out and then built on in ways that will have the maximum positive legacy.

Relationships between education, poverty, gender and other inequalities

Multiple inequalities reinforce each other (FRS UNFPA 2020). For example:

- Men are much more likely to advance to higher levels of education than women.
- 96% of women in the poorest households have had no education compared with 47% from the wealthiest households.
- 97% of women in nomadic areas have had no formal education, compared to 72% of rural and 59% of urban women.
- 75% of all women aged 15-49 have had no formal education, rising to 84% for those who were ever-married compared to 55% for never-married.
- Among the wealthiest women aged 15-49, 18% of ever-married and 29% of never-married have had no formal education.
- Poverty is far higher in nomadic households than rural ones and lowest in urban ones.
- Internet access is 19% for urban, 2% for rural and 1% for nomadic households.
- Computer access is 11% for urban, 1.2% for rural and 0.2% for nomadic households.

Considering the low and unequal levels of internet and computer access, an emphasis on online education, for example in response to COVID-19, would exacerbate inequalities resulting from wealth and location. With little prospect of dramatic change in internet and computer access, a more equitable approach to expanding access to education would focus on radio, printed material and face-to-face education where possible.

Resilience of education in emergencies

Armed conflict has a negative impact on enrolment. It also undermines traditional approaches to peaceful conflict resolution such as negotiations

between clans and sub-clans. Conflict can be promoted when those such as Al-Shabaab with extreme and intolerant ideologies control curricula. Drought, floods, famine and local conflicts all generate displacement, loss of years of education that are not generally made up and vulnerability to radicalisation. The COVID-19 emergency is also posing huge problems. It follows from this that sustaining education services during emergencies should be a top priority, especially as emergencies are so frequent, severe and multidimensional.

The FGS is aiming to increase the proportion of learners who stay in education during emergencies, increase access to safe protected learning for IDPs and increase safety and protection for schools (FRS MoECHE 2017).

Education sub-sectors

The discussion in this section of the Briefing Note is essentially pre-COVID-19. The pandemic and response to it is resulting in widespread and unequal reductions in access to and quality of education that could become medium-term and long-term harms due to loss of income to education providers and households.

Early childhood education (ECE)

ECE is provided by traditional Quranic schools, integrated Quranic schools and private kindergartens. This is an unregulated sub-sector. Quranic schools are officially responsible to the FGS Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs rather than the Ministry of Education, Culture and Higher Education (MoECHE) – the same is true in Somaliland. In practice, Quranic schools are autonomous, community-controlled or controlled by their foreign funders.

The FGS is seeking to establish some government regulation of ECE, improve the quality of teaching and learning materials and increase participation (FRS MoECHE 2017).

Primary education

Primary education is characterised by low enrolment rates, lower enrolment rates by girls and in rural areas and especially among nomads, and high drop-out rates.

The FGS is seeking to provide more free primary education that is of higher quality, and better managed. It aims to pay teachers more, build more schools, train more teachers, provide scholarships for the disadvantaged, provide conflict-sensitive teaching materials, increase access to safe water in schools, improve the enrolment gender balance, increase the proportion achieving minimum proficiency in reading and maths, reduce drop-out rates and train teachers in the national curriculum (FRS MoECHE 2017). The FGS introduced a new standardised curriculum for primary and secondary schools in October 2019 (Sheikh Hussein 2019). The rollout, adoption and impact are as yet unclear.

The GoSL is committed to the principle of universal state-funded primary education. Two thirds of primary school teachers are paid by the GoSL. However, most children are still not able to go to primary school. Attendance is lowest and drop out rates highest for girls, rural people, nomadic pastoralists, the poor, disabled, IDPs and over-age out-of-school children. The sub-sector faces problems of poor infrastructure, management, teaching and learning materials. It is often too costly to send children to school due to lost potential labour or cost of clothing and exercise books. Schools are often distant, lack water and learning materials and have demotivated teachers (RoS MoEHS 2017),

The GoSL is prioritising expanding and increasing access and equity, improving the quality and relevance of primary school education, and improving efficiency of use of its resources (RoS MoEHS 2017),

Secondary education

For secondary schools, enrolment rates are low, female enrolment is disproportionately low, drop-out rates are high and the rural lag in enrolment is even more marked in comparison with primary schools. The schools are nearly all private or community rather

than government-owned in south central and Puntland whereas just over half of secondary students in Somaliland attend government-owned schools. Teachers are low paid. In south central and Puntland few teachers are qualified whereas a majority in Somaliland hold the required diploma.

The FGS goals are essentially the same as for primary schools: build more schools, increase access (especially among girls and rural populations), train and pay teachers more, increase school access to safe water, provide conflict-sensitive training and promote use of the national curriculum ((FRS MoECHE 2017; Sheikh Hussein 2019).

The GoSL reports that only 4% of secondary teachers are female, and notes that this is a problem for girls in terms of role models.

The GoSL is prioritising expanding and increasing access and equity, improving the quality and relevance of secondary school education, and improving efficiency of use of its resources (RoS MoEHS 2017).

Alternative Basic Education (ABE)/ Non-Formal Education

More than 50% of children in south central and Puntland who should be in school are not. Non-governmental providers have stepped in to provide teaching, and is most effective at improving girls' access, especially for those who have had no previous access to formal education. However, the provision is non-standardised and unregulated.

The FGS aims to improve ABE by promoting enrolment by out-of-school adolescents and youth, increasing the number of qualified ABE teachers, establishing baselines and realistic improvement targets in literacy and numeracy, and creating a specialist MoECHE unit to provide a policy and regulatory framework for this sub-sector (FRS MoECHE 2017).

The GoSL has a specialised department that promotes Non-Formal Education of basic literacy, numeracy and life skills more or less the same as ABE. This has 260 centres across Somaliland and

provides learning opportunities for youths, adults, girls, women and families, including in rural areas. Although these centres have few resources, they are working to address problems such as the fact that only 25% of women in Somaliland are literate. These centres are working to address gender disparities: around 64% of those children attending are girls (FRS MoECHE 2017).

Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET)

Due to lack of government ability to support TVET, provision tends to be episodic, donor-funded, project-focused and run by International NGOs. The exceptions are often run privately by businesses or individual entrepreneurs. TVET usually lacks work placements or pathways to employment, which creates frustration among those trained but unable to find work. Estimates of youth unemployment (those available for and seeking employment but without work) vary widely. It appears to have fallen from a high of 70% in 2012 to around 20% in 2019 with a higher rate among females.

Across south central and Puntland, around 95% of youth aged 14-24 years of age were not in post-secondary learning of any kind in 2017. The FGS aims to gather accurate data on TVET enrolment and competencies in literacy and numeracy, establish enrolment targets, create a Vocational Qualification Framework, increase post-TVET employment, improve access for marginalised youth, align training better to employment opportunities and establish a TVET authority, policy framework, training materials and quality assurance (FRS MoECHE 2017).

The GoSL reports sub-sector fragmentation, poor data availability, weak policy implementation, lack of management capacity and particularly poor provision in rural areas. Progress in this sub-sector is crippled by lack of funding (RoS MEHS 2017).

Higher Education

There are scores of unofficial and unregulated private 'universities' across Somalia/Somaliland, sometimes

located in individual dwellings, with no reason to think that they provide higher education of any kind. PhD holders among academic staff of the main universities in south central and Puntland are rare – probably well under 1% of staff. In the three main universities in Somaliland it is 5%. Scholarly research and publication from universities in Somalia/Somaliland is also rare. They are overwhelmingly teaching institutions. University management, infrastructure, regulation and quality control mostly vary between weak and non-existent (FRS MoECHE 2017; RoS MoEHS 2017).

A few institutions are strengthening and have some track record in a few areas, notably Somali National University, Mogadishu University, Puntland State University, University of Hargeisa and Amoud University. There are a few state universities but for the most part they are private for-profit or non-profit. (Mursal Odowa Mosley 2018; Pellini 2020).

Research of a Higher Education standard is mostly concentrated in three independent non-profit or social enterprise organisations – Transparency Solutions, the Heritage Institute for Policy Studies and the Somali Institute for Development Research and Analysis.

The FGS aims to improve regulation and governance, support access for marginalised and at-risk youth, expand access and quality and increase research (FRS MoECHE 2017).

Issues and challenges in transforming education in terms of achieving SDG4 Target 4.7

SDG 4 is 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.'

It is clear from the material in this Briefing note that Somalia/Somaliland is mostly failing to achieve SDG4. The cross-cutting issues for the education sector are ministry capability, data collection, governance, management, access, quality control, funding, standardisation, pay, staff training, drop-out rates, gender equality, equality by location, curricula,

infrastructure (including safe water, sanitation, connectivity, library provision and equipment), research activity and dominance of unregulated private provision, whether donor-funded or private. Ultimately, there is a desperate shortage of funding to expand access and increase quality and relevance to sustainability. In south central and to a lesser extent Puntland and eastern Somaliland, insecurity is also a significant factor.

(FRS MoECHE 2017; RoS MoEHS 2017; Altai Consulting and World Bank 2018).

SDG4 has sub-targets that include 4.7, which is indicated in the box below:

SDG4 Target 4.7: 'By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and nonviolence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development' (UN n.d.)

From a global perspective, Target 4.7 is contested even at the level of vague aspiration - populist nationalism, prominent in many countries, is hostile to cultural diversity and the very concept of global citizenship (Mudde 2004). Alternatively, from a postcolonial angle (Lockhart 2016), the origins and ownership of the agendas it contains can be challenged – for example, over whose lifestyle is the most unsustainable. More simply, although the UN frames 4.7 as a single target, it includes many large, different and contested things at a high level of abstraction. To ask about achieving Target 4.7 is to ask many different, if related, things, while the content of any one of them is a huge topic. Furthermore, it says that those things it lists are just some 'among others' and leaves those things unspecified. Its poor drafting make it seem as though Target 4.7 is of limited practical value.

One can instead focus on the central point in Target 4.7 of the importance of

all having the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development. One can then put that in the context of a systematic approach such as Kate Raworth's (2018) 'doughnut' of an ecological ceiling and social foundation including all key categories of both.

Taking a comprehensive approach means that everyone in Somalia/Somaliland is a stakeholder. Potential facilitators and entry points for progress can be conceptualised in terms of issues, individuals, methods and criteria (such as examples or those showing positive deviance i.e. making exceptional progress in comparison with others despite having more or less the same resources).

Examples of effective initiatives can be gathered, shared and learned from. For example, the telecoms companies in Somalia/Somaliland are playing an important public health education role by text and ringtone messages about issues such as how to prevent the spread of COVID-19. They are the largest private employers, operate with staff from a mix of backgrounds and commit substantial resources to filling gaps left by lack of state resources. To give another example; available evidence shows that education can be a means of preventing the radicalisation of Somali youth (Mercy Corp 2018).

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