TE|SF

Transforming Education
for Sustainable Futures

Transforming Education for Sustainable Futures: Somalia/Somaliland Background Paper

Contents

Acronyms

ABE	Alternative Basic Education
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EIE	Education in Emergencies
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
ESSP	Education Sector Strategic Plan
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GPI	Gender Parity Index
GSL	Government of Somaliland
HIPS	Heritage Institute for Policy Studies
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
NAPA	National Adaption Programme of Action to Climate Change
NDP	National Development Plan
NFE	Non-Formal Education
SD	Sustainable Development
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TESF	Transforming Education for Sustainable Futures
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education Training
UN	United Nations
UNSOM	United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia
VSLA	Village Savings and Loans Associations TESF

Introduction

This country background paper examines the issues of sustainable development and education with regards to the current situation in Somalia/Somaliland.[1] It expands on the TESF Somalia/Somaliland Briefing Note, which sets out the need for education systems in Somalia and Somaliland to be transformed and provides valuable context to aid understanding, analysis of and action on education and United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This need is urgent, for as a participant in one of Transparency Solutions' (2020b) TESF engagement events stated, the education systems in Somalia and Somaliland "are not even delivering the fundamentals." However, there is reason for optimism about the future as there are numerous stakeholders including governments, donors, and education professionals who are invested in improving education in Somalia. As one education professional stated, "Through our commitment, we can make and develop quality education in Somalia" (quoted in Transparency Solutions, 2020c). Of course, there are major challenges to be overcome such as limited resources and political and social conflicts.

As stated in the Transforming Education for Sustainable Futures (TESF) Foundations paper, "a key goal of TESF is to develop impactful research that can assist in transforming education systems so that they can contribute to SD [sustainable development]" (Tikly et al., 2020a, p. 22). This paper gives an overview of existing literature, policy, and activities to provide the foundation for future research, analysis, and action, and in particular to help inform the invited call for proposals related to this TESF project; to lay the basis for a Country Synthesis Paper at the end of the project; to feed into comparisons with the other TESF hub countries; and to shape the overall thematic analysis.

The insights and analysis in this paper have been informed by the expert local knowledge provided by the participants at three TESF engagement events held in Somalia/Somaliland by Transparency Solutions in August 2020, laying the foundations for a collaborative learning journey. As stated in the Collaboration and Capacity Development for TESF Briefing Note, collaborative structures and processes, spanning traditional boundaries are integral to the work of TESF (Mitchell et al., 2020, p.1). Contributions from participants centred on the need to know how education systems can be transformed so that education can drive sustainable development in ways which are supportive of or complementary to national and local government plans and priorities for education and for sustainable development; and in ways which strengthen inclusion and reduce inequalities.

This paper will be structured into sections with political economy and post-conflict peacebuilding themes woven throughout. First, it will

consider sustainable development in the Somalia/Somaliland context, exploring the existing literature and evidence as well as the current findings, challenges, and gaps and using Technical and Vocational Education Training (TVET) as a case study for more in-depth analysis. Second it will explore education for sustainable development, how it is understood in the Somalia/Somaliland context, before examining the remaining challenges and gaps. The paper will then present four sections on the relevant SDGs beginning with SDG 4, quality education, before moving onto SDG 8 on decent work and economic growth, SDG 11 on sustainable cities and communities, and SDG 13 on climate action. Each of the four sections will examine the SDG with regards to the progress being made in Somalia and Somaliland, the connections and synchronicities with education sectors, the governments' priorities and actions, and the challenges and opportunities for progress on the SDGs. In conclusion, the paper will reflect on the transformational potential of education systems in Somalia and Somaliland to support sustainable development and proposing recommendations for how that transformation could be brought about. It will also propose future research opportunities for the TESF project to further understanding and knowledge on these critical topics.

Sustainable Development

Sustainable development in Somalia/Somaliland has been a central concern amongst their respective governments, donors, and international organisations over the last number of years. In contrast, the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) and Government of Somaliland (GSL) both subscribe to the SDGs, which feature prominently in official policy documents such as the National Development Plans of both (e.g. Federal Government of Somalia, 2019b; Republic of Somaliland, 2017). However, the academic literature on the topic is limited, and even the non-academic literature tends to be limited in scope and is often specific to a certain donor project. Across the existing literature, various definitions of sustainable development are used, when the term is even defined at all; this paper, uses the TESF project's working definition, recognizing that no definition is definitive or all encompassing. Here, sustainable development is "development that supports the rights, freedoms and capabilities of existing and future generations to live the lives they have reason to value whilst

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[1] In 1991 Somaliland unilaterally declared its independence from Somalia. Somaliland has been self-governing ever since but has not been recognised internationally as a sovereign state. This ambiguity of being both in and in Somalia explains why TESF refers to Somalia when referring to the federal level, to Somaliland when referring to Somaliland alone and Somalia/Somaliland when referring to both.

protecting and co-evolving in a more harmonious relationship with the natural environment of which human beings are an integral part so that natural and social systems may flourish" (Tikly et al., 2020a, p. 13).

By almost all measures and markers, Somalia and Somaliland are lagging significantly behind on the SDGs. As Herring et al. (2020b) stated so succinctly, "Somalia/Somaliland is among the poorest countries in the world" (Herring et al., 2020b, p. 3). According to the World Bank Group (2019, vi), almost 70 percent of the population suffers from two or more of their poverty indicators, which is both widespread and deep across the country. In some areas, limited data makes it difficult to understand the full extent of the challenges that Somalia faces. For example, the Human Capital Index, developed by the World Bank, provides a measure on the health and education possibilities of children around the world, but such a measure is unavailable in Somalia due to a lack of data; however, it is likely that based on the data that is available that Somalia would be ranked low on the index (World Bank Group, 2019, p. 16). While Somalia has an extremely young population, with 80 percent under the age of 35, unemployment remains high, education opportunities low, political engagement limited, and social space restricted (UN 2017, p. 17). Somalis in vulnerable or marginalized groups such as women, youth, minority clans, the disabled, internally displaced people (IDPs), and rural populations are further disadvantaged. For example, "the share of rural Somalis without formal education is 1.6 times higher than that of urban residents and 2.5 and 2.6 times higher for nomads and IDPs respectively" (World Bank Group, 2019, vii). The specific effects of vulnerabilities on education will be further explored in later sections of this paper, however, it is clear that being part of a vulnerable or marginalized group only compounds existing hardships and vulnerabilities that exist amongst the general Somali population.

Amongst all stakeholders, it is agreed that sustainable development is a critical aim for the future of Somalia/Somaliland, with donors and governments taking different approaches, strategies, and policies to try to accomplish this goal, as we explain below. The TESF India Briefing Note points out that education policy and practice has been increasingly influenced by donor-led international discourse. Both the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) and the Government of Somaliland have declared their support for the SDGs, but progress against them is difficult to track. This could be a pattern in relation to other countries; for example, there are similarities in the case of India, where programmes are largely donor-driven and project specific, and of a piecemeal approach. (Batra et al., 2020). On 25th and 26th September 2019, the Somaliland Ministry of Planning and National Development hosted the First Somaliland SDG Summit where they

reaffirmed their commitment to the SDGs as a government, but also recognised that one issue stalling Somaliland's progress is their continued lack of international recognition (Republic of Somaliland Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2019). On Somalia's country page on the UN's online Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform, the information available is scant compared with that available compared for the other TESF country hubs; there are no documents or reports available, the most recent statement is from 2015, and no focal point details are available (United Nations, 2020). This reflects a more general problem in Somalia of limited data due to lack of infrastructure. Nevertheless, there are some areas of progress. For example, Somaliland has a strategy of working towards specific SDGs (Somaliland SDG16+ Coalition, 2019).

There remain ongoing challenges to sustainable development in Somalia/Somaliland. As Tikly et al. (2020b, p. 1) state, "people all over the world today are subject to the pernicious effects of unsustainable development. In the global South, this trajectory is often accompanied by structural inequalities that reproduce persistent poverty, exacerbate inequality, and leave learners with limited opportunities to create sustainable livelihoods." Somalia is an insecure country and faces major challenges in terms of "emergency, periodic instability, dependence on humanitarian support, internally displaced persons and food insecurity" (SIDRA, 2016, p. 3). As stated so clearly by the United Nations (2017, p. 11), "the frequent shocks experienced in Somalia impede recovery efforts and undermine development." These continual shocks to the system create a situation where building upon what has been achieved is difficult as progress is fragile and is cyclically destroyed, needing to be rebuilt and begun again. This cycle is compounded by the ever-increasing consequences of climate change and the lack of investment in sustainable development (Republic of Somaliland, 2017, p. 17). Furthermore, Somalia/Somaliland remain dependent on large injections of outside funding both in the forms of donor support and remittances from the Somali diaspora. Somalia received over \$2 billion USD in official development assistance in 2018 and remittances are estimated amount to between \$1.3 to \$2 billion USD each year (FGS MoPIED, 2019a, p. 1; Majid et al., 2020). While the World Bank and others were previously predicting a moderate positive growth in Somalia's gross domestic product (GDP), with domestic revenue collection estimated to be 5% of the GDP by 2021, the worldwide economic crisis caused by COVID-19 has hit Somalia and Somaliland particularly hard, both in terms of their own economies as well as remittances and international donors (World Bank Group, 2019, vi). The new economic situation has serious implications for sustainable development in Somalia/Somaliland, in terms of government action, economic progress, and donor activity as well as the countless effects on the population. The shock to the economic system caused by COVID-19 will continue to be felt in Somalia/Somaliland by those who were already the most vulnerable and will have the most long-lasting effect on those who are least resilient.

Education for (Un)Sustainable Development

As seen in the previous section, sustainable development is critical to Somalia/Somaliland's future, and at the foundation of this progress is access to education for children there. This is recognised by the UN as education is, "accorded a central position in the SDGs…education is implicated in realising all of the other SDGs as well as being affected by them" (Tikly et al., 2020a, p. 15). In Somalia/Somaliland a substantial proportion of the population is young, development indicators are low and education levels are behind those of neighbouring countries. In Somaliland, for example, approximately 70 percent of the heads of households have no education, which has been linked to higher levels of poverty (Republic of Somaliland, 2017, p. 32). This may help explain the disconnect between parents and their children's education which is seen as unfamiliar and difficult. (Transparency Solutions 2020b). As Herring et al. (2020b) wrote in the Somalia/ Somaliland Briefing Note for this TESF project, "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" (p. 1). What that fundamental change might involve is something we explore throughout this paper and in the wider work of TESF: we see this as an open question.


There are two primary interpreters of educations for sustainable development (ESD) in Somalia/Somaliland: donors and governments. The donor understandings are largely predicated upon the SDGs and then interpreted and implemented via specific projects and programmes of support. For the FGS and GSL stakeholders, their understandings can be understood from the various policy documents that cover education. For example, the FGS stated at their 2013 National Education Conference, "We are united in the firm belief that quality education is a fundamental constitutional right and powerful enabler for the realization of other basic human rights including political, social, economic and cultural rights" (FGS Ministry for Human Development and Public Services, 2013, p. 2). The GSL promotes an understanding of education for sustainable development that links it closely with economic development, with its 2018-2021 Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP) stating that, "Economic growth cannot be sustained without higher levels of human capital and increasing human capital requires long-term

sustained investments in, for example, health and education provision. A healthier and better-educated workforce is one that is more productive…Delaying or worse, not undertaking much-needed human capital investments will damage Somaliland's long-term economic growth" (Republic of Somaliland, 2017, p. 17). Ahmed and Bradford (2011) examined Somaliland's educational policies using critical analysis and found that it was primarily enterprise-oriented with the Ministry of Education having, an aspirational vision of education in Somaliland primarily functioning as a tool for national and economic development" (p. 242). While the economic functions of education are certainly important, especially to a country like Somaliland, Ahmed and Bradford (2011, p. 242) do highlight a concern that this focus will overtake other significant aspects of education such as its social and personal applications. Within the TESF project, a more holistic view of education for sustainable development is taken, as the following working definition illustrates, "'*access to a good quality education for all that can facilitate existing and future generations of learners across the lifespan, in formal and informal settings, to realise the rights, freedoms and capabilities they require to live the lives they have reason to value and to protect and co-evolve in a more harmonious relationship with the natural environment of which human beings are an integral part so that natural and social systems may flourish*'" (Tikly et al., 2020b, p. 4, emphasis original).

Currently, education in Somalia/Somaliland cannot be classified as sustainable by almost any existing measure or definition. As Herring et al. (2020b, p.1) explain, "Education systems in Somalia/Somaliland need to be transformed…they are failing to meet the basic needs of most of the population [of literacy and numeracy] never mind the ambitions of the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Indeed, education is not even accessible to most of the population". In addition to accessibility issues, those who do receive an education often find it inadequate either due to its poor quality (for example, low levels of teaching training and of monitoring of teaching and learning – see Herring et al., 2020b) or misalignment between the type of education they received and the needs of the labour market. Ainebyona (2019) partially attributes the poor standard of education to the commoditization of education in the region with educational institutions focusing more on bringing in large numbers of students in order to gain the revenue from their tuition fees rather than the quality of their schooling or the abilities of the students. Furthermore, Rahma Ibrahim Amin disputed the widely held perception that private schools offer a higher quality of education than public schools (Transparency Solutions 2020b). The students who do make it through the education system are frequently frustrated to find themselves unemployed upon graduation as course enrolment does not match the sectors in need of labour (Abdulahi et al., 2020, p. 26). For example, in Somaliland, 51 percent of university enrolment has been in courses on business, administration, information and communications technology (ICT), economics, and accounting, which has created a surplus of graduates in these areas, but a shortage in sectors much needed for economic development including livestock and agriculture, energy and mining, and other science and technology fields of which there are also only a limited number of courses available (Republic of Somaliland, 2017, p. 162-163). The significance of Somalia/Somaliland improving its science and technology focus both in and through education was

raised in the TESF engagement event by two participants who both agreed that such technology is critical to Somalia/Somaliland's development and success in the 21st century (Transparency Solutions, 2020c). Similarly, Madar, Subari, and Baqutayan (2016) argue that other East African countries such as Rwanda have already made impressive advancements in this area and that if Somaliland/Somalia, do not begin to address the roles of science and technology agenda into their ESD priorities, they will be left behind (Madar, Subari, and Baqutayan, 2016, p. 212). The TESF Rwanda Country Briefing Note supports this, citing 'enhancing use of ICT to transform teaching and learning' as one of the goals in the country's ESSP (Tusiime and Tikly, 2020, p. 4). It is important to retain a critical awareness of the limitations and potentially negative effects of reliance on technology in education (such as the exacerbation of inequalities). Bearing this in mind, technology can, if used appropriately, enhance education. There are some early developments introducing technology into education in Somalia. M-Education (mobile education) is a free service for students recently developed by the Somali telecommunications company, Vivacom. Courses are accessed via a mobile app or USSD (Unstructured Supplementary Service Data system, which allows mobile phone users to access computer systems vie phone services without requiring internet access).
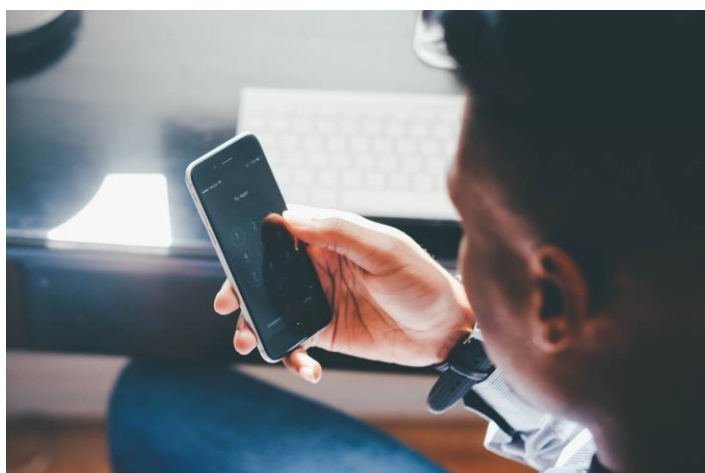
In order to advance their aims for ESD as well as the very sustainability of the education system in Somalia/Somaliland in the face of these challenges, the governments across the country as well as donors have policies, plans, and budgets in place to achieve their aims. In Somaliland, the Government's current ESSP lays out a series of ambitious goals, which especially now, in light of COVID-19, are unlikely to be fully achieved by the end of the 2021. However, they did have some key successes under the previous ESSP, 2012-2016, a selection of which follow:

- 66 percent of primary teachers are on the Government's payroll
- An improvement of the gender parity index (GPI) from 0.76 to 0.83
- An introduction of a new curriculum that is outcome-based in public schools
- Construction of schools and classrooms to keep pace with expanding enrolment

- An increase of the budget allocation from $7.8 million in 2012 to $14.6 million in 2016 (Republic of Somaliland MoEHS, 2017, p. 14).

For the FGS, their current ESSP for 2018-2020 lists the following priorities:

- "Ensure education contributes to peacebuilding and state building processes,
- Support learners and strengthen societal resilience among communities affected by natural disasters and conflict,
- Continue expanding access to education for children, adolescents and youth, especially those from marginalized communities such as pastoralists, IDPs, and the urban poor,
- Improve the quality of learning outcomes, especially at early grade levels, and to ensure the market relevance of learning opportunities,
- Strengthen the market relevance of learning for both formal and informal market opportunities, and
- Strengthen management capacities and systems at federal and state levels, including improving fiduciary mechanisms and increasing budget allocations to the education sector" (FGS MoECHE, 2017, v).

As with all such priorities, they need to be kept under critical review. For example, curricula focused on outcomes that can be measured can result in practices that distort teaching. To give another example, 'market relevance' can be education for employment in activities that undermine sustainability. Furthermore, there is a need for analysis of the relationship between national priorities and donor priorities in education funding. The current ESSPs of the FGS and GSL raise significant concerns over funding of education in any form, sustainable or otherwise. In Somaliland, 48% was estimated to be covered by domestic revenue and 30% by donors, with a 22% gap, or $61.9 million, each year (Republic of Somaliland MoEHS, 2017, p. 129). However, the COVID-19 crisis makes the outlook for 2020 and 2021 precarious on all aspects of this plan, particularly the 22% gap, which relied on additional donors being mobilized each year. Furthermore, the sustainability within the budget itself is difficult as approximately 72% of the budget is reported to be used for teacher salaries, which leaves only 28% of the budget for other substantial needs (Republic of Somaliland MoEHS, 2017, p. 13). The FGS Ministry of Education estimated $44.7 million USD in domestic financing, which is inclusive of remittances, and $150 million from donors, leaving a budgetary gap of $18.3 million or 8.6 percent of the overall budget. While these projections were more positive and potentially more sustainable than those put forward by the GSL, they did include the following concerning caveat, which is even more problematic in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, "Financial projections of the plan are potentially optimistic, especially regarding the actualization of increasing allocations to the education sector from the national budget and concerted support from donors and partners to leverage change within the Ministry of Finance to adhere to commitments made in the National Development Plan 2017-2019" (FGS MoECHE, 2017, xiv). This dependence on unreliable and unpredictable budget streams such as donors and remittances from the Somali diaspora creates difficulties not only in terms of budget gaps, but also making

planning challenging both in the short and long-term and, in its current form, an unsustainable method for financing Somalia's education sector (World Bank Group, 2019, p. 26).

An additional problem that has been recognized by multiple stakeholders such as the FGS Ministry of Planning, Investment and Economic Development (MoPIED), the World Bank, and UNICEF is that education spending as a proportion of overall government spending remains extremely low. For example, in 2016, it was less than one percent (FGS MoPIED, 2019b, p. 261). In Somaliland, the proportion of the Government's budget spent on education is dwarfed by that spent on security each year (World Bank, 2014). In its Somalia Education Strategy, UNICEF (2018, p. 8) stated that domestic financing of the education sector in Somalia has remained "woefully low". Compared with neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Rwanda, Somalia and Somaliland both spend a fraction of their national budgets on education, an action which undermines their progress (Transparency Solutions, 2020c). In Somalia's National Development Plan for 2020-2024, it is highlighted that with limited resources, it is critical that priority areas are targeted for high impact interventions to achieve the aims laid out within the plan (FGS MoPIED, 2019b, p. 103). It is imperative that a similar approach be taken within the education sector across Somalia and Somaliland to achieve progress against any of the goals and aims set out by the Governments and those found within the SDGs.

As one of the most significant donors in Somalia, including in the education sector, the United Nations also laid out its ESD plan and priorities in its most recent strategic framework for Somalia from 2017-2020. In this comprehensive document, it states, that, "The UN will continue its work in supporting the development of policies and systems for addressing sector wide education inequalities through technical support and capacity development for increasing efficiency, effectiveness and coherence of education service delivery and sector management, increasing domestic financing for education services... support decentralized education service delivery and girl's education, as well as improve early learning, particularly for children rural and pastoralist communities" (UN, 2017, p. 32-33). Additionally, the UN aims to "strengthen its focus on supporting children's right to access education in situations of conflict and emergency, including children and youth from chronically internally displaced populations and returnees" (UN, 2017, p. 32). These priorities from the UN are in alignment with those that have been highlighted in other areas of this report including education in emergencies (EIE), rural populations, girls' education, minimization of donor reliance, amongst others, as it seeks to address the most pressing challenges facing Somali children and the education sector in the country.

As has been seen in this section, there are some real challenges facing ESD in Somalia/Somaliland. However, it does not have to all be a grim picture, there is progress being made and people in the country committed to improvement. As Dr. Moh'ed Ibrahim from Simad University stated, "We can have sustainable education linked to the SDGs if we commit fully" (Transparency Solutions, 2020c).

In order to further understand some of the specific complexities, challenges, and opportunities surrounding ESD in Somalia/Somaliland, the following section will examine the Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) system in more detail as a case study.

TVET Case Study

Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) (McGrath, 2020) serves as an interesting case study through which to understand some of the complex, specific, and contradictory dynamics at work in education for sustainable development in Somalia/Somaliland. TVET has been promoted in Somalia/Somaliland in recent years as a method for meeting the skills gap in the workforce and in reducing the unemployment rate, especially amongst youth including by education professionals in Transparency Solutions COVIDED research study as part of the TESF project, who stated that TVET is a strongly desired educational opportunity and is highly sought after across Somalia/Somaliland (Herring et al., 2020a). However, even as it is promoted as a sustainable method of meeting Somalia's education and economic challenges, continued issues and inherent flaws in the current system plague the TVET sector. These issues, if not addressed, will undermine the benefits of TVET and significantly impact its sustainability moving forward.

According to a recent HIPS study, in 2016-2017, there were 81 TVET institutions in [South Central] Somalia with 13,071 students, mainly offering short-term courses in skills such as tailoring, hairdressing, and ICT (Abdulahi et al., 2020, p. 17). In 2017, the GSL estimated that between 5,000 and 10,000 students were enrolled in TVET programs (Republic of Somaliland, 2017, p. 160). However, there are challenges and shortcomings in the existing TVET infrastructure that limit the effectiveness of this education sector. In Somaliland, "TVET is critically underdeveloped and under-resourced especially in relation to providing youth access across all regions in Somaliland... Specific TVET sub-sector data, in general, is difficult to verify and validate due to irregular and non-validated private sector and civil society sector registration and reporting" (Republic of Somaliland, 2017, p. 160). The barriers to entry for TVET remain high, with proportional enrolment numbers low, limited availability, and with high costs compared with other forms of education (Republic of Somaliland MoEHS, 2017, p. 78). The programs that do exist are limited, frequently short-term classes, which are often offered by international donors or NGOs at short-notice and tend to be "minor

technical skills" such as tailoring or beauty courses rather than skills that might be more in line with the labour market (Abdulahi et al., 2020, p. 30). At one of the TESF engagement events in Hargeisa, participant Deqa Ismail, speaking on the mismatch between education and the labour market stated, "what is being taught is not what is needed…we need plumbers, electricians- we have (high) youth unemployment and we are importing such skills from Syria, Yemen, and Kenya" (Transparency Solutions, 2020b).

The course set-up and donor reliance of many TVET centres also creates unsustainability issues whereby they do not bring in adequate income. Some TVET centres, such as the Kismayo Technical Institute, introduced measures to remedy this for example by creating a brick and block making business and they have plans to create a metal and carpentry workshop to help offset their costs; however, the sustainability to these educational institutions is precarious (Apiyo, 2017, p. 33).

Beyond these challenges, there are existing, deeper structural issues that will need to be addressed if TVET is to fulfil its intended function within the Somalia/ Somaliland educational sector.

First, there are prevalent access issues surrounding enrolment in TVET programs including low enrolment of women, the inaccessibility of the courses to people with disabilities, and uneven geographic distribution of the programs and centres with the majority being located in urban areas leading to unequal access for those living in rural areas. Two separate studies conducted into TVET in Somaliland by Dualeh in 2016 and Nor in 2017 both found that women were inadequately represented in TVET programmes; current enrolment is estimated at about 30 percent across Somalia and Somaliland (Republic of Somaliland, 2017, p. 160; Abdulahi et al., 2020, p. 17). Increasing these figures without changes to the programs will be difficult as, "many trainings do not accommodate women, particularly in construction, electrical and mechanical subjects" (Abdulahi et al., 2020, p. 30). Apiyo (2017), for example, questioned whether the Hargeisa Technical Institute, would be willing to allow women to attend their institution as they were unwilling for women and men to be taught together in the same class, which would pose a challenge for women's inclusion (p. 55). These barriers would need to be fully addressed if women's access and inclusion in TVET is to be increased.

Second, as the GSL sets out (2017), "linkages between TVET and the labour market are virtually non-existent. Collaboration with representatives of various industries is not evident in the development of course curricula (skills and competencies), the content of assessments or final examinations and in relation to the identification of qualified skilled persons and needs (numbers of new graduates required)" (p. 161). This is a significant issue, serving to highlight the ways that TVET does not adequately or appropriately align with the labour market in Somalia/Somaliland, which has been agreed by several research studies (Dualeh, 2016; Apiyo, 2017; Nor, 2017). Apiyo (2017) focuses on two primary issues that need to be addressed in order to advance the TVET system: 1) the low participation of the private sector in the TVET system and 2) the low skill level of TVET graduates. In the study, Apiyo found only one company, Somtel, that was involved in curriculum review and other participation was limited to provision of internships (2017, p. 8).

Further inroads must be made to ensure that TVET graduates meet the needs of employers. Additionally, Apiyo (2017) and Dualeh (2017) both found that companies and employers had a low regard for the skill levels of TVET employees. Employers of TVET graduates in Hargeisa took it for granted that they would need to be retrained (Dualeh, 2017, p. 7). This finding is concerning as it means that graduates of TVET programs are leaving without the skills they need to procure gainful employment, exposing a serious flaw in their education. If TVET is producing large amounts of graduates who "do not meet market standards", the system needs serious review and revision (Apiyo, 2017, p. 9). One of the participants in Transparency Solutions' (2020c) TESF engagement events, who works as at a TVET institution, echoed this finding, stating that the standard of instruction at technical institutions around the country needs to be improved.

As this section has demonstrated through the TVET example, Somali educators and the public are hopeful about the possibilities of the Somalia/Somaliland education systems across their various sub-sectors and the potential it has to further education for sustainable development. The system as it exists now, however, does not have the infrastructure to support the needed expansion, but also contains several inherent flaws that need to be addressed for it to fulfil its potential, to achieve success for its students and graduates, and to contribute to the sustainable development of Somalia/Somaliland as a whole.

SDG 4 – Quality Education

In pre-colonial Somalia, education was informal, communal and mostly oral. The foundations of the modern education school systems in Somalia/Somaliland have their origins in the period of British colonialism in Puntland and Italian colonialism in Puntland and South Central Somalia. Formal education was mainly primary school but there was some education up to university level. Formal education expanded greatly after Somalia (incorporating Puntland and South Central) and Somaliland became independent and immediately merged in 1960. However, the 1991 civil war and state collapse wrought comprehensive destruction of that system from which it has mostly never recovered, although Somaliland, after unilaterally declaring independence in 1991 has made more progress (Abdi, 1998). In this context, discussions of quality have mostly been overshadowed by the fact that there is so little access to education of any kind. That said, concerns about quality tend to focus on the need for improvements in curriculum standardisation, availability of materials in standard Somali, quality of teacher training, access to learning materials, achieving minimum proficiencies in reading and maths, reducing drop-out rates, regulation of standards, quality of management, quality of infrastructure (such as safe water) and meeting the needs of the disadvantaged (in particular, rural populations, nomads, the poor, the disabled, Internally Displaced Persons and ethnic and clan minorities (Herring et al. 2020b).
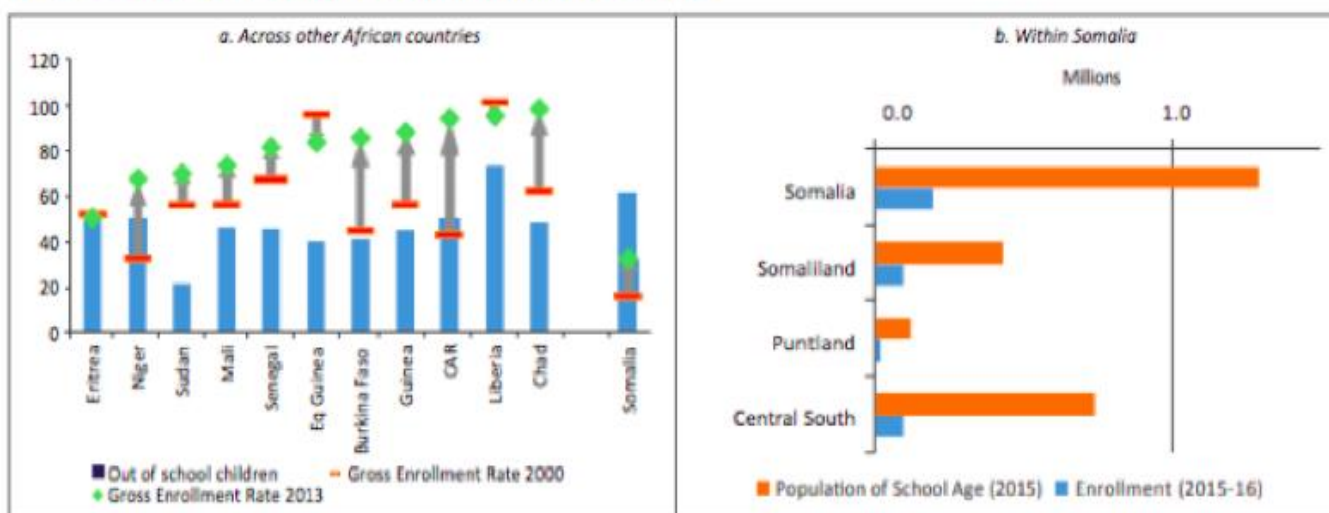
As laid out in the previous section, education is central to achieving sustainable development in Somalia/Somaliland. As such, SDG4 is solely focused on education and is to, "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all"

(United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, no date). At the heart of SDG4 and ESD is the belief that education alone is not enough to ensure their aims, rather, "learners across the lifespan need to be given access to a good quality education, but that we also need to transform what we mean by quality education such that learners acquire the skills needed to achieve sustainable futures" (Tikly et al., 2020b, p. 2). The fundamental premise on which SDG4 is based is problematic. Goals and targets for SDG4 were agreed in 2015, but with no definitive meaning of quality education nor equalities, attributed in part to the politics of consensus building. The conflict hinged on narrow versus broad conceptions of these terms and the institutional histories of different organisations and governments, which supported different interpretations, and which has resulted in metrics which miss many of the values of the targets agreed (Unterhalter, 2019). However, even with this criticism, at this moment in time, based on the available evidence, literature, and expert opinions, Somalia/Somaliland are not achieving SDG4 (Herring et al., 2020, p. 6).

When looking at SDG4 in Somalia/Somaliland, the first aspect to consider is that for large numbers of the Somali population, access to education is still a struggle. As one participant in the TESF engagement event in Mogadishu stated, accessibility, though basic, remains a fundamental issue (Transparency Solutions, 2020c). According to the World Bank Group (2019, p. 17), "Somalia's school enrolment rates are among the lowest in the world. In 2013, its net enrolment rates were 17 percent, compared with 97 percent in the Congo, 76 percent in Yemen, and 73 percent in the Central African Republic." Figure 1 provides some comparative graphics demonstrating Somalia/Somaliland's gross enrolment rate (GER) in primary school education both with other African countries as well as within the different regions of Somalia/Somaliland (World Bank Group, 2019, p. 17).

Figure 1. Comparative GER Rates for Somalia/Somaliland (World Bank Group, 2019, p 17)

When examining and trying to understand rates and figures for school enrolment and access in Somalia/Somaliland, it is important to include the caveat that the data can be inconsistent or contain significant gaps. The Republic of Somaliland MoEHS (2017, p. 4) notes that, "UNESCO, UNDP, and UNFPA data have different school age populations. The data sources used for the ESSP are inconsistent for GER, and NER". The UNESCO SDG4 Country Profile is completely empty, with the data across all indicators listed as "m" or data not reported/ not deemed publishable (UNESCO, no date). While there are discrepancies and different numbers available for the same measures however, the available data does paint an overall picture of

the state of education in Somalia/Somaliland, which is useful for gauging the state of and progress on SDG4.

Across all of Somalia/Somaliland, gross primary enrolment is at 32.7 percent (Abdulahi et al., 2020, p. 12). The rate in Puntland is highest at 58.2, then Somaliland at 43.6, and then South Central at 21%. A significant percentage of these students attend private schools with the World Bank Group (2019, p 18) finding that only 7.4 percent of primary students in South Central Somalia attend government schools. In Somaliland, while there has been an increase in primary enrolment since 2011, in large part due to the introduction of free

primary education by Presidential Decree, the increased numbers of students have not actually kept pace with the increased population in the primary school age range (Republic of Somaliland MoEHS, 2017, p. 43). Even when student enrolment rates do increase in Somalia, a careful eye must be kept on the dropout rates, which are high even in primary school. UNICEF recorded a 16% dropout rate at Grade 1 in 2018 and low survival rates at Grade 5, 65% in South Central, 56% in Puntland, and 71% in Somaliland. Herring et al point to the likelihood of higher drop-out rates as a result of the closure of schools, colleges and universities in Somalia/Somaliland during the 2020 lockdown in response to the COVID-19 pandemic (Herring et al., 2020 p. 8).

Early childhood education (ECE) is of particular interest and concern within the education sector in Somalia/Somaliland. Many children in Somalia aged 6-9 first attend qur'anic schools or madrassas rather than primary schools, leading to extremely low enrolment amongst that age range, estimated between 22-30 percent (FGS MoPIED, 2019b, p. 262). The religious schools fall under the authority Ministries of Religious Affairs and, therefore their curriculum is not aligned with primary schools or overseen the Ministries of Education, which is concerning to education experts as ages 6-9 are considered critical learning years that are currently being missed out on by large portions of Somali children (Transparency Solutions, 2020b).

At the secondary school level, 195,804 students are enrolled; in South Central Somalia this is only 8% of the young people who are secondary school aged (FGS MoECHE, 2017, viii-iv). Enrolment significantly declines each year, as 32% of the students are in year 1 and only 14% are in year 4 (FGS MoECHE, 2017, viii-iv). Due to sheer lack of government resources, education at this level also becomes even more privatized with almost 70% of students attending private schools; in South Central, only 8% of students attend government schools while in Somaliland and in Puntland a little over 50% of students are in government schools (World Bank Group, 2019, p. 18). As the current Somaliland ESSP states, "Private schools have become essential to the delivery of education at the Secondary level in Somaliland's urban areas but...there is a current risk that if left unchecked, they might undermine the public Secondary education system... Without a clear policy in relation to private school provision, significant inequalities have already appeared in Secondary education. Without further redress this will ultimately lead to students from poorer and rural backgrounds, which can only attend

government schools, being less competitive in the labour market and have lower opportunities to access Higher Education" (Republic of Somaliland, 2017, p. 159).

Alternative basic education (ABE) and non-formal education (NFE) receive comparatively little attention within the education sector in Somalia/Somaliland. While the FGS ESSP does contain ABE/ NFE objectives to improve the access of marginalized children to education as well as the quality of the services delivered, it does highlight the particular weaknesses in this aspect of the education system. For example, none of the ABE objectives set out in the previous ESSP were achieved. Additionally, there is an on-going, "lack of coordination between policy-makers, governments, INGOs, and communities, resulting in poor sustainability of interventions and lack of data and lessons for good practice". In Somaliland, the GoSL has a specialized department that promotes non-formal education in 260 centres across the country which despite having few resources, are working to address problems such as low literacy and gender disparities (FGS MoECHE, 2017, p. 97)

Beyond the formal education sector however examples can be found where local people are helping to shape informal education. The Hargeisa Women's Football Initiative is an example of a grassroots response to an area of educational neglect, specifically physical health and wellbeing. At the TESF Engagement Event in Hargeisa, Asma Saed Ali described how, in the course of four years, it has grown from a group of three women seeking to improve their own fitness to an initiative which now regularly welcomes almost 70 women and girls every Saturday to a secure football pitch in Hargeisa. The initiative has created a space for learning, networking and social diversity and has encouraged other communities to replicate its success (Transparency Solutions 2020b).

Very little research has been conducted to understand ABE and NFE in Somalia/Somaliland and it is an area of education that needs more attention, from stakeholders but also from researchers in order to understand its applications, benefits and challenges.

The higher education sector has experienced remarkable growth over the last several decades. A survey conducted in 2018 found that there were about 14,971 university graduates in Somalia/Somaliland that year (Abdulahi et al., 2020, p. 17). In 2013, university enrolment across Somalia/Somaliland was estimated at 49% in South Central Somalia, 35% in Somaliland, and 16% in Puntland (FGS MoECHE, 2017, p. 146). A HIPS survey of 44 universities in 2013 found that 34, or 77%, had been established in the years between 2004 and 2012 (HIPS, 2013, p. 7). As of 2020, there are approximately 130 universities in Somalia, most of which are concentrated in the major urban areas; 75 are in Mogadishu alone (Transparency Solutions, 2020c). The quality of the institutions, however, is varied, with the overall standard being low. Many universities have poor infrastructure and do not have adequate facilities, lacking libraries, computer access, or science labs (FGS MoECHE, 2017, p. 147). The education level of the university lecturers is also much lower than those found in other countries. For example, in Somaliland in 2016, of the 437 university lecturers, 57% had bachelor's degrees (249), 38.2% had master's degrees (167), and only 21, or 4.8%, had PhDs (Republic of Somaliland MoEHS, 2017, p. 85). Universities also struggle in terms of sustainability and funding;

"Of the 22 institutions surveyed in Central South, 14 reported depending fully on student fees for their financing. The remaining eight funded part of their operations through external aid (international NGOs, the diaspora and Islamic NGOs)" (FGS MoECHE, 2017, p. 147). According to the Somaliland Ministry of Education and Higher Studies, financing difficulties are, "the most critical single factor that restricts future development of the sector" (Republic of Somaliland MoEHS, 2017, p. 87). Students and graduates are also struggling in the current system as degree enrolment is not well-aligned with available jobs and the needs of the labour market in the country. The HIPS study in 2013 warned of the dangers of the current over concentration in certain skills such as business administration, social sciences, and ICT, stating that it will "act as a bottle-neck in the economy due to the lack of a diverse range of skills – especially skills relevant to the structure of the Somali economy (i.e. skills related to the livestock sector, construction, or engineering)" (HIPS, 2013, p. 10). The higher education sector in Somalia/Somaliland, while rapidly expanding in terms of the number of private universities and student enrolment, faces some serious issues that must be addressed.

One aspect of education in Somalia/Somaliland that has received a considerable amount of attention from donors and governments in recent years is education in emergencies, which is also linked in with resilience. Within the Somalia context, EIE references both natural disasters such as floods and droughts, but also the security situation as conflict has a profound impact on education in the country. As the FGS 2018-2020 ESSP recognised, there are clear data links between violence and conflict and school attendance in Somalia (FGS MoECHE, 2017, vi). In Somaliland, under the 2012-2016 ESSP, it is estimated that almost 35,000 children were out of school for various periods due to emergencies including droughts, floods, and low-level conflicts such as clan disputes (Republic of Somaliland MoEHS, 2017, p. 15). Furthermore, the children most affected by the emergencies were those in rural areas and the pastoralist community, who are already underserved by the education sector compared with their urban counterparts (Republic of Somaliland MoEHS, 2017, p. 15). When looking at the figures during the specific month of May 2017, 80,000 children were forced to leave school due to emergencies across Somalia/Somaliland, with approximately 38,000 in South Central, 12,000 in Somaliland, 16,000 in Puntland, and 12,000 in the regions, which are contested between Somaliland and Puntland (FGS MoECHE, 2017, p. 23). These figures are an estimated 8 percent of the total of the children enrolled in school in Somalia/Somaliland during that month. In most areas, the proportion of children forced out of school in the affected area was over 25 percent, however in the Sool region over 42 percent was reported, which was the highest recorded.

The COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 has had a significant impact on children's education, leading to a huge gap in the education of many (Herring et al., 2020a). A study which looked at the impact of COVID-19 on education in Somalia/Somaliland as part of the broader TESF project, Transparency Solutions asked 40 individuals in Mogadishu and Hargeisa, "How much harm has COVID-19 and responses to it done to education in Somalia/Somaliland?"; 39, or 98% said it had caused a lot of harm. Longer-term ramifications for progress include the permanent closure of many private schools unable to survive financially and the reduced ability of parents to afford to send their

children to school. (Herring et al., 2020a p. 8). (Herring et al., 2020a, p. 13-14).

With such a significant effect on children's education, EIE and accompanying resilience measures are a government priority area for education. Within the current FGS ESSP, the FGS set themselves three objectives with measurable targets on EIE, which are: 1) to increase retention of learners during emergencies from 92% to 98%, 2) to increase safe access for IDPs from 16.8% to 25%, and 3) to increase the percentage of schools implementing the Safe School Declaration safety and protection measures from 0% to 40% (FGS MoECHE, 2017, vii). While effort towards these goals has been made on the part of the Government and donors, the full impact of recent emergencies and shocks to the Somalia/Somaliland education systems, most significantly COVID-19, remain to be seen. There is potential to build on the small amount of literature on EIE in Somalia/Somaliland (e.g. Renders, Knezevic, 2017).

The low access to education at all levels continues to be reflected in Somalia/Somaliland's low literacy rates. The FGS MoPIED estimates youth literacy to be at 62% whereas UNICEF puts it much lower at only 45%, 49% for young men and 41% for young women (UNICEF, 2018, p. 4; FGS MoPIED, 2019b, p. 88). The literacy rate also continues to reflect existing educational access inequalities with IDPs and rural populations having lower literacy rates than their urban counterparts. Based on FGS MoPIED's figures, IDPs have a 57% literacy rate and rural populations a 45% literacy rate whereas urban areas outside Mogadishu are at 68% and Mogadishu has 79% literacy. Nomadic pastoralists were found to have the lowest literacy rate of all populations at only 16% (FGS MoPIED, 2019b, p. 88). Regardless of location, women have lower literacy rates than men, and in Somaliland, women are only 25% literate with a large discrepancy between urban and rural female populations who have respective literacy rates of 45% and 10% (Republic of Somaliland MoEHS, 2017, p. 14).
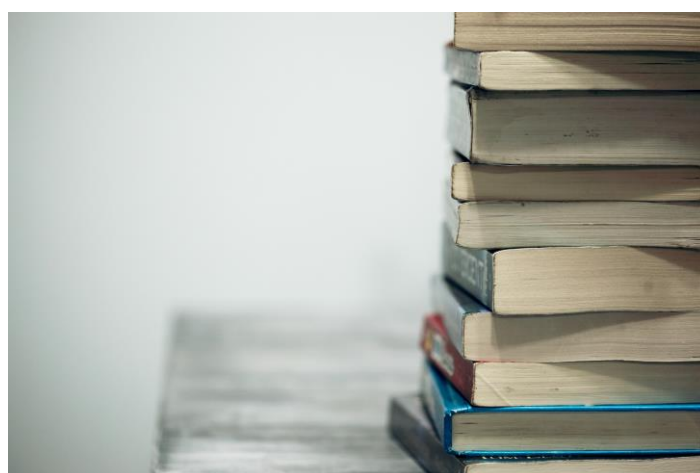
While access remains challenging and enrolment remains low for all Somali children, inequalities continue to exacerbate the existing difficulties, particularly for those in rural areas, pastoralist communities, IDPs, and girls (Republic of Somaliland, 2017, p. 155). Until these foundational inequalities are addressed, they will continue to be reproduced within Somalia/Somaliland's education systems,

further blocking the way to sustainable development and ESD for all (Tikly et al., 2020a, p. 19). One of the most significant discrepancies within the Somalia/Somaliland education sector is between urban and rural communities; it affects every level of education. Across Somalia/Somaliland, at the primary school level, urban area enrolment is at 65% whereas it is only 35% in rural areas (World Bank Group, 2019, p. 19). In South Central Somalia, rural child enrolment represents only 12% of the GER, whereas rural areas account for 58.7% of the population (FGS MoECHE, 2017, viii). At the secondary school level, rural enrolment drops massively with rural students comprising only 5.5% of the total number of secondary school students in the country (World Bank Group, 2019, p. 19). In Somaliland, rural student enrolment is only 2.7% at the secondary level and in South Central Somalia it is only 1.3% (FGS MoECHE, 2017, viii-iv; Republic of Somaliland, 2017, p. 159). The gap is even more severe for the nomadic and pastoralist communities who are routinely among the most marginalized groups in Somalia/Somaliland. Data from UNFPA in 2015 found that only 15.7% of nomadic and pastoralist children ages 6 and older were in school (FGS MoECHE, 2017, p. 31). For reference, the national average GER rates at primary level and secondary level are 32% and 15.8%, for nomadic and pastoralists they are 3.1% and 0.9% (FGS MoECHE, 2017, p. 31). Participants in Transparency Solutions' TESF engagement events specifically raised the inequalities facing nomadic and pastoralist communities, agreeing that addressing this area required further commitments (Transparency Solutions, 2020a; Dyer, 2014).
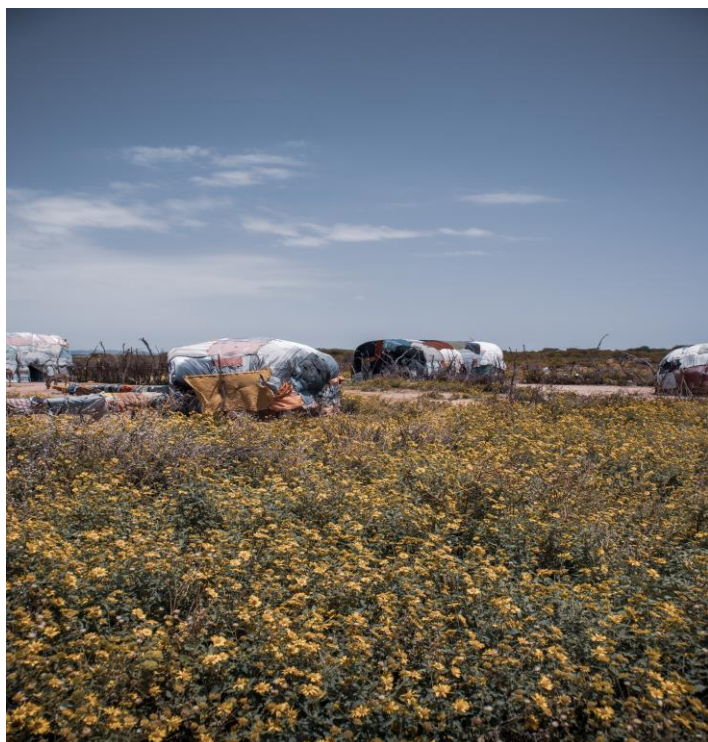
IDPs also experience problems accessing education and have enrolment rates and GER much lower than the general Somali population. "For IDPs above the age of 6 years, 24.2% are enrolled in education, which is nearly 12% below the national average. Primary school GER for IDP children is roughly half the national average, while the secondary school GER for IDPs is less than half the national

average at only 12%" (FGS MoECHE, 2017, p. 32). IDPs are the focus of some education interventions, however, these tend to be target emergency situations and be short-term in nature rather than in developing long-term programming to help remedy the on-going educational inequalities facing these communities.

Girls in Somalia/Somaliland are much less likely to receive an education than their male counterparts. The gender parity index measures the education opportunities available to girls and their participation in them; Somalia currently has an average GPI of 0.82 at primary level and 0.67 at secondary level, which is far below other Sub-Saharan African countries (Abdulahi et al., 2020, p. 14). The difference in the GPI between primary and secondary level indicates a higher dropout rate for female students before secondary school. Interestingly, the Somaliland 2018-2021 ESSP notes that private schools have a smaller gender disparity, with girls making up 43.1% of their students as opposed to only 35.3% in government schools (Republic of Somaliland, 2017, p. 159). Additionally, the Government of Somaliland did see an increase in female enrolment under the previous ESSP from the 2012/2013 to 2014/2015 school years. Overall, enrolment increased by 25,856 students, 44% of whom were girls. Previously, female enrolment was 33% and during the 2014/2015 school year it increased to 39% (Republic of Somaliland, 2017, p. 158). As increasing girls' enrolment was a particular aim under that ESSP, these results, while still modest, were very encouraging. However, it is imperative to state that severe gender inequalities remain at work throughout Somalia/Somaliland's education systems. For women who are also members of vulnerable communities including rural areas, nomads and pastoralists, and IDPs, these inequalities are especially acute and tend to be compounded. This was found to be true during the COVID-19 pandemic, during which girls and members of already vulnerable groups were found to be the most disadvantaged by the negative impacts of COVID-19 on Somalia/Somaliland's education systems (Herring et al., 2020a, p. 19-20).

As demonstrated above, the children of Somalia/Somaliland continue to face real challenges in accessing education, which are affecting the numbers of children who are being educated. There are a myriad of explanations for the continued low enrolment figures, all of which contribute to the difficult education environment, which include: distance to schools in rural areas, poor or lack of facilities at schools, high costs of education, hidden costs of education such as uniforms and textbooks, lost labour at home or wages, low quality of education, emergencies including droughts, floods, and conflict, and violence against schools (Republic of Somaliland MoEHS, 2017, p. 43; UNICEF, 2018, p. 6; Transparency Solutions 2020a). Many of these challenges are the focus of multiple policies, initiatives, and projects in order to improve both the access to education and the quality of education available in Somalia/Somaliland. For example, in 2017, Save the Children, enrolled 171,672 children through their Basic Education, Alternative Basic Education, and Education in Emergency programmes, 45% of which were girls, 27% of which were from rural communities, and 13% of which were IDPs & host communities (Save the Children, 2017, p. 6). CARE runs the Somali Girls' Education Promotion Project-Transition, which supports girls' education across Somalia/Somaliland through a number of programmes including village savings and loans associations (VSLA), which better enable

families to have a reliable source of income and to pay school fees and provide the basic necessities required for their children to attend school such as uniforms (CARE, 2019). Several donor governments have partnered with the FGS to build schools including the Danish and the British; however, while building new infrastructure solves one problem, it does not meet the unmet funding gap of maintaining the buildings and running the schools including the teachers' salaries (Transparency Solutions, 2020b). This small sample of donor-run education projects illustrates the variety of approaches that are being taken to improve the access to and quality of educational opportunities available to Somalia/Somaliland's children in pursuit of progress of progress on SDG4. With so few children having access to education, the issue of teacher-pupil ratios is generally treated as a less important issue, but it is liable to rise up priority rankings with more enrolment.

As this section has explored and analysed, access to education and equal opportunities for all are critical to Somalia/ Somaliland's sustainable development. Currently the aims of SDG 4 are not being met in Somalia/Somaliland, a situation which has only worsened given the COVID-19 pandemic. The following sections will examine Somalia/Somaliland's status with regards to ESD on three additional SDGs: SDG8, SDG11, and SDG13.

Education and SDG 8 - Decent Work and Economic Growth

A lack of opportunities for meaningful education and employment has historically constrained efforts towards accomplishing UN activities or the UNSOM mandate as it pertains to Somalia/Somaliland (Eklow and Krample, 2019, p. 29); this pattern persists in terms of accomplishment of SDGs in the Somali context, including SDG 8. The crux of Goal 8 is to promote economic growth and employment that is sustainable and inclusive to all. Whether economic growth – a constant increase in the monetary values of good and services – is compatible with sustainable development is fundamentally in doubt because humanity has not found a way to delink economic growth from every-increasing material consumption and energy consumption, with associated global warming emissions and environmental destruction (McGrath and DeJaeghere, 2020, p 1). If anything, economic growth is still driven primarily by the development norms of the global North which have caused near cataclysmic climate impacts and which exacerbate inequalities within societies between global North and South (Facer et al, 2020 p. 3). In this section, we therefore focus on meaningful work with skepticism about economic growth.

In a SWOT analysis of Somaliland's higher education system, Somaliland's Ministry of Education (2012, p. 17) identifies the following as a threat to higher education: 'lack of local employment opportunities for sector graduates is creating highly dissatisfied university graduates', which is perceived to contribute to higher distrust in the system as a whole. Yet, post-graduation employment was only lightly addressed in the strategic planning presented in the 2012-2016 plan. Four years later, the Ministry cited youth unemployment as a 'prime concern' (Republic of Somaliland MoEHS,

2017, p. 10) and revised its strategy to address education as 'intervention that can address unemployment' (p. 11).

Both a limited availability of skills relevant to Somaliland/Somalia's economy as well as poor quality of education has constrained the development of each (SIDRA, 2016, p. 3), and serves as a major barrier to meeting the targets of SDG 8 and accomplishing sustainable economic growth at the community and country level; thus, contributes to insecurity in the region. There is little recorded data related to levels of poverty, food insecurity, and other population-based measurements – which are needed to feed into sound economic growth strategy – and have such produced a strategic trajectory for the economic and education sector which is neither data-based nor target-specific. Notably, there is little statistical information available to be fed into the planning of the National Development Plans (NDP) of the FGS and GSL, resulting in documents lacking targeted strategies for the establishment of appropriate economic frameworks and the required parallel support to the wider education system. Overcoming the informational gaps will be a challenge to do in the Somali context where there is not citizen census or country wide demographic information collection; however, it is also an opportunity to establish regular monitoring which may lead to better institutional oversight of the formal economy, requiring more quality educational systems to be accessible to the populous.

Recent analysis of the FGS's previous NDPs suggests the accomplishment of economic growth in Somalia would depend on successful 'localization' of the SDGs (SIDRA, 2016, p. 2). Localization is defined as the process of defining goals and strategies based on local needs; thus, it requires effective quantitative estimation of social parameters such as levels of poverty, economic opportunities and diversity, unemployment, and other emerging trends such as urbanization. The newly released NDP-9 covering Somalia's path the economic development from the years 2020 to 2024 acknowledges these factors and major contributing factors to ongoing economic hardship; yet, strategy to addressing factors related to economic growth is primarily shaped at the federal level and generally lacks assurances of local, community level involvement and leadership in meeting the targets of SDG 8 through support of education as a priority social development sector.

In sum, achieving sustainability while promoting economic growth – through any target not least education – lacks supporting evidence. Empirical analysis has shown the growth of global consumer capitalism is the primary driver of the current climate emergency (Herring et al. 2020c, pp. 73-76. Rosales, 2008, p. 1409). Wang (2012, p. 1538), among many others has found that economic growth in the form it has taken up to now results in an increase in CO2 emissions, and therefore, is unsustainable without dramatic change. For this reason, meeting the growth target of SDG 8 is at odds with all other aspects of the SDGs. Including not only the targets of SDG 13 on climate change, but also the other half of SDG 8, namely 'decent work' (Facer et al, 2020, p. 1).

Education and SDG 11 - Sustainable Cities and Communities

Sustainable Development Goal 11 focuses on targets which increase the resilience and sustainability of and the increasingly urban landscapes as well as prioritizing inclusivity and safety in cities. In terms of urbanization and a decreasing rural population, Somalia/Somaliland are following a similar trend as the rest of the globe more generally; in fact, Somalia leads the world in rates of urbanization and it is anticipated that the majority of Somalia's population will be located in urban centres within the next decade (Kamthunzi, 2018; Audrey and Cardoso, 2019, p. 36). As of 2013-14, the population was 12.3 million – 3.5 million in Somaliland – and the figure will be higher now.

The development of sound educational systems and establishment of sustainable communities in Somalia/Somaliland in the context of a wider urbanization of the population are complicated by a number of factors. First, land tensions and illegal land grabbing often go inadequately addressed through the pluralistic justice system in Somalia/Somaliland (Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, 2017, p. 61). Second, there is a lack of social services for most of the population and cities lack the critical infrastructure to support the current population and what are yearly increases in the numbers of IDPs by the thousands (Kamthunzi, 2018). Third, Somalia's urban centres experience high levels of insecurity due to a lack of FGS capacity to govern South Central Somalia. The degree of insecurity experienced by most of the urban population whether related to a lack of stability in land ownership, lack of access to social provisions such as water, electricity or internet, or lack of physical security due to clan conflict or terrorism render the establishment of education systems – especially education complimentary to meeting the targets of SDG 11 – difficult in the context of such immediate insecurities related to urbanization.

Audre and Cardoso (2019, p. 17) explain that urbanization – when planned and implemented through policies centred on inclusivity and with a 'concerted effort to strengthen social equality in cities' successfully contributes to increased quality of education and access to education in other parts of the globe (UN, X, 1). In Somalia/Somaliland, socioeconomic complications such as high rates of unemployment, lack of educational opportunities and an economy reliant on agropastoralism despite high rates of urbanization have contributed to a unique situation where the increasingly urban

population is not being met with great employment opportunities or rapid industry development. Rather this urbanization has not resulted in a more dynamic economy or greater education opportunities for the urban population. Despite this, recent analysis produced by Saxena and Mohamed (2017, p. 10) finds a variety of socioeconomic factors leading to internal migration have found education to be a major pull factor for rural household heads when making the decision to migrate to urban areas, but second to the prospects of better employment and drought-related migration. This indicates there are existing perceptions which assign greater opportunity and better amenities in city centres.

In light of the challenges resulting from rapid urbanization of which Somalia/Somaliland experience and must manage, there are also opportunities within this changing urban/rural landscape which if provided the right conditions may spark positive education related outcomes. First, the FGS has stated their priority commitment to investing in a diverse economy, which would create new employment opportunities and thus require new expertise within the population and, with it, a demand for quality education (MoPIED, 2020, p. 29). Second, increased oversight of education institutions, the development of curricula and standards of education at a city and national level can improve the quality of education which already exists in urban centres and lead to a more standardized system of qualifications. Very little institutional oversight exists in Somalia/Somaliland, and thus, this is a key area of opportunity to begin establishing policy that can guide education in the context of a sustainably developing urban population as there is no existing framework for which to overhaul. A third opportunity for meeting the targets of SDG 11 and establishing inclusive safe cities is the opportunity to focus on youth and women while supporting the development of educational systems in Somalia/Somaliland. As urban areas in Somalia/Somaliland have the highest levels of education among the population and better infrastructure, including more internet access, this is the aspect of education and the SDGs in which they are most similar to somewhat higher income locations in the global South (Bazaz and Parnell, 2021).

Education and SDG 13 - Climate Action

Sustainable Development Goal 13 centers on climate action and includes targets which feature elements specific to education such as improving educational opportunities and raising awareness of climate change and its impacts as well as building individual and institutional capacity to mitigate and adapt to climate change. The effects of climate change are having profound impact on the global South with the Horn of Africa experiencing high levels of climate insecurity as a result of climate inaction. The history of Somalia/Somaliland's climate and landscape reveals an already variable, difficult climate involving recurring and severe droughts (Thurow et al., 1989, p. 38). Various approaches including weighted and normalized analysis of climate data combined with social indicators including education – specifically subnational data for literacy and school enrollment – places Somalia/Somaliland amongst the least resilient regions on the African continent to impacts of climate related hazards and most vulnerable to climate change and climate events (Busby et al, 2015, p. 25). In addition to the region's

lack of resilience, other factors such as the charcoal trade are contributing to large scale deforestation and desertification of the landscape, yet charcoal and firewood are the primary sources of fuel for the majority of Somali households, providing many jobs especially in rural areas (Dini, 2011). Despite the 2012 UNSC resolution to place an embargo on the export of charcoal, control of the charcoal trade, particularly its distribution is dominated by Al-Shabaab adding more significant challenges. The combined lack of established educational infrastructure, heightened vulnerability of Somalia/Somaliland to climate shocks and desertification, discordance of Somalia/Somaliland job markets and climate action, and ongoing conflict and insecurity pose a major challenge for efforts towards the accomplishment of the targets of SDG 13.

Somalia/Somaliland, with support of external funds and actors such as the UN, have begun to incorporate discussion of climate change and climate impacts in national publications, strategy and discourse. In its most recent strategic plan, Somaliland's Ministry of Environment and Rural Development (2017, p. 5) cites 'inadequate environmental & pastoral education and awareness at all levels' and 'inadequate involvement of civil society and educational organizations and private sector' as two of the key challenges the Ministry faces in carrying out its core activities, which it defines as developing strategy for environmental protection and other

functions related to activities such as livelihood support and pastoralism. Additionally, the Ministry (2017, p. 6) emphasizes stress factors such as land degradation, drought, climate change, water scarcity, biodiversity loss, and natural disasters such and recognizes that these environment related phenomena are exacerbated by the state of the general populous' socioeconomic status and general educational weaknesses including illiteracy and a lack of awareness of environmental and climate issues (MoERD, 2017, p. 6).

In addition to the lack of education infrastructure which impacts the ability of Somalia/Somaliland governments and societies to address climate-related stress factors, these same climate shocks including natural disasters such as prolonged drought, flooding and the knock on affects such as famine and conflict impact the access children and adults alike will have to education in the Horn. The FGS in its National Adaptation Programme of Action to Climate Change (2013, p. 39) discusses the impacts of environmental factors such as climate change on the already weak education system, stating children who do have access to schools and are enrolled – albeit this is a small percentage of the populace – 'often drop out during times of crisis'. In its strategic addressment of these and other challenges, the NAPA document highlights three specific intentions in terms of environmental action, with one educational pillar designed to 'incorporate environmental education in the formal and informal education systems in the country'. This goal is provided with little description of how this educational intention would be implemented in the country beyond the general planning for building upon the little existing educational capacity and infrastructure in the country (FGS MoNR, 2013, p. 42).

A history of unstable and variable climate in Somalia/Somaliland has meant large scale production of traditional knowledge related to the environment including responsible rangeland management, biology, and mathematics (Harmann and Sugulle, 2009, p. 7). These traditional, informal methods of education in Somali culture have for generations time included techniques for adaptation and mitigation of impacts of an unstable, changing climate and continue to be a key component of successful agropastoralism and pastoralism enterprises in Somali society. Hartmann and Sugulle (2009, p. 7) suggest that this knowledge has worked to preserve biodiversity and can contribute to a culture of resource sharing becoming 'mainstreamed' into the formal education sector to form a hybrid educational programme.

Hybridity in the sense of the merging between the formal and informal educational models – especially as it relates to climate change, environmental preservation and raising awareness of climate change – should be welcomed within the Somali context. Efforts to reduce environmentally damaging practices such as the production and use of charcoal for fuel have seen success; more efficient stoves, solar energy development, energy plantations and the plans for sustainable charcoal production have been implemented through a joint UNDP and UN Environment program (UN Environment, 2019, p. 1). Successful implementation of environmental disaster education has been documented in the crosshairs of informal and formal, especially when the informal methods of this education serve as the 'rapid entry point' to building competency in these areas (Petal and Izadkhah, 2008, p. 1). Organizations such as Candlelight for Health,

Education & Environment in Somaliland are seeing success with programs that combine hands-on and immediately applicable skills training with formal educational models. The training is for adults of widely varying education levels. One such hybrid training program which focuses on local climate vulnerabilities included the following key areas of focus (Candlelight, 2017, p. 1):

- Holistic resource management
- Soil and water conservation
- Erosion control
- Early warning identification training
- Agronomic practices training for farmers

Hybrid approaches bridge informal knowledge and knowledge systems with formalized education methods and are a promising solution to addressing the targets of sustainable development and climate action in communities and countries where there are only basic and short-reaching educational opportunities. Providing training opportunities and encouraging innovations that can utilize traditional knowledge to manage current climate related challenges yields plan for localized, successful action towards achieving the targets of SDG 13 in Somalia/ Somaliland and can lead to innovative ideas for climate mitigation and adaptation.

Conclusion: Transforming Education to support Sustainable Development

As seen in this country background paper, Somalia/Somaliland are facing a myriad of challenges concerning education, sustainable development, and education for sustainable futures. Progress on the SDGs has been limited over the past few years, a situation which is only hindered by the cycle of emergencies and conflicts, the latest of which is COVID-19, the impact of which has already been, and will continue to be severe. However, gains have been made and governments, donors, and education experts and professionals have and are dedicating significant effort to improve education access and opportunities for children in Somalia/Somaliland. As Professor Ahmed Murud, the DG of Higher Education for the Somaliland Ministry of Education stated, "There are great challenges that we need to overcome, but frankly speaking, we have made impressive achievements" (Transparency Solutions, 2020a).

The focus is clearly forward looking, examining and considering how education can be made more accessible, equitable, and of higher quality for the future. As it stands now, based on available literature, evidence, and analysis, no clear, unified vision emerges. Some education sub-sectors have received more focussed attention than others. TVET for example has been the subject of research and investment whilst Early Childhood Education is primarily provided by traditional Quranic schools, is unregulated, and sits outside of the remit of the Ministries of Education. It is clear that a transformation needs to occur within the Somalia/Somaliland education sectors in order to enable ESD and progress on the SDGs, but what is needed now is a solid evidence base to develop concrete plans and garner unwavering commitment to delivering a sustainable vision of education in Somalia/ Somaliland.

For education to contribute to sustainable futures, we recommend that research be undertaken to ensure that necessary and appropriate evidence is available to those seeking to make these plans and policies, commission programmes. We also recommend the creation of a sustainable network of academics, policy-makers and implementers who can work together to contribute to the sustainable future of education in the Somalia/Somaliland context. Specifically, this means a low-resource context where solutions need to be practical, rather than abstract or too ambitious. It needs to be in small ways in which the TESF Network Plus is committed to supporting such research and networks during its lifetime; and to promoting the aims and goals of ESD in Somalia/Somaliland. As has been seen in this paper, there are many areas in need of research and quality evidence; several of the most significant and pressing include:

- Inequalities in Somalia/Somaliland's education system and how to address them (rural/urban, nomadic and pastoralist communities, IDPs, and girls)
- Addressing continued low-child enrolment in a sustainable manner, particularly in emergency contexts
- Impact of climate change on education in Somalia/Somaliland and how to mitigate climate change effectively and innovatively in schools, colleges and universities
- How to address the economic impact of COVID-19 on education in Somalia/Somaliland
- Understanding and generating options for remedying the labour market mismatch in higher education and TVET programmes
- Understanding and generating options for ABE and NFE particularly in rural areas and for disadvantaged groups
- Innovating technology that can meet economic and educational needs of Somalia/Somaliland through sustainable, climate-friendly methods
- Effective localization of SDG targets for community-led implementation in the Somali context, while addressing fundamental concerns about unsustainability of a commitment to economic growth.

A better understanding of these and other key topics on education and sustainable development in Somalia/Somaliland will not only provide a foundation of evidence upon which to build future plans, policies, and programmes, they will give governments, donors, and education experts the tools to transform the sector, building a better education system that can be more accessible, and equitable for all of Somalia's children, to be a stepping stone to a more sustainable future.

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Version 1.0 published January 2021

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