Background paper prepared for the
Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2015

Education for All 2000-2015: achievements and challenges

Evolution in approaches to educating children from mobile and nomadic communities

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2015

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Cover picture: Dhebar Rabari boys engaged in situated learning, Gujarat, India (c) Caroline Dyer

Abstract

While the policy visibility of mobile and nomadic groups has grown during EFA, the main challenge articulated is of making provision flexible to accommodate mobility. Planners have paid limited attention to identifying learning needs and tended to rely on generic programming for broad categories of 'disadvantaged' learners. Alternative Basic Education has been advocated to enable access, and on the ground, such provision shows some success in enrolling nomadic children in basic education, and in attracting girls. This underlines nomadic groups' demand for education and willingness to use culturally and livelihood-sensitive provision. Open Learning is an option with excellent potential but despite policy interest, implementation experience with children is still lacking. Case studies of mobile pastoralists in Kenya, India and Afghanistan, and sea nomads in Indonesia, highlight state reliance on 'alternative' provision for 'marginal' learners. Equity, equivalence and learner progression all need to be addressed more thoroughly if diversified provision is to address nomadic groups' socio-political marginalisation. This in turn requires an extended post 2015 engagement with the larger, political question over education's role in undermining, or sustaining and validating, mobile livelihoods.

Evolution in approaches to educating children from mobile and nomadic communities

Introduction

Nomads were specifically identified in the 1990 World Declaration on Education For All (EFA) one of several groups requiring 'active commitment' to the removal of educational disparities (WDEFA 1990). The 2010 GMR (UNESCO 2010) called for 'urgent action' to address their continuing, extreme educational deprivation, which reflects a marginalisation rooted in underlying social inequalities (ibid, 135). The global total of uncounted out-of-school children from nomadic pastoralist groups has been estimated at 21.8 million (Carr-Hill 2012), but methodological and definitional difficulties means that actual numbers are likely to exceed this global projection (ibid; see Annex 1).

Nomads comprise millions of people living on land and water who pursue a wide variety of livelihoods that require spatial mobility: there are 'peripatetics' (Rao 1987) who offer specialised services to others (de Jongh and Steyn 2006) and hunter-gatherers, sea nomads, fisher folk and mobile pastoralists. These livelihoods are all intrinsically sustainable but, apart from peripatetics, they require access to resources of the commons, the ownership of which is globally increasingly contested. Education planners have paid too little attention to how education intersects with livelihood security. Effective, responsive education provision needs to know, and respond to, the dynamics of livelihood changes that shape learner demand. Planners have focused far more closely on supply than on understanding and responding to the complexities and contexts of demand and diverse learning needs.

The policy visibility of nomadic groups' education deprivation has grown since 2000, but where they are a population minority it remains patchy. Policy discourses increasingly recognise 'mobile' or 'disadvantaged' groups, but rarely pay sufficient attention to disaggregating such homogenous categorisations of learners, whose mobility and learning needs are both highly diverse. The main challenge these discourses articulate is of enabling access, which entails concern to make provision more flexible and diverse; but the tendency to equate 'inclusion' with improving the physical proximity of services leaves the 'meeting learning needs' dimension of the EFA declaration seriously under-addressed. For learners from a wide range of mobile groups these are critical omissions: they focus provider attention on access and deflect it from examining more fundamental 'terms of inclusion' (Dyer 2013 and 2014) that shape demand – most notably, how differing forms of service provision conflict with or complement sustaining a mobile livelihood, and the roles they play in providing social recognition.

In the EFA period, the Alternative Basic Education paradigm has significantly evolved and goes some way towards addressing extreme formal education deprivation among nomadic groups. This deprivation, however, has in part been produced by an official misrecognition, slow to change, of their livelihoods and cultural values as inimical to state projects of development, modernity and 'progress' (IIED 2009, Niamir Fuller 1999, Appadurai 2004).

Policy discourses continue to show insufficient concern with formal education's instrumentality in these projects. Addressing education deprivation in ways that are meaningful from mobile groups' perspectives continues to be an arena of tensions between rights, relevance, financial resources and political commitment.

Figure 1   The global distribution of mobile pastoralists
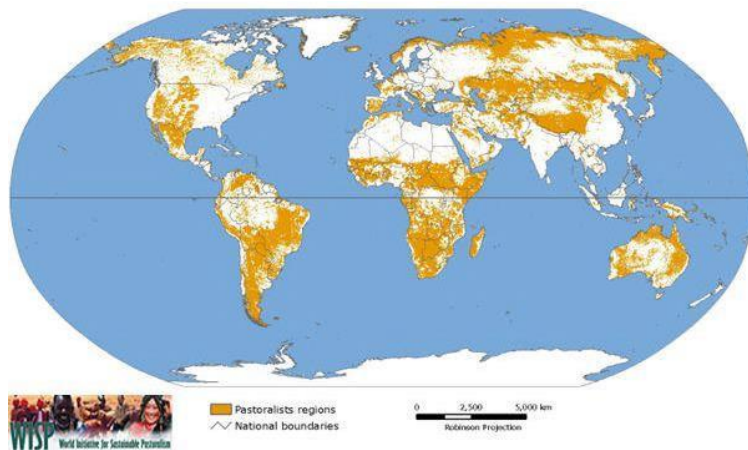
Source: Nori and Davies (2007, 7)

Main challenges of educational provision for mobile communities and policy approaches around 2000

EFA is underpinned by rights-based and human development approaches. Although the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child was nearly universally ratified, it did not quickly lend itself to rights-based education planning. Pledges to Education For All have seen greater recognition of the universal right to education, but the human development approach (UNHDR 1990, Sen 1999) that EFA also espouses continues to have limited policy traction (Robeyns 2006). When EFA began, the primary education sector was dominated by a human capital, rather than a rights or human development, approach. This framing has had an important, and continuing, implication for how duty bearers to the right to education perceive the 'capital' that mobile learners represent, and how learners perceive the 'capital' of education (Dyer 2014). This is one of several unarticulated sub-texts of policy discourses that can explain the persistence of, and difficulties in addressing, mobile groups' education deprivation.

Physical access to schools has always been a difficulty. The geo-spatial zones providing the 'marginal' resources on which mobile groups' livelihoods depend are usually 'remote' rural locations. State under-investment in the infrastructural development of such areas has been, and remains, common (Carr-Hill 2006, Krätli and Dyer 2009). Harsh physical conditions, insecurity, low population density, difficulties in attracting and retaining both learners and teachers in adequate numbers, and teacher quality (VerEcke 1989, McCaffery et al. 2006) make it difficult to achieve economies of scale in service delivery (Krätli 2001, Krätli and

Dyer 2009, Ruto et al. 2009). These operational difficulties are compounded when, as is often the case, such zones are also insecure and/or conflict-prone border areas (IRIN 2009). From providers' perspectives, this may enforce a focus on education inclusion as a security priority (ANDS 2008, Niger 2013), rather than as a basic right for all and/or means of enhancing human capability

Education management information systems had limitations that post 2000 initiatives have sought to tackle. Mobile learners are typically omitted from national population counts (Carr-Hill 2012): poor uptake of services was recognised but against limited insight into the extent of 'missing' learners. Top-down planning approaches meant that decisions on matters affecting mobile groups, including education service provision, tended to be made *for* rather than *with* them (Aderinoye et al. 2007). Reflecting the commonly negative governmentality (Foucault 1994) of state officials towards nomadic groups (Morton 2010), official explanations of low / absent enrolment referred to an assumed lack of interest in / awareness of services the state struggled to supply (Krätli 2001; Little, Aboud and Lenachuru 2009). They showed limited cognisance that standard, unquestioned features of schools - such as their timings, annual calendar, requirement of daily presence – conflict with livelihood management strategies that combine mobility with labour organisation (Dyer 2014).

In pre-2000 policy discourse, pejorative labelling of 'nomads' as 'backward' (e.g. GoI 1987) is found, reflecting a negative framing of mobile livelihoods and social identities in the context of an idea of development as modernity (Gomes 2007). India's 1986/92 National Policy on Education, for example, refers to modernity ten times (MHRD 1992). Formal education, as an instrument in producing modern citizens, was posited as a means of helping mobile pastoralists, for example, out of what was interpreted, incorrectly and usually against a normative frame of sedentary agriculture (Krätli 2001, Niamir Fuller 1999), as a deservedly obsolescent occupation. From this perspective, nomadic groups' unwillingness to be 'included' through education (Unterhalter et al. 2012) in wider society and embrace 'modern' values represents irrationality and backwardness rather than resistance. Consistently low girls' enrolment, reflecting parental concerns over how schooling processes and curricular values fit community codes of moral propriety, as well as the absence of female teachers and educated female role models (Sanou and Aikman 2005, Raymond 2014) could thus be interpreted not as genuine concerns, but as conservative orthodoxy - a further expression of 'backwardness'. By positing schooling's lack of attraction as a problem of demand rather than of service supply, provider attention was deflected from engaging with the relevance, quality and / or cultural fit of that supply – and these are challenges that persist.

Prior to EFA, Mongolia, Iran, and Nigeria all ran large-scale state-driven initiatives for nomadic groups' education. Mongolia is usually cited as having shown significant success with residential schools for pastoralists, but these ran under particular circumstances that no longer obtain. During the socialist regime, residential schools flourished as an integral component of state-funded structural effort to integrate the pastoral production system within the nationalised, command economy (Krätli 2001, Demberel and Penn 2006, Yembuu 2006). Pastoralism's fortunes changed in the post 1990 market economy and residential provision declined in both availability and quality (Yembuu 2006). Iran's iconic state-provided white

tent mobile schools were first mooted in 1924. They were funded, with US support (Gharakhlou 2006), under Persia's Tribal Education Programme, founded in 1955, which offered primary and secondary education, in Persian (Shahbazi 2002). In their heyday both the Mongolian and Iranian initiatives were able to integrate formal education within a pastoralist livelihood, and validate to an acceptable extent pastoralists' cultural values alongside introducing different ones (Shahbazi 2002).

In Nigeria, a Nomad Education Programme initially proposed in 1982 ran into operational difficulty (VerEcke 1989) but a Nomadic Education Policy was published in late 1987. Nigeria uniquely established a Nomadic Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE) in 1989 (Abbo 2011, Ezeomah 1998, Tahir, Muhammad and Mohammed 2005) to diversify provision, recognising that school-based strategies do not have the capacity to go to scale (Muhammed and Abbo 2010). Many of Nigeria's 3.1 million nomadic children still remain outside the system despite the conscious attempt to diversify (Aderinoye, Ojokheta and Olojede 2007), and NCNE has itself experienced difficulties of inconsistent and inadequate funding. Nigerian residential school experience illustrates the difficulties of achieving enrolment, quality assuring and developing appropriate capitation formulae for schools specifically designed for nomadic groups (Aderinoye et al. 2007). Critics of NCNE's performance have called for greater attention to quality improvement and assurance (Aderinoye et al. 2007, Tahir et al. 2005), and attention to the relevance of curricula that promote social values diverging from those of pastoralists.

Mobility has been addressed over many years through small-scale and experimental mobile schools, both state-sponsored and donor-supported, in many countries (e.g. in Algeria, Siberia (cf. Krätli 2001), Nigeria, and India (Rao 2006, Suri 2014)). Some 200 mobile schools were established in Sudan in the mid-1990s with UNICEF sponsorship (Casciarri and Manfredi 2009, cit Krätli and Dyer 2009, 57). Erratic documentation makes it difficult, however, to track the success of these initiatives. Another response to mobility, distance provision, has also attracted donor support: the Mongolia Gobi women's literacy project is a notable example (Robinson 1999) and in resource-constrained contexts radio is an inexpensive option, although Kenya's large-scale radio education programmes in 1999 suddenly became unsustainably expensive when air-time was privatised (Murphy et al., 2002, cit Krätli and Dyer 2009, 23). In well-resourced systems, Australia's School of the Air, designed to serve outback rather than mobile children, is a very full expression of distance provision [1], and the UK's Scottish Traveller Education Project (STEP) has also made extensive use of distance learning materials to ensure children's learning is not interrupted during periods of travel.

Calls in Dakar (and Jomtien) (WEF 2000, WDEFA 1990) for greater flexibility reflected recognition of mobile groups' widespread deprivation of their right to education, and there was good potential to address both mobility and learning needs through flexible forms of provision. What was at stake, as the call translated into national policies, was whether

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[1] School of the Air provision has expanded from initial radio-based provision to include web-based resources and interactive whiteboards, and costing about twice as much per learner as place-based schooling (Dyer 2014).

education inclusion could translate into meaningful learning within and for those mobile livelihoods, rather than education as a means of exiting them.

Policy evolution since 2000, status of key policies, and continuing challenges

Among nomadic groups, the post-Dakar decades have seen a significant growth of interest in educational services. Demand is driven by a range of factors, many of which reflect pressures on mobile livelihoods and political marginalisation. These include: deterioration of the natural resource base (often an outcome of state-led development activity that has degraded the environment and dispossessed traditional user groups); the impact of global warming (felt in successive droughts, including the snow droughts (*dzud*s) in Mongolia); deliberate policy proaction to curtail mobile livelihoods and encourage sedentarisation (cf. Danaher, Kenny and Leder 2009); greater need than before for basic literacy skills as mobile livelihoods are increasingly integrated in market economies; and greater awareness (often linked to civil society advocacy activity) of the right to education, and of how education deprivation links with social and political marginalisation.

Supply has generally become more diverse, but not everywhere sufficiently flexible to ensure even physical access for all nomadic children; and education policy frames rarely move beyond seeing education 'inclusion' as more than this. Enhancing and deepening understandings of flexibility remains a challenge with particular dimensions for nomadic groups. Nomads' adaptive responses to livelihood challenges are well documented in the literature (Blench 2001) and characteristically aim to ensure household security by livelihood diversification (Chatty 2006). This in turn creates a mixed economy of education demand, at household levels as well as across groups and contexts, to which supply needs to respond. A basic planning rule of thumb ought to be that in contemporary contexts, any 'nomadic' household's income security and well-being is likely to be best served by pluralistic provision that simultaneously enables some members to seek an education that helps support their traditional livelihood and others to seek education as means of accessing different income-generating opportunities. This raises many challenges of relative and relational equity for education providers.

For children who intend to stay within a mobile livelihood, provision that is not static is almost certainly a pre-requisite (but see Little et al. 2009 for an exception in Kenya). More work on developing a strong, systemic response is required to build on the gains made since 2000. Political commitment to this is not only tested by resource constraints, but also by an inherent bias towards the sedentary and against the mobile that hampers realisation of all basic human rights for nomadic groups (Gilbert 2014).

Sedentarisation, 'inclusion' and education inequalities

An increasing trend of sedentarisation among nomadic groups appears to be a global phenomenon (Gilbert 2014) with local exceptions (e.g. Robbins 2004). Exiting a mobile livelihood may enable school enrolment, but often has impoverishing effects for at least the

first sedentarising generation (Dyer 2014) that may jeopardise retention (UNICEF 2014a). Since the poorest households are most likely to be served by often underperforming state systems, formerly mobile learners are 'included' in schooling of a quality generally highlighted as problematic in global assessments (UNESCO 2014). There is some evidence that system under-performance impacts negatively on nomadic groups' motivation to enrol, and on retention (e.g. Bangsbo 2004, Ruto et al. 2009; and see case studies). This is not unique to such groups, as the intensifying critical attention to the urgent need to improve school quality and address the 'learning crisis' of the MDG era makes evident (UNESCO 2014).

In keeping with global trends of urbanisation (Gilbert 2014), formerly nomadic people often settle in unorganised peri-urban settlements, where the likely fare is poor quality employment and exposure to unprecedented material poverty, as Greany (2012) found among Uganda's Karimojong and is documented from Mongolia (Gharakhlou 2006; see also Dyer 2014 for western India). How best to provide recognised, good quality formal education in unrecognised dwelling areas will require more vigorous policy attention post 2015. Again, this concern includes, but is not specific to, formerly nomadic children.

An improving evidence base

By the mid-term of EFA, policy communities could access a growing evidence base on pastoralism and education, particularly in relation to East Africa. Krätli (2001) mapped the literature in a World Bank commissioned review some months before Dakar; and the African Development Bank commissioned a literature review looking specifically East Africa (Carr-Hill 2006), based on a study carried out in 2001-2002 by a UNESCO/UNICEF task force and financed by the Japanese Trust Fund (Krätli and Dyer 2009). Action Aid had commissioned a survey of the impact of free primary education on Kenyan pastoral communities (Sifuna 2005), and Oxfam (2005) published a review of its work on nomads and education. In 2007, USAID and PACT Ethiopia funded a study (Anis 2008) to update the 2001-2002 UN study.

In addition to education work, very strong evidence from the 'mobility paradigm' (Niamir-Fuller 1999) of pastoralist studies (IIED 2009) emphasising pastoralists' unparalleled expertise in managing uncertainty productively (Blench 2001), is now available to help refute the kinds of inaccurate assumptions about mobile livelihoods that were outlined earlier. The 'modern and mobile' stance is strongly promoted by the African Union Commission (African Union Commission 2010). Despite all these initiatives, education sector planner awareness and/or conviction about the rationality of mobile livelihoods is far from universally established (IIED 2009, Ogachi 2011).

Growing policy visibility

At the time of the World Education Forum in Dakar, Nigeria's National Commission on Nomadic Education was exceptional in the African context (Krätli and Dyer 2009). Much higher policy recognition is now evidenced, again particularly across East Africa where, for example: Tanzania's Basic Education Master Plan includes two components aimed at

increasing the enrolment of nomadic communities (MOET 2001); Ethiopia's Federal Ministry of Education has a 'Pastoralist Programme'; Sudan's Federal Ministry of General Education launched a 'Nomadic Education Strategic Plan' in 2009 (UNICEF 2009 cit Krätli and Dyer 2009) and Kenya's Ministry of Education published a 'Nomadic Education Policy' in 2010 that involved creating a Kenyan Commission on Nomadic Education (MOEK 2008a).

Discussions of policy priorities and programming strategies have seen significant international agency and government support. In 2001 UNICEF and the Ministry of Education in Niger organised an International Workshop on Basic Education for Nomads (MEBA/UNICEF 2003, cit Krätli and Dyer 2009). A seminar on pastoralists and education in the Horn of Africa was held in 2004 in The Hague, by PENHA and LEAD-UL (Bosch et al. 2006). Two Commonwealth-supported Forums on Flexible Education focused specifically on nomadic peoples (on Africa in 2006, hosted by the Kenyan Ministry of Education and UNICEF (de Souza 2006/MOEK/UNICEF 2006) and on South Asia in 2008 (hosted by India's Ministry of Human Resource Development and National Institute of Open Schooling (CommSec/Dyer 2009)). In 2008, the Save the Children Alliance organised a 'Regional Pastoralist Education Workshop' in Addis Ababa (Fonseca 2008). The 18th Conference for Commonwealth Education Ministers in 2012 also discussed nomadic groups' education. In December 2013, a donor-supported regional conference on educating nomadic groups in the Francophone Sahel was held in Niger. Global Pastoralist Gatherings bringing pastoralists from different countries together to set out their needs and expectations have also been held: the first Global Gathering for Women Pastoralists (GGWP), supported by IFAD and the World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism, was held in India in 2010 (MARAG/IFAD 2011).

Missing learners – mis-recognised as out-of-school children

Post-Dakar national legislation and policies signal growing engagement with the right to education of *all* children (UNICEF 2014a) and frame education deprivation as a rights-based concern. Significant progress has also been made made in systemic ability to identify missing learners; but disaggregating specific groups from general statistical profiles to guide focused action is challenging, even when the data are robust (MOEK 2008b; Watkins 2012).

Most recently, such children have been recognised as out-of-school children (with a new acronym, OOSCs) (UNICEF 2014a). This label reflects the continuing assumption that formal schooling somehow has the capacity to include them, and that formal schooling is *the* solution to their education deprivation. Yet for many mobile groups, it is this very form of education provision that is centrally implicated in their education deprivation. Beyond matters of physical access, this is fundamentally because, as a model derived for and suited to sedentary populations, geo-spatially fixed schooling conflicts with the patterns of labour organisation and mobility on which nomadic livelihoods depend (see Dyer 2014 for detail). For learners who are and will remain mobile, OOSC terminology is better avoided if the range of connotative assumptions it carries are to be tackled. The basic human right is to education, not to schooling (UN-HDR 1948, CRC 1990).

Despite the attention Dakar paid to meeting learning needs (WEF 2000), learning itself has largely become a 'by-product of increased access' (UNESCO 2013, 22). Policy discourses of 'education deprivation' fail spectacularly to recognise situated livelihood learning as a form of education essential for nomadic groups' livelihood sustainability; or that enrolling in externally provided education provision must necessarily be considered against the opportunity cost of forgoing such education. Formal education is a contested resource (Levinson and Holland 1996), a means of perpetuating but also of challenging social norms. This tension is written large in long-standing debate over formal education's relevance to nomadic groups (Ruto et al. 2009, Rao 2006, Krätli 2001). Significant political challenges accompany questioning how forms of externally provided education do, and should, relate to nomadic groups' current and future socio-occupational identities.

Making systems more flexible and responsive to mobile learners

Accountability to communities and pledges to quality education now feature widely in policy and implementation framework documentation as policy priorities. Governance reforms, typically supported by Education Sector Plans / SWAPs, have focused on decentralisation as a means of enhancing system responsiveness and encouraging local decision-making (Dyer and Rose 2005), but expected benefits are often compromised by weak systemic capacity to make constructive use of responsibilities (UNICEF 2014a). Sub-regional capacity to identify and respond appropriately to local requirements may require focused attention if decentralisation is to deliver on policy intentions. Further, while discourses of decentralisation focus on the formal sector, mobile children who do use education services are likely to be enrolled across various forms of provision which are themselves delivered by a diverse range of non-state providers. Close attention needs to be paid to specifying which authority is responsible for tracking learners and ensuring their progression and achievement. Such monitoring is already difficult in rural schools; overseeing mobile provision adds a further tier of complexity (USAID 2012), and is an extension of the range of location-related disadvantages noted in the 2013 GMR (UNESCO 2013); and adding diversity of provider to an already challenging mix brings yet another tier of complexity. To achieve these dimensions of a fully accountable decentralised system, both recognition of their importance, and building of systemic capacity, are still required.

While policy documentation envisages free provision, identifying effective formulae for fair resource allocation in contexts of fluctuating learner populations and appropriate staffing ratios is difficult. For example, Kenya's capitation grant is distributed on the basis of number of students enrolled, which disadvantages the 12 counties in the ASALSs that are home to 46% of Kenya's out-of-school population (UNESCO 2013). Social security nets and cash transfer schemes are now widely used for sedentary groups to underpin household investment in schooling and alleviate opportunity costs for the very poor; but these take fixed schools as their reference point, and as such are not designed to attract mobile learners. In the contexts of mixed provision and responsibilities that have emerged during EFA and will persist, closer attention to how states do, and should, allocate funds for mobile learners (particularly when

states rely on non-state providers for service delivery) is required to inform more equitable planning.

Alternative Basic Education as a policy response

Dakar made an important call for greater flexibility in provision and recognised that 'alternative programmes' offering 'basic' education could fulfil children's basic right to education where schools are unsuited. Rather than challenge the discriminatory 'terms of inclusion' (Dyer 2013) imposed by the normative and operational parameters of 'mainstream' provision, such calls have more readily translated into education sector development plans for provision of Alternative Basic Education (ABE) alongside school-based primary education (see all case studies, below). In Ethiopia, for example, where approximately 10 million pastoralists comprise about 14 percent of the population (PFE, IIRR and DF 2010), the Third Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP III) (MoEE 2005) proposed an 'ABE package' and multi-sectoral approach in pastoralist zones, citing the recommendation of the 2002 IIEP commissioned study on Nomadic Education in East Africa (Carr-Hill 2006): this focus has been reiterated in subsequent ESDP-guided planning. Similarly, Indonesia has a three-tiered ABE 'paket' (MoNe 2007a, ARINES 2003); India has ABE under the guise of an Alternative and Innovative Education strand of its national framework (SSA 2005a, 2005b).

Defining ABE has itself been a focus of deliberation (e.g. at the 2003 Ethiopian Alternative Basic Education Conference, cit. Redd Barna (2007)): but is broadly a variety of non-formal education that offers those 'unable to use the formal schooling system' the chance to 'benefit from alternative educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs such as literacy, numeracy, oral expressions and problem-solving' (Redd Barna 2007, 20).

Much of ABE's appeal for nomadic groups is that it is unconstrained by form, and it can be mobile. There is experience of provision in a tent, a bus, a boat (Maksud and Rasul 2006), or as a couple of boxes on the back of a camel or donkey. It can be as simple as the UNICEF 'school in a box'[2] or comprise a more complex multi-grade model such as that Oxfam trialled in Sudan (Aikman and El Haj 2006). Flexibility over curricular content and pace; respect for community social values; and capacity to investigate and respond to demand, and to enrol and retain girls are acknowledged strengths of such provision. ABE has clearly demonstrated that nomadic groups are willing to enrol both boys and girls (e.g. Sanou 2003, Carr-Hill 2006, Raymond 2014) when provision is offered on acceptable terms. However, there is some evidence that these programmes also struggle to retain children and rarely offer demonstrable evidence of learning outcomes (Anis 2007). However, since official recognition of ABE remains variable and often limited, children enrolled such provision may be officially recorded as out of school. This makes it difficult to assess its scale and impact (Rose 2009,

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[2] The Mobistation, a technologised innovation building on the school in the box idea was to be trialled in Kenya from 2013. 26.2.2014. http://unicefinnovation.org/projects/mobistation

UNICEF 2014a). Since ABE is clearly a promising option for certain patterns of mobility, a stronger post 2015 focus on recording enrolment, retention and learning in such provision is indicated. To do justice to this intention, learning in particular needs to be assessed in ways that do not replicate inflexible parameters of schooling, in keeping with the curricular intentions of 'alternative' provision.

On the ground, programmatic initiatives of 'mobile' provision operating at scale are generally biased towards semi-mobile learners (Krätli and Dyer 2009) rather than those with more complex, sporadic patterns of mobility. This is an important limitation, yet finds insufficient policy recognition. While ABE is usually offered on lowered student-teacher ratio (from 25:1 to 10:1), even mobile ABE provision depends on aggregates of learners. Since these aggregates scatter rapidly, enrolment and progression are liable to be unstable (IIRR nd). An illustrative example is the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction's 'Pastoralist Education Project' which began in 2005 under the Education for Marginalized Communities umbrella which covers Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda, and has enrolled ca. 18500 children (IIRR nd). Project documentation shows a range of activity including lobbying, construction of facilities, and a focus on improving early reading proficiency. Despite acknowledging the need to provide services suited to mobile livelihoods, it focuses on establishing (temporary) structures (Fig. 2) rather than providing truly *mobile* schools. Difficulties with learner retention, an articulated concern, appear to reflect this bias.

Figure 2   A 'reading shed' in East Africa

Source: http://www.iirr.org/index.php/programs/education (18.2.2014)

Creating truly mobile provision for highly mobile learners is in itself a major challenge (Dyer 2008); monitoring and maintaining quality, neither of which is even remotely adequate in most fixed-place state-run provision (UNESCO 2013), is an additional tier of extreme difficulty. This is underlined in a very rare account (USAID 2012) of attempting to quality-assure camel-back schools on a 120km radius in Ethiopia. Where learners are highly mobile, and this mobility is, in addition, sporadic, an Open Learning approach may offer a viable alternative to 'schools' on the ground, although this approach is also not without difficulties.

ABE programming is widespread and is a strategy of provision that enables many mobile children to enrol in basic skills programmes. This is a significant gain, particularly for girls' enrolment, although learner retention is still not a given (see case studies) and nor is assessment of learning. Building a truly alternative *system* that does not rely on conventional

schooling for certification or assume that children who need more than Basic education will attend mainstream schools nevertheless remains challenging. ABE programmes tend to complement formal school programmes, 'fill[ing] gaps that formal schools do not address' rather than continuing in parallel with formal education system (Redd Barna 2007, 20). This 'add-on' status requires closer attention, with a view to enhancing systematic provision without losing responsiveness and flexibility; and to addressing the longstanding 'second best' perception associated with non-formal provision, to ensure that 'marginal' learners are not ghettoed into short-term 'marginal' provision.

Recognition of ODL's potential

Open and Distance Learning (ODL), which can remove barriers to learning linked to time, place, pace, methods of study (Perraton 2007) has also attracted growing attention in the context of calls for flexible strategies for 'hard to reach' learners. In 2004, the All-Africa Ministers' Conference in South Africa focused on Open Learning and Distance Education; its potential was discussed in a 2005 UNESCO-IIEP study on East Africa (reported in Carr-Hill 2006) and a GMR 2010 background study (Ruto et al. 2009); and endorsed in 2010 as a policy strategy in Kenya (Krätli and Dyer 2009; see below).

Although mobile telephony offers a clear avenue for future exploration, so far radio has received the most active consideration. Because many pastoralists listen to the radio, the educational potential of this medium can readily be extended (Aderinoye et al. 2007; Krätli and Dyer 2009; Robinson 1999), although as Dyer (2014) found in in Western India, radio is not universally used, nor is its use approved by all mobile pastoralists. Further, the tendency to use radio didactically, which Muhammad and Abbo (2010) report from Nigeria, underlines that ODL's intrinsic flexibility cannot necessarily survive old habits, and/or the formal structures that operationalise provision (Krätli and Dyer 2009). To fulfil its potential for highly mobile learners, ODL must become a self-standing delivery model and transcend its more familiar use as a means of enriching school-based learning. However this delivery mechanism also needs to ensure that its curricular content meets nomadic groups' learning and language needs and successfully attend to livelihood relevance.

So far, policy-level acceptance of ODL as a feasible approach to delivering the mainstream school curriculum has lagged behind advocacy for it. It is difficult to overcome state stakeholders' perceptions of expense and risk that are associated with departing from established forms of on the ground provision, particularly when implementation experience for children remains absent. Providing this experience has yet to become an enacted policy priority. Further, while ODL provision can address operational constraints, it lacks the social validity of school-based provision (Morpeth and Creed 2012) and, like ABE, demands attention be paid to qualification equivalence, and to how ODL provision can confer social capital on already marginalised communities. This again raises the persisting question of curricular relevance for such learners; and there is some encouraging experience that where state providers are willing to negotiate this in dialogue with nomadic groups, mutually acceptable compromises can be reached (Cavannah and Abkula 2009, Chatty 2006).

Case studies: nomadic groups' education inclusion in Kenya, India, Afghanistan and Indonesia

The following case studies discuss policy evolution in four contexts: Kenya, India and Afghanistan (mobile pastoralists) and Indonesia (sea nomads). They highlight progress towards conceiving provision more flexibly, but that access is the dominant focus. Grasping the political nettle of how education can and should relate to the undermining of nomadic livelihoods emerges as a largely unaddressed priority in all contexts. This is possible because, in their focus on access, education planners are paying insufficient attention to learning needs (and their plurality). These cases underline the need to become alert to learning needs, and how they relate to extensive changes in nomadic groups' livelihoods; and to be aware that using education to promote sedentarisation reflects an unjust bias towards delegitimising nomadic livelihoods which often makes 'inclusion' a process of material impoverishment and undermines socio-cultural diversity.

1.   Kenya

Kenya's pastoralist groups comprise about 7 million people (Livingstone 2005) largely concentrated in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) that comprise 70% of Kenyan land area (MDNKOAL 2010b). A fairly comprehensive policy framework focusing on their education inclusion is in place although political uncertainty has slowed implementation: provision is offered in a wide range of forms and modalities that include direct state or civil society provision, and partnerships between government, international agencies and civil society organisations.

A 2004 sessional paper on the national education policy framework (MOEST 2004) remarked that the government would 'institut[e] reforms to address challenges related to access, equity, quality and relevance' (ibid, 30), and recognised the need to 'develop strategies to enhance participation of children in special circumstances including […] the ASALs' (ibid, 35), and to provide 'additional support to low cost boarding schools' there (ibid, 34). Abolition of school fees in 2003 had largely failed to catalyse enrolment in the ASALs: an 'inexcusable gap' between this region and the rest of Kenya (MDNKOAL 2010a, 24) was evident when in 2007, public primary school enrolments in the ASALs showed net ratios of below 30% for boys and 20% for girls (cit Ruto et al. 2007, UNESCO 2010).

In April 2008, a regional Ministry of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands (MDNKOAL) was formed to support line ministries (Elmi and Birch 2013), but with a meagre budget (UNESCO 2010, 193) that was no match for the scale of its remit (MDNKOAL 2010b, 25). Picking up on the 2005 SACMEQ II remark that meaningful intervention should be guided by studies focusing on the fit between schooling and pastoralism (Onsomu et al. 2005, 157), MDNKOAL commissioned in 2009 a literature review of strategic options for educating pastoralists (Krätli and Dyer 2009) alongside participatory consultations (Cavannah and Abkula 2009). In January 2010 a joint Ministerial workshop (MDNKOAL 2010a and 2010b) endorsed the recommendation that ODL be used as the foundation of a flexible system that allows learners to remain engaged in mobile

pastoral production while accessing provision that is formal and mainstream but *not* school-based (Krätli and Dyer 2009). Policy Guidelines on Nomadic Education following in 2010 recommended establishing a National Commission on Nomadic Education in Kenya (NACONEK) and endorsed the ODL-based strategy (MDNKOAL 2010a). Between 2010 and 2012 MDNKOAL focused on establishing the NACONEK, which was approved in December 2012, but MDNKOAL itself was disbanded following the 2013 election and implementation of the ODL strategy has stalled.

Despite boarding schools in the ASALs being designated 'low cost', a cost sharing approach originating in aid conditionalities has burdened parents with boarding fees (Abdi 2010), and allowed non-pastoralist children to take up places in schools originally established for pastoralists (Krätli with Dyer 2006, 17). Poor pastoralist attendance and retention reflect discomfort with schools in a poor state of physical repair, a curriculum that does not acknowledge their social values (Krätli 2001), and socialisation that requires them to change their dietary habits from milk and meat to maize and beans (Abdi 2010, 68). Since the 2006 and subsequent droughts, schools have served as centres for food aid. An associated upward enrolment trend (de Souza, MOEK/UNICEF 2006) is at least partly driven by the negative impact on pastoralism of frequent droughts.

In what has now become familiar as ABE provision, Kenya has a long tradition of mobile schools. The Education for Marginalized Communities in Kenya programme umbrella offers mobile schools for pastoralists; Oxfam's ABET, introduced in Turkana in 2004, ran about 30 mobile schools (ibid) within the larger programme; UNICEF has sponsored more than 50 mobile schools (de Souza, MOEK/UNICEF 2006); and there are many smaller initiatives run by local civil society organisations. In 2005, a USAID partnership with the Kenyan MoE, Aga Khan Foundation, and the local NGO Nomadic Heritage Aid, upgraded the mobile Somali Quranic School (*dugsi*), by wrapping a secular basic skills curriculum around the learning of Muslim religious traditions (USAID 2012). By March 2012, three mobile schools had reportedly served 80 children, including 28 girls; and 14 children had transitioned to a nearby boarding school to complete the primary stage.

Another important initiative, in recognition of the lack of a 'literate environment' (UNESCO 2006) in pastoralist areas, has been mobile library provision. Kenya's National Library Service, for example, launched camel libraries as an alternative to motorised mobile libraries in 1985: three of those, supported by BookAid International, each make about 200 books [3] available in pastoralist zones.

Conclusion

Kenya shows a wide range of donor/state/NGO partnerships focusing on pastoralists' education inclusion, and innovative practices. The policy visibility of their right to education is high and recognition of the relevance of their livelihood, while not uncontested, is considerably better established here than in the other country case studies. State partnerships

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[3] http://www.knls.ac.ke/index.php/public-library/camel-library

with, and/or reliance on donors and civil society organisations have enabled provision to be made available but inevitably raise the issue of the availability and stability of requisite financial resources. Provision on which pastoralists depend is often programmatic, itself dependent on what may well be inconsistent or short-term funding, as civil society organisations themselves adapt to changing donor priorities and the fall-out of the 2008 economic downturn. From here comes also clear evidence of a wider issue in relation to equity in ABE: ABE provision generally only provides opportunities to learn basic skills, and learners wishing to progress are subsequently reliant on formal provision. This is an aspect of education deprivation associated with 'inclusion' via ABE that has excited less attention than it should.

2.   India

India showed remarkable progress in reducing numbers of out-of-school children from 32 million in 2001 to 7 million by 2007 (NUEPA 2008), but it is likely that by 2015, over a million children will remain out of school (UNESCO 2013, UNICEF 2014b). Difficulties of enumeration alone should cast doubt on whether this number really includes children from nomadic groups; and India's challenges of learner retention and achievement are well documented (e.g. ASER 2015). The 2008 EFA mid-term report pointed to a 'long struggle ahead' in 'meeting the educational needs of the traditionally marginalised and excluded groups' (NUEPA 2008, 4), which was a prominent theme of the 1986/92 National Policy on Education (MHRD 1992).

The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA 2005a, Colclough and De 2010) launched in 2001 focuses on 'disadvantaged groups' (SSA 2005b, 1.7.10), and calls for 'specific strategies for special groups like child labour, street children, adolescent girls, girls belonging to certain backward communities, children of migrating families, etc.' (SSA 2005b, 5.1.1.iii). Despite the SSA call, the impact of migration on education participation has received inadequate policy and research attention (Govinda and Bandyopadhyay 2008). The 2009 Right to Education (RTE) Act enforces every child's right to eight years of free, compulsory, quality education, but in a 'neighbourhood school' (RTE 2009, 3), the place-based parameters of which its sets out in detail. Although the RTE shows growing flexibility in policy definitions of accessibility, it accommodates mobility poorly, a further exemplification of Agrawal and Sabarwal's (2004, 37-38) critique that: 'State social services, designed with sedentary populations in mind, have ignored mobile households and facilitated high levels of illiteracy, malnutrition and medical neglect'.

India's policies for affirmative action promote access by the 'weaker sections' (MHRD 1992) to state employment and tertiary education by identifying groups according to lists deriving from Constitutional Schedules. Nomadic groups fall within the Scheduled Tribe and Other Backward Classes lists, and continue to suffer the legacy of discriminatory colonial attitudes that conflated mobility with vagrancy and criminality. An attempt in 2008 by the National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes to establish a recognised, specific Scheduled categorisation for them failed (Renake 2008; ToI 2008). The Schedule classification also affects residential schooling provision (e.g. Dyer 2014, VSSM 2008) when

this is state-aided, since more support is offered to those deemed ST than those deemed OBC (which in turn results in a struggle for classification at a 'higher' level of 'disadvantage' to secure increased incentives). In any case, accessing the benefits of 'reservation' strategies requires prior access to formal mainstream education in a system that has poor capacity to enrol or retain highly mobile learners (Dyer 2014), and recognised problems with low quality state-provided residential provision.

SSA accommodates 'marginal' learners under its Alternative and Innovative Education strand. District level projects have given rise to an array of alternative provision (MHRD 2007), including seasonal site-based schools, camps and bridge courses (Hati and Majumder 2009) that have enabled provision for mobile learners. For mobile pastoralists, Jammu and Kashmir established 'Seasonal Educational Schools' (Suri 2014) in high summer pastures for those practising 'vertical' migration in the Himalayan zone to provide continuity for children attending schools during winter when lower pastures are used; teachers remain at the temporary camps and provide education to children accompanying their families. Suri (2014, 31) describes their condition as 'pathetic', lacking any semblance of government commitment to meeting basic operating standards. In Andhra Pradesh, an SSA 'School on Boat' initiative in East Godavari district enabled initial access for children of some 189 fisher families, but SSA then expanded provision to fixed temporary accommodation on the river bank (MHRD 2007).

The evidence suggests that AIE provision has a clear bias towards accommodating the 'easier' patterns of mobility that are typically associated with seasonal labour or relatively simple pastoralist movement. For these patterns of mobility, semi-permanent on-site provision is feasible. In Gujarat, innovative, although labour intensive, e-based primary school learner tracking has attempted to ensure that children of families undertaking seasonal labour migration can enrol in destination schools and, in keeping with the RTE pledge, sit exams on their return. Here, only this form of migration is established in the policy gaze, although Gujarat is home to an estimated 600,000 mobile pastoralists (MARAG 2012, cit Dyer 2014). State-level officials themselves have noted that pastoralist mobility is more challenging and hence of lower priority, while projecting it also as less rational than seasonal labour migration; District-level officials in Kachchh, a key pastoralist area, had made provision for seasonal labourers but none at all for mobile pastoralists (Dyer 2014). If an upside of SSA is capacity to respond flexibly with local projects, a downside is fixed financial formulae that enforce choosing target groups; and choice is shaped by local perceptions of priority which reflect negative governmentality in India towards nomadic groups (e.g. Morton 2010; Sharma et al. 2003). More generally, across India very small AIE provision of often problematic quality has been identified as requiring urgent investigation (Govinda 2014).

Mobile pastoralism in India is largely (but not everywhere cf. Robbins 2004) rapidly losing ground to agricultural and industrial expansion. Erosion of pastoralist access to resources (Bharwada and Mahajan 2006) and decline in the social status of their livelihood (Dyer 2008, Rao 2006, Rao and Casimir 2003) has intensified demand for formal education as a means towards livelihood diversification, income security and a more respected social identity as

'educated' (Jeffrey et al. 2004, Dyer 2014). Since supply is only widely available in place-based mainstream schools that cannot accommodate mobile learners, formerly fully mobile households are now often reducing herd sizes to free up labour, and splitting, to enable some children to attend school in 'home' villages. (Such trends are reported also in other country contexts, e.g. Kenya (Pattison 2011) and Uganda (Greany 2012.)

Enrolment trends among newly-sedentarised children tend to favour boys, and to disadvantage girls assigned to domestic work and those boy(s) who remain in pastoralism, unable to access existing provision. Such boys are in India, as in other country contexts, routinely and predictably excluded from all existing forms of provision including ABE where this is available. In sedentary settings, Dyer (2014) found that as users of state-provided schooling, uneducated pastoralists often lack the knowledge and power to challenge the informal policy practices perpetuating poor quality public provision on which they and others (e.g. ASER 2015, Rogers and Vegas 2009) comment. In Uttarakhand, adult education provision to enhance such capabilities was offered to pastoralist communities for several years by the Rural Litigation and Entitlement Kendra (RLEK) (RLEK 1993; Krätli and Dyer 2008, 37-38).

Conclusion

In India, while there are some donor/state/civil society partnerships, few of these focus on pastoralists' education inclusion. India, now designated a 'middle-income' country, has considerably less donor-supported activity in education than countries in Africa, and general state programmes that so far have focused only very sporadically on nomadic groups. Pressures on livelihoods have triggered third-sector networking such as the FAO-sponsored Rangeland Observatory workshop held in Ahmedbad in June 2013 (IUCN 2013): but the immediate priority is land grabbing rather than education. While pastoralist NGOs report the need to work on basic education initiatives, very few have so far done so [4]. India's pastoralists are relatively - and indeed increasingly - unlikely to find much opportunity for education inclusion outside state provision. SSA's encouragement of more flexible AIE provision has been undermined both by its own overly rigid norms (NKC 2007) and by the RTE's attempt to ensure 'quality' in guidelines for school construction, which has led to closure of temporary structures, some used by nomadic groups, suited to flexible provision which do not meet such 'quality' norms (Tribune 2012).

Despite the policy space that has opened under the SSA, mobile pastoralists are receiving less attention than other communities whose mobility is a) more visible, notably the wide range of seasonal labourers (Chatterjee 2006), and/or b) somewhat easier to respond to using established innovations. Addressing mobile pastoralists' education deprivation specifically requires closer attention on the ground to differentiation *among* 'children of migrating families' (SSA 2005b) in order to respond appropriately to mobile pastoralists' typically

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[4] Evidence of pastoralist-focused NGO work is rarely documented in the public domain or available for scrutiny (this is not peculiar to India or to pastoralist NGOs).

complex, relatively unpredictable patterns of mobility and very small population concentrations in collective migrating unit. The larger issue, however, is that uneducated pastoralists find it increasingly difficult to fight for their rights to sustain a livelihood that is so rapidly being undermined by the 'great Indian land grab' (Sud 2008) that underpins India's emergence as a global economy. Inattention to meeting mobile pastoralists' learning needs with appropriate, non-sedentary provision have lent credence to pastoralists' perceptions that sedentarising is a pre-requisite for education inclusion.

3.   Afghanistan

According to the 2013 Global Peace Index (GPI 2013), Afghanistan was the most insecure country in the world after Somalia [5]. The National Development Strategy (ANDS 2008) notes that 'Afghanistan and the international community underestimated the magnitude of devastation, and the time and costs required to redress it'; and that, despite significant gains, 'Progress to date has struggled to keep pace with the rapid growth of new problems […]' (ANDS 2008, 22; see also MRGI 2011, PRSP(A) 2008). In 2007, some 42 percent of Afghans were found to live below the poverty line, unable to meet subsistence requirements (NRVA 2008). Just 26.2 per cent of the population aged 15 years and above was literate (39.3 percent male and 12.5 per cent female) (NRVA 2008, NLS 2013); and educational institutions, students and teachers have become soft targets for terrorists.

Education's intended role as a 'critical national capacity' (PRSP(A) 2008, 1) in alleviating poverty and shaping the future of Afghanistan is highlighted across a wide range of policy instruments. These all reflect EFA and MDG targets, and include: the 2004 Constitution, which makes an explicit commitment to improving the education of nomads in Article 44 (IRoA 2004); the Afghan National Development Strategy (ANDS 2008); the Education Law (adopted in 2008); successive National Education Strategic Plans (NESP1, NESP2 and NESP3 of 2013); the National Action Plan for the Women of Afghanistan (NAPWA 2007); the Needs and Rights Assessment on Inclusive Education (UNESCO 2009); and the National Literacy Strategy (NLS 2013). The need to include nomadic groups - alongside females, members of minority groups, and persons with disabilities (ANDS 2008, 114) - finds consistent mention across these documents.

Afghanistan's third National Education Strategic Plan (NESP3 2013) has a consolidated planning focus on five key programme areas: i) general and Islamic education, ii) curriculum development and teacher education, iii) technical and vocational education and training, iv) education administration development, v) literacy. These will be supported by strengthening national government capacity, donor co-ordination, and partnerships with NGOs (ibid); the latter are envisaged as having an increased role in delivering the services to the poor, and

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[5] Syria was ranked by the same source no. 1 in 2014, when Afghanistan dropped to second place.

providing the Government with the "voices of the poor" and policy advice (ANDS 2008, p. 34). [6]

Pastoralists and education inclusion

Chronically insecure conditions have precluded a comprehensive national population census; estimates of the nomadic population suggest 2-3 million (de Weijer 2007, ANDS 2008). Policy documentation uses the common generic term Kuchis [7] for all Afghan nomadic communities, although Kuchis do not share a single ethnicity, language or religion (Tapper 2008). As Foschini (2013, 1) points out, this 'has somewhat artificially "fixed" the common political identity of an internally diverse group at the very moment that its livelihoods are differentiating and diverging'. Policy documentation is imprecise about whether the Kuchis it names are sedentary, mobile, practising animal husbandry or exited pastoralists.

Generally, however, Kuchi access to safe water and health facilities, and their rates of immunisation fall below (already low) rural averages (ANDS 2008). The average Kuchi literacy rate of 8 percent (male around 14 percent, female 3 percent) is substantially lower than the 26.2 percent national rate (NLS 2013). Ministry of Education estimates reported in the ANDS (2008, 114) put Kuchi male school enrolment at 6.6 percent and girls' at 1.8 percent.

While conflict between mobile and settled communities has been present, and politically exploited, since modern Afghanistan was formed (Rassul 2010), Kuchi pastoralists' livelihood security has worsened since the 2001 invasion, leaving them among the poorest groups in the country (ANDS 2008). Although mobile pastoralists' meat production remains a significant component of the national economy (de Weijer 2007), politicised conflict over access to pasture lands[8] and knock-on effects of chronic droughts in the early 2000s have combined to reduce average pastoralist animal holdings: by 2007, about 54% of Kuchi households were unable to meet basic subsistence needs (NRVA 2008, Rassul 2010). Left vulnerable to sudden shocks and worsening poverty, some Kuchis have settled in very poor conditions in informal peri-urban settlements (Hall nd).

ANDS (2008, 9) commits to not leaving 'most vulnerable members of society' behind, and names Kuchis among the priority groups for policy attention, remarking that 'Schools […] for Kuchi children are inadequate' (ibid, 115). Despite a sharpening articulation of the need for inclusiveness (cf. NESP3 2013), the right to education is conflated with providing schools: 'Access to education for all is enshrined in the Constitution which makes it illegal to deny or refuse access to schools for any reason' (ANDS 2008, 116); and the planning focus

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[6] The 2008 MRGI report found that Kuchis have received little benefit from the foreign assistance extended to Afghanistan. Agencies have a limited presence in the insecure areas where Kuchis are located, and extend short-term economic and humanitarian aid rather than the longer-term assistance that would enable Kuchis to envisage a future without joblessness and illiteracy.

[7] 'Kuchi' is an Afghan Persian word meaning 'those who go on migrations' (Tapper 2008, 97).

[8] In the central highlands, Hazara claims that Kuchis side with the Taliban have constrained access to pastures; in the north, Uzbek and Tajik warlords have confiscated their pastures for poppy cultivation (Tapper 2008).

on education quality improvement also relates to conventional schools (ibid, 36). Policy documentation intends a strategy for education inclusion that is 'national in scope but local in focus and delivery' (ANDS 2008, 117), but the differentiation necessary to promote equitable inclusion is articulated very briefly: the need to 'assess […] the potential for distance learning strategies' is noted (ibid), as is the intention of establishing further community-based education [9] and outreach classes in remote rural and insecure areas (NESP 2013, 16). While community based education (CBE) is not made a separate priority area in the NESP, it is clearly recognised by MoE and aid agencies alike as an alternative means of meeting the vast need for education (Carlsson, Engblom and Myhrman 2008, 20). This status is reflected in official CBE guidelines (MoEA 2012) that reproduce sedentary norms in their reference to village-based provision, a walking distance of no more than 3km, and a preferred minimum of 20 children (MoEA 2012, 11-12).

In 2005 a Conference on Afghan Pastoralists (Kuchi) (USAID/de Weijer 2006) focusing on livelihood issues recommended that education be a priority follow-up action and stressed the need for an inter-sectoral approach to pastoralist development. It noted that the Ministry of Frontiers and Tribal Affairs had planned 34 provincial boarding schools serving Kuchis (USAID/de Weijer 2006, 3). Achieving the necessary co-ordination between donors and/or different parts of the government who have responsibility for different aspects of pastoralist affairs, and within the MoE itself, is reported in personal communications (2014) and documentation (cf. USAID/de Weijer 2008; NESP3 2013) to remain difficult.

In July 2012, the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan (SCA) convened the first conference on nomadic education (SCA 2012; Dyer 2013, 2014) to discuss international experience of delivery models and engage participants in planning for what was identified as a 'much neglected aspect of education' (SCA 2012). SCA itself has taken a lead in including nomadic groups in its community schools: in 2010, of almost 120,000 children attending them, 1,430 children (47 per cent girls) were from nomadic groups, who experienced access to education opportunity for the first time. SCA's 2014 work plan promises continued support to 238 nomadic classes with 6440 students (55% girls) (SCA 2014) (Fig. 3). The notable success of CBE in promoting girls' enrolment underlines that when appropriately met, there is demand from pastoralist groups for at least basic education for both boys and girls.

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[9] Community-based education is seen as a way of improving access by locating what are termed 'community based schools' closer to children's homes in order to increase access in rural areas, especially for girls (NESP3 2013). Schools can thus been located where they are 'most needed' (ibid, 30), but it is noted that community-based schools 'are not currently linked with the formal education system and are run with different approaches and standards by partners' (ibid).

Figure 3   SCA tent provision and Kuchi children learning

Source: Caroline Dyer ©

Conclusion

Afghanistan's policy documentation shows awareness of unfulfilled education needs among the population identified as Kuchis. Across the country, however, the scope of unmet need is vast, and set against very insecure operating conditions on the ground and funding constraints (NESP 3 2013 usefully models both the desired and likely funding scenario). Giving prioritized attention to educating mobile people in this context is in itself a challenge.

References in education policy documentation to Kuchis as a homogenous population group hampers development of differentiated strategies of service provision. In particular, documents show limited cognisance of pastoralist mobility, tending to refer to this in passing inaccurately as if it were a simple, unified pattern of seasonal migration between high summer pastures and low winter ones. Drawing on more accurate detail on pastoralist livelihoods (e.g. Tapper 2008, de Weijer 2007, Hall nd) is a prerequisite for responsive provision. Rolling out rural schools, as per policy plans, supplemented by other measures (boarding schools and current settlement-based community based schools) can only meet demand among those who are sedentary or semi-sedentary. Provision adhering to current notions of community-based schooling should improve access opportunity for pastoralist children who are no longer in fully mobile households – and these are evidently rapidly growing in number - but will not do so for those remaining within a livelihood that requires more extensive mobility.

Much policy documentation links improved education with increased security: 'failure to make substantial progress towards transforming Afghanistan into a literate society will pose a serious threat to security and political stability in the country' (NLS 2013, 6). While a state perception that pastoralist mobility has attendant security risks is not unique to Afghanistan (Klute 1993, IIED 2009), concerns over pastoralist relations with Taliban insurgents ensure that this mobility is highly politicised. Despite frequent mentions of Kuchis in education policy documentation, strategies for inclusion that focus sharply on responding to pastoralist mobility and/or how education can be used to prevent further deterioration of pastoralist
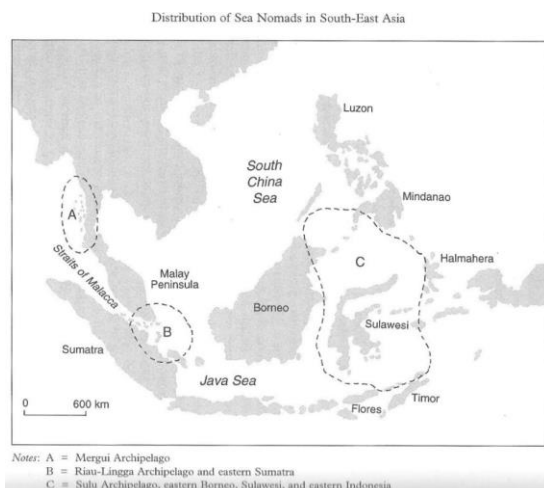
livelihoods have yet to be crafted. In their absence, whether this is intentional or not, current policy emphases support sedentarisation as a strategy for pastoralist development.

4.   Indonesia

Sea nomads across maritime Southeast Asia (Hope 2002) (Fig. 4) are primarily subsistence fishers and traders of primary produce who exploit the regional marine resources of extensive coastlines and islands (Chou 2006b, 2010). They traditionally live on boats, their voyaging structured by the lay of resources, micro-environments and seasonal patterns (Chou and Wee 2002). Through situated learning, children learn to swim, fish, command their boat, and gain spatial mapping skills and livelihood-specific knowledge (Chou 2010, Hodal and Taraschi 2012). Before colonial dominance, many sea nomads carried out functions in warfare and maritime trade that protected the dominance and economies of patrons within ruling dynasties (Chou 2010). Colonialists undermined patronage relations and curtailed nomads' seafaring activities (Chou 2013b, Lowe 2003), disparaging them as pirates and pushing them to the margins of society (Chou 2013b, Hoogervorst 2012).

'Blue grabbing'[10], large-scale commercialisation of coastal and marine resources (including eco-tourism, cf. Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012; AFP 2013), climate change, and the expansion of coastal populations (Chou 2010) now all contribute to rapid destruction of natural resources and ecosystems (Majors 2007, Clifton and Majors 2012, WWF 2009) on which sea nomads depend (Lenhart 2001, Hodal and Taraschi 2012). Contemporary development programmes aim to settle them (Chou 2010) (often in floating villages), but most sea nomads continue to pursue subsistence-oriented, marine-based mobile livelihoods.

Figure 4   Distribution of sea nomads in South-East Asia

Distribution of Sea Nomads in South-East Asia

Notes: A = Mergui Archipelago
B = Riau-Lingga Archipelago and eastern Sumatra
C = Sulu Archipelago, eastern Borneo, Sulawesi, and eastern Indonesia

Source: Sather (1997, 322)

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[10] Blue-grabbing refers to establishing Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) and 'no-take' zones across Southeast Asia that dispossess traditional users (WWF 2009).

Despite evidence of sea nomads' demand for formal education (McDuie-Ra et al. 2013, Gaynor 2005), the low levels of participation that are widely documented (Bracamonte 2005, Chou 2010, Clifton and Majors 2012, Hoogervorst 2012, Kortschak 2010, Lenhart 2004, Plan International 2012, Stacey 2007) underline many difficulties in making use of services provided. Causes are livelihood related - unpredictable fishing hours (Chou 2010) and low educational relevance (Kortschak 2010) – which reflect typical clashes between norms of nomadic livelihoods and sedentary provision; poverty-related - inabilities to meet the costs of sending children to school (MNDP 2010; Stacey 2007), children going hungry during school hours (Bracamonte 2005, UNESCO 2007); identity-related - bullying (Hoogervorst 2012, Chou 2010, Kortschak 2010), use of non-native language in the classroom; compounded by all too often poor quality schooling (Hoogervorst 2012; UNESCO 2007, Kortschak 2010).

Indonesia: EFA policy frames

Indonesia comprises an archipelago of 18,307 islands, some 6000 inhabited, and a population estimated in 2013 at 242.3 million (WPS 2013) distributed across 300 ethnic groupings with diverse linguistic repertoires, religions and social customs (MoNe 2007a). Public service provision was decentralised in 1999 (Samosir 2008); in 2002, the Coordinating Ministry of Peoples Welfare set out mandates and responsibilities for effective EFA coordination between Government Ministries, civil society organizations and other stakeholders (MoNE 2007b), which was supported by the 2003 National Education Law (Law 20/2003). The Renstra 2005-2009 (national strategic plan) set out the vision, mission and goals of education in the context of national development; a national EFA Action Plan was drawn up in 2005 (NCF 2003); and there was a Presidential decree in 2006 on EFA. The Renstra and EFA Action Plan are harmonised through three main strategic pillars: i) ensuring expanded access and equity; ii) improving quality and relevance; and iii) strengthening governance, accountability and public image (MoNe 2007a, 18) and reflection national commitment to compulsory basic education (Wajib Belajar Sembilan Tahun) for all children aged 7-15 years.

Education is seen as a means of 'enabling balanced development, economic growth and broader poverty reduction' (MoNe 2007a, 5), and 'creat[ing] a well trained and motivated workforce that ensures growing economic competitiveness of Indonesia' (MoNe 2007a, 4). The MoNE's long term mission is to ensure there are 'no barriers to accessing education opportunities'; assuring the 'very highest' standards of education and training, and merit-based progression through the system; and involving a wide range of stakeholders in knowing of the opportunities available, and how to access and share responsibility for optimising them (MoNe 2007a, 11). By 2013, 96% of children were enrolled in primary school, gender parity was at nearly 96%, and the adult literacy rate was projected as of 94% by 2015). These aggregated figures mask significant regional variations, significant variations in district performance within provinces, and showed that the 'poorest performing districts' were 'mainly the more rural and remote ones' (MoNE 2007b, xi).

The 2003 Education Law recognises that 'learners in the remote and less developed [and] isolated areas and those who are economically disadvantaged' need focused attention and sets out a differentiated system including formal, non-formal and distance provision as strategies

to ensure 'equitable treatment' for all (ARINES 2003, 19-29). These flexible organizational models for the 'previously unreachable' (MoNE 2007a) demonstrate significant progress in dispelling an earlier view that providing government services to nomadic peoples is 'impossible', expressed in a memorandum to Indonesia's 1979-1984 Five-Year Plan (Colchester 1986, cit. Chou 2004). Nevertheless, policy discourse is self-contradictory: while one EFA mid-decade assessment acknowledged failures to include marginalised groups in formal education, it cites the Bajau Laut sea nomads in Sulawesi as an example of one 'un-reached' group and discusses non-formal approaches (MoNE 2007b), another argues that 'getting the last 5% of primary school aged children and 30% of junior secondary school aged children into *schools* will require creative approaches' (MoNE 2007a, xi, emphasis added).

Conclusion

Evidence on sea nomads' education exclusion is scant and their policy visibility is poor (the 2003 EFA Action Plan (NPA 2003) does not mention them. The tensions illustrated generally are exemplified among the indigenous Malay Orang Laut (sea people): estimates of their population vary from 3,000-12,000 (Chou, 2010). Their participation rates in formal education are low (Lenhart 2004): Chou (2010) reports that most have no more than one year of schooling and that Indonesian state education programmes typically fail to ensure their inclusion. The Orang Laut have occupied the territories around Riau for centuries (Area B in Fig. 4), but Riau now falls within the Singapore-Indonesia-Malaysia Growth Triangle and disregard of their territorial and resource rights is impacting on access to resources, seasonal routes, water pollution and deforestation of foraging grounds (Chou 2006a, 2010; Lenhart 2001). Their uptake of schooling reflects falling prosperity and settlement in coastal areas that draws them into competition with local residents for depleting marine resources. A report in the Jakarta Post (2005) commented that Orang Laut children who grow up on land are fearful of the sea and do not like to spend time on boats; and that a group of Orang Laut who settled in 2000 on Air Mas Island in Batam, with NGO support, was still poor five years later.

Persistent low quality formal education provision in remote rural areas affects all children, not just the Orang Laut, but they also experience negative stereotyping, discrimination against their heritage of spatial mobility and bullying in school (Chou 2010, Plan International 2010).

Conclusion: Challenges and key priorities for policies related to a post-2015 agenda

UNICEF (2014a, xi) makes the case for integrated development planning, pointing out that problems in the education sector cannot be solved from within that sector alone. This a highly pertinent observation for nomadic groups. Education policy communities have paid disastrously little attention to what forms and content of education will best support mobile livelihoods and help *prevent* a decline into poverty (Krishna et al. 2005). Under supportive

conditions which redistribute resources effectively and recognize their economic contribution, maintaining nomadic livelihoods could be part of a global development strategy that enables more people to meet their daily needs and minimises environmental degradation. Reconfiguring educational provision to address this 'target' is urgently indicated in the welcome focus of post 2015 debates on a sustainable development agenda; but it goes against prevailing trends.

Recognising that nomadic groups often traverse national borders, conferences on nomadic education have routinely called for regional collaborations to pool resources, ideas and enable continuous provision. This intention is equally routinely stymied by the absence of financial support to enable next steps (noted repeatedly, for example, at Niger's 2013 regional conference on educating nomads in the Francophone Sahel). Resource constraints block further development of innovative practices which exploit theoretical knowledge of good practice and it will be important that future budgeting priorities at the very least do not lead to retrenchment.

Focusing operational attention on ODL and ABE and paying attention to achieving an education system that is differentiated in considerably more egalitarian ways than at present appear the most promising ways to build on gains made during the 2000-2015 EFA period. Both these approaches offer potentially favourable terms of inclusion for 'missing learners' (UNESCO 2013, UNICEF 2014a): among nomadic groups, these are predictably the (often older) boys responsible for herd management, who are routinely excluded by livelihood demands; and girls (UNESCO 2010). Although parents and community elders now more commonly endorse the idea of educating girls (e.g. Dyer 2014, Raymond 2014), in practice concerns over how formal education impacts on girls' moral propriety continue to perpetuate unfavourable enrolment and retention trends. Close work with communities to assuage such concerns, which influences girls' enrolment positively (Dyer 2014, Raymond 2014, Sanou and Aikman 2005), needs to be met with supportive, gender-sensitive responses from provision.

Operationally, despite the unrivalled capacity of ODL to provide the elusive fit between mobile livelihood and formalised education provision, it has yet to be trialled for children and at scale. Until this has been done, providers will be put off by high start-up costs which are incurred before it can move to an economy of scale. The challenge of financing is perhaps secondary to the continuing perception among policy actors that the risks associated with implementing such a strategy are higher than providing some form of 'school' when the converse may well be the case – but is, as yet, unproven.

ABE approaches validate rather than undermine nomadic livelihoods, contribute to building resilience and provide opportunities to expand capabilities by making a basic education available and accessible. This is a progressive, although fragmented, field of educational innovation that demonstrates strong capacity to attract learners when strategies of mobile provision, curricula that respond to learner demand, and flexible timings are adopted. But opportunity to access such provision is unequally distributed, and ABE provision has no aspiration to universal coverage even for groups identified as most benefiting from it. As the

case studies illustrate, ABE is more likely to be available in contexts where pastoralist marginalisation more widely has become a high profile political concern, as it has across East Africa but has not in India, for example. While patchworked provision is evident, it is not very well evidenced.

Provision that is flourishing in the space of the margins illustrates the desirability of de-coupling notions of 'education' from the stranglehold of provision orientated towards selection, credentialism and competition, to allow it to respond to human diversity and aspirations. Yet as a strategic response to the challenges of extending education provision to marginalised groups, ABE has sidestepped issues of social inclusion and political marginalization. Many questions remain over equity, equivalence, learner progression, and the role of the state. When only 'alternative' provision develops capacity for 'reaching' nomadic groups, and then only offers basic education, their underlying marginalisation and social status deprivation goes unchallenged. 'Including' them through arrangements that lack status equivalence does extend reach, as EFA requires: but this response lends implicit support to the unequal workings of society, manifested in a mainstream / alternative dichotomy that leaves mainstream provision unchallenged by learners who most trouble its broad normative assumptions.

For ABE to build towards becoming a legitimate and systematic approach to EFA, resources and policy attention need to be directed towards gaining better insights into, at the least: learning within such provision (including who is enrolled and retained, and what prompts failures of either, curricular content and what prompts the choices made, and assessment procedures); teachers (how they are educated, recruited, trained and retained); and about resourcing, sustainability and quality of provider partnerships. All these dimensions are implicated in building greater confidence in advocating ABE as an equitable approach to achieving robust and diversified provision of quality, the potential for which has begun to be demonstrated over the last 15 years.

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Annex 1   Counting 'pastoralists'

The figures cited here are based on Roy Carr-Hill's calculations (2012, 198), which demonstrate something of the difficulty of counting pastoralist populations. The author himself reflects constructively on some of these, and calls for greater attention to, and accuracy in, counting nomadic populations. Since as he infers, counting the marginalised is a political task (see also Green and Hulme 2005), in addition to his reflection, I note also the following: Carr-Hill's calculations are based on an estimate that among pastoralists who are only dependent on livestock, children aged 5-14 comprise one sixth of the total population. To take the illustration of Kenya as an example his calculations fo as follows: of a total estimated population of 33,865, 1,947 are nomads of which 325 are children of school going age so if 60% of those are out of school, there are 194.7 out of school children. One of many issues here is definitional (see also de Weijer 2007 discussing this for Afghanistan; Dyer 2012 for India): very few 'pastoralist' households are now fully dependent on livestock (Little et al. 2009; as discussed in the paper). Carr-Hill derived his population estimates via estimates of livestock populations (Thornton et al. 2002, cit Carr-Hill 2012, 199). For Kenya, other sources, e.g. Livingstone 2005 cite the 'pastoralist' population at closer to 7 million (Ruto et al. 2009 offer a similar proportion), which significantly changes the parameters of estimating how many 'pastoralist' children are out of school. World Bank figures suggest that children aged 0-14 comprise about 43% of Kenya's population, which is closer to half that one sixth of the general population, suggesting that even when the U5MR is factored in, Carr-Hill's estimate is too low.