

CHILDREN'S ACCESS TO PRIMARY EDUCATION IN DASENECH
AND NYANGATOM PASTORALIST COMMUNITIES OF SOUTH
OMO: PROSPECTS, CHALLENGES AND
POLICY IMPLICATIONS

by
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Declaration

I declare that

Children's access to primary education in Dasenech and Nyangatom pastoralist communities of South Omo: Prospects, challenges and policy implications

is my own original work and that all the sources which I have used or quoted have been included and duly acknowledged by means of complete reference.

Alemayehu Debebe Mekonnen

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ABSTRACT

This study explores into impediments of pastoral children's access to and retention in primary education with particular emphasis on the educationally underprivileged pastoral communities in Dasenech and Nyangatom districts of South Omo, Ethiopia. The study was guided by three research objectives: (1) Exploring into the underlying factors that interfere with pastoral children's school enrolment and retention focusing on supply and demand side determinants; (2) Examining compatibility of the existing approaches to educational service delivery to the needs and contexts of the pastoral communities in the study area; and (3) Scrutinizing the situation of primary education delivery in terms of ensuring equal opportunity to both boys and girls. Principal research method adopted to undertake the study was a qualitative inquiry approach. Within the qualitative paradigm particular attention was given to advocacy perspective. The advocacy perspective was adhered to for it focuses on the needs of marginalized groups in view to bringing about change in lives of the underprivileged segments of societies. Participants of the study were selected by employing purposive sampling mainly on the basis of their roles related to schools and schooling. Sixty-nine community members, 30 schoolchildren, 30 teachers, 6 school principals heading the sample schools, 24 education experts and officials working at Woreda and zone levels; a total of 159 respondents took part in the study. Data were collected through the use of focus group discussion, interview schedules, observation checklist and questionnaire. Data analysis was carried out pursuant to a six steps qualitative data analysis framework. The steps involved were organizing and preparing data for analysis, reading through all data, coding, generating a description of the settings and people and identifying categories or themes for analysis, representing descriptions and themes in the qualitative narrative and interpretation. Findings indicate existence of both supply and demand side constraints. Problem of funding, inability

to attract and retain qualified teaching staff, poorly equipped schools and community perception of modern education as a threat to pastoralist way of life were the major supply related shortcomings. The demand side limitations were identified as dispersed settlement patterns, demand for child labour, bride-price and peer pressure. Mandatory seasonal mobility, frequent conflicts and conflict induced displacement were cited as the most pronounced disenabling features. Drought and harsh weather were the driving forces of mobility. Competition over water sources and pastureland coupled with border dispute and cattle raid were identified as the long standing causes of armed conflict which in turn result in school activity disruption. On the basis of findings obtained from the study process, suggestions for future action have also been forwarded. Improving quality of school facilities, sensitization campaign on the benefits of education, blended mode of delivery, peace dialogue to arrest recurring conflicts, self-proof of schools about their worthiness to the local community and rethinking of teacher incentive mechanisms are some of the important propositions made in view to avert the long standing legacy of educational under representation of the Dasenech and Nyangatom pastoralist communities in South Omo.

Key words: access, bride-price, cattle raid, conflict, Dasenech, educationally underprivileged, gender, investment, *Kabana*, mobility, Nyangatom, pastoralists, SNNPR, South Omo

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABE: Alternative Basic Education

AIR: Apparent Intake Rate

CSA: Central Statistics Agency

EFA: Education For All

EGSECE: Ethiopian General Secondary Education Certificate Examination

EHEECE: Ethiopian Higher Education Entrance Certificate Examination

ESDP: Education Sector Development Program

FAO: Food and Agricultural Organization (UN)

GER: Gross Enrolment Ratio

GEQAEA: General Education Quality Assurance and Examinations Agency

GPI: Gender Parity Index

HERQA: Higher Education Quality and Relevance Agency

HH: Household

IIRR: International Institute for Rural Reconstruction

KETB: Kebele Education and Training Board

MDG: Millennium Development Goal

MoE: Ministry of Education

MoFED: Ministry of Finance and Economy Development

MoLSA: Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs

NER: Net Enrolment Ratio

NIR: Net Intake Rate

NOE: National Organization for Examinations

PCR: Primary Completion Rate

PFE: Pastoralist Forum-Ethiopia

PSLCE: Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination

PSR: Pupil Section Ratio

PTA: Parent-Teacher Association

PTR: Pupil Teacher Ratio

REB: Regional Education Bureau

TVET: Technical and Vocational Education and Training

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

WEO: Woreda Education Office

WFP: World Food Program

WHO: World Health Organization

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

1.1.1 Overview of modern education in Ethiopia

The future of a nation is highly dependent on the quality of investment on its children. It is what we equip our children with today in turn shapes the days ahead. Good quality education is indispensable to this end. Where children obtain education that progressively maintains their physical, mental and social developments, their likelihood of leading a better life as successful adults is highly anticipated. Aggregate of individual level success (of course, not skewed towards a particular dominant group in a certain society or at any point in time), on the other hand, is believed to result in positive impacts on social and economic advancement at national level as well. Education, civilization and development are interwoven to each other and characterized by mutual reinforcement. Education is about human development. Civilizations may not be thought of without education. Development is the function of education which entails civilization.

Ethiopia's ancient civilization is symbolized by the living heritages at Axum, Lalibela, Gondar, Harar, and similar other historical sites across the country. The country is the only nation in Sub-Saharan Africa that is known for having its own alphabet. It is also regarded as an emblem of independence in Africa and around the rest of the world for not being colonized by the European powers. However, the balances of civilization of the old good days seem to be not brought forward.

Glorifying its pasts, the country has officially recognized the crucial role of education in bringing about a sustainable development and maintenance of its peace as back as the mid of the 19th century. In 1855, for instance, Emperor Tewodros II (1820-1868) came to power with a magnificent agenda of bringing back the nation under a centralized rule. Concurrently, the time of Tewodros is remembered for tremendous efforts to modernize his country and introduction of innovations. Education reform was one of the priorities of the king along with the initiative to modernize the military, revising the land tenure system, efforts to abolish the slave trade, facilitating trade and transportation mechanisms. The emperor has also managed establishing the first technical vocational kind of school at Gafat (an area near Debre Tabor, South Gondar) with the mission of enabling Ethiopian youths acquire literacy and some technical skills (Bahru, 2002).

Emperor Menelik II triumphantly addressing the nation following the great battle of Adwa in 1896 also unveiled his unrelenting desire for education as saying “we need educated people in order to ensure our peace, to reconstruct our country and to enable to exist as a great nation in the face of European powers” (Pankhurst in Ayalew, 2000:8). Beyond his majestic address, the Emperor had also issued the first education proclamation in 1906 that provides equal chance to all school-age children, irrespective of their difference in gender, to pursue education along with commitment of his government and duties of parents. Part of the historic education act as cited in Ayalew (2008) reads as:

In other countries, not only do they learn, even more they make new things. Hence, *as of today all six-year old boys and girls should attend school (emphasis added)*. As for parents who would not send their children to school, when the former die, their wealth, instead of passing to their children, will be transferred to the government. My government will prepare the schools and the teachers (Pankhurst in Ayalew, 2000, p. 8) .

The subsequent governments have also done what they thought to be good in creating educational opportunity for all, the cumulative worth of which brought the *country's* education system to where it is at present. The 1955 “Yefidel Serawit” (literary translated as Army of the Alphabet) and “Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Program” (1968 - 1973) of the Imperial regime; and the popular mass literacy programs during the socialist government under the names “Edget Behibret Yewuketna Yesira Zemecha” meaning- “Development through Cooperation: Campaign for Literacy and Work” and “Biherawi Yemeserete Timhirt Zemecha” (simply means National Campaign for Basic Literacy) (*Mammo,2006; Gudeta,1982*) are among others to be worth noted in this regard. Despite all the efforts in the past and a kind of seasonal success of some of the initiatives, universal access to good quality basic education in the country persisted to be a permanent challenge.

1.1.2 A glimpse on current performance of primary education in Ethiopia

The Ethiopian education system has been taking a new path following the promulgation of the 1994 Education and Training Policy. Various programs and strategies are being introduced into the education system taking access, quality, equity and relevance as main areas of intervention since the last two decades. The Education Sector Development Program (ESDP) is one of such interventions with remarkable achievements. The ESDP implementation has begun in 1997/8. Consequently, ESDP I has been implemented from 1997/8-2002, followed by ESDP II (2002/3-2004/5). ESDP III has spanned from 2005-2011 and paved the way to ESDP IV which is currently underway facing 2015 as timeframe for accomplishment.

General Education Quality Improvement Package (GEQIP) is another notable initiative adopted in 2008 to remedy the severe problem of quality lingering around primary and secondary education in the country. The initiative comprises such four principal areas of

deliberation as Teacher Development; Curriculum Improvement; Management and Leadership; and School Improvement along with Civics and Ethical Education, and Information Communication Technology as cross cutting matters. Adult education strategy (adopted in February, 2008), pastoralist area education strategy (adopted in May, 2008), technical vocational education and training strategy (adopted in August, 2008), and girls' education strategy (adopted in August, 2010) are among the major documents that guide practices across the education sector of the country.

Moreover, education has gained a central position during formulation and implementation of such national development endeavours as Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) and Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP). PASDEP and GTP are comprehensive instruments of mitigating poverty and attaining development. The former has been implemented from 2005-2010 and the latter is in progress spanning from 2011-2015. In PASDEP, the government has clearly articulated the goals, strategies and priorities placing education on top of the development agenda with a firm belief that the long term sustainable development rests up on the expansion and provision of good quality education to all citizens. The GTP has also devoted substantial attention to education and training as propellers of the country's development under chapter six of the document.

At present, Ethiopia is in a running track in pursuit for attaining the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on or before 2015, which marks the United Nations' worldwide deadline to deliver. Two of the eight MDGs are concerned with education. As a result, access to primary education is being rapidly expanding and enrolment is significantly increasing. However, there is also fear of prevalence of a kind of trade-off between expanding access and ensuring quality.

Education is a process that involves interplay between input, through put and output. As is with other production activities, it also has its own scale through which performance of a system is measured. The commonly used indicators of the education system performance include access, equity, quality, and efficiency. Following are highlights over performance of the Ethiopian education system in light of the above indicators.

Access

The last a decade and half years (since the second half of 1990s) are considered to be years of significant achievement in the education system of Ethiopia in expanding access to education. Particularly since the launching of the first education sector development program (ESDP I) during 1997/8, remarkable results are being achieved in terms of expanding access to primary education. For instance, the primary school enrolment has significantly increased from 3.7 million in 1999 to 8.1 million in 2000/01 and further advanced to 13.5 million in 2005/06 (MoE, 2007). During this same period, the gross enrolment rate (GER) has increased from 61.6% to 91.3%, and the net enrolment rate (NER) grew from 52.2% to 77.5%. Enrolment in the first cycle secondary education also showed significant increases (GER has risen from 17.1% in 2001/02 to 33.2% in 2005/06), (MoE, 2008).

The number of primary schools has been expanded from 13,181 in 1996 to 23,354 in 2007/8 (MoE, 2009). Doubtlessly, these figures tell us that significant efforts are exerted in view to bring more children to schools through creating school places for those who had denied access to basic education. But under no circumstance can expansion serve as an excuse for the daunting failure in quality of education. At this point in time, it is good to borrow a sentence from Palmer, *et al* (2007:12), which reads as “The historical experience of

earlier pushes for UPE in Africa indicates that rapid expansion at the expense of quality can lead to inequity and diminished returns to primary education”.

Equity

Equity in education is about how fairly the opportunity to learn is made available for all eligible children. In this regard, the Ethiopian education system is the one which is characterized by both intra and inter regional disparities in participation. Gender disparity is not yet fully conquered. The national average gender parity index (GPI) for primary school participation shows 0.9 in favour of boys. Though progresses with regards to bridging the gaps in access, retention and completion between male and female students are underway, the current trend indicates that things are all in favour of the male especially when we go up the ladder of education. In reference to the 2009 official statistical report of the Ministry of Education, the proportion of female students in urban schools was 49.6, 39.8, and 32.7 percentages in primary, general secondary and preparatory classes respectively. The figures for rural settings reveal a lesser proportion than the participation rate in urban areas. There were 45.7, 35.6, and 29.1 percent of females in a group of one hundred students in primary, general secondary and preparatory classes respectively (MoE, 2009).

Spatial distribution of institutions is also an issue that draws attention for action. Let us take children of the age between four and six years. This is the age of pre-school education which has immense socialization and academic benefits for school years ahead. According to Ministry of Education, total number of children within this age was projected to 6,761,743 in 2007/8. But only 263,464 children had the opportunity to have access to pre-school facility during this same period. This accounts only for 3.9 percent of the eligible total pre-school population. Even from this very marginal participation rate, the share of Addis Ababa was

74.9 percent. The pastoral Somali and Afar regions were reported to have only 0.6 and 0.5 percentage points respectively (MoE, 2009).

When seen from the net primary enrolment dimension, the national average for male was 86% and females accounted for 80% in 2007/8. The situation in pastoralist areas was very different from the national aggregate. The average net primary enrolment for Afar region was at 20.1 percent with 21.4% for boys and 18.3% for girls. This same scenario prevails in Somali regional state. The reported average net primary enrolment for the latter region was 29.4% with proportion of 30.9% for boys and 27.4% for girls (MoE, 2009).

What is discussed above depicts commonly acknowledged drawbacks of the country's education system. Ethiopia, with a total population of 73.9 million (CSA, 2008), is the second largest African nation in terms of population size. The country is also committed to attain targets set out by the education for all (EFA) the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) initiatives. The two worldwide declarations claim for universal completion of primary education before or on 2015. Availing educational opportunities for all children irrespective of their social, economic, religious, cultural, and/or ethnic backgrounds is an essential condition in order to be able to meeting the delivery dates of both EFA and MDGs.

The essence of equitable access to primary education is not only concerned about those children without learning difficulties. The fact that equity is about creating equal opportunity to those marginalized segments of society, the education system need to be responsive to the needs of children with disabilities for they are right holders to take part in it. The World Health Organization estimates the prevalence of disability among the total population to 15 percent (WHO, 2011:29). WHO also underscores that majority of people with disabilities lack "equal access to health care, education and employment opportunities"

(WHO, 2011: xxi). Ethiopia being a home of 73.9 million population (though the figure dates back to a national census carried out in 2007) is supposed to have well above 11 million people with disabilities.

The country's primary school age (7-14 age groups) population is estimated at 17,341,225 as of 2011 (MoE, 2011, p. 10). Proportion of primary school age children with disabilities is calculated at 15 percent of the total primary school age children which sets the number to 2,601,183. However, only 96,389 (3.7 percent) children with disabilities had access to primary education as reported by ministry of education (MoE, 2011, p. 37). Ensuring equity in the Ethiopian education context, therefore, calls for creating access to relevant education that suits to the particular needs of children with disabilities.

Orphans constitute 13 percent of the country's total child population in Ethiopia (UNICEF, 2006b). Studies unveil that street children in the country account for over 150,000 (60,000 of which are in Addis Ababa, the nation's capital) (MoLSA, 2004). These children are underprivileged in terms of access to social services such as education, health, clean water, and domicile besides being deprived of love, company and care by parents. Ethiopia also stands the fourth country with largest orphan population in sub-Saharan Africa next to Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo and Zimbabwe. In 2002 it was estimated that there were about 1 million AIDS orphans in Ethiopia (constituting 26% of all orphans across the nation).

The number is projected to escalate to 1.8 million by 2010 (MoLSA, 2004; UNAIDS, in Shimelis 2008b). This segment of school age population is either not enrolled at all or found at the verge of dropping out. Hence, the education system has to work hard to bring the out of school children on board and retain them in the system until they complete a specified

level of study in view to achieving the Millennium Development Goals in education.

Quality

One of the recent developments in the Ethiopian education system is the desire to go for quality. Cognizant of the ever deteriorating quality of education across the education system of the country, the government looks determined to take significant steps forward in the direction of ensuring educational quality. Different institutions have been established to this end. One of such institutions is Higher Education Quality and Relevance Agency (HERQA) that is in charge of maintaining the quality and relevance of education at tertiary level. General Education Quality Assurance and Examinations Agency (GEQAEA) is another institution established to ensure quality of education at primary and secondary schools.

Despite the establishment of agencies that spearhead efforts to be exerted towards attainment of imminence in learning outcome, the quality dimension seems to be more worrisome. The three national learning assessments which were carried out by the National Organization for Examinations (NOE) in 2000, 2004, and 2008 have witnessed regressing tendency in quality of learning. For example, the 2004 National Learning Assessments in grades four and eight showed a declining trend in learning achievement. When compared to the 2000 baseline data, achievement scores of students in grade four showed only a slight improvement from 47.9% to 48.5% in 2004 while, achievement score for grade eight has slipped down from 41.1% in 2000 to 39.7% in 2004. A look into the 2008 assessment report was also found to be lower compared to the previous two assessment results. The 2008 assessment reveals that only 13.9 percent of the students have appeared proficient, 24 percent have attained a basic minimum level and the remaining 62.1 percent have fallen below the basic minimum composite score (National Learning Assessment Report, 2008).

Furthermore, a recent study carried out by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID, 2010) has revealed a discouragingly low performance of school children in early grade reading. According to the assessment, a significant proportion of children were found illiterate even after attending school for two to three years. Thirty percent of the second graders and twenty percent of those in grade three were not able to successfully read a simple passage presented to them. The reading comprehension result was found to be worse than that of the reading ability. Accordingly, the study has unveiled that over 50 percent of children in rural schools were unable to correctly respond to a simple comprehension question.

The progressively increasing number of school going children is self evident which testifies access to primary education is expanding. But quality of education is not growing in an equal footing with that of the rise in enrolment. This current situation of low quality education seems to be consistent with findings of Palmer and his colleagues that revealed inverse relationship between rapid expansion, inequity and diminished rate of return to primary education (Palmer, Wedgwood, Hayman, King, and Thin, 2007). Given this profile, thus, the Ethiopian primary education system needs to go for a long distance in order to be able to ensure quality of learning.

Ensuring quality in education, therefore, has to be the central agenda on top of all the efforts exerted to expand access to education. Otherwise, certain years in school without acquiring the necessary knowledge and skills would end up with a total crisis in the education system. If school going does not yield in the desired changes in knowledge, skills and attitude of the learner, what would make parents to bear both the direct and opportunity costs of

schooling?

Efficiency

Efficiency is a concept that applies to every face of human endeavours. Thinking about efficiency involves thinking of inputs ready for transformation, the process of transformation, and quality of outcome that emerges as a result of the transformation process. In other words, it is simply the question of what was in hand before the transformation, what happens to it after undergoing the transformation, and the transforming process itself. The *before* elements are commonly referred to as ingredients, inputs, or resources while the *after* elements are called results, outputs, or outcomes. Proxy indicators of efficiency in education fall short of assessing the transformation process where the real conversion takes place.

The essence of efficiency is about the use of minimum unit cost in accomplishing a certain activity and attaining the desired outcome (Monk, 2009). Ministry of Education (1996:13), on the other hand, defines efficiency as “the optimal relationship between inputs and their corresponding output”. Customarily, to have most students graduating within expected timeline of a given cycle is optimal as far as resource utilization or economic efficiency in education is concerned (UNESCO 2009). However, attainment of economic efficiency in education “does not necessarily imply achievement of the expected learning outcomes” (UNESCO, 2009, p. 16). Thus, efficiency in education has to be examined beyond a mere input-output relationship.

The European Commission, to this end, classifies efficiency in education broadly into two. The first category encompasses non-attendance, repetition, dropout, progression rates and ratio of success in exams. Percent of graduates who find suitable employment (self employed or otherwise) and increased number of persons in the workforce with the required

level of competence constitute the second dimension of efficiency in education (European Commission, 2003). The former is internal to the education system while the latter pertains to efficiency as demonstrated in the world of work and real life situations. In other words, internal efficiency deals with the proportion of output to a given input following the process of conversion. Educational wastage due to drop out and grade repetition is an indicator of lack of internal efficiency. External efficiency, on the other hand, emphasizes on the desirability of the graduates by the labour market. It starts to suffer when “pupils who complete the primary cycle but fail to gain the intellectual, social, cultural and ethical knowledge and skills that schooling should provide” (UNESCO, 2009, p. 11).

Distinctly, the very essence of efficiency is obtaining good quality output with minimum amount of unit cost. When we look at the Ethiopian education system accomplishments in line with promoting efficiency, what we observe is not as such a praiseworthy achievement. Primary school completion rate is only 44.7%. Average drop-out rate in primary schools is 12.4% with alarming rate in grades one and eight which accounts for 18.3 and 14.7 percentage points respectively. Repetition rate in primary grades one to eight is 12.4% (MoE, 2009). This failure in efficiency was stated by the Ministry of Education as:

The challenge of quality [efficiency] is closely linked to the challenge of completion. While access to primary education has increased, many children still do not complete the first cycle of primary and repetition and drop-out rates remain high throughout the whole cycle. Drop-out is particularly high in the early primary grades. (MoE, 2010, p. 11)

Evidently, soaring level of educational wastage due to poor primary school completion rate, high dropping out and grade repetition is tending to be a distinguishing feature of the Ethiopian education system. This like state of affairs remains a real challenge for a country that aspires to attain universal primary education completion as stipulated by the millennium development goals (MDGs) and the Dakar framework of education for all (EFA). Both of the global commitments are facing the year 2015 as a cut-off date.

1.1.3 Context of SNNPR and the study area

The Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS) is one of the nine regional states in Ethiopia. The region shares both national and international borders. South of the region is bordered with Kenya while the Sudan is in the southwest. Internally, SNNPR shares boundary with Oromia Regional State in the north, east, southeast and northwest; and Gambella Regional State in the Northwest. The total area of the Region is about 118,000 square kilometres (accounts for 10.5 percent of the total area of the country). Administratively, the region is divided into 13 zones, 8 special woredas, 148 woredas and 22 city administrations. There are 4016 Kebele Administration councils (3780 rural and 236 urban) that represent the lowest administrative entities.

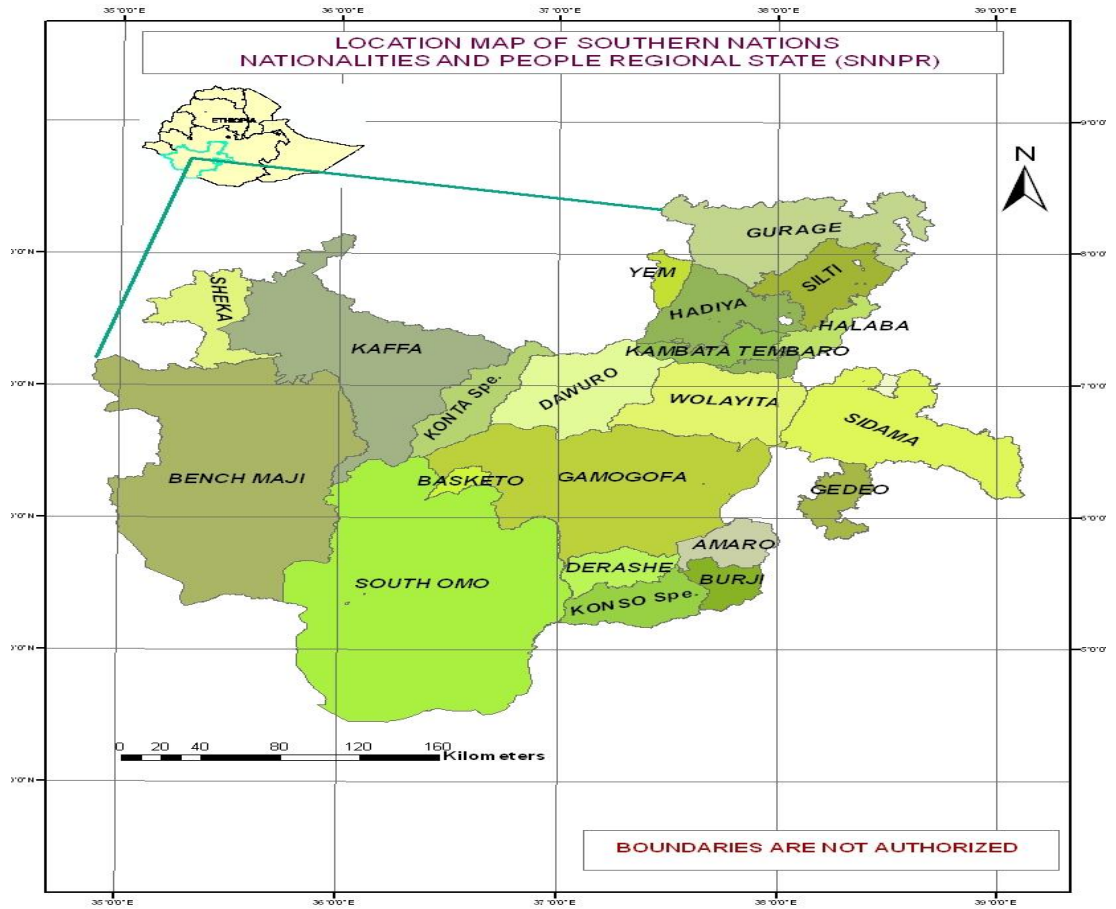
The SNNPR is known for its socio-cultural diversity being home for more than 56 ethnic groups. These diverse ethnic groups are classified into the Omotic, Cushitic, Nilo-Saharan, and Semitic origins. Currently, fourteen local languages are used as media of instruction in first cycle primary schools (grades 1-4). Grade eight national examinations are administered in eleven local languages.

According to the results of the 2007 population and housing census, the SNNPR has a total population of 15,042,531 (7,482,051 males and 7,560,480 females). The Region thus

accounts for one fifth (20.4 percent) of the country's total population. The population density of the region is 142 persons per square kilometre, which makes the region one of the most densely populated parts of the country.

The region is predominantly rural. The rural population constitutes 89.73 percent of the total regional population where the urban residents account only for 10.27 percent. The regional proportion of urban-rural population is less than the national average that is estimated at 16.2 percent. The annual rate of population growth is 2.9 percent, which is slightly varies from the national average, 2.6 percent. Nearly one half of the region's total population (47.8 percent) falls under the age structure of less than 15 years (FDRE Population Census Commission, 2007). Figure 01 below depicts the patterns of administrative divisions of the regional state.

Figure 01: Location Map of SNNPR



Source: SNNPR Bureau of Education

Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Region (SNNPR) is one of the nine regional states that make up the nation, Ethiopia. The region is home for 56 ethnic groups. It also shares more than half of the communities that predominantly earn their livelihood from pastoralist production system. Sixteen out of the total 29 pastoralist communities across the country are inhabited in SNNPR, particularly in South Omo zone of the region where provision of social services like education is scarce.

As far as the progress in expansion of access to primary education is concerned, the situation in SNNPR is also in the same direction with that of the improvement in the national context. Statistics reveal that the regional achievements on some selected education system

performance indicators such as gross enrolment rate (GER), net enrolment rate (NER), Equity, and Quality in primary education are progressive and congruent with the national targets and accomplishments. It is also clear that an impressive increase in educational participation is being exhibited since the commencement of the education sector development program in 1997/'98. Despite such sizeable achievements, however, problems in the underserved corners of the region remain to be persistent.

Somewhat misleading that may sound, the regional average figures, under no circumstance, represent the particular situation in the underserved parts of the regional government as far as the question of educational participation is concerned. Markedly, out of 151 woredas of the region only 75 them that account for slightly over 49% of the total number of districts had the net enrolment rate that equals to or greater than the regional average net enrolment rate, that is 85.1 percent in 2008. Fifty three districts which represent a bit over 35 percent of the Districts in the regional state have reported a net enrolment rate that fall between the regional average (85.1) and 65 percent. Twenty three districts, accounting for close to 16 percent of the districts in the region, can be marked as least performing ones for having a net enrolment rate that ranges from 64 % to 4.3% (REB, 2008; AiDE Consult, 2010).

This kind of soar intra-regional disparity in catering for educational needs of all school age children hits its peak among pastoralist communities. If we take South Omo zone, for instance, all of the districts in the zone have reported their respective net enrolment figures fall far below the regional average enrolment except the one in Jinka town, zonal capital. Most of the remaining districts have exhibited a frustrating net enrolment statistics as: Debub Ari (Bako Gather) (68.1%), Salamago (55.8%), Male (28.9%), Bena Tsemay (27.3%), Hamer (10.4%), Dasenech (9.1%) and Nyangatom (4.3%) in the year 2008 (REB, 2008).

Yet the problem of pastoral under-representation in education persists to remain stubborn even after five years following 2008 particularly while we look into the primary school survival and dropout rates pertaining to the sample districts in South Omo. Tables 01, Figure 02, and Table 02 below respectively indicate the severity of the problem as follows.

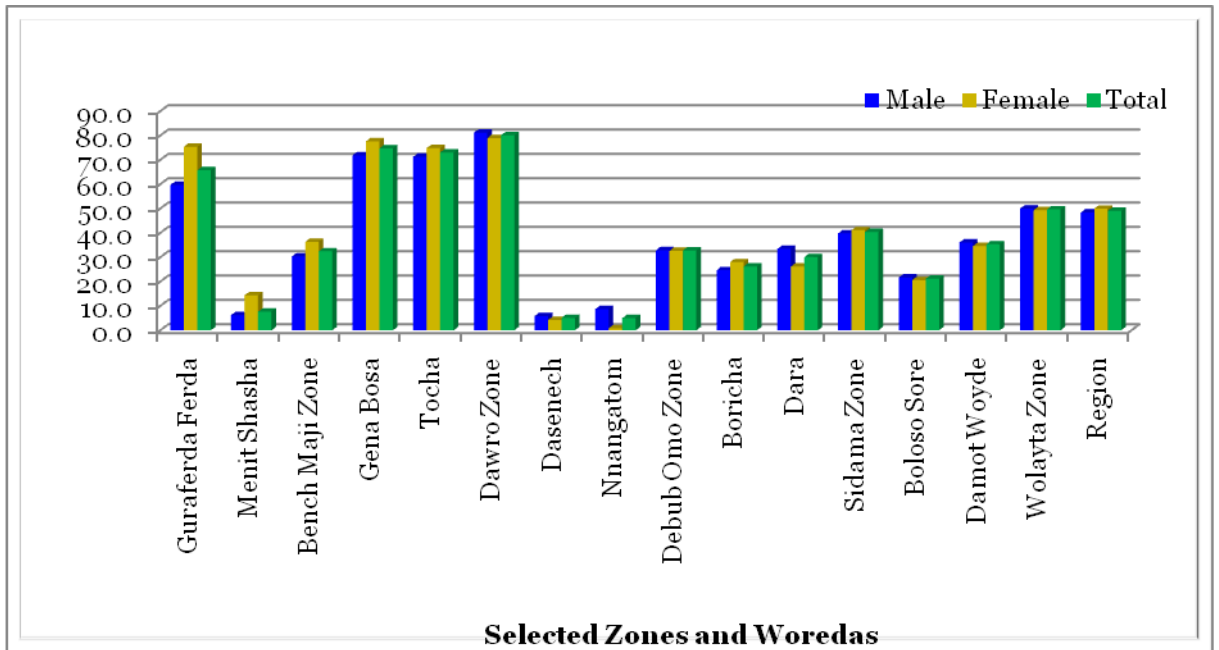
Table 01: Primary School Students' Survival Rate to Grades 5 and 8

Location	Survival to Grade 5			Survival to Grade 8		
	M	F	Av.	M	F	Av.
Dasenech	21.0	17.0	19.8	5.8	4.2	5.1
Nyangatom	30.4	24.0	27.9	8.7	0.8	5.0
South Omo	61.0	60.9	61.0	32.9	32.7	32.8
SNNPR	51.0	49.8	50.4	48.4	49.9	49.1

Source: SNNPR Education Bureau, 2012

As one can learn from Table 01 above, students' survival rate to grades five and eight in Dasenech and Nyangatom is very critically lower than both zonal and regional averages. It is only close to 28 percent of a cohort that started grade one would reach grade five in Nyangatom. The rate drops to close to 20 percent for Dasenech where zonal and regional averages were 61 and 50.4 percentages respectively. Survival rate to grade eight is awfully low that accounted only for five percent in both districts while 32.8 percent was for zonal average and 49.1 percent stood for regional average. This situation leaves the retention power of schools in Dasenech and Nyangatom in a very frustrating position.

Figure 02: Students' Survival Rate to Grade 8 in some Selected Woredas of SNNPR



Source: SNNPR Education Bureau, 2012

Figure 01 above depicted a relative position of selected districts in the regional state with regard to students' rate of survival to grade eight. The least of all rates were recorded to the two pastoralist districts of Dasenech and Nyangatom.

Table 02 below captures recent statistics on school dropping out in lower and upper primary school grades. Dasenech and Nyangatom take the leading position in higher rates of primary school dropout. Observable from the table, a difficult to believe number of children in lower grade levels have dropped out during 2011. The average dropout rate for Nyangatom in lower primary grade levels was 43.7 percent while it was 15.3 and 15 percentages at zone and regional levels. Though, the situation in Dasenech seems to be relatively better than the one in Nyangatom dropping out remained pervasive at upper primary grades as well.

Table 02: Primary School Dropout Rate in the Study Location

Location	Grades 1-4			Grades 5-8			Grades 1-8		
	M	F	Av.	M	F	Av.	M	F	Av.
Dasenech	12.5	8.9	10.2	15.4	12.8	13.3	15.5	14.7	15.3
Nyangatom	35.9	54.8	43.7	28.2	43.4	30.4	22.6	30.5	21.8
South Omo	14.9	15.8	15.3	11.4	12.1	11.7	13.9	14.9	14.3
SNNPR	14.5	15.6	15.0	10.9	12.3	11.5	13.3	14.5	13.8

Source: SNNPR Education Bureau, 2012

South Omo is one of the administrative zones that make up the regional state. The zone administration is subdivided into eight Woredas and one town administration (Jinka town, zonal capital). The Woredas are Bena Tsemay, Dasenech, Debub Ari, Hamer, Maale, Nyangatom, Salamago, and Semen Ari. According to the 2007 census report, population of South Omo zone was estimated at 577, 673 (288,636 male and 289,035 female). Only 43,302 (7.49%) of the zonal total population is urban. The vast majority of the population, 534,371 (92.51%) are rural residents (FDRE Population Census Commission, 2007, p. 59). Pastoralism is the predominant economic activity in South Omo with a blend of agro-pastoralist means of production mainly in Debub Ari, Semen Ari and Maale woredas.

Sixteen of the total 56 ethnic groups of the regional state are inhabited in South Omo zone administration. This diverse ethnic identity includes Arbore, Ari, Bacha, Bena, Biraile, Bodi, Dasenech, Dime, Hamer, Kara, Kuweigu, Maale, Mursi, Murule, Nyangaton, and Tsemay people (SNNPR Council of Nationalities, 2009). Besides being predominantly pastoralist, children's educational participation in the zone is low when compared with other

parts of the region as the numerical data are presented in the following section. Moreover, the zone is characterized by a sharp inter woreda disparity in primary school enrolment. Dasenech and Nyangatom woredas were considered as study locations for having lowest rates of enrolment even when compared with the rest six woredas in South Omo zone.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Five out of six individuals or even a greater proportion of the Ethiopian population lives in rural areas. The urban dwellers account for only close to 15%. The massive rural population again could roughly classified into pastoralist and agro-pastoralist groups. Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) estimates that the horn of Africa is a home of largest aggregation of traditional stockbreeders in the world. The region accounts for about 20 million people whose livelihood mainly depends on pastoral activities (FAO, 2006). Ethiopia, being situated in this part of the African continent, is also a home for close to 10 million pastoral population (Beruk, 2008) distributed over six of the nine administrative regions and one of the two city administration councils (this refers to the rural outskirts of the city of Dire Dawa). Accordingly, pastoral communities are elsewhere in the country except in dominantly agro-pastoral highland regional states of Amhara and Tigray, and the metropolitan Addis and mainly urban regional state of Harari.

Settling mainly in arid and semi-arid areas of the country, Ethiopian pastoralists are in the fore front of depressing consequences of erratic rainfall and concomitant drought. Being inhabited along the international borders, they usually are affected by recurring conflicts with fellow pastoralists across the borders. Periodic internal disputes with neighboring highlanders over farmlands and clashes with fellow pastoralists over pastureland and water characterize the pastoral lives in the country. Pastoralists also become innocent victims of insecurity, death and displacement resulting from intergovernmental rivalry along borders.

Irrespective of their number and contributions to make in the national economic development, however, pastoralists constitute the minority group in terms of enjoyment of equal opportunities in socio-economic aspects. Even though it is partly attributed to the pastoralists' style of living that involves frequent mobility, almost all pastoralist areas are commonly known for poor infrastructure development, marginal civil services delivery, very low health service coverage, high vulnerability to food crisis, critical sanitation and water problems, and lowest of all educational access (Beruk, 20008; Eshetu, 2008; FAO, 2006; MoFED, 2002, 2005, 2006; Mohammed, 2008).

Pastoralists occupy 60% (625,000 square kilo meter) of the total land mass of the country. Pastoral communities consist of 10 million population (13.53% of the total population of the country) distributed across six regional states and one city administration council. Economically speaking, pastoral areas contribute 35-45% of livestock. Over 75% of the total area (5.5 million hectare or 5% of the entire area of the country) demarcated for wildlife reserve including national parks and sanctuaries is found in pastoral regions of Afar, Oromia, SNNPR, Somali and Gambella. Six of the country's eight river basins namely, Abay, Omo-Gibe, Baro-Akobo, Genale-Dawa, Wabishebelle and Awash cross the pastoral range lands. The pastoral areas are known for bio-diversity, minerals, energy, and cultural heritages valuable for anthropological, archaeological, geological and tourism purposes (Beruk 2008; Eshetu 2008; PADS in Beruk 2008).

Despite positioned amid of immense natural resources, representing sizable proportion of the country's population, and operating the stockbreeding sector, one of the significant contributors to the gross national product, Ethiopian pastoralists live under abject poverty. They stand among poorest of the poor in terms of disposable income, access to social services and general welfare. The annual per capita income of pastoralists is 78 USD against

100 USD of the national average. Recurring drought and flood coupled with conflicts over meagre resources exacerbate the poverty situation with pastoralists. More critical it sounds that “traditional livestock production is becoming increasingly impracticable because of a greatly reduced access to land and water, as they are turned over to cultivation” (FAO, 2006). This state of affairs, on the other hand, urges on transforming the livestock sector to enhance its productivity and diversification of means of livelihood earning. The transformation and diversification again require acquisition of necessary knowledge and skills as a prerequisite to bring about the desired end. It is at this point that education bears out its prominence in facilitating socio-economic development.

Furthermore, pastoral areas are characterized by recurring internal and external conflicts. Internally pastoralists enter into dispute with fellow pastoralists that do not belong to one’s own clan over grazing land and water sources. Pastoralists also clash with neighbouring highlanders who usually annex the pastoralist’s territory in search for farmland. A conflict with agro-pastoralists occurs as a result of attempts to expand agriculture by the agro-pastoralists into the rangelands that are valuable and much needed grazing areas by the pastoralists. Inter ethnic conflicts over land possession and border matters are also common experiences in the life of the pastoralists. The practice of livestock raiding by pastoralists crossing the other side’s national territory is another dimension of conflict between pastoral communities residing in bordering nations which perpetuates a recurring retaliatory action.

Being situated mainly along borders, pastoralists are destined to suffer the crippling consequences of intergovernmental hostilities. The cost being borne by the Afar pastoralists ever since the outburst of a border conflict with Eritrea in 1998 and the 1970s war between Ethiopia and Somalia that displaced millions of pastoralists are some to mention. Regardless of being intra-national or international, conflicts destabilize and disrupt the social and

economic bases of the pastoralists that constrain their paths to development. Evidently, infrastructural development and social services delivery like health care, nutrition, clean water, and education in pastoral areas are found to be the least as compared to the situation in other parts of the country.

This study, therefore, has examined into the impediments of primary education participation and persistence among pastoralist children of South Omo. Particular attention was given to the two pastoralist woredas of Dasenech and Nyangatom due to the prevailing lowest participation and highest attrition rates in primary education. The study has also placed emphasis on gender equity dimension in order to sift out whether there exists gender specific perspectives that determine access to and retention in primary education. Following are objectives of the study.

1. To explore into the underlying factors that interfere with pastoral children's access to primary education in Dasenech and Nyangatom woredas of South Omo zone administration in view to clearly marking out:
 - 1.1 Supply side factors that limit pastoral children's educational participation in primary education
 - 1.2 Demand side determinants that contravene the right of children to education
2. To examine compatibility of the existing approaches to educational service delivery to the needs and contexts of the pastoral communities in Dasenech and Nyangatom districts of South Omo
3. To scrutinize how equitable is the practice of primary education participation in terms of ensuring gender equality with particular emphasis on the pastoralist districts of Dasenech and Nyangatom in South Omo

1.3 Research Questions

The study is guided by and determined to seek answers to the following three major research questions. Each of the questions is presented in some details as follows.

1. What characterizes the educational service delivery to the pastoral communities of Dasenech and Nyangatom in light of ensuring children's access to and retention in primary education?

. The major concern of this research question is to uncover those factors that interfere with children's schooling with particular emphasis on creation of opportunity to learn and ensuring regular attendance thereto. This question explores into both the out of school factors and school related determinants which impede children's participation and maintenance in the education system in the area under study.

2. How successful are the existing educational intervention strategies in responding to the living situation of the Dasenech and Nyangatom communities of South Omo?

The second research question examines compatibility of the existing approach to deliver primary education for pastoralist children in the study location. This research question is primarily concerned with the two inherent practices of pastoral way of living. First, pastoral life is characterized by seasonal mobility. Hence, this question is designed to understand how mobile the two communities are; to identify the two communities' seasonal mobility routes; and suggest a mechanism that will help to minimize disruption of schooling resulting from such mobility. Secondly, the question assesses the prevalence of conflict in the study areas; examining the underlying causes of conflicts; and indicating remedies in order to mitigate the adverse effects of conflict on children's education.

3. What community perceptions underlie the practice of equal opportunity provision in education between male and female children among pastoralists in Dasenech and Nyangatom woredas of South Omo?

The third research question is about probing that whether pastoralist communities under study provide equal opportunity for both boys and girls in terms of participation and persistence in the education system. The overarching purpose of this question was to identify the dominant socio-cultural determinants that limit pastoralis children's access to primary education in the study context.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study has practical, policy and research significances. The practical significance of the study is related to supporting efforts of practitioners by bridging the identified gaps in their practices. Policy significances are those significances that alert policymakers to look for a better course of action and alternative strategies regarding ensuring pastoral children's access to primary education. Identification of future areas of research undertakings is another significance that prompts further inquiry with regard to the case in point. The following subsequent sub-sections deal with practical, policy and research significances of the study in some details.

Practical significance

The study is significant for two practical reasons in informing the practice of primary education delivery in Dasenech and Nyangatom. Primarily, it identifies school related determinants so that school level leadership acknowledges the prevalence of such problems and looks for the way as to how the setbacks get addressed. Secondly, the study unveils the prevailing inhibiting socio-cultural factors and the way they are going to be tackled through

partnership with community groups and respective local administrations.

Policy significance

The study has come up with both supply side and demand side limitations of education service delivery in the study locations. Principally, school setups in the study area are direct replica of those schools typically designed to fit a sedentary settlement pattern. Yet, life in pastoral communities inherently involves seasonal mobility, which in turn necessitates adopting a different strategy that suits to the living conditions of the target group. This study, therefore, remains significant in informing policymakers about viable strategic options that will better respond to the learning needs and conditions of pastoralist children in Dasenech and Nyangatom.

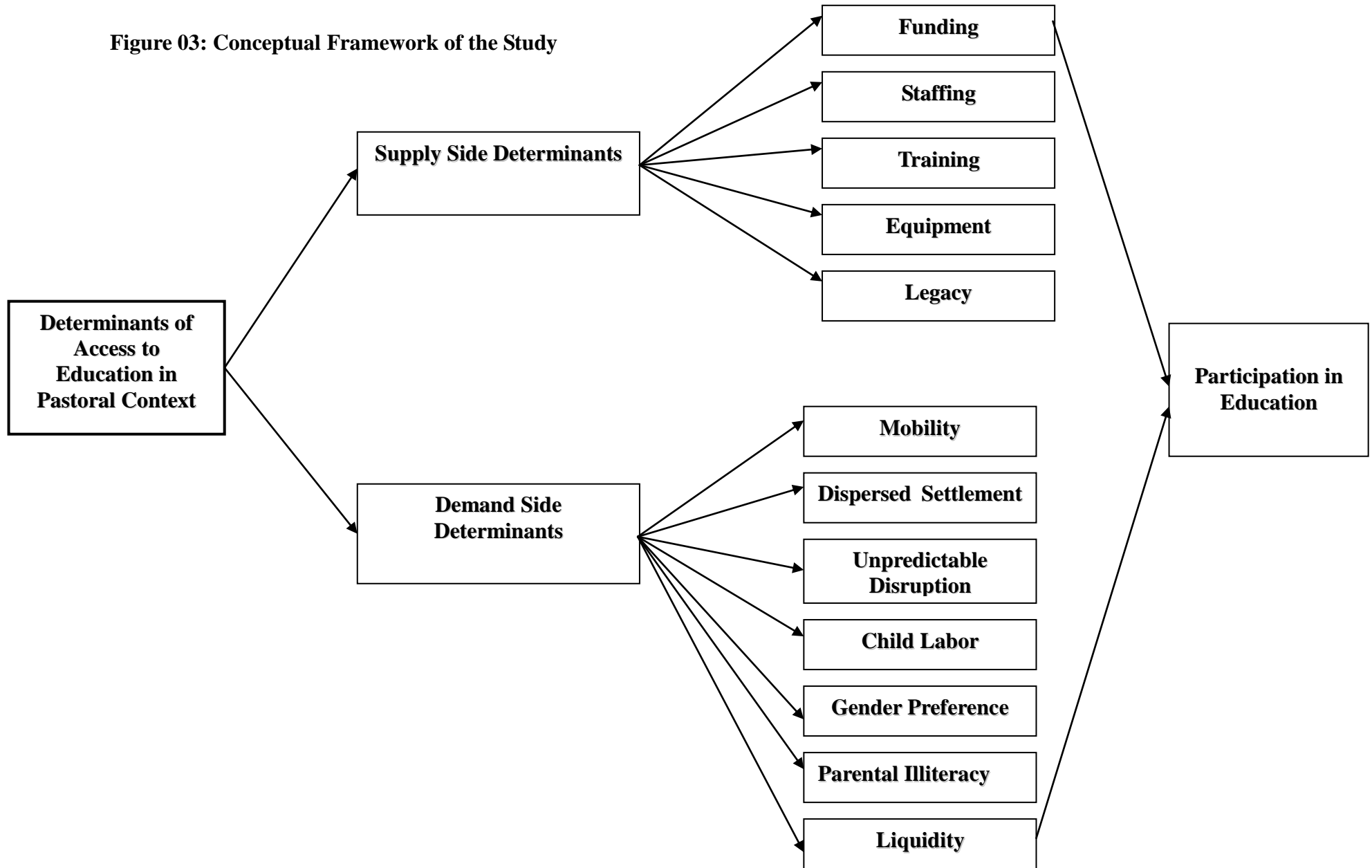
Research significance

In addition to the practical and policy implications discussed above, this study has also research significance mainly in two interdependent aspects. First, results of the study add to the existing knowledge about issues and challenges that contravene with efforts to expand access to primary education among pastoralist communities. Second, the study contributes in showing gaps for researchers who are interested in conducting further investigations into the practices and problems of educational service delivery in the context of pastoralist communities in Dasenech and Nyangatom and beyond. In short, it stimulates practitioners and the academics to keep count of pastoralist education high on their research agenda in pursuit for successful attainment of the goal of universal primary education.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

In recognition of pastoralists' underrepresentation in education, Kratli and Dyer (2009) have developed a comprehensive framework of analysis of children's access to education in pastoralist context. The framework classifies determinants of pastoralist children's access to education into two broad categories as supply side factors and demand side factors. Each of the two categories, on the other hand, consists of a number of variables. To this end, funding, staffing, training, equipment and legacy are regarded as supply side determinants while mobility, dispersed settlement, unpredictable disruption of services, child labour, gender preference, parental illiteracy, and liquidity are on the demand side.

Figure 03: Conceptual Framework of the Study



Source: Reconstructed from Kratli and Dyer (2009).

1.6 Delimitations of the Study

Geographically this study is delimited to two of the eight Woredas (Dasenech and Nyangatom) of the South Omo administrative zone in Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Regional State. These pastoralist Woredas were considered for the study due to the prevalence of low primary education participation of children even when compared to the neighbouring Woredas within the same zone. The subject matter of the study is also limited to examining the situation of pastoral children's access to primary education. The study puts its emphasis on identification of the underlying factors that hinder pastoralist children's access to primary education among pastoralist communities of Dasenech and Nyangatom.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Despite the fact that the study has been carried out with due care in sifting out subjectivity, it cannot be free of limitations in absolute terms. Primarily, the study has relied on questionnaire, interview, and focus group discussion as the major instruments of data gathering. All of the three instruments mainly depend on self-reported data than dealing with pre-existed records of fact. Even though triangulation of responses across different groups of respondents was made, it is difficult to completely rule out the probability of existence of participants' personal bias in this case.

Secondly, the research was conducted in the two pastoralist woredas of South Omo and the findings are also confined to the particular communities covered by the study. Results of the study and conclusions drawn thereof are not conclusive enough to speak about the situation all over the zone administration. Generalization is not warranted mainly due to possible attributes that prevail out of the geographic scope of the study which were not captured and not thoroughly assessed in the process of this study.

1.8 Definition of Key Terms

Agro-pastoral community: refers to a population whose production system is one in which more than 50% of household gross revenue comes from farming, and 10-50% from pastoral economic engagements, (Swift in FAO, 2006, p. 2).

Educationally disadvantaged group: this group refers to children living in the areas without schools or any alternative learning facilities, or those who could not attend even if there are schools, or those who live in the areas where schools do not possess adequate facilities, (UNESCO, 1984, p. 5).

Equitable access: means equal opportunity to enter school and equal access to learning for all children, (Lockheed and Verspoor, 1991, p. 145).

Marginalization: marginalization in its broader sense includes not only deprivation [of entitlement to a certain right or a particular social service] in absolute terms but it is also about falling behind the rest of society, (UNESCO, 2010, p. 150).

Minority: minority is a sociological group that does not constitute a politically dominant voting majority of the total population of a given society. A sociological minority is not necessarily a numerical minority — it may include any group that is subnormal with respect to a dominant group in terms of social status, education, employment, wealth and political power, (Swift in FAO, 2006, p. 2).

Non formal (primary) education: refers to all organized or semi-organized educational and training activities that operate outside the regular structure and routines of the formal educational system, (Bishop 1989, p. 13).

Pastoral community: refers to a social group whose production systems are those in which 50% or more of household gross revenue (i.e. the total value of marketed production plus the estimated value of subsistence production consumed within the household) comes from livestock or livestock-related activities (for example caravan trading), or where more than 15% of household food energy consumption consists of milk or milk products produced by the household, (Swift in FAO, 2006, p. 2).

Universal primary education: is a process of making primary education opportunities available to all children, (UNESCO, 1984, p. 5).

1.9 Organization of the Study

This study is organized in five chapters. The first chapter provides a general backdrop about the research problem and its setting. Statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, conceptual framework, delimitation, limitation, definition of key terms and organization of the study are the sections that constitute chapter one. The second chapter deals with review of the related literature. Wide range of experiences pertaining to children's lack of access to primary education with particular emphasis on pastoralist areas and practices were presented under chapter two. Chapter three is devoted to methodological aspects of this particular study undertaking. Research method adopted, sampling technique employed, data collection instruments used, methods of data analysis and ethical consideration are the major components of the third chapter.

Presentation, analysis and interpretation of the field level data are treated under chapter four. Discussions regarding findings of the study are presented under each objectives of the study in a way to facilitate clear linkage between the purposes of the

study and their corresponding findings. Chapter five comprises summary of findings, conclusion and implications for future action. Major findings of the study are concisely presented under the summary section. Matters that have policy implication are documented under the conclusion section. Issues for future consideration are identified and presented under the last section of chapter five.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Education as a Human Right and Tool for Development

The right to education, according to UNICEF (2007) is universal and inalienable as are the human rights. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 26 (1) also stipulates that “everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory....” Moreover, provisions on the right to a quality education inclusive of human rights values becomes an integral part in such international treaties as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), (UNESCO, 2000c; UNICEF, 2007).

Besides being one of the universally accepted human rights, education also becomes nearly the only means of social and economic upward mobility particularly among the poor. UNESCO (2010) citing Nelson Mandela, writes that:

Education is the great engine of personal development. It is through education that the daughter of a peasant can become a doctor...that a child of farm workers can become the president of a great nation. It is what we make out of what we have, not what we are given, that separates one person from another. (UNESCO, 2010, p. 141)

The world at present is classified into advanced, middle and low income categories in economic speaking. Citizens of wealthy nations enjoy higher per capita income, whereas the poorest earn less than or only equivalent to a dollar-a-day. It is clear that an increase in

earning has a direct bearing over improvement in living standard. However, it seems that a huge gap in wealth between the developed world and their poor counterparts tends to persist than being bridged. One of the significant divide lines between the haves and the have not is education. The role of education in increasing labour productivity, which in turn results in a corresponding raise in gross domestic product, is undisputed. Nowadays, even agriculture, which is traditionally labelled as the uneducated person's business, necessitates skills pertaining to increased labour and land productivity (Tefera in Negus and Workneh, 2003). This skill can be acquired from nowhere other than education and training. Provided that all other variables kept constant, the efficiency of literate farmers was found to be absolutely higher than that of their illiterate counterparts (Abay in Negus and Workneh, 2003).

The World Bank (1990) also insists on that education is becoming increasingly decisive to achieve development. Contemporary development initiatives are being propelled by the capacity to acquire, adapt, and advance knowledge. Evidently, the newly industrialized countries such as Hong Kong, Israel, Japan, Korea, and Singapore did not hold their current position before attaining the level of universal or nearly universal primary enrolment.

The World Bank (1997 and 1998) further emphasizes that having access to good quality primary education contributes to slower population growth and raises workers' productivity as well as earnings by helping them take advantage of technological changes. Besides, educated parents are more likely to send their children to school so that the benefit from primary education might perpetuate from generation to generation as a heritage that bears lasting effect in the live of posterity. In addition to promoting economic productivity and social cohesiveness, education is also taken as an instrument that increases value and efficiency of the workers' labour, intellectual flexibility of the labour force, contributes to

nation-building and interpersonal tolerance, and reduces poverty. In line with this view point, Ayalneh, Benedikt and Konrad (2005) underscore the following.

The coefficient on education reflects the prime role that human capital plays in determining poverty. In fact, education is an important dimension of poverty itself, when poverty is broadly defined to include shortage of capabilities and knowledge deprivation. It has important effects on the poor children's chance to escape from poverty in their adult age and plays a catalytic role for those who are most likely to be poor, particularly those households living in rural communities. Education is expected to lead to increased earning potential and to improve occupational and geographic mobility of labour (Ayalneh, Benedikt, and Konrad, 2005, p. 115).

According to the view upheld by the World Bank (<http://web.worldbank.org>), an investment in education has a multifaceted return. The first to benefit from this endeavor is the one who is educated. Knowledge and skills acquired through education make an individual desirable in the labor market where he/she can make a living. Placement in a decent job again helps to mitigate poverty and addresses the problem of inequality. The interwoven relationship between education and personal well being stimulates efficiency of economic performance. Enhanced performance in the economy, in return, brings about a positive impact in the life of the larger population. More specifically, World Bank presents benefits of education to the individual and the society. This source identifies improvement in health and nutrition, increase in productivity and corresponding earnings, and reduction in inequality as individual benefits resulting from education. The societal benefits also include driving economic competitiveness, resulting in poverty reduction, enhancing democratization, promoting peace and stability, and promoting concern for environment.

It is also due to recognition of a pivotal role education plays in accelerating development that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) put high emphasis on attainment of universal primary education. MDGs are adopted by member countries of the United Nations as part of the worldwide commitment to eradicate extreme poverty and improve the welfare of people especially in the developing countries by the year 2015. The MDGs contain 8 goals, 18 targets and 48 indicators that are meant to alleviate poverty.

Two of the eight goals, with their corresponding two targets and seven indicators are devoted to education. Goal two is about achieving universal primary education. Its corresponding target underscores ensuring children everywhere complete primary education by 2015. Indicators set forth in order to verify progress to this end include net enrolment ratio in primary education, steady progression of pupils starting grade one to grade five, and literacy rate among 15-24 year-olds. Goal three emphasizes on gender equity and empowerment of women. The target through which this goal is going to be realized focuses on eliminating gender disparity in primary education, secondary education and beyond (MDG Support Team, UNDP, 2006). This gives us the impression that how powerful tool is education in changing the long standing legacy of poverty.

In further analysis of the relationship between education and development, Palmer, Wedgwood, Hayman, King and Thin (2007) have carried out a study in Ghana, India, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and South Africa. In their study guided by a statement “educating out of poverty”, these authors came up with findings that affirm the previously held views about the instrumentality of education in promoting development. They also pronounced the role of education in terms of its benefit to an individual, community, and the nation at large with what they call “other returns” as well.

Skills and knowledge gained by an individual, according to Palmer *et al* (2007), lead a person to experience improved standard of living through creation of job opportunity, earning of better wages, using more productive farming techniques, making more informed choices about life, and cautious of unhealthy practices . Educated members of a given community confer benefits on their local community indirectly through starting enterprises that create employment, sending home remittances, introducing better way of doing things, providing local services like teaching, becoming positive female role model that challenge local perceptions. When seen from the national vantage point, a more educated workforce is more productive. This raises more income at a national level, enabling the government to raise more through taxation and to provide better social services.

Poverty is highest amongst the non-educated, with the incidence of dropping sharply amongst those with secondary or higher education. The poor are most likely to be employed in agriculture, low skilled activities or the informal sector. Fertility is lower amongst women with some education. These researchers correlate level of women's education and average pregnancies that they may have. To this effect, average pregnancies amongst women with no education is found to be 5.6, whilst it is 4.4 with those who have primary education, 4.2 with those who have [some] post primary education, and only 2.7 amongst women with secondary and tertiary education. In fact, these benefits prevail mainly due to two reasons. First, educated women spend significant number of years before entering into marriage. Secondly, they can also make better informed choices and decisions about their family size, birth spacing and other family planning practices after marriage than their counterparts with no education (Palmer *et al*, 2007).

Therefore, it is safe to generalize that equitable distribution of educational opportunities needs to be one of the top priorities of governments across the globe. According to Rizvi and Lingard (2010) equity in creating access to education is emphasized for two main reasons. First, equity energizes economic efficiency. Secondly, equity ensures social justice. The economic efficiency perspective stresses the positive correlation between education and increased labour productivity. The social justice dimension considers education as a basic human right and essential for social cohesiveness. As for Rizvi and Lingard (2010) equity is not perceived as mere creation of school places alone. It goes to the extent of ensuring equity in terms of outcome of such participation in education as well.

In spite of the critical importance of education for development, however, there are millions of children who are deprived of their right to good quality basic education. The following section discusses issues related to who these children are.

2.2 The Educationally Disadvantaged Groups

In today's knowledge dependent world, it is hardly possible to those who do not possess relevant knowledge and skills in order to obtain a decent job or to make career advancement. As it has been discussed in the preceding sections, there is no aspect of human life that is not influenced by education. Years spent on education have considerable positive returns to an individual, the society he/she belongs to and the nation at large. Education also inspires people to value their freedom and empowers them to shape their future. In this regard UNESCO (2010) expressly puts forward that:

Education has the power to transform lives. It broadens people's freedom of choice and action, empowering them to participate in the social and political lives

of their societies and equipping them with the skills they need to develop their livelihoods. For the marginalized, education can be a route to greater social mobility and a way out of poverty. (UNESCO, 2010, p. 141)

Though education is recognized to be instrumental in bringing about national development, social advancement and individual wellbeing, the opportunity to learn is not fairly distributed among all. Where some enjoy their right to education, others remain denied access to it. While some progress in education, others are forced to drop schooling. Where some perform better in schools and beyond, others rated unsatisfactory in achievement scores. Among the latter groups are rural children, females, poor children, and minorities. This section highlights the state of the less privileged segments of society.

Rural children

One of the major disparities in creating educational access to all is manifested between the urban and rural population. The information provided by International Council for Educational Development (ICED) cited in Lockheed and Verspoor (1991, p. 145) as well as World Bank (1990) have clearly stated that urban child is more likely to enrol in and complete primary education than his rural counterpart. Even from among those rural children who have got a chance to enrol, only a limited proportion reaches grade four.

As identified by ICED cited in Verspoor (1991, p. 145) there are five major impediments to education in rural areas: (1) lack of resources such as teachers, materials, and other inputs; (2) lack of reinforcement for schooling; (3) language problems where national (usually urban) languages which are less familiar in rural areas are used for instruction; (4) competition between the school schedule and need for children's labour; and (5) schools with incomplete grades of official primary school grades that offer up to

only three or four grade levels.

Dropout rate is also worse in rural areas than urban. For example, (Lourie, 1982; Psacharopoulos and Arriagada, 1987) cited in Lockheed and Verspoor (1991, p. 145) observe that there is a sharp difference of enrolment and dropout rates between urban and rural schools of Guatemala and Brazil. In urban Guatemala 56 percent of seven year-old enter school and only eight percent drop out. Whereas, in rural areas that are characterized by insignificant rate of enrolment the dropout rate hits its peak as accounted for 19 percent. In Brazil the extent of dropping out of school was about three times greater in rural than in urban settings. In terms of less enrolment and higher dropping out rates, rural children are by far disadvantaged than their age-mates in urban environment.

Average primary school dropout rate in Ethiopia in 2010 was 13.1 percent, which hits its peak with 19.9% in grade one. The national average repetition rate in primary grades 1-8 was also 8.5 percent (MoE, 2011).

However, the national primary school dropping out rate in Ethiopia seems to follow a kind of unpredictable trend that tends to decrease at one point in time and increase at another. Evidently, the average primary grades dropout rates were 12.4% in 2005/06 and 2006/07, ascended to 14.6% in 2007/08, escalated to 18.6% in 2008/09 and subsided to 13.1% in 2009/10 (MoE, 2011). This state of affairs clearly indicates that there is no steady progress with regard to arresting the problem of school early leaving. Presented in the table here under are figures that show primary school dropping out rates currently prevailing across the regional states.

Table 03: Primary School Dropout Rate in Ethiopia

No.	Region	Dropout Rate						Average Variation (in %)
		2010/'11 (2002 EC data)			2012/'13 (2004 EC data)			
		Male	Female	Average	Male	Female	Average	
1	Tigray	3.6	5.3	4.5	9.1	7.7	8.4	▲ 3.9
2	Afar	6.6	12.7	9.1	10.3	15.1	12.4	▲ 3.3
3	Amhara	7.9	10.3	9.1	15.4	12.8	14.1	▲ 5.0
4	Oromia	7.4	10.4	8.8	18.6	18.6	18.6	▲ 9.8
5	Somali	DNA*	DNA	DNA	-13.3	-12.1	--12.8	unexplained
6	Benshangul Gumuz	9.3	16.2	12.3	12.2	11.3	11.8	▼ 0.5
7	SNNPR	8.6	11.9	10.2	19.6	20.5	20	▲ 9.8
8	Gambella	10.5	14.3	12.2	17.3	16	16.7	▲ 4.5
9	Harrari	4.6	7.8	6.0	11.9	17	14.3	▲ 8.3
10	Addis Ababa	2.8	2.6	2.7	-0.8	0.3	-0.2	unexplained
11	Dire Dawa	2.6	3.5	3.0	13.3	14	15.7	▲ 12.7
12	National Average	13.1	13	13.1	15.9	15.4	15.7	▲ 2.6

DNA*: Data not available; ▲ denotes 'increase' in dropout; ▼ denotes 'decrease' in dropout

Source: Ministry of Education, Education Statistics Annual Abstract, 2011 and 2013

Table 03 above reveals that primary school dropping out is generally higher in predominantly rural regions of Benshangul Gumuz, Gambella, SNNPR, Afar and Amhara with exception in Tigray. Yet urban locations such as Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa have reported the lowest rate of early school leaving. More critically seen, the highest dropout rate is exhibited in three important levels of transition. According to the MoE (2011) grade one is a grade level with 19.9% dropout rate which is followed by grade five (16.6%) and grade eight (13.5%). Grade one is starting point of school life of children in rural parts of the country where pre-school facilities are nearly non-existent. Grade five marks a

transition from first cycle to second cycle of primary education. Similarly, grade eight is another level of big leap into general secondary education. Rate of girls' dropout is much higher across the nation with exception to the case of the metropolitan Addis Ababa.

Education statistics annual abstract published in 2012/13 came out with more distressing facts about primary school early leaving. In reference to this recent report, primary school dropping out rate shown a significant increase across all the regional states except in Benshangul-Gumuz region where a dropout rate decreased by 0.5 percent from the preceding years. An average dropout rate of -12.8 percent reported from the Somali region and -0.2 percent from Addis Ababa are very difficult to explain for the ideal situation of 'no school dropout' cannot exceed the level of zero percent if at all there exists such a perfect situation. Given their landmass and corresponding population size, the ascending trend of primary school dropout in the predominantly rural regions of SNNPR (20 percent), Oromia (18.6 percent), Gambella (16 percent), Amhara (14.1 percent), and Afar (12.4 percent) poses a challenge in reaching out the rural children.

Females

It is true that gross primary enrolment rates have increased since 1960. But even today, after over 50 years of action, countries like Niger (93), Burkina Faso (91), Nepal (86), Sierra Leone (82), Guinea (78), Mali, Mozambique and Senegal (77 each), Pakistan and Yemen (76 each), and Ethiopia (75), have an average of 84 percent illiterate females of the age 15 and above. Again when we look into gender disparities in enrolments, there is a significant gap between boys and girls. For example, the gender gap in primary enrolment has accounted for 58 percent in Pakistan, 42 in Yemen, 41 in Nepal, Togo and Chad, 40 in Benin, and 30 in Guinea (World Bank, 1999).

Negative stereotypes such as text books portrayal of women in passive and powerless roles and teachers discrimination of females as incompetent; lack of schools for girls in sex- segregated system; reluctance among female teachers to work in remote areas; the primary school curriculum that does not meet the work interest for employment possibilities; need for the girls household labour; and restrictions related to physical mobility, possible happening of pregnancy and/or preparation for marriage are considered as profound constraints of girls education, (World Bank, 1990; Lockheed and Verspoor, (1991:145). UNESCO (2010) also reaffirms the marginalization of females as saying “being poor and female carries a double disadvantage in many countries”.

Evidently, a study that was carried out in SNNPR, Ethiopia (Alemayehu, 2009) has revealed constraints of similar nature as the ones stated above as far as the issue of female’s education is concerned. The study has identified (1) lack of role models in the school and within female children’s local proximity, (2) gender bias in academic performance including teachers’ perception of incompetence regarding females, (3) early and forced marriage/abduction, (4) sexual harassment by fellow students as well as sexual liaison with teachers, (5) feeling of insecurity to travelling long distance between home and school, and (6) perceived irrelevance of investing in girl’s schooling by the local communities; as the major constraints that limit female’s access to and retention in education.

The case seems paradoxical. In principle, one may not debate over the importance of females’ education for it bears advantages peculiar to literate women. Some of these advantages are minimizing maternal and infant mortality; reducing fertility rates; and promoting health, well-being, and educational prospects of the generation to come. And yet, females’ education seems to be deemed to lag behind that of the other half has reached. This legacy of inequality is protracted despite efforts being made to curb.

Poor children

Perhaps, poverty is blamed for many social evils and discrimination. Such economic inequality can occur in several forms. One is a type of poverty that happens among individuals at any one time. The second form of poverty is that prevails in the lifetime income of individual. Thirdly, there is a type of poverty which perpetuates inequality from one generation to another, (Knight and Sabot, 1990). Whatever its forms might be, the negative impact of poverty on equitable access to education is very significant.

Studies have confirmed that in all countries poor children are less apt to enrol and more apt to drop out when compared to children from a well-to-do families. Experiences from India and Nepal have shown that school enrolment in the richest families has surpassed that of the poorest by 50 to 100 percent. This is primarily due to the inability of poor parents to incur direct costs of education (such as school fees, uniforms, supplies, transportation) and the demand for the indirect cost of the children's labour for survival of the household. Furthermore, family income level is found to be one of the three major determinants of schools attendance together with the parents' educational attainment and the parental attitude towards schooling, (Brenner, 1982; Jamison and Lockheed, 1987; King, 1981, Smith and Cheung, 1981; cited in Lockheed and Verspoor, 1991; World Bank, 1990). This state of affair ascertains that being from a poor parental background would heighten the likelihood of a child not to be enrolled at all or dropping out the school.

Minorities

In the context where learning objectives have concentrated largely on the religion or language or ethnic group of the majorities, the minority groups may be marginalized in terms of provision for educational opportunity. Special needs children such as children with

physical, psychological or behavioural problems are referred as minorities that seek special attention while planning education for all (Garrido, 1986; Lockheed and Verspoor, 1991:145).

Pastoralists also constitute one of the largest marginalized groups with regard to provision of social services in general and education in particular. Referring to the multifaceted challenges being faced by pastoralists UNESCO (2010) has to say the following.

The experience of pastoralists is a particularly stark example. Living in remote areas, with children heavily involved in tending cattle and livelihoods that involve movement across large distances, pastoralists face major barriers to educational opportunity. Those barriers of time and distance are sometimes reinforced by problems in education policy, including failure to offer relevant curricula, provide appropriate textbooks and respond to the realities of pastoral livelihoods. (UNESCO, 2010, p. 143)

The fact that pastoralists and other marginalized groups represent a significant size of the total population of countries like Ethiopia, the likelihood of MDGs attainment would probably be differed to the unspecified deadline beyond 2015 unless the underserved are being properly reached out.

2.3 Factors that Determine Participation and Persistence in Education

“Everyone has the right to education” is a sixty-plus year old motto that has been taken as an integral part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights since 1948. Now, even after more than six decades of the declaration, basic education seems to be a luxury for millions of children in developing countries. Sadly, most children with less access to

basic education are females, the poor, minorities, and rural children. The prevailing disparity, on the other hand, complicates the progress towards attainment of the goal of universal primary education since pastoral societies constitute a significant proportion of the world's population. The essence of universal primary education is about making basic education opportunities available to all children irrespective of their gender, socio-economic status, race, or physical and mental conditions. But the accomplishment of the task becomes a difficult one for many of the developing countries despite the issue is being high on the agenda of national governments and international agencies like the United Nations and its subsidiary organizations such as UNESCO and UNICEF.

The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted in 1948, holds that "Following this declaration Universal Primary Education (UPE) has become a worldwide priority". In 1990 the Convention on the Rights of the child again reaffirmed this intention. In that same year (1990), delegates from 155 countries at the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) had acknowledged the responsibility of their respective governments to providing access to basic education for all their children (Colclough, 1993; Bennaars, 1993).

Despite national and international deliberation to realize a world free of illiteracy, a large proportion of children and adults in the low-income countries have been denied access to compulsory primary education until present.

In recognition of failure of the past efforts to attain universal primary education, especially in the developing countries, the world community has tried to come up with a new initiative and new deadline to be able to overcome this long standing problem. Hence, the 2000 Dakar Conference on Education pledged to achieve Universal Primary Education

by 2015. In that same year, 2000, the UN General Assembly has adopted a new frame of commitment under the name Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). MDGs contain 8 priority goals out of which the two goals dedicated to education. Goal number 2 of the MDGs reads as “ensuring that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike will be able to *complete* a full course of primary schooling.”

The other important component of MDGs in education is Goal number 3 that focuses on “eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education”. While most of the MDGs face a deadline of 2015, the gender parity target was set to be achieved by 2005 in appreciation of decisiveness of gender equity in access to education as foundation for all other development goals. This is quite clear that the important half of the world’s population, females, who are educationally disadvantaged, should be brought on board as a prerequisite to attain social as well as economic development. Akin to this perspective, the worldwide experience has proved that even in situations whereby other things remain constant, countries with wider gender gap in education would have lower economic productivity when compared to countries with similar per capita incomes and patterns of expenditure (Kane, 1995).

This situation, therefore, urges all concerned to look into those roads passed through and the tough ones ahead to go with serious sense of mission. Otherwise, entitlements and legislations alone can not bring change on the ground in attaining the goal of universal primary education.

Amid all the challenges, however, countries like China, Chile, Cuba, Singapore and Sri Lanka have successfully achieved universal primary education. Algeria, Tunisia, and Malawi are also nearly attaining universal enrolment from the Africa (ACPF, 2008).

Contrary to an impressive increase in enrolment observed in some countries, it is learnt that, the number of out of school children in Sub-Sahara region during the year 2004 was 38 million. In Nigeria and Ethiopia alone there were over 5 million out-of-school children and more than 1 million in Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger combined. More than two-thirds of the region's out-of school children have never been enrolled and may never go to school unless new initiatives are being considered (Shimelis, 2008).

It is clear that failure to universalize primary education can be attributed to a range of factors such as social, cultural, economic, political and similar others. One of such a comprehensive analysis of interfering factors was carried out by Garrido (1986). This author has identified five major hindrances for the attainment of universal primary education. These disabling factors identified by Garrido are discussed with some details as follows.

The first one is *task complexity*. Complexity in this case refers to the multi-dimensional nature of the concept of universal primary education. Achieving universal primary education is not synonymous with or equated to simply creating access to education. Rather, it comprises of three dimensions, namely, *access*, *retention/ completion*, and *achievement*. No matter how hard governments work toward universal primary education, it becomes a futile exercise except these three dimensions are appropriately dealt with.

The second factor goes to *economic determinants*. Education is an investment that needs sizable financial, human, and material inputs. Hence, both low-income backgrounds of families to support schooling of their children and weak economic situation of a country at large negatively affect the entire activity in education.

The third barrier is *socio-cultural* by nature. Religious sanctions on female education (particularly in most Islam countries), and language of instruction in the countries comprising many ethnic groups place significant pressure on efforts toward universal enrolment. As for Lockheed and Verspoor (1991:145), especially “in the crucial, early grades when children are trying to acquire basic literacy as well as adjust to the demands of the school setting, not speaking the language of instruction can make difference” between failure and success as well as dropping out and persistence in the school. Yet, trying to use all ethnic languages for instruction may not be affordable to the already fragile economies of the developing nations.

Demographic and geographic determinants are revealed as fourth constraints. Here come the problem of rapid population increase, size of the country and topography coupled with the widespread dispersion of population in areas, which are not easily accessible.

The fifth shortcoming points at the *school inefficiency*. The quest for universal primary education cannot be addressed only by supply side intervention. It also calls for the demand side provision. In other words, inefficient schools that merely operate on the curriculum that doesn't meet the real need of the population will fall into lack of attraction and holding power.

Irrespective of all the challenges discussed above and with all the costs they may entail, children are entitled to receive good quality education that is anticipated to bring about immense difference in quality of their future life. Thus, Tomasevski (2004) sums up the whole ranges of efforts that are geared towards providing education for all into a simple 4-A scheme. The four pillars of the scheme are availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability. *Availability* is about establishing schools, deploying teachers as well as

ensuring free and compulsory education for all children. *Accessibility* means elimination of discrimination between the right holders to enjoy their right of receiving good quality education within their reach. *Acceptability* refers to the quality of education, which in turn points at the worth of the teaching and learning process that is demonstrated through the learners' achievement. *Adaptability* emphasizes on the responsiveness of education to the needs of the child and his/her socio-cultural contexts.

Pursuant to the preceding scheme adopted by Tomasevski (2004), the goal of education for all will only be achieved where all the four dimensions are properly addressed. These mutually reinforcing dimensions are also not of the nature that they can independently manifest. The inherently interwoven relationship that exists among each of the four perspectives necessitates paying equal attention in entirety. Otherwise, accessibility can not be thought of without availability. Acceptability will also not happen without adaptability. In simple terms, available education ought to be accessible; accessible education needs to be acceptable; and an acceptable education is the one that is adaptable. Any weakest link occurring elsewhere across these pillars, therefore, has a spillover effect up on the other dimension with a significant consequence of undermining achievements.

2.4 Pastoralism and the Legacy of Educational under Representation

Pastoralists' life style is distinct from their agriculturalist counterpart. Farmers are known for their sedentary living while pastoralists become accustomed to mobility. Pastoral mobility, however, is not a matter of choice. Rather it is a necessity in order to ensure survival of both human beings and herds. Inhabiting in the arid and semi-arid areas, pastoralists usually strive to look for coping mechanisms during period of stress. One of such coping mechanisms is mobility. USAID (2011) regards pastoral mobility as the most important adaptive strategy. Ikeya and Fratkin (2005) also recognize it as an essential

condition of maintaining herd productivity.

As noted by PFE, IIRR and DF (2010) there are a number of good reasons for which pastoralists keep on seasonally moving from place to place. First, mobility enables pastoralists to make wise use of the limited pasture and other resources in a sustainable manner. Secondly, mobility lets pastoralists to carefully manage and conserve rangelands. Particularly, the Ethiopian pastoralists pursue mobility in search for better grazing, water, and saltlicks as well as averting the risk of animal disease. Besides, there is mobility that may be dictated by emergency situations mainly due to flooding of such rivers as Awash, Wabi-Shabelle, Ganalle and Omo (PFE, IIRR, and DF, 2010) that usually entails unconditional evacuation of pastoralists.

Paradoxical as it may sound, pastoral mobility is known for its two opposing outcomes. It contains desirable effects on the one end of the continuum and devastation on the other. PFE, IIRR and DF (2010) noted that exchanging of information, social interaction, animal husbandry, disease prevention and maintaining cross-cultural relations as blessings of mobility. On the contrary, conflict stands as curse of pastoral mobility when it involves violent dispute. The challenge is that “mobility is an indispensable element of pastoralist livelihood” (PFE, IIRR and DF, 2010. p.6).

Pastoral areas are usually branded as areas of adversity. Pastoralists suffer from multifaceted challenges. These challenges can roughly be classified as having natural and manmade dimensions. Natural problems encountered by pastoralists include but not limited to aridity of the areas wherein they reside, scarcity of resources to support their livelihood, as well as recurrence of contrasting natural disasters like drought at one time and flood at another. Manmade aspects of the problem, on the other hand, revolve around

conflicts of different nature. Of course conflict is said to be a common place in the lives of the pastoral communities. Kimani (2008), for instance, described the pastoral context as the area characterized by recurring natural disaster and endemic insecurity.

Adan and Pkalya (2005) have also identified competition over access and control of scarce natural resources as the underlying causes of conflict in arid and semi-arid settings. Butler and Gates (2010) went on to some distance in establishing cause and effect relationship between drought and pastoral conflict in a way that resource scarcity resulting from drought eventually leads to conflict. It becomes a routinely observable phenomenon that the “combination of more people with more animals competing for the use of ever shrinking pastures and water sources does produce conflict” (USAID, 2011:7) among pastoralist communities.

In a further analysis of the conflict situation prevailing in pastoralist areas, Blench (1997) has come up with a list of conflict categories. As for Blench, conflict over natural resources among pastoralists themselves or between pastoralists and others may take any of the seven forms¹ identified by the author or a combination of multiple categories. It is clear that Blench’s assessment put emphasis only on those disputes that arise due to competition over natural resources. Nevertheless, conflicts stemming from traditional practices such as cattle rustling as rite of passage for young warriors, and as a means of regulating the quality of livestock (Mburu, 2001) were overlooked by Blench.

¹ (1) Pastoralists/livestock producers and cultivators, (2) fishing peoples with both pastoralists and cultivators, (3) urban resource users extracting rural resources such as water and wood fuel, (4) large-scale agriculture with traditional land users, (5) forest/wildlife reserves with traditional land users, (6) rural populations and industrial enterprises, especially mining, and (7) rural populations and large infrastructural projects such as dams, (Blench 1997:2).

Sharing relatively a similar life style with pastoralists across the globe, the situation with Ethiopian pastoralists is also not an exception. Owing to their settlement in arid and semi-arid areas where water and grazing are scarce, mobility is an inherent life style of pastoral communities that serves as a means of survival. Pastoralists in Ethiopia customarily move from place to place mainly in search for water and pastureland. Erratic rainfall patterns, high temperatures, floods and drought (USAID, 2011) which are attributable to the ever escalating climatic change are identified as significant stress bearers on the lives of the Ethiopian pastoralists. Regarding the situation of pastoralists in Ethiopia USAID (2011) has to say the following.

Pastoralists in Ethiopia face a number of challenges that threaten the sustainability of their traditional practices. As the country has sought to develop and diversify its economy, land has been allocated by the state for other uses. The combination of diminishing grazing areas and population growth (both human and animal) has contributed to land degradation, competition for pasture and water, and interethnic and intra-ethnic conflict (USAID, 2011, p.2).

Ethiopian pastoralists represent ten million of the total population of the country and occupy 61 percent of the total land mass. They raise about 42 percent of the cattle, 7 percent of the goats, 25 percent of the sheep, 20 percent of the equines and all of the camels (PFE, IIRR and DF, 2010). However, they live in a severe poverty situation in spite of their significant contribution to the national economy.

Being settled along the international borders, the Ethiopian pastoralists are affected by recurring conflicts with fellow pastoralists across the borders as this incidence commonly prevails between pastoralists in South Omo and their Kenyan counterparts.

Frequent internal disputes with neighboring fellow pastoralists due to cattle rustling, competition over pastureland and water sources put the pastoralist contexts in a constant flux.

It is very difficult for schools to continue their usual operation under such a security threat. Parents become worried about safety of their children. The question of well-being remains a top priority than thinking of the instructional tasks among the teaching personnel working in the conflict prone pastoralist locations.

2.5 Consequences of Pastoral Mobility and Conflict on Children's Schooling

People may have emotional attachments with places they reside in, things they possess, ideals that shape their personality, situations that have big places in their lives and most importantly with the community that they belong to. Departing from such important contexts and social ties usually results in emotional distress. After all, it is not an easy experience to decide about leaving one's domicile and uncertainly thinking of being reinstated at another. The effect becomes strangely devastating when such displacement is induced by violent conflicts. Ferris and Winthrop (2010) in their assessment of the conditions of refugees and internally displaced persons have identified ranges of apprehensions of people affected by conflict. These authors noted that losing a loved one, economic hardship and displacement were the three most feared consequences of conflict among refugees and the internally displaced persons. Fear of death was mentioned as the sixth most feared encounter following fear of physical injury and sexual and gender-based violence, (Ferris and Winthrop, 2010).

Adan and Pkalya (2005), on the other hand, have identified the following major consequences of conflict while they examined the socio-economic impacts of conflict on pastoral and semi pastoral economies in Kenya and Uganda. Primarily, conflict claims lives of people and entails displacement. Secondly, it destroys assets, disrupts farm activities and results in food crisis. Thirdly, the already fragile delivery of social services like education and health turn to be non-existent due to conflict. Fourthly, conflict leaves people vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infection due to rape which is a common evil during the war time and/or when the displaced persons engaged in risky sexual behaviours as a means of survival.

Conflict has immense negative effects on children's development in general and their education in particular. Whenever there is a situation that leads to conflict, schools are the first institutions that are forced to disrupt their operation at best. The worst scenario is that it may become extremely dangerous to go to school or the school itself get destroyed (International Save the Children Alliance, 2010).

Disruption of schooling, on the one hand, means denying children the right to education which shapes their future. Moreover, the situation may contribute to increasing tendency of the youth to be conflict perpetrators. To this end, Jackson (2011) has underscored that the early school leaver Somali pastoral youth especially males migrate from conflict-prone rural locations to urban areas in search for employment opportunity. The fact that the urban centres are home for a large pool of job seeking youth, the migrants remain unemployed and become susceptible to recruitment and inducement to violence.

Lack of proper education has far reaching impacts on human life. According to UNESCO (2010) uneducated or undereducated people remain vulnerable to multiple forms of disadvantage. Their chances of getting decent jobs, enjoying better health and participation in the political processes that have direct bearings on their lives are very much diminished. Despairingly, “restricted opportunity in education is one of the most powerful mechanisms for transmitting poverty across generations” (UNESCO, 2010, p. 8).

Despite the unparalleled role of education in promoting individual, social and economic development, millions of children living mainly in conflict affected parts of the world have no access to education. According to UNESCO (2011) 28 million children of primary school age, living in conflict affected countries, which account for 42% of the world’s total out of school population were not attending classes.

The tragedy is that parties in conflict usually set aside or wrongly manipulate the delivery of education to be counterproductive to its desired end, which is enhancing peaceful coexistence, tolerance and promoting mutual respect. The essence is that human societies need to acclaim schools as “places for imparting the most vital of skills: tolerance, mutual respect and the ability to live peacefully with others” (UNESCO, 2011:3). UNICEF (2000) also recognizes education as having dual role of deconstructing structures of violence and constructing structures of peace through fostering tolerance and inter-group understanding as well as promoting healing and reconciliation.

However, thinking of a conflict situation from its very beginning threatens education - a transforming agent which can possibly change conflict into cooperation. It is customary that a kind of inverse relationship between conflict and education leads schooling to a complete crisis during a time of violent clash. In sum, conflict seriously and

directly affects schooling for it incites displacement of the local community to whom the schools were built to serve, teaching personnel abandonment and school facility closure (Krätli and Swift, 1999; Omosa, 2005; and Kimani, 2008). Thus, seasonal mobility and conflict, inherent to the pastoralist community's life style, pose a persistent challenge in the effort to creating access to education and retaining pastoralist children in the school system as well.

2.6 Theoretical Perspectives

Factors affecting participation, persistence and performance in education may not be one and the same across all cultural, social, economic, and geographical contexts. Context specific solutions for problems arising from different environmental realities can also help addressing the problem effectively. A study carried out on pastoralists' education in Kenya, for instance, has revealed poverty; gender bias; and mobility as salient determinants of low educational participation among children from pastoralist communities (Leggett, 2005). Referring to findings by Leggett, poverty and gender bias are commonly cited setbacks even with people living in sedentary settlement patterns. What comes exceptional with the pastoralists is mobility that constitutes an inherent life style of nomadic people though migrants also share this reality up until they manage to reach at stable destination where they decide to settle.

Traditionally, low rates of educational participation by children from pastoralist communities are attributed to less accessible landscape and harsh weather, dispersed settlements and low density of population, mobility and the need for child labour. In further elaboration of these limiting factors, Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (2006) has listed a range of determinants that interfere with education of pastoral children. The list includes, but not limited to, shortage of trained staff; problem of access and adaptive education

methods like mobile education; inappropriate curricula; rigid school calendar; parental refusal to send girls to school; inadequate/lack of school furniture, teaching aid, and learning equipment; and low motivation of teachers due to lack of incentives.

In its any form, the pastoralists' under representation in education poses a serious question of equity. Since equity is about having the benefit of equal opportunity, the striking question that comes to us is "why the pastoralists lack this opportunity?" Each one of us can suggest several reasons that made pastoralists marginalized in terms of provision of social services like education. One can propose remedies to alleviate the problem regardless of technical viability of some of such emotional proposals as well since the issue of equity is the issue of fairness and equal opportunity provision to all. But ensuring equity is a simple and straight forward task. Factors contributing to inequity could be easily visible sometimes and tricky at another. As noted by the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (2010:7) "often these factors operate at an invisible or undetected level".

Ensuring equal opportunity to education, of course, is a complex task that calls for the interplay of a number of factors. Different authorities introduce varied theoretical frameworks that are supposed to understand the problem and suggest the way forward. One of such models is the Wisconsin Equity Framework which is developed by Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (2010). This model focuses on the understanding of the intricate nature of factors that intensify inequity in education. It comprises seven indicators of monitoring equity in education. The seven indicators of equity as specified by the Wisconsin framework are access equity, fiscal and budgetary equity, pedagogical equity, input equity, output equity, curricular equity, and attitudes and assumptions around equity, diversity, fairness, and inclusiveness.

UNESCO (2010) has also developed educational equity framework which helps to analyze equity in such three perspectives as learning environment; accessibility and affordability, and entitlements and opportunities. The theoretical frameworks developed by UNESCO and the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction are meant to analyze inequity in educational participation across all societies irrespective of any difference in the social, economic, cultural and demographic contexts. While discussing about the general situation of equal opportunity to education, the two frameworks have touched upon issues that are also concerns of pastoralists. This interface, however, has happened not as a result of paying particular attention to the realities on the ground in the contexts of the pastoralists.

A more context sensitive framework of analysis of determinants of pastoral children's education is provided by Krätli and Dyer (2009). This framework broadly classifies the determinants into two as factors related to point of delivery and factors related to point of reception. The essence of point of delivery and point of reception can be taken as alternative expressions of supply side and demand side interventions. The authors again decompose these two broad categories of determinants into numerous specific units of analysis. Accordingly, point of reception contains such independent variables as funding, staffing, training, equipment and legacy. Point of reception encompasses issues pertaining to mobility, dispersed settlement pattern, unpredictable disruptions, the need for child labor, gender preference for schooling, parental illiteracy and liquidity. Following is the framework as presented in a tabular form.

Table 04: Framework of Analysis of Children’s Access to Education in Pastoralist Context

Supply side intervention (at point of delivery)	
Funding	Refers to building and maintaining a school in harsh and remote rural areas is costly.
Staffing	Refers to difficulties in securing school staffing in harsh and remote rural areas.
Training	Difficulties in securing quality teaching in schools in pastoral areas (well trained teachers often go somewhere else or leave at the first opportunity).
Equipment	Refers to difficulties in providing adequate teaching and learning materials to remote locations.
Legacy	Related to difficulties in overcoming a legacy of antagonism to nomads’ livelihoods, where formal school-based education was allowed to be instrumental to policies of cultural assimilation and forced sedentarisation (therefore posing a threat to pastoral production strategies).
Demand side intervention (at point of reception)	
Mobility	Although key to the production strategy of the nomadic household, mobility poses a serious challenge to a system heavily reliant on school-based education.
Dispersed settlement pattern	This situation often becomes an advantage for pastoral production system but a problem for realizing economies of scale in school-based education.
Unpredictable disruptions of service	On top of routine mobility for production, insecurity and environmental events of great magnitude such as floods and prolonged droughts can significantly disrupt the rigid routine of school-based education.
Child labour	Children’s involvement and responsibilities within the household’s economy from an early age competes with the requirements of school calendars and timetables.
Gender preference in schooling	Apart from labour requirements, parents are particularly reluctant to send girls away from the familiar contexts where they can be protected and controlled.
Non-literate parents	The fact that adults/parents often lack basic education means that children cannot receive help at home as far as formal education is concerned.
Liquidity	Even relatively small school-related costs are perceived as difficult to meet as pastoral households usually have little liquidity and the economic benefits of schooling are not easily evident.

Source: Saverio Krätli and Caroline Dyer (2009), *Mobile Pastoralists and Education: Strategic Options*, Page 11.

Therefore, this study has adopted a combination of the above two frameworks to examine the existing situation in the area under study. More specifically, the equity aspect that involves attitude and assumptions has been guided by the Wisconsin Equity Framework for it captures the hidden but the most influential aspects of the practice on the actual ground. Whereas, the Kratli and Dyer model was put in use to test whether the same attributes that limit pastoralists' access to education worldwide would be applicable in the context of South Omo, SNNPR, Ethiopia.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Methodological Approach

The subject matter of this study is children's access to primary education among the Dasenech and Nyangatom pastoralists. The study is meant to assess practice and problems pertaining to delivery of education services particularly in the context of the two pastoralist communities residing in South Omo. Education by its very nature involves human interaction. Teachers, curriculum designers, policy makers, and the community at large have their own roles in enabling the education system operates well. Children, the recipients of primary education, are also in their early years of life experience aspiring to shape their future through education. Doubtless, statistical facts regarding enrolment, attendance, dropping out, repetition, completion rates, and similar others can be depicted and explained in numeric terms. But it remains difficult to easily figure out those societal values, traditions, ideals, aspirations and perceptions that have profound implications over education by employing the quantitative method alone. Preferably, the non-quantifiable dimensions can be better captured by employing the qualitative design.

Qualitative approach to research according to Poluha (2007) is the process of "making predictions and meaning". As for Creswell (2009:4) qualitative research is a means for "exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem". Making meaning or understanding meaning holds the central stage as Biklen and Bogdan (1982, p. 29) underscore "meaning" being an essential concern of qualitative research approach.

The main purpose of this study was to closely examining into the problems that prohibit pastoralist children from participation in education. Ranges of socio-cultural aspects that have direct or indirect implication on pastoral children's schooling were areas of interest as far as the scope of this study was concerned. Traditions, norms, beliefs, value and life style of pastoralists were some of the important dimensions that were dealt with in the process of the study. In practical terms, the study was not devoid of numeric data. But numerical facts were used in substantiating the qualitative data and showing the interrelationships between what is easily observable and what is not.

Principal research method adopted to undertake the study was a qualitative inquiry approach. Within the qualitative paradigm particular attention was given to advocacy perspective. The advocacy perspective was adhered to for it focuses on the needs of marginalized groups in view to bringing about change in lives of the underprivileged segments of societies (Creswell, 2009).

The following subsequent sections discuss about the research design, data sources, research procedure, data analysis and ethical considerations in light of the method under consideration.

3.2 Research Design

This piece of research work is designed primarily to identify factors that interfere with pastoral children's participation in education. Other areas of concern that complement with this objective have pursued in order to address the problem from all directions aiming at obtaining a comprehensive picture of the actual situation prevailing in the area under study. The issues were examined from various perspectives. Multiple stakeholders such as students, parents, school teachers, education officials, community leaders, and public

authorities were involved in the study to come up with the dominant factors that limit children's access to education from the viewpoint of all concerned.

Data have been collected from variety of respondents that include parents, students, teachers, school principals, parent-teacher association members, community representatives and education authorities at Kebele, Woreda, and Zone levels using questionnaire, interview, focus group discussion and observation checklist as details are specified under the *instrument* section.

Of all the instruments, the process of questionnaire development and administration has been carried out pursuing the following sequential steps. First, general questions that were believed to address the survey's objectives have been formulated. Secondly, a questionnaire has been designed by interpreting the general questions into a format that can be easily understood by potential respondents. Thirdly, pilot administration of the instrument was made in view to check the ability of the tool to consistently measure what is intended to be measured. Piloting was helpful to deal with the problem of item non-response (not responding to some of the questions included in the survey) situation that could result due to such factors as fatigue in filling in an extended survey or because of lack of understanding of a question itself. Fourthly, the actual administration of the instruments took place using trained data collectors with a close supervision by the principal researcher.

3.3 Research Procedure

3.3.1 Sampling technique and sample population

South Omo administration zone consists of eight districts with a total population of 577,673 (288,638 male and 289,035 female). About 92.5% of the total population of the zone is rural and proportion of urban residents is only close to 7.5 percent. Out of the eight districts in the zone, Dasenech with 9.1% and Nyangatom with 4.3% of net primary enrolment rates were considered using purposive sampling primarily on the basis of severity of the problem of educational participation of children.

Following selection of sample districts, three kebeles each from a sample district with least rate of primary school enrolment and high rate of dropping out were selected again on the basis of purposive sampling. Accordingly, Omorate, world Vision, and Ocholoch from Dasenech district and Kangaten, Lokerlum and Kibish school sites from Nyangatom district have been identified as particular areas of study. The identification of these locations has been done in consultation with the district education officials.

Woreda education officials and experts, school principals, and incumbent teachers from each sample primary schools were selected pursuant to their held position in the understanding that these groups have better information about factors that affect children's participation and persistence in education in their respective areas of responsibility. Decision to include these groups was also carried out on the basis of the respondents' experience in teaching and/or educational management; and their gender in order to be able to capture any possible difference in views which may result from longer years of service as well as difference in gender.

3.3.2 Participants of the study

Eight education experts and officials from each sample district education including head of the education desk, head of teaching-learning unit, head of teachers' professional development unit, head of assessment head of budget and accounts and examinations unit and head of educational supervisory services have been considered in view to come up a comprehensive view of the problem under study. Same group of respondents were contacted at South Omo zone education department in view to further substantiating and triangulating the information obtained at districts level. This pattern of selection made up the number of expert respondents twenty-four.

All of the six primary school principals heading the sample schools were considered as key informants. Thirty teachers (five from each of the sample primary school) took part in the study as important sources of data regarding factors that determine the participation of children in education. Thirty children (five from each sample school) have been involved in the study process. Parent-teacher association (PTA) members, education and training board (ETB) members and community leaders have made to join the subsequent focus group discussion sessions in their respective areas of residence. Focus group discussions held at Omorate, Ocholoch, Lokerlum, and Kangaten, had 12 participants each (with exception to FGD sessions conducted at Kibish and World Vision school areas with 10 and 11 participants respectively). Each of the sessions lasted for 75 minutes at an average. The total number of focus group session participants was sixty-nine. In sum, fifteen education experts (five from each sample districts and five from zone education desk), six principals heading the sample primary schools, thirty primary school teachers teaching at the sample schools, thirty children pursuing their education in the sample schools and sixty-nine community members residing in the sample school

locations have taken part in the study. The total number of respondents was one hundred and fifty-nine.

3.3.3 Instruments of data collection

Questionnaire, interviews, focus group discussion, and observation checklist were the major instruments used for data collection. Varieties of instruments were employed in the attempt to approaching different participants according to their convenience and the way the instrument better suits to their situation. Following is a detailed description on the utilization of the above mentioned data gathering tools.

Interview: Interview schedule was employed to collect data from children with the purpose of incorporating their views in the study. The guide questions were concerned with challenges that children faced in relation to schooling, their recommendation about the kind of school they prefer to have, and prevailing hindrances that interfere with children's education as perceived by children themselves. Each of the interview sessions with children lasted for 25-30 minutes duration. Children were involved into the study to ensure representation of their interests in the outcome of the study.

Questionnaire: A simple five-point Likert type-rating scale was used to track the opinion of teachers, principals, and other education experts at district and zone levels aiming at collecting relevant information related to the overall education programs performance in the study area. The questionnaire consisted of three basic types of questions: *multiple choice, numeric open end and text open end*. Contents of the questionnaire were delineated and focused primarily on the respondents' roles in relation to teaching and exercising educational leadership in their respective spheres of influence.

Focus Group Discussions: Focus group discussions were held with community leaders, parent-teacher association members, parents and education and training board members in view to generating data from important stakeholders in education. Parents were considered as principal stakeholders in valuing their decisive role in allowing their offspring to enrol and persist in the education system. The focus group discussions were carried out in order to come up with the participants' views, opinions and special concerns and/or interests about children's schooling. All the six focus group discussion sessions lasted for an average of 75 minutes.

Observation checklist: Visits to the sample sites were made in order to observe and document the realities on the ground regarding each school location. An observation checklist that consisted of all aspects of a given primary school facility was developed and put in use to trace all observable strengths and /or weaknesses in each sample site.

3.3.4 Instrument testing

Prior to its actual administration the questionnaire was pre-tested for item relevance, clarity and internal consistency. The testing was carried out by distributing the instrument for comment to primary school teachers, education experts and woreda education officials who have a comparable profile as the actual respondents of the study. Participants of the pilot testing were 20 primary schoolteachers and education experts working in Boricha and Daara woredas of Sidama zone in SNNPR. Some language aspects were revised following comments made by participants of the pilot testing for more clarity and communicating similar meaning to all of the participants of the actual study.

3.3.5 Method of data analysis

Data obtained through questionnaire: Responses by each respondent were manually coded and entered into Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 17). Possible missing of data as a result of probable item non-response was checked and verified before the analysis took place. Results were reported using frequency tables by indicating percentage of respondents who have selected each alternative for each item as well as through grouping of items into clusters in the case of addressing the same issues and develop total scores across each item cluster. Furthermore, Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test was administered to determine the magnitude of demand side and supply side factors in view to find out whether any one of the two determinants is dominant over the other.

The qualitative data analysis was generally followed John W. Creswell's six steps framework of qualitative research data analysis (Creswell, 2009, pp. 183-190). The steps are briefly summarized as follows.

- Step 1:** Organizing and preparing the data for analysis. This step involves transcribing interviews, typing up field notes or arranging the data into different types depending on their sources.
- Step 2:** Reading through all the data as a first step to obtain a general sense of the information and to reflect on its overall meaning.
- Step 3:** Begin detailed analysis with a coding process. Coding, according to Creswell, involves taking text data or pictures gathered during the data collection, segmenting sentences, and labelling those categories with a term, often a term based in the actual language of the participant.

Step 4: Use the coding process to generate a description of the setting or people as well as categories or themes for analysis. Description involves detailed rendering information about people, places or events in the setting.

Step 5: Advance how the description and themes will be represented in the qualitative narrative. The most popular approach is to use a narrative passage to convey the findings of the analysis.

Step 6: Being the final one this step involves making an interpretation or meaning of the data.

Furthermore, analysis of data obtained through participant observation and captured by field notes has involved four stages. First, each episode of observation was transcribed and verified for accuracy. At the second stage data were quantified by counting instances of such particular prevalence. Then, comparison was made to pin point differences and similarities between various observations regarding issues of the research interest. Finally, comparison was made between themes identified through observation and those of which identified through focus group discussions and interviews. Table 05 below presents the summary of methods of data analysis along with the study objectives specified.

Table 05: Summary of Methods of Data Analysis

Research Questions	Research Objectives	Instrument used	Analysis Technique
What characterizes the educational service delivery to the pastoral communities of Dasenech and Nyangatom in light of ensuring children's access to and retention in primary education?	To explore into the underlying factors that interfere with pastoral children's access to primary education in Dasenech and Nyangatom Woredas of South Omo	-Questionnaire (practitioners and education authorities) -Interview (children) -Document/ records review	-Description and thematic analysis following Creswell's six steps framework of qualitative research data analysis supported by simple descriptive statistics -Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test to determine the magnitude of influence between the demand and supply side factors
How successful are the existing educational intervention strategies in responding to the pastoral community's seasonal movement in the Dasenech and Nyangatom districts of South Omo?	To examine compatibility of the existing approaches to educational service delivery to the needs and contexts of the pastoral communities in Dasenech and Nyangatom Woredas of South Omo	-Document/ records review -Observation -Key informants interview	Description and thematic analysis following Creswell's six steps framework of qualitative research data analysis supported by simple descriptive statistics
What community perceptions underlie the practice of equal opportunity provision in education between male and female among pastoralists in Dasenech and Nyangatom districts of South Omo?	To scrutinize how equitable is the practice of primary education participation in terms of ensuring gender equality with particular emphasis on the pastoralist woredas of Dasenech and Nyangatom in South Omo	-Interview (children) -FGD (community members) -Key informants interview	Description and thematic analysis following Creswell's six steps framework of qualitative research data analysis supported by simple descriptive statistics

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Consent was obtained from respondents prior to each of the focus group and interview sessions. Participants were informed about the purpose and possible outcome of the study, assured of anonymity and given the option to decline to answer any or all of the questions presented to them.

An attempt was made to identify a legal guardian and obtain informed consent in the event of participation of minors as sources of data. Interviewers have taken the utmost care to respect the ethical standards involved in doing research on and with children. The interview sessions were conducted in a manner that did not infringe on the daily labour schedules, social commitments and any other appointments of the interviewees.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with data presentation, analysis and discussion. Contents of the chapter are organized along with the three research questions that were formulated to serve as a blue print of the study. The section beneath this brief introduction presents the demographic profile of participants of the study. Description of respondent characteristics is followed by presentation and analysis of data regarding factors that limit pastoralist children's participation in primary education within the study context. Demand and supply side determinants represent the central theme of discussion under this particular section.

The second research question was about responsiveness of the existing approaches. Hence, responsiveness analysis of the existing approach to delivery of education to the pastoralist context constitutes the second major section of the chapter. Seasonal mobility and conflict are the principal elements that are thoroughly examined in light of their interference with pastoralist children's education. As it has been clearly stipulated earlier, examining the situation of gender equity in terms of participation in education was the concern of the third research question. The last section of this chapter, therefore, deals with determinants of equal access to and retention in education among pastoralist boys and girls.

4.2 Characteristics of Respondents

Participants of this study were drawn from different walks of life. Children, parents, teachers, education experts and school principals have taken part in the study. Table 06 below presents gender, age and educational profile of the respondents.

Table 06: Demographic Profile of Participants of the Study

No	Attribute	Children		Parents		Teachers		Experts/ Officials		Principals	
		No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No	%
1	Gender:										
	a) Male	20	66.67	60	86.96	25	80	24	100	5	83.33
	b) Female	10	33.33	9	13.04	5	20	-	-	1	16.67
2	Age:										
	a) 14 -15	22	73.33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	b) 16-25*	8	26.67	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c) 26-35	-	-	10	14.5	30	100	18	75	6	100
	d) 36-45	-	-	30	43.47	-	-	-	-	-	-
	e) ≥46	-	-	29	42.03	-	-	6	25	-	-
3	Education:										
	a) Illiterate	-	-	63	91.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
	b) NFE**	-	-	6	8.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c) Grades 1-4	18	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	d) Grades 5-8	12	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	e) Secondary educ.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	f) TTI certificate***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	g) Diploma	-	-	-	-	21	70	-	-	3	50
	h) BA degree	-	-	-	-	9	30	17	70.83	3	50
							7	29.17	-	-	

*In actual terms, persons in this group do not fully fall under the age category of children. Here they came under children's column because they were active in school attendance during the data collection period and participated in the interview sessions held with schoolchildren;

**NFE refers to non-formal education;

***TTI refers to teacher training institutes that formerly provide a one year post secondary teacher training for primary school teaching. TTIs are non-existent at present and replaced by colleges of teacher education.

As noted from Table 06 above, only 25 of the total 159 respondents are females. Proportionally seen, females constitute for less than 16 percent of the total participants of the study. Women constituted only for 13 percent of the total of 69 participants of the focus group discussion sessions. Eighty percent of teacher respondents and 100 percent of education experts were men. There was only one woman school principal from a sample of six primary schools. The age mix of participants ranges from adolescents in their teens, the youth and adults of age 46 and above. More specifically, slightly over 73 percent of school children interviewed were between the age of 14 and 15 and others belong to the

age bracket of 16-25 years. Relatively larger proportion of parents (43.47 percent) falls under the age category of 36 and 45 while 42.03 percent were of the age 46 years and above.

All of the total 30 teacher participants were of the age between 26 and 35. Only a quarter of the education experts and officials (25 percent) were adults of age 46 and above while three-fourth of them (75 percent) has reported to be within the range of 26-35 years of age. All of the six school principals who took part in the study were of the same age category (26-35 years) with that of the teachers.

Regarding educational attainment, the overwhelming majority of parents (over 91 percent) were illiterate with only less than nine percent of them known to have some sort of literacy and numeracy skills. Sixty percent of the interviewed schoolchildren were in first cycle primary education. The remaining forty percent were pursuing their education in grades 5-8 which is known as second cycle primary school. Large majority of teacher respondents (70 percent) had certificate of teaching from teacher training institutes while the remaining 30 percent obtained a diploma level of qualification. Sixty and forty percent of the education experts had diploma and first degree levels of education respectively. Three of the six school principals were diploma holders where the remaining half held a post secondary certificate of teaching.

4.3 Factors Limiting Pastoralist Children's Participation in Primary Education

Determinants of pastoralist children participation in primary education can broadly be classified into supply side and demand side factors. This section, thus, deals with both perspectives at large and examines each of the sub components pertaining to both supply and demand dimensions in further details. Primarily, this part of the study is concerned with seeking answers to the first objective of the study that is devoted to *exploring the underlying factors that interfere with pastoral children's access to primary education in the area under study*.

4.3.1 Supply side determinants

In reference to Kratli and Dyer (2009), the supply side determinants are sub-divided into four. The first one is problem of allocation of adequate financial resource. Staffing and training challenges are in the second place. Poorly equipped schools are other manifestations that determine pastoralist children schooling. Unfriendly perception of modern education by pastoralist communities is another perspective of the challenge in promoting pastoralist children's participation in primary education. The study also tried to assess the situation in Dasenech and Nyangatom in light of these perspectives. Findings from the field are presented in the following subsequent sections.

In the effort to identify commonly prevailing supply side determinants, educational professionals and officials were asked to rate the degree of their agreement or disagreement regarding intensity of supply side determinants in hindering children's access to education. Table 07 below summarizes responses obtained from participants through administration of questionnaire.

Table 07: Summary of Responses on Supply Side Determinants

Supply side factors	Rating Scale [N=60]									
	Strongly agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly disagree		No opinion	
	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%
Funding	48	80.0	12	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Staffing	46	76.7	14	23.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Training	48	80.0	12	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Equipment	50	83.3	10	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Legacy	52	86.7	8	13.3	-	-	-	-	-	-

Vividly observed from Table 07 above, all of the supply side factor (funding, staffing, training, equipment, and legacy) are considered to be the agreed upon determinants of educational participation of children from pastoralist communities in Dasenech and Nyangatom. All of the respondents, as it appears above, are of the same opinion with regard to the interference of supply side factors in limiting children’s access to education. The degree of their agreement, however, ranges between ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’.

The inquiry into supply side factors as determinants of educational participation of children from pastoralist communities under study was not concluded only by obtaining views of the professionals alone. More data were collected through the use of observation checklist, key informants interview, statistical records and illustrative pictures where appropriate. Further details are presented hereunder in subsequent sub-sections 4.2.1.1 (funding), 4.2.1.2 (staffing and training), 4.2.1.3.(equipment), and 4.2.1.4 (legacy).

4.3.1.1 Funding

This section of the study deals with matters related to the construction and maintenance of school facilities in the study locations. The primary concern here with this part of the study was to assess whether funding was among the barriers to set up and maintain standard school facilities in Dasenech and Nyangatom districts of South Omo administrative zone. Field level data discussed below are obtained through direct observation of the sample school facilities.

Funding, according to Krätli and Dyer (2009), refers to the cost that is required to construction and maintenance of schools in difficult to reach areas. School construction and maintenance in remote areas like Dasenech and Nyangatom primarily face problem of compromised quality mainly for scarce supply of the required industrial materials. Secondly, soaring transport costs due to undeveloped road access and long distance from centres of distribution sometimes dictates to resort to locally available resources. Despite the observable realities out there, however, quality school infrastructure has its own part to play in carrying out effective educational operations.

The relationship between quality of school infrastructure and an increase in enrolment and its subsequent effect on student retention has empirically been tested. For Colclough, Rose and Tembon (2000) poor school quality results in poor academic performance accompanied by high rate of grade repetition, high rate of dropout and low level of progression to higher levels. More practically, a study conducted on Ethiopian schools by Chaudhury, Christiaensen and Asadullah (2006, p. 18) unveils that “boys are fifteen percent more likely to be enrolled if the closest school has drinking water and they are seven percent more likely to be enrolled if the closest school has a toilet”.

Problems pertaining to low quality of school facilities are well noted by the Ethiopian ministry of education too. To this end, the ministry describes the situation as it was given less attention than it deserves. Beyond acknowledgement of the drawbacks in this regard, the MoE hints the direction to be pursued thereafter as saying the following.

One issue which needs more attention than in previous years is the low quality of school infrastructure, due to a strong reliance on low-cost constructions (mainly through community support). This may be one of the factors that explain the low completion rates and the low achievement. More attention will be given to the quality of facilities under ESDP IV. (MoE, 2010, pp. 10-11)

South Omo zone administration, being situated in far south-western border of the country, is one of the remotest locations. Jinka, the administrative capital of the zone is located at about 800 kilometres distance from Addis Ababa and over 500 kilometres away from the regional capital, Awassa. Though improving road access to the zone is among the priorities at present, it is still challenging to easily access some of the districts of South Omo. Road access to North Ari, Maale and Nyangatom districts are cases in point. The road from Jinka to Hannah, district capital of Salamago that covers only 120 kilometres was known to take days of tiresome travel, is now reduced to a few hours, due to the efforts underway to inaugurate the Omo-Kuraz Sugar Project.

Small and emerging town of Kangaten is a seat for council of Nyangaton woreda. Yet, road access to Kangaten is intercepted by the Omo basin, a point where vehicles stop to operate and transit is made by small open vessel sailing over the big river. This is a moment of real anxiety thinking of descending the gorge to go aboard the boat and ascending the rough and tough cliff following off board. Support from residents is crucial

to manage climbing the cliff up and entering the district capital located right there at the edge of the river basin. Otherwise, one has to choose to take a quadruple distance route through Surma woreda of the neighbouring Bench Maji zone.

Omorate is a capital of Dasenech woreda founded along with the Omo River upon which its survival is highly dependent. Though the town's establishment dates back to the Imperial rule, it appears to be a forgotten old village with almost no infrastructure and unpredictable public transport services.

Partly attributable to problem of road access that connects these woredas with the centre from where industrial materials are supplied, some of the sample schools visited were constructed mainly with locally available materials. It was also learnt that such schools lack proper maintenance and do not meet the standard set forth to the purpose that they are created for.

The Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional State Education Bureau has a manual that is supposed to guide quality of school facility construction across the region. In recognition of the young age of primary school children and corresponding care they deserve, the Bureau in its manual commends the necessity of suitability of learning environment. It also requires that locations of school building, the building itself and its furnishing need to be convenient and attractive enough for efficient teaching-learning activities (Bureau of Education-SNNPR, 2009).

Moreover, the guiding document specifies the extent as to what appearance the primary school premise should take. A lavishly recommendation made by the manual includes possession of adequate parking lot by each primary school. However, provision of clean drinking water facility, recreational and play grounds including enough space for

outdoor teachings and separate toilet for boys and girls (Bureau of Education-SNNPR, 2009) are minimum essentials to be sought after while planning for school place creation.

Checking whether there exists congruence between what is stated in the manual and the reality on the ground was among the intents of this study. Field level observation of six primary school facilities in the two sample woredas, to this end, has revealed a considerable variation between the specifications set out by the Bureau and the actual images of the schools as far as the quality of school facilities is concerned. Eventually, it was found out that all the six sample schools had no safe water supply right in their premise or even not in their close proximity. Safe and levelled play grounds were non-existent in five of the six schools visited. Kibish primary school of the Nyangatom district was an exception in this regard. The school has a well managed compound, fenced premise and relatively good playgrounds including a volleyball court.

School garden, for instance, is one of the mandatory requirements that a primary school should own (Bureau of Education-SNNPR, 2009, p. 4). Despite the claim made by the document, none of the sample schools had school garden. Yet school gardens according to World Food Program (WFP), are paths to children's study of nature, learn work habits, develop positive social attitudes and avenues for outdoor science and environmental education (WFP, 2008, p. 9). As stipulated by the WFP there are immense and far reaching academic, social environmental and personal benefits of school gardening. Among the major ascribed benefits are improving environmental attitude, using of gardening skills in the latter life of students in promoting better health and wellness, possibility of using gardening a source of nutrition and income generation and supporting inter-disciplinary education (WFP, 2008, pp. 9-10). This simply uncovers that how

deprived of these benefits are primary schools in the study area for not having school garden.

There were no first aid provision corners or first aid kit in schools despite the schools' claim of having "Red Cross Society Club" as one of the areas of extra-curricular engagements. Only one of the six sample schools (Kibish primary school in Nyangatom woreda) has a separate, well designed and properly managed toilet for boys and girls. Toilet places in the remaining sample schools were either substandard in their making altogether or dangerous for schoolchildren to make use of them. The following picture of a "toilet facility" found in Lokerlum primary school of Nyangatom woreda is an extreme case scenario of unjustifiable instances.

Figure 04: A Dangerous Dry Pit Latrine at Lokerlum Primary School in Nyangatom Woreda



When closely observed, the toilet facility presented above seemed to be abandoned by the children for its unambiguous dangerous appearance. As learnt from the interview session with students at Lokerlum primary school, the schoolchildren made it clear that they did not remember the day by which they visited their school toilet in recent times.

Thus, the children were left with no choice other than staying away from the toilet during the whole schooldays even when they were badly in need of such a service.

Lack of fund was an excuse articulated by school authorities for keeping a place of such hazardous consequence in the school premise as it appears with figure 04 above. But the argument seems to be less plausible for at least two practical reasons. In the first place, the facility was initially created by the use of locally available resources such as wood and grass. The labour input for digging up the pit hole does not require an advanced engineering skill. Therefore, it would have been a viable option to create another toilet place upon deterioration of the existing one. Secondly, the dangerous facility could have been sealed off in order to protect children from possible accident of slipping into the hole that contains all evils of human health. The later action may require a marginal effort when seen in contrast with constructing a substitute facility. Dust, scraps and some sort of soil could have been dumped into the hole that was no more serving its intended purpose for the sake of children's safety.

Besides being constructed in a substandard ways, some school facilities like classrooms in the study area were not properly managed to be healthy and convenient places for children's learning. A study tour to one of the primary schools in Dasenech district was a moment of dismay about the situation of classrooms. World Vision Primary School is one of the primary schools in Dasenech district. The school is located in the immediate outskirts of the district capital, Omorate. Of course, the facility initially has been built as a relief centre by a non-government agency that was operating in the area some years back. Teachers working in the school have no staff room, the passionate looking female principal has no proper office and children stay in a discouragingly unhygienic

compartment throughout the whole instructional period. The picture below (Figure 05) depicts a partial view of a classroom in the school under discussion.

Figure 05: A Partial View of a Classroom at World Vision Primary School, Dasenech Woreda



The compartment being used as a classroom, as clearly observed from the picture above, is made up of corrugated iron sheets both for roofing and wall making. The walls, in this case, are very hot during the dry season and very chilly otherwise. The sun rays coming directly to the room through the walls contribute to the already poor physical learning environment of children. The floor of the room is not cemented. The classroom has no doors. Animals like donkeys and goats take shelter in the rooms as the donkey dung and litter spreading across the floor of the classroom testifies the poor sanitation situation as physically observed during the field level data collection period. Well built standard

blocks of Kibish primary school, on the other hand, make the situation difficult to conclude that funding is the dominant setback of all the prevailing challenges of maintaining quality of school facilities in the pastoral districts under study.

Figure 06: One of the Standard Blocks at Kibish Primary School, Nyangatom Woreda



It is incontestable that the extent of resource availability sets a limit on the scope of expenditure both in terms of quality and quantity. Parsimony, however, does not necessarily subordinate quality to quantity other than setting priority among competing needs over meagre resources. Since priority is about making wise choice among the competing interests, the prioritized areas of intervention need to maintain the minimum

standard set forth. Figure 07 below exhibits a cage like structure regarded as the early childhood care centre in the premise of Lokerlum primary school in Nyangatom woreda. The initiative taken by the school leadership may deserve recognition for their thoughtful decision to run an early childhood care facility hand-in-hand with the conventional schooling. But appropriateness of this particular facility remains in question for it cannot meet a bare minimum standard to serve the needs of young children at all.

Figure 07: A Pre-school Facility at Lokerlum Primary School in Nyangatom woreda



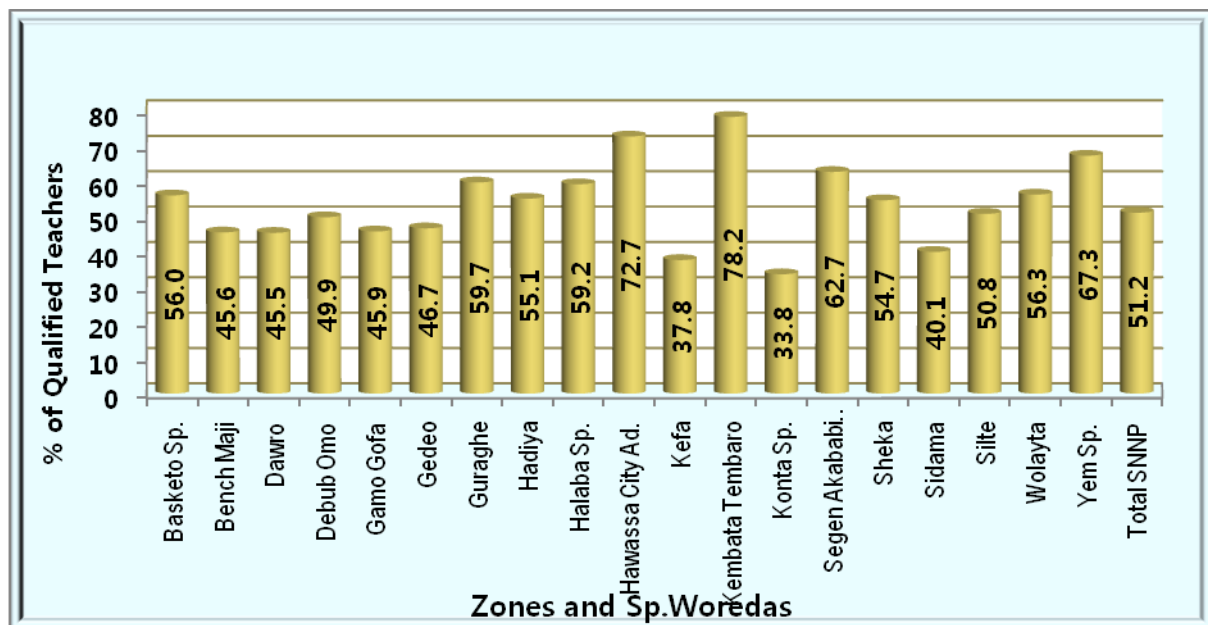
In sum, primary school facility provision and maintenance in Dasenech and Nyangatom woredas were characterized by both lack of fund on one hand and lack of proper management on the other. Some of the school facilities were poorly constructed with no consideration of criteria set out for site selection, quality and size requirements for service rendering spaces as specified in the school construction standards manual of the regional state. Moreover, at local level there seems to be a kind of tendency of getting things done by others (mainly by government) with little or no effort from the in-school and surrounding communities.

4.3.1.2 Staffing and training

Krätli and Dyer (2009) state that it is inherent to remote rural areas to secure and retain teachers at the teaching post. Trained teachers either refuse to accept the job offer to work in those far away hardship locations or resign shortly after employment. Even though trainings are provided and their capacity being built, according to these authors, teachers in pastoral areas do not hesitate to quit their job upon the first opportunity of securing job elsewhere.

Thus, this section deals with staffing and training aspects in the area under study with some reflections on the situation prevailing across the regional state for the reason of contrast. Figure 08 below depicts recent data on what proportion of incumbent primary school teachers are qualified to hold the teaching posts that they are exercising. The data summarize percentage of qualified primary school teachers against the entire primary school teacher population across zones and special districts in the regional state.

Figure 08: Proportion of Qualified Primary School Teachers in SNNPR (2012)



Source: SNNPR Education Bureau, Annual Education Statistics, 2012, p. 41

From figure 08 above, it is learnt that Kembata Tembaro zone (78.2), Awassa city (72.7) and Yem special woreda (67.3) stood first to third respectively in deploying a better number of qualified teaching force in the region. Konta special woreda (33.8%) and Kafa zone (37.8) are the last and second to the last in terms of having the lowest share of qualified teaching staff. South Omo zone (49.9) exhibits relatively closer to the regional average of 51.2%. This situation, however, calls for further scrutiny over the unit of analysis regarding qualified and less qualified primary school teachers. The term 'qualified' is not clearly defined to convey a clear meaning as far as its usage in this context is concerned. Details will be discussed while describing the issue of 'qualified versus under qualified' in the context of the pastoralist South Omo zone.

In the past, teachers for Ethiopian schools were trained at three different institutional arrangements. Teacher training institutes (TTIs) provide one year post secondary school certificate training. Teachers' colleges offer two-year courses that lead to diploma in teaching. It was the responsibility of universities to train teachers with Bachelor's degree and above. Teachers with certificate level of training were in charge of taking care of lower primary school instruction. Diploma holding teachers are supposed to teach in upper primary level whilst teachers with Bachelor's degree assigned to teach in secondary schools.

This classification, however, was not strictly applicable for the main reason of shortage in qualified teaching personnel. Very often, teachers with lower level of qualification assume instructional responsibility at higher levels where their pre-service trainings did not equip them well with both knowledge of the subject matter they teach and method of teaching as well. People with no formal teacher training courses also hold teaching posts although their proportion is diminishing at present. Nonetheless, Teacher Training Institutes those prepare teachers for primary schools are currently nonexistent. But large number of teachers with certificate level of qualification are still serving in the

system. The practice seems to be inconsistent with the current trend that demands teachers for primary schools to have college diploma while university degree is required to qualify to teach in secondary schools (GEQIP, 2008, p. 25).

In spite of the national framework of teachers' qualification, the SNNPR Education Bureau regards those teachers with certificate level of training in teaching as qualified professionals to teach in primary schools. This practice poses question of consistency between what is desired and what is actually on the ground. TTIs together with their mandate are no more functional now. The role played by the TTIs is currently taken over by Colleges of Teacher Education. Eligibility requirement to hold teaching post in primary schools is also changed to be college diploma as stipulated in the program document of General Education Quality Improvement (GEQIP). In this case, what the Bureau recognizes as 'qualified' may not prove the same so long as the existing standard is concerned.

Even if we accept the discrepancy regarding the application of the standard as it is, the situation in South Omo needs to be examined in a more detailed manner. The following table presents statistics regarding deployment of primary school teachers and their corresponding qualification profile across districts of South Omo. The statistical data were retrieved from an official regional publication in 2012.

Table 08: Primary School Teachers' Profile in South Omo (2011/12)

District	Sex	Teachers' Qualification Level				Total	% Qualified
		Below TTI	TTI	College Diploma	1 st Degree		
Bena Tsemay	M	-	48	27	1	154	36.36
	F	1	49	26	2		
Dasenech	M	-	26	5	-	55	16.36
	F	-	21	4	-		
Debub Ari	M	18	251	252	5	824	44.32
	F	4	186	108	-		
Hamer	M	1	34	21	2	107	30.84
	F	-	39	8	2		
Maale	M	30	72	225	-	409	63.32
	F	3	50	27	2		
Nyangatom	M	2	35	10	-	65	16.92
	F	-	17	1	-		
Salamago	M	1	40	35	10	108	53.70
	F	-	20	12	1		
Semen Ari	M	38	50	168	-	320	61.56
	F	12	23	29	-		
South Omo		48	930	1089	26	2093	53.27

Source: Extracted from SNNPR Education Bureau, Annual Education Statistics, 2012

As clearly observed from the Table 08 above, the agro-pastoralist districts of Maale (63.32%), Semen Ari (61.56%) and Salamago (53.70) were in a relative better off condition with regard to having good proportion of qualified teachers in their primary schools. The least proportion of qualified teachers was exhibited in predominantly pastoralist districts of Dasenech (16.36%) and Nyangatom (16.92%).

Education officials of the two districts have acknowledged the problem and also disclosed as to why and how the challenge is happening in their areas of respective jurisdiction regarding inability to attract and retain qualified and experienced teachers. Local authorities, during key informants' interview sessions, have identified three major challenges that they face in relation to teaching force deployment.

First, teachers with the required level of qualification and competency do rarely show interest to work in pastoral areas for they may have better employment opportunity in the localities of their preference for economic or social reasons. As underscored by education officials from the two districts, their districts were the least preferred locations by job applicants for teaching posts. Those of who join these pastoral districts, as it was learnt from the interviews, were those of who have exhausted their chance of employment in other better off areas due to stiff competition among large number of applicants for limited vacant teaching posts.

Secondly, authorities have underlined on teacher remuneration scheme as an interfering factor to attraction and retention of better quality workforce. The following remark made by a Nyangatom district education official explains seriousness of the problem as it appears and with probable pessimism into the time come as well.

We administer the same salary scale as applicable to Jinka (South Omo zone capital) or Awassa (Regional Capital) and even Addis Ababa. These urban areas are extremely different from ours in terms of economic, social, technological and infrastructural developments. So, why should a teacher sacrifice all of such privileges to work with us so long as he is going to be paid the same amount of salary irrespective of harshness of life here in Nyangatom? I am afraid; this may continue to be our major problem unless some sort of adjustment is to be introduced. (Nyangatom district education official, personal communication, January 12, 2012)

Thirdly, the education officials do not complain only about the shortage of teachers in a desired quality and quantity. High turnover of teachers upon gaining some

experience that enables them to aspire for a better employment opportunity is also branded as an unresolved setback. Findings of a recent study that was carried out to assess the status of primary school drop out across the region do substantiate the claims made by the local education officials. AiDE Consult (2013) describes that 95 percent of primary school teachers in South Omo were 35 years of age or below in 2012. Similarly, 95 percent of the teaching staff in this particular pastoralist zone was reported to have less than six years of experience in teaching. This scenario evidences the prevalence of high staff turnover where 95 percent of the primary school teaching posts were held by relatively young and junior teachers.

Teacher respondents also disclosed issues that bother them most in relation to their working conditions. They cited five main aspects of their frustration as: (1) Unfavourable community perception towards education; (2) critical scarcity in supply of goods and services and the concomitant rise in price; (3) lack of proper reward system as compensation to the hardship they bear due to working in a very remote part of the region, (4) problem of staff residence for teachers and (5) recurring inter ethnic conflict.

Pastoral communities, as noted by teachers, have not yet recognized education as a means through which they can tackle poverty. Rather they perceive it as time waster. They attach more value to their children's household labour contribution than the time devoted for schooling. Thus, they consider that as if it were their legitimate right to keep their offspring at home during the school days or taking children back home from school even while classes are in progress. Evidently, a teacher from Ocholoch primary school in Dasenech worda presents his experience as saying the following.

We teachers, in collaboration with the local administrative council, approach and encourage parents to send children to school. But community members usually show a kind of pseudo compliance that does not sustain any further. Irregular class attendance by enrollee children is one of the manifestations of lack of interest in education. Parents do not care about the class schedule and the school calendar as well. For instance, a father of three may allow one of his children to register in September and intermittently attend classes probably up until November or December. Afterwards, he pulls the formerly registered child out of school and brings a substitute. When teachers try to tell such parents that their act is unacceptable, parents grumble in a furious manner. The next day, neither the earlier registered child nor the substitute will come to school. While we pay home visits to sort out the problem, we may not get the family where it resided. The usual report that we receive is “the family has moved to another location and they are no more here”. (Teacher, Ocholoch Primary School, personal communication, January 7, 2012)

Referring to scarcity of goods and services which are among the basic necessities for human living, teachers describe the situation as very unpredictable and too costly to afford. Absence of intra district and inter districts road access, absence of hotel services other than some of those confined to the woreda capitals, critical shortage of water both for drinking and sanitation and ever souring price of goods were identified as seriously discouraging factors by teacher participants unanimously.

The issue of straight salary scale (setting same salary rate across the board without consideration of differences between better-off and hardship areas of teacher deployment) is also a deep concern of teachers as it is with the sample woreda education officials. It is true that teachers working in the two pastoralist districts are treated with the same rate of monthly payment with their counterpart deployed to a relatively better developed areas in the region or elsewhere in the country. Even though modest allowance payment scheme is introduced in Dasenech and Nyangatom, teacher respondents practically expressed their discontent with the amount of money being paid to them by the name of hardship allowance. The following statement made by one of the teacher respondents at Lokerlum primary school summarizes views held by teachers working in the study area with regard to insufficiency of the amount of hardship allowance. “The hardship is costing us multiple times greater than the hardship allowance we receive” (Teacher, Lokerlum primary school in Nyangatom, personal communication, January 9, 2012)

In fact, the regional government has subdivided the South Omo zone into three categories mainly on the basis of climatic features for the purpose of hardship allowance allocation. Accordingly, the predominantly agriculturalist districts of Maale, South Ari and North Ari are excluded from the allowance scheme payable to teachers in addition to their basic salary. Teachers working in the agro-pastoralist district of Bena-Tsemay are entitled with 15 percent of their salary to be paid as hardship allowance. The remaining four districts, namely, Dasenech, Hamer, Nyangatom and Salamago pay 20 percent hardship allowance for their teaching personnel. Despite provision of allowance, however, a kind of inverse relationship is observed between districts with allowance scheme and those without it in terms of acquisition of qualified teaching staff.

As indicated in Table 08 earlier, the proportion of qualified primary school teaching staff in South Omo zone was 53.27 percent in 2012. Yet, the non-allowance providing woredas such as Maale (63.32%) and Semen Ari (61.56%) had a proportion of qualified primary school teachers well above the zone level average. The situation in the woredas with allowance scheme followed a reverse trend except in Salamago which was reported to have 53.70 percent. The other two woredas, Bena-Tsemay (36.36%) and Hamer (30.84%) fell far below the zonal average with a sharp decline in Nyangatom (16.92%) and Dasenech (16.36%).

The findings presented above may necessitate us to closely examine strategies being pursued in deploying teachers to the remote locations like Dasenech and Nyangatom in particular. The nominal allocation of hardship allowance seems to be ineffective in attracting and retaining qualified teachers at least from the view point of teacher respondents and remarks made by woreda education officials.

Lack of staff residence for teachers was found to be another point of dissatisfaction, as learnt from the subsequent interview sessions with teachers. Teachers working in both Dasenech and Nyangatom woredas as a whole and those of who were assigned in rural schools specifically were very much concerned about having proper residence. “In townships you can find a house for rent” said a teacher from Lokerlum primary school in Nyangatom, “Look, we are working in a very remote rural village where we do not have easy access to anything else. No electricity, no water, no nearby market to purchase food, sanitary and other necessary items, and above all there is no proper house to reside in”.

Teachers were also worried of the security situation of their workplace. Teacher respondents said that any minor incidence of trespass from any side of the border sharing pastoralist groups may flare up into a wide range armed responses. Seeking for a hideout remains

the most important priority in such instances, as the respondents uncover. Beyond disrupting school operations, inter-ethnic conflicts pose credible security threat on teachers as is with the other inhabitants of the conflict corner.

Generally, teacher deployment to and retention in remote areas like Dasenech and Nyangatom require allocation of incentives that probably compensates the hardship they face. Carefully targeted allowance scheme that increases while the remoteness of the location increases and rural teacher housing (World Bank, 2008) are said to be important mechanisms to tackle teacher shortages. But retention of qualified primary school teachers was better in non-incentive paying districts than those of who have the scheme. Teacher respondents “token hardship allowance” was also found to be consistent with the World Bank’s assertion of “insignificant incentive scale and poor targeting” (World Bank, 2008:7) of locations for such incentives.

4.3.1.3 Equipment

The data regarding school equipment were obtained through direct observation using standard grids by focusing on extent of availability of key inputs to enhance children’s learning in the sample schools. Children do not like to stay in an unsafe and uninviting school environment for a day long and throughout a week for that grows to be very monotonous and depriving interest to learn. Parents on their side like to assess how safe the school environment is to serve the interests of their kids before they place them in such a facility. When parents lack confidence on school facilities and learning resources that positively respond to children’s learning needs, they either decide not to send the kids to school at all or pull them back from the school.

As for Kratli and Dyer (2009) problem of lack of necessary equipment refers to difficulties in providing adequate teaching and learning materials to remote pastoralist locations. This section of the study, therefore, deals with the question of availability of the required inputs for children’s learning at each sample school level in the districts under study. The findings are not encouraging ones. All important inputs were either in short of supply or non-existent at all. Table 09 below summarizes what is available and what is not during the particular period of field level data collection.

Table 09: Availability of Learning Inputs in Sample Schools

Items	Available		Inadequately available		Unavailable	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Textbooks	–	–	6	100	–	–
Teachers’ guides	–	–	6	100	–	–
Reference materials	–	–	6	100	–	–
Reading room/Library	–	–	–	–	6	100
Science kits	–	–	–	–	6	100
Student desks	–	–	6	100	–	–
Pedagogical centres	–	–	–	–	6	100
Mini-media equipment	–	–	6	100	–	–
Sport materials	–	–	6	100	–	–
School garden	–	–	–	–	6	100

Data presented in the table 09 above refer to the availability and adequacy of learning resources that contribute to the quality of education and of course increase retention power of schools. Textbooks are instrumental inputs to the classroom instruction in the school and self learning that takes place out of the school timetable. Teacher guides

are important references that assist teachers on as to how to deal with a particular lesson presented in the student's textbooks. Reference materials are helpful sources of curriculum enrichment. However, none of these essential learning inputs were found in a sufficient number in the sample primary schools visited. Pedagogical centres, library and science kit were not available in any of the sample primary schools. Mini media equipment, student desks and sport materials were reported to be available but inadequate.

4.3.1.4. Legacy

Pastoralist communities question the compatibility of modern education with their established way of life. As noted by Kratli and Dyer (2009) pastoralists' perceive formal schooling as tool for cultural assimilation policies and forced conversion of them to a sedentary life style. This perception was dominantly revealing itself during focus group discussions with parents and community leaders. A statement made by a pastoralist father whose daughter was a fourth grader during the data collection period was a typical example of fear of cultural assimilation resulting from expansion of education.

My daughter is now in grade four. She is doing well in her schooling as her teachers said. The problem is that the school here in our village does not have beyond grade four. I wish I could allow my daughter to proceed any further in her schooling. But I am afraid it won't be realized. If it were here in this school, I could allow the girl to learn to the highest possible level. Nevertheless, it is impossible for me to send her out of my sight to pursue her education at a far away school. Our community is a cohesive one. A Nyangatom man should not marry to a woman who is alien to his culture. In the mean time, we never allow our women to get married to men who do not belong to us. If I send my daughter to a far away school, thus, she may get tempted to liaise with an urban man or a

highlander. By the time they start dating, that is a point where our ancestral line ceases to exist. She may give birth, but her child never belongs to our community. This is no less than death for us. Our women have to marry to our men. So should do our men. Otherwise, we will extinct, our identity vanishes and our land will be inherited and inhabited by the strangers those of whom probably tracing affinity rather than consanguinity. This is the point, you see? (Community leader at Lokerlum primary school, personal communication, January 13, 2012)

Opinion of the above mentioned father has revealed beyond a concern by an individual. Community members contacted during the data collection, in one way or the other, have reflected their unfriendly feelings towards educating children. Though respondents cautiously tried to frame their responses in conformity to what authorities have taught them about usefulness of sending children to school, they were not as such appreciative of modern education in its entirety. One of the guide questions for focus group discussion sessions, for example, was “What benefit do you expect from educating your children?” Very frequently articulated statements in response to this question were:

- It is just to comply with instructions given to us from the government officials. They may arrest us if we do not obey their orders;
- We send children to school for they benefit from the school meal provision especially during food stress period;
- If educated, one may find job as a police officer whereby he obtains firearms free of charge. In return that person can give better protection to own family and relatives;

Resistance towards modern education by pastoralists in South Omo is usually manifested through either by not letting children to school from the very beginning or discouraging them to give it up as early as possible. Children have reported that as parents discriminate between school going and those children who stay at home. “Sometimes” said a schoolgirl contacted, “sometimes I argue with myself to decide to quit schooling. My mother is not happy that I go to school. She favours my sisters and brothers for not going to school with more portion of food for instance” (A fifth grader girl, Ocholoch primary school, personal communication, January 07/2012). The girl went on saying that there were times she may get insufficient food when going back home from school for other family members consume on all that available on the table and left her with a little or nothing to eat.

This kind of systematic discrimination made by parents between school going and home remaining offspring was reflected not only by children. Parents have also hinted on such a practice while discussing about the matter. A mother whose daughter has recently dropped out of school had narrated the situation as follows.

It is true, I have two daughters. When local authorities informed me to send the girls to a nearby school, I did not hesitate. But the older daughter of mine refused to go to school. She preferred to stay at home with me and accompanying me to the market place. Initially, the young one was interested to attend classes unlike her older sister. After sometime, however, a visible difference started to surface between the two girls. While the home remaining girl starts to appear more elegant, the school going one turned to lose her weight and complexion in the mean time. The older girl usually dresses well, cares for her hairstyle and tries to keep herself to be a better looking girl than her sister. Being persuaded by her sister’s situation,

thus, the other girl has also decided to discontinue her schooling. That's it. (A mother from Ocholoch Kebele, personal communication, January 7, 2012)

Of course, through making of the above statements, the mother tried to defend herself in showing her non-interference into the choices of her daughters. On the other side, she was trying to skillfully escaping responsibility. Since parents are the ones who usually shape the future of their children, this mother seemed to be not doing enough in this regard. At the same time, it is unfair to put all the blame on her for several and conceivable reasons. First, this mother was illiterate. It would be so difficult for a person to persuade others to experience a different world that he or she did not experience at all. Secondly, being born, brought up and living amid of communities who consider education as a threat to their long established traditions, fear of tacit social sanctions would also be there if one openly recognizes virtues of modern education. Thirdly, it is equally difficult to this woman to adamantly resist instructions given by the local authorities due to possible administrative punitive measures to follow. That is why the woman was swinging between conflicting views of the outward compliance and innermost defiance as learnt from an in-depth discussion with the said mother.

The deep-seated belief among pastoral communities of Dasenech and Nyangatom is that girls have to be docile wives while boys are branded to be venturesome defendants of their respective communities. Thus, fathers invest much on their sons to be diligent warriors than “wasting” their time pursuing modern education. The picture below (Figure 09) is of a boy from Bena Pastoralists whose name is called Wongala Muko, about 13 years of age, whom I talked to on my way from Nyangatom to Jinka (January 19, 2012, 11:00 Am).

Figure 09: A self-armed Pastoralist Boy Demonstrating with a Toy Machinegun



Wongala, in a seemingly well trained army officer style as posted as above, aspires to be a chief of herds' men. He has an emotional attachment with his homemade toy AK47 (popularly known as Kalashnikov) rifle. He proudly told me that his father has assisted him in making the toy machine gun. The boy is firstborn to his family. His role model is his father. The dad, as reported by the boy, teaches him as to how to disassemble and reassemble a gun and how to effectively aiming at a target. Alduba primary school is situated in just a few minutes walk from where I met Wongala and his father where two of them were tending cattle. The family's residence is even more closer to the school location than the grazing field.

By the time I met the boy and his father, the Monday classes were in progress at the nearby Alduba primary school. When asked about his impressions regarding his age

mates who were attending school, the boy was so relaxed in expressing his indifference as saying “they may play there, but I prefer to be here with my father and our cows”.

Muko, the father, has intervened in a moment while I was further trying to form rapport with the boy in asking him about his opinion of schooling. “Do you think that this boy is not learning while observing what I do?” This was an abrupt question forwarded by Muko. “Do not make a mistake” he continued with a tone that unveils his discontentment with my intention. “He is acquiring a great deal of wisdom about our real life situation even in a greater extent than your schools do. Do not I know what is being taught out there in school?” At that point in time, Muko seemed to have lost patience and pulled his son towards him in a gesture that marked an end of our discussion.

Though Muko was noticeably angry, his remarks reminded me what Kratli and Dyer noted about Rendille herders in northern Kenya citing Brigitte Kaufmann’s personal communication with the pastoralist elders. The statements were presented as follows.

You know how good we are at keeping camels. When we send our children to school they are taught how to farm coffee, but there is no coffee around here. As we make our living from camels, we would prefer our children in school to learn about camel management rather than coffee farming. (Kratli and Dyer, 2009, p. 62)

Short but powerful reaction by the pastoralist father expressed in an assertive manner seems to have far reaching implications with regard to hostile perception towards modern education. In the first place, the father did not allow his son to enroll in school even if the school facility is at an easy reach of the child. Secondly, as learnt from a brief conversation with the boy, he is effectively influenced to follow his father’s footsteps so long as his future aspiration is concerned. Thirdly, the boy was on apprenticeship that is

supposed to enable him to be a great warrior and leader of herds' men in his later age of adulthood. Fourthly, the father was firmly defending his position to keep his son out of school even in making a quick comparison between quality of transfer of knowledge through modern schooling and the traditional apprenticeship approach he pursues.

The latter statement probably reflects on perceived irresponsiveness of the existing curriculum to the felt needs of pastoral communities of the area. The pastoralist father was also trying to save us from making faulty conclusion that considers the out of school children as the ones who are out of all means of knowledge acquisition. He was rather advocating that his son was benefiting even better than the school going children do in terms of gaining knowledge. This is the point where we need to reexamine our primary education curricular contents in terms of responsiveness to the local needs so as to positively influence the pastoralists' perception towards modern education.

4.3.2 Demand side determinants

The discussion in the preceding section was about the supply side factors that interfere with pastoralist children's education. Under this section the emphasis lies on the demand side factors that limit enrolment and persistence of pastoralist children in education. The major demand side determinants were identified as dispersed settlement pattern, need for child labour, mobility, unpredictable disruption of services, gender preference in schooling, and liquidity.

However, dispersed settlement and the need for child labour are discussed under this section due to their pertinence to the first objective of the study. Mobility and unpredictable disruption of services are treated under the second objective that examines responsiveness of the existing approach to delivery of education to the needs and life style

of pastoralists. The issue pertaining to gender preference is treated under the third objective which is concerned with equality of opportunity between boys and girls.

Data to examine the demand side determinants were collected mainly by employing interview, questionnaire and observation checklist. The questionnaires were completed by teachers, education experts and officials. Though components of demand side determinants are distributed across the three objectives of the study, this section highlights the overall perception of education personnel regarding the demand side aspects in general. This general discussion will be followed by a detailed assessment of the effects of dispersed settlement and the need for child labour as impediments of children’s educational participation. The following table (Table 10 below) presents summary of responses regarding the degree of agreement of respondents over the demand side factors in determining children’s access to education in the areas under study.

Table 10: Summary of Responses on Demand Side Determinants

Demand Side Factors	Rating Scale [N=60]									
	Strongly agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly disagree		No opinion	
	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%
Mobility	54	90	6	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dispersed settlement	52	86.7	8	13.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unpredictable disruption of services	54	90	6	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
Child labour*	47	78.3	8	13.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gender preference for schooling	22	36.7	35	58.3	3	5.0	-	-	-	-
Parental illiteracy	52	86.7	8	13.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Liquidity	22	36.7	31	51.7	7	11.7	-	-	-	-

- Child labour* with 5 (8.3%) missing response

Table 10 above reveals that five of the seven demand side factors are unanimously rated by the participants as having detrimental effects on pastoralist children’s access to education of course with lightly varying range of response between ‘strongly agree’ and

‘agree’. Those factors that won consensus among the professionals are mobility, dispersed settlement pattern, unpredictable disruption of services, child labour (with 8.3% missing response), and parental illiteracy. Yet, gender preference to schooling and liquidity, even though agreed to have influence over children’s access to education by large majority of respondents (95% and 88.3% respectively), the remaining 5% and 11.7% of the respondents decided to disagree over the matter. As it has been surfaced during the key informants interview and focus group discussion sessions, the disagreements aired by the latter groups were not as strange as they may appear.

The disagreeing respondents rationalize their stance about gender preference for schooling in assertion of pastoralist parents’ lack of enthusiasm to send their sons to school as they do it with their daughters as well. The grounds of contention over this particular issue are treated in more details under subsequent sub-sections of 4.5.1, 4.5.2, and 4.5.3 that deal with prevalence of gender specific determinants, detrimental effect of bride-price, and peer pressure as an instrument of deterrence for school going respectively. The variation in responses about liquidity emerged from the practice of provision of stationeries and school meal in some food stressed locations by the government. These groups argue that the perception of pastoralists toward modern education is more influential than lack of resources to support their children’s education. However, the vast majority of participants (88.3 percent) underline on the pastoralists’ lack of wealth in the form of cash as one of the limiting factors of children’s participation in education.

Discussions about such dominant demand side determinants as mobility (sub-section 4.4.1), dispersed settlement pattern (sub-section 4.2.2.1), unpredictable disruption of services particularly due to conflict (sub-section 4.4.2), and the need for child labour (sub-section 4.2.2.2) are treated in a more detailed manner under their respective sub-

sections indicated herewith.

4.3.2.1 Dispersed settlement pattern

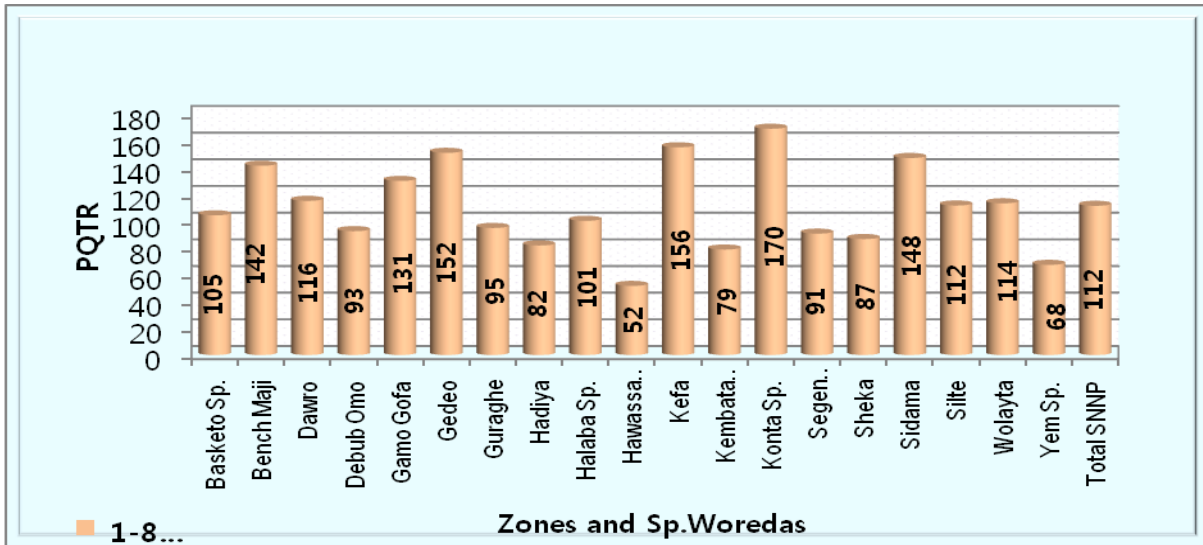
Owing to the nature of pastoralists' production system, their settlement is known for being dispersed when seen in contrast with the settlement patterns of the non-pastoralists. The living proof is that the Ethiopian pastoralists constitute about one-sixth of the country's population but occupy over sixty percent of the national territory. Out of the eight districts that constituted the South Omo zone, for example, the most populous and predominantly agricultural district of South Ari was inhabited by 212, 389 people. Yet, pastoralist districts of Dasenech and Nyangatom with no significant difference in land size with South Ari district have only 51,559 and 17,632 population size respectively (CSA, 2008). This evidences that how dispersedly settled are the pastoralists than their agro-pastoral counterparts.

Scattered settlement patterns always pose a significant challenge on the effort to create access to education to the communities settled in far away locations from each other. Finding a suitable location for conventional school construction in a manageable distance for children to travel between home and school is a tough task. Occurrence of underutilization of the hard earned educational resources manifests in such circumstances as schools obliged to operate under their optimal capacity in terms of teacher-pupil ratio, student- classroom ratio and seen in proportion to other inputs allocated to this end.

The situation in the study area has also been assessed in light of how educational resources are being put into use in the effort to serving the dispersedly settled communities. The two aspects examined in this regard were pupil-teacher and student to classroom ratios. The subsequent graphic representations show us the regional trend pertaining to the two

parameters under consideration.

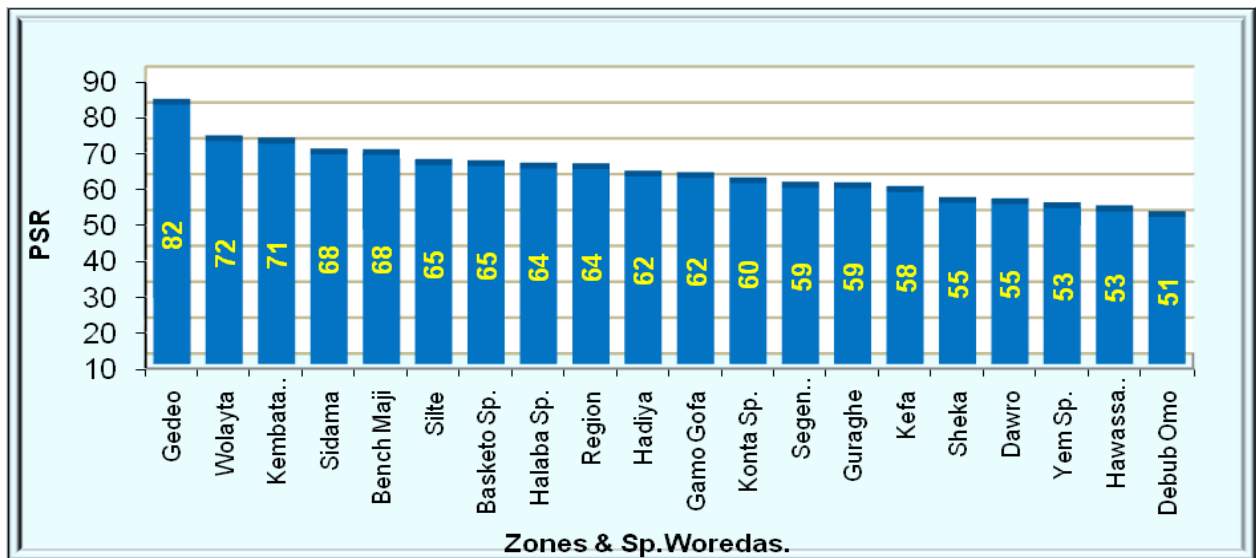
Figure 10: Primary School Pupil - Qualified Teacher Ratio in SNNPR (2012)



Source: SNNPR Education Bureau, Annual Education Statistics, 2012 P. 38

Figure 10 above reveals that the regional capital Hawassa has approached closer to the standard pupil-qualified teacher ratio of 1:52. Konta special district (1:170), Kefa (1:156) and Gedeo (1:152) zones were the ones whose teacher-pupil ratios triple times greater than the standard. South Omo was reported to have the ratio of one teacher to ninety-three students while the regional average was 1: 112. Having a kind of difficult to reconcile intra-regional variation in mind, let's look at another dimension of comparison, pupil-section ratio.

Figure 11: Primary School Pupil-Section Ratio in SNNPR (2012)



Source: SNNPR Education Bureau, Annual Education Statistics, 2012 p. 43

Referring to figures displayed on the graph right above, South Omo (locally referred to as Debub Omo) zone is portrayed to be a good looking one from other zones and special districts in the regional state. Fifty-one students in a given section is nearly an ideal class size for fifty students in a section is the standard set forth to the lower primary level (Bureau of Education-SNNPR, 2009). However, particulars in the sample districts were very much different from the reported official ratios both in terms of teacher-pupil and student-section proportions. The following table captures a midyear school level data from Lokerlum and Kibish Primary schools of Nyangatom district. The former is a primary school only with lower primary grades (grade 1-4) which was established in 2008. The latter teaches up to grade six. It is also known to be the oldest educational establishment in the district which was founded in 1972 during the Imperial reign.

Table 11: Resources under Utilization in Lokerlum and Kibish Primary Schools

Grade level	Lokerlum primary school						Kibish primary school					
	Enrolled			Attending ²			Enrolled			Attending		
	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both
1	11	11	22	2	7	9	9	7	16	3	4	7
2	20	6	26	1	7	8	18	1	19	9	-	9
3	6	6	12	5	-	5	14	2	16	10	1	11
4	6	-	6	6	-	6	5	3-	8	3	3	6
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	5	3	-	3
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	1	9	4	-	7
Total	43	23	66	14	14	28	58	15	73	32	8	40

Source: School level statistics obtained from office of the school principal, January 2012

To begin with, these two schools were known for low number of enrolment and highest level of attrition. For instance, out of 66 students registered in September 2012, only 28 of them were found active on the attendance. That means, 58 percent of students out of the total enrolment have abandoned the school even before sitting for the first semester examination. Similarly, there were 73 students in Kibish primary school at the beginning of the academic year 2012. The midyear retention report has indicated that only 40 students (about 55 percent) have retained in school. The rest 45 percent have

² The term “attending” does not necessarily mean that children were in school while data collection. There were no students actually attending classes during study tour to Lokerlum primary school for instance. The school operation was temporarily disrupted due to perceived security threat lingering around. Men participants of the focus group discussion session also came to the event armed and with high level of alert to respond to any hostile encounter. The first thing that they requested for was a shortest possible time to spare in such a gathering. Venue for the FGD was changed to be in open air than holding it in a classroom. This was to be able to scan vicinity of their village for any anticipated incursion.

abandoned the school within the first half of the academic year.

The problem of low enrolment and extremely high level of dropout does not stand on its own alone. It has a serious negative repercussion on resources utilization. Lokerlum primary school, for example, has five classrooms and six teaching staff including the school principal. Schools having five classrooms are supposed to accommodate an optimal size of student population that reaches to 250 children with some ascending or descending variations in number. Yet, the school had a total enrolment of 66 students in September 2012 and the number has reduced down to 28 students even before the end of first half of the academic year. In this case, this school has deployed one teacher in charge of teaching eleven children to the maximum or less than five students to the minimum. The average class size was also about thirteen students with regard to the initial enrolment and shrunk down to be less than six children in a given classroom.

Similarly, Kibish primary school had nine teachers, one principal and ten classrooms. The number of students who were registered at the beginning of the year was only seventy-three and 33 of them have dropped out before the first semester ends. In a school where 10 teaching personnel are assigned for instruction of only 40 children is excessively expensive to bear the cost. Thinking of ten classrooms and a teacher with only four students at an average in each of the classrooms is not a cost effective venture at all.

To make this point more clear, let's consider a simple arithmetic. Let's take monthly salary of a teacher as unit of analysis where other things kept constant. A diploma holding teacher earns basic monthly salary of Birr (a legal tender in Ethiopia) 1543. If a teacher that earns Birr 1543 going to teach the optimal class size of 50 children, per capita teacher salary to individual student becomes Birr 30.86. But it was 385.75 and 257.17 in

the cases of Kibish and Lokerlum schools respectively.

Teacher respondents have mainly attributed the scantiness of the school population to the dispersed settlement patterns of the pastoralists. Seasonal migration was cited as a principal cause for the rampant rate in school dropping out. In principle, a primary school age children need to travel a distance not more than two kilometers between home and school. But the reality in Dasenech and Nyangatom does not fit into this scale, from interviews conducted with the district education experts and officials. Besides being moving from place to place for several reasons, villages in these districts are situated in far away locations from each other. An average distance that ranges between 7-9 kilometers is a common length to be covered from one village to the other.

4.3.2.2 Child labour

The need for child labour is another determinant that intensifies the problem of dropout. When parents seek their children's contribution to the wellbeing of the family, either they do not send the children to school at all or call them back from the school in order to fulfil the household demand. It remains among prominent challenges to expanding access to education and retaining children in school as well. Sabates *et al.* (2010), identify that the need for child labour coupled with migration and poverty are salient determining factors of children's education.

The need for child labor is pervasive across pastoral communities in Dasenech and Nyangatom. Though differ in intensity, pastoral households highly regard labor contribution by both male and female children for survival of families. Pictures below illustrate the rampant need for child labour in the area under study.

Figure 12: Faces of Child Labour in South Omo



On the left above are two boys approximately between the ages of 8 to 10 years whom we contacted while tending cattle next to the Argo primary school compound during data gathering. Kept out of school even residing in a close proximity to the school facility is a true challenge that pastoral children do experience. On the right above are a mother, a young girl and a toddler. A young girl carrying a toddler is a typical indication of early involvement of a girl child in household labor. The pictures also signify that child labor is a common phenomenon among boys and girls irrespective of their age and physical strength that enable them to be held responsible for tasks they undertake.

As the scenario appears in the picture above, a mother and her two daughters were heading home from laundering at the river side³. A twenty-two year old mother of two said that she did not have any access to education neither during her childhood nor as an adult.

³ Rural residents in Ethiopia usually go to the nearby river side both for bathing and cleaning as well as fetching water for household consumption.

Rather she was made to get married at an early age of fifteen and gave birth to her first daughter a year later. The older girl was 6 during the field trip. Despite her age level, however, the young girl has already started sharing her mother's burden of household chores by taking care of a toddler sister. The mother's back was packed up with washed clothes. She carried a jerry can with water in her right hand while supporting the load on her back with her left. In such a case, therefore, a mother may have no choice to care for the toddler except putting the young girl in charge. By so doing, the mother seems not realize that her daughter's future is sacrificed and maternal illiteracy is perpetuated.

Further analysis of the situation has also revealed that family survival among pastoralists of Dasenech and Nyangatom is largely dependent up on tedious labour of their female members. All the female and male respondents by and large agreed on the prominence of females' labour for the wellbeing of each household. This kind of conclusion, on the other hand, has persuaded me to examine into the workload of wives in Dasenech and Nyangatom communities. Narration in the box hereunder is from in-depth discussions held with key informant community members and particular verification with housewives.

Table 12: A Day in the Life of a Wife in Dasenech and Nyangatom Communities

Activities to be performed	Time	Average time at work
Getting out of her bed	5:00 Am	
Washing up time (face and hands)	5:00-5:20	0:20
Fire place activity	5:20-5:50	0:30
Milking (morning)	5:50-6:35	0:45
Grain grinding for breakfast ⁴	6:35-7:20	0:45
Fetching water	7:20-8:00	0:40
Breakfast preparation	8:00-8:30	0:30
Serving breakfast to the family	8:30-9:00	0:30
Washing up dishes and cleaning the house	9:00-10:00	1:00
Feeding and looking after calves and other young animals	10:00-12:00	2:00
Lunch preparation	12:00-1:00Pm	1:00
Serving lunch	1:00-1:30	0:30
Seasonal on-farm activities (weeding, harvest, transport)	1:30-4:30	3:00
Firewood collection	4:30-5:30	1:00
Water fetching	5:30-6:30	1:00
Milking (evening)	6:30-7:00	0:30
Grinding grain for dinner	7:00-7:45	0:45
Dinner preparation	7:45-8:30	0:45
Serving dinner	8:30-9:00	0:30
Other routines <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kissing kids good night • Cleaning dishes • Checking condition of cattle • Make sure that door is closed tight 	9:00-10:30	1:30
Goes to bed	10:30Pm	

Source: Reconstructed from key informants' interview schedule

⁴ Both the Dasenech and Nyangatom communities usually depend on sorghum as their main food item. They prefer to keep stock of sorghum in its solid form than the flour which is more susceptible to high temperature of their locations and shortest shelf life thereof. Thus, women usually grind or sometimes pound only the amount barely exceeds a daily meal need for the household as learnt from residents.

Table 12 above reveals that how a day is tightly scheduled in the life of a woman in Dasenech and Nyangatom communities. A woman who rises out of her bed approximately at 5:00 Am goes back to sleep 10:30 Pm after 17 and half hours at extensive works that require a great deal of time and physical energy. The list does not include such activities as nursing and breastfeeding, market going, own and family sanitation and hygiene, as well as other social responsibilities like caring for elderly parents and looking after the sick. In this case, a woman has only about 6 hours to sleep and take rest. However, it seems a *blessing in disguise* that a mother finds her daughter in sharing the household labour burdens on the expense of school going.

It was also tried to examine gender specific social and economic roles of children among pastoral communities under study in order to learn more about the extent of labour contribution by boys and girls to their respective families. Findings of the focus group discussion sessions are summarized on the Table 13 below.

Table 13: Gender Based Division of Labour among Pastoralist Children

No	Activity	Responsible			No	Activity	Responsible		
		Girls	Boys	Both			Girls	Boys	Both
1	House cleaning	✓			10	Helping grand parents	✓		
2	Washing	✓			11	Representing mothers in social activities	✓		
3	Bed making	✓			12	Cooking	✓		
4	Chopping	✓			13	Baking	✓		
5	Table making	✓			14	Shopping			✓
6	Milking	✓			15	Grain grinding	✓		
7	Water fetching	✓			16	Cattle dung removing	✓		
8	Fire wood collection			✓	17	Spices blending	✓		
9	Caring for younger siblings	✓							

Point of justification on this kind of labour division, as learnt from the focus group discussions, rests on traditional stereotype. All of the focus group discussion participants were commonly conveying same conviction regarding strictly classified division of labour between masculine and feminine gender. For the overwhelming majority of the respondents it is a social taboo to observe a man or a boy dealing with activities that were conceived as sole responsibilities of women or girls. What surprises most in this regard is that it is not only men whom consider assuming women's domain of activities as socially unacceptable. Women also strongly discourage men's and boys' involvement into those roles traditionally designated to women. The following statements were furiously uttered by a woman asked about 'what if boys were in charge of such activities as milking, water fetching and cooking?'

This is not our culture to see a boy milking or fetching water. Such like activities are all left to women and girls. Do not forget that a girl is undergoing a hands-on training while handling such family matters. Otherwise, how would she be able to manage own household in her later matrimonial life? (A woman respondent at Ocholoch Kebele, personal communication, January 8, 2012)

Responses from school boys and girls interviewed during the field data collection were also consistent with that of responses given by the community members. Both girls and boys consider cooking, cleaning, milking, caring for/ tending younger sibling, grain pounding or grinding as cultural taboo if at all assumed by a person of masculine gender.

Let alone getting involved in women's duties, I do not entertain my brother to come into the kitchen. I do not want to see him being mocked by his peer groups for gender inappropriate involvement in household matters. As far as our tradition is concerned, no woman would be interested to marry such a man who cooks, brews or boils. I myself would never prefer to have such a husband in the future. (Six grader girl in Kibish primary school, personal communication, January 15, 2012)

What remains tough to recognize is neither children's involvement in household labour nor gender based division of such involvement. What strikes most is the amazing proportion of household labour between boys and girls. It is only two of the seventeen frequently mentioned household activities of children that were undertaken by boys. The remaining list of fifteen activities was regarded as exclusive responsibility of girls. That means, boys are accountable for only close to 12 percent of the household chores whilst girls were in charge of accomplishment of over 88 percent of the load. Thus, the need for

child labour among pastoral communities of South Omo is a significant impediment to pastoral children's education in general and that of the girls' schooling in particular.

Figure 13 below shows a few instances of females' routine household labour engagements among the pastoral communities of South Omo.

Figure 13: Aspects of Multiple Roles of Females among Dasenech Pastoralists



Photo courtesy: <http://1bp.blogspot.com>

On the left above is a girl carrying grass for cattle feed along with firewood for household energy consumption. On the right above is a girl performing one of her morning tasks, milking a cow. On the left in the second row is a mother grinding sorghum to feed her family. On the last column of the second row is a mother carrying her baby and a water container at the same time. This kind of demanding household labour engagement by females is one of the major determinants that hamper girls' access to and retention in education in the context of the study.

Moreover, multiple roles of females in pastoral communities are not limited to the time they spend their childhood with their parents. Rather the lives of their own household and that of their in-laws are also dependent upon women as housewives following their marriage too. This is the situation whereby intergenerational illiteracy proliferates among pastoral women for mothers desperately look for their daughters' labour contribution on the expense of girls' education.

Beyond examining into the demand and supply side determinants separately, attempt was made to look into the pre-eminence of one side over the other as well. Hence, Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test was employed to learn whether there is statistically significant difference between the demand and supply side factors in their intensity. The test was conducted with presumption of 'the influence of demand side determinants has the same magnitude as is with the supply side factors'. Tables 14 and 15 below present computed results of the Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test.

Table 14: Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test Statistic

Sign	Observations	Sum ranks	Expected
Positive	5	246	765
Negative	31	1284	765
Zero	24	300	300
All	60	1830	1830

Where:

nadjusted variance = 18452.50;

Adjustment ties = -193.63;

Adjustment for zeros= -1225.00;

Adjusted variance= 17033.88;

H₀: Supply=Demand;

$z = -3.977$;

Prob > |z| = 0.0001.

Table 15: Summarized Descriptive Statistics for Supply and Demand Side Factors

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std.Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
Supply	60	1.186667	.3605395	1	2
Demand	60	1.296032	.29613	1	2

Findings of the analysis (Tables 14 and 15 above) revealed that the computed z statistic of the Wilcoxon Signed Rank test is -3.977. This is statistically significant at 1 percent (α 0.001) showing that there is difference in intensity between demand and supply factors. As the descriptive statistics show, the mean of supply side factors (1.186667)

appears to be relatively more strongly agreed determinants than the mean of demand side factors (1.296032). This means that though there is a comparable magnitude of both demand and supply side problems in the area under study, the supply side setbacks were more pronounced by the participants. What prevails on the ground, however, is not as distinct as the statistical findings do. It is the demand side determinants that were very enthusiastically articulated during the focus group discussion sessions. The demand side determinants thus need to be addressed in the same vigor in order to tackle the whole ranges of challenges that limit pastoralist children's access to education in Dasenech and Nyangatom.

4.4 Responsiveness of the Existing Approach to the Pastoralists' Context

This section of the study deals with issues pertaining to compatibility of the existing approach to delivery of primary education to pastoralist communities of Dasenech and Nyangatom. The discussion in this particular section is guided by a research objective that examines responsiveness of the existing approaches to educational service delivery to the needs and contexts of pastoral communities under study. It is self evident that pastoralists are not permanently settled communities as agriculturalists do. They usually move from place to place in search for resources that support their lives and that of their herds. All movements from place to place, however, may not be concluded as peaceful as they are thought to be. Hence, this part of the study underscores on patterns of pastoral mobility and the concomitant conflict of interest that disrupt educational service delivery to pastoralist communities of Dasenech and Nyangatom.

4.4.1 Pastoral mobility and the conventional school setup

It is established fact that pastoralist communities move from one location to another in search for better availability of resources to support their living as well as to be able to protect and feed their most valued assets, livestock. Seasonal mobility is a shared practice among pastoralists in South Omo as is for pastoral communities across the nation. This section sheds light on patterns of seasonal mobility among the pastoralist communities under study.

Tracing seasonal mobility routes was done in order to identify places where pastoralists stay in during different seasons in a given year. The identification of these locations was carried out mainly to see the compatibility of the conventional school system to the life style of pastoralists in the study area. The sub-sections below present seasonal mobility routes and destinations of the Dasenech and Nyangatom pastoralist communities respectively.

4.4.1.1 Seasonal mobility routes of the Dasenech community

During rainy season which extends from mid-May through September, the Dasenech community usually settles back around river Omo bank where the annual agricultural activity takes place. Sorghum sowing is carried out between the end of October to the beginning of November each year. Sorghum is the staple food among most of the pastoralists in South Omo as noted by the respondents and confirmed through observation along Omo river bank where all agricultural activities are limited to production of sorghum. The period between January to mid-February marks the harvest season whereby members of each household kept busy in relation to on-farm engagements. Months of February, March and April are said to be very dry during which the Dasenech

pastoralists with their herds migrate to the downstream of Omo River where water and grass are supposed to be better available.

Dasenech is one of the eight districts that constitute the South Omo Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional State. Omorate is a district capital of Dasenech. Dasenech shares border with Hamer district in the North, Kenya in East and South and Nyangatom district in the West. Relatively speaking, the Dasenech people belong to a homogenous ethnic composition. Thus, there is no as such serious conflict between the members of the Dasenech community which goes beyond the traditional mediation of the elderly people in charge of maintaining social cohesion among members of the community.

4.4.1.2 Seasonal mobility routes of the Nyangatom community

Nyangatom represents both name of the dominant ethnic group settled in the district and the name of the district itself. Kangaten is a district capital of Nyangatom. This district shares international boundary with South Sudan in the west and Kenya in the south-west. Internally the district is bordered with Dasenech in south and east, Hamer in north-east, Salamago in the north and Bench Maji zone in the north western edge.

The Nyangatoms usually live in scattered temporary settlement villages elsewhere across the district under normal circumstances. These normal circumstances refer to the situation where there is no drought and strife. During the dry season that usually extends from end of December to May of each year the Nyangatom people move to the two important places called Tirga and Naita. The former is found in the north western border of the district. The later is in the Western part of the district that is situated along the borderline between Ethiopia and the South Sudan. These two locations are said to be safe

havens to the Nyangatom people during the dry season where scarcity of water and grazing reaches its peak. By and large they spend the period between end of December to first half of May around Tirga and Naita.

The Nyangatoms start to leave from Tirga and Naita areas during the second half of the month of May. This time, they make their return to their traditionally well defined land possessions along the Omo river bank, a location they refer to as “our lifeline”. Land preparation, sowing of Sorghum, weeding and harvest are the typical farming engagements of the Nyangatom pastoralists during the time that stretches from July to the first half of December.

There are also other two locations that the Nyangatom people very cautiously make arrangements to settle during a dry season. These places are the downhill areas of Mount Kuraz where the Nyangatoms share border with the Dasenech woreda and the vicinity of Lake Turkana where the Nyangatoms experience unfriendly times with fellow Kenyan pastoralists. Since these locations are very sensitive ones, decisions to move towards the area need a serious scrutiny of situations together with analysis of previous tracks of conflict and their respective ways of settlement. Where there exists any outstanding grievance that is not yet addressed only controlled and cautious movements into the area are allowed. In the case of this kind of limited access to these locations, it is only the able and armed people with their herds are allowed to be stationed there up until the dry season subsides. Women, children and the elderly people made must stay away from such contentious environs.

4.4.2 Conflict of interest as cause for school activity disruption

Pastoralist areas covered with this study are characterized by recurring conflicts of various nature. Competition over grazing land and water resources, confrontation over unsettled border matters, cattle raid and large scale investment activities were found to be the major sources of conflict that lead to instability and disruption of social service delivery including education. Details about conflict and its consequence are presented under subsequent sub-sections as follows.

4.4.2.1 Recurring conflict with neighbouring pastoralists

Conflict is a common encounter to the Dasenech community as learnt from conflict mapping exercise carried out in collaboration with members of the community. They usually enter into serious confrontations with almost all people sharing boundaries with them. The most commonly prevailing conflict is the one with the Turkana pastoralists of Kenya in south-west of the Dasenech district. Cattle raiding and robbery from either side are the main causes of hostility and unrest between the two neighbouring communities residing under two different flags.

North of the district is also a dispute corner. The cause of conflict in the northern part of the district, unlike the one with the Turkana tribe, is characterized by confrontation over land possession with the Hamar community. Locations called Narama and Fejej are the commonly cited areas of disagreement. Narama kebele is one of hotbeds of such recurring mutual distrust due to the unsettled boundary matters between the two communities (Dasenech and Hamar). Both sides claim ownership right over Narama, a location known for a good deal of grazing. An area called Fejej is another point over which the two communities enter into frequent clashes particularly during the dry season. Alike

the case of Narama, Fejej is a pastureland over which the two groups claim for possession. Since there is no clear and acceptable demarcation of boundary between these two communities, the likelihood of reappearance of same kind of disagreement is imminent as the situation on the ground indicates.

Circumstances observed during the data collection period have also witnessed that the standoff was there. Participants of the focus group discussion sessions have ascertained that they are ready to pay any sacrifice until the Hamer people stop to claim their land. To this end, the Dasenechs have pooled women, children and the elderly back into a new settlement area called Fejej II, which is situated about 20 kilometres distance into the mainland Dasenech from what they call “Fejej proper”. Meanwhile, the young and the able remained there in Fejej with their herds determined and armed to respond to any kind of provocative acts from the Hamer side, it was learnt.

The Dasenechs also have unresolved grudge with the neighbouring Nyangatom community with whom they share boundary in the West. During the data collection, it was learnt that the two communities are usually at odds with each other over a grazing land downhill of Kuraz Terara (Mount Kuraz). Though the area is a border point between the two districts (Dasenech and Nyangatom), both parties claim for sole possession of the grazing field there around. The situation looks so fragile to the extent of entailing armed response even with a mere incidence of crossing into the each others’ presumed borderline.

South-east of the Dasenech district is another frontier whereby the Dasenech community enters into conflict with Boran tribe of Kenya. Grazing areas called Allia, Derete and Lankaye are the reported causes of hostility. Killings and retaliatory killings coupled with periodic cattle raiding from either side seem to be familiar encounters along with this porous border between Ethiopia and Kenya.

The Nyangatom community enters into recurring dispute with Dasenechs due to cattle raiding and competition over water and grass resources. Cattle raiding, also alternatively named as cattle stealing or cattle rustling by Adan and Pkalya (2005), is the act of robbing herds that belong to a different social group other than one's own community. This practice is also frequently cited as a major cause for inter-ethnic conflicts. One of the questions during the focus group discussion sessions was whether the participants of the study recognize cattle raiding as a lawful act. The participants, all at once, nodded and murmured in affirmation of the following statements made by one of the focus group discussion participants during a session held at Kibish kebele.

Cattle raid is our tradition. Our fathers and fore fathers have done it. What is special with us to consider it as an unlawful practice? Is it not a means through which a poor young man secures heads of cattle to be able to pay for the bride price? If someone has enough number of his own cattle or his relatives are willing to contribute to his marriage payment, there is no need to go for raid. However, we must not forget that cattle raid is one of the options that one would consider at last. If you perceive cattle raid as wrong act, we are afraid, your decision may amount to declaring that the poor members of the Nyangatom community remain unmarried, have no children and die without leaving anyone behind. Do you like us to perish? (A community elder at Kibish kebele of Nyangatom district, personal

communication, January 14, 2012)

The above statements made by one member of the focus group and shared among the entire participants is partly in line with Mkutu's (n.d) remarks that consider cattle raiding as pastoralist tradition which traces its roots into distant pasts. Mburu (2001, p. 152) also further elaborates the purposes of cattle raiding as "a strategy for coping with natural disasters, political domination of neighbours through the monopoly of animal wealth, rite of passage for young warriors, and a means of regulating the quality of livestock".

In addition to the commonly prevailing reciprocal act of cattle raiding, the Nyangatoms clash with the Dasenech community over a grazing land downhill of Mount Kuraz particularly during the occurrence of extended dry season. In fact, both parties claim for exclusive possession of the area. Infrequent and small scale dispute is also there between the Nyangatom and Hamar Communities along the north eastern border of the Nyangatom district. Participants of the study have underlined that the main cause of conflict between these two communities are killings and retaliatory killings from both sides related to the act of cattle raiding and competition over water sources and rangeland.

Northern end of the district of Nyangatom is identified as an area of continuous uncertainty. Principally a locality called Kakuta, the kebele administration bordering with Bench Maji zone, is said to be a place of insecurity as articulated by the community representatives. Men from Surma tribe of Bench Maji zone and the Nyangatoms usually meet while hunting in the territory of the Omo National Park. Most often there happens reportedly unintentional killing which is attributed to a miss target shooting as indicated by the respondents. However, neither side tolerates this kind of none premeditated homicide

as so they say. Rather a vicious cycle of retribution killing continues from both sides either promptly or in any convenient time and place afterwards. This state of affairs leaves residents of that particular locality in a constant alert of emergency.

Nyangatoms are also very uncomfortable with the repulsive relationship that they have with the adjacent Kara community in the north eastern part of the district. Lokulan is a fertile farmland administratively demarcated into district of Nyangatom. The Karas, dwellers of Hamer district, however, insist on re-demarcation of the area into their territory and removal of members of the Nyangatom community from the said location. This kind of strained relationship periodically manifests itself through robbery, asset destruction, physical assault and murder at worst as underlined by respondents of the study.

Conflict tends to be a common place in the lives of the Nyangatom people. Practically, all of the movements made from the centre to peripheries in search for water and grazing during the dry season are characterized by rival acts and counteracts except the case of a movement towards Naita, a porous borderline between Ethiopia and the South Sudan. People in Naita usually welcome the Nyangatoms for the reason that they trace their origin into same ancestors as participants of the study have uncovered it.

4.4.2.2 Apprehension due to large scale investment interventions

Above all, it seems very plausible that the existing conflict situation in Dasenech and Nyangatom districts may follow an increasing trend than declining since the grazing areas continue to shrink. The shrinkage is not only due to an increase in human and animal population. Large scale commercial farms and mineral exploration activities are the emerging threats to the pastoral production system. Petroleum exploration activity in central Dasenech ultimately narrows down the size of the grazing land and strictly limits

pastoral access to the area.

Allocation of large size of land for agricultural investment is another area of unease as long as the issue of conflict of interest is concerned. For instance, Nebremus kebele is one of handful fertile locations in the Dasenech district. Pastoralists usually migrate to this area during the dry season. Ten thousand hectares of land in Nebremus has been leased to a foreign company (lease certificate number EIA-IP 19214/10). The said agreement remains in force for 25 years effective 01/08/2010 through its expiry on 30/07/2035. Shenkora kebele is known as a place of safety for pastoralists in Nyangatom particularly during the dry season. Nevertheless, 5000 hectares of land in Shenkora is leased out to a private investor for the duration of 25 years stretching from 09/04/2003 to 08/04/2028 Ethiopian calendar.

As it has been tried to make it clear in the foregoing discussion, pastoral mobility is neither an act of leisure nor travelling for pleasure. Rather, it is a permanent race with nature to ensure continued existence. The pastoralist production system, therefore, demands for enough space to stretch over during the time of need.

Expanding investment opportunities and undertaking large scale development projects are key indicators of economic success. Petroleum exploration in Dassenech and large scale commercial farm activities in both Desenech and Nyangatom can be taken as an integral part of the national development endeavours. But development initiatives of this kind may come up with the intended and unintended outcomes together. Thus, alternative mechanisms need to be thought about in mitigating the adverse effects of such an unintended outcome.

The investment activities mentioned above aggravate the problem of shrinkage of rangelands. The projects also put restrictions on pastoralists to have access to their most important and resourceful locations. It is clear that most of pastoral conflicts arise from competition over access and ownership of natural resources. Hence, how can peace be maintained between pastoralists and the investment operations taking place in pastoral settings unless their conflict of interest is constructively addressed?

Job creation is one of the major benefits of investment. Actually, investment stimulates the local economy for it opens up prospects for employment. But the employment opportunities are not unconditional. To begin with, a minimum level of education or training is required in order to qualify to join the labour market. Literacy, among others, is a decisive factor that determines employability.

In Ethiopia average adult illiteracy rate goes as high as 64% for both sexes. It is 50% among men and escalates to 77% among women (MoE, 2010). Adult illiteracy rate among pastoralists reveals another uncomfortable reality. According to UNESCO (2010) proportion of adults of age 17 to 22 with fewer than two years of education was estimated at 39% and 60% among men and women respectively. The average sharply rises to 85% and 88% among pastoralist men and women correspondingly.

At this point in time, we need to remind ourselves that we are living in a knowledge dependent world. Let alone aspiring to obtain a decent placement in the labour market, our everyday life situation demands attainment of “basic reading, writing and numeracy skills” (UNESCO, 2010, p.95). The question, therefore, is that “can the investment operations offer job opportunities for illiterate pastoralists in order to effectively address a conflict of interest arises between the investors and the indigenous

people”?

In conclusion, the Dasenech and Nyangatom pastoralist communities live under recurring conflict situations. Competition over scarce natural resources such as pastureland and water sources is the major cause of contention. Lack of clear inter-district boundary demarcation adds impetus to hostility in the area of the study. The traditional practice of cattle raid as a means of wealth transfer emerges to be another source of constant inter-ethnic tension. Large scale public and private investment undertakings in Dasenech and Nyangatom as discussed earlier are seen as both a blessing and curse at the same time. Naturally, investment projects are intended to bring about a long term development alternative.

However, investments in the two districts are becoming sources of conflict of interest for they compete for fertile locations which results in encroachment of the rangeland and ultimately threaten the pastoralist means of production. Hence, delivery of educational service in general and ensuring smooth operation of schools in particular become a difficult task where conflict prevails. Parents do not allow children to go to school and teachers evacuate places of such instability in feeling of insecurity as uncovered by participants of the study.

Seasonal migration in search for better-off locations during water stress periods is an inherent life style among the Dasenech and Nyangatom pastoralists. Thus, expanding access to education and ensuring children’s retention in schools through the use of conventional sedentary settlement pattern mainstream approach remains a challenging task as evident from the trend itself.

4.5 Ensuring Equal Opportunity for Boys and Girls

Referring to our earlier discussion under chapter two, girls represent one of the educationally disadvantaged groups across the globe. This section, therefore, presents findings of investigation aimed at learning whether there exists gender based discrimination in educational participation in the study context. The inquiry was guided by the third objective of the study that focuses on scrutinizing the situation of gender representation in education and operating practices to this end. Finally, the study found out that both pastoralist girls and boys were subject to socio-cultural determinants that severely limit their access to education and/or force them to dropout. Bride-price to girls and peer-pressure for boys were found to be serious challenges.

Data on gender equity matters were collected through the use of such multiple instruments as interview schedule, questionnaire, and focus group discussion. The questionnaire was designed and distributed to capture the views of teachers, school principals, education experts and officials about the case in point. The following section presents the education professionals' perception of gender specific determinants of pastoralist girls' participation in education.

4.5 1. Prevalence of gender specific determinants

A questionnaire containing five Likert scale with a list of 18 presupposed determinants of females' educational participation (adopted from Alemayehu, 2009) was presented to the educational professionals and officials at school, woreda and zone levels. Table 16 below presents summary of responses obtained through administration of questionnaire.

Table 16: Responses on Gender Specific Factors that Limit Girls' Access to Education

Suggested determinants	Rating Scale [N=60]									
	Strongly agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly disagree		No opinion	
	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%
Early marriage	-	-			53	88.3	7	11.7	-	-
Forced marriage	-	-	1	1.7	52	86.7	7	11.7	-	-
Fear of abduction	-	-	-	-	53	88.3	7	11.7	-	-
Exchange marriage	-	-	-	-	53	88.3	7	11.7	-	-
Need for marriage gift	60	100			-	-	-	-	-	-
Intensive engagement in household chores	41	68.3	17	28.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Need for child labour other than household chores	41	68.3	19	31.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Caring for younger siblings	38	63.3	22	36.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Boys preference by parents	13	21.7	39	65.0	8	13.3	-	-	-	-
Distance between home and school	9	15.0	48	80.0	3	5.0	-	-	-	-
Absence of separate and safe latrines for girls	16	26.7	44	73.3			-	-	-	-
Gender bias of teachers towards girls	3	5.0	-	-	56	93.3	1	1.7	-	-
Physical offence by boys	-	-	3	5.0	57	95.0	-	-	-	-
Sexual liaison with teachers	-	-	-	-	60	100	-	-	-	-
Sexual harassment by fellow students	-	-	-	-	60	100	-	-	-	-
Lack of female role model	60	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Text book portrayal of females in weak roles	-	-	-	-	60	100	-	-	-	-
Lack of awareness of the benefits of girls' education	60	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

As can be observed from table 16 above, need for marriage gift, lack of female role models, and lack of awareness about benefits of girls' education are the strongly and unanimously agreed upon determinants of girls' access to education by 100 percent of the respondents. On the contrary, 100 percent of the participants consider such school related factors as sexual liaison with teachers, sexual harassment by fellow students and textbooks portrayal of females in weak roles as having nothing to do with limiting girls' access to education according to responses provided. However, out of the four presupposed in-school factors only 'absence of separate and safe toilet facility for girls' is rated in full consensus of having a detrimental effect on females' education.

The summarized scores of responses clearly sorted out that early marriage, forced marriage, fear of abduction, and exchange marriage are rated as the none detrimental factors of girls' education within the response ranges of "disagree and strongly disagree" by 100 percent of the respondents. Unequivocally, the responses uncover that 100 percent of the participants do believe on prevalence of girls' intensive engagement in household chores, need for child labour other than for domestic service, and caring for younger siblings as factors that interfere with females' educational participation.

The remaining four suggested determinants are rated with varying views than homogeneity. To begin with, 21.7 percent and 65 percent of the respondents do strongly agree or agree respectively on parental preference of boys for schooling but 13.3 percent of the participants express their disagreement regarding gender preference for schooling. Ninety-five percent of the respondents recognize distance between home and school as determining factor of girls' education but five percent of the participants disagree with this

claim of the majority. On the other hand, 95 percent of the respondents do not agree with the idea of gender bias of teachers toward girls as a thwarting factor while the remaining five percent perceive it differently. Similarly, 95 percent of the respondents disagree on the claim of physical offence by boys as limiting factor of girls' participation in education with five percent of agreement.

Generally, responses given by professionals in the education sector are consistent with the views expressed by community members during the successive focus group discussion sessions. Ratings on the questionnaire also substantiate the dominant societal thoughts and practices prevailing in the study setting. For instance, such determinants as early marriage, forced marriage, fear of abduction and exchange marriage are not reported as impediments of girls' education both in Dasenech and Nyangatom. In both communities girls have a relative freedom to choose their future spouse on their own upon attaining maturity. In Dasenech and Nyangatom pre-marital sexual relationship is not as such prohibited. Chastity is no more a requirement to marriage too. However, the pre-marital dates under no circumstance result in having a love child, which is considered to be a curse to the young mother as well as a devastating loss of pride to the family. Furthermore, the girl's freedom of choice of her future husband is determined by the man's ability to pay a huge sum of marriage gift to parents of the bride (see sub-section 4.5.2). The package of marriage gift includes heads of cattle, firearm, clothes to both parents and optional others.

Abduction of a girl in both pastoralist communities is considered as a grave offence and characterized by a serious consequence that may lead to fierce retaliatory acts from the aggrieved on the perpetrator. The practice of exchange marriage is also not reported from either of the communities unlike the situation with other pastoralists such as Gumuz, where the one who has no sister or volunteering female relative for exchange may not find

a wife without difficulty (Alemayehu, 2005).

It is self evident that lack of awareness about benefits of education and the concomitant effect lack of female role models perpetuate pastoralist under representation in education in general and that of women in particular. The field level data collection process has also unveiled the massive level of illiteracy among respondents of this particular study. There were sixty-nine community members who have taken part in the study. However, 63 (91.3 percent) of them were illiterates. Only those of who accounted for less than seven percent have reported that they had some undeveloped level of literacy and numeracy attained through literacy campaign schemes in the past. If these communities were not in a position of aspiring for a better future through education, therefore, there would not be a contesting alternative than preparing girls for marriage, which is a lucrative means of acquiring wealth. That is why the need for bride-price stands as a prominent roadblock to girls' education in Dasenech and Nyangatom. Sub-section 4.5.2 below deals with issues pertaining to bride-price in the study context.

Need for child labour is also found to be one of dominant factors that contravene with females' education. Given women's heavy workload among pastoralist communities under study, desperate need for child labour for survival of the household becomes necessity in the eyes of parents. Issues pertaining to the need for child labour are addressed under sub-section 4.2.2.3 with contributions sought for from girls and gender based labour division among pastoralists under study.

From among several in-school factors that were supposed to place significant pressure on girls to quit their schooling 'absence of separate and safe toilet facility for girls' has won unanimous consensus across the participants with a little varying degree of

intensity (very strongly agree or agree). The response obtained from professionals in education sector is also consistent with remarks made by schoolchildren interviewed and facilities observed in the sample locations in relation to funding schools in Dasenech and Nyangatom (see sub-section 4.2.1.1).

4.5.2 Detrimental effect of bride-price

Marriage is believed to take place between parties interested to enter into wedlock on the basis of mutual consent. But not all marriages are consent based and free of payment in the form of marriage gift. Underage marriage, forced marriage including abduction and exchange marriage are some to mention with regard to marriage without consent of parties. Consent based marriages may not necessarily be free of payment. It is common among some communities to demand marriage gift before the wedding takes place. Marriage gifts can be presented in the form of cash, kind or both depending on the tradition of a particular community.

Marriage transfers differ in their identification based on the direction they come from. The two broad classifications in this regard are dowry and bride-price (also called bride-wealth). According to Anderson (2007), dowry stands for marriage transfers made from the family of the bride to that of the groom. Bride-price is a payment due to the bride's family from the groom's side.

In further analysis of aspects and purposes of bride-price, Ponzetti (2003) has to say the following.

Bride-price ... is a form of marriage payment in which the bride's group receives a payment of goods, money, or livestock to compensate for the loss of a woman's labour and the children she bears. ... Bride-price is not a payment for women, but rather is seen as a way of valuing the labour of women, the effort involved by the bride's family in raising the female, and the labor value of a woman's offspring. The payment is a way of securing the rights of the husband's group over the woman's children. (Ponzetti, 2003, p. 174)

Marriage payments, as presented above, have a range of purposes to serve other than being conceived as mere transfer of wealth from the one who is supposed to pay and the other who receives. Particularly, bride-price gives due regard to the labour of a woman before valuing the woman herself. By the time they made request for bride-price, parents were also claiming back expenses incurred while raising a female leaving aside parental responsibility to cater the needs of their offspring. More bitterly, a woman bears a price tag not only for what she is going to contribute for the betterment of life at her new destination. But it is also in anticipation of labour input from her unborn baby as well.

The situation of girls in Dasenech and Nyangatom reveals same experience as far as the need for bride-price is concerned. In the first place, polygamy is a socially recognized act among men of Dasenech or Nyangatom communities. A man can have more than one wife so long as he is capable of paying the bride-price for a girl of his desire. At the same time it is unlikely for a poor man to get married for lack of asset to spare for bride-price unless friends and relative raise the required amount or he raids cattle from the

neighbouring pastoral communities other than his own tribe.

As learnt from series of focus group discussions held, pastoral parents in Dasenech and Nyangatom show reluctance toward girls' schooling for they consider it as an investment with no return. Uneducated but properly brought up girl brings wealth to the family without incurring additional cost for education. The fact that these parents believe bride-price is a means through which wealth is transferred from one family to the other; they rate it as a venture having significant economic and social importance than education. Thus, a girl has to be home-trained to be a good wife than going to school from where she may acquire what parents fear of culture inappropriate behaviours including sexual liaison with people alien to pastoralist way of life and those who may not have heads of cattle to pay for the bride-price.

Bride-price was also cited as profound cause of low female enrolment and high dropping out in the area under study. Interest in bride price was one of the roadblocks of girls' access to and persistence in education while older boys were made quit schooling in view to safeguarding their family and community interests at large.

It was learnt from the successive focus group discussion sessions and interviews the amount to be paid as bride-price among the pastoralist communities of Dasenech and Nyangatom amounts to a huge sum of resources. Varieties of things are sought for a marriage payment. Honey, grain, cattle and machinegun are the most widely presented items from the groom's side to the bride's family. With regard to honey and grain the amount varies and there is no clearly set out amount to be strictly enforced. These farm products are usually supposed to serve symbolic value than economic gain. However, a minimum of 24 and maximum of 38 heads of cattle and one AK-47 (Kalashnikov) rifle are

none negotiable payments as a bride-price among pastoralists of Dasenech and Nyangatom. Of course, an average principal bride-price payment among the Nuer pastoralists in the neighbouring Gambella regional state is estimated at 25 heads of cattle (Seifu, 2011:16).

It is not all families that are entitled to this kind of bonanza marriage gifts. A girl has to be brought up in a good manner with all household skills and has to have good track record of decent behaviour to be able to get chosen for a better offer. Feminine decency may not necessarily mean that a girl has to keep her chastity until the day of her marriage. Pre-marital sex is not considered as such a wrong act both with the Dasenech and Nyangatom people. But bearing child out of wedlock is very unfortunate of girls.

A young mother with lovechild is subjected to severe maltreatment within her family and receives same from the entire neighbourhood as well. No one also dares to marry to a female who gave birth to a child without formally get married. Even if there is a chance to such a female to get married, she may look for a poor man who cannot afford not only to pay the bride-price but also have no sufficient resource base to support his family's living. This situation is conceived to be a big embarrassment to parents and relatives of a girl whose fate is twisted by such a social mishap. Therefore, parents become suspicious of girls' schooling for it provides opportunity for adolescent boys and girls to spend much time together that might lead them to get attracted to each other, tempted and ultimately indulged into what pastoral parents call "cheap dating". "Cheap dating", as uncovered by participants of the focus group discussion sessions, is a dating that results in unintended and indecent outcome such as ending up being a single parent.

I had to further discuss the issue of pastoral girls' education and the underlying community perception with former parliamentarian who is currently recognized as an

influential community leader. His statements were also consistent with the popular community views unveiled during the focus group discussions. Following are the final remarks made by the community leader in response to my question about community attitude regarding girls' education.

We pastoralists enjoy having both sons and daughters. Boys are agents of our security and potential leaders upon whom responsibility of ensuring peace resides. Girls are our treasures. We consider girls as a signed on cheque with maturity date is stamped on it and ready for transaction. Who is going to disregard to possess a cheque with much amount of money? That is why we care for our daughters. They catch eyes of everyone like the precious stones do. We need not allow all to grab our wealth. School going increases the vulnerability of girls to take the unwanted direction in their life. We always have fear of putting grass and fire together while sending girls to school to study with male teachers and students. Sooner or later, the grass catches fire and gets consumed off. No one of us is willing to lose bride-price due to inappropriate conduct of his daughter. Mind you, I have paid a very big proportion of my asset by the time I got married to my wife. My prior bride-price has to be replenished via the amount to be paid on my daughter. Mere recovery of my earlier expense is not enough on its own. Being a father of boys, I am also obliged to pay for my sons' marriage too. Where from can I bring marriage payments for my sons unless I receive it from my in-laws? (Former parliamentarian from Hailwuha kebele of Salamago district, personal communication, January 24, 2012)

These remarks made by a former parliamentarian have a far reaching negative implication over the efforts to expand education among pastoralists in South Omo. The

statements are profoundly against the policy direction being adopted by the government. The view, as it rightly appears, sounds so shattering while heard from a person who held a supreme policy making position in the house of people's representatives. Moreover, this mindset has a spill-over effect unto the larger community for members of parliament are more visible public figures at least in their respective constituencies. The widespread depressing attitude towards girls' education may get impetus from such conviction that considers girls as nothing but objects of wealth transfer.

To borrow their own phrase, parents are very anxious of sending their daughters to school in fear of "cheap dating". This kind of dating is feared for the major reason that it contravenes with parental expectation of attractive bride-price. Bride-price serves multiple purposes including increasing the bride's family wealth, offsets parental marriage payment being paid even before the bride was born and subsidises marriage payments to be made by brothers of the bride. Hence pastoral parents in Dasenech and Nyangatom always like to keep their eyes on their daughters in order to be able to control their behaviour. Thus schools have not yet won recognition by pastoral parents as places of positively shaping the future of girls in the area under study.

4.5.3 Peer pressure as an instrument of deterrence for school going

Pastoralists in Dasenech and Nyangatom use various mechanisms to discourage boys from school going. These mechanisms can roughly be classified into persuasive or punitive forms. The initiative to employ either of these two approaches solely rests with parents. Execution of the strategies, however, subjected to two separate entities namely, parents and fellow older boys in the community.

Parents are at the very forefront of shaping children's perception to consider education as none value adding exercise in the lives of pastoralists. They follow different approaches to this end as learnt from interviews conducted with the out of school and in-school children alike. Primarily, parents persuade adolescent boys to boycott classes by a means of promising a better entitlement to goats and cattle. This is mainly done in view to make a boy busy by taking care of his possession that is closely linked with a change in the boy's prestige. Knowing that cattle ownership symbolizes commanding social reputation, parents systematically use such an offer to boys in influencing them to abandon schooling.

The second persuasive strategy being used by parents is involving a boy in decision making and expanding his sphere of responsibility in familial matters. Such an increase in responsibility usually stimulates a boy to aspire for more autonomy and self-assurance in the move to ascertain self-efficacy and proof of social worth. Lobbying made through relatives and friends about worthlessness of school going during one's youth hood is the third persuasive strategy that parents follow in order to get older boys quit education.

The punitive measure is the one that is taken by fellow youth to deter an older boy from pursuing education. The approach involves serving a boy with initial strong warning and blackmailing followed by physical assault whereby the warning is not positively responded to. This practice is known as *Kabana* both among pastoralist communities of Dasenech and Nyangatom. *Kabana* refers to a self-appointed youth group that penalizes the grown up boys for attending school. For *Kabanas* school going after adolescent age is a wasteful practice. Rather boys of this age need to assist their fathers and simultaneously learn from them the way as to how they become effective pastoralists in their adulthood.

In addition to household responsibilities, pastoralist boys are also supposed to be defenders of the interests of their respective communities particularly during the time of conflict. A *Kabana* leader whom I met at the delta of river Omo has to say the following in firmly denouncing benefit of schooling; “If educated, boys will migrate to urban settings in search for jobs. If that is to happen, we will be left helpless and unable to defend ourselves from enemies. Jungles are best places for us to learn what we need most than spending days stranded between walls”.

It is common that peer groups influence choices and behavior of an individual towards good or bad direction. The *kabanas* usually go off the limit of influencing in their prohibitive acts of boys’ schooling. *Kabanas* organize themselves in a group of five to eight youth members. If the group believes that a certain older boy is attending school (which the *Kabanas* regard it as age inappropriate act) or a certain father complains about his son’s school going, the case for intervention is said to be well established. Thus, group members carrying light sticks march towards the said boy and abduct him off-road location. There, they warn him not to go to school anymore and tell him the grieve consequences of probable failure in observing their instruction. If the boy defiantly persists to attend classes, severe penalty awaits him ahead. Same group with intense anger will come to the boy and flog him with sticks prepared to this very purpose. Older boys, therefore, obey an instruction given by members of their peer group in fear of flogging and the resultant slander. The one who is beaten by the *Kabana* group also ostracized as a coward and disgraced person.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER ACTION

5.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this study was to examine impediments of pastoralist children's access to primary education and their retention in the school system among the Dasenech and Nyangatom communities in South Omo. The following three research questions were formulated to guide the whole exercise of the study.

1. What characterizes the educational service delivery to the pastoral communities of Dasenech and Nyangatom in light of ensuring children's access to and retention in primary education?
2. How successful are the existing educational intervention strategies in responding to the living situation of the Dasenech and Nyangatom communities of South Omo?
3. What community perceptions underlie the practice of equal opportunity provision in education between male and female children among pastoralists in Dasenech and Nyangatom woredas of South Omo?

Furthermore, the study was undertaken in order to attain the following specific objectives. (1) To explore into the underlying factors that interfere with pastoral children's school enrolment and retention in Dasenech and Nyangatom districts in South Omo with particular emphasis on demand and supply side determinants. (2) To examine compatibility of the existing approaches to educational service delivery to the needs and contexts of the pastoral communities in Dasenech and Nyangatom districts in South Omo (3) To scrutinize how equitable is the practice of primary education participation in terms

of ensuring gender equality in the pastoralist districts of Dasenech and Nyangatom of South Omo

The study was primarily designed to grasp peculiarity of practices in the pastoralists' context as applies to children's education. Understanding the underlying factors that interfere with children's education involves an in-depth inquiry into the societal practices, values and norms. Thus, qualitative research design is employed in order to be able to better understand the situation and make meaning out of it. The determinants were also examined from various perspectives to in pursuit to reach at the desired end.

Multiple stakeholders including students, parents, school teachers, education officials, community leaders, and school principals were involved in the study to come up with the dominant factors that limit children's access to education from the viewpoint of all stakeholders.

Data have been collected from parents, students, teachers, school principals, parent-teacher association members, community representatives and education authorities at Kebele, Woreda, and Zone levels using questionnaire, interview, focus group discussion and observation checklist as details were outlined under the instruments section of chapter three.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Ethiopia has been working to attain the Millennium Development Goals in education ever since its ratification. Owing to the national framework of universal primary education, comparable exertions are underway in SNNPR to achieve same end. Considerable outcomes are also exhibited in this regard. Despite the success stories, however, the regional state does not introduce a workable strategy which recognizes particular context of pastoralist communities until the time of this study.

Though efforts exerted by the education bureau and its partners have brought about noteworthy accomplishments in expanding access to education, the race towards bringing all school age children on board and retaining them in school is at its very infant stage especially among pastoralist communities of Dasenech and Nyangatom in South Omo. Primary school enrolment in these districts is found to be the least in the region. Despite the low enrolment rate, these districts are known for high rate of primary school dropping out and very low survival rates to grades five and eight. Schools in these districts lack attracting as many children as they were supposed to serve.

The study identified both supply and demand side constraints to enrol and retain pastoral children in schools among pastoralists of Dasenech and Nyangatom. Problem of funding, staff shortage and lack of teaching personnel retention, ill-equipped schools and community perception of modern education as a threat to pastoralist way of life were the main supply related shortcomings. Major demand side limitations were unveiled as dispersed settlement patterns, high demand for child labour, bride-price and peer pressure.

As observed from the prevailing situation in the sample locations visited, schools lack such necessary things as water, toilet, proper playground, protected school premises, desks, textbooks and other amenities. Substandard school buildings were also the ones to be noted in this regard. Problem of attracting and retaining well qualified teaching force was also attributed to hardship due to a very hot weather condition and lack of infrastructural development across the study locations. Parental perception of modern education as antagonistic to the pastoral tradition is noted as one of the hurdles that need to be systematically addressed.

Dispersed settlement pattern being one of the key demand side disabling factors forced school facilities to get much underutilized. The findings indicated that the need for child labour is another interfering factor that prohibits pastoral children's schooling. As learnt from realities on the ground the household workload overburdens girls than boys both among Dasenech and Nyangatom communities. In either of the cases, however, children remain not enrolled at all or forced to dropout due to the need for their labour contribution to their respective households.

Bride-price and peer pressure were also pointed out as gender specific challenges thwart girls' and boys' education respectively. Girls are usually denied access to education in anticipated fear of sexual misconduct that possibly leaves the family of a girl at loss of a plentiful marriage payment from the groom's side. Older boys, on the other hand, are urged to abandon school going by fellow boys whom receive instruction from the community at large and from the boy's parents in particular. The ultimate mission of the boys is discouraging the boy not to pursue modern education which they perceive irrelevant to their way of living.

Furthermore, seasonal mobility and recurring conflicts have known as endemic causes of scanty enrolment and early school leaving among the pastoralist population in Dasenech and Nyangatom. The study has revealed that pastoralists residing in the study areas are generally living in uncertainty and with a constant alert to respond to any upcoming conflict. Competition over water and pastureland, cattle raid and retaliatory killings were found to be the three major causes of conflict across the two pastoralist districts. Drought is a driving force for mobility in search for safer place for both human population and herds. This kind of movement pays lesser attention to restrictive political boundaries. Availability of resources dictates the direction to take. There appears conflict to happen unless a kind of traceable kinship between the migrating group and the host community is well acknowledged such as the case of Naita community in South Sudan and the Nyangatoms from Ethiopia.

Pastoralists in both districts proudly speak of their acts of cattle raid. To them, it is a normal course of action. Rather what they are much concerned about is the time and the manner of executing a successful operation of cattle raid. Though it is clear to the actors of raiding that there would be armed responses from pastoralists on the other side, there is no sign of giving it up.

Mobility and conflict affect school attendance in multiple ways in Dasenech and Nyangatom. Where there is a shortage of water, parents do not let children to school even before they decide to migrate. By the time migration tending to be unavoidable option, thinking about schooling remains so trivial. By the time local communities within the catchments of a particular school setup decide to move to another location, the formal education system proves its irrelevance to serve the purpose it is meant for and school closure follows. Where there is conflict, older male children abandon schooling and turn

to be combatants either on request from community leaders or obey the traditional norm that requires them to play a central role in responding to conflict situations.

5.3 Conclusion

It is now close to two decades since Ethiopia has adopted the existing education and training policy. Of course, a number of developments have been recorded during the past nineteen years. Increases in school places and corresponding leaps in school enrolment across the nation are worth mentioning achievements, among others, in an attempt to universalize primary education. However, education in the pastoralist areas persists to be unconquered till present. Though significant improvements are well underway in recent years, the situation in pastoralist locations seems to call for more attention and thinking and acting differently than the way things have been done in the past.

Problems related to pastoralist children's education should not be conceived as linear in their nature. Rather the challenges take intricate manifestations which can be better addressed only through integrated and innovative remedies. Assessment of the magnitude of the problem in customary ways and devising the traditional mechanisms may miss the real cause of pastoral under representation in education.

The first step to ensuring participation in education among pastoralists in Dasenech and Nyangatom to its highest possible level is adopting strategies that fit into the realities in the context of beneficiaries residing right there. Life in pastoralist communities does not necessarily mean as same as the practice out there with non-pastoralists. Thus, the regional government has to look for an alternative strategy that caters for pastoral children's context and interest. The school organization, teacher remuneration scheme,

school calendar and mode of delivery have to be tested for responsiveness to the pastoral circumstances. The effectiveness of conventional schools for unconventional settlement pattern of pastoral communities needs to be carefully re-examined.

Expanding access to education in the pastoralist districts of Dasenech and Nyangatom requires much more to do with conflict management and mitigation strategy in view to controlling disruptions of school operations due to recurring conflicts with neighbouring fellow pastoralists. Most of the conflicts arise from competition over such resource as water and pastureland. Moreover, absence of clear demarcation of inter-district boundaries is an outstanding task to be dealt with in minimizing causes of conflict. Cattle raid is considered as legitimate and lawful act among pastoralists in Dasenech and Nyangatom. Deaths during raid and revenge raid are also accepted as just a way of life. This situation necessitates always staying ready for offence or defence. Thus, older boys are required to undergo apprenticeship to be brave warriors than going to school. That is why the issue of developing a comprehensive strategy remains mandatory in order to be able to tackle problems that contravene pastoral children's participation and persistence in education.

Large scale investments in pastoralist areas are also posing threat to pastoral way of living. Investments by nature entail encroachment of the rangelands that are essential for pastoralists and their important asset, herds. More critically, some agricultural investments in Dasenech and Nyangatom are snatching away the fertile pastoralists' hideout areas during drought and food stress periods. Thus harmonisation of some sort is to be instituted to reconcile conflict of interest between the indigenous people and the investors needs to be high on the agenda. Such integration of interests is so important for neither of the parties would be beneficial only by being enveloped into their own interests

alone. Investment activities taking place in the pastoralist areas, therefore, need to be accompanied by some packages of mutual benefit to the investor and the local people so as to ensure mutual trust between both parties as a means to alleviate conflict of interest. Investments have to prove their worth to people of the area through opening up opportunities other than being perceived as threats and invaders.

Pastoralists' perception of modern education perhaps is the most challenging and of immense importance to overturn the persisting legacy of educational marginalization among Dasenech and Nyangatom communities. Since parents are the principal decision makers in the household affairs, it is unlikely for younger children to decide on their own over matters that seek parental consent. Hence, co-opting influential community leaders to campaign for education may lead to the desired end together with setting school calendar fit into the household need for child labour.

5.4 Implications for further Action

Exploring into the prevailing determinants of primary school participation among pastoral children in Dasenech and Nyangatom districts was the central purpose of this study. Besides shedding light on disabling factors, the study was supposed to suggesting viable remedies to the identified challenges. Following are some important areas of consideration for future action in view of averting problems of children's access to and retention in primary education in the area under study. The intervention areas are identified and organized in such three dimensions as policy, practical and research applicability.

5.4.1 Areas of policy intervention

i. Addressing both the demand and supply side determinants: Pastoralist children's under representation in education deeply rooted in demand side and supply side constraints. The solution also involves a range of strategic options aimed at circumventing the long standing hindrances. Approaches on the demand side may include child scholarships and sponsorships; well organized and properly managed boarding schools; advocacy and community awareness raising about benefits of education; integrating local realities into the curricular contents so as to make education responsive to the felt needs of pastoralists; and setting flexible school timetable that does not compete with parental need for child labour.

The supply side interventions may include introduction of mobile schools and the use of multi-grade teaching; equipping schools with the necessary learning resources (textbooks, reference materials, pedagogical centres, and co-curricular activities); recruitment, training and deployment of teachers familiar with pastoralist context and willing to contribute their level best to bring about the desired end.

ii. Adopting pastoral context responsive school arrangements: Designing a school structure that better responds to the mobility needs of the pastoral communities is another essential consideration. The inflexible school timetable and capital intensive formal school buildings rarely satisfy the learning needs of pastoral communities. Innovative and simple school structures like tent schools which can easily move from place to place while the community migrates may be worthwhile. Since pastoralists mostly follow defined routes of mobility between wet and dry

seasons, adoption of mobile school structure would be beneficial to tackle the problem of school abandonment while mobility becomes a necessity.

iii. Introducing mixed mode of delivery: The use of instructional radio program hand-in-hand with the conventional schooling may contribute in addressing the problem of school operation disruptions due to security concerns. The scheme provides opportunity to both in-school and out of school pastoral children. Use of radio instruction as a complementary means would be instrumental in taking education to each household than always requiring children to fit into a rigid schedule of formal school establishments. The educational radio programs to be broadcasted using local language would address diverse needs of the target communities. First, it enables to teach literacy, basic arithmetic and life skills to children. Secondly, lessons helpful to adults can also be included as a component of the educational radio program. The latter becomes important not only for it improves the adult literacy rate but also has a positive spill-over effect on children's education as literate parents tend to support their children's education. Thirdly, this program will also convey education and entertainment as a package to households so that families may converge to listen to the radio if interested in the contents of the broadcast. Targeting both parents and children can be effective way of reaching out the entire family in this regard.

iv. Rendering community service by schools: Schools also need to prove their relevance to the local community in addition to their instructional responsibilities. This can take place through provision of such community services as consulting pastoralists on human and animal health issues and environmental protection mechanisms with due regard to the pastoralists' useful traditional natural resource

management and conservation practices. Since pastoralists have keen interest in such practical interventions, this may foster sense of recognition of schools as useful institutions which are there to serve interests of pastoralists as well.

v. Revisiting teacher remuneration and incentive scheme: Deployment to fill vacant teaching posts in remote rural areas is not comparable to that of employment in urban and relatively better off locations. Accepting employment offer in far away locations like Dasenech and Nyangatom is not an easy commitment. Quality of accommodations; standard of school facilities (availability of learning inputs both in a required quality and quantity); and access to public services (transport, communication, health and similar others) are among the major concerns of rural teachers. Salary scales and incentive schemes need to positively discriminate between teachers deployed into hardship areas and those of who are being placed in a better site in order to attract and retain qualified teachers in difficult to reach locations. Provision of teacher residence and opportunity to get transferred to urban areas upon serving for agreed upon duration in the remote locations would be beneficial in terms of minimizing problem of teacher shortage in the area under study and beyond. Designing a meaningful teacher incentive mechanism (revising salary scale, revisiting hardship allowance scheme, and provision of merit based scholarship for professional upgrading) would increase the probability of attracting more teachers and ensure their retention.

vi. Induction training for teachers: One of the challenges of education service delivery in the pastoralist areas is the problem of retaining teachers in the system besides shortage of qualified teaching force. Teachers deployed to the pastoralist areas usually leave their jobs after gaining initial experience that enables them to

compete for employment opportunity in better off areas. Not only the harshness of the weather condition and remoteness of the pastoralist locations that urge teachers to quit their jobs shortly. Lack of prior knowledge about the pastoralists' social and cultural context also poses difficulty on teachers to easily interact with the population that they are assigned to serve. Not speaking the local language by teachers joining the teaching profession from a different socio-linguistic background leaves practitioners in desperation. Arranging short-term pre-service induction training for teachers about the pastoralists' social, cultural and economic context may help to lessen the problem due to teachers' frequent desertion. Contents of the induction training could contain sensitivity to cultural practices, traditions and values of pastoralists; how to cultivate a friendly environment with local communities; awareness of the social and economic roles of children and some essential vocabularies of the local vernacular to nurturing rapport both with parents and students.

vii. Revitalizing parental literacy program: Parental education plays a significant role in sending their children to school, retaining them in the system and enhancing children's academic performance. Designing and implementing a functional adult literacy program for pastoralists, therefore, has twofold importance. Primarily, parents gain basic literacy and numeracy skills that help them in facilitating their day-to-day living. Secondly, parental attendance of adult education programs contributes to positive perception toward education than viewing it as threat to the pastoralists' lifestyle. Subsequently, parents encourage their offspring to enrol and regularly attend classes in pursuit for positive outcomes of education.

5.4.2 Areas of practical response

i. Improving school facilities as per the standards set forth: Children get excited to go to school where and when they feel that schools are attractive places to stay in. Most of the schools in the sample study areas have two distinct aspects. Referring to the preceding discussion under supply side determinants section and exhibits thereto, most of the schools were not child friendly in their overall appearance including uninviting classrooms and unhygienic compounds. Poor classroom condition, absence of separate toilet facilities for boys and girls, absence of clean water for children's use and lack of proper and enough playgrounds coupled with shortage of sport materials were the major concerns of children while commenting about their school situation. Therefore, respective school level leadership, district education offices, local administration council, in close consultation with authorities at zone and regional levels may make renovating the school facilities their priority in order to positively influence children's interest to schooling. Making schools child friendly settings where minimum safety standards are in place may help to foster emotional attachment between children and their school.

ii. Dealing with female's household workload: Traditional gender role classification that put females in charge of carrying out all or most of the household chores has overburdened girls than boys. Consequently, they may be denied access to education at all or forced to leave it earlier despite the intermittent class attendances due to demand for their labour. Lack of enough time to study and doing homework while back at home seen as luxury for girls due to routine household

chore they are required to perform. This persistent scenario has to be addressed in order to bring more girls to school and enable them to achieve better status. Placing concerted effort in challenging the long standing stereotypic gender based division of labour that leaves girls in a perpetual disadvantage with regard to educational participation is the crucial leap forward. Introduction of energy, labour and time saving mechanisms may be helpful in this regard. Simple, durable, and portable energy saving stoves can lessen time spent on and reduces frequency of going for firewood collection. Availability of water points in a nearby distance may significantly reduce distance to be commuted in search for water. Establishment of early childhood development facility within the existing primary school setup may enable girls to come to school with siblings that need their attention and care without sacrificing their schooling.

iii. Sensitization campaign on the benefits of education: There were tendencies of community members to superficially trying to comply with instructions given by local authorities with regard to implementation of *education for all* initiative. Such, ephemeral compliance does not grow beyond serving a kind of false piety. But everyone needs to internalize that education shapes the future of children unlike the pastoralists' popular perception of antagonism. This may call for more sensitization about the benefits of education through the use of educated local role models' campaign. The sensitization campaign may have twofold purposes. First, it helps to raise parental awareness on benefits of education. Second, creates opportunity to pastoral children to learn from experiences and achievements of educated local role models. The process of campaigning through the use of educated local role models also helps children to identify themselves with the exemplary figures to get inspired.

If children get inspired, they may not easily relinquish schooling even when parental attitude becomes uninviting to proceed further.

Moreover, raising awareness about benefits of education using all available social fabrics will be helpful to infuse value for education. Local administrative structures like kebeles can play a pivotal role in communicating benefits of education to the grassroots level in much more credible manner if properly trained and convinced of the purpose that they campaign for. The problem of such traditions as prioritizing bride-price and cabana could also be effectively addressed through regular community dialogue on the downsides of such harmful practices. Working with women's group, influential community leaders, youth networks and educated role models may become a pragmatic tool of change in inspiring both parents and children to aspire for a better future through education.

iv. Boundary demarcation: Most of recurring conflicts are resulting from mishandling of minor incidences and lack of tolerance between parties in dispute. Clear demarcation of boundaries between neighbouring pastoralists with their consent and on the basis of win-win approach would be very helpful in arresting conflicts arising from border disputes. Communities in the study area were very much concerned of land possessions around borderlines of both Dasenech and Nyangatom districts. Both sides have claim for exclusive possession over such locations. Such areas under claim are vitally resourceful for parties entering into conflict. Either consent based boundary demarcation or establishing such institutions as veterinary clinic for the disputants' common use would help to ease the tension. Institutions being built in the disputed over locations shall serve as a contact point for community leaders from both sides in further smoothening their relationships

and cooperation rather than confrontation.

v. Working towards maintaining peace and security: Encouraging peace dialogue between neighbouring pastoralists is instrumental to significantly reduce prevalence of conflict. Peace dialogues can be mediated by government and/or non-government agencies for initial periods until mutual trust building matures between communities involved in conflict. The ultimate goal of such mediation, however, needs to be geared towards enabling the local communities to be able to manage matters leading to conflict on their own.

vi. Rain water harvesting: Lack of clean water in schools for drinking and personal hygiene is one of the main constraints for early school leaving. The semi-desert nature of Dasenech and Nyangatom woredas particularly exacerbates the scarcity. Schools, however, look for an alternative means to secure water for school days through rain water harvesting mechanism. Rain water can be harvested just by affixing gutter to the roofs of school buildings and directing it into a protected reservoir from which water will be pumped out for school community consumption. Though this mechanism does not fully meet the need for water in school yards, it would serve as an important safety valve during peak times of water shortage.

5.4. 3 Areas for further research undertakings

i. Understanding the big picture: The scope of this study was limited only to the two pastoralist Woredas out of a total of eight comparable administrative units which form the South Omo zone. Similar studies of broader geographic and socio-cultural coverage need to be undertaken in order to adopt strategic options that can accommodate interests of wider number of pastoralist communities residing in the

zone.

ii. Conducting researches that validate: Similar researches in a similar setting may be carried out to validate findings of this study. Such endeavours conceivably help to examine whether findings of the prior study replicate and/or enable to capture worthwhile but undetected attributes during the preceding study (if any).

iii. Looking beyond access: Access to education is not an end on its own. Rather, it is an entry point that serves as basis for achievement and completion. Springing from the findings of this study, therefore, it is commendable to undertake researches aiming at pastoralist children's educational achievement and completion in order to sort through the whole range of enabling and thwarting circumstances regarding the case in point.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaire for Teachers, Principals, Education Experts and Officials

Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioural Studies
Department of Educational Planning and Management
Questionnaire for Teachers, Principals, Education Experts and Officials

Dear Sir / Madam,

This questionnaire is designed to collect data pertaining to determinants of educational participation of pastoral children in Dasenech and Nyangatom Woredas of South Omo zone in Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional State. I earnestly believe that you are one of the key partners in this regard. Hence, kindly request your time and attention to fill in this questionnaire and return it on time.

I, hereby, like to assure you that all information you provide herewith will be treated confidentially and used purely on an aggregated level and under no circumstances be used for any other purposes than this particular research undertaking.

Thank you once again

A. Respondent's Personal Information

Age _____

Sex _____

Education Level _____

Area of specialization _____

Years of Work Experience _____

Job Title _____

Name of your current organization _____

Woreda _____

Kebele _____

Date of completing the questionnaire _____

- B. The following section contains questions to be responded in expressing your own degree of agreement about the variables presented in tables. Please indicate your response by putting a tick (✓) mark against each alternative of your choice.

1. What are the major challenges of primary education participation and persistence in Dasenech and Nyangatom Woredas?

Challenges	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Opinion
Low net enrolment rate					
High dropout rate					
Low survival rate					
Low completion rate					
Long distance between home and school					
Dilapidation of classrooms					
Very large class size					
Very small class size					
Parental reluctance towards modern education					
Shortage of teaching force					
Shortage of textbooks					
Shortage of qualified teachers					
Lack of teachers' motivation					
Under qualified education experts					
Shortage of curriculum enrichment materials					
Shortage of equipped laboratory					
Shortage of equipped pedagogical centers					
High repetition rate					
High educated unemployment rate					
Need for child labor					
Seasonal mobility					
Recurring conflict					
Need for marriage gift					
Parental illiteracy					
Direct cost of schooling					
Opportunity cost of schooling					
If others, please specify and rate.					

2. What determinants characterize girls' participation in primary education in the context of Dasenech and Nyangatom Woredas?

Hindering Factors	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Opinion
Early marriage					
Forced marriage					
Fear of abduction					
Exchange marriage					
Need for marriage gift					
Intensive engagements in household chores					
Need for child labor other than household chores					
Caring for younger siblings					
Boys preference by parents					
Distance between home and school					
Absence of separate and safe latrines for girls					
Gender bias of teachers towards girls					
Physical offence by boys					
Sexual liaison with teachers					
Sexual harassment by fellow students					
Lack of female role model					
Textbooks portrayal of females in weak roles					
Lack of awareness of the benefits of girls' education					
If others, please specify and rate.					

3. Some supply side determinants of access to education among pastoralists are listed hereunder. Please indicate your response against each of the variables as applies to the context of the Dasenech and Nyangatom Woredas.

Supply side variables	Response Rating				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Opinion
Funding					
Staffing					
Training					
Equipment					
Legacy					
If others, please specify and rate					

4. Some demand side determinants of access to education among pastoralists are listed hereunder. Please indicate your responses against each of the variables as applies to the context of the Dasenech and Nyangatom Woredas.

Demand side variables	Response Rating				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Opinion
Mobility					
Dispersed settlement					
Unpredictable disruption of services					
Child labor					
Gender preference for schooling					
Parental illiteracy					
Liquidity					
If others, please specify and rate					

Appendix B: Interview Guide for Schoolchildren

Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioural Studies
Department of Educational Planning and Management
Interview Guide for Children

1. Do you like to go to school? If 'yes', why? If 'no', why not?
2. Some boys enrol but quit schooling before completing their primary level education. What factors do force those boys to discontinue their education?
3. Some girls enrol but quit schooling before completing their primary level education. What factors do force those girls to discontinue their education?
4. In the long run, what benefits do you expect from education?
5. What do you like schools to do for you in order to enable you to continue learning without disruption?
6. Have you experienced any problem while you are in school? If 'yes', what were the problems you faced?
7. Have you experienced any problem between home and school while travelling to or from the school? If 'yes', what were the problems you encountered?
8. Do your parents encourage you to regularly attend classes, study at home and do your homework? If 'no', what are the possible reasons for lack of encouragement?
9. In your opinion, what needs to be done in order to keep children from pastoralist communities learning and progressing in their education up to the heist possible level?

Appendix C: Community Members FGD Guide

Addis Ababa University

College of Education and Behavioural Studies

Department of Educational Planning and Management

Community Members FGD Guide

1. What concrete efforts are underway in expanding access to primary education in your kebele?
2. What major roles are being played by you as leaders of your community in the effort to expand access to primary education in your kebele?
3. Are you convinced of the objective of sending children to school? If 'yes', what are the objectives? If 'no', why not?
4. What benefits do you expect from sending your son to school?
5. What benefits do you expect from sending your daughter to school?
6. What direct and indirect costs that your daughter's education incur?
7. What direct and indirect costs that your son's education incur?
8. What are the major social and economic roles of children in your community?
9. In your opinion, what are the strengths and/or weaknesses of the education programs being implemented within your community?
10. What remedies would you suggest in order to be able to overcome the prevailing problems in expanding access to primary education?

Appendix D: Primary School Facilities Observation Checklist

Addis Ababa University
 College of Education and Behavioural Studies
 Department of Educational Planning and Management
 Primary School Facilities Observation Checklist

Name of Data Collector _____ Date of Data Collection: _____ Name of Supervisor _____

1. Background Information

Items	Responses
Zone	
Woreda	
Name of the school/ ABEC	
Grade/ Level	
Name of the kebele	
Number of kebeles using the school/ ABECs	
Location of the school/ ABE (whether it is urban or rural)	
Distance from Zone capital	
Distance from woreda capital	
Climatic zone with regard to where the school/ ABEC is located (Dega, Woyina Dega or Kolla)	
Average distance of the school/ ABEC in KMs and hours from residence of the students	
Name of the head teacher	
Telephone number, if any	

2. Availability and Condition of Primary School Facilities

Facility	N0.	Roof		Floor		Wall			Condition					Remarks
		Iron	Grass	Cemented	Soil	H. Block	Stone	Wooden	Excellent	V. Good	Good	Fair	Bad	
Blocks														
Classrooms														
Sections														
Office room														
Staff room														
Pedagogical center														
Library														
Store-room														
Laboratory														
Mini-Media														
Recreational rooms														
Latrines														

3. Availability and Condition of Primary School/ ABEC Facilities

Items	Available	Not Available	Adequate	Inadequate	Remarks
Safe water supply					
First aid					
Sport fields					
Sport materials					
Pedagogical materials					
Science kits					
Laboratory equipment					
Laboratory chemicals					
Student desks					
Office furniture					
Text-books					
Teachers' guides					
Reference materials/ library books					
Mini-media equipment					
School clubs					
Fencing					
Gardening					
Overall safety					
Education and Training Policy					
Education and Training strategy					
School guideline and directives					
School improvement plan					
If others, please specify.					

4. General remarks:

Appendix E: Major Specifications for Lower Primary School Facility in SNNPR

Appearance of the primary school premise

- **Depending on the existing condition of the area, the premise shall be fenced by [with] stone, [hollow] block, thorn less [non barbed] wire and wood**
- **Classrooms, administrative offices and other service provider rooms should be constructed depending on the nature of their work and service**
- **The school community shall have pavement**
- **The school should have adequate parking lot**
- **The school shall have clean drinking water facility**
- **The school shall have recreational and play grounds as well as enough space for outdoor teachings**
- **The overall position of the building and the convention and the overall condition of the compound shall be convenient and attractive for the learning-teaching process Pp 3-4**

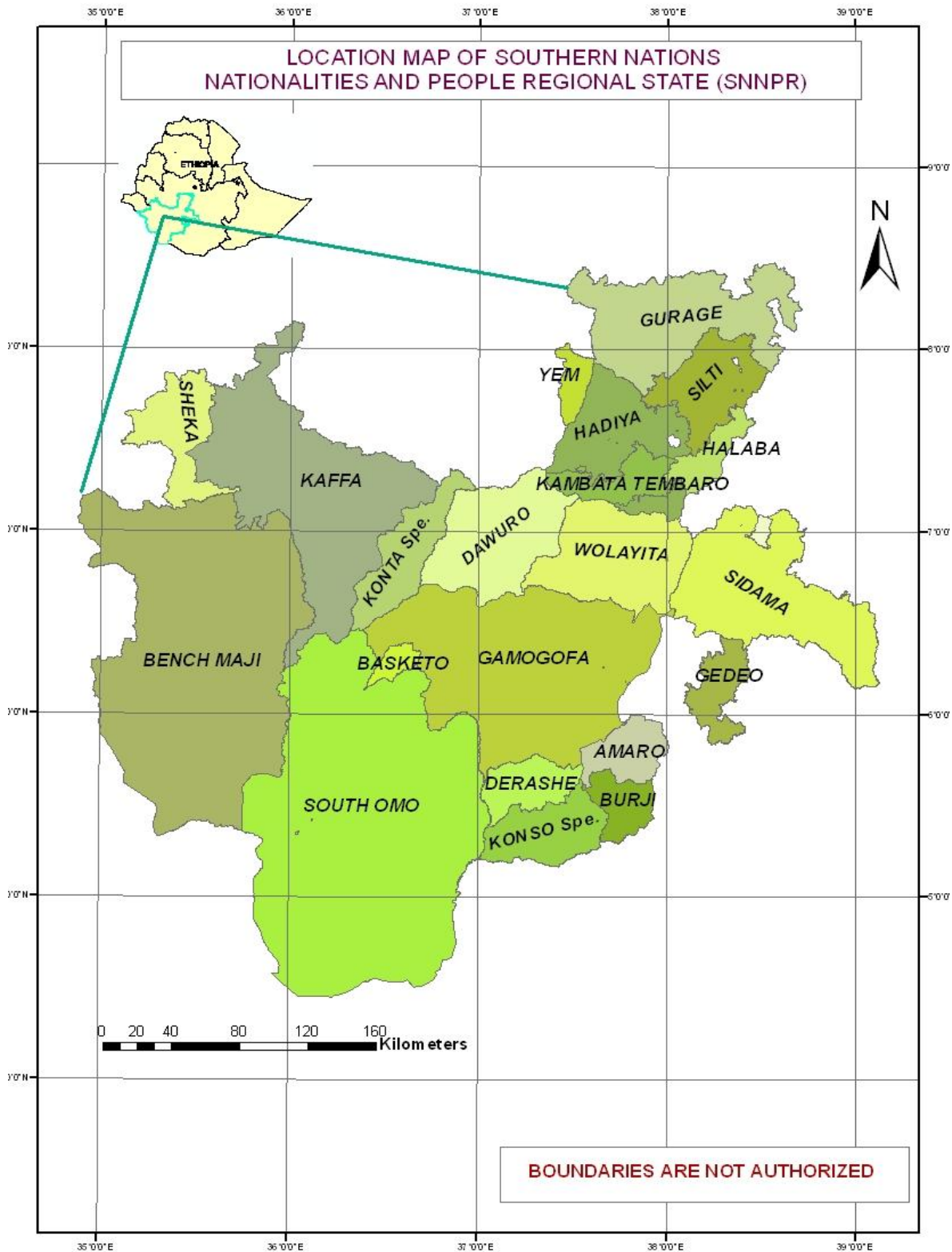
Size and number of service provider rooms for lower primary school (Grades 1-4)

No	Room	Qty	Unit size/M ²	Remarks
1	Classroom	4	8x7=56	1:12 ratio
2	Office of the director	1	4x4=16	
3	Staff room	1	4x4=16	
4	Store	1	3x3=9	
5	Toilet	6	1.5x.80=12	2 for staff, 4 for students*
6	Education development centre	1	7x15=105	
7	Reading room	1	7x8=56	
8	Science room	1	7x15=105	
9	Guardhouse	1	2.4x2.4=6.8	
10	Special education classroom	1	4x7=28	
11	Speech arranger room	1	4x3.5=14	
12	First aid room	1	4.05x7.26= 19.6?	
13	Janitors' room	1	1.2x2.7=3.27	

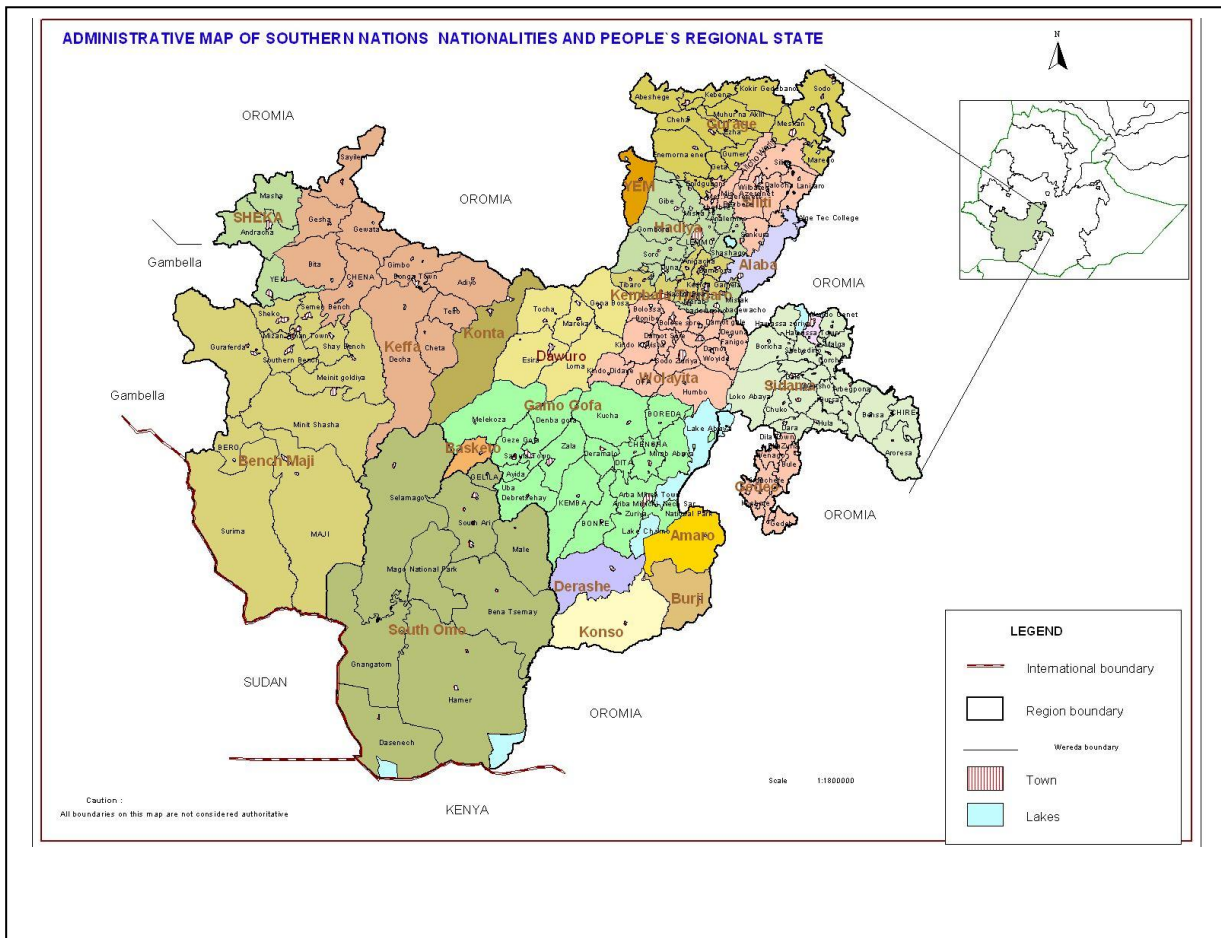
*Two blocks in different locations each for exclusive use by male and female students

Source: Standard of Primary Education (2009)

Appendix F: SNNPR Location Map



Appendix G: Administrative Map of SNNPR



Appendix H: Spatial Distribution of Primary Schools in South Omo

