

Revisiting Education Provision for Pastoralists Groups in Tanzania

Adella Raymond Mtey

Department of Educational Foundations, Management and Lifelong Learning, Mkwawa
University College of Education, Tanzania

Abstract

Education provision for the minority and marginalised groups is at the heart of international agenda for several decades now. It is particularly a point of emphasis in Education for All (EFA) movement, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the 2030 SDGs agenda. Pastoralists remain among the minority groups which have not had full access to education to date. This paper reexamines formal education provision for pastoralists in Tanzania. It answers the questions about pastoralists' understanding of formal education, the relevance or value of formal education to their daily lives and policy considerations in providing education for pastoralists. Post-colonial theory informs the theoretical discussion of the findings. Data was collected using documentary review and analysed using content analysis. The analysis show that, although pastoralists are generally perceived not to accept formal education, they've changed and understand the value formal education has in their lives. It is also observed that, although pastoralists are mentioned in the general Tanzania education policies; there is no specific policy consideration that provides for their contextual needs. The paper argues that for fully realization of Education for All in Tanzania, specific consideration is required for the pastoralist, both in the policy and practice of education provision at all levels. The paper recommends that strategies and polices for education provision should consider specific contextual circumstances.

Introduction

Education has been considered as a central tenet in various development discourses over the past three decades. It has been recognised as an important aspect in attaining various global initiatives including Education for all (EFA) goals, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable development goals (SDGs). Furthermore, education has the ability to broaden people's freedom of choice and empower them to participate in social, political and economic lives in their societies. It is also recognised that in an increasing knowledge-based and competitive global economy, depriving people of the opportunities for education is a prescription for wasting skills, talents and opportunities for innovation and economic growth (UNESCO, 2010).

Education provision for the minority and marginalised groups is at the heart of international agenda. It is particularly a point of emphasis in Education for All (EFA) movement, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the 2030 SDGs agenda. Target number five of the SDG number four specifically states that by 2030, countries should “eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations” (UNESCO, 2018). It has further been stipulated that equal access to quality education is crucial for addressing socio economic problems like poverty, inequality and unemployment. This is well articulated in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the 2030 agenda (UNESCO, 2017).

Although when Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) was moving towards its end in 2015, there was an indication of tremendous progress towards universal primary education globally. Nonetheless the progress among the disadvantaged groups was still very slow, and estimates of about 250 million children were still without the basic skills. That is why SDG goal four (4) particularly proposes that each country should ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all. It is further emphasized that within the SDGs it is crucial to ensure that education equality, inclusion and equity in and through education should be key elements of the vision for SDG4 and measuring progress to 2030.

Despite various international initiatives to education provision obtained tremendous progress towards EFA and MDGs; a particular attention was drawn by the EFA Global Monitoring Report that achieving the EFA goals required a stronger focus on the hard to reach groups (UNESCO, 2010). It was yet observed that some groups still have not had access to formal education. Estimates show that there were about 21.8 million pastoralists children who were out of school world-wide (Carr-Hill, 2012). UNESCO (2018) particularly states that, more than 262 million children and youth are out of school; six out of ten are not acquiring basic literacy and numeracy after several years in school and 750 million adults are illiterate. This situation fuels poverty and marginalization among groups (UNESCO, 2018). Pastoralists are amongst the hardest to reach, who are still excluded from education provision and so direly affected by poverty and economic deprivation.

Although various strategies have been deployed to educate pastoralists internationally and locally, to date, very little has been achieved and girls, and in some countries boys, in pastoral communities all over the world continue to suffer from acute educational disadvantage (Dyer, 2010). The provision of formal education in pastoral communities in general raises two particular issues namely why this situation has persisted for so long despite the efforts to eradicate it and where the discrepancy is in addressing the issues. Indigenous people have remained among the minority groups that experience marginalisation, discrimination and disempowerment resulting from global, national and historical processes of unequal development which favour agriculture over hunting and gathering and nomadic herding all over the world (Gray, 1997; Aikman, 2011). They are excluded from decision making and are less involved in their own development. They are frequently stigmatized and viewed as living a backward way of life, often experiencing extreme poverty, ill-health; poor nutrition and social dislocations which marginalize them further (Kaunga, 2008; Aikman, 2011; Dyer, 2013). Nomads are included under the categories of disadvantaged and hard to reach groups that present particular challenges for development in general and in education in particular and which experience aforementioned problems and challenges (Carr-Hill, 2005; Dyer, 2006; Sharma, 2011; Aikman, 2010).

Tanzania is among the Sub-Sahara African countries with a considerable number of nomadic and pastoral groups. Although it is among the countries which have recorded a number of achievements in the education sector (URT, 2018) for the last ten years; little is specifically understood in relation to nomadic and pastoralist groups. With the review of Education and Training Policy (2014), and the implementation of free education, there have been significant changes in the access of education. For example, net and gross enrolment in Tanzania's pre-primary education has increased from 35.5% and 37.3% in 2013 to 44.6% and 95.5% in 2017 respectively (URT, 2017). There are however no specific data for the achievement in the pastoral communities

Although Since independence in 1961, Tanzanian government has been emphasizing that all citizens including the pastoral communities' children need to acquire formal education; this has not been the case for the pastoral communities. Similarly, although Tanzania's Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) (2001, 2006) launched in 2002 was successful in most other parts of Tanzania (Bray, 2007), many pastoralists children in Tanzania are still out of

the school system and the problem of girls participation in education still persist (Kariuki and Puja, 2008; Olengaire, 2009; UNICEF, 2010). Current strategies such as abolition of school fees, establishing boarding schools, giving stipends for girls (though not exclusive for pastoralists) that provide formal education to pastoral communities in Monduli are having limited impacts (Raymond, 2009, 2017). Based on the above observation, this study found it imperative to revisit education provision among the pastoralists. The study specifically aims at answering the following research

Specific studies that have been conducted in Tanzania in relation to formal education provision to pastoralists, for example: Kariuki and Puja (2006); Bishop (2007); Kateri (2008); Raymond (2009, 2015, 2017, 2020); Olengaire 2009; Shao (2010); Aikman (2011); Temba et al, (2013). No particular study has explored widely through documentary review to ascertain why the problem still persist among pastoral groups and other nomadic groups. The study specifically answers the following questions:

- i. What are pastoralists' views of formal education among the pastoral community?
- ii. How relevant is formal education to pastoral community's lives?
- iii. What are the strategies used to provide formal education to pastoralists?
- iv. How are policy considerations in providing formal education for pastoralists?

Pastoral communities background information

Nomads are the groups of millions of peoples who move from one place to another in search for food, water and grazing land (Ndagala, 1982). They include among others the groups of hunters-gatherers, fishermen, Kalahari Bushmen, Gypsy and Travellers in UK Irish travelling community and pastoralists on whom this study focuses (Ndagala, 1982; Dyer, 2013). While some nomads have no fixed homes; their movement is seasonally or daily; others are settled and only few members of the family move with the animals in search for water and pastures (Carr-Hill and Peart, 2005).

Pastoralists are among nomadic groups whose lives are based on maintenance of cattle for their subsistence either in domestic consumption or for sale (Ndagala, 1982; Huho, Ngaira and Ogindo, 2011). This dependence on livestock makes them to constantly migrate in search for water and pasture (Awogbade, 1991; Carr-Hill and Peart, 2005; Dyer, 2006). This is to say that

mobility is an intrinsic part of life for many nomads and pastoralists, who depend on livestock (Randall, 2015).

Pastoral groups in Africa include San (Botswana, South Africa); Batwa (Rwanda and Congo DRC); Fulani (Nigeria); Afar (Ethiopia), Maasai (Kenya, Tanzania) Karamoja (Uganda) just to mention a few. The Maasai forms the largest group of pastoralists in east Africa (Ndagala, 1991) other pastoral groups include Barbaig of Hannang; Karamoja of Uganda; Samburu, Turkana and Somali of Kenya. The number of pastoralists like other indigenous groups has always been hard to obtain (Carr-Hill and Peart, 2005; Dyer, 2006). Yet various scholars and organisations give some estimation. United Nations estimated that indigenous groups comprise of 15% of the world's poor and one third of the world's 900 million extremely poor people (Aikman, 2011). Awogbade (1991) also estimates that pastoralists constitute 6% of the total African population and are found in 21 different countries. Furthermore based on compilation from various sources Rass (2006) estimates that there are about 120 million pastoralists world wide of which 50 million reside in Sub Sahara Africa. Davies and Hagelberg, (2014) argue that there are at least 200 million pastoralists globally. It is however generally argued that it is difficult to determine the number of people practicing in pastoralism, because they tend to be undercounted in household surveys and censuses (Randall, 2015).

Nomads like other indigenous groups worldwide experience persistent marginalization, discrimination and disempowerment which are rooted in wider national, global and historical processes (colonial, postcolonial and development histories) of unequal development (Gray, 1997; Aikman, 2011). They are excluded from the political decision making and control over their life and are threatened by conflicts and social, political and cultural discrimination (Dyer 2006; Aikman, 2011; UNESCO, 2010). Pastoralists in particular form the majority of the poorest and most vulnerable group worldwide (Dyer, 2010). Their way of life is mocked to be the root cause for this continued marginalization (Dyer, 2006; Carr-Hill and Peart, 2005; Mlekwa, 1994). Their socio economic and human development levels have remained extremely low; and whether mobile or settled they share a common characteristic that they are disadvantaged groups in access to and acquisition of various social services including education (Mlekwa, 1994). Most government policies have not taken serious concern to address the structural causes underlying their marginalization (Aikman, 2011). Despite the challenges they face, they have knowledge and ways of adapting to arid climatic conditions. This has enabled them to survive long droughts,

epidemic diseases and all kinds of hardships without any external or government assistance (Mohamed, 1993; Mlekwa, 1996).

Education for pastoralists: global perspective

Although pastoral communities are less privileged in education provision, they are perceived as not having formal education; but they should not be considered not having education at all (Mohamed, 1993). This is because pastoralist children receive traditional education which they consider more oriented to their demands and ways of life. Nevertheless in relation to formal education provision among the indigenous communities and to the pastoralists in the current era of globalization has been a big challenge to many countries world-wide. Pastoralists constitute majority of the indigenous people in the world who have been and continue to be discriminated against in the provision of formal education (Dyer, 2013). Pastoralists' education situation is dire (Davies and Hagelberg, 2014). Although there are evidences for pastoralist change; of groups not enrolled in school are pastoral community school aged children. Following this deprivation there raised concerns for reconsidering providing education to these groups. Various international conferences have been called setting commitments to address the problem. Article 3 of the 1990 World Declaration for Education for All (WDEF) identified nomads specifically as one of several groups who are discriminated against in access to education services and demanded for an 'active commitment to removing education disparities (World Declaration for Education for All [WDEFA], 1990). Likewise Dakar framework of action (2000) was particularly committed to ensure that by 2015 all children particularly girls, children in difficulty circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality. Similarly the UN, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) had similar commitment to achieving universal primary education by 2015 and promoting gender equality and empowering women. Nomadic groups are also identified in the EFA global monitoring report (2010) as continuing to face extreme educational disadvantage and demand for an agent action to address the problem (UNESCO, 2010). The sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) further recognised the need for considering marginalised indigenous groups in education provision education (UNESCO, 2018).

Although these recognitions established that children from these groups should not suffer any form of discrimination (UNESCO, 2010; Dyer, 2012) their situation has remained the same. Evidences show that there are big disparities between the pastoral community's children enrolments and the national averages all over the world (Kratli, 2006; Dyer, 2015). Although the EFA assessment showed significant progress in many countries, more than 113 million children still had no access to primary education; 880 million adults were illiterate and gender discrimination continued to permeate education systems (UNESCO, 2010). Many of these minority ethnic groups still faced social stigmatization and deep-rooted obstacles to equal opportunity by being denied to learn on their own language (UNESCO, 2010:136).

Theoretical foundations

The postcolonial theory underpins the theoretical discussion of the study. Postcolonial theory is the body of ideas, principles and techniques that addresses the effects of colonialism on post-colonial states (Hickling-Hudson, Mathews, Woods, 2004). The theory is based on the belief that the colonial and imperial relations of the 19th century still have effects on the way non-western cultures see themselves (Mills, 1998). The theory requires us to put into the centre of our focus, the consequences of European expansion in the colonized nations from 19th century as a means of understanding their subsequent histories (Crossley and Tikly, 2004). Postcolonial theory particularly depicts struggles that exist not only between colonizers and the colonised but between various groups that try to gain power to define the national cultural identity of the colonised as well as to compete for the attention of their collective oppressor (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2000). It further focuses on the consequences of structures of inequalities which work along with other structures to perpetuate inequalities on the postcolonial states (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007). Postcolonial theory analyses the nature and consequences of colonial education, the impact of the imperial languages upon the colonized nations; and the links between western knowledge and the colonial power over the colonized (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 2001; Mapara, 2009).

Postcolonial theory was deemed appropriate in the study as it provided an understanding of the nature of formal education provision in Tanzania in general and the consideration given to the pastoral communities in particular. Postcolonial theory therefore was useful in “showing how interwoven is the postcolonial present and the colonial past”. This interconnectedness attests the

argument that the historical context of colonialism is still connected to contemporary neo-colonial condition (Subedi & Daza, 2008). In relation to formal education provision in Tanzania it explains the system of education in the postcolonial Tanzania, and the extent to which formal education is capable of creating required skills among pastoralists and how it includes or further marginalises them.

Research Methodology

This study involved the review of various documents related to education provision in Tanzania generally and those particularly related to education provision for pastoralists. The documents reviewed included governments' policies, papers and reports that are related to education provision in general and pastoral communities particular. Tanzania Education and Training Policy (ETP) (1995); Tanzania Education and Training Policy (ETP) (2014); the Primary Education Development Plans (PEDP 1 & 2); Educational Sector Development Plan (2016/17-2020/21) Tanzania Mainland; Tanzania Development Vision 2025 and National Strategy for Poverty Reduction (NSPR) (known as MKUKUTA in Kiswahili) are among the document reviewed. The study further reviewed a number of UNESCO education monitoring reports. Some documents were collected from the Ministry of Education. Other documents were accessed through at the national website <http://www.tzonline.org> and others from normal Google Scholar search, EBSCOHOST and other relevant online sources. The truthfulness/validity of the documents was evaluated, taking note of who produced the documents or report and the purpose of their production (Bryman, 2008). The review of these documents helped the researcher to retrieve data about the government consideration of the pastoral communities in education provision and other issues explored in the study.

Findings and Discussions

Pastoralists views of formal education

While the demand of formal education is increasing globally; for the past three decades, indigenous communities including the pastoralists, have been considered reluctant in receiving formal education. Indigenous nomadic/pastoral communities particularly have been considered less interested in formal education for considerably long time (Mlekwa, 1996; Ndagala, 1992).

Formal education has been regarded as not appealing to the majority of nomads due to its purpose and relevance to their lives (Carr-Hill, 2005). Several studies on formal education provision for pastoralists however reveal that there has been an increased demand for formal education among various indigenous groups, pastoralists in particular. Carr-Hill and Peart (2005) in their library study about the state of education provision to nomadic groups in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Eritrea, Tanzania and Ethiopia, they discovered that there is general increase in acceptance of formal education among the Maasai community. Leggett (2005) in studying Kenyans pastoralists; Kariuki and Puja, (2008) assessing the progress of education provision among the Maasai in Ngorongoro; Allay (2008) assessing Barbaig participation in primary education and Raymond (2015) assessing the pastoral community perception of formal education also had similar observation. They argue that education is considered as one of the key factors to support the pastoral production system, eradicate poverty, enhance economic diversification and reduce conflicts. Parents want their children to attend school because they believe it offers skills and knowledge that they will be able to use and improve their animal husbandry, improve their commercial skills and help them with claims for rights to land. Although Dyer (2001) in her study with Rabaris in India had a different observation that to this group education was in no way related to the pastoral economy and not regarded as a way of improving livestock production; yet they considered it important in connection with the wider society. Such argument is also supported by (Kratli, 2006; Siele, Swift & Kratli, 2011).

They also contemplate that formal education helps them to learn languages, reading, writing and numeracy (Kariuki and Puja, 2008) hence they consider formal education as obligatory. In her anthropological study among the Maasai Hodgson, (2001) found out that “education is perceived as a hope for the future, one of the only means to political power and economic prosperity” and that Maasai parents believe that educated children will help in everything especially when they get sick and require to access the hospitals outside their locality (hospitals are the formal institutions which are mostly run by the non Maasai) (Hodgson, 2004). Bonini, (2006) in the exploration of the kinds of education found among the Kisongo Maasai in Tanzania is also in support of the change of perception among the Maasai with regard to formal education and agree that Maasai consider that education would be used as a means for achieving wealth and leadership positions outside traditional institutions. This however was primarily a strategy for men, at the expense of women and girls (Hodgson, 2001; Bonini, 2006). Raymond (2015; 2017)

specifically observed that they consider education as a way out of oppressive cultures. This is because pastoralists women are not expected to hold any leadership position and thus for them education is oriented towards her future life as a spouse and a mother. These make girls to be more disadvantaged in acquiring formal education since traditional education they receive can orient them to become mothers.

Scholars further argue that pastoral communities' parents are aware of the global development trends such as globalization, the spread of new technologies and rapid urbanization, which have influenced their attitude toward formal education, such that they aspire to receive it in order to develop their capabilities to cope with these changes (Kratli and Dyer, 2009; Siele, et al, 2011). Kaunga (2008), a Maasai activist in Kenya, particularly argues that formal education has enabled the Maasai to express their concerns at local, national and international levels. Such ability also expresses the community agency in hearing their voices regarding their marginalization and what the community wants to get themselves out of the situation. That is why regardless of difficult/challenging schooling may be Maasai men and women want to educate all their children so that they could survive in what they called the changing land. They say "the wisdom of the past is worthless, it should be replaced by the wisdom of the present" (Hodgson, 2004). The message behind is that it is difficult for the community to continue surviving using their traditional knowledge alone; they need new knowledge, new wisdom to enable them cope with the changing world. Although Temba, et al's (2013) analysis of the efforts to address constraint to girls' access to education indicate some improvement with regard to girls in Monduli; the consideration is still focusing in access to education while ignoring aspects of participation in relation to the community's considerations. The exploration in the current study bridges this gap.

Relevance of formal education to pastoralists

Despite the increased demand of education among nomadic groups and pastoralists in particular various scholars argue that formal education is being provided without consideration of the local context of these communities and hence fails to respond to pastoralists' demands (Kratli, 2001; Dyer, 2006; Kratli and Dyer, 2009). Through reviewing the demands of indigenous movement for the right to education in Africa, Aikman, (2011) raised a concern that the available educational opportunities in many pastoralists and other indigenous communities in Africa are not enough to empower and expand their capabilities to realize their rights as citizens and as

pastoralists. Likewise in countries like Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda Kenya and Tanzania education offered for the nomadic pastoralists' children follows the national curriculum and standards which does not respond to their specific needs and aspirations. The national curriculum does not provide most children with necessary skills to enable them survive in their local environments (Carr-Hill, 2005; Oxfam, 2005) and they are rarely adapted at the local level to the needs of nomadic groups. That is why most parents from indigenous and pastoralist communities are hesitant to send their children to school since the current mainstream education systems have failed to offer what they expected. This situation confirms the postcolonial argument that in most postcolonial states education system has remained elitist and has not been able to respond to the local needs of most citizens (Crossley & Tikly, 2005).

On top of that given drastic social, cultural, physical, environmental and global changes pastoralists have complex and changing needs for education (Aikman, 2011); that is why it is argued that sometimes pastoralists do not simply reject education, but there is tension between children acquiring formal education through the school system and the informal education within the household about their culture, social and economic world (Siele et al., 2011). Parents argue that school culture does not reflect the visions they have for their children and the skills they expect them to acquire for them to undertake their responsibilities in the community. That is why they question what formal education offers to their future pastoral lives and as indigenous people (Kaunga, 2005). Thus sometimes parents' resistance is not essentially due to poverty or incompatibility that exists between education and pastoral life but rather it is partly based on the practical challenges they face when being provided with school based education (Kratli & Dyer, 2010). Dyer, (2012) supports this by arguing that formal education provided in school lacks necessary flexibility to accommodate children who contribute their labour to their families' survival, it therefore becomes difficult for the pastoralists to combine the uninterrupted school attendance with mobile pastoralism.

As well, education provided in school system insists only on employment jobs with no consideration of the capabilities that enable children to function according to their context. Schooling may therefore continue to marginalise pastoralists groups (Dyer, 2012). In essence curriculum relevance and the quality of education are also ignored in the school models especially in relation to pastoral lives (Kratli, 2001; Curtis, 2009). This disappoints parents' expectations because formal education fails to empower learners to extend their capabilities.

There is thus a concern that when education provided is not related to what people value in relation to their contextual demands it limits the community's freedom of being or doing what they value. For the pastoralists simply teaching children to read and write is not going to do miracles to change their lives if the mainstream society does not give enough jobs (O'Hanlon, 2010). Education inclusion strategies therefore ought not to ignore the critical and contextual issues raised in the pastoral communities (Kratli & Dyer, 2009). For instance, based on the contextual circumstances, among the pastoralists children excluded from the school are those who show the ability to become effective in the pastoral activities and girls whose labour is highly demanded domestically. Many of them have to contribute to the family wellbeing, either by rearing cattle or taking other domestic responsibility.

Dyer (2010) further commends for the need to understand that pastoralism is part and parcel of pastoral communities' livelihood and thus should be accommodated when providing formal education. It is however the view of this study that such adaption will always prove abortive if pastoral communities contextual issues surrounding education provision are not rooted from their own views. It is therefore necessary that pastoralists/indigenous groups be given the opportunity to articulate and define their own priorities for education based on their lived realities. This raises a need to consider the kind of education they desire for the future they aspire (Sharma, Koller-Rollefson & Morton, 2003).

Strategies for education provision among pastoralists

Studies have pointed to a number of strategies used in providing formal education for pastoral communities in general. Carr-Hill and Peart (2005) and Sifuna (2005) in a study about increasing access and participation of pastoral communities in primary education in Kenya observed such strategies which included the establishment of boarding schools, mobile schools, satellite schools; distance education, radio programmes, Koranic schools and Madrassas, out of school programmes, tent schools and other non-formal strategies. Among strategies to deal with seasonality, boarding schools have been successful in retaining pastoralist learners, including girls, in Ethiopia, western India and Oman (Bengtsson & Dyer, 2017).

Although such strategies' have had some success in enrolling and retaining children from nomadic groups, pastoralists groups in particular they are yet successful in relation to girls' participation in education. At the same time, despite the evidence that the inclusion of nomadic

children in primary education can be sharply increased using other alternatives (Kratli & Dyer, 2009); Most of the strategies are still confined to schools and classroom models of teaching (Kratli, 2001; Sifuna, 2005; Siele, et al 2011). Mobile schools in particular and in most parts are limited in scale due to their costs (Bengtsson & Dyer, 2017). In essence, although schools are capable of developing learning experiences similar to those at home or more; they are yet successful to nomadic communities. Many of them have been established with little or no consideration of the physical, social and cultural realities of pastoralists' diverse lifestyles (Kratli, 2001; Sifuna, 2005; Leggett, 2005; Carr-Hill, 2006; Dyer, 2010, Aikman, 2011, Sharma, 2011; (Bengtsson & Dyer, 2017)). Besides most of these schools are under resourced, numbers of teachers is always low and though qualified they have hardly received trainings for teaching children from nomadic groups. Teachers also don't speak the nomadic group's language and are less enthusiastic about teaching in the difficult areas where nomadic groups live (Carr-Hill, 2005; Kateri, 2008; Temba, et al, 2013). Education provided in school neglects pastoral community culture and ways of life (Dyer, 2000; Dyer, 2010; (Bengtsson & Dyer, 2017). It dislocates children from their sustainable livelihoods and raises security concerns for girls (Bainton, 2007). This is also supported by (Carr- Hill, 2005; Warrington & Kiragu, 2011). School models also Centre on increasing enrolment alone which masks the deeper problems of attendance, retention, completion rates and low levels of learning (DFID, 2010). On top of that these modes of delivery reflect the western dominance over the former colonised and the current global trends like EFA and MDGs which emphasise on the increasing children access to school with little or no consideration of the process of education delivery and the relevance of what is delivered in the local context. Barrett (2009) and Hailombe (2011) are also critical of a narrow concern with access and completion that does not consider processes of education, schooling and the quality of education offered.

Strategies like boarding schools are argued to be of poor quality; they are poorly managed in such that if parents would allow their sons to sleep at school but would not allow their girls to do so without further assurance of security (Carr-Hill, 2005; Leggett, 2005; Shao, 2010). Boarding schools are also dislocating children from pastoral ways of life, family and the community (Kaunga, 2005; Bainton, 2007; Pansiri, 2008). Mobile schools are difficult to staff and monitor (Siele, et al, 2011); and because there are no defined migration patterns; so moving children have

little or no time to concentrate in lessons (Kariuki & Puja, 2008). School feeding programme is another good strategy but when unavailable children leave school (Carr-Hill, 2005).

Studies have also indicated the existence of Non-formal education which have always been complementary strategy/programme to ensure that children who are unlikely to attend formal school could also access education (Mfum-Mensa, 2003; Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005; Kariuki and Puja, 2006). They include Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK); Child Centred Alternative Non-formal Community Education (CHANCE) and Complementary Primary Education Programme (COPE) in Uganda; Shepherds Schools Program (SSP) in Ghana; Complementary Basic Education and Training (COBET) in Tanzania serve for the out of school children, including the pastoral community's children and adults. The non-formal educational programmes however use the bottom up approach in education delivery and acknowledge that existing schooling systems are largely unresponsive to the needs, living conditions and lifestyle of disadvantaged nomadic communities (Carr-Hill, 2005; Olengaire, 2009). They are still oriented towards formal education system and are yet to tackle the contextual circumstances of the pastoral communities. It thus remain a concern that understanding pastoral communities' ways of life and context is important before further replicating the kind of schooling that is not working for these communities.

Policy concerns in education provision

The planning and provision of education for minority pastoralists groups is argued to have either ignored the needs of these groups and/or have not involved them in the policy formulation and implementation. Carr-Hill, (2005) for example in a study of education provision among pastoralists in countries Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Djibouti, Somalia and Tanzania, found there was little or no mention of the nomadic groups in educational policy documents. Very few mention the priority of educating pastoralists and to others they require the pastoralists to live sedentary life while claiming that it would easy education service provision. Most education policy making process is done in a top down manner and planning of education issues are centralised with no involvement or consideration of the needs of pastoralists. Leggett, (2005) while investigating the way of improving education policy for pastoralists in Kenya, supports marginalization of pastoral communities in policy making process and emphasises that sometimes factors influencing provision and participation of pastoralist children in education are

rooted directly in the government policy and practice; which denotes a systematic and continuing marginalization of pastoral communities in formal education

In Tanzania, there is no specific policy on Nomads and pastoralist groups (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005; Bishop, 2007). Bishop, (2007) studying about the policy and practice of education provision for pastoralists in Tanzania also confirmed the lack of pastoralists' involvement in policy making and implementation. (Bishop, 2007) particularly points to pastoralists' lack of voice in the policy process and lack of power to advocate for change in the policies or implementation of the policies. She further insists that there is insufficient understanding in Tanzania policy circles of the realities in providing education to pastoralists. In support of this Kariuki and Puja (2008) point to inconsistency of most Tanzania official documents in addressing the issues of pastoralist groups in relation to education provision. For instance there is no particular programme within the education sector that aims to meet the specific needs of pastoralist communities. Similarly Olengaire (2009) investigated about the impact of PEDP plans in Ngorongoro district in Tanzania, also support that PEDP implementation does not consider the specific issues related to pastoral community's ways of life hence leading into its failure to realize most of its objectives in this particular community. The above trends denote that education systems and policies in many countries are largely influenced by the colonial legacies and the current global agenda. It is thus imperative to argue that policies of the past have failed to convince parents and society at large and of educating girls in particular. Leggett, (2005) particularly posits that the current policy represents a "take or leave it" approach to education with communities having to adapt to the needs and demands of education system, rather than planners working to make the system responsive to diverse context. Bishop (2007) argues that this disinclination is related to Tanzania's past and current national ethos of de-emphasizing differences and promoting unity. It has been not until recent years attempt to increase enrolment and achievement have been made through the expansion of the conventional formal schooling which have also been unresponsive to the needs of the pastoralists

Although educational policies like PEDP and SEDP upon which national education system is based identify vulnerable groups like children, elderly people, HIV/AIDS victims, children with disabilities, youth and women, they seldom mention pastoral communities children as a vulnerable group (Magezi, 2006). This makes the pastoralists doubtful whether the current

education policies are beneficial for themselves and their children or even their future generations. Although ETP (1995) states that the government shall guarantee access to basic education to all citizens as basic human right; Communities of hunters, fishermen, pastoralists and gatherers have life styles that impede them from getting education. Tanzania is a heterogonous society with more than 120 ethnic groups with different social, economic and cultural environment. The Basic Education Master Plan (URT, 2001) does at least recognize that there are challenges in delivering educational services to pastoralists, nomadic and semi-nomadic communities. In Component 1.2.4 mentions the need of “increasing enrolment of children from disadvantaged communities”. BEMP had objective of promoting access to basic education to disadvantaged communities i.e. nomads, gatherers, fishing groups and hunters; however BEMP was not all specific about the step to be taken and no policy document addressing the issues of educational provision to pastoralist have, been produced in the subsequent policy documents plans. Education Sector Development Plan (ESDP) (2018) further recognises that “Migration due to nomadic pastoralism, resulting in difficulties in providing education through the traditional means of fixed classrooms” (URT, 2018, Pg. 6). Moreover the recognition of the need to promote pastoralism as a livelihood in the NSGRP is not a recognition that has influenced education policy, it were specific education policies would have been formulated (URT, 2005). The only specific measure that have been implemented to try to get pastoralist children into school previously used by the government was setting up boarding schools in pastoral community areas (Bishop, 2007). Although the NGOs have set pre-primary schools in collaboration with the community and report that children are able to cope and perform better in primary school as a result (Woods, 2009). Most of these plans however embarked in the expansion of infrastructures, equipment and staff capacity without real recognition of the challenges children face in participating in education.. Children from pastoralists’ populations are faced with various obstacles to regular attendance and are continually involved in the household chores and economically productive tasks resulting in poor attendance and high dropout rates (Woods, 2009).

One can thus argue that in terms of the current education policy, in the context of international commitment to educational for all, the Tanzania government makes insufficient special provision for pastoralist areas. Such tendencies of ignoring special challenges facing pastoralist’s ways of life has posed prolonged challenges to the education provision; and have continued

marginalizing them. Policies like these legitimises power, identity, language and cultural practices of the dominant group at the expense of the minority groups like the pastoral community (May and Aikman, 2003; Tikly, 2004). “The government policies represent the postcolonial discourses of stereotyped identity because it puts more attention on national and international forms of modernisation and industrialization and pays little attention to local issues and traditional cultures and forms of economy engaged by pastoral communities” (Crossley and Tikly, 2004). These rural communities are therefore still backwards not only in terms of access, but also in participation retention and completion rates of education both in primary and secondary education. Hence if equity, equality and quality education aimed for pastoralists are to be achieved, policy makers have to be flexible in practices and in organizational structures they develop in providing education for these marginalized groups.

Conclusions

Through the review of various literatures, the study generally aimed to revisit the provision of formal education among pastoral communities in Tanzania. It specifically answered the questions about pastoral community views about formal education, the relevance of formal education to the community, the strategies used to provide formal education and the policy considerations in providing formal education.

The study generally found that, although initially pastoral community was considered less interested in formal education and had declined sending their children to school; they have changed and support formal education. Formal education is considered as a key factor to support pastoral production system, eradicate poverty, and enhance economic diversification and reducing conflicts. Education is also helping learning the language of the majority and help in claiming their rights, a way to political power and in developing the capabilities to cope with the changes of the globalized world. The stud further found that despite such changes, education is still provided without consideration of their local context hence failing to respond to their demands ad needs. Education is therefore considered not enough to empower and expands pastoral community capabilities to realize their rights as citizens and as pastoralists. The curriculum does not provide children with necessary skills to enable them survive their local environment. They question what education has to offer for their local lives. The strategies used to provide formal education for pastoralists have commonly been establishment of boarding

schools, mobile schools, satellite schools, distance education, radio programmes, out of school programmes and tent schools. Most of such strategies do not exist in Tanzania and are still confined to school and classroom model. Most of these strategies also have been established with little or no consideration of the physical, economic, social and cultural realities. The study further found that there is little or no mention of the pastoral/nomadic groups in the policy document. Policy making use top down approach and planning of education is centralised with no involvement of the pastoral needs. There is general lack of pastoralists' voices in policy making and implementation

The study concludes that although pastoralist have positive views and understand what formal education can offer to their lives; the provision still ignore the contextual circumstances surrounding education provision for pastoralists. Most policy documents are silent of pastoral communities and their specific condition and contextual needs. The study recommends for consideration of pastoral groups specific contextual challenges in education provision and their involvement in planning, policy making and implementation of these policies.

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