



The education of nomadic peoples in East Africa:

Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya,
Tanzania and Uganda

SYNTHESIS REPORT

An IIEP study commissioned by the
African Development Bank (ADB)

Prepared in partnership with **UNICEF Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office** and **UNESCO International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa**

Written by **Roy Carr-Hill**
in collaboration with **Almaz Eshete, Charlotte Sedel** and
Alba de Souza



African Development
Bank



UNESCO Publishing
International Institute
for Educational Planning

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Published jointly by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO-IIEP), 7 place de Fontenoy, Paris, France and the African Development Bank (ADB), Angle des trois rues: Avenue du Ghana, rue Pierre de Coubertin, rue Hedi Nouria, BP. 323, 1002, Tunis Belvedere, Tunisia.

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Cover design: Corinne Hayworth
Composition: Linéale Production
ISBN UNESCO: 92-803-1265-0

Acknowledgements

This report was prepared by Roy Carr-Hill (IIEP Consultant), under the direction of David Atchoarena, IIEP/UNESCO and includes input from Almaz Eshete (IICBA/UNESCO) and Charlotte Sedel (IIEP Consultant).

The co-ordination team of the study – David Atchoarena (IIEP), Roy Carr-Hill (consultant), Almaz Eshete (IICBA), Changu Mannathoko (UNICEF), Charlotte Sedel and Alba de Souza (consultants) – is grateful to the country team members who conducted the surveys in the six countries and drafted the country reports:

- Mohamed Sanalasse and Aden Houssein in Djibouti;
- Worku Zerai and Tesfa Mariam Tekie in Eritrea;
- Ayalew Shibeshi, Damtew Demiss, Berhanu Dibaba and Hailemariam Getahun in Ethiopia;
- Esther Kakonge and Christopher Galgallo in Kenya;
- L. Mwegio and V.M. Mlekwa in Tanzania;
- Tobias Onweg Angura and Mathew Odada in Uganda.

Special thanks are due to our numerous colleagues in UNICEF country offices concerned by the study; including:

- Roger Botralahy in Djibouti;
- Yeshi Haile in Eritrea;
- Aline Bory-Adams in Ethiopia;
- A.K.M. Kamahiddin in Kenya;
- Maria Dachi in Tanzania;
- Charles Nabongo in Uganda.

The co-ordination team is also grateful to the Ministries of Education in the six countries and to all those who provided data.

Foreword

The study entitled ‘The education of nomadic peoples in East Africa’ was commissioned by the African Development Bank, financed by a Japanese Trust Fund, and carried out in 2001-2002 by the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP/UNESCO), in collaboration with the International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa (IICBA/UNESCO) and the Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office of UNICEF (ESARO). The study focused on Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. It has provided a comprehensive and rare insight into the challenges, constraints and opportunities for using education as part of an intersectoral approach to meet the development needs of nomadic communities.

It is estimated that nomads constitute about 6 per cent of the African population and can be found in no less than 20 African countries. Nomadic populations are generally included under the category of disadvantaged and hard-to-reach groups and represent a particular challenge for development in general and education in particular. In all of the countries covered by the study, the rate of primary school enrolment for children in nomadic communities is significantly below the national average. This explains why in all these countries, and indeed in other African countries with nomadic populations, there is a growing awareness of the need to make significant progress in extending services to nomadic communities if national targets for Education for All (EFA) by the year 2015 are to be met.

While many development agency actions have given some attention to the socio-economic needs of nomadic communities, they have not necessarily been guided by a definite policy or intervention approach. National policies and programmes have all too often fallen short of meeting the specific challenges posed by the lifestyle of nomads. Nomadic peoples tend to be marginalized, primarily because of the harsh and precarious conditions and high mobility of their way of life. Furthermore, their low participation rates in the few and often ill-adapted formal and non-formal education programmes contribute to denying them the chance to effectively participate in planning and development activities. Consequently, nomads tend to adhere to their traditional lifestyles, without necessarily having

sufficient control over the social and economic factors that determine their situation. This too often leads to a higher incidence of poverty among nomads in comparison to sedentary populations.

By virtue of its multinational scope, the study 'The education of nomadic peoples in East Africa' presents a comprehensive range of issues useful for purposes of both policy formulation and practical intervention. The key lessons and recommendations relate principally to the following: the development of national policies and programmes to effectively respond to the socio-economic needs of nomadic children; the identification of existing and potential resources and opportunities for improving human development services and living conditions of nomadic populations; and the strengthening of the capacity of central and local government authorities to design and implement targeted interventions for poverty reduction and educational development.

We are confident that this publication will be of interest not only to social scientists but will also provide insights for policy-makers, national and international non-governmental organizations, donor agencies and others working in international development. It constitutes a major resource of policy measures and intervention options for reaching out to nomadic groups effectively and responsively.

We would like to express our gratitude to the Government of Japan for the financial assistance that made the study possible.

Omar Kabbaj
President,
African Development Bank Group

Koïchiro Matsuura
Director-General,
UNESCO



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List of abbreviations

ABEK	Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja
ADB	African Development Bank
APDA	Afar Pastoralist Development Association
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
CCF	Christian Children's Fund
CHANCE	Child Centred Alternative Non-formal Community Education
COPE	Complementary Primary Education
COBET	Complementary Basic Education in Tanzania
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EDAM	<i>Enquête djiboutienne auprès des ménages</i>
EFA	Education for All
EMIS	Educational Management Information Systems
ELF	Eritrean Liberation Front
FALP	Functional Adult Literacy Programme
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FGM	Female genital mutilation
GER	Gross enrolment ratio
GHC	Geography, History, Civics

List of abbreviations

HIV/AIDS	Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus/Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome
ICBAE	Integrated Community Based Adult Education
IICBA	International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
KPF	Kenya Pastoralists Forum
MOA	Ministry of Agriculture
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MOEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (Kenya)
NA	Neighbours Alliance
NETP	National Education and Training Policy
NER	Net enrolment ratio
NFE	Non-Formal Education
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPHC	Nomadic Primary Health Care
NURP	Northern Ugandan Reconstruction Programme
OPDO	Olkejuado Pastoralists Development Co-operation
OVC	Other Vulnerable Children
PTG	Pastoralist Thematic Group
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PTAs	Parent/Teacher Associations
SARDEP	Semi Arid Rural Development Programme
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regions

SPTCs	School/Parent/Teacher Committees
TTCs	Teacher Training Colleges
TTIs	Teacher Training Institutes
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UPE	Universal Primary Education
WFP	World Food Programme

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Executive summary

Background and objective

Nomadic communities currently represent more than 10 per cent of the population in the six countries studied (with the exception of Uganda, with 5 per cent). For many of the citizens of these countries, nomadism and pastoralism were normal ways of life until very recently; and those currently considered as belonging to nomadic communities are a mix of 'pure' pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, transhumant pastoralists and hunter-gatherers. There is a corresponding varied pattern of movement, sometimes constrained by the encroachment of settled farmers, sometimes by clashes with other pastoral groups; but in some cases, parts of the groups are always on the move, sometimes for several hundreds of kilometres, with their herds.

Their level of participation in formal education is known to be low, partly due to the weakness of the school network, partly because some, or all, of the members are mobile and therefore difficult to make provision for, and partly because it is assumed that the content and programming of the education being provided may be inappropriate. Nomadic groups pose a serious challenge to the national and international target of achieving Education for All (EFA) by the year 2015. The purpose of this study is to document and advance our understanding of this situation in more detail.

Poverty, gender and policy issues

In fact, and in part, the situation of nomadic groups is an extreme example of the problem of the rural poor. We show how in each of the countries represented, whatever their wealth in terms of livestock, nomadic groups are among the poorest in cash terms. There is movement towards combining pastoralism with subsistence farming, mainly due to the loss of animals from drought, flood, rustling and disease. In some rare cases, nomadic groups have migrated to urban areas to work as hired guards.

In all the nomadic communities, the main assets of wealth production, such as animals, are owned by male heads and passed on from father or male elder to sons or younger men. Women play important roles in day-to-day food security and therefore appear to have some power.

While most of the governments have developed a Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme (PRSP) or another similarly comprehensive strategy to alleviate poverty, the particular situations of nomadic groups have rarely been articulated.

Most of the governments are moving ahead with decentralization and other policies for empowering local community governments that are democratically elected. While laudable in principle, in practice this has required extensive and largely unaffordable capacity building.

Policies in other sectors directly or indirectly related to education for nomads such as health, agriculture and water are examined to reveal how an intersectoral approach and linkages are prevalent in supporting basic education provision.

An important problem for planning – and specifically for planning education provision – is that, in many cases, it is difficult to determine the size of nomadic populations, even approximately. This has meant that many of the quantitative findings in this report refer to districts where nomadic groups live in large numbers, rather than to the specific sub-population of nomads.

Participation in education

All the communities studied have their own traditions of education, which have remained intact to the present. Their knowledge and values are basically passed on orally to the younger generation.

Nomadic communities' views and expectations of schooling vary according to specific contexts and groups.

Enrolment rates reported by the Central Statistical Offices in the first level of formal education, in districts with large proportions of nomads, are nearly always lower than the national averages. In most cases, these enrolment rates in the specific sites where the research was carried out

were lower still. Enrolments at the pre-primary and secondary levels are also much lower than those of primary schools. Girls' enrolment is as poor, and at times about half that of boys. With respect to adult education, the groups interviewed reported that they need adult education in order to gain literacy, partly to be capable of reading notices and instructions, but also in order to be able to read religious texts. They were also concerned about acquiring skills in numeracy, business and animal husbandry. Indeed, these are good reasons for sending a child to school. Participation in government adult education programmes was relatively low, although the figures reported at the national level sometimes looked quite optimistic.

Educational policies and provision

There is very little mention of nomadic communities in the educational policy documents of most countries. In general, they are seen as being on a par with other marginalized groups.

Curricula have rarely been adapted to suit nomadic groups and it is presumed that the national standard is taught in all government schools. There were several examples of the school calendar and timetable being changed in order to accommodate the pastoralist herding functions, although the scale of the adaptation often appeared insufficient.

There are isolated examples of government boarding schools that have enrolled and retained children from nomadic groups, but they are expensive either in terms of state subsidy or in terms of financial accessibility to a majority of nomads.

Teacher recruitment and allocation is nearly always centrally driven and where the teacher can speak the local language, this appears to be a matter of luck, rather than design. Teachers have rarely received any specific training for teaching children from nomadic groups and are on the whole less enthusiastic about teaching in the difficult areas where nomadic groups live.

School feeding programmes have been introduced but have encountered the usual problems of distribution and supply. In nearly every district studied, examples were cited of children withdrawing from school when the food did not arrive. While school feeding therefore appears to have a short-term positive effect on enrolment and also possibly on

performance, these programmes remain unsustainable and likely to induce a dependency syndrome.

HIV/AIDS has adversely affected the provision of education in the six countries, through loss of qualified human resources. Many children have become orphans and have dropped out of school for lack of financial and other support. Others have dropped out to support ailing parents. Schools are responding weakly to the crisis through guidance and counselling, education and awareness raising, as well as victim support in practical ways, but much more needs to be done.

Several NGOs, both local and international, are playing an important role in the education provision of nomads. Most of them operate in non-formal education and can give some interesting lessons, even if the impact is often marginal in terms of enrolments.

Are nomadic groups different from other excluded groups?

Many of the issues raised – including the claims about cultural antagonism to schooling – are similar to those that would be found in a study of education for children in poor rural areas, albeit in a more extreme form. Nevertheless, some of those interviewed saw themselves as different from the rural poor: not on the fringes of society as such, but as part of their own different societies. This is a reason for ensuring that any education provision is sensitive to these perceived cultural differences and discussed with representatives of nomadic groups. For the majority, however, the two most important differences from the rural poor in relation to educational provision are probably the higher levels of mobility and conflict.

Although nomadic groups are experiencing a range of pressures to settle, there are still substantial numbers for whom nomadism will remain their way of life. Even where only a small fraction moves with the herd, that usually will include many of the young boys of school-going age.

It appears that conflict and security issues represent an increasing concern for nomadic groups in most of the countries studied. This situation has far-reaching implications both on mobility patterns and on access to education.

Main findings and lessons by country

Any of the strategies recommended in the previous sections should be given favourable consideration for funding, but it has been emphasized several times that the situation of nomadic groups is often very specific and therefore the appropriate strategies are highly context dependent. Where there are general themes, these tend to be issues that are similar for the rural poor. However, there are some country-specific issues for nomadic groups that are considered below.

Djibouti

The demographic and economic configuration of Djibouti is unusual in that 83 per cent of the population lives in urban areas, concentrated essentially in the capital; and the agricultural sector is only a small part of the economy. The nomadic population, the Afars and the Somalis, represents 100,000 or one sixth of the total population.

The surveys showed deteriorating living conditions following the armed conflict between 1991 and 1994 as well as periods of chronic drought during which communities lost their cattle and other resources. While nomadic groups now only travel a limited distance from their base, they live in tents and their principal economic activity is animal husbandry.

On the one hand, school participation rates in rural areas are very low (15 per cent for boys and 8 per cent for girls). On the other hand, parents appear to be open to sending their children to school, perceiving a bleak future in animal husbandry. The school canteen continues to be a motivation for nomadic families to send their children to school, particularly in areas where herds are scarce.

The major problems cited include:

- low population density and the small numbers of schools, which are usually far from encampments;
- the few existing dormitories are poorly equipped and managed, so that even if parents were prepared to allow their sons to sleep at school, they would not allow their girls to do so without further assurances about their security:

- poor quality of the schools is also an important factor in determining the weak social demand for school. Parental confidence in school as an institution depends largely on the quality of the teacher;
- in the smaller isolated schools, teaching conditions are difficult and teachers must rely on their own resources in terms of pedagogy, as support from the inspectorate is rare;
- low community participation. There is only a very limited involvement of families in the functioning of the schools in rural areas, whether in the school canteens or in parental associations. There are various reasons, among which the principal ones are their poverty and the lack of effort to involve them;
- adult education among nomadic groups is poorly developed, with only a few nomads having gained skills and knowledge on health issues and basic literacy. There are weak collaborations between different ministries in terms of creating markets for livestock products and other income-generating activities.

Eritrea

The population of Eritrea is estimated to be about 3.6 million. About 36 per cent of the total population live in the arid areas, the great majority of whom are semi-nomadic pastoralists. Semi-nomadism and/or transhumance are widely practised among the different ethnic groups in the country. Although there is no explicit government policy towards the settlement of nomads, the central government as well as the local administrations openly encourage nomadic groups to live in compact villages to facilitate the provision of services.

The gross enrolment ratio (GER) and net enrolment ratio (NER) of regions inhabited by nomads appear much lower than the national average (57.5 per cent GER and 37.5 per cent NER in 2001, as compared to 52.2 per cent GER in 1999). Within the same sub-region, the GER of the nomadic groups is lower than that of the non-nomadic group. In the areas studied, enrolment, and particularly that of girls, was found to be very low.

During the post-liberation period, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) achieved broad popular support by involving communities in decision-making processes. Research and discussion with all involved, as well as monitoring of the implementation afterwards, preceded any important decision such as the building of a school or the introduction of a new curriculum. In the

last decade, high priority has been given to expanding educational provision in nomadic areas. But while nomadic communities contribute by building the school and participate in the operation and management of schools through Parent/Teacher Associations (PTAs), they have no say in the development and/or modification of the curriculum, which is centrally prepared.

Teachers try to adopt the national curriculum to the nomadic environment, culture, norms and way of life, but they are not adequately trained in how to adopt the national curriculum to local conditions.

There are some boarding facilities. Other arrangements for increasing access include: the provision of financial allocations to regional education offices, to enable them to conduct sensitization campaigns for nomadic groups to send their children to school; changes in the school calendar and timetable with the length of the school year and the school week varying between highland and lowland areas; and topping-up teachers' subsistence allowances, for those working in nomadic pastoralist areas.

There are also a number of measures to encourage literacy learners within communities in general and nomadic communities in particular, including: teaching in the mother tongue; active participation of grassroots organizations in sensitization and teaching; and recruitment of female facilitators/teachers to attract women learners.

Ethiopia

Ethiopia has a total population of over 65 million people, made up of 80 ethnic groups that vary in size. The great majority of Ethiopian nomads reside in the Afar and Somali regions and in Borena and Debub Omo zones of Oromia and the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regions (SNNPR) respectively. There are about eight million nomads in Ethiopia.

With a gross enrolment ratio ranging from only 10.6 per cent to 47 per cent, the participation rate in these areas is generally very low. The case of Afar (11.5 per cent) and Somali (10.6 per cent) is particularly critical. Moreover, even these low percentages include children from non-nomadic families. The situation poses a serious national challenge to the attainment of Universal Primary Education (UPE). There is no specific policy at

either national or regional levels. With the exception of student hostels in Debub Omo, there are no functioning mobile or boarding schools.

While the number of schools is very limited, the student/teacher ratio and student/class ratio in the available schools are also low. Community members cited their mobility, inappropriate location of schools, poverty, child-labour, lack of accommodation, culture and conflict in and out of the tribal groups as the main obstacles.

The curriculum follows the national standard and does not take the nomadic way of life and culture into account. Teaching/learning materials are scarce and in some schools totally non-existent. Textbooks are rare; and where they exist, they are shared by several students. The teachers say they make an effort to relate lessons to the daily life of the children and communities, but this is doubtful. While most of the teachers have 'a teacher training qualification', none of them have any special training pertaining to providing education for nomadic children. Furthermore, learning difficulties were observed related to language barriers.

With the aim of expanding education and increasing access, the present government introduced a *National Education and Training Policy* in 1994. Among other things, the policy provided for a new educational structure with decentralized management, localized curriculum and the use of local languages as a medium of instruction in primary grades.

Although several NGOs are operating in the nomadic areas, the results are mixed. Initiatives that deal with infrastructure are generally successful, while others have not produced significant results and no substantial change is observed concerning the lives of the people.

Kenya

There are no policies specifically targeting nomadic pastoralists, their interests being subsumed within the general category of marginalized groups such as Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL). While the Government of Kenya reiterates in several official documents its commitment to provide education to all its citizens, those in ASAL regions in Kenya, where a majority of nomadic pastoralists live, are among the most disadvantaged

learners. Population density is however very low in these areas, making it difficult to provide a comprehensive school network.

The net enrolment ratio (NER) ranges from 9 per cent in Garissa to 46 per cent in Kajiado, compared to a national figure of 68 per cent. The gross enrolment ratio (GER) ranges between 13 per cent in Garissa to 60 per cent in Kajiado, as compared to a national figure of 87.6 per cent in the year 2000. Part of the reason why participation is low in Northern and North-Eastern Kenya is because the schools, and therefore educational opportunities, are relatively fewer in number.

Other significant factors in explaining the lack of participation in education include the cost of education, especially that of boarding schools, and the insecure situation in the area.

Provision of adult education was low in the four research districts and the majority of the learners were women. The majority of facilitators continued to work on a voluntary basis, were poorly motivated, and lacked supplies and facilities for adult education. Learners receive a low quality of education, which may have contributed to the low demand observed.

The more positive situation found in Kajiado and West Pokot was attributed to a strong local community-based consciousness and commitment to support education together with a heavy presence of other non-local partners. The interaction of Kajiado and West Pokot nomadic pastoralists with other non-nomadic Kenyans was also thought to be an important positive factor, in contrast with the extreme isolation of nomadic pastoralists in Northern and North-Eastern Kenya. The Government is making special provision through the *School Feeding Programme for Children* in arid areas in order to boost enrolments and achievement.

In general there were only a few female teachers, although they were a majority in a few functional boarding schools in one of the districts, most likely due to the availability of teachers' houses, security and water in the schools.

School committee members rated poverty as the highest influence on low educational participation. Other factors were illiteracy and negative cultural attitudes, water, long distances to school, poor living conditions

and overcrowded conditions in some boarding schools. Water received significant emphasis by all the adults involved in the research.

Tanzania

In Tanzania, there are approximately 6 millions nomads, namely pure pastoralists, agro-pastoralists and those who are hunter-gatherers.

Since the 1980s, some problems have been recorded in the areas of access and retention, quality of education and learning. The gross enrolment ratio declined from 98 per cent in 1981 to 73 per cent in 1989 and then rose up to 76 per cent in 2000.

On the one hand, for instance, there was a lack of primary schools, and on the other hand schools in rural or nomadic areas were characterized by very low enrolment of children (below 200 per school), high drop-out rates and often poor school facilities.

School mapping surveys carried out between 1997 and 1999 in 34 districts indicate a significant number of out-of-school children, giving a national picture of 4 million children (including most vulnerable children) of primary school age not in school. Enrolling children in schools appears to some parents to be a kind of 'robbery' of their labour force, as they are needed for herding livestock and hunting.

The curriculum offered to nomadic children follows the national standards and does not respond to their needs and aspirations. It does not offer children the necessary life and survival skills conducive to living their immediate environment. Involvement of nomadic communities in decision-making processes in schools and communities is minimal.

Response to adult education programmes is also poor. This is largely attributed to adults' preoccupation with economic activities, inappropriateness of teaching/learning materials and non-involvement of the nomadic communities in the development of the programmes.

There is no specific policy on nomadic education in Tanzania, although nomadic peoples are presumed to be included in the category of disadvantaged groups. There are several providers of education and other

services, but there was little evidence that these service providers were, in practice, working in a collaborative manner.

In spite of low participation rates in both formal and non-formal education programmes, there is an increasing demand for education among the nomadic communities. Education was thought to raise prospects for employment and was hence seen as a means of gaining more power, influence and leadership positions outside the traditional institutions. The problem, however, is that both the number of schools and teaching/learning facilities are inadequate and cannot cater for the increasing demand.

Uganda

Uganda has 56 ethnic groups and three types of nomads are represented: pastoralists, fishing communities and refugees (who in this case were formerly pastoralists).

Enrolment has more than doubled in the districts, from 2.9 million pupils in 1996 to 6.1 million in 1997. Formal education has not appealed to the majority of nomads due to its purpose, relevance and outcomes. To the nomads, formal education undermines the young person's sense of identity and independence. Furthermore, there is low attendance at primary school due to preoccupation with fishing or livestock, early pregnancies and marriage of girls, and long distances to school.

Teachers were inadequately trained but stated that they were committed and hardworking, yet there was little use of available local teaching resources observed during the lessons. The quality of education is poor in terms of overcrowding of classrooms and shortage of instructional materials. Low teacher/pupil ratios in some centres remain largely unsustainable.

Problems related to parents include constant mobility leading to low enrolment and high drop-out rates. This is compounded by the feeling that education brings less return compared to other nomadic activities such as fishing.

Drop-out rates are high, with the rate for females being slightly higher than that of males. The major reasons for school drop-out were high fees for schools, marriage and school not being sufficiently interesting.

In Uganda, there are several non-formal education programmes such as the Complementary Primary Education Programme (COPE). This is a flexible and dynamic programme using a bottom-up approach. These alternative programmes acknowledge the fact that existing schooling systems are by and large unresponsive to the needs, living conditions and lifestyles of disadvantaged nomadic communities, as well as their potential to apply the existing community resources to the educational process.

Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK) and Child Centred Alternative Non-formal Community Education (CHANCE) are ushering in the needed change. However, these non-formal educational programmes are on a small scale, and therefore have little impact in national terms. Hence formal schooling continues to be the only obvious route to education-related symbolic values and to accessing higher education.

Thus, in conclusion, nomads seem to be willing to co-operate if their leaders are allowed to participate in decision-making on matters of their education and welfare. They are pragmatic and question whatever education is being introduced to them. They give examples of sons and daughters who went to school but let them down by being 'de-skilled' and 'mis-educated' in terms of being a better pastoralist. Nevertheless, some nomads now realize that education helps to transform society in terms of diversifying wage earning options and improving survival strategies.

Introduction

1. Rationale, aims and methodology of the study

Many attempts have been made to establish education services that meet the learning needs of nomadic communities, but they have often failed. This is largely due to an inability to draw up programmes that will respond to the nomadic way of life and traditional culture, while retaining flexibility in order to deal with changing and possibly adverse circumstances such as droughts and floods.

The overall aim of this study, therefore, is to gain a clearer understanding of these issues concerning the nomadic communities in Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. We hope to contribute to the design of programmes that are more likely to succeed in providing nomads with access to learning opportunities.

The specific objectives of the research were to:

- a) increase the awareness of governments to the problems of nomadic communities and facilitate the development of policies and programmes on basic education for nomads (giving special attention to the learning needs of girls), in order to promote their social and economic progress and human development;
- b) assist in the more effective use of existing resources for the provision of basic education for nomadic populations and promote increased funding;
- c) assist ministries, local government services, non-governmental agencies and the private sector to participate in, and work with, activities designed to promote capacity-building programmes for rural populations;
- d) assist in the development of training facilities for the acquisition of income-earning skills by nomads; and
- e) assist in the formulation of project proposals based on the findings of the studies for presentation for possible funding by the African Development Bank (ADB).

Essentially, we need to know who the nomadic groups are, where they are living, how they are living and the precarity of their existence. The data were collected through the study of documents available (mostly centrally) and through fieldwork carried out in nomadic communities. The field investigations combined both qualitative and quantitative methods. Enrolment and achievement data were collected from education officers. In the qualitative investigations, provincial and district officials working in areas such as administration, education, agriculture, livestock and water were interviewed as well as teachers, learners, members of women and youth groups and representatives of non-governmental organizations. Questionnaires were filled in by some of the literate respondents.

2. Organization of the study

An initial meeting was held in Paris in June 2001 with the technical members of UNESCO/IIEP and the International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa (IICBA) Study Team. At this meeting, drafts of guidelines for collecting background information at national level and research instruments (interview schedules and questionnaires) for collecting field data from both providers and nomadic groups were developed and revised. These were subsequently revised again in consultation with the national consultants.

The UNICEF country offices recruited the country teams, which typically consisted of two researchers contracted for three months each to carry out the fieldwork and analysis and to produce a draft report. At the Mid-Term Review Workshop held in Nairobi at the end of October 2001, a number of issues were raised that were discussed in the Mid-Term Report. For example, the Kenya team introduced a number of topics such as HIV/AIDS, female genital mutilation (FGM) and early marriage, which emerged as significant issues at country level and in relation to the education of nomadic peoples.

The fieldwork for nearly all the studies was carried out before the end of 2001 and the first drafts of most of the reports were complete by the end of January 2002. These have subsequently been revised and are presented separately for each country.

These country reports were used as the basis for this synthesis report. Inevitably, only a fraction of the richness of those reports can be captured

here. In most sections of the report, country examples are given as illustration of points; they are not meant to be an exhaustive catalogue of examples. For these, one should refer to the country report.

3. Main limitations

Care was taken in the conceptualization and design of the study to maximise the quality of the research. All efforts were made to ensure that the research tools were geared to measure what was being investigated. There was, however, a limit to the extent to which tightly constructed research tools could measure the respondents' views, strategies and expectations, especially when used in a cross-national context covering a wide range of different groups.

Another limitation was that where the nomadic groups were among refugee populations, it was almost impossible to distinguish between those individuals from urban areas and those from rural areas, and especially those from nomadic groups. This makes it particularly difficult to discuss the situation of nomadic populations in refugee camps.

The researchers were, however, aware of the above limitations and made conscious efforts to make sure the findings were valid.

Information gaps

One of the problems mentioned was that while extensive studies of the nomadic communities do exist, they are not typically gathered together in one place.

Neither the Census nor the Educational Management Information Systems (EMIS) of the different countries are able to provide figures for or describe the educational situation of nomadic groups. Information from the Census was rarely available at the level of desegregation required for this study, and the EMIS did not systematically distinguish between nomads and settled populations. For some of the countries under study, the censuses themselves are very out-of-date and could not take into account the important population movements that have occurred in recent years. Consequently, one must be very cautious in the analysis of both the figures given and trends in the different demographic indicators.

It is worth noting that even relatively recent and internationally respected data collection instruments such as the *Demographic Household Survey* and the *Living Standards Measurement Surveys* do not include nomadic peoples as a separate category in their sampling.

This is why the quantitative descriptions in the country reports were often limited to profiles of districts where a majority of nomadic groups are to be found. However, there are isolated examples where precise data exist. For example, in one of the wards in Mbulu District (Tanzania), the Ward Education Co-ordinator was able to provide figures both for the ward population and of children enrolled in school (males and females), broken down into age groups separately for nomads and non-nomads. An additional problem is the lack of consistency between the data sources. Differences in data from different sources make one doubt the reliability of any of the figures. It is interesting to contrast this inexactitude with the precision with which livestock appears to be counted. For example, in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, there appear to be precise figures available for the different communities and groups.

Yet without disaggregated data, it appears difficult to plan in any meaningful sense. Further, the implications of the material presented in many of the previous sub-sections are that in order to plan the provision of education for nomadic groups effectively, routine quantitative data about them is insufficient.

Challenges faced during fieldwork

A wide range of sites and institutions were visited and a wide range of people interviewed (see specific country reports).

The fieldwork posed a number of logistical and theoretical problems. These are worth recording not only to illustrate the difficulties encountered when carrying out this kind of research, but also to suggest the kind of needs assessment to be done on a systematic basis by countries, if the Education for All (EFA) goal is to be achieved.

One obvious problem is the language barrier. Another is that a study of this kind involves the co-operation of a large number of local personnel – officials, NGOs, etc. – who do not always have the time and experience to complete the forms requiring secondary data. One team reported that

it was very difficult either to find the person to talk to or to get the desired information from the person if he/she was available.

The size of the six countries varied considerably. Some teams had to spend several days travelling to access nomadic and pastoralist groups. Some of the sites were a long way from regional and district headquarters.

HIV/AIDS issues

This report is about the specificities of the situation of nomadic/pastoralist groups *vis-à-vis* the country's education system both in terms of their demand for education and the way in which education has been provided for them. It does not claim to be an exhaustive analysis of the problems of the education system. In particular, while there is some material in some of the country reports about the impact of HIV/AIDS on the education system, no data is available on HIV/AIDS prevalence among nomadic groups. Therefore, although critical, this issue is not treated specifically in this synthesis report.

4. Presentation of the synthesis report

The main features of the nomadic groups in the six countries are presented in *Chapter 1*. This includes an analytical definition of nomadic peoples (who are the nomads in the six countries, their size, location, activities, organization; and their degree of integration and involvement in the political economy).

In *Section 2* we consider poverty issues, first considering the definition and indicators for each country, then the sources of income of the various groups, and finally the poverty alleviation strategies (when available). We take a multisectoral approach to this issue.

In *Section 3* we consider the educational situation of nomadic groups, including access, participation, provision of basic education (levels and problems including quality and gender issues), adult education (when available), information gaps and innovative and other relevant experiences.

In the first section of *Chapter 2*, we review government policies towards the integration or separate development of nomadic groups. The evidence from the studies on the demand for education among nomadic

groups is presented, covering the views of the nomadic peoples themselves on the obstacles to schooling, and looking at their strategies and expectations.

Current responses for schooling are described in *Section 3*. After looking briefly at whether or not there are specific government policies for nomadic groups, we review the lessons learnt from the various strategies. We divide these into two groups: first, those concerned with the quality of what is provided – such as curriculum relevance, appropriate recruitment and selection of teachers, language policy; and second, those concerned with drawing children to school – school mapping and boarding schools, and school feeding programmes.

Non-formal education is considered in *Section 4*, including both the variety of experiences of providing education outside the school system for youth and the lessons learnt, and the demand for and provision of adult education. Finally, in *Section 5*, we look at the experiences of, and prospects for, multisectoral collaboration.

We conclude in *Chapter 3* with the ‘conclusions and guidelines for policies and projects’. First, we ask whether there is a specificity for nomadic groups, requiring a particular policy response. We then consider the policy issues in terms of both improving access and the learning process as well as wider contextual issues; then the impact of conflict on the nomadic groups and the opportunities for donor partnership; and finally the main findings and recommendations given country by country.

Chapter 1

Profile of nomadic groups in the six countries

1. Main features

Definition: Who are the nomads in the six countries?

In each of the six countries studied, a significant proportion of the population are considered to be nomads or pastoralists, but one common feature in the reports was the relative difficulty experienced in counting them. This was partly due to the lack of recent censuses and partly because of the fact that any household surveys that had been conducted excluded a category specific to the nomads, in the interest of national harmony. Whatever the data source, there was also a problem in agreeing on which groups counted as being 'nomadic'. A stark illustration was given in the Djibouti Report, which said that 'all of the current population had parents or grandparents who had been nomadic'.

A lot of ink has been spilt on the definition of nomadism. The Mid-Term Review Workshop was no exception: There was extensive discussion on definitions, both after the presentation of the state-of-the-art literature review, and on the final day. There was no clear resolution. Livestock is at the centre of the nomadic economy. All nomads consider cattle a sign of prosperity and security, as matrimonial and social alliances depend on it. Consequently, mobility is a key feature and those family groups who are more successful nomadic pastoralists also exhibit a higher degree of mobility to search for water and pasture. Therefore, mobility is a strategy of survival for herds and nomads. However, the settling process appears within nomadic groups in all countries, but with different forms and rhythms. There are several reasons to explain these differences. On the one hand, there are climatic and ecological conditions; on the other hand governments can play an important role in this process. Indeed, the Djibouti team observed that in some sense everyone who is in the countryside is either a 'nomad

or a nomad who is beginning to settle'. For that reason, in their definition, they explicitly excluded a reference to mobility because their nomadic populations 'are less and less mobile but continue to have a nomadic lifestyle' which they defined as non-sedentary, living off livestock in easily-moved tents. The Djibouti team goes on to ask several crucial questions:

- Should one limit the definition of the concept 'nomad' only to those human groups who are in perpetual movement and live principally from livestock?
- Should we therefore exclude those who live off livestock but are almost settled?
- How relevant is the concept of rurality in terms of a 'country way of life'?

More pragmatically, in practice we found that the six country case studies covered a wide variety of situations including some 'pure' pastoralists, a majority called agro-pastoralists, some preferring the term transhumant pastoralists, hunter-gatherers and some nomadic fishermen. The Tanzanian team also talked about new types of nomads including fishing communities as well as small-scale mining groups, tea harvesters and sugar cane cutters. They have many of the characteristics of nomadic peoples such as the absence of a fixed domicile (Ezemoah, 1990), as they move from area to area in search of temporary employment.

The definitions that were agreed upon are provided below:

Nomadic-pastoralism: refers to pastoralists who mainly live and derive most of their food and income from raising domestic livestock. Any crop production is only a supplement. They do not have a recognized place of residence and move from place to place in search of pasture and water. Most are pure pastoralists.

Agro-pastoralism: These are segments of pastoral societies who promote opportunistic crop farming integrated to livestock husbandry. Unlike the nomadic pastoralists, they live in semi-permanent settlements. Only male members of the households move in search of pasture and water, while women and children remain in the homestead, tending goats and sheep.

Transhumant pastoralism: refers to pastoralists who have a permanent home area and move over more or less regular routes.

Nomadic hunter-gatherers: refers to a nomadic group whose livelihood depends on collecting wild fruits, honey, roots and hunting.

Transhumant hunter-gatherers: refers to hunter-gatherers who have temporary base camps and are mobile along some routes.

The different names used to qualify different categories of nomadic peoples reveal the difficulty in finding a standard definition of this population, and the presentation of the six countries during the Nairobi Workshop showed how the nature of migration is different for each country. Nevertheless, from the point of view of the educational planner or provider, the degree of mobility is important in terms of the kind of educational provision that is appropriate. We shall return to this at several points in this study when considering different forms of educational provision.

Size, location activities, organization of nomads

The study of each country focuses on different nomadic groups according to their locality and size. When it was possible, all nomadic groups were investigated, as in Djibouti and Uganda. *Table 1.1* gives an overview of the different nomadic groups in each of the countries studied. In cases where nomadic groups are shared by more than one country, it is important to note that the following table gives the generic name of the nomadic groups.

In *Tables 1.2 to 1.7*, an asterisk identifies the districts that participated in the field survey.

Table 1.1 Nomadic groups studied and estimates of nomadic populations by country

Country	Estimated national population (in 1,000s)	Nomadic groups	Estimated number of nomads (in 1,000s)	Percentage of nomads
Djibouti	640	Afar, Somali	100	16%
Eritrea	3,500	Afar, Hidarib, Tigre, Nara, Rashaida	700 to 1,050	20-30%
Ethiopia	65,000	Afar, Oromo, Somali	8,000	12%
Kenya	30,000	Boran, Maasai, Pokot, Rendile	7,500	25%
Tanzania	32,000	Barbaif, Hadzabe, Maasai, Maasai/Kwavi, Ngoreme/Kurya	6,000	19%
Uganda	21,000	Karmojong, Dinka, Bahima, Basese	1,030	5%

Source: Country reports.

The Afar, with an estimated population of two million, are spread over a territory of 150,000 sq. km covering almost seven eighths of Djibouti, one eighth of Eritrea and a part of Ethiopia. The Somalis, with a population of ten million, are found in Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya as well as Somalia.

Table 1.1 shows that the countries are very different in demographic size, ranging from 640,000 in Djibouti to 65 million in Ethiopia. The number of children of school-going age varies substantially accordingly.

The regional nature of this study offers other opportunities for possible comparisons because nomadic and pastoralist groups moving across boundaries. The same ethnic group has therefore appeared in the research studies conducted in the different countries, with different histories and different education systems. There are potential overlaps between the:

- Kajaido (south of Kenya) and Monduli or Serengeti (north of Tanzania).
- Kajaido (south-west of Kenya) and Karamojong (Uganda).

- Marsabit (north of Kenya) with Oromo and Somali (south of Ethiopia).
- Afars (north of Ethiopia) and Afars in Djibouti/Eritrea

Where there are substantial differences in participation rates between the same groups located in different countries, this could either reflect a different history of interactions between the nomadic groups and the majority ‘host’ community, or differences in the form of provision.

The two main groups in Djibouti are the Afars and Somalis-Issas. This country is unusual in Africa for being highly urbanized: In 1999, it was estimated that 83 per cent of the country’s population lives in urban areas and indeed two-thirds of the population lives in the capital itself.

Table 1.2 Djibouti: Estimates of nomadic population by district

Districts	Nomadic groups	Population
Djibouti	Afar and Somali	30,000
Ali Sabieh*	Somali	20,000
Dikhil*	Afar and Somali	25,000
Obock*	Afar	10,000
Atdjourah*	Afar	15,000
Total		100,000

* District studied.

Source: Country report.

The major context for Eritrea is the thirty-year war of liberation. Despite the war and subsequent population movements, the major ethnic groups can still be distinguished in terms of their major zones of habitation. There are nine ethnic groups: Tigigna, Tigre, Saho, Afar, Bilen, Hidarib, Kunam, Nara and Rashaida. None of these remain pure nomadic groups, except for the very few nomads in the extreme northern part of the country. However, semi-nomadism and/or transhumance are widely practised among the different ethnic groups in the country.

Table 1.3 Eritrea: Population of nomadic groups in the sub-regions studied

Nomadic groups	Region	Sub-region	Population
Tigre/Rashaida	Northern Red Sea	Shieb*	28,749
Hidarib	Gash Barka	Forto*	31,430
Afar	Southern Red Sea	Debub*, Meakel*, Araeta*	33,380
Total			93,559

* District studied.

Source: Country report.

Ethiopia has a population of more than 65 million people including a very large number of ethnic groups. Nomadic areas are nearly all lowlands on the periphery of the country covering about 61-65 per cent of the total area. There are about 8 million nomads (12 per cent of the country's population). Somali, Afar and Borana people predominantly occupy the Somali and Afar regions and Borena zone respectively. On the other hand, the Debub Omo zone of the SNNP region is inhabited by more than 15 linguistic (ethnic groups) who have a similar socio-economic development level.

Table 1.4 Ethiopia: Pastoral groups by their geographical location

Region	Nomadic groups	Population (in 1,000s)
Afar*	Afar, Somali, Argoba, Oromo	1,100
Oromia (Borena zone*)	Oromo, Somali	2,577
Somali*	Somali	3,690
SNNP and Gambella (Debub Omo*)	More than 15 nomadic groups	550
Benni-Shangul Gumuz	Komo, Shinasha, Gumuz, Benshangul	37
Estimated total		7,954

* District studied.

Source: Country report.

In Kenya, largely nomadic pastoralists populate 22 out of the 79 administrative districts and 80 per cent of land -mass. They inhabit some of the harshest environments in the country.

Table 1.5 Kenya: Nomadic population by district

Districts	Nomadic groups
Mt. Elgon, Baringo, W. Pokot* Turkana, Nakuru, Marakwet, Baringo	Pokot, Turkana, Pokots, Tugen, Ogiek, Marakwet, Njemps
Kajiado*, Narok, Transmara	Maasai
Isiolo, Marsabit* Moyale, Tana River, Samburu Samburu	Borana, Gabra, Sakuye, Rendile, Sangilla, Dasnach, Orma
Mandera, Wajir, Garissa*	Gari, Ajuran, Degodia ,Ogaden, Muralle and Somalis

* District studied.

Source: Country report

In Tanzania, pastoralists make up about one-fifth of the population and use more than one-third of the available land for pasture. They are spread out over many areas of the country. The Maasai population is divided between those that practice some agriculture, agro-pastoralists and strictly nomadic pastoralists.

Table 1.6 Tanzania: Nomadic population by district

Districts	Nomadic groups
Monduli*, Simanjiro, Ngorongoro, Kiteto, Bagamoyo, Morogor, Kilosa	Maasai
Mbulu*, Iramba and Meatu*	Hadzabe
Arusha*, Singida, Shinyenga, Tabora and Mara	Barbaig
Bagamoyo*	Maasai/Kwavi
Mara Region (Serengeti*)	Ngoremo/Kiirya

* District studied

Source: Country report.

In Uganda, three types of nomads are present, numbering about one million: pastoralists, fishing communities, and refugees who in this case

were formerly pastoralists. The sizes and names of the various nomadic groups are as shown in *Table 1.7*.

Table 1.7 Uganda: Estimates of nomadic population by district

District	Nomadic groups	Population	Nomad type
Adjumani*	Nuer/Dinka	4,500	Refugee
Kotido*	Karamojong	210,000	Pastoralist
Moroto*	Karamojong	230,000	Pastoralist
Nakasongola*	Bahima	240,000	Pastoralist
Mbarara*	Bahima	340,000	Pastoralist
Kalangala*	Basese	6,000	Fishing
Total		1,030,500	

* District studied.

Source: Country report.

■ General social organization

There were differences between the nomadic groups in each country and to do justice to their culture would require several encyclopaedias. There were, however, general patterns observed in their organization, which were similar. In general, nomads continue to maintain very close social and family structures and relationships that sustain their communities socially, economically and politically. A clear understanding of the nomads' social organization, and particularly of how the traditional rural authority functions, is important. It offers a possibility to design development programmes that are socially and environmentally viable. In this regard, programmes may be required to be complementary to the traditional practices of the society in order to achieve an intended target. Several levels in their social and production organization were identified. The most basic production unit is the household, which comprises a man, his wife/wives, their children and other dependants.

Clan leaders meet to resolve internal conflicts and to punish offenders. Conflicts are resolved at the upper levels of the social organization. Clans – essentially economic units – raise dowries in order to facilitate marriages, as only a few individuals are able to meet the hefty

cattle payments without some help. Clan leaders are also responsible for carrying out a number of rites and religious ceremonies. The wider community assigns certain Clan-specific responsibilities or tasks, such as averting disaster or leading the cattle during dry season migration. As often is possible, land property is linked to the Clan.

These divisions are dominated by a social structure, based on generation and age set, which cuts across all sections. In Tanzania, the age grade system to the Masai regulates a man's conduct in relation his fellow men: It regulates a man's sexual life; organized religion; certain economic activities, and above all military organization. The difference between one age set and the next is between two and three years depending on the particular clan. In Kenya, the Boran have age sets spanning eight years. Thus, one age sets serves for eight years before the subsequent one is initiated. Among the Rendille, the duration between one age set and the next is 12 years.

The Somali-Issas in Djibouti have a supreme Head exercising moral authority over the whole tribe. In contrast, in Debu Omo in Ethiopia, there is no single principle of organization. A network of friendship relations and kinship bonds exist among these groups.

Traditional self-help groups are popular in the pastoral nomadic areas of Ethiopia, due to the intolerable climatic conditions of the lowland regions. Self-help groups are based on clan relationships. Nomadic self-help groups are stronger than those of cultivator groups, due to the fragile ecology, the remoteness of the areas they are located in, and the usual difficulties of living in the semi-arid and arid areas of the country. Similarly, mutual aid is also part of the culture among nomads in Kenya. For instance, if an individual loses his livestock due to drought or some other reason, or someone has a serious problem, he will get assistance from his Clan, with perhaps the loan of livestock. The local community pools their labour in herding and watering of animals and form herding units, to minimize labour shortages and provide adequate security.

■ Social organization of labour

In each ethnic group, there is a systematic and commonly accepted division of labour based on age and sex. In most nomadic communities, women are responsible for fetching water and firewood, cooking, building

houses, looking after the young and the aged, socializing daughters on how to become good wives, and disciplining children. In some communities, some women are also traditional birth attendants and constitute a majority of the traditional medicine people. Women also do basketry, bead-making and charcoal-burning, and carry out small-scale business activities in the shopping centres.

Men are responsible for the tenure of communal land resources, for providing security in the settlements from hostile neighbours and wild animals, and for watering animals, herding, settling any disputes, distributing land and making religious tools. They also represent community interests and concerns to the authorities and perform out most of the religious duties and decision-making roles. They negotiate the dowry for prospective suitors as well as with neighbouring clans and communities for use of their grazing lands, while grazing away from home.

Young men's main responsibilities are herding animals, providing security to the animals and the communities, watering animals, scouting for pastures and water and locating safe areas. They also sink/dig water wells for use by both the people and animals. Another key role of young men is hunting wild animals for food. Young men must prove their bravery in order to acquire the full social status of an adult male. In some groups such as the Maasai, they are also responsible for maintaining the aesthetic and artistic cultural capital of their communities by enforcing the highest standards of beauty in costume, hairstyles, beadwork and cosmetics.

Girls do most of the domestic chores. These include fetching water and firewood, milking animals (except camels, in some communities such as the Rendille), looking after their siblings, cooking and washing utensils, looking after small livestock such as sheep and goats, helping their parents to build houses, watering animals and carrying out small-scale trade with milk and beadwork. From a young age, girls are presumed to be preparing for marriage.

Migration patterns

For many of the nomads in each of the six countries, nomadic pastoralism was a normal way of life until very recently. The pastoralists attach a lot of value to livestock, measuring their wealth by the amount of livestock a person owns. They must move with their animals, however

few these may be. While partly adapting to the demands and pressures of 'modern' 'civilisation' to settle, at least temporarily, a majority of nomads remain rightly proud of their cultural heritage and social organization.

At the same time, some groups recognize that although animals benefit from migration, humans may not. Constant movement is taxing on women, children and the elderly. It is especially burdensome for women, as they are the ones who put up and take down the temporary houses. Thus, even for 'pure' nomadic pastoralists moving long distances, it is quite common for a part of the livestock to be kept in less mobile camps. In this way, some members of the families do not have to move as much as their animals.

While the nomads' attachment to livestock and nomadic pastoralism as a way of life are at the moment being seriously challenged in nearly all the communities, there were certainly some groups who thought that it was likely to persist. As one elder said: 'Nomadic lifestyle will take a long time to disappear. We rely on it as a means of survival. There is no other economic activity except for some people who have established small shops.'

In Uganda, a group of Karamojong households with a common thorn fence and the neighbouring areas are economically inter-dependent, sharing labour in the gardens and for grazing and watering livestock; fighting together both defensively and offensively and providing support and assistance in times of need.

■ Patterns of mobility

The majority of the nomadic communities in the study areas in the six countries are a mix of 'pure' pastoralists, agro-pastoralists and transhumant pastoralists. Nomads cannot settle permanently, as migration is the nomad's most obvious strategy for managing herds successfully. As a result, there is a varied pattern of movement, constrained sometimes by the encroachment of settled farmers, and sometimes by clashes with other pastoral groups. Nevertheless, parts of the groups move several hundred kilometres with their herd in search of pasture and water. In Uganda, fishermen devote their time to fishing activities, following fish from one part of the lake to the other.

In the most common pattern, some family members go with the animals to distant places, while a part of the family remains as a settled community with young children, the disabled and older people. This is an increasingly common pattern that allows children to attend fixed schools, the most common form of government provision of education. In some communities, boys and young men are likely to be away from the homestead for long periods. Clearly, however, there are no specific patterns in some of the groups, implying that one cannot have a uniform pattern even within a country. For example, among the Boran in Ethiopia there is no single pattern, as there are occasions when the whole community moves to save their livestock from epidemics.

In the great majority of cases, patterns of mobility are determined by the availability of pasture and water, which is dependent on rainfall, wells, and rivers. Looking at the main routes of the nomadic groups and the places where they stay, the researchers in Eritrea were able to see that nomadic households move quite a distance, which is an economic necessity but a constraint to sending children to schools. From field observation, except for the Tigre nomads of Shieb (who move less than 60 km), all the other groups move up to a distance of more than 150 km. They give also an estimate of the degree of mobility, ranging from the Rashaida, who are the most mobile, to the Tigrina, the least mobile. The most mobile groups interviewed in Eritrea maintained that, at least for the immediate future, there was no alternative to the mobile life; and indeed all three nomadic groups had moved last year, leaving only a few of their elders and school children behind (the latter joining them when school closed).

■ Are nomadic groups settling and why?

There are more or less indirect pressures on nomadic groups to settle, and most nomads feel constrained to justify their lifestyle. One elder explained why nomads have not, on the whole, taken their children to school, stating that: “The main problem we have been having is poverty, loss of livestock, lack of water and insecurity”. The main factors contributing to the situation in which the nomad finds himself/herself at crossroads include pressure on the land and conflicts. These are briefly described below.

- Pressure on land

There are four related issues here:

- (i) In some cases, the pastures have been overgrazed through a combination of development interventions and a multitude of small herds. In the case of the Afar in Ethiopia, the situation has been made worse by the invasion of their land by alien grass species that none of the animals of the pastoralists find palatable. The conditions in the arid areas, where the majority of the nomads live, are the worst due to recurrent drought that has drastically reduced their livestock size as well as pasture and water resources. In some cases, nomads who lost their livestock due to drought have started practising farming, trade and other activities, maintaining only a few animals.
- (ii) Another pressure on land arises from the growing populations (both nomadic and non-nomadic), which has led to increasing difficulty in finding grazing land. Immigration and rapid growth of urban centres has resulted in high population densities, so that it is difficult to maintain the wide-ranging migratory circuits that were possible previously.
- (iii) There has also been substantial 'land reform' in some of the countries (such as Kenya and Tanzania) which has meant that traditional lifestyles have been disrupted. For the Maasai in Kenya, land demarcation and individual ownership have contributed to opening up what they consider to be 'their' areas to non-Maasai ethnic groups, with the immigrants settling on the relatively high potential agricultural areas on the higher grounds.
- (iv) In addition, there are often large refugee movements. For example, of the estimated half a million Eritrean refugees that lived in Sudan prior to 1991, over 200,000 returned voluntarily to their country. More than 75 per cent of these settled in the Gash Barka region – an area where the inhabitants practise agro-pastoralism. Returnees were given two hectares of land in areas where, previously, nomads used to graze their livestock. The immediate effect of this huge resettlement is the crowding of already rudimentary services such as water, schools and health facilities as well as the creation of potential conflict with the nomadic population. Even though the government and donor community are addressing this problem, much remains to be done. However, a far more potentially difficult problem is that of the quick

and smooth reintegration of returnees with the host communities, especially with those returnees who are not originally from this area.

- Conflict and impact upon nomadic groups

Those carrying out fieldwork reported that nomads have an overriding concern with insecurity arising from attacks from rival clans or bandits. Conflicts arise from various sources: the drive to control resources; the need to achieve full cultural identity or gain social status by possessing large herds of animals; striving for basic needs; and the need to achieve sustainable development. Pastoralists are prone to ethnic/clan conflicts and clashes over land and land resources such as water, pasture and salt. Combined with external attacks, this has turned into banditry and lawlessness. Fights and raids have resulted in significant loss of animals, thus increasing poverty levels among some groups of nomads.

As one of the reports cited, when deciding upon whether or not to move to a new pasture, elders were more concerned about potential security problems than about the viability of the pastures. Traditionally, while younger men were out to scout for the availability of lands, now they must also assess security. *Table 1.8* shows that nomads in all the countries studied have experienced conflicts and war in recent years, and their concerns are therefore not idle or misplaced.

Table 1.8 Conflicts in the countries under study

Djibouti	Conflict between Afar and Somalis in 1991-1994 and insecurity until 2000.
Eritrea	Ten-year armed conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia.
Ethiopia	Armed conflict.
Kenya	Banditry and cattle raiding from time to time.
Uganda	Conflict between Karamojong with each other and with neighbours.

Source: Country reports.

Within Ethiopia, a reduction in the quality and quantity of productive range lands has led to competition for the most productive areas, creating new levels of insecurity and potential for violent conflict. Similarly, in Kenya,

insecurity is manifested mainly in cattle raiding. At times, access to pasture of all livestock is reduced, leading to overgrazing in the secure areas.

The field data show that the situation is said to be quite dangerous in Karamoja, Uganda. Nearly every boy child over 15 years has a gun ready for cattle rustling. However, the provision of alternative possibilities for education in programmes such as the Alternative Basic Education (ABEK) Programme is having an effect: Elders are now often sighted sitting in classes, instead of discussing war strategies. There are also peace initiatives taking place within the districts and with neighbours.

- Summary

With environmental degradation, drought, land pressure and insecurity or war, the vast majority of nomadic groups are moving towards semi-nomadism or semi-sedentarization, and transhumance routes have changed. The teams highlighted the relatively small distances moved by many of the nomadic groups. Conflicts have depleted their livestock, exposed them to pestilence and hunger, and forced them to search for water and pasture in other less suitable places.

In some countries such as Tanzania, the Government has made several efforts to encourage settlement through provision of basic social services such as schools, dispensaries and piped water; basic tools like hoes, seeds and food aid; and the establishment of villages where houses were built for nomads.

There are some groups who have changed their attitudes substantially, attracted by health facilities, schools and water points. Indeed, the long-term benefits of the various services provided to nomadic communities are well understood by representatives of nomadic groups. For example, among the Maasai in Kenya, although nomadism on a reduced scale is still an important part of their lifestyle, generally speaking the community appears committed towards a settled life:

“Although these pastoralist people used to give preference to livestock over education, things have changed. These days even the first-born is taken to school, but not in former years. He had to look after livestock. To settle in one place is our preference, not searching everywhere for pasture” (members of a school committee).

These attitudes to settlement are not universally accepted, even when the group has in fact settled. Indeed, for some their 'settlement' is seen as only temporary and they dream/hope of accumulating enough capital to restock their herd.

It is difficult to have a clear view on settlement trends and to know whether or not it improves the conditions of life of nomads and reduces poverty.

2. Poverty issues

Definitions and indicators for each country

People experience poverty in different ways – lack of land, unemployment, lack of ability to educate children, etc. – but most define it as the inability to meet basic needs. Using standard official definitions based on income, poverty is widespread throughout the region (see *Human development report, 2000*) and other indicators would give a similar picture. The issue here then is the *relative* poverty of nomadic groups both in definitional and statistical terms.

In Djibouti, an estimate based on a 1996 household survey (EDAM, 1996, *Enquête djiboutienne auprès des ménages – Indicateurs sociaux*) suggests that among the rural population, 86 per cent live in relative poverty and 45 per cent in absolute poverty. Note, however, that due to high levels of urbanization, the majority of the poor are in Djibouti capital. Nomads depend on remittances from family members living in towns. One estimate made in 1989 suggested that 100 Djibouti francs per person per day was the minimum necessary to live on, of which 74 francs came from relatives working in town. The nomadic economy has become marginalized.

The average per capita income of pastoralists in Eritrea is estimated to be 100 United States dollars (US\$) per year, compared to the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of US\$200. Most nomads barely cover 60 per cent of their families' needs in a normal year. The World Bank (1996) suggested a long list of possible causes of poverty, with rurality heading the list (70 per cent), followed by insufficient food aid (69 per cent) and needing food aid (50 per cent) even in what are considered the 'good years'.

Women head about 45 per cent of households in Eritrea. According to the *Eritrea poverty assessment* (World Bank, 1996) they are not poorer on average than households headed by men. This could be partly due to the fact that women have access to land and other productive assets and partly because they participate in the labour force (47 per cent of the labour force is comprised of women). Women, however, are less likely to be literate and numerate than men.

Per capita income in Ethiopia was estimated at US\$137 in 1999. Based on a level of income adequate to support a minimum acceptable standard of living, it was estimated that 47 per cent and 33 per cent respectively of the rural and urban populations were living below the poverty line. Other indications are that 49 per cent of the population is undernourished (FAO, 2001), and that only 30 per cent of the population have access to clean water. The situation is certainly worse in rural areas.

In Kenya, the percentage of people currently living below the poverty line in 1997 was estimated to have increased to 52 per cent in 2001 (PRSP, 2001). Overall, poverty was higher in most ASAL provinces. Central Province had the lowest rate, at 31 per cent, however as it has a larger population, it had the highest number of people living below the poverty line compared with the number in other provinces. North-Eastern province was not evaluated in the 1997 survey due to insecurity and the El Niño rains, but later assessments show that the poverty level in the province is over 90 per cent. The data for ASAL districts studied show for example that poverty levels are as follows: Garissa (92 per cent), Kajiado (28 per cent), Marsabit (87 per cent) and West Pokot (69 per cent). Other than in Kajiado, the pastoralist districts have higher than average poverty levels in the country.

In Uganda, the presentation was in terms of the *UNDP Human development index*. The 1998 values for Uganda were 0.4046, while the value for Kotido was 0.1781; the corresponding income index values were 0.2098 and 0.0946.

Several of the reports referred to a cycle of poverty. Poor access to markets and lack of high-grade stock account for low sales and hence low cash incomes. Lack of capital in turn leads nomadic pastoralists to poor farming practices and destruction of the natural environment. This reduces the potential of the already fragile ecology, leading to pastoralists

having to move even further with their herds, weakening both their access to services, markets and the quality of their livestock.

A wide range of factors were cited to account for the fact that nomadic pastoralist areas have the highest rate of poverty and the least access to basic social services. These included intermittent drought, insecurity, lack of communication infrastructure, lack of income-generating activities and opportunities, lack of market for livestock and poor integration into the national social and political economies.

Sources of income of the various groups

For nearly all groups, the main economic activities are subsistence farming and pastoralism. However, the potential for crop production in nomadic areas tends to be limited due to low rainfall and is therefore practised only on a small scale, most often along river valleys and in the highlands. Family members who remain at the base camps have started to practise some subsistence agriculture more extensively. Most nomadic groups look down on farming as something below their social status.

Pastoralism is seen as the best mechanism for survival in the lowlands, which are prone to drought, famine and insecurity, among other problem. Moreover, as livestock provides nomads not only with wealth but also with prestige/social status, they tend to emphasize the number of animals as an indicator of their economic significance. For example, among the Karamoja (Uganda), nearly all families are involved in herding, with the average size of a herd being between 150 and 500 animals. While there are other sources of livelihood (such as arts and crafts), these remain only a subsidiary. The economy is therefore based essentially on the herd and the sale of its products such as milk, butter, leather and wool. Animals are sold when necessary, but this is usually regretted (such as in Kenya, Djibouti and Ethiopia).

The Kenyan Government recognises that pastoralism can be a positive and most efficient means of economic production in the fragile ecologies where nomads operate. Their Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme (PRSP), for example, states that in 1998 the export of hides and skins was the fourth largest national income earner for the country.

Arid and Semi-Arid Land (ASAL) programmes have in the recent past contributed to improved breeds in the herds by supplying high-grade bulls and goats. Improved breeds, however, raise the issue of increased inputs and requirements for animal husbandry and effective marketing. This means, for example in Kenya, that the Maasai, among whom some of these initiatives have been implemented, will have to make drastic changes in their way of life in order to survive. This may be challenging, but the community has shown a great capacity for rapid change.

In general, the country reports make it clear that in many cases there had been substantial changes in the pattern of income-generation activities. These can be grouped under the headings of attempts to improve livestock management mentioned earlier, diversification away from agriculture and regular (i.e. similar to other rural poor) subsistence farming. These are briefly expanded on below.

■ Diversification

Other than the changes within livestock production, Maasai families in Kenya are increasingly diversifying by entering into farming to meet increasing cash demands. In periods of peak production, however, honey and milk cannot be sold as the market is already saturated.

In some areas near Amboseli (Kenya), irrigation from perennial water sources is used to grow horticultural products for the export market. Dry land agriculture is geared towards food consumption and concentrated near homesteads. Women therefore play a big role in these small-scale projects.

Almost all the community groups interviewed in Borena (Ethiopia) have relatives in the towns with which they have contact. Children stay in town and attend school, while others from poor families tend cattle for meagre remuneration. Some nomads moved to towns when they lost their livestock in the hope of setting up a business or looking for jobs (or, in a few cases, continuing their education), or to be near the relief food supplies. However, all the nomads hope to re-stock and return to the pastoralist life.

■ Subsistence farming

In Eritrea, the nomads cultivate sorghum and millet when there is normal rainfall, while during years of drought they sell their livestock to buy essentials. The secondary source of subsistence for the Tigre, Rashaida and Hidarib is subsistence farming, while the Afar are more likely to turn to artisanry. In terms of cash income, apart from selling livestock all groups resort to petty trade. Some of them accept temporary labouring contracts.

In all the regions studied in Ethiopia, apart from those who are pastoralist, many families in rural areas are subsistence farmers. The major products of their subsistence farming are maize, millet and sorghum. They also have animal products such as milk, butter, hide and skins. However, in Afar over 80 per cent said that they did not earn any significant cash income; about the same proportion reported their main economic activity to be pastoralism.

It appears that nomadic groups are increasingly diversifying their agricultural practices to include regular subsistence farming. Some reports suggest that the increasing numbers of goats recorded in surveys of animal holdings may indicate a move from nomadic to agro-pastoralism.

Poverty alleviation strategies

We have emphasized the importance of understanding the poverty context in the country. In this section, we consider poverty and poverty reduction programmes, other non-education sectors important to nomadic groups, gender awareness and sensitization.

There are explicit PRSPs in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, and similar programmes in the other three countries. While there is no particular policy or programme for nomadic groups, policies towards the disadvantaged often mention nomadic or pastoralist groups as one of the target groups.

In Ethiopia, *Article 89 No.4 of the 1994 Constitution* states that the “Government shall provide special assistance to Nations, Nationalities, and peoples least advantaged in economic and social development”. An Interim PRSP has been developed, but it hardly mentions pastoral development issues. The *Five-Year Development Plan (2000-2005)* suggests the general direction in which the government will approach pastoral issues. Sedentarization is emphasized and the proposed areas of

intervention include: natural resource conservation, introduction of new varieties of grasses and vegetables, provision of water, introduction and development of livestock extension programme, the development of markets for dairy products, the establishment of abattoirs and the construction of rural roads. A major objective is to promote 'sustainable settlement' with the introduction of small-scale irrigation as one component of the intervention for 'alleviating the nomadic life style'.

The government identifies drought and insecurity as the most critical challenges facing nomadic pastoralists in Kenya. Higher expenditure on security measures in the pastoral regions has however tended to consume resources earmarked for social and economic development. The aim of the government is to invest in long-term and sustainable programmes of drought management and mitigation, as well as in participatory conflict management and resolution programmes.

The government has identified national policies in poverty reduction in several sectors. Many of these have implications for pastoralists. For example:

- Agriculture sector priorities include livestock development and food security as well as land reform policies to encourage sound land use.
- In the physical infrastructure sector, the government will focus on maintenance, rehabilitation and reconstruction of existing facilities.

In conclusion, poverty programmes appear to have left behind nomadic groups, as if the only possible exit strategy from poverty is for nomads to settle. While this strategy may have some merit, very careful planning in partnership with the pastoralists themselves, by working with communities in a participatory and collaborative manner, is essential.

3. Educational situation of nomadic groups

General implications of socio-economic circumstances for educational provision

The fact that, in general, nomadic-pastoral groups are scattered across a wide area, usually in the more inaccessible parts of the country, means that special efforts must be made to reach them (although this group of

countries includes Djibouti and Eritrea, which are ‘relatively’ crowded). Low population densities in their areas means that providing fixed schools with a standard complement of staff may be more expensive. A first step in effective planning is to establish where the nomadic groups are and their movement patterns, and for this *we need a ‘map’ of these groups.*

In other words, we have to take into account the level and scale of mobility, particularly that of the children. The differential migration patterns documented above mean that, as far as possible, educational provision should be organized taking into account which groups are likely to be available when and where, and by having a flexible school calendar and timetable.

The relatively tight social structure of nomadic communities has several implications. First, education provisions have to deal with the extended families and communities as well as parents. Secondly, the organization of most nomadic communities into age sets, which clearly affects the likelihood of boys remaining in school even if they are enrolled, must be taken into account on a case-by-case basis, as it can vary between one and two years to, in some cases, 15 years.

In terms of enrolling girls, most communities tend to favour the education of boys rather than girls. In cases where girls are enrolled, the seemingly never-ending tasks for girls and women (compared to those for the men and boys, which give them time to rest), has implications for girls’ education as they fail to leave them with adequate time to concentrate on their studies.

In contrast, the increasing diversification of economic activities remarked upon by many would fit with the way in which many curricula are being developed.

In Uganda, as part of preparation for the PRSP, a survey was carried out in which respondents were asked to cite factors affecting school attendance. Although this survey was specific to Uganda, the lessons are more generally instructive. Nationally, ill health was the most frequently cited factor (by 64 per cent) followed by inability to pay fees (52 per cent) and buy uniforms (42 per cent), with the rainy season, insecurity, harvest time, housework and distance all being mentioned by less than 30 per cent of the respondents. In the districts studied, ill health was seen as very

important except by respondents in Kotido (32 per cent). Respondents were much more likely to cite fees in Kotido (92 per cent) than in Kalangala or Nakasongola (26 per cent and 29 per cent respectively); while those in Adjumani were much more concerned about uniforms (66 per cent) than the rest. In Kotido and Moroto, harvest time, housework and insecurity were cited at least twice as often as the national average; while those in Adjumani emphasised distance and insecurity, those in Mbarara were concerned with housework.

Of course, these are the results of an individual household survey in one country and one would expect to obtain different views in a group context, even in the same country.

In most of the interviews in the different countries, a wide range of factors outside the control of the education system fell into two broad clusters: poverty and the practical issues of access. These are broadly itemized below.

Broader issues associated with poverty include:

- lack of livestock;
- harsh climate coupled with recurrent drought;
- lack of water and health facilities for both people and livestock;
- poor infrastructure (e.g. road networks);
- poor markets for livestock; and
- insecurity due to conflicts over land and livestock.

Practical issues of access include:

- lack of housing for pupils who remain behind parents;
- absence of middle or accessible schools in the area;
- shortage of staffing;
- lack of money to pay school levies, textbooks, uniforms, support staff; and
- lack of school lunch.

Main issues for schooling

This study focuses exclusively on the primary level of the education system: access of nomadic groups to, and their participation in, primary

school; and both formal and non-formal provision. The presentation is divided into factors affecting access: actual levels of participation and a brief review of the forms of provision. The latter is considered more extensively in *Chapter 2* of this Report. Of course, the division can be artificial as, for example, the form of provision might affect the likelihood of groups enrolling in the first place.

■ Access

● Network of schools available

The population density in many African countries, particularly in areas with substantial numbers of nomads, has always been – and remains – low. Not surprisingly, despite very considerable efforts since independence, school networks remain thin, and this was emphasised in several country reports.

Part of the problem in Djibouti is the weakness of the school network: In one case, there is only one school serving a very extensive area; and those children of nomads who are at school come from camps within a maximum of ten kms.

The main reasons given in Eritrea for children not attending school were that there were no schools available, the distance to school was excessive (some walk up to eight kms each way) and there were difficulties associated with their nomadic lifestyle. The study also showed that parents are reluctant to send children, especially girls to school, and tried to categorize the communities into three groups:

- (i) Those few who send their children to school;
- (ii) Those who would like to send their children to school but cannot afford to do so due to poverty, old age, the present war situation etc, form the majority;
- (iii) Those few who have not yet grasped the full value of education and the benefits they can derive from it.

Schools in the Northern and North-Eastern Province of Kenya are scattered and far apart in most of the arid parts of the districts. For example, Ilivet Primary School in Marsabit District is 550 kms from district headquarters and the roads are impassable in wet weather.

Another example of a coverage problem was cited in Uganda. Of the 63 inhabited islands in Kalangala, only six have primary schools. Children on the other 57 islands cannot afford the costs of water transport, estimated to be ten times that of land transport. Not surprisingly, school attendance outside the towns was very low.

- Financial barriers

Assuming that there are schools available, the principal impediment to the schooling of children of the poor in many parts of rural Africa, given the high poverty levels, is probably the level of fees imposed by the school system. This often represents a significant fraction of family income, even for only one child.

The Ethiopian study reports that one reason pastoralists do not send their children to the schools available is that they cannot afford to pay for pupils' food and lodging in the towns where schools are located.

However, even where fees are not charged, as in Djibouti and Tanzania, or where the parents could in principle afford to send their children to school anyway, there are a number of other interrelated problems. These include the opportunity cost and socio-cultural constraints, briefly mentioned below.

- Opportunity cost and socio-cultural constraints

It is also well known that there is a wide range of tasks that both boys and girls in rural areas are expected to carry out, so sending them to school imposes a significant additional non-cash burden on the families.

Cultural inhibitions and activities such as early marriage, female genital mutilation (FGM) and livestock-tending that school-age children are engaged in play a significant role in keeping pastoralists' children out of school. This is particularly important in terms of the participation of girls; and there have been a number of attempts to encourage girls to attend school that shall be discussed later. They are mentioned here only for the sake of completeness (see *Chapter 2, Section 2*).

The district of Karanga, in Uganda, has a high proportion of girls in school (about 72 per cent) as parents prefer that boys look after their

herds due to insecurity in the region. In this case, the opportunity cost is higher for boys than girls.

■ Participation

The nature of nomadic societies – always on the move with their assets and animals – and their settlement in isolated areas far from infrastructures may partly explain the low school enrolment rates among these communities. Having children at school requires that communities settle near the schools, thus risking scarce pastures for their livestock. The other alternative is to move and in the process take their children out of school, thereby rendering the institutions under-utilized or even temporarily closed during some seasons. Nevertheless, some parents still decide to send their children to schools.

Of the 36,000 pupils enrolled at elementary level in Djibouti, just over 4,000 are enrolled outside the capital. The overall gross enrolment ratio (GER) is very low (about one third of children of school-going age are enrolled in school). The GER is even lower in rural areas, with 15 per cent for boys and 8 per cent for girls. Drop out rates are also higher outside Djibouti capital.

Of the 262,000 children enrolled in schools in Eritrea, less than a quarter (60,000) are enrolled in the three study districts (Gash Barka, NRS, SRS). The disparity in educational opportunities among the six administrative zones, as measured by the deviation of GER from the national average of 52,2 per cent, ranges from about 41 per cent for Southern Red Sea Zone to 26 per cent for Maekel Zone (essentially in the capital Asmara). Similarly, the three nomadic regions have a very low GER as compared to the national average. Previously marginalized groups, the majority of which are nomadic and agro-pastoralist, inhabit these zones. In the three study areas, the GER is 21 per cent for Shieb, 14 per cent for Forto and 12 per cent for the Raihaita, Afambo and Aitos areas, compared to 29 per cent, 37 per cent and 11 per cent for the corresponding regions. The GERs were 7.6 per cent lower for Shieb, 22 per cent for the Forto area and only 1 per cent more for Raihaita, Afambo and Aitos nomads. These data show that the nomadic areas are underprivileged in terms of educational opportunities. The situation is more serious for the Hidarib nomadic population. Female students account for between 21 per cent and 23 per cent of students in the three areas and their GERs are

correspondingly even lower at 10 per cent, 14 per cent and 5 per cent respectively.

There are nearly 13 million children of school-going age in Ethiopia, 1.4 million of whom are in the three study regions of Afar, Borena and Somali. The national GER is just over 57 per cent, but the GER in most of the study areas are much lower: Twelve per cent in Afar, 30 per cent in Debub Omo and 11 per cent in Somali. The GERs for girls are lower still; women and girls hardly ever attend school, even if they are enrolled. The net enrolment ratio in nomadic areas (relative to the 7-14 year old population) is very small, with less than 1 per cent in some Afar zones; and Afar children themselves are only a minority of those enrolled.

There are 5.9 million children in primary schools in Kenya, with about 655,000 in the nomadic areas. In the year 2000, the national primary school gross enrolment was 87.6 per cent (88.1 per cent male, 87.1 per cent female). GERs in Garissa, Wajir, Mandera, Turkana and Marsabit were 12.9 per cent, 19.3 per cent, 22.2 per cent, 32.2 per cent and 41.3 per cent respectively. The major part of the population in these districts are nomadic pastoralists. The lowest of the lowest GERs are found in the predominantly Muslim North-East Province districts of Garissa, Wajir, Ijara and Mandera. This may indicate possible conflict between Islamic faith and formal western-type education. These data show that large proportions of children remain out of the formal schools. For example, the GER for Garissa (12.9 per cent) indicates that 87 per cent of the children are outside the formal education system, remaining either in child labour herding or idling at home, or combining these activities with a parallel education system such as *madrassa or duksi*.

Still in Kenya, the data show that the GER in districts where nomads co-exist with sedentarized communities is higher, but that it is very low where nomadic pastoralists are predominant. At the same time, gender disparities are wide among nomads. In recent years, GERs have been improving in some ASAL districts such as Marsabit, Narok, Turkana, West Pokot, Wajir and Kuria. Many sensitization and awareness-raising activities have been carried out here. However, GER decreased recently in Marakwet, Wajir districts. This could be attributed to insecurity arising from cattle rustling and ethnic clashes.

In the year 2000 in Tanzania, there were nearly 4,3 million pupils in primary school. The national average teacher/pupil ratio is high in Tanzania, with one teacher for 72 pupils, but the ratio in nomadic areas is low compared to that in non-nomadic areas. There were varied reports from the study areas. In Bagamoyo, there seemed to be no difference between enrolment rates in wards with predominantly nomadic populations and others, although attendance was low in the nomadic areas. In contrast, in a ward in Mbulu where the Hadzabe lived in villages 10 kms and 8 kms from the school, the comparative GERs of children of settled families and of nomadic families were 112 per cent and 8 per cent.

In Uganda, 6.1 million children are in primary school. In the five study areas, there are just over 460,000 pupils – with the majority in Mbarara – being taught by 7,450 teachers. A Universal Primary Education (UPE) Programme was introduced three years ago and has been successful at attracting students to school. However, capacity to train teachers has been limited. As a result, the pupil/teacher ratio has worsened over the last 3 years in all except two of the 45 districts. This augurs badly for the quality of primary education.

■ Summary

It is important to assess participation rates for nomadic groups relative to the respective national situation. The countries are very different in size, ranging from 640,000 in Djibouti to 65 million in Ethiopia. The number of children enrolled in primary varies substantially, from 36,000 in Djibouti to 7.4 million in Ethiopia.

In terms of national enrolment rates, the countries can be divided roughly into two groups: those with a national GER under 60 per cent (Djibouti, Eritrea and Ethiopia) and those with a GER over 70 per cent (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda).

Table 1.9 National figures for participation in primary school (latest year available)

	Total population (in 1,000s)	Percentage of nomads	School-going age	Number of children enrolled (in 1,000s)	GER	GER for selected nomadic areas
Djibouti	640	16%	6-12	36	33.6% (2000)	11.4%
Eritrea	3,500	28%	7-11	262	52.2% (1999)	15.5%
Ethiopia	65,000	11%	7-14	7,400	57.4% (2001)	10.6%
Kenya	30,000	25%	6-13	5,900	87.6% (2000)	12.9%
Tanzania	32,000	19%	7-13	4,300	76% (2000)	8.4%
Uganda	21,000	5%	7-14	6,100	137%* (1997)	Not available

Sources: Country reports.

* Ministry of Education.

Djibouti GER estimates for nomads correspond to GER in rural areas.

Eritrea GER estimates for nomads correspond to the three nomadic groups studied (see *Table 31* in the Eritrea report).

Ethiopia Selected nomadic area is that of the Somali region, where the GER is the lowest.

Kenya Selected nomadic area is that of the Garissa district, where GER is the lowest.

Tanzania Selected nomadic area is that of the Selela ward.

In discussing policies, it is important to consider:

- the size of the population, as policies that are appropriate for several million children – for example the provision of own-language textbooks – may not be viable for much smaller populations;
- overall enrolment rates (distinguishing between those with very low enrolment, where provision should perhaps be part of provision for the poor, and those with high enrolment, where provision is special); and
- the proportion of nomads in the population (distinguishing between countries where nomadic groups represent a substantial proportion of the population – Eritrea, Kenya and Tanzania – where provision must be part of the mainstream, and those where they are a minority, where provision is special).

It is noticeable that in each of the countries the GERs are lower for the nomadic groups than for the country as a whole. Indeed, if we compare

the GER for nomadic groups with that of the sedentary population, we see that the GER for nomadic groups is always less than half the value for the non-nomadic group.

- Provision of basic education
- Interventions

Two main interventions in support of basic education, that is boarding schools and school feeding schemes, have been noted. In recognition of the long distances to school and the problem of coverage, many of the countries are providing boarding facilities or hostels, mostly targeting nomadic groups. Where the school is some way from the home, but where boarding facilities are lacking, an important factor in retention is whether or not lunch is provided at school. In a number of cases, this is organized through the World Food Programme (WFP). In other cases, the school provides lunches and charges parents, and in yet others the parents and community themselves organize the lunches. Each of these systems is difficult to sustain, but this is frequently cited as a determining factor (see *Chapter 2*).

A wide range of other interventions has been tried in Kenya, including a bursary fund, preference in the supply of equipment and textbooks, and recruitment and training of pre-service teachers in ASAL. A quota system for admission into national secondary schools ensures that children from disadvantaged areas such as ASAL benefit from quality secondary education.

- Quality of education provided

It seems obvious that parents will be less willing to send their children to a poor quality school. There are suggestions from the field data that once governments decide to send all children to school, serious issues about quality will come into play. Moreover, some nomadic parents prefer to send children to boarding schools even though they may not be very conversant with what goes on. They are able to judge the quality of education from the usually above average performances posted by such institutions.

Much of the effort of educational planners is aimed at improving the volume and eventually the quality of the inputs, either through improving the physical conditions and environment of the schools, through training (and retraining) of teachers, or through provision of quality materials and curricula. In this section, we look at some of the basic input indicators of quality in terms of facilities and teachers available, and what some of the groups reported.

Most of the country reports indicate that the existing schools are inadequately equipped and staffed; that there is a critical shortage of textbooks; and that a majority of teachers lack the motivation or the equipment to prepare suitable teaching/learning materials. This imposes a severe problem on the teaching/learning process.

Availability of sufficient numbers of qualified teachers is another determinant of quality. The Ethiopian study records poor transport facilities and lack of electric power and other utilities, which discourage qualified teachers to go to remote areas where most of the region's nomadic population lives. Qualified teachers are reported as resigning from their posts in search of other employment once they are deployed to such locations. Non-payment of salaries in time also has a discouraging effect. It was reported that in some remote areas, salaries are paid after a delay of three to four months.

Indicators related to the quality, equity and efficiency of the education provided for nomadic pastoralists were also set out in the Kenyan report. While the differences are not very significant, in the nomadic pastoralist-dominated districts drop-out and repetition rates tend to be higher and transition rates from primary to secondary lower than the national averages. Given the low enrolment rates, the fact that there is not much difference in the drop-out, repetition and transition rates is not cause for comfort.

Moreover, compared to a national picture of near equality in these three rates, in several nomadic areas there was a substantial difference between the rates for girls and boys. Where the indicators were favourable for girls (such as transition rates in Garissa), this was attributed to the initial enrolment rates being low, so that those who complete the primary cycle, being highly selected and extremely tenacious, proceeded to secondary school.

- Alternative provisions

The extent to which government and their partners have set up alternative programmes is of interest here. Complementary Basic Education in Tanzania (COBET) and Complementary Opportunities for Primary Education (COPE) in Uganda are similar schemes targeting out-of-school children. Some of these are described in *Chapter 2*.

There is, of course, a range of non-formal programmes organized by non-governmental organizations (NGOs). For example, in Kenya, NGOs have set up shepherds and mobile school programmes for out-of-school children in Baringo, Garissa, Mandera and Wajir, among others. Some other programmes are Alternative Basic Education for the Karamoja (ABEK) and Child Centred Alternative Non-formal Community Education (CHANCE) in different parts of Uganda.

Adult education

- Literacy levels

Literacy rates are very low among nomadic communities and usually much lower than those for the settled populations.

Table 1.10 National literacy rates

Countries	Literacy rate (percentages)
Djibouti	51*
Eritrea	20 for men / 10 for women**
Ethiopia	29.9
Kenya	82*
Tanzania	80
Uganda	67*

Sources: Country reports.

* UNESCO, 2001.

** Ministry of Education.

Note: Literacy as defined by UNESCO takes into account the 15 years and over age group. Ethiopia takes into consideration the 10 years and over age group.

Estimated literacy rates in Eritrea (National Statistical Office, 1996) range from less than 10 per cent in the Maekel region to about 82 per cent in Gash Barka. Female illiteracy was estimated to be more than 72 per cent in Debub, Anseba and SRS and more than 85 per cent in two *zobas* (Gash Barka and NRS); in Maekel it was estimated to be about 30 per cent.

According to the Central Statistical Authority, the literacy rate in Ethiopia for those aged 10 years and above was 29.9 per cent in 1999. The corresponding figures for Afar, Debub Omo and Somali were 23.1 per cent, 16.1 per cent and 24.7 per cent respectively, while in Borana it had reached 25 per cent. These figures are however misleading, as they include those of the urban population, where literacy levels are higher. In the rural areas where the pastoralists live, literacy rates in the same year were 8.4 per cent in Afar, 21 per cent in Borana, 12 per cent in Debub Omo and 15.6 per cent in Somali. The data also show gender disparity. For example, in the Somali region, 6.7 per cent of rural males were reported to be literate, compared with 2.1 per cent for females.

In Kenya, literacy rates in most surveyed areas are very low: about 20 per cent in Marsabit, 30 in West Pokot and 10 per cent in Garissa.

In Tanzania, the national illiteracy rate is estimated at 20 per cent, while for the research districts the figures were as follows: 39 per cent in Meatu (33 per cent for male, 45 per cent for female), 57 per cent in Kondoa and 22 per cent in Bagamoyo.

■ Adult literacy programmes

Several attempts have been made to introduce adult literacy programmes in these and other countries. The approach and experiences have been very varied. In Eritrea, there had been an extensive programme during the war of liberation. In Ethiopia and Tanzania, there used to be national literacy programmes that are now no longer functioning, partly – or mostly – because of the difficulty of sustaining a volunteer programme on such a large scale. In Kenya, the programme was always on a much smaller scale but has experienced similar difficulties. However, in Djibouti, Eritrea and Uganda, new large-scale programmes have been launched recently.

The Djibouti programme financed by the African Development Bank (ADB) targets girls aged 14 to 17 who have left school without acquiring basic literacy and numeracy skills. It also targets women of 18-24 looking for employment or seeking to improve their qualifications. Women of 20 years or more receive life-skills education. An appropriate training programme for facilitators has been designed and relevant materials for the learners developed, together with teacher manuals. Enrolment was about 1,300 in 2001.

After several previous experiences, a Pilot Literacy Programme was introduced in 1998 in Eritrea, with the aim of enrolling 60,000 illiterates, developing new curricula, and producing instructional and supplementary materials. Primers (literacy texts) were printed in various languages. In 1998/1999 there were 21,399 adults enrolled, of which 93 per cent were females. A post-literacy programme including educational radio broadcasts, distance education and establishment and opening of reading rooms was also developed. However, the latter have not been opened in nomadic areas.

In Uganda, the Functional Adult Literacy Programme (FALP) was launched after a series of pilots in the 1990s. The programme combines elements of the Freirean approach with a more traditional approach. Currently it is implemented by volunteer facilitators and has enrolled about 120,000 learners.

■ Other programmes

Provision for continuing education in Eritrea is on a fee-paying basis. Fees vary from region to region in inverse proportion to the levels of enrolment. For example, they are higher in the GB, NRS and SRS regions (the nomadic areas) than in Maekel and other regions, thus disadvantaging nomadic groups. On the other hand, the Ministry of Agriculture (MOA) provides extension/training services in nomadic areas in veterinary care, poultry keeping, small-scale irrigation schemes, animal nutrition and rangeland management, and soil and water conservation.

The top-down approach largely used in developing and implementing adult education programmes and activities in Tanzania has been one of the main constraints on the success and sustainability of adult education and other development activities in the country. In an attempt to make

adult education more participatory and responsive to learners' needs and aspirations, the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) launched an Integrated Community-Based Adult Education (ICBAE) Programme. This programme was initiated in 1995 in response to the results of a national literacy census conducted in 1992, which showed that adult literacy classes were dying out and that illiteracy was on the increase.

Summary

The uneven pattern of distribution of the schools among the zones and between urban and rural areas means that pastoralists have a very limited chance of sending their children to school. The formal education system gives more opportunity for education to children of town-dwellers, traders and workers in other sectors of the economy and therefore shows bias against children of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists.

The problems of access to the school network for nomadic communities due to distance are well recognized; and there have been several attempts to compensate for this with boarding schools (or hostels) and school feeding programmes. The issues of opportunity cost and socio-cultural constraints are equally well recognized, although there is less evidence that there has been any systematic attempt to respond to these. Most systems appear to take the view that it is the communities that should adapt *and not the schools*. However, some governments have set up different modes of provision with varying degrees of success.

The quality of provision is poor, although it is not always clear that it is much poorer than elsewhere in the rural areas of these countries.

Literacy rates are very low among these communities and usually much lower than those for the settled populations. While adult literacy programmes were dying out at the beginning of the 1990s, a resurgence was witnessed towards the turn of the millenium, although it is too early to say whether they will be successful. The network of other provisions for adult education, already weak, is often non-existent in these areas.

Chapter 2

Making education systems work for nomadic populations

There are several different aspects to the issue of improving learning for nomadic populations. For the quantitative planner, the obvious problem is one of access – i.e. simply the lack of schools – and we also consider under this heading the potential for boarding schools or mobile schools. Qualitatively, one might be more concerned with adaptations to the curriculum, delivery modes and the recruitment and allocation of teachers. Educationalists themselves might be more interested in the success – or lack thereof – of specific non-formal experiments, and in what happens after school. We should all be interested in the reasons given by nomadic groups themselves for not attending school and why, for example, they drop-out more.

1. Current government policies on integration

In the six countries studied, pastoralists were historically and in practice often left alone and isolated from major changes taking place elsewhere.

In recent times, the general trend has been to sedentarize nomadic groups in order to reduce pressure on the land. In practice, this has meant that agricultural encroachment by non-nomadic groups has been encouraged. This is despite the fact that research has shown that given their environmental circumstances, nomadic pastoralists have been astute and adaptive in their organization and use of the land. Indeed, most nomadic groups interviewed perceived nomadic pastoralism as a production system likely to persist in the future as the most suitable land utilization strategy in the dry areas. However, most of them also thought that nomadism was on the decrease due to loss of animals, modernization and land demarcation: developments that have reduced the size of the pastures.

Nevertheless, there are cases where, due to other changes in the environment of nomadic communities, nomadism is no longer a viable option. The Afar around the Awash Valley in Ethiopia are a good example. Development schemes, including large dams/dykes for irrigation together with the increased incidence of livestock diseases and the invasion of the grazing area by alien plants, have eliminated much of their grazing grounds. Under these circumstances, formal education may contribute towards a process of change within pastoral communities.

In Djibouti and Eritrea, there is no official policy towards nomads, although the government would prefer them to move towards settlement. Nevertheless, this is a contested issue. For example, in Eritrea, Woldemichael argues that it is not necessary to try to sedentarize the population, as they are doing this themselves anyway in what he considers to be a natural progression. Mohamed (2000), who has written about the same groups, argues that while most pastoralists still migrate seasonally with their herds, some have settled on the outskirts of towns during the last 50 years to sell milk and find manual labour. They also depend less on natural grazing and use purchased fodder. He suggests that they have a better standard of living and have distanced themselves from other pastoralists.

The Kenya report indicates that the government has often sought to engineer the settlement of nomads, as their mobile lifestyle has been seen as an impediment to their education and integration into national society and to improvement in their standard of living, but not always with great success. The Tanzanian government has tried to sedentarize the Hadzabe (as did the British). Indeed, they built a boarding school for them and were given open access to secondary school without sitting the examination that is normally required. Similarly, the Northern Ugandan Reconstruction Programme (NURP) emphasized resettlement of nomads.

The Tanzania report indicates that the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) emphasizes to pastoralists the need to decrease the size of their herds in order to reduce pressure on the land. They are advised to apply modern methods of animal husbandry, such as the use of better cattle breeds and feeds, as well as preparation of fodder and pasture management, with the goal of improving the quality of animal products for wider markets. On the other hand, mixed results have been noted. It is stated that nomads are “increasingly being transformed into agro-

pastoralists, proletarianized and dispossessed of their major means of production, namely land and livestock.”

While none of the six countries have developed a totally separate education system for nomadic pastoralists, as this is seen as undesirable, there have been several alternative approaches to educational delivery for out-of-school children. These include boarding schools, mobile schools and non-formal provisions, which have often targeted nomadic groups. Although there are experiences with hostels and mobile schools in Eritrea and Ethiopia, generally more experimentation with these alternatives has been noted in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

In many cases, these are *de facto* different sub-systems, either as they are so isolated from other schools (e.g. in some parts of Kenya and Tanzania) or because there are few prospects that students in those schools can transfer to the ‘mainstream’ programmes. In Tanzania, for example, although provision is not directly linked to their culture, in two of the six districts studied schools were enrolling only nomads’ children. In contrast, in some special circumstances, for example with the refugee children in Adjumani (Uganda), integration of nationals and refugee children is positively encouraged, especially in the national schools that are located in the vicinity of refugee camps. These issues are dealt with later in this study.

2. Demand for education among nomadic groups

All the communities studied have their own set of traditions in knowledge and values that are passed on orally to the young generation. The content of these is usually concerned with how to manage habitats, practise animal husbandry, identify what type of herbs to use as medicine, understand the environment and other knowledge perceived to be important for the society. However, this type of knowledge is not targeted in the national curricula of the six countries. Nomads hold their cultures and norms very dear, and practices such as female circumcision and early marriage are still highly valued. Indigenous knowledge is therefore seen as the most important resource in trying to address environmental and other problems.

Previously, formal education did not appeal to the majority of them due to its lack of relevance, purpose and outcomes. Sarone (1984) argues

that education has had little appeal historically, largely because schooling is incompatible with the nomadic economy and lifestyle. Indeed, nomadic groups resisted formal schooling as it was perceived as antagonistic to their culture. Worse still, early school-goers appear to have been disconnected from the nomads after losing indigenous knowledge, skills, attitudes and values.

It is difficult to know what nomadic groups think of this issue. The Kenyan team reports that it is sometimes the officials who propound the view that the community has negative attitudes. When nomadic groups were asked, however, there were also some negative responses.

For example, some parents in Kalangala (Uganda) felt that there is no positive return in sending a child to school, saying “one who fishes generates income” and “educated young men do not have respect for some cultural norms the community upholds. They do not like to look after animals, preferring to be at shopping/market centres, doing nothing.”

In two nomadic communities there was a saying: “Children go to schools empty and come out empty.”

For most nomadic communities, those who have completed primary schools do not possess any meaningful basic knowledge and/or skills that could bring any changes, either in animal husbandry, agriculture or hunting and gathering.

Some of the interviews held with people who had left the nomadic lifestyle confirmed this. They reported that those still following the nomadic lifestyle were unenthusiastic about either adult education or the schooling of their children, and were unlikely to change their attitude in the near future. For example, they thought it unlikely that literacy classes would be revived, as they felt that adults in nomadic communities were reluctant to attend classes. In contrast, some nomads who had been to school saw education as an instrument of change that widens one’s outlook and makes people accept change. Education was perceived to help the few who are schooled to improve livestock productivity. Schooled people, if they still opt to keep livestock, keep a few well-looked after animals, which produce more milk and better meat, thus increasing the value of livestock, as the following quotations show.

“Although these pastoralist people used to give preference to livestock over education, things have changed. These days even the first-born is taken to school, but not in former years. He had to look after livestock. To settle in one place is our preference, not searching everywhere for pasture”.

“In the rural areas, education is not a priority among many pressing issues like herding. But experience shows that when mobilized, the pastoralists respond positively” (Members of a school committee).

Responses from educated native Afars who have left their community and now have businesses and professional careers were much more optimistic. They said that schools could be used as community skill training centres where adults attend literacy and numeracy classes. They could also acquire skill development in construction and furniture making as well as serving the community as cultural centres.

In West Pokot, Kenya, learners expected education to enable them to read and write. They wanted to learn how to run their businesses, i.e. rear livestock and market their products.

They wanted to be taught in Kiswahili. As one elder put it:

“We want a language which can help us run our daily activities, to read medical prescriptions and to understand issues discussed in public *barazas* conducted by non-Pokot administrative personnel”.

It has been observed in other studies that some nomadic parents would like their children to go to school in order to be able to learn the language of trade.

Groups in Ethiopia and Tanzania hoped their children would acquire a somewhat different range of skills: animal husbandry, traditional agriculture, technical skills, local history, hunting skills and discipline. Learners in the non-formal Shepherd Programme in Kenya gave similar answers. The Somalis in Ethiopia emphasized that religion should be included.

Other respondents were concerned with the quality of schooling being provided. For example, some groups in Kenya said that there was

over-crowding in schools with boarding facilities, which was seen as not being favourable for the learning environment. In Tanzania some parents were increasingly sceptical of the quality of teaching and management in primary schools. In Djibouti, some nomads from Obock district are worried about the weak quality of schooling and, for example, over the past 10 years not one child from a rural area has entered junior secondary school.

Some parents may decide to send their children to school because of the prospect of high rewards in terms of income or status. They will therefore make a careful selection of who goes to school and who stays at home in order to minimize the risk of loss to the livestock economy.

In some districts, a combination of conflict and years of drought have led to impoverishment. Some of the parents interviewed in those situations believed that there was no longer any future in herding, with schooling becoming the only option for their children.

In conclusion, clearly there must be different strategies for promoting access to education for different communities. The kinds of obstacles cited above depended on the conditions and circumstances of each nomadic group.

■ Community participation

Within the context of nomadic education in each country, the main issues concerning community participation are:

- What is a community?

A community can sometimes hold as many different perspectives and voices as there are members. The challenge is to identify those voices and help people to bring their different concerns and options to bear to a common end. It is important to consider that each nomadic community has its own organization and more often all groups in a community (elders, youth, women, men, traders, etc.) have a well defined role.

- What does community participation mean?

Generally, community participation means the involvement of beneficiaries in the identification, design, implementation, management,

financing and monitoring of projects. Therefore, modalities of capacity-building should be given to ensure effective participation for sustaining community participation (literacy programmes, training, credit, advocacy, etc.). It is important to have a clear strategy and to identify partnerships that can facilitate community participation. Today, decentralization may lead to a sharing of power and responsibility, but does not necessarily extend to the community level. When it does, it often means that the community shares costs, while the power remains at a higher level

■ Intersectoral/multisectoral approach

Nomadic populations are among the most disadvantaged groups in terms of access to basic services. Various factors contribute to the reduction of poverty and an intersectoral approach needs to be adopted to improve education for nomads. According to nomadic lifestyle and to the importance of water and grasslands for their livestock, several ministries and stakeholders should be involved in the implementation of projects for nomads. For example, in Djibouti, a school in nomadic areas with no well is a school without children. There is also a need to strengthen linkages between health and education, as a health post may be located in the same village where the school is being built. Similarly, if micro-funds are available, this should encourage more community-based initiatives and income-generating activities.

Decentralization and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers can strengthen the adaptation of policies and strategies to the socio-economic realities of a nomadic population. Nevertheless, mechanisms to improve multi- and intersectoral approaches are complex and raise a key issue concerning local level co-ordination between ministries and with communities.

3. Current responses for schooling

Preliminary remarks

Extracting from the opposing arguments in the research literature on what formal systems seek to teach nomadic pastoralists *vis-à-vis* nomadic pastoralists' traditional education systems and what they need to know (see for example Kralti, 2000), it seems clear that nomadic pastoralists

cannot 'catch up' in terms of educational achievement, by their own efforts or by those of NGOs, with those who are settled. If their need is acknowledged, then specific policies, programmes and projects are needed at government level targeting nomadic pastoralists. This section asks what policies have been implemented or proposed (if any) and whether any of the existing policies are likely to affect nomadic groups positively or negatively.

A first source were the EFA country reports for the Dakar Conference (April 2000). The overall impression was that there was only limited attention to the situation of nomadic groups. The Eritrea report recognized that improvement in the life of the nomadic population is "one of the major challenges to equity". The report refers to a preliminary survey on the educational need of pastoralists, and concludes that "no clear strategy has been developed in the management and organization of educational opportunity in nomadic areas". Nomadic communities in the Kenyan report were referred to mainly under the 'non-formal' or marginalized group categories. The Tanzanian report recorded that "Other groups such as nomads, fishermen, pastoralists hunters and gatherers and 'hard' to reach communities in the country have not had equitable access to adult education".

The detailed country studies report that several governments acknowledge that nomadic communities are disadvantaged and need special attention. They also show that while no country has ignored its nomadic populations, there do not appear to be any overall strategies to address their disadvantage. Moreover, the wide range of approaches attempting to provide nomadic populations with education indicates the existence of implicit policies. Some of the approaches such as boarding schools and quota systems were mentioned earlier (*Chapter 1, Section 1*). These can be grouped into three categories: (i) resolving access problems; (ii) improving the quality of learning; and (iii) ensuring that the wider context is supportive. The first two are considered in the following two sections while the latter, as it is relevant to more than just schooling, is developed in *Chapter 2, Section 5*.

There are of course several policies that, while not specific to nomadic groups, do in principle benefit nomadic pastoralists, such as: intensification of school feeding programmes in priority areas; focus on the girl child; and programmes for children with special needs and for

vulnerable groups. But there are also some policies that, unless careful attention is paid, could disadvantage nomadic groups. Three examples are considered below.

- Access to grade 1

A major concern in several countries was to reduce the very large age ranges observed in many classrooms. One mechanism is to restrict initial enrolment at grade 1 to the 'correct' age (which of course varies between countries – see *Table 1.10*). It is, however, recognized that strict implementation would tend to disadvantage children from nomadic groups. For example, in Eritrea an age limit for grade 1 of between 7 and 9 years (rather than on the sixth birthday) was introduced to take into consideration the social, cultural and economic situation of rural and nomadic areas. This requires greater mobilization of resources, sensitization of the community, rapid growth of the school system and a change to the practice of schools enrolling older children first.

- Resource allocation

If it is recognized that nomadic communities have special needs, then there will have to be additional finances. This means that there must be a positive decision to spend more per head in areas where there are nomadic populations. However, experience has shown that it is very difficult to target only nomadic children. This will usually have to take the form of a special provision supplementary to existing procedures for dividing up the national education budget between districts or regions. However existing formulas for allocations, if they are based only on numbers of children in the area and do not take into account the density of the population, will disadvantage nomadic populations. Even formulas that take the area into account can have problems. In Uganda for example, as the government formula allocating grants is based on surface area it disadvantages districts such as Kalangala, much of which is water.

- Promoting community participation

In principle, a policy of promoting community participation is to be welcomed. However, high levels of poverty limit communities' capacity to contribute to development of educational services, or even to the costs of educating their children. Lack of women's involvement does not help

either. In addition, it is difficult for scattered communities to participate on a regular basis unless careful attention is paid to the seasons when the nomadic community is likely to be near the school.

Strategies to improve access: lessons learnt

■ School mapping

It is widely recognized in Africa that the long distances that children must travel to school are a major dissuasive factor to attendance. Lack of a comprehensive school network making schools available to children is an obvious impediment to participation. These problems of access for nomadic groups, often or usually due to distance and isolation, are highlighted in several of the country reports. There are two aspects to the distance problem: (i) the energy required to cover the distances on an empty stomach; and (ii) reassurance for parents that children are safe and being looked after. The former is considered in the next sub-section; the latter here.

From a planning perspective, solving the distance problem depends on knowing where nomadic populations are to be found compared to where schools are or could realistically be made available. But although most of the countries have carried out the exercise of locating schools relative to fixed settlements ('school mapping'), there does not appear to have been a parallel exercise for nomadic populations in any of the countries studied. While this is clearly much more difficult, many nomads have a semi-permanent 'base camp' that could be mapped. Those that do not, on the other hand, tend to have reasonably fixed migration patterns.

Attempts to provide schools near nomadic populations run up against the problem that migratory routes change from year to year, as they are governed by rainfall patterns, the availability of water, pastures and security.

At a purely technical level, it would therefore be desirable for the EMIS to distinguish between nomadic/pastoralist groups and others (or between those ethnic groups that are mainly nomadic and other ethnic groups). However, there may be a serious objection to differentiating between sub-groups of the population on ethnic or 'occupational' (nomad/pastoralist, subsistence farmer, cash cropping farmer, etc.) grounds, due to the importance of nation building and non-discrimination. While not

ideal, a measure of cash income would also distinguish between them. It may therefore only be possible to distinguish between areas by degree of poverty. This fits in with the Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme (PRSP), but is not our concern here.

Even without a comprehensive map of where nomadic populations live, it is clear that for many groups the density of nomadic populations is too low to provide fixed schools precisely where nomads live. Under these circumstances, there is a variety of partial formal, non-formal and informal 'solutions', which fall into two groups.

One group is based on the principle of *bringing the children to the schools*. From the provider's perspective, this means setting up boarding schools or providing hostel accommodation in schools. Parents living in isolated rural areas who wish to send their children to school often send their children to live with a family near such a school.

The other approach tries to *take the schools as close as possible to the nomadic groups*. This can involve building schools in areas where nomadic populations tend to be located. It is assumed here that children from settled families will also enrol, but schools plan to give preferential access or a quota for nomadic groups either through screening at enrolment and/or giving incentives for nomads' children. This is not always easy to implement. For example, in Kenya it is easier to pass into secondary school in certain districts where schools have been constructed for nomadic groups, so parents find a way of registering their children in those districts. Longido Boarding Primary School, intended for a nomadic community, has 200 nomadic children out of 708 pupils. The alternative is to have mobile schools travelling with the nomadic group.

Examples of these different solutions emanating from the country studies are evaluated, giving their advantages and disadvantages, below.

- The boarding school option
- Formal boarding

The argument in the literature is that, in general, nomadic parents do not like the idea of giving custody of their sons and daughters to people they don't know, to whom they are not related and whose moral integrity

they often doubt (SCF, 2000; Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, Kenya, 1999).

Several of the country studies reported that special boarding facilities were being made available for students from nomadic groups of the population; and that some of these facilities specifically targeted girls. In some cases, boarding schools have succeeded in recruiting substantial numbers of children from nomadic groups through a combination of local awareness raising efforts and support from local and other NGOs. Increasing community commitment to supporting schools and an increasing desire to support girls' education are evident for example in Kajiado, in Kenya. However, while some of them are registering large enrolments, their impact on the overall enrolment rate of the district is still small. While they are an important pointer to the way forward, it seems unlikely that there are sufficient resources for this to be a solution for all children from nomadic groups.

Unfortunately, information is not available concerning the cost of boarding schools, however one could argue that there are several main issues concerning boarding schools such as management, supervision and continuity. The literature assumes that boarding school is expensive and this aspect must be considered in the implementation of such a project for nomads.

Today, there are ten boarding schools in Djibouti, but only a few are operating. According to interviews with nomads, it appears that most mothers are reluctant to send their daughter to sleep at school because of:

- the problem of insecurity;
 - a young girl (aged 6-10 years) could be afraid to live far from her family; and
 - the separation between mother and daughter is difficult.
- Informal boarding

Placing children with families in urban areas is very widely practised. However, in Djibouti this arrangement has led to a dependence of rural families on families in urban areas. At the same time, it leads to an exodus of the younger generation. The economic crisis and decline in family purchasing power have, however, made even this 'solution' problematic.

- Para-boarding

A community-based version of ‘informal’ boarding has been developed in Eritrea. Educators and administrators in the SRS region, with the active participation of the community, have started the concept of ‘para-boarding’ or ‘house-boarding’ with the objective of assisting children of nomadic groups to attend elementary schooling. To date, three such facilities have been established. A committee including local education officials and community elders manages each facility. Villagers whose children use the facility contribute one shelter and one kilo of grain or flour each; the local administration supplies sugar, tea, water, firewood, blankets, soap, etc.

- Mobile schools

The Oromia Bureau of Education in Ethiopia adopted mobile schooling as the chief mechanism for the delivery of basic education in pastoral areas. Twenty-four teachers were selected and given short intensive training in 1996 on the experience of pastoral education in other countries. Teachers were provided with a travelling ‘kit’ and were supposed to move with the community when they migrated.

Although the schools became operational, most of the anticipated objectives did not materialize. The schools were not mobile but were located in the mobile communities, where children, elders and women stay at home whilst the men migrate. Teachers therefore only taught children who did not move.

But apart from being difficult to implement, some theorists have argued that mobile schools for pastoralists keep them confined to their own group, usually narrowly bound by birth or clan. This is at the expense of integrating them – or at least giving them the opportunity to mix with people from other cultures, which after all is one of the purposes of education.

- School feeding programmes

School feeding programmes, usually supported and often operated by the World Food Programme (WFP), exist in many of the districts with a high proportion of nomads. The mission of WFP was reported to be to:

- save lives in emergency situations;
- improve the nutritional status of the most vulnerable groups; and
- help build assets and promote self-reliance among the people and communities. The core mission is thus to improve the food security of the community. For pastoralists, food security means maintenance of large herds of animals.

Typically, the programme provides pupils with a mid-day meal, often made of maize and beans, and in some cases with an early-morning porridge. The World Food Programme (WFP) usually provides the food and the Ministry of Education (MOE) is responsible for distribution to the various districts, although the food is sometimes transported to schools using commercial transporters. The obvious issue is sustainability.

- Problems in provision

Challenges facing school feeding were reported in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. They include insufficient quantities of food, unreliable transportation leading to irregular distribution or late delivery and inflated enrolments to enable schools to get bigger food quantities. Some authors suggest that WFP school feeding activities must be linked to income generation and land management in order to become sustainable. For many ministries of education, a subsidiary or even a principal purpose of school feeding programmes is to boost enrolment of pupils in pre-primary and primary schooling. It is also argued that the feeding programmes improve attention span and ultimately the learning capacity of pupils, through relieving short-term hunger. Most of the research teams report that the programmes are successful in enrolling and retaining children: However, the more detailed reports from the districts tend to be less optimistic.

- Consequences of irregularity

In almost every rural school (grades 1-3/4) visited in Afar, Ethiopia, attendance was found to vary wildly. As the head teachers explained, children come to school only when the World Food Programme (WFP) biscuits and porridges are supplied.

In many areas of Kenya the school-feeding programme attracts children to school as long as there is no food at home. In Marsabit, distribution has been irregular due to transport problems, with many schools closing when there is no food. A school in Turkana saw its enrolment drop from 300 to 40 at the end of term, because WFP and the government began distributing food at the neighbouring village. The common view is that children withdraw from school during the rainy seasons, when cows and camels yield enough milk. Education officials have found it difficult to convince parents to take children to school during these periods.

When Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK) started in Uganda, it did not use school feeding, although the formal schools had a World Food Programme. When the programme was brought in to ABEK, it was reported that children would stay away from school for days on end when the food was not distributed.

- Outcomes

The contention that the programmes have had a positive impact on enrolments and retention is used as a basis for arguing that they should be continued. However the impact on access and retention in, for example, the North-Eastern Province of Kenya has been negligible. Recipients also hope that the programmes continue. But there are some potentially negative side effects due to a ‘dependency syndrome’ partly brought about by the erosion of the recipient communities’ food production capacities. For example, the Pastoralist Thematic Group in Kenya said:

“Although many natural and man-made disasters have made food relief an unavoidable short-term measure, the chronic dependence on food relief can have a deadening effect. It is remarkable how quickly it can erode the initiative and enterprise of formerly fiercely independent communities”.

“There is a need to solve the perennial and very expensive drought-related food crises through long-term structural development as opposed to short-term interventionist strategies. During the year 2000/2001, the government of Kenya spent 4.8 billion on relief. These huge figures can be interpreted as being ‘the cost of doing nothing’ to address the long-term structural development challenges in ASAL”.

■ Others

• Early childhood education

Another approach promoted in several countries is pre-primary education, with the intention of increasing access and retention in primary schools. While such programmes existed in all the study countries, there were only scattered examples of these being implemented in nomadic areas.

• Abolishing fees and/or introducing bursaries/incentives/quota scholarships

User fees are abolished to meet political expediency or to increase social demand for education, but unless other resources are made available and budgets devolved to schools, this can mean that schools are deprived of any operational resources. Where this is combined with a poor management system, long distances, a harsh climate and poor communication systems, rural schools can find themselves without basic materials. This in turn contributes to the poor quality of education, a situation observed in Ethiopia even where the recurrent expenditure budget for primary education had been increased at the regional level.

• The School Camel Programme in Kenya

The School Camel Programme in Samburu, Moyale and Marsabit districts in Kenya, illustrates a new approach. It establishes herds of 10 camels (three of which are paid for by the families) in the selected schools. For each school, the project trains the school committee, a few girls and boys and one teacher in camel husbandry. This project addresses food security by providing milk for schoolchildren. Any surplus milk can be sold to generate income. Teachers and students use the camels as live teaching aids to learn about health care, hygiene and management. Although this programme has been described as a success, the researchers of the current study found no evidence that the project was in existence in Marsabit in 2001.

Issues in improving classroom learning: lessons learnt

■ Towards curriculum relevance

Woldemichael (1995) argues that nomadic communities have no particular problem with the content, relevance or utility of the curriculum, with the effects of schooling (in terms of taking children and youth away from the community), or with the overall relation of the education system to their own cultures and way of life. Indeed, in Kenya, there were some reports of nomads wanting to integrate with other groups, in which case they presumably would not want a different curriculum. However, for most authors the lack of curriculum relevance (and/or its poor delivery) is one of the major explanations for pastoralists' supposed low interest in education and for the high drop-out rate from schools in pastoral areas (this also applies to other disadvantaged groups). The basic argument is that school curricula are developed by sedentary people for sedentary people (or even by urban dwellers for urban dwellers) and therefore are largely irrelevant to nomads' experience and concerns.

Indeed, many would agree with the Djibouti report when it talks of 'inadapted' schools. Communities rarely have a say in the development and/or modification of curricula, which is centrally prepared; nor is training given to teachers to adapt it to local conditions. For example, the Eritrean report argued for a community-based curriculum response involving various organs and structures within the community.

The literature includes advocates of separate curricula, which is seen as a way of providing pastoralists with the skills needed to survive in a harsh environment (which they have, in fact, lived in for generations). This is an optimistic view of the role of education and a pessimistic view of pastoral communities' ability to survive and thrive.

In fact, in all six countries the curriculum and teaching methods used in formal schools in the nomadic districts were reported to be similar to those used in other state schools and assessments were made against the national standards. However, a number of small-scale adaptations were mentioned and several were suggested in the country reports.

The Ethiopian team commented that “The Afar pastoralists’ rich cultural heritages, the archaeological assets of the region, the protection, conservation and development of the natural resources such as the soil, the grasslands, the water, the plants, the wild and domestic animals could have been used as relevant curriculum contents. This would, of course, need simple and attractive organization and presentation coupled with illustrative pictures as they fit to the age and the grade levels of the learners. But their heritage has been ignored.”

Three-quarters of the teachers interviewed in the Kenyan study reported that the local culture; economic activities, ceremonies and beliefs were reflected in humanities (Geography, History, Civics-GHC) and religious education. They claimed that they took account of the cultural context by avoiding conflicts between education and culture/religion, and by respecting local culture. They believed that most of the children had relatively positive attitudes to education, given the barriers arising from the nomadic lifestyle.

A few teachers reported that there was a conflict between nomadic cultures as the national curriculum set for all children lacked a serious nomadic orientation. Teachers from the local communities were more likely to cite conflict of this kind. At the same time, they were much more critical of local culture and practices, and keener to facilitate the process of settlement. They suggest ways the materials could be improved below:

“Like in GHC the pupils are taught about Fulani and Maasai. What is left out is how they could improve their nomadic lifestyle”.

“The majority of the authors of the approved course books are from non-nomadic communities – it is better for the writer to do research before the production of the books”.

- The school calendar and timetable

Despite decentralization, in many countries the school calendar is still chosen and enforced by the ministry of education. The Tanzanian report comments that such a timetable is too rigid, but also notes that schools in urban areas are more flexible and use double shifts.

Flexibility was evident in some other countries. For example, in Eritrea schools run six days a week from October to April rather than five days a

week from September to June. Similarly, in Ethiopia there are regional alterations to the calendar and timetable in an attempt to adapt school working hours to the climate, socio-economic and cultural requirements. However it is not evident that these changes are sufficiently flexible in responding to the actual movement of the groups concerned.

- Teacher recruitment, selection and motivation

All the countries have a network of teacher training colleges or institutes, although not necessarily one in every province or region. Residential courses usually last two years; but the proportion of teachers who have received such training varies substantially. While the country reports gave only a few details, nearly all the countries also have in-service training programmes, however there were no reports of any specific training for teaching nomadic groups.

- Teacher recruitment, allocation and experience

About half of the teachers interviewed in the nine schools in Eritrea had been trained and over two-thirds were from the nomadic areas where the school was located or from other ethnic groups who are nomads.

In Ethiopia, teachers are recruited by the Regional Education and Culture Bureau and assigned to schools by the Zone. The language of instruction at the Teacher Training Institutes (TTIs) is the local language in the area to which the prospective teacher has been assigned. TTIs serving more than one region and/or ethnic group therefore use several languages as media of instruction, which was found to be complicated and costly.

Most of the teachers have served for less than five years and have limited experience. This was mainly because the experienced teachers get transfers to urban areas. In some cases, while the teachers could only use the local language for communication purposes, they had insufficient mastery when it came to teaching the local children.

In Tanzania, teachers are in principle trained in Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs). Sixty-three per cent of teachers had had more than five years' experience in the schools, but over half are themselves only primary school leavers. Only 0.6 per cent are diploma holders (research

on poverty alleviation, November 2000). Teachers are allocated to schools via the office of the District Education Officer. The head teachers interviewed said that only a few teachers could speak the mother tongues of the children from nomadic communities.

The motivation of teachers is also low, due to the difficult and precarious living and working conditions. They live far from many economic activities and lack basic services such as water and electricity. In Djibouti, financial compensation exists with a monthly top-up of Djibouti Francs 10,000 for distance and up to 30,000 for housing, but this is not enough and often irregular. Teachers sent to rural zones are generally substitutes, recruited on title at the baccalaureate level, with only 2-3 weeks of teacher training. They are thus very young teachers who are not yet experienced. In rural areas, 60 per cent of teachers are substitutes.

- Incentives, motivation and preferences

Motivation to teach in nomadic areas is another issue. This is, of course, a general problem in rural areas, given erratically-paid low salaries, lack of resources and harsh living conditions. A variety of incentive schemes were reported. Teacher preferences are also an issue: If teachers are not comfortable while teaching, the groups of children involved are at a disadvantage and unlikely to succeed.

In Eritrea, communities support teachers by providing food and inviting them home during the holidays. Teachers in turn share the food or rations with students from distant places and provide supervised study time.

The Kenyan Government has a policy of topping up salaries of civil servants and teachers working in hardship areas, most of which are ASAL areas. This has gone a long way towards attracting professional staff and particularly teachers to formerly poorly staffed areas. However, most ASAL districts are understaffed by about 30 per cent, although the situation is much better than before.

The majority of teachers in rural areas would prefer to move. Nevertheless, some of those interviewed in Kenya said they preferred teaching nomadic children in order to help them achieve their right to education. Another reason – given by about 25 per cent of the teachers interviewed – is that children of nomads are disciplined as they are not

‘polluted’ by urban life. However, some teachers were not so approving. A few saw nomads as disadvantaged because of their frequent movements.

Some teachers also reported that they encountered a lot of difficulties in making the learners participate fully in the lesson. For example one non-local teacher in Mwangaza in Marsabit District of Kenya said:

“I adopt as many appropriate methods as possible, e.g. good use of appropriate analogies in explanation. Sometimes you cannot find the real item to teach the new vocabulary, i.e. the word like ‘potato’ is difficult to teach a child who has never seen one, unless you show the child a real potato or refer to some tuber which grows in the local environment”.

In Tanzania, 70 per cent of teachers said that they would rather not teach nomadic children because their high mobility adversely affected continuity in teaching and learning, and hence performance.

■ Language policy

Much of the traditional knowledge is passed down from generation to generation orally, in art works or in the design of handicrafts such as baskets, rather than being written down. Therefore losing a nomadic language and its cultural context is like burning a unique reference book of the natural world.

The consensus today is that it is preferable that the teaching vehicle for the first few years of elementary school (and in adult literacy programmes) should be the mother tongue. The fact that this only happens where there is a national policy to have different languages for the various ethnic groups confirms the absence of any special treatment for nomadic groups (see *Section 1* above).

Local languages and corresponding primers were expected to be in use in elementary schools in Eritrea. Woldemichael reports that those schools using a local language have less repetition than those using Arabic.¹

1. The author points out that in order to teach in the vernacular, the Ministry would need external support to establish an institute.

According to the Ministry of Education's policy, the literacy programme and continuing education at the elementary level should be offered in the mother tongue. Primers (literacy texts) have been printed in the languages roughly in proportion to the population.

Based on national policy guidelines, many ethnic groups in Ethiopia already use their languages for primary education. In 2000/2001, 21 languages (Amharic, Afar, Awi, Himtigna, Oromio, Somali, Agnwak, Nuer, Harari, Silti, Kebena, Hadiya, Kembata, Kefinoono, Gediyo, Sidama, Wolayta, Gofa, Gamo, Dawro and Tigrinya) other than English were being used as a medium of instruction. In Oromia, most of the schools use Oromigna. However, as there are millions of non-Oromo speaking people in the region, Amharic is also used as a medium of instruction in about 235 schools. In some major towns of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regions (SNNPR), Amharic is also used simultaneously with the national languages, while many areas use Amharic only. Developing a systematic language policy in the presence of diversity is difficult.

Summary

Without a map of where nomads live relative to where schools could potentially be made available, planning is well nigh impossible. While this is clearly a difficult exercise, many pastoral groups have semi-permanent 'base camps' that could be mapped and those that do not tend to have reasonably fixed migration patterns.

Providing boarding schools has been one of the favourite options. It can only ever be a partial solution due to the cost and reluctance of nomadic parents. However, there are promising variants in terms of hostels and para-boarding, and one could envisage ways of providing support to informal boarding. Few experiences of mobile schools were reported and some suggest that they are antithetical to the education project.

Although it is clear that, where school-feeding programmes are implemented, children are attracted to school, they have encountered serious challenges. Ensuing irregularity has led in some cases to children only coming to school when there is food available and a long-running programme may have negative side effects such as creating a vicious dependency syndrome.

While the evidence about the impact of making curricula relevant is ambiguous, it seems eminently sensible. However, nearly all the suggestions made could equally apply to the settled rural poor and curriculum revisions should be carried out in any case.

Adaptations to the calendar and timetable have been introduced successfully in several countries. However it is not clear that these changes are sufficiently responsive to the actual movement of the nomads concerned.

Ideally, the majority of teachers should be from the same pastoral background as the pupils. Yet the process of allocating teachers to schools is often centralized and does not take into account the socio-cultural characteristics of individual teachers. In many cases, a pastoral background was not always a guarantee that the teachers would settle in the job rather than trying to move to another town. In addition, the relative isolation of any schools that are provided for nomadic groups makes the provision of female teachers particularly difficult. Given parental attitudes and expectations for girls, together with their concern for their safety and security, this acts as a brake on girls' enrolments.

In countries where several languages are spoken, the allocation procedures can lead to teachers not being able to speak the mother tongues of the children in their classes. None of the studies reported any specific procedures for allocating teachers to schools where there are children from nomadic groups.

It seems obvious that a policy of using the various ethnic languages at the elementary level will have a positive impact on equity among ethnic groups. On the other hand, it may have a hidden negative consequence by hampering the expansion of coverage due to increased costs. This is usually made more complex by the administrative form of decentralization that cuts across and overlaps ethnic groups' territories, so that there can be no simple one-to-one allocation of materials and teachers. As ethnic mixing is likely to increase, this will become increasingly complicated.

4. Non-formal education

Experiences and lessons

A number of out-of school schemes were reported. Some are run by governments: some are small-scale and specifically for nomads, and examples of these are described in Kenya; others, such as Complementary Basic Education in Tanzania (COBET) and the Complementary Opportunities for Primary Education (COPE) in Uganda are more general programmes for out-of-school-children, including some in nomadic areas. There are also a large number of alternative non-formal schooling experiments organized by NGOs. Two of them are described below.

Some of the nomadic pastoralists, such as the Somalis in Kenya, have provisions for education in Koranic schools and in *madrassas*, which have higher participation rates than those found in the formal systems.

■ Large-scale national schemes

Complementary Primary Education (COPE) in Uganda aims to reach out-of-school children aged 10-16 years who are not in any formal school system, including those who have dropped out of the formal system before attaining basic literacy and numeracy. It targets the very poor children, those who are economically important to their family's survival and girls, because they are culturally disadvantaged.

The curriculum emphasizes basic education and includes languages (mother tongue and English), mathematics, science, health and social studies. Subjects are taught in the context of life skills and for their relevance to the local community, but not as vocational training. The curriculum covers the first five years of the formal primary syllabus in three years. There is continuous assessment rather than tests (although there is a selection examination at the end of three years).

There is a Management Committee composed of nine members, including at least three women. Members are elected after at least two public meetings convened by the local government. The local community employs the instructors, who are chosen from within the community. Preference is given to married older women, both for stability and because they can address the needs of adolescent girls in the programme. They

are trained and encouraged to use child-centred and participatory methods, involving the children in small group activities.

Daily starting times and locations for the three-hour long instruction can be varied to suit local conditions. The school calendar of five or six days a week is made up of three terms, in order to give the learners sufficient time to fulfil their domestic obligations. Existing village facilities are used as far as possible; but school buildings are *not* used so as to minimize conflict. A centre is not normally located within 5 kms of a formal school and COPE children should not be drawn away from active attendance or from formal primary schools. Nevertheless, the COPE curriculum is drawn from the formal curriculum (P1 to P5 compressed into three years). COPE learners can join formal primary school at P6 level after selection examinations at the end of the third year.

- Small-scale government-NGO partnership schemes
- *Samburu Lechekuti* (Shepherds) Programme (Kenya)

This programme for shepherd boys and girls, started with a view to reducing illiteracy rates among the Baragoi Community in Samburu District, was funded jointly by the government and various NGOs. It targeted out-of-school youth aged between 7 and 16 years, whose parents wanted them to remain at home to look after domestic animals. A majority of learners (that is, 80 per cent) were young girls who had never been to school; the other 20 per cent were children (boys and girls) who had dropped out of school. Teachers are volunteers from the community: A majority of teachers are untrained and lack sufficient knowledge and skills. The centres adopt the national curriculum or choose their own. The programme has spread to other districts in recent years.

Factors contributing to the success of the Shepherds Programme include:

- a flexible learning schedule so that learning takes place after livestock-related duties;
- acceptance of learners of varying ages and abilities in the centres;
- strong participation by the community, which contributes to sustainability.

The programme was extended to 14 centres and attracted older youth and adults. In subsequent evaluations, the training of the Non-Formal Education (NFE) teachers, especially in multi-grade teaching, was identified as the most critical input to address declining enrolments.

- Wajir Mobile Schools (Kenya)

A mobile school project was started in 1994 by the Nomadic Primary Health Care Organization (NPHC), a local NGO, in response to extremely high illiteracy rates among Somali pastoralist children, youth and adults. Learning takes place during early mornings or in the evenings in *manyattas* (homes) before or after taking livestock to pasture. When the families move to another location, the teacher, a paraprofessional and religious leader (*maalim*) moves with the group of families and continues with the teaching. The curriculum used in this project was enriched to consist of reading, writing, English, Kiswahili, agriculture, law, veterinary medicine, etc., in addition to Islamic religious education. In 1999, there were 84 such mobile schools, many of which followed the national curriculum.

An evaluation concluded that, relative to other interventions, *hanuniye* or the mobile teacher had made greater educational impact in reaching nomads who move at least three times during the dry season (Ibrahim, 1999). The model is viewed by pastoralists as suitable and has already covered 1,653 adults and 2,480 children, with approximately equal numbers of boys and girls. However the anticipated optimistic outcome that the mobile school may stimulate enrolments in state schools and increase demand for education is not borne out by data on gross enrolment ratios for the years 1999 and 2000 in Wajir District.

In 2001, however, many of these schools were not operational. The field teams found that the project had nearly collapsed after NPHC stopped funds to sustain the teachers, particularly also because communities lost their animals in El Niño floods.

- NGO non-formal experiments

- Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK-Uganda)

ABEK is a complementary basic education programme that uses a non-formal approach. It was initiated by the Ministry of State of Karamoja

(Prime Minister's Office) in conjunction with the district local governments of Moroto and Kotido in 1995 and developed in partnership with Save the Children Norway.

ABEK was designed to address specific needs. The needs were identified and solutions developed through discussion and agreement in pre-project activities. These included a review, consultations and planning meetings, needs assessment and curriculum preparation between 1996 and 1998. The key points included: facilitators from the community; community contributions towards the welfare of facilitators; provision of learning centres and learner attendance; Nakaramojong people for the language of instruction; teaching schedules corresponding with children's labour needs at home; content designed to provide a minimum survival kit of '3Hs' (head, heart and hands). Children were taught in their *manyattas* (homes) at a time convenient for them.

There is a local committee structure and involvement in which 'parents are the key stakeholders' (Odada and Olega, 1999). At the policy level, parents were in charge in ABEK: They insisted that curriculum should include material on livestock. Parents also have an important role at monitoring level. The tailored curriculum includes: livestock education; crop production; environmental management; rural technology; home management; rights and obligations; peace and security; and human health, sex education and HIV/AIDS. While the aims are clearly wider than just providing a funnel to primary schooling (and the programme has been seen as a success in those terms), the ABEK programme is meant to 'develop [in the Karamojong children] a desire to join the formal schooling' (Owiny, 1999: 7).

In 2001, the programme was implemented in eight parishes in Karamoya, representing a total of 222 ABEK centres. Available data for 2000 reported that 13,000 children enrolled, representing five times as many as the formal schools.

Odada and Olega (1999), who comment that the project has been financed 'very generously', recently reviewed the programme. A selection of their findings were: centre attendance generally represents one third of enrolments; none of the 69 centres have completed all of the agreed tasks (shelters, stores, huts and pit latrines); facilitators have problems with the manuals and the quality of manuals and supplementary readers have to

be produced; and there was a lack of accurate recording and monitoring. Most importantly, while they showed that only 1 per cent of children were transferring to primary schools (and only 8.5 per cent of those were girls), more recent data (from this study) suggests that this has risen to around 10 per cent. From 1999 to 2001, 770 children joined formal schools.

Besides an innovative integration between pastoral and modern education, ABEK has gained high community acceptance, recognition and ownership.

- Child Centred Alternative Non-formal Community Education (CHANCE-Uganda)

The Bahima, who represent about one third of the population, rarely send their children to school. CHANCE, funded by Save the Children USA is operating 20 centres with 2,300 children enrolled. Chairs and teaching/learning materials are fully provided. Three centres visited in the nomadic areas had adequate and neat toilet facilities for both boys and girls. About 15 per cent of the targeted children were said to have been reached.

CHANCE, like ABEK, has consulted and respected indigenous opinion and experiences. On the other hand, the main reason the communities gave for liking CHANCE was that it gave free education to children (47 per cent) in contrast to the fees they had to pay at government schools, which seems much more pragmatic. It is interesting to note that when asked why they sometimes stayed away from schools, migration was mentioned by only 6 per cent of both boys and girls.

- Nangingoi Child Development Project by Christian Children's Fund (CCF-Kenya)

The Nangingoi Child Development Project was started by the Christian Children's Fund (CCF) to address the problem of girls' education in the Mosiro location of Ngong Division in Kajiado District. According to the project officer, at the beginning of the programme only 1 per cent of girls were in school. The programme uses a participatory and integrated approach. Education is integrated with health and nutrition, water, food security and income-generating activities. It covers 2,500 people in Mosiro location.

The project has had a big impact on school participation. The girls' school now has 207 learners and the GER stands at 20 per cent. The project is characterized by high retention and completion rates. The main challenges facing the project are the community's negative attitudes to girls' education, early marriage, migration and poverty, which are factors common in other areas of the district but more enhanced in Mosiro.

- Girl Child Rescue Centre: Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE-Kenya)

FAWE has provided a dormitory in Kajiado for use by girls who have been rescued from abusive practices such as female genital mutilation and early marriage. The centre started in response to cries of girls from the Maasai community fleeing from forced marriages. One girl sought help from the District Commissioner and other local administrative officials and finally landed in the hands of the headmistress of African Inland Church (AIC) Kajiado, a fierce defender of girls' education. In time, several girls had sought refuge in the school and as the parents of the girls who had been rescued abdicated their parental responsibilities to accelerate their early return home, the school started looking for sponsorship to keep the girls in school. The girls stay all the year round because they are afraid to go back home during holidays.

- Afar Pastoralist Development Association (APDA) in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia a NGO, the APDA, implements a mobile school. APDA is currently catering mobile education services for 1,878 children, 1,454 women and 2,881 men. Teachers are recruited from among the pastoralists themselves and trained on a short-term basis. Their educational qualifications vary from grade 6 to grade 8. The Association pays the salary of these teachers and their work is also supervised by the same organization. They teach by travelling with the pastoralists from place to place, using *UNESCO's Emergency Kit* as teaching material where the methods of approach to the specific target groups and the contents are indicated. The final grade level they are aiming at is 1-3, which they are now implementing, and after grade 3 it is hoped that the regional government will continue the system where this Association leaves off.

- Koranic schools (Kenya)

There are examples of Koranic education in many of the areas visited. The description below is based on that in Garissa district, in Kenya.

- The *madrassa* system

Most school children attend *madrassa* using the same school facilities after formal school hours, under instruction from teachers trained in the *madrassa* system. This system appears to be well entrenched and successful among the nomads in Garissa. There have been efforts to integrate it with the formal system, but these have encountered resistance from *madrassa* teachers, fearing they may lose their jobs. At the same time, it was found that some communities put up separate buildings outside the formal school, to ensure they maintain control of the *madrassa* education process.

- The *duksis* system

Learning in *duksis* takes place very early in the morning or later in the evening after the formal school and *madrassa*, usually in makeshift and very temporary structures. In the *duksi* system, the child is expected to memorize the verses of the Koran. The teacher and the parents of the child determine the curriculum subjects to be carried out and the time schedule..

Both the *madrassa* and *duksi* systems seem to have good attendance and, furthermore, are considered to be adapted to the lifestyle of nomadic pastoralists. The concept guiding the *Wajir Mobile School* borrowed heavily from this tradition: Perhaps other formal education provision should look to ways of adapting to the nomadic groups in the way that the *madrassa* and *duksi* concept does.

Adult education: demand and experiences

- Demand

Okech (2001) interviewed 161 non-literate participants pastoralists in Kotido and Moroto, the Karamoja region of Uganda and asked “what were their major problems, why illiteracy might be a problem, what would they like to learn first and why?”. Even though they, unsurprisingly, said

“famine, lack of water, disease, insecurity and poverty before ignorance and illiteracy”, the vast majority wanted to learn how to read, write and count before any other topics that one might have thought corresponded better to their reported problems.²

The main problems usually cited by nomadic groups, after lack of water, food and security problems but before ignorance and illiteracy, were disease and the treatment of livestock. It might therefore be appropriate for at least some of the adult education content to focus on information about medicines and veterinary science. This is worth exploring for its relevance to each country context.

There is also an insistent demand from local women. For example:

“Because of our traditional practices, women are put on the lower side of any issues of the community. Even when children are taken to school, boys are given priority over girls. In public *barazas* men dominate the discussions and in most cases, women are not given opportunity to express their views. It is high time we sensitize our community, especially women, through education, that we should share information and resources equally” (a woman adult learner).

Several reports from the districts mentioned demand for specific training beyond general literacy and numeracy. For example, groups in Tanzania gave a long list of what they (as adults) would like to learn about: modern animal husbandry; environmental education; traditional midwifery; bee-keeping; hunting skills; income-generating activities; trading or commerce; water services; health education; agriculture; and sensitization of community to value education.

■ Scale of literacy programmes on the ground

The national literacy programmes and their expansion to nomadic areas were described in *Chapter 1*; here we wish to put on record what the research teams found in the field.

2. Krätli suggests that many of those interviewed by Okech were not pastoralists (conversation at Oxford Conference, 2001).

The Kenyan team reported that in reality things on the ground did not tally with what was being said. In some centres, the learners were not even present. In Tanzania, at the time fieldwork was being carried out, hardly any adult literacy programmes were operating. The few that existed were mainly health programmes. At the same time, the report says that Serengeti District has substantial enrolment in adult education. In Uganda, the adult literacy programme has recently been expanded. In the six study districts, the researchers found over 10,000 adults enrolled in classes. About half of them were women.

The drop out rate in the Eritrean Literacy Programme was 30 per cent, which was considered to be low given the war situation. However, it may be fairly assumed that drop out rates in nomadic areas are much higher than the national average. Of the 800 facilitators assigned to the programme, about 40 per cent are in nomadic regions. About 33 per cent are females, which is more acceptable to female participants. The national drop-out rate of facilitators is 16 per cent, compared to a higher figure of 23 per cent in the nomadic areas and in areas afflicted by conflict. About 75 per cent of the learning centres are in schools or rented houses. These are a long way from residences, meaning that learners must travel three to four kms each way, per day, to attend classes. In short, inappropriate learning centres, long distances from home to centres and lack of childcare facilities, etc. contribute to high drop out rates, especially for women.

■ Other programmes and their results

● Educational radio programmes

In several of the countries, educational programmes directed at poor rural populations including nomadic groups were being broadcast. In Eritrea, the broadcasts reach all regions except SRS. Some 416 scripts were produced and aired for 15 hours weekly and 780 hours yearly. The problem is that there are only between three and eight radio sets per 100 people in nomadic areas and this is too few – even where batteries are available – to sustain media-based programmes.

● Modernizing practices

The Adult Education Department of Zanzibar has developed non-formal courses to train migrant fishermen in modern fishing, fish processing

techniques and literacy. Literacy animators were trained and given teaching materials. The fishermen studied from printed primers and classes, using a special curriculum for the 3 months they were away at a fishing camp, then enrolled into their home villages' literacy classes on returning home at the end of the season of absence.

- Mobile libraries

The *Kenya National Library Service* started the Garissa Camel Mobile Library project in 1997. Its major goal was to make books available to nomads and to promote a reading culture. The idea was to use a delivery mode common to the culture. Readership increased to 570 in 2001. There are three camel mobile routes, two to Sankuri and Tumaini northwards, and another towards Lamu southwards.

The Camel Library route covers a distance of 20 kms every two weeks. This mobile library of three camels travels, lends and collect books. Learners and other users can borrow books, which they can share and exchange among themselves until the next camel visit. The project has been expanded to involve six camels due to its success.

In conclusion, both governments and NGOs have sought to deliver education to marginalized groups including nomadic communities. It is very difficult to evaluate their effectiveness without carrying out a full-scale evaluation. The experiences captured in the country reports show that provisions outside the formal system have mainly been implemented by other development partners of the governments and tended to be on a small scale. As a result, sustainability has been an issue, pointing to the need for well-planned government programmes on a larger scale.

5. Partnerships at the local level

Multisectoral collaboration: experiences, impediments and prospects

The country reports give several examples of integrated programmes involving multi-sectoral collaboration. Unfortunately there were rather fewer external evaluations.

■ Semi-Arid Rural Development Programme (SARDEP)
Kajiado, Kenya

The SARDEP integrated approach targets five sectors in the focus districts:

- local democratic structures that facilitate sustainable development and resource management;
- improved agricultural farming systems and related productive infrastructure;
- improved livestock production systems and related production infrastructure;
- functioning supply of safe domestic water; and
- improved primary education services.

In the primary education sector, SARDEP provides training for school committees, teachers and others in financial management, monitoring and evaluation. Other activities include improvement of assessment and placement of children with disabilities, provision of learning facilities and teaching/learning materials to schools, and improving girl's access to education.

During the fieldwork, the researchers found a strong local presence of the SARDEP Programme. It was evident that the SARDEP was contributing in terms of physical facilities, learning and accommodation resources, which had gone a long way in improving the quality of education in boarding schools in Kajiado, thus attracting many learners. Although initially SARDEP met the costs of facilities, later the parents and communities started taking more financial responsibility. In one of the best enrolled mixed boarding primary schools, only 10 learners were beneficiaries of bursaries from outside the school. According to the SARDEP programme manager, the community response to education is overwhelming, in spite of the fact that the learning environment is not conducive, that the curriculum needs improvement and that, furthermore, educational quality needs improvement to keep children in school and in jobs after school. The SARDEP philosophy is that enrolments cannot be enforced, but that an enabling environment 'for willingness by the community to develop' can facilitate them. This philosophy seems to have borne fruit in the case of Kajiado District.

- *Dupoto E Maa*, Olkejuado Pastoralists Development Organization (OPDO), Kenya

Dupoto E Maa, which means ‘prosperity to the Maa-speaking people’, is a local NGO that has four areas of concern: land and environment, resource management, education and publicity and fundraising. Its partners are Development Co-operation, ICCO, CARE, Kenya, Kenya Pastoralists Forum (KPF), Neighbours Alliance (NA) and the Semi-arid Rural Development Programme (SARDEP).

Its current focus is on education, land rights and primary health care. Since its inception in 1994, *Dupoto E Maa* has continued to support education by providing school fees assistance to learners at all levels of education. The NGO has also contributed to the improvement of learning and accommodation facilities in boarding schools by donating beds and mattresses, energy-saving cooking stoves, solar energy equipment and digging water pans. *Dupoto* has also put up five classrooms and equipped them with desks, chairs and books. In its programme of community empowerment, it has trained 300 key people in management skills. *Dupoto* is held in high respect at the local level and perceived as the communities’ own response to the challenges facing the education of pastoralist children. At the same time, the NGO recognizes that the community has in the past placed a low priority on education, weighing increasing poverty levels against the rising cost of education.

- Provision of services to nomads in Tanzania

The research team in Tanzania examined the programmes of seven government departments: agriculture and livestock development; agriculture and food security; community development; social welfare; health; and Tanzania National Parks. Five of the seven departments indicated that they were not offering any training to nomads, while four of them said that they were offering some training in areas where there were nomads. Services other than education that were provided include provision of food aid to those in need; agricultural extension; both curative and preventive health services; provision of micro-credit facilities; roads; and water. A wide range of delivery methods was used including residential training; on-site training focusing on specific problems such as disease outbreak; visits to farmers; study tours to areas of success; sensitization;

compulsion through bye-laws; meetings and workshops; and posters and other visual aids.

Experiences of community involvement

There is a general move towards decentralization of educational provision and promotion of community participation in many African states, and these countries are no exception. Many of the countries have set out a constitutional framework for School Management Committees, but the extent to which these are actually functional and effective is often unclear, more so for nomadic groups.

In Eritrea, in general, women in all the nomadic groups are not encouraged to attend community meetings, and if they do, they are simply 'good listeners'. They cannot submit their views to the local (Kebabi) or other higher administrative officials. Parents are meant to participate in school management through the School Parent Teacher Committee (SPTC). Committee members should facilitate good teacher-student relationships and assist both in meeting teachers' basic amenities and in the upkeep of the school infrastructure. Despite the economic stress that many households face, the SPTC, by and large, manages to meet its obligations to teachers.

In Kenya, the refugee education programme was started during the emergency phase of 1991-1993 by refugee community initiatives. CARE then later formulated the process. Refugees therefore own the programme and make key decisions. Training on community participation in education, the role of information and current trends in education are continuously developed in consultation with the community. The lessons learnt in the programme include the following:

- (a) community ownership and support for education is essential for the sustainability of refugee education;
- (b) education is one of the pull factors 'keeping' refugees in camps more than any other humanitarian assistance;
- (c) education can unite communities that formerly had historical differences;
- (d) the level of donor funding reduces as refugees overstay in a host country;

- (e) refugee communities, if well trained, can handle their own educational programme.

Although most of the refugees are from a nomadic pastoralist background, they do not keep any animals at all in the camps. All their financial needs are met by UNHCR through CARE.

In Tanzania, the nomadic community is represented in local political authorities and communication with government was mainly through visits, meetings and public rallies where issues discussed included education, construction of classrooms and building modern houses. However, representatives of the nomadic groups perceived that the communication channels were not very effective.

High levels of poverty limit the community's capacity to contribute to development of educational services. Women's involvement remains low. Attempts to involve communities therefore demand extensive capacity-building and poverty reduction programmes. *Chapter 3* summarizes the key findings and identifies the main conclusions and way forward.

Chapter 3

Conclusions and guidelines for policies and projects

1. Summary of the findings

Background

Nomadic communities currently represent more than 10 per cent of the population in the six countries studied (with the exception of Uganda, where they represent 5 per cent). For many people in this group, nomadic pastoralism was a normal way of life until very recently. Currently, nomadic communities are a mix of 'pure' pastoralists, agro-pastoralists and transhumant pastoralists. There is a corresponding varied pattern of movement, sometimes constrained by the encroachment of settled farmers, sometimes by clashes with other pastoral groups; but in some cases parts of the groups are still moving several hundred kilometres with their herd. While some are finding that they have to adapt to the demands and pressures of 'modern' 'civilization' and settle, the majority remain rightly proud of their cultural heritage and social/tribal organization.

Nomads' level of participation in formal education is known to be low. This is partly due to the weakness of the school network, partly because some or all are constantly mobile and therefore difficult to make provision for, and partly as it is assumed that the content and programming of the education being provided may be inappropriate. Whatever one's view about the inevitability of modernity and the impact of globalization, in practice nomadic groups pose a serious challenge to the national and international target of Education for All (EFA) by the year 2015. The purpose of this study was therefore to document and advance our understanding of this situation in more detail.

Demand, participation and provision

■ Educational demand

Nomadic communities' views and expectations of education and schooling vary according to specific groups and circumstances. The research teams encountered many examples where nomadic parents would approach the education system strategically, in that they sent one or two of their children to school as a possible avenue for ensuring an economically independent future for the family.

■ Participation in education

Enrolment rates in formal primary education in districts with large proportions of nomads were nearly always lower than the national averages. Participation rates among girls were particularly low, posing a major challenge to attaining Education for All. In most cases, enrolment rates in the specific sites where the research was carried out, and where nomads were presumed to be concentrated, were lower still.

Enrolment in pre-primary or secondary school is even lower. Participation in adult education programmes was also low, although the figures reported at the national level sometimes look optimistic. Participation in NGO-run programmes may be more enthusiastic but limited.

■ Educational policies and provision

There is scant mention of nomadic communities in the educational policy documents of most countries. This does not mean, however, that they are being ignored; it simply means that, in general, they are seen as a part of other marginalized groups, who need more support rather than a separate policy.

All the communities studied have their own traditions of education that have remained intact. Curricula have rarely been adapted to accommodate these; instead it is presumed that teachers will localize the national standards taught in all the government schools, although in practice the extent to which this occurs varies. There were several examples of the school calendar and timetable being changed in order to accommodate

pastoralist herding functions. The scale of the adaptation often appeared to be insufficient.

There were isolated examples of government boarding schools that have enrolled and retained children from nomadic groups, but they are expensive, either in terms of state subsidy or financial accessibility, for the ordinary parent.

Teacher recruitment and allocation was largely centrally driven and it appears to be a matter of chance rather than design when a teacher can speak the local language. Teachers rarely received any specific training for teaching children from nomadic groups and were sometimes less enthusiastic about teaching in pastoralist areas.

School feeding programmes exist but have encountered the usual problems of distribution and supply. In nearly every district studied, examples were cited of children withdrawing from school when the food did not arrive. There appear to be positive effects on enrolment and performance, but sustainability remains an issue and long-running programmes may induce a dependency syndrome.

We can summarize by saying: First, it is important to emphasize the diversity of pastoralist groups, the variety of their contexts and the varied attitudes of parents to education. Second, the range of providers varies between countries and, within any one country, between districts and, within a district, between district headquarters and the more remote areas. Third, while there are a wide variety of alternatives available, it is also important to recognize that many of the alternatives are not specific to nomadic groups. Fourth, it is difficult to conclude whether their way of life is an asset or a problem.

Discussion of the findings

In this section, we look at the specificity of nomadic groups, what the major issues are, and then discuss major recommendations. The recommendations are organized in terms of what can be done to resolve problems of access, approaches to improving the quality of learning and ensuring that the wider context is supportive. The access section is further divided between those that are most relevant for those nomadic groups who are settling and those that are most relevant for those who are still

mostly nomadic. The assumption is that the context will partly determine the type of policy response required to design appropriate provision, and that one should address the educational needs of nomads in particular situations.

2. Is there a specificity for nomadic groups requiring a particular policy response? Contribution to the debate

The problems of enrolling children from poor rural populations are not new. Governments acknowledge the low quality of the educational services provided – including unhealthy boarding conditions, a hostile schooling environment, comparatively high costs and few opportunities for finding employment once graduated. However, low attendance rates are still attributed to parental illiteracy, which would explain their ignorance of the value of formal education (see, e.g. Kenyan Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 1999). This attitude has become less common over the last 20 years, with the realization that parents were becoming progressively less confident in the schooling-employment connection. They gradually became more concerned with the lost opportunities of their sons and daughters helping either in the fields or in the home (see, e.g. Berstecher; Carr-Hill, 1990). This may partly explain persistent low enrolments.

In relation to low educational participation, pastoralists appear to be suffering from an extreme example of this problem. In regard to access to school, enrolment, attendance, classroom performance, achievement, continuity to higher classes and gender balance, they regularly score at the bottom levels of the ladder. On the other hand, the sophisticated cultural structures that guide their lives are noted. Some argue that the formal education programmes provided appear to oppose nomadic culture at all levels, both in their principles, approaches and goals (Kratli, 2000), and may undermine the young person's sense of identity and independence. In particular, while schooling may provide opportunities for income generation *outside* the pastoral economy, the children lose the opportunity of specialization *within* the pastoral context (Dyer and Choksi, 1998).

Parents of both boys and girls cited food shortage at home and in school; long distances to school; and, for boys, child labour/petty trade (for girls looking after younger children); and additionally, for girls, female genital mutilation, pregnancy and early marriage. Most of these reasons

are also typically given by many stakeholders in rural areas to explain why enrolment rates are low.

There are, however, some important differences among subsistence farmers in terms of their approach to the participation of their children in the school system. In particular:

- in some cases, it is more likely that nomadic groups will send their girls rather than their boys to school – at least to the first grades of primary – as it is the boys who are involved with herding;
- pastoralists who are livestock wealthy are more likely to keep their children away from school than those who have smaller herd, because they need more children to look after the herds.

Several other issues were raised both in the country reports and during discussions at the Nairobi workshop. These ranged from HIV/AIDS, water, livestock markets and unemployment to school fees. While some of these – such as HIV/AIDS – are issues that should concern all of us when discussing and planning education systems in African countries, and all of these, of course, impact more negatively on the children of pastoralists, they also impact on many other groups in the population.

Many of the issues raised – including claims about cultural antagonism to schooling – are similar to those that would be found in a study of education for children in poor rural areas, albeit in a more extreme form. The two most important differences in terms of educational provision are probably the level of mobility of nomads and frequency of conflict. These are taken up in the three following sub-sections. Overall, however, none of the existing formal patterns of educational provision were seen as specific to nomadic groups.

There is a movement towards combining pastoralism with subsistence farming, mainly due to the loss of animals from drought, floods, rustling and diseases. This has raised poverty levels among nomadic communities to much higher levels compared with national averages. While most of the governments have developed a Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme (PRSP) or other similarly comprehensive strategy to alleviate poverty, the particular situation of nomadic groups and the problems of confronting culture have rarely been articulated.

Most of the governments are moving ahead with decentralization policies for empowering local community governments that are democratically elected. While laudable in principle, in practice this requires extensive capacity-building and presumes a population with at least a basic level of education. The Ethiopian report remarks that “unless concerted efforts are made to increase and improve educational provision, the result will be increased deprivation, alienation and non-participation” of nomadic groups from the mainstream of national life.

3. Key issues for policy consideration and some recommendations

Improving access

- The importance of school mapping

An important challenge for planning – and specifically for planning educational provision for nomads – is that in many cases we cannot count the nomadic populations, even approximately. This has meant that many of the quantitative findings in this report refer to districts where nomadic groups live in large numbers, rather than to the specific sub-population of nomads.

Lack of planning information means that school mapping and ultimately micro-planning processes need to be conducted in areas where the nomadic populations are based. While this is clearly a difficult exercise, many pastoral groups have semi-permanent ‘base camps’ that could be mapped. Those that do not have such camps tend to have reasonably fixed migratory patterns. Planning should involve participatory processes so that the nomadic children and adults can spell out their concerns and the kind of conditions and curriculum that would enable them to participate more fully in national life. These data would also enable us to have a more realistic assessment of the extent of the problem of providing education for these groups, whether or not they are settling.

Although nomadic groups are experiencing a range of pressures to settle, there are still substantial numbers whose way of life involves prolonged absences. Even where only a fraction moves with the herd, it usually involves many of the young boys of school-going age. While the

non-formal approach seems ideally suited, it is rarely accorded the status of formal education and is probably impracticable on a large scale.

Insofar as one is searching for a system that can potentially enrol *all children*, the main issue for 'pure' pastoralists is that there are really only two choices:

- The school year for these groups is drastically shortened so as to accommodate absences and concentrate schooling on the periods they are in the base camp;
 - Some form of mobile schooling involving the teacher(s) moving with the group, that will almost certainly be much more expensive.
- Awareness-raising, community mobilization and role models

Adult education programmes exist in this area. However there needs to be a broader view of literacy education as part of a progressive and cumulative process to enable the 'average' adult to attain adequate mastery of the basic skills and to continue learning how to apply them productively. Not only is adult education self-targeting as an instrument to help poor people, there is considerable evidence that literate adults are more likely to send their children to school.

- Alternative provision

One argument is that schooling has failed among the nomads because schools retained the colonial authoritarian, hierarchical, and bureaucratic structure, rather than becoming participatory and democratic (Harber, 1990). Accordingly, there have been a number of attempts to introduce non-formal programmes for both children and adults, some of them running for several years. However, non-formal approaches for out-of-school children, some of which have been more accommodating to the nomadic lifestyle and were more successful were found to be more expensive compared to the normal schools. Moreover, all appear to have encountered the problem of equivalence with formal schooling; and, until this relationship with the formal system is resolved, it is difficult to see how they could be extended substantially. Nevertheless, NGOs should be encouraged to experiment with such approaches and those that appear to be successful should be properly evaluated with a view to taking them to scale.

- Boarding and feeder schools

Providing boarding schools has been one of the favourite options. It may be a partial solution because of the costs involved, which are out of reach for most citizens, let alone nomads. In some countries such as Kenya, some nomads had found ways of sustaining boarding schools that also provided a higher quality of education. Promising variants exist in terms of hostels and para-boarding in some countries; and one could envisage ways of providing support to informal boarding. The various forms of boarding should be explored with a view to supporting those that are most appropriate in the particular circumstances of the group concerned.

Another complementary option is to use the school map as the basis for constructing 'feeder' schools with only the first two or three grades of primary, or indeed for pre-primary, from which pupils can 'graduate' to the chosen form of 'boarding'. Exactly how this should be implemented would vary, but this approach should be explored.

Improving the learning process

- Curriculum relevance and scheduling

While the evidence about the impact of making curricula relevant is ambiguous, it seems eminently sensible. However, nearly all the suggestions made could equally apply to the settled rural poor and curriculum revisions should be continuous.

The informal Koranic schools seem well-adapted to the lifestyle of nomadic pastoralists. Perhaps formal education provision should look to ways of adapting to the nomadic groups, rather than the other way round? Some relatively minor revisions to the calendar and timetable have been introduced successfully in several countries. While it is not clear that these changes are sufficiently flexible to correspond to the actual movement of the groups concerned, they can only be helpful and this practice should be adopted throughout, based on consultation with the nomadic groups themselves.

- Teacher training, allocation and incentives

There were very few mentions of specific training. It would not be difficult to devise a set of materials as a basis for training teachers geared towards working in an environment of nomadic groups.

Ideally, the teachers should be from the same pastoral background as the pupils. However the process of allocating teachers to schools is often centralized and does not take into account the provenance of the individual teacher, or sometimes the mother tongue of the children they are to teach. Specific procedures for allocating appropriate teachers to schools where there are children from nomadic groups should be adopted.

In addition, the relative isolation of any schools that are provided for nomadic groups means that teachers are reluctant to go, or to stay. This makes the provision of female teachers particularly difficult. It is important that any incentive scheme should be intensified, to make the areas more attractive to work in.

- Language policy

It seems obvious that a policy of using the various ethnic languages in basic education at the elementary levels for both children and adults will have a positive impact on equity among ethnic groups. This is usually made more complex by the administrative form of decentralization that cuts across, and overlaps, ethnic groups' territories, so that there can be no simple one-to-one allocation of materials and teachers. As ethnic mixing is likely to increase, this will become increasingly less complicated. However these are practical rather than insurmountable obstacles. The 'mapping' recommended above should include assessment of the languages spoken and used.

- Radio

Educational radio would seem an obvious approach (Ezeomah and Pennells, forthcoming), although it is not always easy to schedule the broadcasts (Yates *et al.*, 2000). However, the few examples that were reported appear to have floundered for the much simpler reasons of lack of radios or of batteries. In other countries, sustainability became an issue after donors pulled out. Given the potential of this form of provision

for nomads, it is recommended that broadcasts be considered and these basic essentials of communication be made available.

Wider issues

The original brief for this research from the African Development Bank (ADB) emphasized the importance of looking at policies in other sectors within the national agenda for combating poverty in these countries. The major challenge remains how to link macro-economic and structural reforms to the fundamental goal of reducing poverty, enhancing the quality of life through realizing the human rights of children. While there have been a large variety of experiences of multisectoral collaboration, there is no magic solution.

■ Policy and co-ordination

An important first step is the drawing up of implicit policies in many countries that encourage imaginative provision for disadvantaged groups, including nomadic groups. Given the complexity and specificity of their situation, some of the country reports suggested that there should be a co-ordination unit in the ministries of education. These should have the mandate of ensuring that there are no unintended negative effects resulting from other sector policies, and from liaison with the other sectors concerning provision of services for these groups. It is highly recommended that the formation of such a unit be actively considered.

■ Tackling poverty/skill training

Pauperization and pressures on pasture have led to many people remaining semi-permanently in their camps or reducing their radius of herding substantially. It is not surprising that they tend to feel that the land issue was the basis of their problems in the region and are likely to 'resist' change. From the human rights perspective, it is important that those groups be offered an alternative positive perspective rather than the negative perspective of simply avoiding poverty. Their skills, knowledge and organizations, if encouraged and facilitated rather than belittled and obstructed, could benefit their communities and wider society as well as themselves.

For example, the possibilities of employment after education are important. Formal education is supposed, ultimately, to eradicate poverty by opening access to alternative livelihood options. Many of the nomadic groups expressed interest in skill training and ways should be found of providing training on a small scale that is appropriate to their living circumstances.

■ Sensitive provision

The promise of formal education may raise expectations in the children that the parents will never be able to match. While this would normally be seen as socially disruptive, with marginalized groups such as pastoralists it is sometimes seen as a positive move towards integration. This does help and it is important that any community mobilization efforts take into account this possibility.

At a minimum, sensitivity also includes feeding back the results of needs assessments and studies. In the words of one nomad from Kamboe, Marsabit District in Kenya.

“Initially it was missionaries who started education in this area. Nobody had talked to us about education as you have done. The government people and NGOs come and do research but do not brief us about the findings they get. We have now understood the value of education, and we want to take our children to school.”

“It is good you [government people from Nairobi] have remembered to talk to us about education. Right now you are looking at us, the forgotten people” (a Councillor from Marsabit).

Even better, the provision has to be ‘owned’ by the community, if only in the sense that they are not antagonistic to the provision. This requires training in community participation in education, the role of information, and monitoring what is happening continuously in consultation with the community.

4. Conflict and its impact on nomadic groups

Clashes with other groups that were endemic and sometimes ritual in their cultures have developed in both frequency and intensity, partly

because of competition over land and partly because of technological advances in weaponry. In addition, some areas are suffering from increasing banditry. This means that there are serious concerns about safety and security both for children going to day schools and in any boarding provision. While again not an educational issue, government policies on security need to be considered. It also means considering whether there is a possible role for education in reducing conflict.

The policies of the various governments on insecurity are a central factor in the sub-region, often perceived by the nomads as confrontational and militarist. Governments were seen to have done very little to genuinely involve the local people in a peace development. Community members who can understand and articulate the praxis of the principles and practices of the lifestyle of the sub-region are left out. Instead, the governments have tended to institute a military response, a policy of marginalization or to declare of states of emergency. Large military investments to maintain security in many parts of the sub-region have yielded little success, for the simple reason that conflicts that are socio-culturally based cannot be resolved by use of guns and force. Dialogue and attitude change taken by the initiative of local community elders of the warring factions may be more effective.

According to the Pastoralist Thematic Group (Kenya), the local people's priorities included the following: conflict management, infrastructure development, communication equipment and land-based resource tenure. However the poverty reduction plans of many countries do not even mention the issue of insecurity; and there is no provision in their budgets for community dialogue.

The presence of conflict has to be taken as part of the framework for the local education system. Conflict can impact either directly on the children in terms of their security at school and on the way to school, or indirectly via their parents in terms of decisions as to where to live or whether or not to be mobile. This needs to be taken into account in deciding upon the locations of schools. It will also be important to include conflict resolution within any curriculum, whether in formal schooling or in non-formal provision.

5. Conclusions and opportunities for donor partnerships

While any of the strategies recommended in the previous sections should be given favourable consideration for funding, it has been emphasised several times that *the situation of nomadic groups is often very specific and that the appropriate strategies are therefore very context dependent*. Where there are general themes, many of the issues are similar for the rural poor.

It is clear that most countries lack an articulated policy towards nomadic groups. This study is therefore seen as a first step in helping countries to develop appropriate policy documents, which could then be used to lobby donor support.

Resource allocation: The Ugandan team explained how a new resource allocation formula had been introduced in which there was a minimum amount for schools; and then the actual allocations to schools varied according to:

- number of special needs children
- gender balance in the schools with an extra percentage for girls
- rurality of schools taken to reflect the costs of providing services

In many of the countries, donor agencies are moving towards sector support and in some cases towards overall budget support. To achieve EFA by 2015, any special provision for nomadic groups would therefore have to be consistent with an overall sector plan and a *Medium-Term Expenditure Framework*.

Multisectoral responses for improving the nomads' situation should be conceived with the poverty reduction strategies for the various countries.

Conflict resolution: There have been many situations around the world where children have been exposed to semi-permanent conflict situations. These situations have, however, led to the development of a set of programmes for conflict resolution – for example in South Africa – and donors may be in a better position to bring these possibilities to the attention of national authorities.

Dissemination of successful experiences: The research teams commented that it was difficult to become informed about nomadic groups from published documents. Donors should encourage the synthesis of knowledge about the demand for, and participation in, education among nomadic groups. Such collections would be invaluable to those preparing needs assessments at a local level.

6. Main findings and summary of recommendations by country

Country summary recommendations are provided below, however the complete list of recommendations is to be found in each of the country reports.

Djibouti

The demographic and economic configuration of Djibouti is unusual in that 83 per cent of the population lives in urban areas, concentrated essentially in the capital, and the agricultural sector is only a small part of the economy. The nomadic population, made up of the Afars and the Somalis, numbers 100,000, which represents one sixth of the total population.

The surveys showed deterioration in the nomads' living conditions following the armed conflict between 1991 and 1994 and periods of chronic drought. Communities have lost their cattle and other resources. While nomadic groups nowadays only travel a limited distance from their base, they live in tents and their principal economic activity is animal husbandry.

On the one hand, participation rates in education in rural areas were very low (15 per cent for boys and 8 per cent for girls). On the other hand, parents appear to be open to sending their children to school as they see a bleak future in animal husbandry. The school canteen is a motivation for nomadic families to send their children to school, especially in the poorer areas.

Low population density poses special difficulties, as there are few schools, usually far from encampments. There needs to be a larger number of smaller schools. Without local demographic data, however, it is difficult to develop school mapping. Dormitories would appear to be a possible

solution to this low density. Unfortunately, those that do exist are poorly equipped and managed, so that few parents are prepared to allow their sons to sleep at school. They would not allow their girls to sleep there without assurances about their security.

The poor quality of the schools is also an important factor in determining the weak social demand for education. Parental confidence in the school institution depends largely on the quality of the teacher. In the smaller isolated schools, teaching conditions are difficult and the teachers themselves are isolated and must rely on their own resources in terms of pedagogy, as support from the inspectorate is rare. Indeed, the teachers interviewed all expressed the desire for better inspection and support.

There is only very limited involvement of families in the functioning of the schools in rural areas, whether in the school canteens or parental associations. There are various reasons for this, but it is principally due to their poverty and the lack of effort to involve them. There is some experience, both in the educational and other sectors, which should be drawn upon to improve levels of participation.

Adult education among nomadic groups is poorly developed, with only a few experiences in health and basic literacy. Educational projects aiming to counter poverty among nomadic groups require an intersectoral approach taking into account water services, agriculture and health, etc. However, in practice there is only weak collaboration between different ministries in terms of creating income-generating activities.

■ Summary of recommendations

- (i) *Sensitization and awareness-raising campaigns to improve attitudes to schooling.* Weak participation of the nomads in the management of these projects was reported to be a major constraint. Studies carried out inside the districts identified specific actions for improving schooling of the children and especially girls. Nomads suggested that sensitization should be carried out directly with the populations and not only with officials and nomads' representatives.
- (ii) *Strengthen educational radio with specific targets on nomadic population.* Interviews with nomadic groups have shown that they

listen to radio two or three hours per day. In Djibouti, there is an educational radio that depends on the Ministry of Education. In rural areas, however, it appears that nomadic groups do not listen to it because: programmes are not sufficiently adapted to rural preoccupation; leaders' knowledge concerning nomads' needs is lacking; and there is dependence on the national radio.

Radio broadcasts can have several dimensions: (i) a teaching dimension on various topics as health, environment, livestock, education, etc.; (ii) a sensitizing and preventive dimension. Thus, radio can serve to modify nomads' behaviour, for example by encouraging parents to send their children to school or to inform them of epidemics such as HIV/AIDS; (iii) a training dimension with the development of the continuing training of teachers in rural zone.

- (iii) *Build appropriate boarding schools.* The dispersion of the population in rural areas implies that schools are far from the nomadic encampments. Thus, the children must walk long distances to go to school. While one of the solutions to this constraint is to build boarding schools, interviews with nomadic groups revealed that parents are reluctant to let their children, and especially girls, sleep at school. To resolve these difficulties, they suggest the need to create separate single-sex boarding schools within a nomadic encampment based on collective responsibility and supervision by the parents and head teachers.
- (iv) *Promote parents' participation in school management.*
- (v) *Create income-generating activities.* Adult training and literacy programmes are almost non-existent in rural areas. Current trends indicate tendencies towards settlement, due to drought and conflicts. One of the most important questions is: What income-generating activities can we develop for nomadic populations? How can we add value to nomadic skills?

Eritrea

The population of Eritrea is estimated to be about 3.5 million. About 36 per cent live in the arid areas, the great majority of whom are semi-nomadic pastoralists. There are no pure nomadic groups (under the classic

definition of ‘wanderers who have no fixed place of domicile’). However, semi-nomadism and/or transhumance are widely practised among the different ethnic groups in the country. Although there is no explicit government policy towards settlement of nomads, central government and local administrations openly encourage nomadic groups to live in compact villages to facilitate the provision of services. Women are marginalized in terms of ownership of assets including land, as well as in regard to making major decisions on distribution of family wealth.

The gross enrolment ratio (GER) and net enrolment ratio (NER) of regions inhabited by nomads is much lower than the national average (52 per cent). Within the same sub-region, the GER of the nomadic groups is lower than that of the non-nomadic groups. In the areas studied, enrolment, especially that of girls, was very low.

During the post-liberation period, the EPLF achieved broad popular support by involving communities in the decision-making process. Important decisions such as building a school, or introducing a new curriculum, were preceded by research and discussion with all stakeholders. Monitoring of the implementation was equally participatory. In the last decade, high priority has been given to expanding education in nomadic areas. But while nomadic communities contribute to school building and participate in the operation and management of schools through School/Parent/Teacher Committees (SPTCs), they have little say in the development and/or modification of the curriculum, which is centrally prepared.

Teachers do try to adopt the national curriculum to the nomadic environment, culture, norms and way of life, but they are not trained in how to adapt the national curriculum to local conditions, nor are they provided with guidelines on the methodology and procedure of how to go about it. On the other hand, more than 68 per cent of teachers in the schools studied were from the same area or from another nomadic ethnic group. There were no female teachers. The textbook/student ratios appear to be much better than the national average.

During the liberation period, there were both boarding and mobile schools. Currently there are no mobile schools, largely due to the difficulty of getting adequately trained and motivated teachers. Some boarding facilities exist. Other specific arrangements for nomads include the following: the provision of financial allocations to regional education offices

to facilitate sensitization campaigns and encourage nomadic groups to send their children to school; changes in school calendar and timetable with the length of the school year and the school week varying between highland and lowland areas; and 'topping up teachers' subsistence allowance' for those who are working in difficult areas. There are also a number of measures to encourage literacy within communities in general and nomadic communities in particular, including: teaching in the mother tongue; active participation of grassroots organizations in sensitization and teaching; and recruitment of female facilitators/teachers to attract women learners.

■ Summary of Recommendations

- (i) Continuous sensitization and awareness-raising campaigns on the benefit of education for nomadic communities are needed. These should be complemented by the expansion and strengthening of boarding schools, hostels, school feeding programmes, skills training, etc., and the introduction of income-generating activities and micro-credit schemes targeting the most needy and vulnerable groups of the community.
- (ii) Innovative approaches such as the establishment of community based-curriculum, together with capacity-building to regional education offices to prepare and develop supplementary materials to the national curriculum, including teachers' manuals, posters, etc.
- (iii) Training in guidance and counselling for the staff of boarding and hostel facilities.
- (iv) Intersectoral collaboration and co-ordination should be promoted, including in-school education by means of radio instruction and rural development programmes for adults (improvements in health and sanitation; promotion of literacy campaigns; and livestock support services including range management and extension, veterinary and market services and other interactive programmes that promote welfare of the nomads).
- (v) In the areas where returnees, displaced and deported populations have settled, assistance will be needed for the re-integration programme in the provision of services and other essentials.

Ethiopia

The great majority of the Ethiopian nomadic population is in the Afar and Somali regions and the Borena and Debub Omo zones of Oromia regions respectively.

Gross enrolment ratios in nomadic areas range from only 10.6 per cent to 47 per cent, with the rates in Afar (11.5 per cent) and Somali (10.6 per cent) being very low. Even these low percentages include children from non-nomadic families. The situation poses a serious national challenge to the attainment of universal primary education. There is no specific policy at either national or regional level. With the exception of student hostels in Debub Omo, there are no functioning mobile or boarding schools.

Nationally, female students make up 40.3 per cent of primary enrolment, but in these areas enrolment range from only 17.2 per cent in Afar to 32 per cent in Debub Omo. The main reasons for their under-representation are associated with cultural factors and attitude towards women. The numbers of female teachers in these areas are also very low. Drop out ratios range from about 13 per cent in Afar and Borana to as high as 30 per cent in Somali region. The main reasons include mobility, drought, child labour, school distance and cultural factors, including early marriage for girls.

While the number of schools is very limited, the low student/teacher ratio and student/class ratio in the available schools make it clear that demand-linked factors are also in operation. The communities are not so enthusiastic about education. The major problem community members indicated as obstacles to education are their mobility, inappropriate location of schools, poverty, the need for child labour, lack of accommodation, culture and conflict within and outside of the tribal group.

The community would like practical educational content that can improve their living conditions, such as livestock husbandry, crop production and health education. They also emphasised that the education offered should help preserve their culture. The curriculum, however, follows the national standards and does not take the nomadic way of life and culture into account. The teachers say they make an effort to relate lessons to the daily life of the children and communities, but this is doubtful.

Most of the teachers have teacher training certificates, but none of them have any special training pertaining to providing education for nomadic children. The teachers in Borana and Somali spoke the local languages, although they are not necessarily from that area. In contrast, most of the teachers in Afar and all of the teachers in Debu Omo do not speak the languages of the children and the teaching medium is Amharic. Learning difficulties were observed because of these language barriers.

Although some teachers claimed that they use participatory methods, the teaching methods employed by all teachers in all the schools surveyed are traditional teacher-centred. Instructional materials are scarce and in some schools totally non-existent. Textbooks are rare, and when they exist, they are shared by several students.

The main recommendation rests on a Human-Centred Development Approach, where holistic and sector-integrated methodologies would be applied. The specific recommendations include sensitization of the population, curriculum revision, training of teachers, provision of textbooks, establishment of alternative non-formal schools, mobile schools, boarding schools, construction of hostels and school feeding programmes.

■ Summary of Recommendations

- (i) In order to reach a gross enrolment rate comparable to the current national average, hundreds of new schools need to be constructed. This will definitely require a huge amount of resources. If this is to take place, it calls for many decisive measures to be taken: shifting government allocations from other sectors; devoting more of the education budget to primary education; inviting bilateral and non-governmental partners; and encouraging the opening of private schools, particularly in the urban areas of these regions. In this way, more government sources could be directed to the rural areas and the pastoralist communities.
- (ii) School location planning is crucial in these areas for two reasons. The distribution of schools and their enrolment is not evenly distributed over the Woredas in Borena and Debu Omo zones and between the zones in Afar and Somali regions. A second factor is the access of the client population to schools. Unless mobility of the communities

is carefully studied, there is always the risk of erecting schools where there will be no students.

- (iii) If the marginalized groups in some areas are to be included, boarding schools seem to have no other substitute. Such schools should be located at the crossroad towns or at well-known stopping places of the nomadic groups, so as to facilitate communication between the boarding children and their parents.
- (iv) If education is to be used as a development agent to deal with every aspect of the pastoralists' life, adults must be involved. Such education should not only enable them to read and write in their own languages and do simple calculations. It should also provide them with basic skills applicable in their daily lives. Targeted regions and zones may thus develop relevant adult education curriculum for their specific areas and prepare appropriate instructional materials. A flexible timetable that adjusts itself to the reasons and mobility patterns should also be designed. While the educational offices provide strong support, non-government and voluntary organizations, may be called to run programmes of supervision and regular training for the facilitators (or teachers). Such programmes should also receive strong technological support, particularly through radio education.
- (v) The Woreda Councils, Education Offices and other concerned development agencies must play an active role in promoting positive attitudes towards education. The traditional social organization of the pastoral groups can be used as important vehicles. Convincing clan leaders and chiefs would be a significant step in changing the attitude of the people as a whole.
- (vi) Sensitizing communities to the importance of female education and motivating parents to send their daughters to school is essential. Provision of basic services such as water should be organized in each community, to alleviate the burden on girls, so that they obtain sufficient time to participate in schooling.
- (vii) The school-feeding programme run by the World Food Programme (WFP) in Afar and Somali regions and Borana Zone has assisted to a large extent in increasing school attendance. This can also be tried in Debub Omo zone. Moreover, every effort should be made to sustain

the programme in the zone and the regions that are currently offering it, as withdrawal of the programme will have serious repercussion on school attendance.

- (viii) In-service education for existing teachers and inclusion of courses on nomadic education in the Teacher Training Institutes (TTIs) that cater for future teachers in the nomadic areas is a necessity.

Kenya

There are no policies specifically targeting nomadic pastoralists, their interests being subsumed within the general category of marginalized groups such as ASAL. While the government of Kenya reiterates in several official documents its commitment to provide education to all its citizens, those in arid and semi-arid lands – regions in Kenya where a majority of nomadic pastoralists live – are among the most disadvantaged learners. Population density is however very low in these areas, making it difficult to provide a comprehensive school network. Part of the reason why participation is low in northern Kenya is because there are relatively fewer schools.

Although the provision of adult education was low in the four research districts, the majority of learners were women. This was also the case at national level, where three quarters of the learners were women (DAE, 1999). The majority of teachers continue to work on a voluntary basis and the learners themselves are poorly motivated, showing low demand for education. However, in these research districts there had been extensive community mobilization and creation of gender awareness. Uptake of the training and skills was low, except among the nomads in Kajiado District.

The more positive situations found in Kajiado and West Pokot were attributed to a strong local community-based consciousness and commitment to support education and synergism, with a heavy presence of other non-local partners and the government. The interaction with non-nomadic pastoralists was also thought to be an important factor, compared with the extreme isolation noted in Northern and North-Eastern Kenya.

The teachers felt that they would like to adopt new teaching methods by undergoing in-service training. They reported a need to further their

education. There are shortages of textbooks, with many children sharing books. About half of the teachers were critical of the curriculum, saying it did not address specific needs of the nomadic pastoralists. Formal education was seen as part of the process of moving from nomadism to settled life, and teaching actively accelerated the process.

Women and youth groups emphasized educational relevance: the need to provide education of a technical nature that can assist youth to secure employment or facilitate the development of income-generation activities. Women saw income-generating activities as an important strategy to address their economic disempowerment in the cultures. They were among the strongest supporters of girls' education as a vehicle to gain literacy and income-generating skills. Youth groups saw the possibility of disposing of part of the livestock so as to generate capital for income-generating activities, in contrast to their elders and other adults.

However, the communities had a discriminatory attitude towards women and girls, and accommodated many practices and perceptions that lead to discrimination in terms of gender. With isolated exceptions, the process of addressing gender inequality appeared not to be internalized among a majority of the stakeholders and beneficiaries in the research districts.

School committee members rated poverty as the highest influence on low educational participation. Other factors were illiteracy and negative cultural attitudes, water, long distances to school, poor living conditions and overcrowded conditions in some boarding schools. Water received much emphasis among all the adults involved in the research.

The government is making special provision through school feeding programmes for children in arid areas, to boost enrolment and achievements. The effect on enrolment rates is, however, minimal. The performance of children from nomadic communities was perceived to be below average, except in the schools with rescue centres in Kajiado. However, a quota system for admission into national secondary schools ensures that some children from disadvantaged areas such as ASAL benefit from quality secondary education.

Boarding schools for girls as rescue centres from forced early marriage and female genital mutilation were a successful intervention in

Kajiado and West Pokot. In Garissa and Marsabit, other actors such as UNICEF and the Japanese government were supporting girls' education in providing facilities in boarding schools, which had increased enrolments.

The Shepherd non-formal education programme initiated in Turkana was perceived by communities to be successful and a useful model for educational provision to nomads. The Wajir mobile school project has been an effective strategy for provision of education to nomads, with nearly equal enrolment of boys and girls. Given appropriate provision, nomads' attitudes to education are neither necessarily negative nor discriminatory towards girls.

Another model of educational provision were Early Childhood Education (ECE) centres and 'feeder day schools'. The children from ECE centres boosted enrolments in 'feeder day schools', which went up to Standard 4. This in turn led to increased demand for boarding school places. The numerous ECE centres and 'feeder schools' ensured that schools were not too far away from the temporary camps, thus reducing the distance young children had to travel to schools.

There is substantial but scattered involvement of NGOs in providing education and a general lack of community mechanisms to complement external efforts, so that these efforts have had little impact in terms of reducing poverty levels in most districts.

■ Summary of recommendations

- (i) There is need to develop a specific policy targeting the education of nomadic pastoralists that will articulate relevant strategies, curriculum, language, delivery mode, teacher training, accreditation, teacher remuneration and motivation.
- (ii) Models of provision should include a mixture of different modes of delivery including fixed and mobile schools, a model with ECE, feeder schools combined with boarding schools, and traditional systems such as *madrassa*, *dugsi* and other non-formal schools. The model involving many ECE centres and feeder day schools of STD 1-4, which then fed into one well-equipped boarding school, usually at upper primary, was working well in Kajiado District. Educational provision in Kajiado needed to be studied in more detail, as it appears

most successful and sustainable, with a high potential for replication in other nomadic pastoralist districts. These models need to be coupled with a flexible timetable and annual calendar that is appropriate to the nomads' lifestyle.

- (iii) There is need to employ intersectoral integrated approaches in provision of education, where education is coupled with other services such as water, rural development, agriculture, animal husbandry, health, nutrition and sanitation. This approach, which has been employed by some stakeholders such as SARDEP, UNICEF and the African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF), was found to be more successful in improving educational participation. Provision of water is particularly important. Other integrated projects for creating a supportive environment, particularly for girls, by MOEST and partner organizations such as FAWEK, need to address root causes of poor participation in education such as FGM and early marriages in marginalized communities, particularly nomads.
- (iv) Affordable and compulsory education was frequently recommended by a majority of nomads, particularly in Northern and North-Eastern Kenya, where communities are experiencing high levels of poverty.
- (v) Boarding schools were recommended in all the research districts. There is a great need to rehabilitate the existing physical facilities and upgrade the accommodation with basic equipment and supplies. There is also a need to post women teachers as role models to girls. The issue of security needs to be addressed in participation with the communities. Some communities were able to partly fund boarding schools, while others could or would not do so.
- (vi) There is a need to commit more resources to training and motivation of adult and non-formal education teachers. While a few partners have assisted in materials development, teacher development and remuneration has received scanty attention. Evaluation reports of the more successful pastoralist non-formal education programmes, such as the Wajir mobile school and Shepherds (Lchekuti programmes), recommended teacher quality improvement and management issues as the most important inputs to support sustainability of the adult and non-formal education programmes.

- (vii) Community mobilization and empowerment will go a long way towards improving governance and management of primary schools, and thus towards improving quality. It will also provide a context for demand for education to grow. Parents and Boards of Governors should be empowered through capacity building to see themselves as stakeholders and managers of their schools. Active community involvement in school management, though very crucial, was non-existent in most research districts. There is need for gender sensitization workshops, seminars and discussions involving teachers, parents and opinion leaders in the area, on the need for gender parity in schools and in society. Sensitization of the community on the ravages of HIV/AIDS is important to arrest the spread of the epidemic.
- (viii) There is need to replicate innovations found to be working in provision of education to nomads. These include boarding schools, especially those with rescue centres for girls such as in Kajiado District. The Lchekuti Shepherd Programmes were successful in Turkana and this concept in provision was spreading in neighbouring districts. Another successful programme, the Wajir mobile school project, was reported to be effective, but there was no evidence it had spread to other districts of North Eastern Province.
- (ix) The school feeding programme and bursaries are some of the supportive strategies by the GOK, which has been successful in increasing access and retention in education among the nomads, and should be continued. It may be important to build affirmative components targeting girls in the worst affected districts and those living in areas with pockets of poverty, orphans and Other Vulnerable Children (OVCs).

Tanzania

Levels of participation of nomadic groups in education and other development activities are seriously constrained by their high mobility. Enrolment, attendance and transition rates are all very low compared to those of other children. Enrolling children in schools is perceived by some parents to be a kind of robbery of their labour force, which is otherwise needed in herding livestock and hunting.

The curriculum offered to nomadic children follows the national standard and does not respond to their needs and aspirations. It does not offer the necessary life and survival skills to the children within their immediate environment. Involvement of nomadic communities in decision-making processes in schools and communities is minimal.

Response to adult education programmes is also poor. This is largely attributed to adults' pre-occupation with economic activities, inappropriateness of teaching/learning materials and the non-involvement of the nomadic communities in the development of the programmes.

There is no specific policy on nomadic education in Tanzania, although nomadic people were presumed to be included in the category of disadvantaged groups. There are several providers of education and other services, but there was little evidence that these service providers were, in practice, working in a collaborative manner.

In spite of low participation rates in both formal and non-formal education programmes, there is an increasing demand for education among the nomadic communities. There is a need to develop more relevant curricula that will meet the needs and aspirations of these communities. It would also be useful to encourage the 'learned' nomads and especially female learned nomads to work in their own communities. They would then be 'role models' for other members of the community to emulate, thereby generating more demand for education.

■ Summary of recommendations

- (i) The constant migration of these communities requires the use of a multi-faceted and multimedia approach, including establishment of boarding schools and hostels where these are seen as appropriate by the nomadic communities, radio broadcasts of lessons, and correspondence and other distance education courses. These approaches will ensure that as many people as possible are reached and that continuity in learning is maintained, so as to enable them to acquire and sustain their literacy and numeracy skills.
- (ii) There is a need to develop a curriculum that will be responsive to the problems, needs and interests of nomadic communities. It is proposed that the curriculum be divided into a core curriculum and a functional

curriculum, based on a prior needs assessment. The *core* curriculum should include mathematics; languages (English and Kiswahili); general knowledge; and personality development (as presently taught in the COBET programme) including life skills, hygiene, nutrition and HIV/AIDS components. The *functional* curriculum should provide life skills education deeply rooted in the socio-economic activities and lifestyles of the respective groups of children, namely pastoralism, hunting and gathering, agriculture and fishing. In order to ensure that both curricula are taken seriously, they should be equally weighted and examined.

- (iii) Teachers need to be retrained and given incentives to be able to teach more effectively in those communities. More innovative learning and teaching strategies that are community-based and child-friendly, such as those used in the COBET programme for children and the ICBAE programme for adults, need to be adopted.
- (iv) A co-ordinating section should be established, within the ministry of education and culture, responsible for the development, co-ordination and monitoring of basic education for nomadic communities. This will ensure equity and fairness to all. In collaboration with other stakeholders, a policy regarding education for nomads and other mobile communities needs to be articulated, to include guidelines on the composition and representation of nomadic groups on school committees and provide a framework for parental participation so that schools operate for the community. It is recommended that the office of the District Executive Director play a more active role in co-ordinating the programmes and activities of the various ministries, departments and organizations in the districts.
- (v) COBET activities should be expanded to reach nomadic areas, so that learning opportunities are increased for nomadic children and youth who have never been to school or dropped out from school without completing the basic learning cycle.
- (vi) The Integrated Community Based Adult Education (ICBAE) model enabling adults to participate in developing and implementing adult education programmes to address their immediate problems, needs and expectations should be adopted.

Uganda

Enrolment more than doubled in the districts between 1996 and 2000, increasing from 2.9 million to 6.5 million pupils. Formal education has not appealed to the majority of nomads due to its purpose, relevance and outcomes. For many nomads, formal education undermines the young person's sense of identity and independence. Furthermore, attendance is low at primary school due to a preoccupation with fishing or livestock, early pregnancies and marriage of girls, and the long distances that must be travelled to attend school.

Teachers were inadequately trained but seem committed and hardworking, yet there was little use of teaching resources observed during lessons. The quality of education is poor in terms of teacher-pupil ratio, overcrowding of classrooms and shortage of instructional materials.

Problems related to parents include constant mobility leading to low enrolment and a high drop-out rate. This is compounded by the sentiment that education brings less return than different nomadic activities such as fishing.

The majority of pupils drop-out between P4 and P7 and rates for females were slightly higher than those of males. The major reasons for school drop-out included high fees for schooling, marriage and school not being interesting enough.

In Uganda, there are several non-formal education programmes such as Complementary Primary Education (COPE). This is a flexible and dynamic programme using a bottom-up approach. The alternative programme underlines the fact that the existing schooling system has by and large been unresponsive to the needs and living conditions of children from marginal or disadvantaged nomadic communities. It also testifies to the potential of existing community resources in the educational process.

ABEK and CHANCE are ushering in the needed change. These non-formal education programmes are usually small scale and therefore have little impact in national terms. Hence formal schooling continues to be the only obvious route to education-related symbolic values and to higher education.

- Summary of recommendations
- (i) Upscale complementary initiatives such as ABEK, COPE and CHANCE in a deliberate and planned fashion and perhaps introduce mobile forms.
- (ii) Well-run boarding schools should be introduced, but as boarding schools absorb some of the enrolment, existing schools should be gradually transformed to make them more client-friendly (child-friendly), so that communities see improvements in negative school cultures and climates.
- (iii) Children who are the most difficult to reach, due to their special and essential responsibilities for the survival of their families, should be targeted specifically (including Kraal boys in Kotido and Moroto, herdboys in Nakasongola and Mbarara and fisherboys in Nakasongola and Kalangala).
- (iv) Develop the school network and improve infrastructure, including the school-feeding programme.
- (v) Strategies should be devised to provide special motivation packages to teachers in schools and centres in nomadic communities.
- (vi) Strengthen community participation in basic education initiatives by involving communities in major decisions as well as providing training in needed skills.
- (vii) More financial resources should be allocated by the central and local governments to support complementary education activities and adult education programmes.
- (viii) Strengthened co-ordination of the various stakeholders or actors at both national and local levels is imperative.

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