

The Policy and Practice of Educational Service Provision for Pastoralists in Tanzania.

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Introduction

This paper will explore the context within which policies concerning education in pastoralist areas in Tanzania have been formulated and implemented. It will look at the way in which international and national agendas concerning pastoralism and education are manifested in the policy and practice of educational service provision in pastoralist areas in Tanzania. It will also examine the practice of educational provision in these areas, and assess the impact this provision is likely to have in terms of pastoralist poverty.

The situation in Tanzania will be compared with that in Kenya to elucidate the way in which Tanzania's national level policy environment has affected educational policy and practice, and to suggest alternative policy responses.

This paper is based on PhD fieldwork, and on a review of policy documents, grey and academic literature concerning pastoralism and education provision. Fieldwork was carried out in a predominantly agro-pastoralist area in Monduli District in northern Tanzania over a period of twelve months between 2004 and 2005. This paper draws on participant observation in four schools and surrounding communities, as well as interviews with parents, teachers, and government officials, and a survey of 179 households which collected data on educational participation.

There is considerable confusion in terms of definitions of "pastoralists" in policy documents, which is symptomatic of a lack of appreciation of the realities of such groups in Tanzanian government circles. This confusion makes assessing policies and the information contained in reports problematic. In the context of this paper, it should be noted that the majority of the households in the study area are semi-sedentary agro-pastoralists, not "nomads".

Pastoralism policies

Since the 1990s international organisations and funding bodies have become increasingly interested in the plight of pastoralists, and increasingly aware of the rationality of pastoralism as an environmentally sustainable, viable production system. The UNDP, for example, has created a "Global Drylands Imperative" which aims, amongst other things, to dispel the myths and misunderstandings that demean pastoralism and to show the rationality of the pastoralist system (UNDP 2005). The increasing understanding of pastoralism as a system has its basis in extensive academic research. Donors have compelled recipient countries with large numbers of pastoralists to take on board this agenda, in particular putting pressure on governments to focus more on pastoralist issues in their Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). PRSPs are the instruments now used by the World Bank and the

International Monetary Fund (IMF) to enable developing countries to qualify for debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative. Pressure has been exerted on governments partly through international organisations providing money for a massive proliferation of local and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with an interest in pastoralist affairs. This has led to increasing civil society pressure on governments to consider pastoralists' agendas, which has been relatively effective due to donor insistence on broad-based participation and involvement of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in the PRS process (see United Republic of Tanzania 2005a). These factors have led governments in states with pastoralist populations to show, to varying degrees, increasing concern for the merits of pastoralism and for the plight of pastoralists. Moreover, if countries are to make progress on achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), it is recognised that attention will have to be paid to pastoralist areas, which have a high incidence of 'poverty' (as defined in the MDGs), including low levels of educational participation and attainment.

The initial PRSP from Tanzania (United Republic of Tanzania 2000) had very few references to livestock, and none to pastoralism as a livelihood. This neglect was also evident in other earlier policy documents. Where pastoralism or livestock were mentioned this tended to paint a negative picture and was generally in the context of the need to improve the livestock industry, rather than concern over the situation of pastoralists. More recently, pastoralism has begun to be seen, at least in policy documents, as a significant issue. Hakikazi, a Tanzanian NGO, claims that pastoralism is mentioned in the Tanzanian National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty 2005 (NSGRP) due to targeted advocacy by pastoral groups during the 2004 PRS Review, and to pastoralist input in the Tanzanian Participatory Poverty Assessment (TzPPA) (Hakikazi 2005). These later policy documents may also be reflecting the changes in international development discourse discussed above. Importantly the NSGRP refers to the need to promote pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood system. It states that,

“Achievement of sustainable and broad-based growth will incorporate the following strategic actions Promoting efficient utilization of rangeland, empowering pastoralists to improve livestock productivity through improved access to veterinary services, reliable water supply, **recognizing pastoralism as sustainable livelihood**” (United Republic of Tanzania 2005b: 38, emphasis mine).

However, other policies do not seem to view pastoralism in this way. For example, The Rural Development Strategy (RDS), while obviously engaging with the rhetoric adopted by donors concerning pastoralism, clearly aims at reducing pastoralist mobility and therefore the sustainability of pastoralism (United Republic of Tanzania 2001a). The RDS states that:

“... due to spatial and temporal distribution of vegetation, pastoralists have to continuously move in search of good grazing grounds and water. Mobility is therefore a cardinal strategy for the pastoralist to mitigate against fluctuations of climate, periodic droughts and erratic rainfall. However, although there are valid driving forces towards their movements, pastoralists do more harm to overall economy than better due to continuous mobility.” (URT, 2001a: 32).

In contrast, despite few references to pastoralism in Kenya's initial PRSP (GOK 2000), the shift towards seeing pastoralism as a significant issue has been incorporated to a greater degree in Kenya's Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation 2003-2007 (the most recent Kenyan PRSP), which devotes a chapter to Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) (GOK 2003). This is largely due to the efforts of pastoralist groups, supported by international organisations, in the Kenyan PRSP process (Abkula 2002). Kenya has also drafted an ASAL policy, and has set out an ASAL Programme which aims to cater to these areas which have traditionally been a low priority in public resource allocation and programs (GOK 2004).

Education Policies

History of education policies

An awareness of the historical antecedents of some aspects of the two countries' policy environments is helpful in understanding current national policies regarding education in pastoralist areas.

In the post-independence period in Tanzania, Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) policies channelled resources towards primary education and adult literacy in an effort to create a mass base for participatory socialist construction (Cooksey et al. 1994). Towards this end, differences between groups of people were de-emphasised. It was thought by decision makers that such differences, if acknowledged, would risk becoming a divisive element in a country with many ethnic groups, because it might have led to tribalism and ethnic mobilisation, which had been vigorously combated by TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) since the beginning of its anti-colonial struggle. A series of measures relating to the curriculum and educational experience itself, and having a specifically socializing intent, were implemented. For example, the KiSwahili language was given greater emphasis as a measure of social integration and schools were required to develop self-reliance activities, typically a school farm. The fundamental objective of these steps was to submerge any sense of separateness arising from a student's regional origin, social background, or educational experience within the deeper national identity of the socialist Tanzania (Court 1973). Aside from the self-reliance aspect, another aim of school farms in pastoralist areas in Tanzania was to enshrine cultivation as the national ideal and identity, despite the ecological unsuitability of many pastoralist areas for crop cultivation. In contrast, in this period in Kenya little attempt was made to use the curriculum as an explicit socialization device for the purpose of national integration, possibly because the content of Kenya's national vision at that time was less radical.

Whilst many aspects of educational policy in the two countries have differed, a neglect of pastoralist areas has been a common feature. In these areas in both countries educational participation and attainment has been low relative to other areas, and continues to be low. In the colonial period, the factors that led to low rates of formal education in pastoralist areas included the lack of interest of colonial governments in pastoral areas, and relatively little missionary activities. There was also a concentration of educational institutions in the centres of African cash crop

production, plantation, or white settler production, and the centres for trade, administration and service industries (Buchert 1994). After independence, governments directed their limited resources towards those peoples and areas that were more politically powerful and/or perceived as "progressive" (Hodgson, 2001), and disparities between pastoralist and other areas remained. Until recently, attempts to increase enrolment and achievement have been made through the expansion of conventional formal schooling which has been unresponsive to the needs of pastoralists. The only specific measure implemented to try to get pastoralist children into school previously used by these two countries was the setting up of boarding schools in pastoralist areas. These schools have not been successful in terms of increasing participation by pastoralists due to several factors. These include:

- an influx of non-pastoralist children to take advantage of the facilities on offer
- pastoralist parents' inability or reluctance to pay the greater costs associated with boarding
- pastoralist parents' reluctance to entrust their children to these institutions (Community Research and Development Services 2006).

These boarding schools will be discussed in greater detail in the Tanzanian context below.

Current education policies

The Education for All (EFA) movement and the education targets within the MDGs have provided an impetus for many African countries to push for Universal Primary Education (UPE), often with extensive external support. Aside from the rights based argument for the importance of UPE, policy documents have frequently justified the need for investment in education by pointing to the poverty alleviating benefits that have been found to be associated with it (see for example UNESCO 2002, UNESCO 2003). The World Declaration on Education For All (1990) drew attention to removing educational disparities within countries. The needs of particular groups were highlighted, and nomads were specifically mentioned (*ibid.* Article 3). The World Declaration also encouraged 'learning through a variety of delivery systems' and the adoption of 'supplementary alternative programmes' (*ibid.* Article 5). Tanzanian policy is influenced, in some aspects more than others, by such international agendas (Buchert 1997).

Tanzania is currently making progress towards achieving the goal of UPE as a result of the decision to drop primary school fees in 2001 and the implementation of the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) in July 2002 (United Republic of Tanzania 2001b), partly financed through savings made as a result of qualification for the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative in 2001. PEDP aimed at the rapid expansion of primary education, with the objective of enrolling all 7-10 years olds by 2005. It called for the expansion of infrastructure, equipment, and staff capacity. As in the rest of the country, there had been a very large rise in enrolments in my study area in order to meet the targets set out in PEDP. However, enrolment rates were still low compared to the rest of the country. It has been claimed that the Tanzanian national Net Enrolment Rate (NER) for 2005 reached 95%, up from 59% in 2000 (Mungai 2005). In the two sub-villages in which my survey was conducted in late 2004, it was found that the NERs (based on parents' reports of children having been enrolled) were 49.3% and 51.9%. These data would, if anything, give an exaggerated NER, because of parents' unwillingness to mention out-of-school

children. NERs in the study area are low relative to national rates. However, teachers, educational infrastructure and equipment are already massively over-stretched.

Similarly, in Kenya the implementation of a Free Primary Education intervention by the new National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government in 2003 has had a remarkable impact on the enrolment for pastoralist districts. One study demonstrated that enrolment increased by an average of 28%, well above the national average of 22.3%. However, as is the case in Tanzania, this increase has exacerbated problems with teaching and learning facilities (Sifuna 2005).

Educational policy and practice in pastoralist areas in Tanzania

How international and national agendas concerning pastoralism and education discussed above meet in current policies for and the practice of educational service provision for pastoralists in Tanzania will now be discussed. The challenges for educational service provision in pastoralist areas will be described, and it will be demonstrated that, in contrast to the situation in Kenya, these challenges have not been tackled in education policies in Tanzania. Moreover, evidence from long-term anthropological fieldwork will demonstrate that these challenges are even less well met in practice.

Challenges for educational service provision in pastoralist areas

Before the recent educational reforms in Kenya and Tanzania, levels of educational participation and attainment amongst pastoralists were low. For example, Coast's 1997-8 data on rates of schooling by Maasai children in Ngorongoro Conservation Area in Tanzania, and Narok and Kajiado Districts in Kenya, showed that of all children aged 7–12 years, 32% of Kenyan Maasai and 9% of Tanzanian Maasai were attending school, relative to the national rural averages of 65% and 47% respectively (UNDP, 1999, cited in Coast 2002: 99). Some of the challenges for educational service provision to pastoralist areas are similar to those faced by other rural and marginalised households in the region, although often more severe. These include:

- low population densities, resulting in long distances to schools
- a lack of teachers willing to live in the hard conditions found in these areas, resulting in teacher shortages as well as poorly motivated teachers
- parents lack of access to cash to pay for schooling costs such as uniforms and contributions to schools

Other challenges are more unique to the situation of pastoralists:

- a household economy dependant on child labour, with children spending long periods away from the settlement
- pastoralist mobility
- the way pastoralism is presented in the curriculum
- the historical neglect of pastoralists in terms of education and antagonism between the state and pastoralists

Previously, the tendency in these two countries was for governments to more or less ignore the special challenges which the pastoralist way of life posed for educational provision and concentrate instead on transforming these communities as a prerequisite

to such provision. This is illustrated in the case of Tanzania by the forced villagisation in pastoralist areas. In the mid-1970s, the pastoralist population was made to settle in 'villages' which were the pastoralist version of the Tanzanian 'Ujamaa' socialist settlements. They represented a political and administrative unit imposed by the process officially termed 'villagisation' which, amongst other things, aimed to provide services to citizens more efficiently (Ndagala 1982). It was at this time that the first school was built in the study area, and large numbers of children compelled to attend daily, which added to the pressures on households to become increasingly sedentary.

Policy Responses in Kenya

Whilst the special challenges of providing education to pastoralists were largely ignored in the past, the Kenyan government has recently displayed, at least in terms of policies, a willingness to diverge from conventional formal schooling and adapt educational service provision to the needs of pastoralists by devising modes of delivery specifically for pastoralists. One document produced for the Kenyan government stated that, "It is evident today that formal education cannot in its present form reach to every child in the nation by 2015. It is widely acknowledged that new modes of educational delivery must be designed to attain this goal" (Obura 2002:1). The National Commission for the Education of Pastoralist and Nomadic Communities was set up, with the mission to "give special impetus in pastoralist and nomadic communities to achieving the goals of EFA, giving all members of these communities access to lifelong education" (Obura, 2002: 9).

This change in policy direction in Kenya has occurred in the context of:

- the shifts described above towards pastoralists having more political voice
- the need to tackle problems of low school participation in pastoralist areas in the context of the UPE drive
- positive examples from elsewhere of flexible educational service provision for pastoralists, for example the Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK) programme in Uganda

The Kenyan government's Arid Lands Resource Management Project's (ALRMP) website sets out the projects goals with regard to education,

The project will complement existing government and partner initiatives to provide at least basic education to the population in the arid lands. Recognizing that education is a particular challenge in nomadic pastoral communities, who do not reside in the same area all year around, and in view of ALRMP's comparative advantage in working with mobile communities, the project will pay particular attention to strengthening the delivery of mobile education in line with the GoK Concept Paper on the Education of Pastoralist and Nomadic Communities. The project will finance curriculum development for mobile schools, a study on migratory patterns to formulate appropriate mobile and fixed education delivery approaches, and the design and implementation of a mobile schooling pilot in three arid districts. The project proposals and approaches will build upon the experience of existing small scale pilots operating in some of the project districts and adjust these models to allow the government to reach broader coverage. (GOK 2006)

The Kenyan government's latest PRSP states that in ASALs "the objective is to start closing the gap with the rest of the country by developing a creative schooling program for pastoralist children" (Government of Kenya 2005: 59). It has yet to be seen how these plans will be implemented in Kenya, and with what success, but the shift in terms of policies is in itself significant.

Policy Responses in Tanzania

In contrast to the situation in Kenya, in Tanzania neither the PEDP nor any other government education documents have included any special policy provisions for, nor any real recognition of, the unique challenges of providing education in pastoralist areas. This omission is consistent with the lack of attention, discussed above, received by pastoralism as a livelihood in other sectors. The recognition of the need to promote pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood in the NSGRP is not a recognition that has influenced education policy. If it were, specific education policies would have been formulated which sought to decrease the conflicts between schooling and the pastoralist way of life.

The Basic Education Master Plan (United Republic of Tanzania 2001c) does at least recognise that there are challenges in delivering educational services to "pastoralists" and "nomadic and semi-nomadic communities".

Component 1.2.4 Increasing Enrolment of Children from Disadvantaged Communities

Rationale

The Education and Training Policy (1995) states that the government shall guarantee access to basic education to all citizens as is a basic human right. Tanzania however is a heterogeneous society with more than 100 ethnic groupings with differing social, economic and cultural environments. Communities of hunters, fishermen, pastoralists and gatherers have life styles that impede them from getting education. If left un-attended, these communities will continue to be disadvantaged and will lag behind in getting education. These communities need special consideration by the Government to help promote enrolment into primary schools.

Objectives

To promote access to basic education to disadvantaged communities i.e nomads, gatherers, fishing groups and hunters

Activities

- (i) Identify districts with Special Enrolment needs
- (ii) Conduct and/or Use School Mapping results to identify needs of the groups e.g Nomadic, fishing etc.
- (iii) Prepare specific district plan for expansion of enrolment
- (iv) Design programme based on findings for expansion of enrolment
- (v) Sensitize the community on need to enrol their children and enforcing attendance
- (vi) Construct needed facilities to increase the enrolment
- (vii) Identify premises to be used as temporary classrooms
- (viii) Implement the programme for each group
- (ix) Monitor and evaluate

- Targets** (i) Needs assessment conducted by Mid 2001
(ii) Programme design by December 2001
(iii) Districts plans produced and disseminated by January 2002
(iv) Teaching/learning premises established by February 2003
(v) Monitoring and evaluation conducted annually.

(URT, 2001c: 32)

However, the BEMP is not at all specific about the steps to be taken, and no policy documents addressing the issue of educational provision to pastoralists have, to my knowledge, been produced.

COBET Programme

What these mentions of pastoralists and other “disadvantaged communities” in policy documents have led to is the development of the Complimentary Basic Education and Training (COBET) programme by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) in collaboration with UNICEF. PEDP set out plans for this non-formal education to cater for out-of school youth, including “nomadic Communities, street children, disabled, orphans and out of reach” (United Republic of Tanzania 2003). It is not a specific programme to meet the challenges of providing education to pastoralists.

COBET students are supposed to study a different curriculum, but one designed to allow them to take the examinations taken by children in mainstream education at the end of Standards 4 and 8, and to enter the formal system if successful. PEDP states that “the guiding principle in these education initiatives will be that every effort will be made to induct children into the mainstream, formal provision. This means that the strategies for the complementary education programmes are designed for the short-to-medium term only” (United Republic of Tanzania 2001b: 8). Nonetheless, the COBET programme with its more flexible timetable, shorter duration, and no requirement to wear a uniform, could have gone some way to **temporarily** removing barriers which prevent pastoralist children from participating in education. However, in practice the COBET programme has not been functioning in the pastoralist areas studied. The Tanzanian government has in fact acknowledged that COBET does not have a high priority in district education plans with district officers because of insufficient funding (United Republic of Tanzania 2004a: 50).

In each of the four primary schools studied, there were two appointed COBET teachers. This pair consisted of one qualified primary school teacher and one Standard 7 leaver village resident paid to teach COBET. In all schools there was a good degree of knowledge about how the scheme should function. The COBET teachers had all attended training seminars, and were highly aware of the COBET policies. However, the programme was not working as it should have been in any of the schools. In only two of the four schools was it claimed that COBET students were attending. In none of the schools was it claimed that COBET students were being taught separately. I never witnessed COBET teaching. Although special COBET teaching resources were available in all the schools, they were not being used. Teachers explained this with reference to the COBET syllabus not preparing candidates well enough for national examinations. Where COBET students were said to be attending, their attendance was reported to be poor. Teachers attributed this to female students already being married,

and therefore having conflicting responsibilities, and male students being *ilmurran* (the ‘warrior’ age-set), and not wishing to interrupt their period of their lives. The lack of implementation could also be attributed to a lack of motivation amongst teachers and a lack of inspection by district officials. Furthermore, there was an apparent lack of commitment on the part of the communities to the COBET programme, with many parents having little understanding of the aims of COBET.

Boarding Schools

Other than this non-formal education programmes, the other significant attempt by the Tanzanian government to meet the challenges of providing educational services to pastoralists has been the setting up of boarding schools in pastoralist areas, with the aim of allowing pastoralist children to attend school whilst their families migrated with their livestock. There has been a limited response by pastoralists, and non-pastoralists have managed to take up places in these schools. In the predominantly pastoralist Monduli district in Tanzania, there are currently five primary boarding schools, with one having been built very recently with funding from a large international NGO. However, students attending boarding schools are only 6% of the total primary school enrolment in the district. Of these, the number of pastoralist children is very low since many non-pastoralist children are enrolled in the boarding schools (Community Research and Development Services 2006). Longido Primary School, for example, has a reported 200 (28.2%) “nomadic” children out of 708 pupils (Mwegio & Mlekwa 2001: 37), although it is unclear what is meant by “nomadic” in this document. These schools had been fully funded by the government, but from 1997 parents were required to contribute towards the expenses. Parents now pay 20,000TSh per year per child which is half the estimated cost to support one child. The district council pays the other half. This was an unaffordable sum for many of the parents in the study area. Moreover, it is difficult to get a place in these over-subscribed schools, and in the study area the general perception was that a place could only be obtained by those with some degree of power and influence in the town where the local boarding school was located.

Decentralisation of educational service provision

Another national level policy shift which has affected pastoralist areas is the decentralisation of educational service provision. PEDP was set within Tanzania’s broader decentralisation framework, which is supported by donors (e.g. see World Bank 2005). The question of decentralisation in education is addressed in the Dakar Framework for Action as an option to be developed to achieve better governance of education systems.

The current decentralisation agenda for education in Tanzania puts more of the onus for the running of schools on local communities. The stated rationale for this shift is that of “broadening democratic participation and accountability” (United Republic of Tanzania 2001b). Village level school committees were accordingly to be empowered to be responsible for the management and development of the school.

School committees in the four schools studied were made up of teachers and local residents who were Standard 7 leavers. Five days of training were provided in March 2005 for all school committee members by district education officials and the local

education coordinator. Local resident members of these committees have understood their duties as:

- mobilising people about school development
- mobilising people to send children to school
- being involved in the management of the school budget
- being involved in the making and implementation of plans for building school buildings
- monitoring the teaching which occurs in schools

However, in practice in the study area the school committees which are supposed to take on many new responsibilities for the running of schools are ill-equipped to do so. Many have poor literacy and numeracy skills due to the poor education they received themselves. In such a context, parents on school committees will not be able to demand accountability. Teachers tended to blame other local school committee members for the perceived lack of follow-up of these new responsibilities. School committee members often blamed local leaders. There was much mention, amongst both teachers and committee members, of a lack of enthusiasm about education (*'mwamko wa elimu'*) as a reason for this lack of follow-up. The increased responsibility of school committees has, according to parents and teachers in the study area, not led to any significant dialogue between parents and schools. Decentralisation of this kind requires more extensive capacity building. Decentralisation of the education system in contexts such as these carries further risks. When central government devolves the financing of education to district level in pastoralist zones, the ability of local government to raise revenue for schooling through taxation is weak. The result is that communities have to bear a heavy financial responsibility to ensure that schools function (Oxfam 2005), a responsibility that is not being met in the study area, where plans to expand school infrastructure remain unrealised because of a lack of local fund-raising success.

At the same time as higher levels of government are devolving responsibilities, they are not fulfilling those that they retain. For example, schools in the study area were not inspected as frequently as is required, due to the schools' remoteness and lack of transportation available to inspectors.

Shortage of local teachers

There is a shortage of local teachers in pastoralist areas in Tanzania. This is a problem firstly because of the low levels of KiSwahili skills in pastoralist areas in Tanzania, resulting from the historical disparities in educational participation and attainment described above. Problems of communication between teachers, pupils, and parents result. In the villages surveyed by a CORDS project, only 22 out of 60 teachers (37%) were found to be Maa-speaking. Swahili is the language of instruction in Tanzanian primary schools. This is in line with the country's policy of using Swahili to build up unity and cooperation amongst Tanzanians. In contrast, in Kenya a mother tongue policy is in place in lower primary, i.e. the dominant language spoken in the catchment area where the school is located, made possible by the greater number of teachers from all areas.

Secondly, a lack of teachers from pastoralist backgrounds is a problem because non-pastoralist teachers are often unused to the harsh conditions found in pastoralist areas,

and consequently become de-motivated and request transfers. This de-motivation also results from the poor school facilities, including teachers' housing, and lack of inspection from district officials. PEDP states that teachers' houses will be constructed to provide incentives for teachers to work in remote rural areas (URT 2001b: 7). Reports show that nationally, the number of teachers' houses constructed has fallen well below the target (United Republic of Tanzania 2004b: 33-34). This was the case in the study area. In contrast, the Kenyan government has a policy of topping up salaries of civil servants and teachers working in hardship areas, most of which are ASAL areas. This has gone a long way towards attracting teachers to formerly poorly staffed areas. However, most ASAL districts are still highly understaffed (Carr-Hill et al. 2005: 88).

Curriculum and 'hidden curriculum'

There are also issues concerning what is in the curriculum, and what is actually taught and learnt in schools, about pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life.

There is provision in the primary school curriculum for the teaching of skills for pastoralism and farming. The newly developed subject '*Stadi za Kazi*' or 'Work Studies' includes lessons about pastoralism and agriculture in which skills should be taught practically. However, in practice in the study area, '*Stadi za Kazi*' was not taught at all because teachers had not received any training to teach this new subject, and didn't have any of the numerous items of equipment which the syllabus requires. Children reported never having had '*Stadi za Kazi*' lessons, despite these lessons being timetabled.

Some of what is in the curriculum does not appreciate the rationality of aspects of the pastoralist system, and in general expresses negative attitudes about extensive pastoralism. This is demonstrated by the following extracts from primary school text books.

In one social studies textbook the Maasai are described as 'ancestral pastoralists' (*wafugaji wa jadi*). Under the sub-heading of 'Modern Pastoralism' (*Ufagaji wa Kisasa*), it is stated that,

'In Tanzania, ranch pastoralism has various problems. One of these problems is the lack of large areas for pastoralism. This problem is there because many areas are dominated by ancestral pastoralists like the Maasai' (Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania 1998).

In a Standard 3 KiSwahili book, a fictional school-trip to visit Mr Msule, a farmer who keeps a few livestock is described:

... Another student asked, "Sir, if these cows increase in number, will this building be big enough?" Mr Msule replied, "I will continue to rear just four cows. It's better to rear a few cows so that I can look after them well. To rear a lot of cows is a great expense. It's not easy to buy medicines and care for lots of cows. A few healthy cows are more advantageous than lots of cows which are weak." (Tanzania Institute of Education 1995).

Some negative attitudes about pastoralism which are not found in the curriculum are promulgated in schools. A locally born pastoralist who had been a teacher in two of the schools in the area, told me what he had observed when teaching and living in these schools, and when observing those who live around him.

“Those who have had an incomplete education, finishing at primary school, often learn to despise their traditions. They learn through going to school that the Maasai are ‘poor, ignorant and conservative’. This is not in the syllabus as such, but pupils see the way their teachers live, and hear them talking outside the classroom” (Extract from interview).

If such attitudes continue to be taught in schools, this will help to ensure that attitudes prevalent amongst decision makers are anti-pastoralist, and that pastoralists are unable to articulate and advocate for policy change that will be supportive of pastoralism.

School-farms

Whilst school-farms have been a distinctive feature of Tanzanian schools in the post-independence period, at the current time there is little clarity as to official policies regarding these farms. There are still farms on many schools, but there are no periods timetabled in which children are supposed to farm. In the study area, students farmed in periods timetabled for other subjects. Observations in schools, and interviews with pupils revealed that pupils in these schools are still strongly encouraged to become farmers after school, and to value farming. Schools in predominantly pastoralist areas are still attempting to enshrine cultivation as the national ideal and identity. The implications of this in terms of pastoralist poverty are apparent when the very poor harvests obtained by agro-pastoralists in the area are considered.

Attitudes of teachers and officials towards the challenges of education provision in pastoralist areas

In informal situations and in classrooms many negative attitudes about pastoralists, in this case the Maasai, were expressed by teachers and those involved in the running of schools in the study area. However, in discussions about school policy and practice, many teachers and others involved in the running of schools were unwilling to acknowledge differences between pastoralists and non-pastoralists which create challenges for educational provision. Those implementing education policies in pastoralist areas are therefore unlikely to be willing to adjust provision to cater for this difference. For example, one head who became annoyed at the way I was focussing on the fact that the school population was hugely dominated by pastoralist children told me, “I was sent here by the government to teach Tanzanian children, not Maasai children”. This may be related to Tanzania’s national history, and the unifying function schooling has played. Those implementing educational policies in pastoralist areas in Tanzania are influenced by the political unacceptability of publicly acknowledging ethnic difference, and the agenda inherent in Tanzanian education policies which aims to make pastoralists conform to the Tanzanian national identity.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the ways in which international and national agendas concerning pastoralism and education are manifested in the policy and practice of educational service provision in pastoralist areas in Tanzania. In the current global development policy environment, pastoralism is receiving more attention, and is increasingly viewed as a potentially sustainable livelihood, rather than a way of life whose time has passed. This shift in thinking has been incorporated to some degree into East African governments' policies, less so for Tanzania than for neighbouring Kenya.

Pastoralists in Tanzania lack a voice in the policy process, and are ill-equipped to advocate for change in terms of policies or the implementation of policies. This is less so in Kenya. There is also insufficient understanding in Tanzanian policy circles of the realities of educational provision in pastoralist areas, partly because data specifically on pastoralists is scarce. These differences between the countries are evident in policies concerning pastoralism in general and educational service provision for pastoralists in particular. The relative unwillingness apparent in Tanzanian policy and practice to address the specific challenges of educational service provision for pastoralists is also related to Tanzania's past and current national ethos of de-emphasising difference and promoting conformity, and the Tanzanian government's agenda with respect to pastoralism. Pastoralist areas in Tanzania continue to be neglected in terms of policies concerning educational service provision, and in the implementation of these policies.

In terms of current education policy, in the context of international commitment to Education For All, the Tanzanian government makes insufficient special provision for pastoralist areas. In Kenya governments have expressed a desire to adapt educational service provision to meet the needs of pastoralists. Current education policies in Tanzania have little to offer in terms of policy changes specifically formulated for Tanzania's pastoral communities. It is insufficiently recognised in Tanzanian education policies that these areas have distinct and chronic problems, over and above those faced by the sector as a whole. Pastoralists are expected to conform in order to access educational services. Treating the pastoral districts of Tanzania and the people that live there as if they were the same as the rest of the country is not an effective way of addressing decades-old disparities.

Whilst the special challenges for educational service provision in pastoralist areas are not really an issue in Tanzania's education policy, these challenges are even less well met in practice. This neglect of pastoralist areas in terms of educational service provision in both policy and practice are at odds with the international and (to a limited degree) national rhetoric which aims to support pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood. This neglect is likely to have important consequences for poverty reduction in pastoralist areas. It will not help to support pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood.

Changes in policy and practice are essential if education is to reduce poverty in pastoralist areas in Tanzania. Those formulating educational policies in Tanzania need to:

- Re-evaluate their agendas concerning pastoralism in order to put into action the Tanzanian government's commitment to recognize pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood

- Acknowledge and face up to the special challenges of providing educational provision to pastoralist areas
- Be aware of reality of the situation in which policies are being implemented.

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