Education for Pastoralists: Flexible Approaches, Workable Models
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Pact Ethiopia

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Front Cover: Pastoral youth herding in Afar
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Acronyms

APDA Afar Pastoralist Development Association
E.C. Ethiopian Calendar
EFA Education For All
MDG Millennium Development Goals
SIL Summer Institute for Linguistics
SIM Society of International Missionaries
SNNPR Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People’s Region
UNICEF United Nations Children’s Fund
UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WFP World Food Programme

Other Language Terms

absuma- an Afar-specific practice in which uncles abduct their nieces
arbetua ader- pastoralist, or literally, cattle-raiser.
dagu- traditional Afar method of passing information verbally
hefz-ul-Q’uran - completing the recitation of the Q’uran by memory
herr- studying under the tutelage of a sheikh for higher levels of Islamic training
kebele-local administrative unit
madrasa- larger Islamic religious school
hadith - traditions of Islam
sheikh- religious leader in an Islamic community
tafsir - explanations of the Q’uran
zelan- derogative term for nomad
woreda- district administrative unit
Foreword

This study seeks to explore the flexible approaches that have been utilized to provide education to pastoral groups, and to identify strategies, factors and conditions that impacted pastoral education efforts. This effort builds on the background research completed for the 2002 UN Nomad Study and seeks to understand what has changed in the five years since that study. This research is conducted concurrently with a host of additional efforts intended to strengthen the condition of pastoralists in Ethiopia.

This knowledge gathered in this report has been unearthed with the intention of guiding educational strategy development for pastoralists in Ethiopia. Lesser known alternatives to education for pastoralists are examined, for the purpose of exploring bridges toward working toward Education for All and Millennium Development Goals, when other resource-intensive options are not able to be immediately implemented.

The study focus explores the conditions of all pastoralists, but has focused on the pastoral populations of Afar, Somali, Oromia regions and South Omo Zone of SNNPR. A series of 161 in-depth interviews were conducted and these data sets are referenced in the body of the narrative. A thorough review of the existing documentation on education for pastoralists was also conducted. The summative study was complemented by in-depth regional research in Afar, Oromia and SNNPR.

Note: Because the term ‘zelan’, nomad, has a negative connotation in Amharic, this study uses the term ‘pastoralist’ or ‘arbetua ader’. However, Ethiopian pastoralists are not homogeneous and not all mobile populations raise livestock. ‘Pastoralist’, in the context of this report, is meant to also include herders, migrant fishers, gold sifters, hunter-gatherers, and other mobile populations across Ethiopia.
I. The Development of Education for Pastoralists
Amidst the more than six billion people in the world, 200 million are pastoralists (UNOCHA Pastoralist Communicative Initiative, 2005). Ethiopia is home to the largest group of pastoralists in Africa, estimated at 12-14 million strong, comprising over 15 percent of Ethiopia’s population (Pastoral Forum Ethiopia, 2006).

This segment of the population is highly marginalized and ostracized by society. The constraints facing pastoralists are those same constraints that are faced by the rural poor, but for pastoralists many of these constraints are exacerbated and compounded.

Pastoralists are among the populations with the lowest enrollment in education in Ethiopia. In many communities, there is no school available at all, and in other areas, enrollment is only 20% or 30%. As Ethiopia is reaching 77% gross enrollment nationally (Ministry of Education, 2007), it is evident that meeting the Education For All (EFA) targets must entail direct specific, and targeted attention toward enabling pastoral children to access to quality education.

“Of all zones in our state, this is a marginalized zone, and of woredas, this is a marginalized woreda. But of all communities, this particular pastoral community is the most marginalized. They have no access to health services, infrastructure, roads, water, nothing.”
- Action for Development, Dire Field Office

Pastoralists have been historically marginalized. “Nomadic pastoral areas have the highest rate of poverty and the least access to basic social services” (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005). Living in areas which are less desirable to other groups, pastoralists receive the least proportion of investment in basic services. One government official cites that there are 5 schools for 50,000 people in one pastoral zone of Oromia region (#45).

Pastoralists have historically been under-enrolled compared to other groups. In Borena zone, Oromia, 34% of children were out of school in the 2005-6 school year—and 30% of this 34% were pastoral children (#51). However, enrollment among pastoralists has greatly increased in recent years.

As alternative basic education blossoms in one community, news travels quickly and the popularity spreads to other neighboring communities. After Kala’an village in Afar built an alternative basic education center and enrolled all its students, children from up to 5 km away have traveled to attend this school. In Olo village, SNNPR, community members said, “If we do not build a school, no one is going to build a school for us.” So they built a hut from their own resources (#40). After they took initiative, they witnessed other alternative basic education centers springing up in neighboring communities.

Ten years ago when NGOs working in Tsemai communities of South Omo Zone, SNNPR approached pastoralists regarding their interest in education, communities completely rejected the overtures (#40). When someone was seen carrying a book
under his arm, community members would mock him saying, “Oh, you have been converted into a believer now”. However, in these same communities, attitudes have changed and enrollment in education has sky-rocketed in recent years. A new receptivity to education has become widespread. This new-found receptivity has not occurred in isolation. Rather simultaneously, one Tsemai king has spoken out against the killing of children whose upper teeth came out before the lower teeth. Communities have begun to become engaged in Community Conversations and HIV/AIDS dialogues. The new openness and willingness to become involved community initiatives are not limited to the education sector, nor to just one of the 17 ethnic groups in South Omo.

Some education implementers cite this shift as being due to larger attitudinal change, as communities become involved in mobilizing for HIV/AIDS prevention, fighting harmful traditional practices, community conversations and other awareness-raising activities. Others cite the cause of the increase due to legal enforcement of mandatory education, where pastoralist parents are fined and sometimes jailed if they refuse to allow their children to go to school. Whatever the case, from north to south and east to west of Ethiopia, educational enrollment of pastoralists has dramatically increased.
II. Educational Models and Approaches
Formal Primary Schools
“Money is not the problem. Implementation is not the problem. The approach is the problem.”
-implementer of education initiatives for pastoralists in Somali ( #10)

There were 19,412 Grade 1-8 schools in Ethiopia (Ministry of Education, 2007). However the majority of these schools do not serve pastoralists well. They are usually located in provincial towns or population centers. They may or may not be located near water sources or along grazing routes, if they are near a pastoralist area at all. They are fixed, take substantial time and resources to build, and once built they are not regularly maintained. In many cases, the curriculum has not been adapted to a pastoralist way of life, and the formal school’s teachers tend to have little willingness to teach in evening hours or after grazing times and the teachers are usually not from the pastoralist community, so they tend to have little longevity in a remote pastoral area and little ability to blend into pastoral life. The school opening and closing sessions are not flexible nor built around pastoralist herding and mobility patterns.

However, the value of formal school should certainly not be discounted. It is reaching thousands of children in pastoral areas and those who are able to adapt their lifestyle or dwelling place to the formal system, they do receive a chance at getting an education and moving up the social ladder. However, this ladder often leads them “up” and away—away from their traditional lifestyle and “up” into another kind of society.

Though it is true, “education is the solution” and there are a few pastoralists do make it—however for many, the modality of the formal school is a barrier that prevents access to education and leaves pastoralists either without education or provides with education that is not relevant to their lives.
Alternative Basic Education
Alternative basic education is a specific model of nonformal education adopted in and adapted across Ethiopia. In this school equivalency program, learners cover the equivalent of the first four grades of primary school in just 3 years, and are then able to transition into the formal system. Alternative basic education is characterized by low-cost construction, community contribution to construction and school management, teaching in the local vernacular, selection of a facilitator from the local community, accelerated learning and active, learner-centered teaching methodologies and focus on underserved populations (girls, disabled, the remote, rural). Alternative basic education targets children ages 7-14, but practically, youth, and even adults, attend the classes. Alternative basic education has been useful in opening up access to education for a number of rural, poor, remote and other vulnerable groups. The model has been particularly useful for pastoral groups.

The majority of regions and zones, government officials and civil society assessed that alternative basic education was the primary strategy they wished to employ to bring educational access to pastoral children (#51,#131, #145, etc.) in Oromia, Afar, Somali, SNNPR and other regions. Even in areas where other models like boarding schools and mobile schools were being piloted, regional bureaus prioritized and held fast to their commitment to alternative basic education (#131). Though standards have not been created, many regional bureaus have developed guidelines to aide in the implementation of alternative basic education. Various actors, among government and civil society alike, felt that alternative basic education students were even often outperforming formal school students or wondered if this was so, without having evidence-based assessments in hand to verify.

Centers whose schedules do not conflict with herding responsibilities, that are located near their home and where girls can walk with less fear of abduction, have enabled many pastoralists to enroll in school for the first time. Many note that, while cash is in short supply, other resources abound. “Even if they are mobile, there is always a surplus of labor” (#5). Alternative basic education has enabled pastoralists to contribute resources that are found in greater abundance, like local labor and local building materials, rather than just cash.

Pastoralists across the nation, in every region, have expressed their enthusiasm about the opportunities opened by low-cost alternative basic education centers. “This school being here is important to us. Until this day, we have not had a chance like this,” said two herders in their 20s (#72).

Alternative basic education has had a disproportionate increase in enrolment of the pastoralist population. For instance, in 1998 E.C., 13% of population served by the formal grade 1-8 basic education system in Gambella regional state is pastoral (#154). However, 74% of the population served by the state’s alternative basic education system is pastoral (#155). Its adaptations make it particularly suitable to the constraints found in rural pastoralist areas.
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However, alternative basic education is not without its shortcomings. Some
implementers cite that local materials become damaged in 1-2 years (#49). So local materials like building elements, furniture, and teaching materials serve for the time they are is in use, but they must be replaced very frequently. Other cites concerns of quality. Teachers with only a few weeks training do not perform as well as others who have been certified or upgraded.

Above all, these centers present a challenge in management by government offices. They are far from the woreda center where there is no access to roads. In addition, officials in Regional Education bureaus, zonal education offices and woreda education offices all commented that they experienced a shortage of vehicles. And even when there are vehicles, there is shortage of fuel.

Some regions, like Somali, identified alternative basic education as a primary strategy of the regional government, over and above other models like boarding schools or mobile schools. However, if alternative basic education is to be mainstreamed by the government, it needs to receive adequate resourcing, management and programmatic inputs.
Studying under shade trees has a long history with various kinds of educational modalities, using the gathering point of the tree’s shade for hundreds of years. Historically, Q’uranic schools, as well as Christian-based religious schools, have used the shade of trees as one of their primary educational venues.

Tree shade schools may take various approaches. Some tree shades are permanent venues for longer term, less formal types of learning. One form of tree shade school is the mobile school, discussed further below, in which a community uses the tree, only for the time that it dwells in a particular locality. Other tree shade schools are temporary arrangements, until such time that more formal schools are built.

Some education implementers who had worked with highly remote and mobile pastoralists assessed that, “The difference between tree shade schools and mobile schools is that tree shade schools serve a large number of children who are usually somewhat settled and usually agro-pastoralist. But mobile schools serve the purely mobile.” (#10)

The Gambella Regional Education Bureau also found that one challenge commonly encountered when education takes place under the trees, is that children become easily distracted. When events occur in the vicinity of the tree, children’s attention wanders. Often the tree is located near a settlement, so that the children are constantly allured by the smell and sight of cooking food. Shade schools have also had the disadvantage of being non-functional during the rain (#9). Tree shade schools were forced to become non-functional or some have taken place in the cramped environment of metal containers used as shops (#17). In Afar, when a formal school was overtaken and filled with sand during flood, students moved to study outside for the next year under the shade of a tree. However the blackboard became easily damaged by rain and the elements, and again, students could not study during the rain (#93).

Some tree schools continue for years. However others evolve and take on another form, over time. For example, SIM previously operated shade tree schools in pastoral regions of Somali region. However it found that the schools were too difficult to manage and sustain and there was unmet need within Jijiga city, so they modified their strategy to teach basic education to youth and adults who had migrated to town (#137).

Across the board, most tree shade school learners, teachers and community members aspired for their school to acquire a formal structure. For example, one school that began under a tree in Oromia eventually became a formal primary school with four teachers, aesthetic education and a school feeding program. Other tree shade schools begin under the auspices of alternative basic education and gradually acquire a locally-built structure, with the hope of acquiring a more permanent structure. Tree schools that begin through alternative basic education, have allowed an opportunity for teachers to receive structured training and learned to receive national curricular materials.
Tree shade schools seem to be a stop-gap measure that allows structured education to progress, until the time that further material resources for construction and facilities become available. Tree shade schools, as well as other routes, seem to be a bridge toward working toward EFA and MDG goals, when other resource-intensive options are not able to be immediately implemented.

Kyasa’s shade tree school has just started this year in South Omo zone. Learners travel from as far as one and half hours’ distance to sit under the tree and learn 6 days a week. The class moves around the tree according to the direction of the sun. When it rains the nearby community allows the learners to study in the back of a shop. But when there is no rain, it is too suffocatingly hot to study there. Under the tree, two learners sit back to back. One is young mother of 18. The other a girl of 9, not yet a mother. When asked why she comes to the tree school, the young mother replies, “I want to become free from illiteracy, free from darkness. Our fathers are not literate. They did not send us to school. I want to become educated because it is an advantage for my life.” When Fekre, the young girl, is asked why she wants to go to school she replies, “so that I don’t have to get married off so young.” The comment elicits chuckles and muffled snickers from the adolescent boys in the class and community fathers looking on. Kyasa Tree School is helping young mothers improve their situation and young girls expand their options before they get married off. The community members hope that as the school comes established, they will eventually be able to build an alternative basic education center on the site of this tree school.
Kyusa Tree School in South Omo Zone
Mobile Schools
“Because we want education for our children, I have nearly killed my camels carrying these poles up this hill for the sake of your project. But we will move after one month. Then who will look after your poles?”

-a pastoralist elder commenting on stationary Alternative Basic Education Centers that being constructed in Afar (#4)

“If pastoralists have what they need, they do not need to move”, says one pastoralist parliamentarian (#5). However, because pastoralists are often located in water-scarce environments, they are compelled to move when drought, disease or other need for resources arise. In some regions, communities stay together and travel as a community. However, in other areas, like in Somali state, it is common that not all community members are willing to move in the same direction. “When groups are moving, the camel herder wants to go in one direction to trade, the cattle herder wants to go in another direction to bring his cattle to the river. In these cases, a fully mobile school was the only workable option for education to continue” (#10).

Many pastoralists have themselves asked for mobile schools, as a viable solution to meeting their educational needs. “We will learn if you bring us a school which has feet, a school which can walk with us. Otherwise we cannot learn,” said one pastoral elder addressing an NGO (#148).

While mob schools in Ethiopia are, so far, not well-defined or developed, some have differentiated between mobile schools under shade trees and makeshift mobile schools, formed out of sticks and local construction materials (#10). Oromia pastoralists dealt with the challenge of mobility by utilizing sticks to construct makeshift schools. The pastoral groups were stationary but would only move when drought or other extenuating circumstances compelled them to move. These sticks could be easily disassembled and packed to the next location (#9). In other cases in Afar, the structures were formed out of rocks or lava, and so the structure would remain assembled, even while the mobile group was away.

“The problem is – that teachers don’t want to move with them.” Teachers who are not pastoralists themselves rarely accept the lifestyle of mobility. Those from within the ranks of the community are much more likely to move with students. However, even pastoralists who have attained the rank of teachers have achieved a higher educational status, and the social status that comes with this title. They often want to be more stable or closer to larger population settlements. Yet, in four of six mobile schools in Somali, the teachers were literate both in Somali and Arabic (#10). This indicates a strong link; teachers who are able to serve as mobile teachers and able to travel with the group are also often those who serve as Q’ur’anic school teachers. There is a fruitful opportunity to utilize Q’ur’anic school teachers as mobile school teachers, discussed further below.

Mobile schools have not been widely experimented. The UN Nomad study found few of these experiences documented (International Institute for Educational
Planning, 2005). One highly successful program in Eastern Africa was the Wajir Mobile Schools Project of Kenya where a teacher traveled with Somali pastoralists and would teach in the morning and evening after pasturing livestock. The children learned reading, writing, English, Kiswahili, law, Agriculture, Veterinary Medicine and Religious Studies. Despite the program’s success, schools stopped functioning when the local NGO implementer lost funding, simultaneous with floods hitting the region (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005). Variations on the mobile school idea have been also been experimented – in which mobile educational inputs have been developed to support mobile populations. The camel library in Kenya carries, loans and collects books. Users can keep the books until the next visit of the camel (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005). In Somali region, one development worker sought to set up mobile canteens, so that learners could purchase exercise books and pens. This enabled children who were remote from town centers to access the materials needed for them to participate in the educational opportunities made available to them (#10).

Recent initiatives in Ethiopia have shown a resurging interest in experimenting with mobile schools. The highly successful Iran Mobile Schools have served as a model for a pilot initiative to begin mobile schools in Afar and Somali regions. UNICEF and government officials conducted a study tour in 2006 in which the Iranian model was studied and lessons learned were brought back and adapted to the Ethiopian context (#145). The Netherlands Embassy has also funded a small pilot on mobile schools.

In Gambella state-sponsored centers, the teachers move with the group, carrying teaching materials, learning materials with them. The Gambella Regional Bureau Head says, “These centers are successful because we follow them. The teachers follow the pastoralists. And the Regional Bureau follows the centers, providing supervision, support and ensuring that they are not left behind” (#8).

The Afar Pastoralist Development Association (APDA) is one of the few groups actively pursuing the mobile school as a primary approach to serving pastoralists. APDA previously implemented mobile schools in which they provided teacher training to a pastoarl from the community and this individual used UNESCO’s Emergency Education Kit. More recently, they have adopted the regional state’s curriculum. The NGO pays the salary and school running costs, and after grade 3, the children are expected to transfer into the formal school, as in alternative basic education.

Mobile schools are the source of much debate. Some passionately support them, some vehemently oppose them, and others think they’re a great idea, but they scratch their heads, when it comes to monitoring and managing them.

One argument against mobile schools is that they are isolationist and do not integrate nomadic children with the rest of the population. (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005). One paper cites mobile schools as “antithetical
to the education project.” (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005). However, this ideological opposition is less frequently cited, than concerns over practicality. Others counter this argument by pointing out that almost all interventions that seek to target pastoralists without interrupting their current way of life, will not integrate them with other occupational and ethnic groups, as other forms of schooling might.

One proponent of pilot mobile schools for Somali pastoralists asserted that: “Permanent schools are good for permanent settlements. Shade schools are appropriate for agro-pastoralists and fully mobile schools for pure pastoralists” (#10). In this instance, shade tree schools were used to reach large numbers of semi-settled children, while mobile schools more adequately addressed the needs of pure pastoralists. When asked if these schools could be replicable, those who had piloted mobile schools in Somali responded, “They are absolutely replicable. Some students who began in mobile schools are now completing Grade 8.” (#10)

In Afar, one regional education bureau official states, “Mobility itself is not the problem. We are not using their mobility systematically” (#84). An alternative was proposed— that an additional learning center be built at both sites of migration. Many organizations have discussed setting up more than one educational site, so that if communities follow regular migration paths between 2 to 4 consistent locations, education can easily be picked up at the place where it was left off.

The idea of mobile schools is met with wariness by those who are responsible for managing and monitoring them. One study cited mobile schools as expensive for implementers (Ibrahim, 2004). Though materials and capital construction costs are minimal, the level of effort, transport and human resources costs needed to track and monitor mobile schools was seen as too costly or unmanageable, especially by larger, more established NGOs.

Though, in theory, the mobile school is perfectly suited to the lifestyle of pastoralists, many who were asked to monitor schools were not able to find actual functioning schools (#12, #46, #7). This could be due that the schools had moved by the time each of the group of monitors reached their destination. But many suspect that, without close monitoring and contact, the schools are non-functioning, or providing education in a non-systematic way.

Many implementers cited cases in which a mobile school was said to be functioning, but when the school was tracked, its actual operations were dubious (#12). “If you assign mobile teacher to a tent, unless the community is very committed, he cannot do the work” (#142). In one case, UNICEF held up a mobile school as a model. But the school could not be found, after it had been acclaimed (#12). Another case cites an experiment in Oromia where teachers were trained how to address pastoralists and were given a traveling education kit. However the teacher ended up staying in the home base of a mobile community and teaching only the children who did not move (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005).
Recent pilots initiated in Afar and Somali sponsored by government –UNICEF partnership may shed light on the applicability of mobile schools to Ethiopia's pure pastoralist populations.

Mobile schools are a unique approach. Much could be learned from a pilot that invested in monitoring, engaged an NGO that had proved its competence, and overcame projects’ own logistical and financial inconveniences, in order to meet pastoralists on their turf.

Ali Sahle is an education supervisor for Afar Pastoralist Development Association (APDA) mobile schools and nonformal education centers. Ali has a grade 8 education and is literate in Arabic and Afar languages. Ali is responsible for monitoring all the 14 classes in his woreda, covering sites that stretch 120 km apart from one another. For the three nonformal education sites which are within a 20 mile radius, Ali can take a horse and carriage. But the rest of the 11 sites are only accessible by foot. APDA’s TEACH sites are north of Ali, in a difficult-to-reach area called Teru. Though the TEACH centers are not mobile, the communities that frequent them are. Ali’s monitoring shows the challenges of keeping up with mobile populations.

Ali starts out on a fifteen day journey, visiting each settlement, passing the night with the community and then moving on. The community feeds him, and he, in turn, brings things they need from town, like sugar, flour or other retail products. Usually, it takes one day or two days to travel from one class to the next. But during drought time, it takes much longer, because the communities travel much further and become very dispersed. When Ali needs to deliver textbooks or materials, he waits for someone to come with a camel to Dubti town from an outlying area. Then he loads the books and materials and their camel and goes back with the camel to deliver the learning materials and the facilitator salary. When he arrives at the site, Ali gets updated information on the mobile school activities.
and monitors the teaching and learning process. He sometimes provides additional education and information which is beyond the current content knowledge of the facilitator.

While monitoring education activities, Ali also supports the integrated development of pastoral communities. He helps the community facilitate dialogue, come to consensus, form associations and come together to solve their problems. For instance, sometimes he has mobilized communities to clear a path among rocks and brush for a road to be opened up to the settlement area. Urgent news reaches Ali quickly, especially when there is an epidemic or conflict arises. When someone has killed another person, Ali goes to the scene and arbitrates, helping to mediate a solution between the two sides. Ali’s sites are remote and dispersed, and sometimes not always in the same place. A community deciding to move involves much deliberation. The community first gathers together in a community meeting and sits to discuss the course of action. The first priority is finding water. The second priority is finding grazing land. And the third priority is finding a good environment for the education of their children. If the clan must separate or disperse, the facilitator goes with the students who are at a higher level, who are in the middle of the learning process.

Ali says that his facilitators keep pace with the highest level students. Moving does not interrupt the flow of the class; the facilitator packs the blackboard and when the group arrives at the new destination, the facilitator recaps the last lesson and keeps moving forward through the coursework. Ali produces a monthly report on the schools that he has monitored and what he has done there. Every three months, he gathers his facilitators for a meeting, where he works with them to share experience and information with one another. Ali has seen a lot of progress since the mobile schools were started. Before people used to be scattered. But since they have learned to work together more, they have become more concentrated around grazing areas and watering points and have mobilized themselves for education, placing it as a top priority.

Ali uses the dagu system to track his classes. In the traditional dagu network of the Afar people, information is passed word-of-mouth from person to person. Daily updated news from Djibouti and Eritrea reaches the area and some say that its news travels faster on the dagu than the cellular towers set up to route mobile phone calls. In order to find Gumat Mali class, the NGO’s Education Coordinator did not know the exact location of the class. So he went to find Ali. Ali had heard that half of the clan had moved with the teacher to a new location and was continuing their classes there, while the other half had stayed behind at the temporary mobile school structure. To get more information, Ali went to find a man in Dubti town. This man did not know their exact location, so the next day Ali went to Logia town, 22 km away, to find another man who had heard the whereabouts of the clan and could accompany him to the site. They traveled, bringing a group of monitors, over a field of lava rocks, then through a flat dry desert, then over a road of sharp, square rocks. When they finally arrived at the site, they found it abandoned, with only the temporary school shelter and the rock outline of the mosque foundation remaining. Rain had left the area, so the rest of the clan had moved the goats to better pasture. The clan was either behind this mountain, behind that mountain over yonder, or up near the area of the river. Ali started to retrace his steps. Upon returning he found two herder boys moving a mass of goats across the lava rock fields. These boys had never been to school, but they had heard of the mobile school. They told him they had seen the remainder of the community moving toward the mountain in the distance, but the boys didn’t know exactly where they had gone. So, Ali was forced to turn back with his team and would have to go back to the town to get further information in order to find Gumat Mali school. As one city dweller at his side said, “He’ll have to go back to town and download the latest updates. The server is never down.”
Q’uranic Schools

Mural of children going to Q’uranic school, at Somali teacher Training Institute
The first verse of the Q’uran commands the Prophet Muhammad: Iqra, “Read”!

Q’uranic schools are a little known but an omnipresent education activity in Muslim communities across Ethiopia. In Somalia, it was found that 85% of rural, nomadic students lived within 0.5 km of a Q’uran school, whereas only 28% of these children lived within 0.5 km of a primary school and 0% lived within 0.5 km of a secondary school (Maxey, 2004). Q’uranic schools in Kenya were found to have higher participation rates than the regular school system (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005).

Data is not available on exact numbers of enrollment in Q’uranic schools across Ethiopia. However, Q’uranic schools are prevalent in Afar, Somali and in many Muslim communities in other regional states, for instance, Bale zone of Oromia region. In some settlements in Afar, communities reported universal enrolment had been achieved and all children, boys and girls, were enrolled in Q’uranic school. In other regions, enrollment was less widespread.

In the typical Q’uranic school, rather than studying with a primer, students study the text of the Q’uran, while the sheikh supplements this with additional teaching and explanation. Rather than being child-centered, learning is text-centered. The objectives of Q’uranic education are:
- to learn to read and write in Arabic
- to be able to complete the recitation of the Q’uran by memory (hefz-ul-Q’uran)
- to become educated in the tafsir (explanations), and hadith (traditions)
- to demonstrate commendable conduct and become a good community member

Arabic language is learned and used in Q’uranic schools, as well as the local language of the participants. The Q’uranic teacher almost always speaks the language of the students because he is recruited from the local community or a nearby community. Learning is conducted in a multi-grade fashion, with each student learning at their own pace, memorizing the verses of the Q’uran in sequence and coming to the teacher for another lesson when the previous verse had been mastered.

Some madrasas, larger religious schools, function in the same formal school buildings, while some communities built separate structures to ensure greater control (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005) and some function in homes. Many Q’uranic schools also occur just outside the mosque or under shade in the vicinity of the mosque.

The Q’uranic school teacher is also often the local imam, the one leads the prayer. Prior to becoming a teacher of Q’uranic school, he completes extensive study of...
the Q’uran, its traditions and its explanations. Some Q’uranic school teachers report they have had no formal school training, while others report that the last formal school training was when they became literate during the Ethiopian Literacy Campaign of the 1970s. Many still have their literacy certificate from this time.

Remuneration for Q’uranic school teachers varies. Q’uranic school teachers are sometimes fed by the parents, paid a small fee, given animals to raise, or supported in other ways by the community. In Somali, students often pay 1-2 birr once a week and at the end of the month pay a greater fee around 20 birr (#128). In addition, during the course of a child’s education, he is required to pay a camel to the teacher, either at the end or in the middle of the course of his training (#132, #128). In other communities, Q’uranic school teachers are paid only in-kind, especially with livestock or food.

In the Q’uranic school system of training for teachers, the industrious student who excels in the first level of the Q’uran may choose to go on to become a teacher. This individual will travel to study under the tutelage of a sheikh for the next level of Islamic training, called the herr (in Somali language). Trainees will travel sometimes up to 250 km to study under a sheikh who has a renowned reputation. Each student will study at a different level and will enter and exit the herr school according to his or her pace.

Sheikh schools are sometimes held under shade trees in remote areas, but they are also often in towns. Many times, Q’uranic teachers-in-training will sleep in the mosque and, as they have no income, they will visit a different home each night and in exchange for a meal they will deliver Q’uranic instruction to the children of the home.

Most Q’uranic teachers are literate in Arabic but not literate in the regional language. However, SIM runs an adult literacy and numeracy course and a public library in Jijiga. It noted that a large part of the students who were enrolled in adult literacy and numeracy courses were also students who slept in the mosque and earned food by teaching the Q’uran (#138). 200-300 students would begin the program and 20-30 who completed the class were given credentials that made them eligible to enter 5th grade (#137). Some of these students were studying to go on to become Q’uranic school teachers, with the added benefit of literacy in Somali language.

In some communities in Somali region, school operated in two shifts. Q’uranic school operated for the first 1.5 hours and children later went to 1.5 hours of secular education (#10). This met the needs of the teacher as well as the students, who both usually had animals that need to be tended.

Generally, children are sent to Q’uranic school at a young age, though older youth are also found to be enrolled. A learner will usually continue in Q’uranic studies until he or she has completed the memorization of the Q’uran. Some may learn
very quickly, completing the memorization in one year, while others may take up to three years to complete the task. Some youth continue learning past the memorization of the Q’uran, to better understand the traditions and explanations of Islam.

Secular education is often considered secondary for pastoralists in Muslim communities. Even when parents are sending their children to secondary school, they will choose a school that teaches Arabic, over one that may have more acclaim or a reputation of better quality (#7, #132). Parents in some communities, particularly in Afar, feel that when a child has become literate in reading the Q’uran and can recite the all the surahs of the Q’uran from memory, then the child is ready to go to formal school. The priority is that children should attend Q’uranic school first, and then transition into further basic education. But sometimes older youth with no educational background, will start both simultaneously. However, in Somali, it was found that children would more commonly be enrolled in Q’uranic school for a year, and the second year they would be enrolled in secular and religious education concurrently (#128).

Some pastoralist parents in remote areas were suspicious of secular education, fearing that secular education would come at the expense of memorizing the Q’uran. However, a recent study found that attitudes are becoming increasingly open. Pastoralist parents commented on sending their children to secular education, “If we lose something, we also gain something” (#132). Hope for the Horn found that in areas where Q’uranic schools were operating, there was greater support and openness to education (#5).

Attitudes are changing among pastoralists, not just about education in general, but specifically, in terms of Q’uranic education. 30 years ago, classes were almost all male, but a recent study of forty schools in Somali found that girls were enrolled in more than 50% of the schools and that in a few schools, girls’ enrollment excelled that of boys (#132). In Afar, concurrent boys and girls classes could be witnessed in which a male teacher would simultaneously supervise both classes, while appointing a female assistant to follow the girls more closely (#110).

Yet, gender inequalities still exist. When asked about enrollment in the local Q’uranic school, teachers would sometimes state only the number of boys enrolled, until they were specifically queried about the girls.

When addressing the untapped potential of Q’uranic schools, some have suggested that the command, ‘Iqra’, the first verse of the Q’uran, can be used as a slogan, that predisposes Muslim communities to accept education (#7). Much potential exists for the use of Q’uranic school teachers in the promotion of basic education. For example, in Afar, Q’uranic school teachers expressed willingness to be involved as teachers of basic education, if they were given the opportunity.

In previous years, when the Education Development Center ran basic education
classes over radio in Somali-speaking areas, Q’uranic school teachers would facilitate their students to listen to these courses over radio, and it was witnessed that many of the Q’uranic teachers themselves became literate in the latin script of Somali language through the courses (#135). In addition, in Afar, Q’uranic school teachers were witnessed participating in adult literacy classes and were among the most diligent in the class.

The Netherlands Embassy has funded a pilot initiative to train three Q’uranic school teachers and two monitors. The initiative brought participants to the regional teacher training institute and trained them in modern pedagogical techniques as well as modern subjects of language, numeracy and environmental science. The teachers were not literate in Somali language, so the initiative would also train them in Somali language (#128).

Another small pilot initiative to integrate Q’uranic school teachers into basic education found that existing Q’uranic teachers were already well-integrated by the community. They had signed a three year contract to teach, they traveled with the community and they were given an animal and food by the pastoral group. This long-standing tradition was built upon, and Q’uranic teachers were sought out who could read and write, or if not, another teacher was selected from the community. The project would train these individuals, whereafter they would work in pairs, where the Q’uranic teacher would come for an hour and a half, then the regular teacher, and both move with the group. This worked out well for the Q’uranic teachers who also had animals to look after (#10).

The role that Q’uranic school teachers can potentially play warrants significant research and experimentation by basic education implementers working in communities that are purely pastoral, highly mobile and predominantly Muslim.
Daoud Ali meticulously copies every letter off the blackboard at Mahi Tree Shade School. Daoud Ali is the sheikh in Mahi village and the teacher of the village Q’uranic school. He has recently enrolled in adult literacy classes because he wants “to be better able to convey the message of the Qur’an through Afar language, and also be able to conduct other activities in Afar language.”

Almost all the students in the Mahi Tree Shade school are either concurrently enrolled in the Q’uranic school or have already graduated from Q’uranic school.

Daoud Ali finds that after they have already become literate in Arabic script, it is much easier for them to learn to read and write Afar’s latin-based script. He also finds that students who study in the alternative basic education center do better in Q’uranic school.

After Daoud’s students have learned to recite the Qur’an by heart, he teaches his students tafsir, explanations, and hadith, traditions. Almost all of the boys in Mahi Tree Shade School have already completed Hezb ul Qur’an, the memorization of the thirty surahs of the Qur’an. There “even some girls” who have completed memorization.

Daoud Ali has had no formal school training but he has received religious training to become a sheikh. Now that he is a newly enrolled student in Mahi Tree Shade School, Daoud is setting an example in his community. Many other adult men have also enrolled in the literacy class. Daoud hopes that after he becomes literate in Afar, he will one day complete a written translation of the whole Qur’an into the Afar language.

Yasin Abubakr is another Q’uranic teacher in Beyehale, a village near Mahi. Yasin has been teaching Q’uranic school for last few generations of Beyehale’s residents. Parents in Beyehale feel that when a child has become literate in reading the Qur’an and can recite the 30 surahs of the Qur’an from memory, then the child is ready to go to formal school. Sometimes it will take a child one year for a fast learner or up to three years for slower children. The priority is that children should attend Q’uranic school first, and then transition into further basic education. But sometimes youth with no educational background, start both simultaneously.

Like Daoud Ali, Yasin also feels that those who have attended Q’uranic school do better in formal school and conversely that those who have attended formal school do better in Q’uranic school. But Yasin feels his students do not become educated when they simply memorize the 30 surahs. He says, “When they learn the meaning of the verses explained in their vernacular, they understand the Qur’an much better and become better citizens and exhibit better behavior in the community. From school, they also learn many important things that enable them to become more responsible members of the community.”

Yasin became literate in the Afar language during the national literacy campaign of the 1990s. He is also literate in Arabic and if the chance arose, he would be willing and interested to teach Afar literacy classes in his community, in addition to Q’uranic classes.
Multigrade Model
Most pastoralists are located in remote areas where a shortage of classrooms and shortage of teachers obliges learners of different levels to study in the same classroom. The UN Nomad study found that the training of nonformal education teachers, particularly in strategies for teaching multi-grade classrooms, was one of the most effective factors in reducing dropout in pastoral areas (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005).

Multi-grade pedagogy has not been systematically adopted in Ethiopia, though multi-grade teaching seems to be occurring in a piece-meal approach in regions, where this is the viable practical option. There was one attempt to adapt a multi-grade approach being used in Uganda to the Afar context. However, for the most part, teachers are not receiving any formal training in this approach and basic education implementers have not adopted this as a primary strategy. For instance, in Somali region, when some alternative basic education centers do not have enough resources for separate levels, facilitators teach classes in multi-grade format, putting children in groups and instructing one level while the other group completes its activities (#141). In Pact’s TEACH alternative basic education project, it has been noted that when large groups of older youth are enrolled, some efficient teachers teach their classes in a multi-grade fashion and group the youth together, giving them more challenging work (#122). However, multi-grade pedagogy has not been systematically introduced through either of these projects as a standard teaching methodology. It is simply a teaching adaptation used by teachers who are particularly innovative and adaptable.

However, one systematic use of multi-grade education for pastoral children is in Q’uranic schools. Abdul Qader Ali, a former pastoralist himself, has done research on Q’uranic schools. He notes how a teacher may have 35 and even up to 60 students at one time. Each of these students is learning a separate lesson. Each student individually approaches the teacher, demonstrates mastery of the previous lesson, and receives the next lesson. The teacher writes the next verse of the Q’uran on the students writing slate and the student then individually practices this lesson until it is mastered. The teacher then moves on to the next student. Therefore, in one class, a teacher may have 60 students learning at 60 different levels. Students also move at different paces. A superb student might master the memorization of the Q’uran within months, while a slower student may take up to three years (#132). The case of Q’uranic schools seems to be the primary modality in Ethiopia in which multi-grade pedagogy is systematically institutionalized, although multi-grade is occurring spontaneously within a variety of educational modalities.

Many countries and projects have experimented with multi-grade education as means of reaching the hardest to reach. For instance, in Kerala, India, multi-grade pedagogy was a primary strategy used to reach the most remote and marginalized students, who have largely been reached by education. The use of multi-grade approaches warrants significant investigation by basic education implementers working in the most remote regions of Ethiopia where students of many ages are obliged to study in one class.
“Our food is with the cattle. But your education is in the urban cities. Either take your school where the food is, or bring food to the school.” -as reported by a Hamar pastoral elder to Pact Ethiopia (#12)

The World Food Programme (WFP) operates school feeding across Ethiopia, working in Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Somali, SNNPR and Tigray. School feeding is operating in 1090 schools in 137 woredas and WFP states that it is reaching 80% of food vulnerable areas. The program serves 544,000 children in Ethiopia, 41% of these being female. WFP states that its intervention has increased girls ratio of participation in school from 3.57 in 1998/9 to 39.17 in 2002/3, and that enrollment in 2002/3 school year increased by 9.37% in school feeding schools, while it increased by only 5.90 in non-assisted programs (WFP Circular).

School Feeding remains a polemic issue. Some laud the praises of school feeding, noting how it has helped 15 million children recover from conflict, improve learning achievement, raise girls’ enrollment and reduce dropout (Meir, 2005). Yet others cite how school feeding can create a culture of dependence, waste teachers’ time with logistics, result in school attendance only during feeding distribution times, and create expectations that cannot be sustained by the system (Baxter, 2005). School feeding has often had adverse effects on educational programs in neighboring communities, creating a ‘culture of incentives’. As seen in the case of Afghanistan, as well as in many other countries, when students are voluntarily participating in education, and a project offering school feeding enters, the students usually drop out to attend the school feeding program, or demand that their existing education project offer them additional incentives.

Some implementers have found that the logistical arrangements involved with school feeding match or exceed the management of complexity of running an educational facility itself (#12). The opportunities for corruption are also numerous. These aspects may outweigh the feasibility of the program, despite the short-term impact of increasing enrollment.

In Ethiopia, when school feeding happens, it is associated with formal schools and it tends to reach the towns and population centers, not remote areas (#84). Children who are the ones more likely to go to formal school already have better access to services and better ability to reach the town. It is those who are far from town who are the most in need. Therefore, in regions with majority pastoral populations, like Afar and Somali, school feeding is, without a doubt, reaching pastoral children and increasing enrollment. In Somali, officials state that enrollment has skyrocketed by ten to twenty-fold in some schools and that overcrowding has now become a problem (#140). However it is not reaching the most needed children and the most mobile pastoralists, those who are farthest away from towns. Furthermore, some implementers of the program report that while enrollment has certainly increased, the level of enrollment reported is sometimes inflated in order to boost rations delivered to the schools.
In other regions, it was found that pastoralists were who formerly mobile or semi-mobile would settle around school feeding sites. Some that were “fiercely independent” communities became quickly wrapped in a cycle of dependency after becoming involved in school feeding programs (#45, #147). In Oromia, it was found that some students purposely failed in order to continue attending class and receiving the food supplements. Even implementers of school feeding wonder how long funding will last to continue the current level of effort.

In terms of sustainability, one official noted...

“However it works for the time being, it works. But I don’t know about the future”

(#45).
Class time is up and its time for breakfast!

Afura Primary School’s children run up the hill to get their morning porridge from Boya, the school cook. Every day Boya cooks a mix of barley and maize that she receives through the school feeding program provided to the school. Boya is paid her salary by contributions from local pastoral parents. Each family contributes one birr per child per month.

The World Food Program also supplies oil to girls who attend school at Afura. One girl receives five liters of oil for three months. Because of this oil, Afura now has 96 students and 55 of them are female.

Afura’s school principal has found that school enrollment has definitely increased around the time of feeding. Children travel up to an hour and a half one way to reach the school. But Boya and the students complain that the quality of food from has deteriorated. The packaging used to come with an expiration date, but now it comes with none. There are times when the students cannot even finish it. Sometimes the food distribution stops or there is a shortage of food supply. When this occurs, enrollment dwindles and drops off.

Afura was originally a mobile school. Pastoralist children used to study under the tree near the road. With various iterations of support and recent funding from the Pastoral Community Development Project, a school was constructed on the site and Afura has now evolved into a full fledged primary school with four grades. A water supply source has been constructed, as well as a room for each of the four teachers who live on the site.

Afura school is thriving. The children now hold aesthetics class at the site of the former mobile school under the tree, and teachers have painted diagrams of the digestive system on the school walls. Many of the pastoralists in the area used to be mobile, but since the school feeding program has been instituted they have settled around the site.

Some extol the benefits of the dramatic increase in school enrollment that school feeding initially brings, but others comment on how soon, fiercely independent communities become quickly dependent on external assistance and when distribution falters, enrollment vanishes.

One leader of pastoral development for the region says of school feeding programs, “I am not negative and I am not supportive. However it works for the time being, it works. But I don’t know about the future.”
Distance Learning
While electricity, computers and internet are hard to come by in pastoral regions, Ethiopia has 90% coverage of the nation with radio education programs. Some report that pastoralists used radios much more than highlanders (#45). However few distance education initiatives have been found that target pastoral children.

In recent years, the Education Development Center had designed a curriculum to reach formal and out-of-school children in Somali language. The program catered to children in multiple educational modalities. Q’uranic school teachers were often the facilitators of the program. The radio instructions were clear and sequential and so allowed the teachers to participate without further training. Some who conducted monitoring of the program found that Q’uranic teachers who were literate in Arabic only, became literate in Somali script as well through the radio programs (#135). The project has been discontinued in Ethiopia, but programming was still being broadcast on the other side of the border from Hargeisa and so reached Somali children in surrounding countries.

In addition to radio transmission, pastoralists have benefited from distance education through the medium of mail correspondence. Many alternative basic education facilitators are engaging in training and upgrading by mail. These facilitators attend training in-person at the regional teacher education institute during summers, and then complete coursework toward their certification throughout the year. Some areas like South Omo have supported this activity by hiring tutors who visit the facilitators at their duty station, providing additional on-site guidance and delivering coursework and correspondence (#32). This form of distance education usually occurs through mail correspondence rather than radio transmission.

Some states, like Gambella, are just beginning to invest in transmitters, radio studios and curriculum development so that they can improve the quality and accessibility of distance education (#146). Radio education initiatives like this will benefit all children in the regional state, but particularly pastoral children who often do not have access to other services offered by the state.

Prevalence of radio usage differs throughout the country, with the pastoralists of the northeast using radio as a means of communication of information much more than pastoralists of the south and west peripheries. Considering the mobility and prevalence of radio usage of pastoralist populations, distance education is a modality that warrants considerable further research and experimentation in service delivery.
Boarding Facilities
“Children are our partners; they herd livestock, fetch water, do domestic activities and even father and mother at home. All our life is interdependent, --we want to seem them every day and night around us” (Ibrahim, 2004)

“Boarding schools are the best option for pastoralists. It takes them away from their herds and their minds will be free for their books” (#124).

Approaches like mobile schools and alternative basic education move the school to the child. Boarding facilities move the child to the school. Researchers, practitioners and pastoralists themselves have come to different conclusions regarding pastoral communities’ interest in boarding schools. Some cite keen interest on the part of pastoralists, (#6, Woldemichael and Andom, 2004) and even excessive demand, while others note firm resistance, (#14, Ibrahim, 2004). It may be that embarking in implementation of this modality should be evaluated locally, by the specific communities involved.

Boarding facilities in all pastoralist regions exist, be they managed by government, NGO, religious institutions or the students themselves. Hope for the Horn’s Gashamo Boarding School is co-educational and has been held up as a model of success in the Somali region ( #5, #6). Some communities have taken matters into their own hands. Hardseshak town in Somali has established its own secondary school which has been running since 2002 (#124). Pastoralists in Borena have established their own boarding facility which is managed by a committee of the students themselves (#56).

In South Omo zone of SNNPR, boarding facilities have become a popular strategy for children attending second cycle primary and secondary school. The government has prioritized pastoralist children and reserved boarding facility spaces for them (#24). In SNNPR, boarding schools used to be seen as a means for girls to escape their village or escape an unwanted marriage (#40). But as demand for boarding schools increases, entry policies become stricter and more directly related to educational aims.

Some boarding schools are run by religiously-based institutions and though they seemed to be secular, often had a religious component to education provided (#51, #14, #83). In Yabelo, the Belal Development Center is supported by the Kuwait government and boards orphans providing a secular education but providing training in Arabic language. Boarding schools supported by missionaries often offer secular education, but provide access to religious material as well.

Some say it is easier for agro-pastoralists than pure pastoralists to go to boarding school. The new Shinkosh Boarding School in Somali seeks to reach only the most marginalized, most mobile of pastoralist groups. The Shinkosh Boarding School was constructed by the government ten years ago, but was never put into use. The Pastoralist Development and Research Association was assigned to actualize the
boarding school initiative. Shinkosh boarding school is located in Koreya zone, in a remote area of Somali region. The school planned to accept students from all 52 woredas in Somali, but to prioritize children from fully mobile pastoralist, especially the most marginalized groups (#128, #132). However, despite the reach the neediest, because of excessive demand, it is inevitable that inequities will arise.

In Afar, the issue of selection is an issue. Since low quality of educational services affects everyone and almost all children come from pastoralist background, it tends to be those students who are better off who end up getting into boarding school (#84). Parents with greater economic power are usually better able to send their children to boarding schools (#51).

In some regions like Somali, parents are reluctant to send girls far from home to a boarding school. Shinkosh Boarding School even declined to offer education to girls during its first years of operations, citing attitudinal barriers and extra facilities that would be needed to accommodate girls’ needs. In one area in the South, the community completely turned against boarding schools, because of an earlier experience where a missionary-run school introduced a co-educational boarding and many girls came home pregnant (#14). However, in other areas of Somali and Oromia, pregnancy was reported to have such severe penalties (death and revenge on families) that its incidence in other boarding schools was deemed to be rare by implementers (#45, #132, #5) and community did not cite this fear.

One of the limitations cited by implementers of boarding schools is their high cost, whether it be to government or parents of the attendees (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005). The head of one Regional Education Bureau cites boarding schools as being difficult to manage and sustain, as well as being costly (#131). Parents are rarely able to pay for the boarding of their children. In some areas, community accounts have been opened to support the education of children and in Somali region, but some communities depend almost entirely on funds coming from pastoralists in the diaspora (#124).

Boarding within a family context occurs in a number of regions, especially in Somali (#33, #5). In Hope for the Horn’s experience, in smaller schools, the children stay with relatives in town who may be running a small tea shop or engaging in other labor. Parents seem to feel more comfortable when they know the family and have some history of trust. Parents will sometimes pay the hosting family or children sell items and pay for their living expenses with these proceeds. This arrangement is especially common for children attending secondary schools in provincial towns. In some cases, children may even serve as heads of household when they are boarding in some area for educational purposes.

The traditional boarding school model results in offering a high quality education to only a few. This approach may be useful when the target is to create a cadre of educated pastoralists who can later move into positions of leadership. However, it leaves out the vast majority of pastoralists – who were already left out and remain
In order to reduce cost burden and parental concern, Ibrahim suggests an innovative approach in which children attend a single teacher school through the first cycle of primary education and during the second cycle they attend a “mother school” and are accommodated by a “hosting family” rather than a boarding school facility (2004). Hosting families may have the added benefit of providing further protection to girls, who are at extremely high risk of encountering gender violence when away from the protection of family.

Whatever the case, this model or other innovative ways of offering less-expensive, community-approved and community-sponsored methods of boarding and hosting students need to be explored.
About twenty-five years ago, the pastoralist communities of Borena got together and formed a cooperative. They established a youth hostel so that children who are able to make it through primary school have a place to stay when they come to Yabelo town to continue their secondary education. The Borena hostel is home to male students from fourteen different woredas in the area. Females used to stay at the hostel, but after a problem several years ago, now any girls that make it to secondary school find a place to stay in town.

The students manage themselves. They elect seven students to a school management committee every two years. This committee manages the hostel, handles discipline issues and collects school fees. Wako is the student representative. Wako articulately speaks of how the students manage themselves. Every Tuesday he goes to the market and collects 2 birr per cattle sold by each pastoralist. 1 birr per cattle is also collected from pastoralists in nearby Liwaya market. The money is kept in the home of a local pastoralist community member who serves as a treasurer for the hostel. The hostel is able to collect 400-500 birr per week—when it is not a drought year. Most of the funds from the hostel’s treasury are mostly used for medical expenses. Each year many boys get sick from malaria and bad water. Since the hostel was built twenty-five years ago, it was in need of repair. Last year, pastoralists from surrounding communities got together and built a new latrine as well as painting and rehabilitating the rooms.

The youngest boy at the hostel is 11 and the oldest is “20, maybe 25”. The boys sleep five to a room, on mats on the floor. There is not much light or a conducive place for studying, but still the boys manage to study geography, history and chemistry. The student committee has instituted a policy that each room should contain boys from diverse villages, not from the same village. This has helped form bonds across woredas, and strengthen cooperation.

Despite the high incidence of malaria, lack of clean water, and difficult conditions for studying, last year 23 of 25 students passed the lower secondary examinations and 4 students passed the upper secondary exam.
IV. Themes and Issues
“Lei Lei – Water – Water …
Water is the main problem for everything. Water is life. Water is everything. If we have water there are animals, there is education… there is everything.”
-Sole Wori, School Mana  Araro Hanakis settlement, Afar regional state, Ethiopia

“Throughout history human progress has depended on access to clean water and on the ability of societies to harness the potential of water as a productive resource. …Water for life in the household and water for livelihoods through production are two of the foundations for human development.”
(UNDP 2006 Human Development Report)

Across pastoralist regions of Ethiopia, in village after village, pastoralists say “When there is water we do not need to move. It is when there is no water they have to move in search of water and pasture for our animals.” (#108)

Without water, life cannot exist. Without water, education can also not exist. When water is accessible, pastoralists have time to enroll their children in school, to enable them to spend time on activities beyond day to day survival. When water becomes scarce, families are forced to pull their children out of school. Children’s labor is needed to fetch water from more distant sources, to send the animals to farther places where water points can be found, and, when drought is very severe, to relocate with the whole family.

The increasing frequency of recurring droughts in recent years has often depleted pastoralists’ resources and do not give them enough time to restock their herd before the next drought comes. One man in Afar has said, “Before we would move in search of water and better pasture. But now when we move, the place we move to is just as bad as where we came from.”

The 2006 Human Development Report cites an estimate of 40 billion hours per year that are spent collecting water in sub-Saharan Africa. This amount of time is equivalent to a full year of labor for the entire workforce of France. Lack of access to water is also a gender issue—a global challenge hindering women’s education and empowerment. The 2006 Human Development report cites cases in country after country where lack of access to water had direct correlation with girls’ participation in school. For instance, in Uganda, a household spend 660 hours per year fetching water. This amount of time is equivalent to two full months of labor, or 17% of time during a year that would otherwise be spent on education. Yet boys’ participation in school is far less affected by the distance away from the nearest water source.

In Ethiopia, as in much of Africa, it is women who shoulder the brunt of this labor. When a girl spends two, three, or five hours per day fetching water, this is equivalent to the length of one day’s classroom learning session. But even when girls are enrolled in school, their participation in school activities continues to suffer because of water fetching. At the Araro Hanakis Alternative Basic Education Center in Afar, because girls must take extra time to fetch water, they arrive late
to class each day, coming from 30 minutes to 2 hours after the class has started. This means that they experience an average of 12-50% less time in class than the pastoral boys in their village.

From pastoral areas in the far north of Afar to the far south of SNNPR, water determines migration patterns. Sometimes when schools do not have water sources, they end up being abandoned for large portions of the year, while families go in search of water. When water is located at an educational center, migration patterns orbit around that center. Across Ethiopia, when water supplies were constructed near schools and learning centers, enrollment has increased, participation in school has become sustained, and the center is not abandoned for large portions of the year.

The TEACH project’s alternative basic education center in Belaysa village, South Omo is one example. The Belaysa center was first constructed around an area that received water diverted for agriculture during part of the year. Gradually several huts have cropped up around the center and what was simply an outpost has now become a center of community life. Pastoralists in the area still migrate and attendance is seasonal, but Belaysa’s ABEC has become a prominent landmark that determines migration patterns.

In Buri village, Afar, an alternative basic education was built four years ago. It was the first corrugated iron structure in the area. Later, a bore hole was dug near the center and a water reservoir was established. After the alternative basic education center was found to be successful, it was later handed over to government, and a government school was built 100 meters from the site. All the students transferred to the formal school. Now the formal school has three teachers and has expanded to encompass five grades. Around the site, other structures have also been established in the last three years including a health post, a grinding mill, a veterinary clinic and even an agro-pastoralist training center. The community now is planning to start an adult literacy education class at night and will raise money from student contributions to pay the formal school teacher to work at night. This case illustrates how water, coupled with education, generates community development.

Some alternative basic education facilitators have become creative at devising ways to help their centers find water. In Bura village, South Omo, there was no access to water and the water found in the ground is salty. The female facilitator, Meserat, had formerly worked as an agriculture extension worker on water conservation in a nearby town. She was familiar with the technical skills needed to build a water catchment. She provided technical guidance and the community provided the labor, and together they constructed a roof catchment that now collects the water from rainfall. Previously, the Bura center was completely abandoned for large parts of the year during the dry season, but since Bura has built a roof catchment, migration patterns have changed. Enrollment has increased, and teaching and learning at Bura center is now happening all year long.
At Gochame village in Borena, Oromia, pastoral women can be seen traveling to the site of the nonformal education center to fetch water. The proximity of a water source enables girls to fetch water and complete their daily activities much faster. Women and girls have had more time to participate in the nonformal education center, an income and savings group, an HIV/AIDS Prevention club and other integrated development activities (#79). It has been seen that by making a minimal investment in infrastructure, that is, in low cost construction of alternative basic education centers with water access points, enrollment has skyrocketed.

Considering the fact that water is the key factor which causes pastoralists to move, coupled with the experience of education centers that transformed into centers of community development when water sources were constructed, implementers of basic education ought to consider the essentialness of weaving watering points into the design of basic education sites.
Amina is a mother who lives in Suli village in Afar. When asked how many children she has, she exclaims in dismay, “I have two, and only one is a daughter!” She says, “In our Afar culture, a male working is a taboo for a house. When there is a critical problem a male can help, but only under those circumstances. So it is I who do the work of the house. And next to me there is my one daughter. Beyond this, there is no one to support me.” Each day Amina and her daughter spend much of their day going back and forth to fetch water. Amina’s daughter, Aba Hina, is 5 years old. Aba Hina has two plastic containers that carry about 4-5 liters of water, with one in each hand. But Amina can carry a much heavier load than her five year old daughter - - she has a goat skin that can hold up to 20 liters of water. Other women carry even more.

For part of the year, Amina is very fortunate. During the agricultural season, water is diverted from the Awash river to a nearby cotton plantation. So during these six months, Amina makes the half hour walk to get water many times during the day. But during the other six months of the year, the irrigation canal is dry. During this time, Amina must walk seven hours to the nearest water source. There is a watering point in a nearby populated area but it costs 15 cents and she doesn’t have money to support this much expenditure.

Little Aba Hina has just returned from the water point, with a container in each hand. This batch will be used for making today’s sauce for lunch. After Amina finishes the sauce, she will also need water for cooking the food, washing and other activities. So, Aba Hina will go in another hour to fetch more water for her mother and then three more times in the afternoon.

This year, Amina has made the sacrifice to send her daughter school. The nearest school used to be 5 kilometers away, but an alternative basic education center was established in her village and this makes it easier for Aba Hina to go to school and still be able to support her mother. Aba Hina studies about six hours a day. After she comes home, she teaches her mother how to write letters and to draw the shape of numbers. Amina says, “I like to learn, but I never went to school so I don’t understand much of what she shows me. I didn’t go to school because there was never a school here before. But if there were a class, like an adult literacy class, I would certainly like to go to school!”

But then the topic of water arises again. “But….someone has to stay home to fetch the water and do the work of the house.”
Factors & Influences of the Wider Environment
“The main lesson that emerged in terms of scaling up an innovation is that attention should be given to reproducing conditions rather than simply the content of the innovation” (Association for the Development of Education in Africa, 2001).

Pastoralists face a number of constraints, some of which are shared by the rural poor and some which are specific to the pastoral lifestyle. These factors include: limited access to water, food insecurity, high incidence of child and female labor, conflict, ostracism by wider society, pressure from service providers to settle, and rapidly changing lifestyles, among many others.

Various individuals have highlighted different constraints as being foremost barriers to pastoralist’s pursuit of education. Say some, “Maybe being food secure is the first question…” (#45). Others say, “If we have water, there are animals, there is education (#108), and “External assistance creates external dependency. The pastoralist needs water, fodder, livestock. If he has this, then he does not need external assistance. He is self-contained” (#5).

Others cite the all-encompassing effect of need for child labor. Even a two or three year-old child will have responsibility for taking care of a small goat (#10). And learner after learner cites fetching water, collecting wood, preparing food, looking after small children, taking animals to pasture, taking animals to the water hole, guarding the water source from others’ animals, cleaning the animal shelter of dung as some of the activities that pastoralist children and youth are engaged in that keep them from having time to participate in education (#72,#73, #82, etc).

Yet one alternative basic education implemen ter in Somali asserts that one issue takes precedence among other barriers. “Conflict is a challenge. It upsets everything” (#128). In a recent progress update of the TEACH project, which runs education initiatives in all pastoral regions of Ethiopia, conflict was affecting education in every single of the pastoral areas (#12).

Conflict has many origins, both from within and without. In South Omo, when a wife thinks her husband is being cowardly, she will put aside her ladle, and stir the sauce with a gun, enticing him to fight (#12). UNOCHA’s The Future of Pastoralism notes that “major conflicts never have a single cause and are almost always a combination of major and minor issues” (2007). Yet, the Director of Hope for the Horn says, “Conflict itself is an element of poverty….If you know yourself and your own rights, then you can also accept the rights of others” (#5).

Conflict sometimes affects education directly and sometimes indirectly. One alternative basic education center which had been funded through an NGO and built with local community labor was burned down by troops who came to the village looking for outlaws. When asked the community responded they did not know their whereabouts, and the troops were later attacked, so, consequently, the troops burned down the whole village (#128). In other areas, when conflict arose, teaching would sometimes cease in alternative basic education centers.
Yet, in other communities, facilitators continued to teach, despite nearby conflict. These choices have often depended on the proximity of the conflict, the nature of involvement, and its relationship to those educating and being educated.

Others look to the education system and the constraints it creates by the nature of its set up and approach. Ali Mohamed Ismail cites some of the specific factors that have hampered education for pastoralists as:

♦ Little involvement of pastoralists themselves in policy making and planning
♦ Frequent transfer of civil servant personnel, without consideration of time needed to build trust with the community
♦ Implementation of centrally developed programmes with no heed to local needs for school timing or curriculum
♦ Curriculum designed with the end goal of university entrance and no catering to other career or educational paths
♦ No recruitment of pastoral individuals into the teaching profession
♦ A sense of feeling threatened on the part of teachers from outside areas, leading teachers to isolate themselves and as a result, be rejected by the local population.
♦ No reward for teachers who are committed and innovative, as compared to those who are not motivated and committed
♦ Random, occasional, unsystematic and uncoordinated teacher training.
♦ Perception of pastoralists as ignorant, lazy, backward by education authorities.
♦ Poor distribution of infrastructure, such as roads, buildings, school, and telephone services

(Ismail, -2004)

Valerie Gardo of Afar Pastoral Development Association speaks of the broader approach of society impacting pastoralists’ ability to progress and get education that suits their needs. She defines poverty as “not being able to articulate, to join the dialogue as an equal or to take charge of an issue.” She sums up the input of outsiders as, “If you listen to me, and come to my training, I will give you money. I could give you little kits, you’d love that. And I might even give you a salary. But I won’t let you be the boss. ……I’ve read all about you. I’ve got you on the internet. You can’t talk because I’m talking so fast, but I know all about you” (#4).

Whatever the case, despite a host of constraints and challenges, small pockets of innovation have been able to flower. The following sections seek to look at different factors and conditions that impact and interact with pastoralist’s ability to participate in education.
Aims and Relevance of Education
“The educational system has concentrated on what to learn. It omitted how and why to learn.” (Ibrahim, 2004)

The UN Nomad Study cites that many pastoralists and nomads perceive themselves differently than other rural poor. They do not feel on the “fringes” of society. Rather, they feel themselves as part of a different society (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005).

Many debate whether education will radically alter the pastoral way of life and socialize pastoralists in undesirable ways. Is education a “ticket upwards” or a “ticket up and out”?

Implicit pressures also exist. “Whatever the people do, it must be in line with government policies. By equipping people with facilities they want them to settle. They are not exactly against mobility, but they do want people to settle around the formal school”, says one expert on pastoralists.

Some education scholars cite that the rise of emphasis on EFA indicators has left many brainwashed with the impression that “school is the answer”, regarding of what happens inside that school (#149). Seeking learning or education that is relevant to one’s life is often forgotten.

Yet pastoralists themselves have found their own value in education. Says one Somali woman, “I wanted to take my child to get vaccinated. So I walked 20 km to the health post. When I arrived they told me I needed to bring the birth certificate. So I walked 20 km back to the settlement, fetched the birth certificate and again walked 20 km back to the health post. When I arrived, they took a look at the birth certificate and asked me, “Whose is this?” “It’s my child’s.” “No, this is a man of 63 years old.” Then I realized I had taken my husband’s birth certificate.” From that day, I understood the value of education” (as reported to #10).

One expert in pastoral issues finds that pastoralists tend to have different attitudes on the relevance of education, based on their position in society, their gender and their age. From his experience, this expert states that, “The elderly man wants children to remain pastoralist, whereas almost all young men and women don’t want to be pastoralist and want to come out of the system. Among men, those who are poor pastoralists with no livestock, almost 100% of these want to send their children to school. For the middle-income pastoralist, he may want to send some of his children to school. But, it is the wealthy pastoralist, who wants his children to remain with the pastoralist way of life and not waste time with education.” As for women, the expert estimates that 70% of women don’t want their children to continue with the pastoral way of life (#45).

In sum, if implementers wish to convince pastoralists how valuable education
is, they need to first let pastoralists ask their own questions and find their own answers. If this happens, pastoralists will adapt education into a form that is much more suitable to their own lifestyles and living circumstances. And those would find it much easier to manage and provide services, if pastoralists just settled, may have to accept that the pastoralist way of life will continue, despite higher levels of education. And those who would like to preserve pastoralists from the dire effects of globalization and modernization, may have to accept that some pastoralists will want to change their way of life.
Activity 4:
Look at the pictures carefully. The people in the pictures are husband and wife.

Activity 5:
Read the following passage silently, and do the questions that follow.

Haron is a Mursi man. He is about forty years old. He is tall and strong. He is always carrying a gun on his broad shoulder.

Meriholy is Haron’s first wife. She is tall and thin. Her lower lip is cut out...
Hussein, a facilitator in a government Alternative Basic Education Center has received only Level 1 textbooks, though he has three levels in his classroom. So Hussein prepares his own materials. He uses real objects in his classroom, like camels and goats. When he needs more information, “I walk three hours to the nearest formal school so that I can borrow textbooks from the formal school. From these books, I prepare my own notes, and then use my notes to prepare my lesson plans” (#103).

Textbook and learning materials shortages are experienced all across Ethiopia. However, in pastoral regions, this shortage is exacerbated. Formal schools are given first priority, then alternative basic education centers, and lastly alternative basic education centers in remote pastoral regions. In some centers, six or seven children share one book and in other classrooms, there are no materials at all.

A national textbook strategy is currently being developed to address nationwide planning in production and delivery of learning materials (#151). However, pastoralists in remote regions must be specifically targeted in this strategy or they will continue remain at the bottom of the totem pole of access.

As in the case above, Hussein had the ingenuity to be creative. But this ingenuity must be specifically fostered for it to come to light. Many alternative basic education programs include specific training sessions on developing teaching and learning aids from locally available materials. However, this practice must be specifically fostered in order for ingenuity to pervade a system.

Some deliberate efforts have been made at making learning more relevant to pastoralist children. The Abdul Majid Hussein College of Teacher Education in Somali Region has established an Alternative Basic Education Center of Excellence. Murals can be found on the walls depicting children finishing their Q’uranic studies and proceeding on to alternative basic education. The Center of Excellence has made special efforts to make teacher training culturally appropriate. It has built a pastoralist hut as a model so that teachers can be familiar with the materials of the hut. The center has also collected common bowls, weapons and other cultural materials and equipment that would be found in a village, as well as portable toolkits that demonstrate how teachers can carry their teaching materials when a community decides to move. Teachers are encouraged to create teaching aids from locally available resources and to make education relevant to the needs of the children living a pastoral lifestyle (#134). The Oromia region has used the standard national curriculum, and has “customized” its curriculum, meaning it has been modified to the extent of changing names and types of plants and animals that appear in the curriculum (#9). Afar has “afar-inized” its curriculum.

Though these efforts are laudable, they need to be analyzed for their value. To what extent do they concentrate on the “what”, the outward manifestations of culture, as opposed to the “why”, i.e. the reasons why pastoralists would want to seek education and how education interacts and is compatible with their life.

Educators first need to try a new vantage point and see what kind of curriculum
is valuable for pastoralists. When perspective is obtained, then resources can be redirected. Concerted efforts need to be made so that pastoralists receive first priority, rather than last priority, when it comes to the allocation and distribution of texts and learning materials.
Flexibility in Approach

Calendar tracking the adjusted time of education for pastoralists
“Life is different on the paved road.”
- Ali Sahle, Education Supervisor, Afar Pastoralist Development Association

Because pastoralists’ lifestyles are very different from that of the mainstream settled population, the rules, regulations and approaches that apply to them, must accommodate their needs.

The UN Nomad study found that, across East Africa, when attempts were made to adapt the school calendar and timetable, the scale of adaptation was often insufficient to meet the needs of the pastoralists (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005). However, as alternative basic education has been scaled up and implemented across Ethiopia by both government and as well as NGOs, flexibility in timing of school sessions during the year and during the day have been key factors in their success. This has enabled girls with water fetching and domestic responsibilities, as well as boys with herding responsibilities to be able to attend school.

But flexibility goes beyond simply the timing of education. It also involves the approach of the facilitator, the willingness to try new ideas, and the creativity used to get around problems caused by remote access.

Flexibility of infrastructure means that schools are not required to have a requisite number of cement block walls before they can begin teaching. Learning can begin, with the initial school under a tree. Flexibility of curriculum means that a facilitator can use locally available learning materials and adapt the content to make it relevant. Flexibility of school rules and regulations means that local decisions can be adapted to the context of a pastoralist way of life.

The recent insertion of flexibility into Ethiopian education through alternative basic education has resulted in marked outcomes. This flexible approach needs to continue, expand in definition, as well as become applied to other models, in order to diversify and make relevant the plethora of educational models available to pastoralists.
Local Participation in Educational Decision-Making
“This committee is a turning point. It has inspired me. We are taking things in stages. We are now focusing on making mud walls for our alternative basic education center.”

-Nyantorut, Female Center Management Committee Member, Semi-Pastoralist Pilwal Village, Gambella

Increased involvement of local communities in education has led to a flourishing of support for basic education at the local level. On random spot visits to alternative basic education centers, pastoralists can be seen spontaneously coming to the school to check whether teachers are present and children are in school learning, building dwellings for teachers, visiting the homes of learners who are not attending regularly, and gathering parents in the area to discuss low enrollment (#19, #160, etc.).

Personal sacrifices for education abound. One man in Borena zone had two wives who lived in separate dwellings. In order to facilitate education in his village, he allocated one dwelling for education, and brought one wife and all the children of this wife to his other house so that two families were dwelling in the space for one family (#51).

Labor and local materials are among some of the contributions that are seen being donated across the nation, in different pastoral areas. While many programs require that women take part in Center Management Committees, females’ decision-making voices have sometimes been invisible. However, when it comes to construction, in some regions, men can be seen building centers, but in other regions it is the women who are the most active in collecting and bring sand, wood, stones and other construction materials (#156, #155).

As enrollment has begun to mushroom, so has community’s recognition of the value of this education. In a Tsemai community in SNNPR, the last decades saw a consistent resistance to education. When some community members received per diem from a training and kept it for themselves, a dispute arose and many in the community wanted to close the school. But mothers stood up and said, “You will not close this school” (#40).

Community participation has varied according to region. Whereas community participation was easy to garner in the north and south, in Somali region, community participation did not seem to have the same level of consistency and enthusiasm as in other places (#136). In all regions, community participation becomes weak, in times of drought (#9). Communities will even pull children completely out of school during drought, hardship or mobility.

Community participation has taken on a zealous flavor in some communities. In some settlements in SNNPR and Oromia where education is legally compulsory by the government, the local community has put fathers in prison for not sending
their children to school and fined them 300 birr each (#19, #79, #40). However, in some cases, implementers feel that zeal of local participation in education has gone too far (#40).

The value of community participation has been recognized not just in pastoral areas, and not just through alternative basic education, but in all regions and for formal school as well. In particular, Parent Teacher Associations have contributed to heightened school enrollment. A recent study of Parent Teachers Associations across Ethiopia found that PTAs were particularly successful at mobilizing community resources, because they have a sense of directly responsibility for the students at their school and partly because they are elected by their constituents, because of their activity and competence. PTAs constructed additional classrooms, purchased furniture and books, hired additional teachers, went to the homes of girls who had dropped out and brought them back to school, found girls who had been abducted and returning them to school, raising huge amounts to fund school operations. In some cases, teachers improved their teaching due to the advice and input of PTA members (Yebrehan Development Associates, 2006).

The level of involvement of PTAs varies greatly in pastoral areas, with notable differences between PTAs in the South and Somali regions. However, informal Parent Teacher Associations have long been very involved in managing Q’uranic teachers in Somali region. They often sign a contract with the teacher, provide him food and shelter, and give him animals to raise. So when this same group of parents was utilized to manage basic education for pastoralists, education became highly successful in the community (#10).

Community should continue to be involved in local-decision making regarding education. This involvement serves as one of the key conditions that serves as a foundation to the content of a successful innovation.
In the village of Argamenda in South Omo Zone of SNNPR, the community members value education enough, that they want facilitators to be able to stay and commit to the alternative basic education center. To make this possible, the community has decided to construct a home for its two facilitators.

The community has collected wood and building materials and the community members themselves are building two small huts, just down the hill from the alternative basic education center. The community works as a team, where some hold up the structure, while others chop the wood to be put into place.

At a nearby center up the road, a pastoralist Center Management Committee member comes to the site of the school and checks up on the children inside, to make sure they are attending class and learning their lessons. The Center Management Committees are hands-on, visiting the center every day and following the success of the TEACH program. Though they are pastoralists and have sparse facilities themselves, the community values education enough, to give what little they have, to make education a reality.
Gender
“We try and train female teachers, but they don’t always be
more like the men.”

- personnel of a Teacher Training Institute serving pastoralists

Girls’ participation in education is historically low across Ethiopia. However, this trend is exacerbated in pastoralist areas. According to some studies on pastoralists, teachers attributed low school attendance of girls to:

♦ Community traditions that do not allow female participation in non-domestic activities
♦ Community-imposed restrictions on girls’ attendance at school
♦ Parents’ lack of value education for girls
♦ Parents or children who did pursue girls education being subject to social pressures
♦ Few female teachers, and of these fewer, who understand the local culture (Ibrahim, 2004)

Gender violence and discrimination also disproportionately affects girls participation in school and ability to complete consecutive grades. Girls in pastoral regions are subject to: female genital mutilation and infibulation, rape, abduction, absuma (the Afar-specific practice of uncles abducting nieces), threats of failure or low grades when not accepting overtures of male teachers, excessive and inequitable workload placed on girls rather than boys, impacting their ability to complete homework. These challenges are common to girls across Ethiopia, but they are exacerbated for girls in rural areas.

With a sustained effort at enrolling girls and raising gender awareness in general across Ethiopia, girl’s participation has, without a doubt, increased. In a Tsemai community in SNNPR, NGOs and religious institutions had been working with communities for decades with little result. But in the last years, a class of first graders has been opened, with 12 students and 4 of them girls- a ratio unheard of in previous years (#40).

Girls in many localities see further education as an escape from early marriage. In SNNPR, boarding schools used to be seen as a runaway destinations for girls to escape their village or escape an unwanted marriage (#40). At Kyasa Tree school, two learners sit back to back. One is young mother of 18. The other a girl of 9, not yet a mother. When asked why she comes to the tree school, the young mother says, “I want to become free from illiteracy, free from darkness. Our fathers are not literate. They did not send us to school. I want to become educated because it is an advantage for my life.” When Fekre, the young girl, is asked why she wants to go to school she replies, “so that I don’t have to get married off so young”, eliciting chuckles and muffled snickers from the adolescent boys in the class and community fathers looking on.

How have communities been successfully mobilized to support girls’ education?
One Somali leader tells communities, “When you educate a boy, you educate a
household. Look at those of your girls who have gone abroad. The girls never forget us. They call and they continue to send money. For the boys— the best is that we hear from someone they have moved from one country to another. We only hear from them when they want something. So imagine if your girls here were educated: ‘They nod their heads and then they understand’ (#5).

The Afar Pastoral Development Association “uses Islam as a weapon” to promote girls’ education. Islam gives the NGO the justification to convince communities to support girls’ education, and to show that girls should have the right to consent or dissent to marriage. APDA mobilizes community leaders and these leaders mobilize the rest of the community. For instance, after APDA educated and sensitized imams on the Q’uran and female genital mutilation issue, the imams tell their communities, “We will not bury any woman who has blood on her hands from performing this practice” (#4).

Despite recent jumps in girls’ enrollment in school, girls’ participation still remains much lower than boys. Even in Kala’an village, where the American ambassador visited and promised support, where an alternative education center was constructed, where it was handed over to the government and is still functioning, where the Kebele chairperson is an ardent supporter of education and where students from the 5 km surrounding the village attend the village school, -- even here, there are still girls who are out of school and have never been to school.

In Kay Afar Boarding School, in SNNPR, of the fifteen graduates of Level 1 alternative basic education programs, only one of them was a girl. In Gambella, only three girls in the whole regional state had made it to the 12th grade by 1998 E.C.—and all three were highlanders. Shinkosh Boarding School was scheduled to open in Somali, after ten years of sitting idle. However, the school chose to board only boys during its first year, though it would accept girls as students who are boarded outside in surrounding Kebredehar. The school cites the reason for this strategy to be the cultural barriers toward communities accepting girls boarding in the same location and that girls needs special care and extra facilities (#132). It hopes to gradually expand to reach more girls. However, following ingrained patterns creates ingrained results. It takes effort to break out of the box, and spearhead new approaches that increase girls’ participation.

When females work as teachers, this creates a visible role model for young girls and encourages families to allow their girls to participate in education. However, across the nation, female teachers of pastoral students also remain markedly low. In Gambella Teacher Training College, of all Anuak and Nuer trainees, only tiny handful are female (#152).

However, when females do become facilitators, their impact is felt. Government implementers working in alternative basic education for pastoralists have found that females are more committed facilitators. In Dolo Ado in Somali region, females facilitators were not paid their salaries by the woreda for six months. Males in other areas quit teaching when they did not receive their payment. However, female
facilitators continued teaching. The female facilitators encountered pressure from their husbands who said, “Why are you wasting our time? We are not getting benefit from the salary. You should be using the time do things that will benefit the household.” Yet the women persisted in teaching saying, “If we do not go to the center, the children will come to our home to learn” (#141).

In areas where women are often married early and may have several children by their early twenties, alternative basic education seems to offer more teaching opportunities to women. They do not have to leave their families for extended periods of times and they are not required to have as a high a level of education. They are also more likely to be posted within or very near their home community, whereas formal school teachers have high likelihood of being posted far away.

Though much progress has made been in reaching greater enrollment of girls in school, concerted and continued efforts need to be maintained in order to ensure that girls’ enrollment increases at a sustained pace. Old patterns and assumptions need to be challenged. Efforts to combat gender violence and discrimination need to be enlarged and institutionalized. In terms of teaching staff, specific concerted efforts must be made to ensure that female are both recruited as alternative basic education facilitators as well as being enrolled and maintained in teacher training colleges. And -- contradictory to one teacher trainer’s comments -- female teachers don’t necessarily need to “be more like the men”,… but they need “to be more.”
Finding teachers for pastoralist students is a challenge across the country. In the past, teachers most often did not speak the local language, had little enthusiasm about teaching in pastoral areas, and rarely received any training on how to teach pastoral or nomadic groups (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005).

Alternative basic education has enabled basic education implementers more flexibility in identifying teachers. The implementer can select the highest educated person from the local community and provide intensive pre-service training as well as periodic refresher training. Using a learner-centered, active learning methodology enables these facilitators to become competent teachers in less time.

However, even in this context of comparatively greater flexibility, many organizations are confronted with the quandry of how to find teachers with high enough skills and qualifications (#45). In an entire kebele or woreda, especially in pure pastoralist regions, someone may not be found with higher than a grade 5 education. If teachers are chosen from the local community, they often do not have a high enough level of education. If the implementer chooses someone from an outside or even a nearby community, that individual will often leave shortly after being hired.

Experts working in education for pastoralists have highlighted the need to provide facilities that enable teachers to stay in pastoralist areas. Alternative basic education has addressed this by mobilizing community members to build huts for teachers near the learning center compound.

When choosing pastoralist teachers from the community, NGOs will often invest in upgrading their skills through in-service teacher training or distance education. But when skills are upgraded these teachers often leave for higher paying jobs (#35, #57, #134). One NGO complained of its frustration and the interruption to the flow of education for children due to high turnover. However, it eventually handled the challenge by coming to see itself as a capacity building organization (#35).

In addition, the jumpstart training approach has not satisfied all implementers. Groups conducting pastoral education in Somali regions like Hope for the Horn, say that 10 days or 15 days of initial training not enough. The Afar Pastoralist Development Association adamantly gives 2 months training to literate individuals selected by the community to become teachers, then refresher trainings twice yearly. The organization feels that anything less than this is insufficient.

Demand is also not able to be met. The Abdul Majid Hussein College of Teacher Education in Somali Region has created an Alternative Basic Education Center of Excellence to address the needs of teachers working in pastoral populations. Since 1999, the teacher training institute has trained 3000 formal school teachers and
1500 alternative basic education teachers. However, while there are 724 alternative basic education centers in the region, the region feels it does not have the capacity to train all of the facilitators. And even when it has provided initial training, it does not have funds to call them back (#133).

Salaries issues threaten the success of teachers of pastoralist children in various areas. Teachers across the country, from Gambella to Afar, report that they are not being paid on time by woreda education offices. Sometimes they even have to travel a day on foot to go collect their salaries and when they reach there, the salary is not available (#44).

The Gambella Regional Bureau has enthusiastically supported alternative basic education in pastoral areas. And this region provides 6 months of training for facilitators. But the success of the program is being threatened by low teacher salaries. Government-paid facilitators receive a salary 30% less than facilitators working for NGO-sponsored alternative basic education centers.

These teacher salaries problems are common across Ethiopia. However, their severity is usually exacerbated in pastoral areas, because of the inherent distance from the reach of well-functioning systems due to their remoteness.

Investing in teacher development in pastoral regions may require specific and concerted attention on the part of the government as well as other donors and implementers of basic education.
Nyanchiu is a teacher at Pilwal village’s alternative basic education center. She says she is 12 -- but other community members consult together and come to the consensus that she must be about 17 or 18.

Pilwal is a semi-pastoral village in Gambella regional state. The community moves in times of drought or conflict and according to the rains. It is difficult to find female teachers in Ethiopian classrooms-- and even more difficult to find them in remote, pastoral areas. Nyanchiu says, “I started teaching a year ago. I came from Mahnatch, a village about 7 km away. I first stayed in the hut that was assigned for formal school teachers by the government, but now the villagers have built this hut for me.”

Nyanchiu is married and has three children, ages 5, 3, and 1. Every day, she gets up at 6:00 in the morning to find food and prepare milk and maize for her children. She finishes the day’s work by 7:00 pm and then sleeps at 9:00 pm. “My baby frequently has malaria. I must take him to Kuorgeng village 10 km away. I ask permission from the male teacher and he teaches my classes for me when I must go... But no matter how busy I am, I never leave my work incomplete, so that I can prepare my lesson and teach my class.”

Nyanchiu finds English and math the most difficult subjects to present. She feels that the other male facilitator with a 10th grade education does better in presenting these subjects, so she sometimes calls on his help. “I need more training-- especially in English. I don’t know English completely. We use Nuer in the classroom and the children understand me. The children like all their subjects-- especially English and Nuer alphabet. They can read and write Nuer now and I read for them. But I want to learn more English. I wish that the NGO would open a teacher training institute.”

Nyanchiu has a 9th grade education from a nearby high school. However, going to formal school in this area does not always guarantee being able to read and write. 9th grade girls in other nearby secondary schools had attended class up to 9th grade, but were not fully literate in English, Amharic nor their mother tongue.

Nyanchiu reflects, “I became a teacher to learn more. Now that I am teaching, my spoken and written Nuer is a little better. I have also earned great respect -- both from the students and the elders. I do see they treat me differently.” Nyanchiu is grateful for the opportunity to become a teacher, saying, “I had the desire to become a teacher -- and God allowed it.”
“Do any of the teachers in your school speak the local language?” “No”
“Do your students understand when the class is delivered in English?” “No”
“How do your students follow the class?” “That is also my question.”
-Secondary school teacher in Gambella

The UN Nomad study found that few of the countries covered in the study had any special policy for assigning teachers who speak the local language to schools with nomadic children. “Where the teacher speaks the local language this appears to be a matter of luck rather than design…” (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005).

Ethiopia has gone a long way to try and change this luck into design. In 1994, the Education and Training Policy decentralized education administration to the regional states, and advocated the use of mother tongue as a language of instruction in the early grades. Since then 22 languages are reported to be used as languages of instruction (#151).

Regional states have developed language of instruction policies according to regional circumstances. Currently, in most regions of Ethiopia, the first cycle of primary cycle is conducted in the regional language, except in areas where the language group is deemed too small to allocate resources for material development. Students often take Amharic as a subject if it is not the main language of instruction.

They transition English as the main medium of instruction in the second cycle of primary school.

Ethiopia has gone much farther than many other countries in actualizing mother tongue instruction. Pastoralists across the nation are benefiting from the first grades of education being conducted in a language they understand. Oromia’s pastoralists are little affected, because they live in a region where 30 million people speak the same language they do. This has widened their opportunities and a much higher percentage of Oromo pastoralists are found with 10th grade education. Pastoralists in Afar are becoming literate in a script that for centuries was not written. However, the main medium of instruction, especially in formal schools, is still Amharic. Somali pastoralists are becoming literate in a language that is prevalent across three–four nations. Pastoralists in South Omo are becoming literate in the national language, Amharic, while their mother tongues still remain rarely written. Mother tongue policy has not benefited them when their language groups are considered to small to warrant government investment.

The African Development Bank has advised that, in order to conduct literacy programs in the mother tongue, the basic phonetic description and grammatical analysis of a language should already exist. Creating this lexicon and body of literature is not an easy task.

One center embarking on this task is the Afar Language Studies and Enrichment
Center. This institution has been created with aim to enable the Afar tongue to become the language of the state and the language of instruction. The center is developing a dictionary of 10,000 words and a grammar book. It also tries to develop reading materials in the Afar language, producing school bulletins, magazines and editing pieces written by other groups. The Center has taken the national curriculum and 'afar-inized' it, and elaborating a whole section on the Afar language. Yet the center faces, as does everyone, not only a shortage of resources, but a shortage of skilled human resources. There are few who know the language well enough who are also literate and who have skills to translate back and forth from another regional, national or international language. The director emphasizes, "We are not responsible for implementation of education. Our task is only to prepare educational materials" (#96). Yet, because the center is, in effect, designing and adapting curriculum, great pedagogical responsibilities have been placed on the shoulders of linguists.

In other areas, religiously inspired groups have invested great effort in transcribing and creating lexicons and grammatical systems for little known languages. Though efforts have begun largely for the purpose of translating the Bible, the services of these linguists and ethnographers have had profound effects on the survival of the language of pastoralist groups. Some organizations have even developed educational materials, so that while the government has not invested in material development, these small tribes still receive an opportunity, however small it be, to become literate in their native language before transitioning into the formal system or the alternative basic education system (#15, #2).

One of the greatest challenges in mother tongue instruction is the scarcity of mother tongue speakers with adequate teaching qualifications. Implementers of mother tongue programs have raised the question-- when you can't find mother tongue teachers, is it a better option that a teacher has no education and speaks the mother tongue or has some education but does not speak the mother tongue (#1). Teacher training colleges have begun training teachers to utilize mother tongue in the first cycle of primary education, but despite concerted efforts, they continue to have difficulty enrolling native-speaker teacher trainees. So the number of qualified teachers remains far below the demand for mother-tongue teachers (#152). In Gambella, indigenous groups were found reaching 9th grade without having achieved literacy in neither their mother tongue, the national tongue nor English, despite having experienced all of these as a language of instruction (#153). Language is not the only input—even when children are taught in mother tongue, the mother tongue teachers must have adequate skills to be able to teach effectively.

One unexpected outcome of mother tongue instruction has been greater isolation. SIL has found that in areas where local language was introduced, most children dropped out of school before completing first cycle of primary school. Therefore, whereas previously participation in even rudimentary education enabled local language speakers to enter regional or national discourse, the new cohort of
students, by the time they drop out, have learned neither the majority language nor an international language. These students have become, therefore, much more culturally and economically isolated than their predecessors who had received the same level of education but were also able to speak some Amharic. Some parents of small language groups are demanding the majority language, saying ‘We don’t want mother tongue education for our children, we want them to have wider opportunities’ (#1).

Another challenge is that while pastoralists benefit during the early grades, the lucky ones who make it to second cycle primary education are immediately thrust into an all-English environment with little preparation- creating a sink-or-swim syndrome. Unfortunately, many sink. In Gambella, children could be witnessed copying English letters off the board upside down (#161). Even after nine years of school, the whole activity of children in the upper grades seems to be to copying letters off the board, before they are erased. Absorption of content was minimal. If children are to swim through this transition, either teachers of the early grades to need to provide better instruction in English as a subject, or second cycle primary schools need to provide more supplementary support in mastering English so that children can absorb their studies.

Whatever the case may be, Ethiopia serves as a large-scale experiment in testing what the actual outcomes are, when a country regionalizes language of instruction. How does this grand experiment apply to pastoralists, who often live on the fringes of linguistic access to wider society? Regions with sizeable populations of pastoralists speaking the same language have so far greatly benefited from the introduction of these policies. However, speakers of tiny language groups remain in the same predicament. Though the issue of poorly prepared first cycle teachers and challenges in second cycle transition affects all children studying in lesser known languages, the proportion of pastoralists who come to the table as speakers of smaller languages is high.
Tulgit village did not have a writing culture. The Suri people are semi-nomadic, tending the cattle, and until recently Suri was not a written language. But nowadays, people in Suri are beginning to write. And they are beginning to produce a library of literature in their own vernacular. The Suri language was first transcribed fifteen years ago and the language’s first books were produced only seven years ago. Ulrike Beyer has been working to develop primers the local language and help local inhabitants become Suri readers and writers. In order for anyone to be able to teach Suri literacy, Ulrike first had to become fluent in Suri herself and then learn to read and write it. It took several years for her to complete this task and then develop the first set of learning materials. She also developed numeracy materials that helped tribe members first become numerate in their 20-base numeral system, and prepare to bridge to a ten-base numbering system.

Ulrike then taught the first cohort of native Suri neo-literates. Once this group became literate, they became the teachers of the next group of children and adults. Each seven new teachers are trained. The class has evolved with time. At first, this class was the only form of any kind of education available. After some limited alternative basic education opportunities have become available, tribe members are now sending their children to these centers for alternative basic education, and to the Suri literacy class to supplement to their learning. A neighboring tribe mainly used their newly-gained literacy skills for writing letters. But the problem for the Suri people was that the recipients of the letters weren’t able to read them. No written materials existed in the language. But now the Suri are starting to generate their own local literature. Through the literacy course in Suri language, they produce their own locally-generated content during the class. They are writing about world events, other cultures, their land and environment-- And they have created a Community Reading Board to display and share their newly-generated materials.
with the community.

Each week, the facilitator brings a photo to class. The photo could be on any topic— the Masai tribe across the border, the tsunami, the Olympics, what the inside of an airplane looks like….

This week the photo is a cheetah.

And, true to the spirit of Freire’s generative approach, students discuss the photo for half an hour, sharing all the information they know and getting further information from the facilitator. After they have put their knowledge together, they write down their thoughts and create a story on a poster board. This poster is then hung on the Community Reading Board for all the tribe’s members to see.

This week, many men in the community have been interested to come learn more about story on the Community Reading Board — these men also face threats from cheetahs and want to know what others have done when facing the wildcat. They read about others’ experiences about what the cheetah eats, how to behave when a cheetah is hungry, what to do when cattle have been threatened, and how to react when a cheetah charges. They also learn about the customs of other neighboring tribes and how these tribes use the cheetah skin in ceremonies, rituals and dances.

The community loves it when there is something new on the board. Even when some tribe members can’t read, they come to learn and hear the newly literate readers from the class narrate information to them.

Many of the children who have learned to read and write in Suri language first have been able to graduate and go on to pursue higher basic education. Facilities for any kind of further basic education are all located outside the community.

In the past, children who learned their first grades in the majority language and then left the village for higher education, tended to drop the dress, traditions and practices of their local village and never come back. But the tribe has found that children who have learned first in Suri language, tend to keep their traditional practices and show loyalty to their culture and greater confidence in themselves when they do go on to the next cycle of primary school. Consequently, the Suri tribe has become much more supportive of sending these children trained in the local language to go on to obtain higher levels of basic education. And because of this community support, the number of readers and writers among the Suri people continues to grow.
Transition to Higher Levels of Education
Internationally, donors have adopted a mantra of secondary education while Ethiopia is still striving to achieve universal basic education. However, pastoralist leaders also cite the desire that further education should lead to increased upward mobility and access to economic resources. Some leaders in pastoralist causes have expressed the concern that all attention on pastoralist education focuses on basic education. But yet, it is with secondary education that pastoralists are able to rise into positions where they can exert wider influence (#13).

Recent years have seen a much larger transition into higher levels of education. Unprecedented numbers of pastoralists in South Omo are transitioning in second cycle primary and secondary school. Implementers cite this increased demand as being due both to EFA targets and universal enrollment policies, as well as to the proliferation of alternative basic education first cycle graduates (#153) and a newfound interest in education on the part of pastoralists (#12, #40).

Boarding schools are often held up as a model to increase the number of pastoralists with access to secondary education. However, this approach produces a higher output in human resources, yet tends to target resource investment to a lucky few and is not financially feasible for all pastoralist children. Many are beginning to call for more support of children completing the first cycle of alternative basic education and wanting to transition to the second cycle, not only for pastoral children but for children of many backgrounds who are graduating from the first cycle of alternative basic education. Many regional states are considering this possibility and Oromia regional state has begun designing a curriculum for second cycle alternative basic education (#9).

However, in some regions, this demand has created its own challenges. When Gambella regional state aimed to achieve a 1:1 textbook ratio, the region printed textbooks using previous years’ figures for planning. However, when textbooks were produced, they found that they ended up with a 1:4 or 1:5 ratio, due to unprecedented numbers of Grade 8 graduates (#153).

The sweeping influx of students into higher levels of education is a challenge facing Ethiopia in its next phase of educational development. But pastoralists have still only caught only the tail end of this sweep. Increased attention needs to be focused both on increasing the amount of pastoralist entrants into higher levels of basic education as well as ensuring the successful transition, reduced drop-out of these students.
This research endeavor is a programmatic undertaking of research into technical issues. Yet—all endeavors, be they programmatic or technical, are influenced by the undercurrents of the actors.

The government has taken steps to set up units that focus on pastoral issues. A federal commission on pastoral issues has been created in conjunction with the World-Bank funded Pastoralist Community Development Project. Oromia region has a particularly active Pastoralist Development Commission and various regional education bureaus have established Pastoral Coordination Units. The Federal Ministry of Education has also convened a Task Group on Pastoralist Education.

National initiatives put in place overarching frameworks that serve as scaffolding for pastoralist development. However, the value of local level commitment cannot be underestimated. Oromia found that education for pastoralists was strong when it was implemented in place with strong woreda or kebele administration (#9). One manager of alternative basic education commented, “This woreda is flourishing. They have established numerous well-functioning centers. The single most important factor influence the success of education for pastoralists in this woreda is that the woreda government is committed. In other places, when the woreda is not committed, nothing happens.” (#84).

Yet the human capacity of woredas differs. One education official comments, “When a woreda has some one who can read and write, who has a grade 8 education, then they are working well” (#84). Some woreda education officials can be found in Afar who are not even literate (#148, #84).

In some regions, tensions exist between woreda and regional government and between posts given to different clans. “About the model school, I haven’t seen it. I have heard its there. I passed on the straight way. They don’t consult us about what they do in our woreda. If the Regional Bureau is not there, we can work. If they are there, we cannot work. We do nothing,” said one Woreda Education Office head.

In many areas, government officials working in alternative basic education and pastoral education issues recognized the value of government-civil society collaboration much more. In various regions, strong relationships could be witnessed. However, in other regions, there was “disconnect” between government and civil society, or worse vying for power, control and resources.

Particular NGOs, like Oxfam, Save the Children UK, Pact, Pastoral Forum on Ethiopia, Pastoral Concern Association and Pastoral Research and Development Association, have been especially active in supporting pastoral education over the long term. One zonal official speaks of NGO participation “outshining” the government in contribution to education for pastoralists. However, in areas where competition or ‘disconnect’ is reduced, and collaboration and cooperation increased, education for pastoralists has thrived. In Somali region, Save the Children UK has shifted from...
directly implementing its own centers to supporting government offices to better carry out their duties. Save UK supports the teacher training institute and directly funds the woreda but it is the woreda that purchases and distributes textbooks and runs alternative basic education centers (#143, #144, #157). This kind of collaboration has created a new brand of success.

Though religious groups are not working at a large scale, they are contributing valuable efforts on a small scale. Q’uranic schools are discussed at length above. The Belal Development Center is funded by the Kuwait government and provides secular education to about 80 children in the pastoral zone of Yabelo. Groups like SIL, SIM and EECMY are religiously-based Christian organizations that provide primarily secular-based education, with religious instruction also offered in selected locations. For example, SIM runs a public library and literacy program for pastoralist youth and adults in Jijiga town.

In all locations, when lines of communication were open, and good will exists between government, religious groups and civil society education efforts, for pastoralists are more likely to succeed.
Galamo is a 15-year-old girl with a grade 2 education. When a local NGO operated an alternative basic education center in Gochame village, she was able to study up to Grade 2 because she could study at night. The NGO provided fuel for the lantern, and the facilitator was willing to work within the timeframe of the student’s needs.

Galamo works from dawn to dusk. First she wakes up early in the morning to make breakfast. Then she fetches water, collects firewood, cleans the house, takes care of small children, cleans dung out of the animal shelter, and lastly, grinds grain for the evening meal. Because of the heavy workload, she has time to study only at night.

Three years ago, Gochame’s center was handed over from the NGO to the government. Gochame has now been upgraded to a formal primary school. Since then, night classes have stopped because the woreda does not have the money to pay for fuel for night classes and because government teachers do not want to teach at night.

Galamo has had to discontinue her education because there is no one else to assist her mother during the day time. “My mother raised us and brought us up by collecting and selling firewood. Now it is my turn—I must take on this responsibility for her when she needs me.”

Galamo is the oldest girl in her family. She has one older brother who is herding, and one sister who is big enough to work so was sent to help her grandmother. The other two sisters, who are still too young to help with the housework, are now studying during the daytime at Gochame’s newly converted primary school.

At alternative basic education centers across the country, NGOs have mobilized communities, engaged communities in building centers, and trained facilitators. In order to ensure sustainability, many NGOs have coordinated with woreda education offices to hand over the centers and enable them to become part of the government’s education system.

Some of these handed-over centers have been able to thrive and continue developing. But some centers from the remote pastoral regions in the far south and far north of Ethiopia, have faced great challenges when learning centers were transitioned from being NGO-run alternative basic education centers to government-run centers, satellite schools or formal primary schools. In some villages, students were idle during long delays before new teachers were hired and some schools had not yet opened their doors months after the start of the school year. In many centers, students and community mentioned that government teachers were not interested or willing to teach at non-regular times or hold classes during the evening.

Woreda Education Offices across the country speak of the challenges in monitoring former alternative basic education centers that they inherit. The centers are often far from the woreda center where there is no access or difficult access to roads. In addition, officials all comment on the shortage of funds, the shortages of vehicle, and even when there are vehicles, there is shortage of fuel. And so, all of these challenges remain.

And so does Galamo’s Grade 2 education.

“When I have my own children, I want to send them to school. I regret that I was myself not able to continue. But this is my responsibility to my mother.” - Galamo
Financing & Resources
“If it is recognized that nomadic communities have special needs, then there will have to be additional finances.”

(International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005)

“I don’t think there is resource problem—there are lots of cattle. The community can easily convert them into teaching and learning resources.”

(participant at the Pact Symposium on Education for Pastoralists, February, 2008)

Following significant financial investment in a multi-country study on the state of pastoralists throughout the Horn of Africa, the development community was waiting promised financing. Funding promised through the African Development Bank never seemed to materialize. The Pastoral Community Development Program has leveraged substantial funding through World Bank financing and USAID’s TEACH project has leveraged 11 million to benefit pastoral, remote, food-insecure and resettled populations. However, pastoralists remain severely underserved compared to the rest of the population, with less access to health posts, clean water, education facilities and other basic services.

Countless regional bureau and woreda staff lament that the tiny size of funds allocated for adult and nonformal education is just enough to cover government administrators’ salary costs—there are no funds left over for programmatic or operational costs of these programs. In Gambella where the population served by alternative basic education was 75% pastoral, the adult component of the program was simply discontinued in 1999 E.C., due to lack of budget (#155).

Programmatic and operational inputs, like training of facilitators, learning materials, sometimes even salaries of facilitators, are often left to the donations of others (#153, #155, #37). When these donations do come, they may sit in the regional education bureau for months or years, because of lack of resources to transport the materials and lack of management systems to properly oversee the activity.

NGO financing of education for pastoralists is substantial. In Borena, a majority pastoral zone, during the 1998 E.C. school year, NGOs financed 52% of education for adults while the government financed 48% (#51). It is NGOs that have been able to leverage financing and who have the flexibility to target their mandate to reach pastoralists.

Community contributions to nonformal education expenditure should also not be overlooked. Across the nation, communities are contributing human labor for the construction of alternative basic education centers, locally available building materials like rocks, wood, sand and other such items. Communities also contribute human labor to the management of learning centers. In the TEACH project alone, USAID has funded 11.7 million for nonformal education, but this is conditional on a 15% matching funds, or the equivalent of $1,755,000 million to be contributed by communities.
The Education Sector Development Program cites that while the government contributed 12.5 million birr to education in the previous educational plan, the input of community contributions substantially increased the value of input to the education sector, though financial figures were difficult to document. One study in Amhara region alone, disclosed that when Parent Teacher Associations and Kebele Education and Training Boards were fully involved in resource mobilization for schools, they mobilized the equivalent of 18 million birr in contributions from communities throughout the state (Yebrehan Development Associates, 2006). In pastoralist regions, pastoralists have contributed wood, sand, mud and other local construction materials, as inputs to education.

In some places, teacher and facilitators are paid by government or NGO. However, in other regions, teacher salaries has been placed upon the community’s shoulders. In some cases, the community contribution vs. NGO toward teacher salary began at 50/50 percent. However, gradually the community absorbed more and more of the percentage for funding the teacher’s salary each year (#34).

However, the ability of communities to contribute has its limitations. It was found that expectations of community contributions must be in line with what the community itself thinks it give. Programs that expected cash-contribution and even some types of in-kind contribution were sometimes not successful. In programs that did not clearly involve communities in establishing the expectations, communities did not always follow through on their commitments (#10, 33). But when the community agreed upon the types of in-kind contributions it could make, programs for pastoralists have thrived.

Pastoralists are usually located in distant or inaccessible locations. In every pastoral location visited in the course of this study, government capacity in monitoring and supervision was an issue. Almost every woreda office complained of lack of support for vehicles or fuel to monitor.

Because distances are far, there may be 45 km between two alternative basic education centers in the same kebele, and the Regional Bureau reports that most supervisors find it difficult to travel on foot more than 5 km (#84). For instance, in Dubti woreda, Afar, there are 5 government-run alternative basic education centers. Of the three that are accessible, there was only one that may be accessible at the time of the visit. To reach the center, the car must travel several kilometers up a stream bed through beds of thorns. Local herders come and pull back the thorns, shrubs and hold them so that the car can get through and climb in and out of the banks of the stream bed. After reaching as far as it accessible by car, the woreda education officials must get out, walk through a village, and then wade through a river with slippery slick mud, where villagers usually form a human chain to help monitors across, before reaching the class on the other side of the banks.

The challenges in monitoring and management are being addressed by one NGO, Afar Development Pastoralist Association who has hired persons of local ethnicity
who travel to the location where pastoralists live, the same way that pastoralists do—on foot. One individual monitors from 19 to 23 sites in one woreda. He goes on foot, walking five days in this direction, then 10 days in that direction, reaching pastoral settlements that are unreachable by car or horse and carriage (#88). When reaching each site, he checks for student attendance, facilitator attendance, effective teaching and learning and monitors reports.

However lacking the amount of resources, the question of the management of even these small resources makes a difference in the quality of education for pastoralists. A stack of textbooks lying, fraying in the sun and dust on the steps of an office does no good for the pastoralists who should have those books in their hand.

One pastoralism expert reflected on the value of pastoralists' livestock capital.

“Livestock is ‘Red Gold’. We can replicate it, reproduce it, multiply it. The only thing is that we have to do is manage it” (#45).

The same strategy of focusing on the quality management of resources at hand, can be applied to the value of pastoralists' human capital as well as to government and NGO implementation capacity.
Long-Term Sustainability
When the donor phases out, the project phases out. and then the children phase out. 

Implementer of basic education for Somali pastoralists

Many regional states have found success in reaching pastoralists, especially through alternative basic education. Oromia found its pastoral education initiatives were successful because the centers were located near the house and the teacher stayed with the group. Another implementer attributed success in initiatives for pastoralists to commitment from the donor and the community, appropriate strategy, and follow-up supervision and support (#10).

Several regional states expressed enthusiasm and concrete plans on their intention to scale-up current educational programs for pastoralists, including mobile schools and curricula that had been customized to pastoralists (#8, #9).

Yet these successes have not always been sustained. A placard hanging on the wall of a woreda education office stated, “The best is the enemy of the good. You need an adequate plan now, and not a perfect plan later.” Though the placard hanging in this woreda office holds merit, many also stressed the need for educational initiatives to have long-term commitment from the outset.

Endeavors also need expertise of people who are knowledgeable in the ways of pastoralists. “Once you intervene wrongly, it has harmful effects. It must be done in the right way. The solution of today may be the problem of tomorrow” (#45).

Said one implementer who was of pastoralist background himself, “When you cook something and it falls out of the pot, who is the next person who will come and try to start cooking the same food that you dropped?” (#10).

As alternative basic education has blossomed across Ethiopia, many of the non-governmental implementers that have initiated these centers have sought to ensure their sustainability by transitioning them into government management. Once transferred, many are upgraded from alternative basic education centers or satellite schools into regular formal primary schools. For instance in Oromia, a formal school is defined as 4 classrooms, 1 office and 1 latrine (#9). The conditions for a satellite school to become a formal school are based first, on the priority of the students and second, on the distance from the school (#51).

NGOs in some regions of Ethiopia, for instance, Tigray, have reported the successful transfer of handover of alternative basic education centers to government management. However NGOs who were running nonformal education centers in other pastoral areas lamented the effect of handover on the centers. “We think our programs will be sustainable, but we forget there are external factors”. One NGO implementer says, “There is no question that formalizing to a primary school is good. But the centers are formalized without teachers, without support and without teacher salaries.” Sometimes the office of education takes the facilitator with the center, but many times this did not occur – either due to the facilitator
leaving or for government reasons. This unfilled position left a lengthy gap in teaching. Gaps in teaching and declines in quality were experienced in almost all pastoral regions when alternative basic education centers were converted to regular primary schools. Some centers remain months without a facilitator. If the facilitator goes, so does the program. A new facilitator has not been trained in alternative teaching methods, does not have the same relationship established with the community and is less willing to entertain flexibility of approach including flexible timing of programs. Says one alternative basic education implementer, “When alternative basic education centers are handed over to the government, not only are the students transferring, neglect is transferring as well. Then alternative basic education becomes standard basic education.”

In one woreda in which 5 of 16 primary schools were not functioning and 20 of 50 satellite schools were not functioning, including the 11 alternative basic education centers that had been handed over to the government. In this majority pure pastoralist woreda, the Woreda Education Officer stated, “No, we do not have any education initiatives for pastoralists. Not this year -- It’s stopped.”

Policymakers cite that involving pastoralists in local planning and policy making requires significant investment in policymaking (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005). Though it may cost money, and more than money, time and effort, involving pastoralists is well-worth the effort. The pastoralist whose own community is impacted by an effort, is more likely not to let the food fall out of the pot in the first place.

One woreda education official commented, “We make do with the resources, but really it’s difficult. May God help us.” Appealing to God will certainly impact education endeavors for pastoralists... but we humans need to play our part as well. Comprehensive plans and hefty resources will go a long way in feeding the longevity of a program. But sustainability is often achieved not just through grandiose plans and chunky resources. Sustainability often comes when leaders, managers, and a host of other individuals continuously, consistently, and coherently, on a day-to-day basis, dedicate their efforts to a common cause.
Abdul Qader is 56 year-old man who grew up as a herder boy “out in the jungle with my camels”, as he says. He came back to the village as an illiterate youth and wanted to join the school. He enrolled in Quranic school, became literate in Arabic and completed the Hezul’Qu’ran, the memorization of the holy book, in record time. He then left his village and went to find his father who had migrated to Somalia.

He found his father, but he didn’t find an easy avenue to pursuing his education. “My father was a traditional man and he didn’t want me to get an education. He sent me to a clergyman. But I wanted to join the local school. I couldn’t find anyone who could help me enroll in government school for over a year, so I moved to Kenya to try and pursue my education there.”

Finally, Abdul Qader found a mission boarding school that enrolled him. The school only taught two subjects- Arabic and Islamic education. Abdul Qader took advantage of the opportunity he could get, completed the schooling and became a teacher. He wanted to further his education, so he moved to Uganda but had no success. He even applied in Saudi Arabia, but was not accepted.

“I wanted to seek the education of a modern citizen, so I went to Kenya and started teaching myself.” After two years of self-study, he was able to join the local high school. “After that I wanted to go back to my own village and start a school there. But I was not happy because I did not have university education. I felt I had to fulfill that ambition. Instead of waiting for a chance, I had to go after it.”

Abdul Qader picked up and went to the United Kingdom. With great difficulty, he found enough work to support himself. “I had a hell of a time, and I was denied residence once. But the moment I was granted residence, I went to the university and enrolled. I went to the academic counselor and told him, ‘I want to go back to my country of origin. What do you advise?’ The counselor advised him to study mechanical engineering and Abdul Qader later did a second degree in solar and renewable energies. In the ensuing years, he went on to become an engineer, travel the world, found an NGO, write a book on female genital mutilation called Consenting to Cruelty and serve as an activist and advocate on human rights issues that affect pastoralist communities.

After decades on different continents, Abdul Qader has come back to his birthplace, Dadiins, in the Somali region of Ethiopia, to die. But the community wouldn’t let him die yet. He was called by the education officials and the Pastoralist Development Research Association to direct a boarding school in the remote area of Shinkosh, Somali region. Abdul Qader was selected to move forward an institution that had been dormant for 10 years. He says, “The facility has never been used and yet the walls are crumbling.” He began expediting the process so that the school could open and enroll 200 students in its first year.

Abdul Qader is fascinated by the multigrade Q’uranic approach to education in which 60 students study simultaneously at different levels. He wishes to harness the power of memory and use it for the education of pastoralists. He says, “One day I will open the University of the Jungle”.

When people know of Abdul Qader’s diverse interests, they ask him, “Are you a feminist? Are you a social scientist?” He responds, “I am trained as an engineer. But engineering in all aspects of the human experience.” He speaks of a movement called Engineers Against Poverty, in which engineers utilize technology to directly combat poverty. Abdul Qader has brought solar power to his village and opened the first color photography development shop in his area. Abdul Qader is training blacksmiths and shoemakers, who are shunned and treated as outcasts by the rest of the pastoralist community.

He says, “Why did I seek education? It was some kind of in-born pursuit. It is hard to describe. Just a miracle. The environment I was born in did not concern itself with education. But I realized its importance at a very early age. One factor was that I had many problems. Our father left us. I was sick. I was treated for this illness. I always thought education would equip me to fight the poverty I left behind. And later, I realized how the bad the life I left behind was. People lived on the very edge of life and death. But sometimes I think it’s just a miracle that I realized the importance of education for development.” Despite his involvement in the technology revolution, Abdul Qader refuses to carry a cellphone because, “I do not want to be found… I’d rather be out chasing my camels”. Cellphone or not, it seems that the world is not ready to let Abdul Qader and his wisdom go. The epics of his life are recounted in a book “The Road to My Village”, and “Patriotic African” as well as in three other books he is concurrently writing.
IV. Making Change Happen
“How long will you just pilot ?…….”
-implementer of mobile schools in Somali Region

With ample research available, numerous small-scale efforts tested and initiated, and alternative basic education rolled out at a larger scale, Ethiopia is poised to deliver education to pastoralists on a large scale.

The UN Nomad study recommends an inter-sectoral approach linking education interventions for nomads with health, agriculture and water (International Institute for Educational Planning, 2005). Recent USAID funding investments have taken this into account.

A number of other recommendations have been offered to effectively actualize education for pastoralists.

- Involve pastoralists in the policy making and planning process
- Make the local community accountable for controlling events, hiring, firing, and implementation
- Customize the learning place and learning modality to local needs
- Teachers should speak the local language
- Pastoralists should be recruited to be teachers
- Develop programs that cover small areas
- Understand the importance of diplomacy and communicating through the chief
- Build on existing Q’uranic education efforts.
- Schools with single teachers should be expanded to double shift schools
- Single teacher schools should coordinate with Q’uranic schools.
- Single teacher schools feed into larger “Mother schools” for Second cycle of primary school
- ‘Host families’ accommodate students during second cycle, rather than boarding schools
- Girls education committees are formed, with teachers, community leaders as members
- Special funding, research and attention at national and international levels be devoted to pastoralist education.
(Ibrahim, 2004)

An excellent approach and targeted interventions transform recommendations into action. Many regional bureaus have developed implementation guidelines for alternative basic education and some have even customized this to meet the needs of pastoralists.

Yet experts the field note how special considerations need to be taken into account when working with pastoralists.
One expert defines the principles that make initiatives for pastoralists successful.

- One must not use a piecemeal approach.
- One must start from the traditional knowledge.
- Pastoralists must be involved—there can be no exclusion of pastoralists.
- There can be no imposing— if you impose, it will have other impacts.

But he says, "There is no silver bullet. You must use a holistic approach. There is not one simple solution. It requires many resources, many inputs. It’s a cumulative effect" (#45)

Others working with pastoralists found that initiatives were successful when there was commitment from the donor and the community, when there was a clearly identified strategy and when there was follow-up and supervision and when community contributions that were appropriate to the community’s expectations of what it could give (#10).

However, on the ground, the practice does not always look like the paper, as is always the case with policies.

“Rolling out a program is like buying a dress for your wife. You see it in the shop, you like it and you buy it for your wife. When you come home and she puts it on, it looks nothing like it did in the shop.”

(#150)

Some development practitioners lament that after forty years of donor investment, the world still does not seem to have solved its problems and some inequalities have only increased. “Taking innovation (or reform) from the pilot stage to a larger scale is complex process that is difficult to complete. Success is rare and obstacles numerous” (Association for the Development of Education in Africa, 2001). With this attitude of humility, but also with the benefit of seasoned experience and mature approach, interventions for pastoralists should be continued and pursued with renewed vigor and investment.

“Change is a way of thinking, a way of living.”

“Change means change of mind, change of attitude”

- Abdul Karim Guleid, Hope for the Horn
A hole in wall in Afar, looking out on to a field of green -- representing a glimmer of hope
V. Bibliography & Supporting Documentation
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**List of Interviews Conducted**

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“They know best.
The time you lost spending with me,
you can get in a short time with them.”
(#45)