

STRATEGIES ON NOMADIC EDUCATION DELIVERY.

STATE OF THE ART REVIEW

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LOCATION and PHYSIQUE: Somalia is located in the eastern Horn of Africa along the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, with an area of 637,660 square kilometers (slightly less than Texas) and coastline stretching over 3,000 km. The country extends 1,847 km NNE - SSW and 835 km ESE - WNW. The North is somewhat mountainous, with plateaux reaching between 900 and 2,100 meters, and the South consists of a low plateau whose maximum elevation is 685 meters above the sea level.

CLIMATE: Somalia has a hot tropical torrid climate and there is little seasonal change in temperature (averaging between 24 and 31 degrees centigrade). The periodic southwest (June-September) and northeast (December-March) monsoons influence temperature and rainfall. Average annual rainfall is less than 28 cm, and droughts are frequent (approximately every ten years). Increasing aridity of the Somalia climate, coupled with excessive deforestation and overgrazing, has led to degradation and desertification.

POPULATION: The population of Somalia was estimated in 1989 to be 7 Million, with a growth rate between 2.5 and 3.0 percent per year, and a density of around 11 persons per square kilometer. Life expectancy at birth is estimated at 46 years. Somalis are classified as Hematic with a Cushitic culture and are believed to have descended from people who migrated from the equatorial lakes of Africa, intermixed with pastoral groups in the north and migrants from the Arabian peninsula.

RELIGION and LANGUAGE: Islam is the state religion and Somali people are Sunni Muslims of the Shafi'i sect. Some pre-Islamic traditions are still strong in the rural areas. The Somali language, classified as a lowland Eastern Cushitic language, is spoken by all Somalis. It is the official language and the medium of instruction in the primary and secondary schools. Arabic is another official language. English and Italian languages are used in the Somali National University and used for international communication.

ECONOMY: About half of Somalia's sparse population consists of pastoral nomads, whose livestock production is the mainstay of the economy. This accounts for some 40 percent of the Gross Domestic Product [GDP], providing subsistence to about 75 percent of the population, and 75 percent of national exports and employs between 55 and 60 percent of the labor force. As classified by the United Nations, Somalia is one of the least developed countries in the world. The per capita Gross Domestic Product (1988) was about US\$ 280 at the official exchange rate and about US\$170 at the open market rate.

EDUCATION: Private schools were closed or nationalized in 1972, all education was put under the jurisdiction of the central government. In May 1975, primary education was made compulsory, and a minimum of six years of schooling mandatory. However, many prospective students in the rural areas, particularly among the nomadic population, could not be accommodated. A literacy campaign was conducted in the mid-1970s, but there are questions as to how long lasting the effects were, particularly among rural communities. In the mid-1980s, literacy was very low, perhaps 18 percent among adult men and 6

percent among adult women, and the primary school enrollment rate for school age children was less than 10 percent.

HEALTH: Somalia has a high incidence of tuberculosis, schistosomiasis, and pulmonary disturbances. Malaria and intestinal parasites are endemic. Serious dietary deficiencies are widespread. Only a third of the population has access to safe drinking water. For 1980-85 the average life expectancy was estimated at 42.5 years for females and 39.3 years for males. The infant mortality rate is 130 (UNICEF, 1989). In 1982, there were 76 hospitals and 87 mother and child health clinics; there were 5,536 hospital beds in 1984. In 1986, there were 450 physicians, 2 dentists, and 1,834 nurses.

2. OBJECTIVES AND LIMITATIONS

1. It is the intention of this survey to briefly describe special features of pastoral nomads including effectiveness of traditional methods of survival as well as this sector's economic significance to the nation.
2. It is also intended to investigate the extent pastoral nomads had been deprived of access to basic education while identifying major constraints that limit the provision of education to Somali nomads.
3. To review attempts made by the Somali government to supply education to nomads.
4. To identify problems related to the nomads' accessibility to education and to draw conclusions on pastoral nomads in relation to the provision of basic services.
5. To recommend suitable strategies through which education could be provided to pastoral nomads. These strategies are intended to help for future Somali governments, UN agencies and Non-Governmental Organizations, to enable them to supply this service in the best possible way.
6. Finally, it is the intention of this report to propose research needs on this topic where gaps exist.

One important limitation of this report is that data on Somali pastoral nomads is and has always been very meager. This section of the society is discriminated against and marginalized, even in statistical information. It is easier to find accurate and updated accounts on the livestock raised and marketed by pastoral nomads than find the number of people engaged in their production as well as the services rendered to the nomads.

Although there is some general literature on Somalia's pastoral nomads, it is dispersed and not easily available. At this particular time and space (when no libraries exist in Somalia), it is extremely difficult to consult documents that would be of great benefit to this report.

3. INTRODUCTION

For nomads there is no realistic chance to benefit from the formal education system. Even if a nomadic family could arrange to send a child to school by living with member of the family, the type of education he/she could get in the formal school would not help him or her in the nomadic environment.

Providing education for nomadic people in the traditional manner confronts the teaching profession with a series of headaches. School buildings, classrooms, benches, desks, teaching equipment and timetables of subjects and activities for the term are all irrelevant for people who do not stay in one place for more than a few weeks at a time.

The nomad is certainly an awkward customer for the services and structures of the modern education system. They are seen as dispersed and somehow aimless, obstinate and an inferior sort of person. It is very difficult to provide them with classes or clinics, or take any of the advantages of social services. This outlook seems to be in line with 'blaming the victim'. Nomads are always blamed for causing their own problems. Thus it is imperative to ask whether the pastoral nomads are awkward customers or whether the supplier is biased? Unless this question is addressed there is little hope in taking serious steps to develop the education of pastoral nomads.

To appreciate why this section of the Somali society is deprived of their access to education, it is important to briefly demonstrate some inherent problems within the education system:

The Education System. The education system was never conducive to Somalia's pastoral communities. Since the colonial era the country's education has been generally characterized by low enrollment, male-biased and urban (or settlement) orientation features. Available statistics (World Bank 1990, Diallo, 1979) indicate that 5-10 percent of all school children were enrolled, of which girls constituted less than 20 percent of the total enrollment.

A major problem that affects nomads' accessibility to educational facilities was the urban-orientation of Somalia's education system. Almost all educational facilities were built in towns or major villages that served settled communities only. One manifestation of this bias is the fact that in 1969, about 90 percent of primary schools were located in urban settings that were inaccessible to pastoralists. Similarly, in 1988, 59 percent of all secondary school graduates were from the capital city Mogadishu. What could be the

share of the pastoral nomads? Thus, nomads are neglected absolutely and relatively when it comes to access to education.

Education Finance. A crucial problem is how the sector was financed. In the first place the bulk of education expenditure was covered by the budget of the Ministry of Education and Culture. During the 1975-79 period Somalia spent 12 percent of its recurrent expenditure and 7 percent of its development expenditure on education, which equalled to only 3.2 percent of the Gross Domestic Product.

During 1970s, however, defence and security needs absorbed increasing amounts of government budget, and expenditure on education drastically declined, reflecting a shift in government priorities and an apparent loss of its commitment to education (Jama, 1991).

From 1986 through 1988, the Ministry of Education's share of government spending dropped to less than 2.0 percent of its recurrent expenditure and about 3.0 percent of its development expenditure. Total basic expenditure on education (recurrent and development) was about 0.6 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (World Bank, 1990).

Inadequate finances led to a precarious decline in primary school enrollment, teachers left the system at an unprecedentedly high rate, resulting in the subsequent closure of many schools. This trend discouraged even the settled communities to send their children to school, where conditions were appalling, let alone pastoralists who always had their doubts.

If interventions aimed to meet some educational needs of pastoral nomads are to become sustainable, they have to be coupled with other efforts in improving nomads income generating capabilities, whereby women are given special attention in strengthening the pastoral production system.

Education: Does it Help Nomads?

The underdevelopment of pastoral communities could be explained as a result of a number of factors, including lack of access to basic education. Yet availability of education cannot be assumed a panacea for the sector's problems. However, it is a general belief that education is a key to progress and that its purpose is the liberation of nomads from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependency. Therefore, if this service is provided to pastoral nomads, it is assumed it will make differences such as:

- * It will enable them to participate in the planning, implementation and evaluation of projects affecting their special living conditions, as well as their future;

- * While cultivating their awareness on their rights and problems it will encourage nomads to form community organizations and participate in the political realm effectively;

- * It will enable nomads to understand and utilize their environment better and increase productivity;
- * It will give them the capacity to absorb and utilize sustainable technology that reduces the number of working hours for the nomads, liberating children to enroll in schools;
- * It will open communication channels for nomads to understand their surroundings and develop a better relationship with urban and agricultural communities.

4. PASTORAL NOMADS

A nomad could be defined as a livestock owner who keeps the productivity and survival of his herds through extensive yet cyclic wandering in areas where there are not enough resources to remain in one place permanently. While pastoral refer to people whose main livelihood is herding.

With the exception of southern agricultural land along the Shabelle and Juba rivers and the northern, Borama-Gebilay enclave, Somalia is a territory exclusive suitable and used for grazing.

4.1 Nomadic Way of Life

This lifestyle and form of livestock production has survived through centuries, and even today pastoral nomadism is recognized as an efficient cost-effective method of utilizing marginal lands. Nomads have special ways of adapting to the arid and unreliable climatic conditions. Nomads have a strong and viable social system and community organization which (before it was manipulated and misused by the last dictatorial regime) enhanced their self-reliance and survival capacities to meet their needs, even at times of disaster such as drought. According to I.M. Lewis, the Somali nomad, particularly the northerner, is independent and an individualist. He noted that the "informidable pride of the Somali nomad, his extraordinary sense of superiority as an individual, and his firm conviction that he is sole master of his actions and subject to no authority except that of God" (Lewis, 1961).

Nomads are symbols of survival. They have survived long droughts, epidemic diseases, all kinds of hardships without any external assistance or from the government. They have a functioning and self-contained system based on individual abilities and strong and well-balanced social structure, based on the 'economy of affection' where the needy is supported through clan or marriage relationships. Over the years, pastoralists have developed their own methods of treating livestock with a fair degree of success. They

acquired accumulated knowledge on various herbs to treat people and to cure their animals.

For centuries milk produced on the rangelands constituted the main diet of the nomads during several months of the year, depending on the size of the herd and pattern of droughts. But since the market economy came in contact with nomads their diet has substantially changed. Since then pastoral nomads have not been as remote and out of touch with other sectors of the Somali society as their geographical location may suggest. Nomads make regular trips to markets in agricultural and urban settlements. And lately, cereals, some of them imported, e.g. rice, constitute the nomad's staple food, and not dairy products of milk and meat as commonly believed.

The mode of living among nomads has permeated and influenced the very roots, thinking, behaviour and culture of present day Somalis. Nomadism as a way of life was a logical, valid and productive mode of existence. Pastoral nomads proved to be resistant to external forces. Their land, culture, lifestyle could not be overrun by modern civilization.

The world economy is changing drastically, and pastoral nomads everywhere must feel the impact. They have been at the mercy of shifting commodity prices, tariff regulation, and trading patterns over which they have little or no control. As the monetized economy expanded to engulf the pastoral nomads, they have become more and more dependent on goods from settled communities, and their sensitivity to macro change is increasing.

Pastoralism could be assumed the only practice that does not threaten the arid environment and nomads know how to exploit it. The continuous cyclic movement of men and animals allows vegetation to replenish itself and does not threaten water sources and the grazing land around them.

Nomads have more or less full control over the management of pasturage. They restrict and direct their wanderings and focus on tribal holdings, depending on the availability of food supply (fodder) and the technology for exploiting it. Each clan has focal sites that they occupy for a considerable period of the year.

4.2 National Roll of Nomads

In Somalia, pastoral nomads constitute between 60 and 70 percent of the country's sparse population, and are entirely dependent on livestock (Diallo, 1979, Jama, 1991). Their livestock production is the mainstay of the country's economy, accounting for some 40 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP), providing subsistence to about 75 percent of the population, furnishing some 80 percent of foreign exchange earnings, and employs between 55 and 60 percent of the nation's labor force.

In spite of their significant economic contribution, 57,000 of Somalia's 500,000 nomadic and semi-nomadic families are considered "poor all the time", and 300,000 are poor during drought. The total population who are in need of permanent support before the war was estimated to be approximately two million.

4.3 Nomadic Education.

Children of pastoral nomads go without modern education, but not without education at all. They receive traditional education that is oriented to their ways of making a living and which contains the cultural and societal values of society. For example, herd boys learn the value of different kinds of grazing for each species of stock by watching animals and the environment and through direct teaching by male elders, while girls acquire household related activities from their mothers and sisters.

The Koranic school is by far the most pervasive, steady and permanent education facility in the country. Since the advent of the Islamic religion, the nomadic children received some sort of formal education, which has shown some success. This was the teaching of the Koran. In general, this played a very different role in the children's lives from those involved in modern or formal schools, because such teaching takes place in a familiar environment and carried out by individuals from the same neighborhood.

Among pastoral nomads, children (mostly boys) aged 5-14 years are brought together for some hours (normally early morning and or early evening) six days a week to be taught how to recite the Koran by a nomad teacher, who is supported by voluntary annual contributions and who enjoys the respect of the community. Facilities are rudimentary, barely providing shelter and the equipment is simple: wooden slates, ink, and a wooden pen. An advantage of these schools is their mobility; the Koranic teacher moves with his students and his school wherever the new camp is constructed.

The Koranic schools, however, face many problems. Teachers are not well trained. Many of them are barely literate and only teach the Koran with no supplementary courses in Islamic studies. The teaching approach is often rigidly unyielding and consists largely of note-taking, memorization and copying.

5. CONSTRAINTS RELATED TO ACCESSIBILITY TO EDUCATION

5.1 Regional-Sectoral Disparity

Nomads are not their own masters. They have no control over the ups and downs around them that directly or indirectly influence their future. In this country in the Horn, regional and sectoral unequal distribution of resources is the dominant scene, whereby pastoral nomads are impoverished, dominated and underprivileged.

Like other services, education facilities are unequally distributed among different communities of the Somali society. Since the beginning of formal education in Somalia, schools were urban-oriented or settlement-biased (concentrated in towns and villages). In the years following independence, education was focused on the minority urban population and the majority of children in the 'miyi' (rural rangelands) did not share the fruits of the post-independence. In 1969, for example, 90 percent of all primary schools were located in settings of permanent residence e.g. towns and villages of different population sizes.

Although the delivery of basic education was urban or settlement oriented, the disparity is more explicit depending on the degree a certain region is nomadic. Regions which people derive their livelihood from livestock have had the lowest primary school enrollment (Jama, 1991).

The provision of schools for nomads, and the adoption of schooling to the special needs and circumstances of nomadic society, has made less progress in Somalia than for other basic needs. Although it is generally accepted that without proper schooling pastoral communities (settled communities) will remain poor and discriminated upon, there have been few attempts to solve this problem.

Where nomad children do get schooling, it is at immense personal cost both to the child and its parents, and denotes a complete and often permanent separation of the child from the nomad community. Few benefits from such sacrifices are returned to the nomad community.

Most efforts at providing schooling for nomads have been through the extension of ordinary schools into the remote areas generally inhabited by nomads. In the first place small towns and villages are generally equipped with a day school. The pupils are normally town or village children and children of local officials and traders. A few nomadic children, almost invariably boys and generally from richer families or those with an urban connection, attend school and live with kin in the town or village. Assistance and support through the extended family or the "economy of affection" is part and parcel of nomad's means of survival. Since independence nomad family members have been moving into towns and villages, and once established, supported certain numbers of nomad school-age children through some level of education.

Even though the government may recognize the special problems that nomadic movement and distance from town creates, it does not provide affordable and accessible boarding facilities for nomadic children. The last military regime closed down nearly all boarding primary schools in the country, on the unsubstantiated assumption that such facilities were utilized by the well-off urban class. The truth was just the opposite. Boarding schools provided an opportunity for education to many children from rural areas, a chance without which many politicians, businessmen and professionals wouldn't enjoy

their present status. The facilities were reasonable and furnished good quality education. The annual cost to the nomadic household was during 1960s between \$40 and \$50, equivalent to 7 head of goats or sheep, a number most families could afford.

Attendance by nomadic children at day schools has had limited success. Few children managed to overcome the obstacles involved, have graduated to secondary or higher education and have risen to senior positions in government administration. But this is despite, not because of the system. There are many problems. Few nomad children go to such schools, and for those that do, drop out rates are high. Girls rarely ever start school. Curricula are often irrelevant to the needs of the pastoral nomads and teaching standards are low.

5.2 Factors related to pastoral way of life

(a) Mobility and Sparse Population. Sparse distribution of the nomad population is the foremost obstacle limiting children's attendance in school. This low population density makes it difficult to gather enough pupil population to make it cost-effective. If facilities are provided to such sparse population, costs per pupil are far higher than schools in towns and villages.

(b) Child labor. Because of the labor-intensive nature of the herding economies (Gorham, 1978), children of pastoral nomads are significant contributors to the household income through their labor, even from an early age. Among these communities children (especially boys) are viewed as an economic asset. Such economic benefits are cultivated in the short term, the children being useful to help the family raise livestock. They look after animal herds (e.g. sheep goats, camels, etc) and undertake most household duties. Therefore, parents need to maintain their children's contribution and at the same time avoid the cost of schooling. Thus a limited number of rich families will be inclined to send their children (preferably boys) to school (Jama, 1991). Physically handicapped children considered not-fit for the nomadic way of life are sometimes given the chance to attend school in towns or villages. For some time pastoral communities have been aware of the long-term benefits of educating children, but the cost of educating remains a major obstacle.

(c) Direct Costs. If a pastoral nomad's children are to receive uninterrupted education and in suitable facilities, they have to be sent on scholarship to towns and villages and parents must meet all the costs in cash. As long as most pastoral nomads do not consider schooling a long-term investment, they are not willing to pay for their children's education. Although in Somalia education was pronounced free, the cost of school uniforms, exercise books, and transportation expenses, constituted a substantial burden to add to the expenses to cover the pupil's living in town or village.

(d) Attitude and Values. Nomads in Somalia view both schools and schooling as alien things that do not contribute to the pastoral way of life. Pastoral nomads' independence

and reluctance to change their traditional ways poses a major obstacle. They believe that such facilities will in the end alienate their children from them and the society at large. Parents with such attitudes are illiterate and have never experienced the benefits, if any, of modern education.

5.3 School Related Factors.

(i) Curriculum. The contents of the curriculum is generally considered inappropriate for the children of pastoral nomads. It does not provide practical skills to improve the livelihood of nomads. Rather, it is believed, it focuses on academic achievements that only suit the needs of urban children. There is a lack of demonstrable practical benefits for the pastoral economy (Gorham, 1978).

(ii) Quality of schools/Teachers. Rural primary schools which pastoral nomads may have access to are qualitatively poor in terms of facilities and teaching staff. The management and supervision of officials are not effective either. Low salaries of education personnel creates a reluctance to live away from their urban families, leading to an unequitable geographical enrollment of schools and an unwillingness of younger staff to leave urban centers. It is therefore very difficult to place quality staff in schools accessible to nomads.

6. INTERVENTIONS TO EDUCATE NOMADS

The government of Somalia realized the importance of education for overall national development but did not acknowledge, let alone obligate itself to extend this service to the bulk of the population. Innovative projects which addressed the educational needs of pastoral nomads are limited and those which took place were either short-lived or not sustainable. What follows are a few trials towards this goal: Nomadic Resettlement Programme, Rural Development Campaign and Nomadic Education Centers.

6.1 Nomadic Resettlement Programme

Pertinent lessons could be learnt from the experiences of 1975 drought-stricken nomads resettled in agricultural and fishing settlements. By August 1975, at least 120,000 nomads had been moved to three agricultural resettlement areas along the Shebelle and Juba rivers and to fishing villages along the southern coast.

The resettled families gradually learned to adjust their traditional values to the new surroundings. Instead of passing the days herding, men and women had set patterns of agricultural labor, aimed at making them successful communal farmers. On the coast the men were trained to become off-shore fishermen.

For some of the resettled nomads, the change was too drastic and when the good rains came in 1977 and 1978, many of the men set off again for their traditional pastures. Another group of men travelled across the Red Sea to the oil-rich Gulf states for manual jobs. Nobody knows the number of these groups (those who abandoned their new homes) but by 1979 the population of the settlements was reduced by roughly a third. For those who stayed behind, it was hoped that their success would eventually attract and encourage others to settle.

Primary school facilities were supplied to the newly settled communities by the Ministry of Education with assistance from UNICEF, to a population with little or no previous formal education. It was also possible to cater for the adult population, and the government made tremendous efforts (UNICEF, 1978) to ensure the delivery of basic services.

The benefits of the settled way of life were particularly appreciated by mothers and children. They had schools and day-care centers, medical help and mother and child health care centers. The resettlement areas were large and quickly took on the shape of small towns, where the new arrivals fully participated in the running of the 'new towns'.

Shortcomings of the Resettlement Programme

- a) This programme was not anticipated, was a result of the worst drought known to Somalia's pastoral nomads, and was therefore not pre-planned.
- b) It covered quite an insignificant number of pastoral nomads and it was a one time effort.
- c) Instead of encouraging other nomads to follow suite, many of the programme participants returned to their traditional pastures or migrated to overseas countries for jobs.

6.2 Rural Development Campaign

The 1974-75 rural development campaign was the first and last of its kind in which more than one million persons of the rural population, including pastoral nomads, attended classes. This literacy programme targeted adult nomads. Around 25,000 students over sixteen, as well as school teachers were instructed to set off into the Somali countryside, attach themselves to the nomad groups, and become their tutor for a while. The teachers, most of whom came from relatively sophisticated urban families, were given no money, no resources, nothing except a portable blackboard and a box of chalk. They were to teach nomads how to read and write.

There was a lot of skepticism over whether the ambitions of the Rural Development

Campaign could possibly succeed. What of the inexperience of these young people, not used to the spartan ways of a nomadic existence? How would such notoriously proud and independently-minded people react to being taught by frivolous urban youngsters who didn't know one end of a camel from the other?

The cynics were confounded by the results. Even though the year was 1974, and the nomads were enduring the country's worst drought, a survey conducted at the end of eight months suggested that one million previously illiterate people were now able more or less to read and write in their own language. As many as 875,000 people passed the final exam.

Part of the success derived from the appropriate phrases and subjects selected for the campaign. This was a chance to introduce Somalia's people to new ideas related to livestock management, domestic welfare, health and sanitation, plus suggestions for relieving the least comfortable aspects of their precarious way of life out on the margins of desert existence.

Shortcomings of the Rural Development Campaign

The campaign was conducted only once and was of a limited duration. This programme failed to address the education requirements of this group. Such failure was attributed to a lack of financing, shortage of personnel, deficiency in co-ordination and follow-up and a lack of substantial interest among pastoral nomads. Since there were few materials to sustain the new reading skills, most pastoral nomads soon degenerated into illiteracy.

6.3 Nomadic Education Centers

It was not easy to reach pastoral nomads on a permanent basis. But through the nationwide organization of regions, districts, and villages, settled people could be easily reached, informed, oriented, taught and cared for.

It took the Somali government more than two decades before it started some sort of permanent training for pastoralists. The end of 1978 saw the beginning of a new experiment under the Adult Education Programme, to set up six Nomadic Education Centers in different parts of the country, concentrating on providing the skills and knowledge which nomadic people can best utilize. As Abdi Haybe, Somalia's Director for Non-formal Education points out: "The solution embodied in these centers is novel, untried and therefore with significant element of risk" (UNICEF, 1978). That is the main qualification which inhibited Somalia's pioneering schemes of the 1970's.

If it is difficult to teach nomads through formal approaches, it is almost impossible to teach nomads accidentally. It will not be an easy job for the few extension workers, who lack transport, drugs and, in many cases, lack knowledge, as often stated by nomads, for

example, in the field of veterinary services.

Since it is difficult to follow nomads, the Somali government ventured to embark on a programme based on the construction of six Nomadic Education Centers. This pilot project is based on the assumption, that some members of a nomadic family could be delegated to participate in the residential training course. The provision of food would be a kind of attraction for the nomads to come and stay for a limited time.

Objectives of the Nomadic Educations Centers

Generally, in political terms the Nomadic Education Programme can be seen as an attempt to apply justice and equal rights for the nomads. For years the nomads produced up to 80 percent of the nation's foreign exchange earnings, but the livestock sector received only 10 percent of the government budget.

The programme was designed to enable nomads to use technical procedures and methods of individual or joint organizations, likely to improve their standard of living without obliging them to abandon their own values.

The programme was to help modernize the attitudes and values of the nomad so that he could be an active agent for progressive change in his own environment, and capable of better adjustment and better environmental control, modification and exploitation.

Although the Somali government sympathizes with the idea of settling nomads, sedentization is not the main aim of the programme. The programme was of an experimental nature and remained in danger of a number of failures. If, for example, the nomads were not satisfied with the educational programmer, with the food or with the time or duration of the training course, they would not come, or they would leave the center in the middle of the course.

Selection Criteria

The centers should, in geographical terms, be evenly distributed in the country.

The centers should be built in nomadic areas, away from urban areas but not too far away from administrative centers (such as district capitals). The centers should be built near water wells which are frequented by nomads. This way the centers could become communication and service centers for nomads.

Centers are to be located at places where grazing reserves are set aside for the dry season, and where many nomads are accustomed to pass through or spend some time each year.

As far as the physical facilities are concerned, each center provided dormitories, a kitchen, one dining/assembly hall, classrooms, offices, stores, showers/toilets and staff houses. In two of the centers shaded areas were constructed to be used as open workshops. One center had a vegetable garden in the compound and a test field adjacent to the compound.

The facilities in a model center comprised of all necessary equipment and tools for animal husbandry and veterinary training, for cultivation of edible roots, and other suitable crops, as well as for leather work, black smiting and tanning. Women's subjects include sanitation and domestic hygiene, how to make cheese and butter from camel's milk, and midwifery.

Training Programmes:

- A mixed programme combining various areas such as health, livestock, agriculture, community development, etc.

A training course for traditional birth attendants (TBA) and community health workers (CHW), who were supplied with TBA kits and First Aid kits respectively.

A literacy training programme to enable participants to read course materials.

Shortcomings of the Programme

- (i) While the chance to change certain habits of the pastoralists is higher with younger generations, Nomadic Education Centers targeted only adults of pastoral communities.
- (ii) The authority for the running of the centers was a problem. The Regional Education Officer (REO) of the Ministry of Education, and the Regional Governor of the Ministry of Local Governments and Rural Development both claimed responsibility. This created serious problems for the smooth running of the centers.
- (iii) The programme out-reach was limited to a small number of the nomadic communities. Only few adults, mostly male, were reached.
- (iv) The centers did not receive full support from the concerned institutions and agencies.
- (v) It was extremely difficult to recruit suitable trainers for the programme. The trainers were the product of formal schooling and urban living conditions.
- (vi) There was a lack of interest among pastoral nomads for the programme.

7. CONCLUDING NOTES

Pastoral communities have been neglected for a long time and deprived of all basic human needs, including education. Regional or sectoral disparity has always been to the disadvantage of pastoral nomads.

It is not easy to give viable education to pastoral nomads at this present level of social and economic development. Provision of education to pastoral nomads is for the most part dependent upon revolutionary changes in the wider economy.

Meaningful education could only be given to nomads as part of integrated development for this sector of the society. The plight of pastoral nomads was never addressed in its own right. Community development was viewed as an integral part of national development, which was rationalized through regional and sectoral development processes.

The education system is characterized by general low enrollment, male-biased and urban orientation, and has always been under-financed. The nomads' way of life is not conducive to accommodate the structure of the present day education system.

All efforts to extend basic education for nomadic adults have met with only partial success and were limited in coverage.

Through the teaching of the Koran, Islamic education among nomads has shown some success, mainly because the teaching took place in their environment and was conducted by Shiekhs or Wadaads from the same neighborhood.

All government sponsored programmes to educate pastoral nomads proved to be ineffectual in achieving significant accomplishments.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

It is imperative to provide services for nomad communities in the wider context of national development. Whether the channels used are permanent centers, mobile service units, settlement programs or otherwise, improving the quality of life for nomads through education, basic services, range management, co-operatives and other programs should be thoroughly studied, and programs and projects integrated and streamlined into national development efforts.

Policy Issues.

Future governments of Somalia have to come up with programs of integrated pastoral development, involving range and water improvement, veterinary and animal husbandry and better social welfare services. In order to alleviate sectoral disparity that pastoral

nomads suffer in education and other services, it is suggested that planners at the central level ask themselves how they justify their actions, who they are aiming to help, and how they can determine what the nomads themselves want.

Rather than being exploited by urban centers, pastoral areas should be developed proportionately. Nomads should be assisted to improve their output, productivity and incomes. They should be provided social services, including education and amenities to improve the quality of life. Research, management, planning and investment arrangements and institutions should be established to enable pastoral nomads to achieve a viable and self-sustaining economy.

Functional Literacy

Nomads should be provided with functional literacy programs with the intention of helping pastoralists to achieve greater mastery of their occupations, increase their knowledge, advance their careers and continue with their education.

Therefore, literacy training for nomads should be complemented by practical lessons on public health care, environmental education (overstocking, overgrazing, etc), nutrition, population education, veterinary knowledge, etc. Functional literacy programs should be linked with income generating activities.

Recruiting Teachers.

Since teachers from urban centers are not willing to work among nomads, they must supply their own teacher-trainees. These teachers should be given special and suitable training for the nomadic environment. The government, and or NGO, has to cover all training costs and supply visual aid materials and salaries which are to be supplemented by contributions from parents. This must be matched with a plan to assist local nomadic communities to make the arrangement sustainable after external contributions ceases.

School Calendar

The time table of education programs and schools for pastoralists should be adapted to their particular environment. The school calendar should be flexible to the pattern of nomadic life, i.e. breaks or holidays are to be taken when children are needed most to help their families.

Curriculum.

Since the contents of the current curriculum emphasize literacy, numeracy and national language, in order to integrate nomadic children into the modern culture, it only helps children to migrate out of the pastoral sector, rather than helping them make better use

of their tribal environment. Therefore, the curriculum must be revised in content and in form. Educational planners must recognize the richness of traditional nomadic pastoral knowledge and techniques about livestock production, and should incorporate some of this science into the future curricula.

Subsidized Boarding schools.

Basic needs for nomadic communities should be at lower cost to them and be more easily accessible than conventional delivery approaches. One such strategy is to establish boarding schools. The government must meet the larger part of the cost of boarding schools intended for the children of the pastoral nomads. Such facilities are to be situated at physically accessible points where a significant number of nomadic families could converge and where there is the possibility of having many children enrolling. Boarding schools should also be as evenly distributed as possible.

At any given point of intervention, the nomadic community has to be carefully studied so that real needs are identified. They should be incorporated into the decision-making stages of the intervention process. A nomad can answer many questions that planners, researchers, or politicians cannot fully comprehend.

This is the only way these professionals can be of any help to the pastoral communities without eroding the people's own capacity to support themselves efficiently and economically. Senior policy makers of all relevant institutions (including the Ministry of Education) must be made sensitive to the status of pastoral nomads and be regularly informed on progress and constraints in the sector.

A combination of study/research and pilot project methods will be useful to ascertain applicable ways of providing viable education to nomadic populations.

Koranic Teaching as a Vehicle for Nomadic Education

There is a potential for using Koranic teaching as a vehicle to extend basic education to pastoral nomads. Primary education should be linked to the teaching of the Koran. This can be done only after sufficient effort is put into the Koranic education itself.

To make the linkage, the intention is to mobilize support among Koranic school teachers for education programs aimed at increasing primary school coverage and higher literacy participation. It is important to strengthen the effectiveness of the Koranic school for both religious education and for promoting better early child care, and to stimulate increased enrollment of girls in the Koranic schools.

To achieve the above it is recommended that:

- (1) Baseline study on Koranic schools is to be done focusing on the training of those teachers.
- (2) Training modules for Koranic teachers are developed and pretested.
- (3) Koranic teachers are to be trained at intervals, particularly for those who need substantial literacy and numeracy skills.
- (4) Provide basic equipment upon the completion of the training and simple aids to enable them to promote Child Survival and Development messages and stimulate education and health activities in general.
- (5) Establish a monitoring system and train Koranic teachers on how to keep records on enrollment, etc.
- (6) Appraise the curriculum of the Koranic school, incorporating literacy and numeracy subjects.
- (7) Provide incentives for Koranic teachers.

9. ISSUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Further investigations are necessary to answer many outstanding questions:

Boarding schools. Do they serve their purpose well? Do they succeed in giving equal education opportunities to the nomadic children? To what extent do these schools alienate the children from their people and their way of life? These and other questions call for a thorough evaluation of the performance of the nomadic school.

Adult Education. It is difficult to see how nomads could be educated to be functionally literate. Would adult educators move with nomads to give them basic literacy? How functional should this be, given the nomadic way of life?

Sedentization. Is it feasible? Desirable? Will it solve all problems for pastoral nomads? How can we deter the educated or trained, able bodied male population from moving to urban centers?

Curriculum. It is crucial to investigate how far schools should provide a common education for all, regardless of background, permitting mobility in all professions, or whether it should focus more narrowly on specific skills and needs of the local population in its current state.

Resettling Nomads. As far as resettlement of pastoral nomads is concerned, new sociology inevitably emerges. In this regard the cost of new settlement projects, displacement of livestock, nostalgia, new dietary habits, medical hazards etc, need be investigated.

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Prepared by:

Mohamoud A. Jama
Education Consultant

UNICEF-Somalia

Education Unit

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

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