Education inclusion as a border regime: implications for mobile pastoralists in Ethiopia's Afar region

Abstract

This paper extends and enriches debates on migration, borders and education by conceptualising education inclusion as a border regime. It applies a regime analysis to illustrate the borders of education inclusion for a community that migration studies have hitherto neglected: mobile pastoralists. It argues that education inclusion signifies a new form of social belonging and border crossing that many mobile pastoralists are undertaking, often precipitated by dispossession from their traditional, mobile livelihood. Supported by empirical data from Ethiopia's Afar region, the regime analysis reveals how educational opportunity for these learners is regulated by border 'checkpoints'. It identifies persisting and emerging inequalities of opportunity under current regimes of education inclusion that challenge the Sustainable Development Goal pledges to reach the last first. A re-appraisal of scholarly boundaries is called for to support the interdisciplinary effort needed to place mobile pastoralists among those who count first.

1   Introduction

Much of the current international political agenda is dominated by the global 'refugee crisis' (Cosgrave et al. 2016, UN 2016). In migration studies, the term 'migration' has been so elided with 'international migration' that Hickey and Yeoh (2016) remark on a 'semantic shift' among researchers which has effectively 'erased' internal migration from the leading edge of migration scholarship. At global policy level, even the 2016 [New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants](#) (UN 2016) makes limited mention of those who do not cross international borders (i.e. internally displaced people) (Bengtsson and Dyer 2017). While international conflict and displacement are garnering political attention, internal migration (which is quantitatively more important than international migration (King and Skeldon 2010)) is being quietly overlooked, with fragmented references in legislation and policies that, as UNICEF (2012, n.p.) points out, 'inadequately address the nature and complexities of internal migration'.

A different kind of semantic shift altogether is required to extend the purview of migration studies to focus on one particular population segment who migrate both across, and within, nation states: mobile pastoralists. Mobile pastoralists are people who raise domestic livestock, moving animals to natural resources as they become available. Their livelihood is a 'complex [. . .] system seeking to maintain an optimal balance between pastures, livestock and people in uncertain and variable environments' (Nori, Taylor and Sensi 2008, 3); and it is, the world over, increasingly subject to shocks and stresses (Catley et al. 2016). While research and policy attention has been paid to educating mobile pastoralists (see Krätli 2001, Krätli and Dyer 2009, Dyer 2006, 2014 and 2016, UNESCO 2010), such effort has not so far been integrated into migration studies. Yet the migratory patterns, livelihoods and education of these particular 'nomadic' peoples (cf. Dyer 2006) should, despite their historical omission from it, be of significant interest to this interdisciplinary field. They too comprise communities of migrating people who are undertaking border crossings towards a 'new form of belonging' (Migdal 2004) that education inclusion signifies, and which is an established theme of migration studies (Arnot et al. 2013). This paper seeks to bring these disparate strands of scholarship into dialogue by focusing on their common concern over inequality of educational opportunity. Positing education inclusion as a form of 'border regime', it suggests that the unequal workings of a regime of education inclusion can be revealed through analysis of how borders are drawn and operate. This is exemplified in a case of mobile pastoralists in Ethiopia's Afar region, and the paper concludes with further reflection on the wider value of a regime analysis in discussion of educational inequalities.

An early definition of the term 'regime', on which this paper draws, is as 'sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge' (Krasner 1982, 185). As a sociological construct, a 'regime' implies a space of conflict and negotiating practices (Hess 2012, Tsianos and Karakayali 2010, Jeffery and Chopra 2005). Given the nature and current scale of international migration, state effort to regulate refugee movements has stimulated scholarly reflection on 'border regimes', i.e. the diverse actors, discourses and practices concerned with governing migration. This sociological orientation has highlighted, for example, the particular, socially constructed forms that migration management takes in different contexts (e.g. Hess 2012, 431). In the education sector, education's role in addressing and/or perpetuating social inequalities has prompted regime analyses concerned with 'institutional features and outcomes associated with certain (in)equalities of educational opportunity' (West and Nikolai 2013, 472) (e.g. Jeffery and Chopra's (2005) collection of cases in India, Tikly's (2017) discussion of Education For All's global governance regimes).

This paper brings together these framings to propose education inclusion as a border regime (Miller 2012), in which pastoralists' education inclusion is regulated in ways that often undermine policy intentions of promoting equal educational opportunity for all children. It builds evidence about schooling's contested role in the practices and processes of state-building and production of 'proper' citizens (Wolford et al. 2013, Jeffery and Chopra 2005, Levinson and Holland 1996). It highlights tensions between those norms and the principle of Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG4), to 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all' as well as the intentions of SDG10 focusing on reducing inequalities (UN 2015).

The paper draws on: a desk study of documentary sources such as national policies and programmes in the education and development sectors, and national/international academic publications; and field work in 2016, conducted in four regions of Ethiopia where pastoralists are concentrated (Afar, Somali, South Omo and Borena). Field investigation combined interviews, using semi-structured schedules to explore experiences and perspectives (cited here as personal communications), with visits to education institutions. It generated empirical snapshots for a situation analysis (UNICEF 2016) of how the 2008 national strategy for pastoralist education (PES 2008) had been received and implemented which informed a revised national strategy, completed in 2017. In Afar, on which this paper focuses, empirical work comprised: interviews with five regional and *woreda* (district) level education officials; visits to two lower cycle (years 1-4) primary schools, one upper cycle primary school (years 5-8) and three Alternative Basic Education Centres, where semi-structured interviews were held with three head teachers, six school management committee (SMC) parent representatives, and three other pastoralist parents; a visit to one secondary residential school where the head teacher, one other teacher and four year 9 girls were interviewed; and semi-structured interviews with representatives of two international and one national non-government organisations.

The next section situates pastoralists within global pledges of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Education For All (EFA), and highlights formal education's role in the contested production of 'proper subjects' (Wolford et al. 2013) to make the case for understanding education inclusion as a border regime for mobile pastoralists. Section three focuses on the geo-politics of pastoralists' citizenship, outlining the nature and political economy of the drylands where pastoralism thrives, followed by a brief critical overview of contestations over education service supply, pastoralist participation and the equality of education opportunity. Section four applies the regime analysis to Ethiopia. First it outlines historical contours of the national political economy and highland-periphery relations that frame current policy notions of inclusion through education. Then, focusing on the primary (or equivalent) age years, it examines practices of the education inclusion regime in the Afar region, drawing on local statistics and empirical data to identify significant border 'checkpoints' regulating equitable education opportunity for pastoralist children. Section five summarises the contribution of the border regime analysis to revealing contestations between discourses and practices of education inclusion for mobile pastoralists, and the implications of tensions demonstrated here for the SDG intentions.

2　Education inclusion as a border regime

The SDGs commit to 'leave no one behind', and 'reach the furthest behind first' (UN 2015 §5). Prior to the SDGs, Education For All policy narratives since 1990 had repeatedly highlighted concerns over including 'nomadic' populations (Dyer 2014), as among those left furthest behind; but limited progress in African countries in particular, highlighted in UNESCO's 2010 EFA Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO 2010), was again noted in 2015 (UNESCO 2015). To give some sense of scale: the

African Union has estimated that over a quarter of African's total population (some 268 million people) depend on pastoralism for their livelihood (African Union 2010). Pastoral populations occupy about 41% of the continent's land mass, and are widespread across the Horn of Africa (ibid), but there are no certainties about their numbers. Counting them is methodologically problematic (Carr-Hill 2012) and definitional ambiguities abound (Randall 2015); and the focus on population stocks overlooks the importance to policy of understanding population flows (Deshingkar and Aktar 2009). A significant challenge for education regimes across the region is, therefore, that principles and norms of inclusive programming are compromised by incomplete and inaccurate formal knowledge of the numbers and whereabouts of many of those children who are currently 'left behind' (UN 2015) and 'never likely to be in school' (UNESCO 2015).

Global policy narratives of EFA and the SDGS offer a human rights and social justice orientated rationale for education inclusion (McCowan 2011). National policy discourses espousing notions of education for equality are generally of longer standing than these global pledges and, further, imbue formal education with expectations of modernisation and higher economic productivity (Colclough 1982) that are assumed to serve both individual and collective (national) interests. Alongside this runs another rationale for education inclusion, given expression for example by the World Bank which, in its pre-Dakar turn towards social capital, affirmed that while education and literacy matter for economic development, 'education['s] importance in generating social cohesion has been underestimated and overlooked' (Narayan 1999, 41). The influential Bank argued, further, that 'schools are also critical for the socialization function they perform' as they, along with families, 'instill values that promote nationhood, citizenship, and ethics, and that recreate societies' (Narayan 1999, 41). Despite growing recognition of extensive difficulties with its 'quality' (e.g. UNESCO 2015), formal education of children continues to be presented in global and national policy narratives as a largely unproblematised individual and public good. The border regime construct proposed here unmasks this simplification: it emphasises that precisely because formal education is an instrument of socialisation, inclusion in it is, for the (prospective) learner, akin to crossing a regulated border. Schooling's role in social reproduction and regulating citizenship is not neutral; rather it is integral to state making and creating 'proper subjects'. As Wolford et al. (2013, 194) remark, 'states consist of members — citizens — who participate in state making through a variety of formal channels that mark them as proper subjects: attending school, owning property, voting in elections, paying taxes, pledging allegiance, etc.'. Yet, as they remind us, 'the experience of citizenship is highly variable, differentiated by class, status, age, gender, ethnicity and capability' (ibid).

Variable experiences of formal education, including non-participation, are an integral aspect of that variable experience of citizenship. For, as Jeffery and Chopra (2005) point out, educational regimes are 'contexts of competing interests' between actors in state and other institutions, local politics, students and their families. Schools, as sites of cultural reproduction (Bourdieu 1990) and cultural politics (Giroux 1992, Freire and Macedo 1987), are 'the most controllable channel for important cognitive and affective political socialization' (Desta 2017, i). They are places where 'children are cajoled, directed, encouraged and rewarded to behave in certain ways, ways that sustain unequal power relations' (Pike and Kelley 2014, 9); places of contestations that make them 'hotbeds of moral geographies – of moral codes dictating when and where children ought to learn and behave' (ibid, citing Fielding in Hemming 2007, 364). Such arguments underline that schooling is a means of transforming people into citizens who are amenable to particular forms of regulation and behaviour, and so also of shaping forms of valued social capital. Schooling participation marks a social boundary between 'proper citizens' – those who attend - and others, whose impropriety is marked by non-participation. The latter are positioned on the wrong side of a boundary that, globally (cf. Tikly 2017) establishes going to school 'as part of the basic order rather than as a negotiated and dynamic social

construct' (Migdal 2004, 6). Boundaries, however, are interesting places, for they 'connote the site at which things are done differently or the limits to where things are done in one way' (ibid). It is with that in mind that the following sections examine the border regime and some of its 'checkpoints' (Migdal 2004) regulating education inclusion for children in mobile pastoralist communities in Ethiopia.

3   Regimes of education inclusion for mobile pastoralists

Drylands, which occupy about 41% of the world's surface area (Middleton et al. 2011), are arid and semi-arid lands where rainfall is low and erratic, and temperatures are extreme. Pastoralism is the dominant drylands land use system (ODI 2009): a mobile livestock economy is ideally suited to these uncertain and variable (non-equilibrium) environments, where other forms of land use are either impossible or less effective (IIED 2010, Nori, Taylor and Sensi 2008, ODI 2009). Pastoralists are expert at managing the associated risks, and use mobility (alongside effective labour organisation and herd management) as a fundamental strategy for coping with unpredictable rainfall, ensuring animal health, and using scarce natural resources sustainably (IIED 2010, UNEP 2012).

Structural imbalances and structural scarcity are a feature of pastoralist regions across the Horn of Africa, where populations are scattered across vast geographic areas. There has been widespread failure to invest resources in service supply and to develop models of provision that fit dryland contexts (e.g. Middleton et al. 2011, ODI 2009). Global warming is leading to higher temperatures, increasingly frequent extreme weather events and less predictable weather patterns in drylands which are intensifying the occurrence of natural hazards and environmental stresses (ODI 2009, Herrero et al. 2016). Growing pressures on land and water resources are disrupting agricultural production and threatening food security (UNDP 2009): knock-on effects include human and livestock disease, increased internal and out-migration, and the triggering or amplification of conflict (UNEP 2012). The forms of governance that states exercise in response to these socially and politically destabilizing effects are often damaging (UNEP 2012) and further exacerbate existing problems of development and lack of specialised policy responses in dryland regions (Davies and Nori 2008, Middleton et al. 2010, ODI 2009).

Pastoralists are among the many communities in Ethiopia who are currently experiencing food insecurity and increasing dependence on food aid; but they – and in particular the poorer among them (Catley et al. 2016) - are increasingly vulnerable to further shocks and falling below the minimum threshold of livestock holdings required to sustain a pastoralist livelihood. Since access to natural resources is significantly determined by the policy and institutional environment (Anbessa and Abdulahi 2015, ODI 2009), pastoralists' increasing vulnerability reflects not only environmental stresses, but also how they are handled. Drylands governance is slowly responding to evidence and advocacy to embrace a positive view of pastoralism as a viable contemporary livelihood (African Union 2010) but has long been guided by misunderstandings that have resulted in promoting 'modernisation' and sedentarising pastoralists in the name of 'development', in which the schooling of children plays an instrumental role (Krätli and Dyer 2009).

In the education sector, both the 1990 Jomtien and 2000 Dakar EFA Declarations urged states to 'broaden […] the means and scope of basic education' (WDEFA 1990, §5) and 'respond flexibly' (UNESCO 2000, 16 §33) to 'underserved' groups. Among those groups, 'nomads' generally were specified in 1990 (WDEFA 1990) and 'pastoralists' more specifically in 2000 (UNESCO 2000). Effort to consider modalities of provision that could serve these populations was being made well before the global agenda of education inclusion appeared: for example in Iran (Shahshahani 1995), Kenya (Nkinyangi 1982) and Nigeria (Ezeomah 1988). Across Africa, upwards trends in enrolments

catalysed by the Millennium Development Goal 2 focus on school access have not, however, been replicated in pastoralist regions, where trends of school enrolment have been both persistently low, and consistently below national averages (and often, but not always, with yet lower rates among girls) (UNESCO 2010, Ruto et al. 2009, Oxfam 2005).

Governments across the Horn of Africa have typically responded to the imperative of expanding access in pastoralist areas and achieving growth by approving the construction of schools in settlements (Leggett 2005), supplemented by limited provision of boarding schools (Krätli 2001). The result has been a thin network of facilities that are not necessarily located within a reasonable distance of learners (even with reference to permanent/semi-permanent settlements). State-non-state partnerships, responding to calls for flexibility and usually led by international non-government organisations, were also strongly in evidence in the first EFA decade (Krätli and Dyer 2009, Anis 2008, USAID 2012) but scale-up of programmes has been limited (Bengtsson and Dyer 2017). Thus regimes of inclusion across the Horn have largely been unable to ensure that an education service is available at all, or of sufficient quality if it does exist, since schools in these regions often lack the necessary physical and human resources needed to deliver the basic curriculum (Krätli and Dyer 2009, UNESCO 2010 and 2015).

Inappropriate or inadequate norms governing the geo-spatial placement of facilities is one aspect of how education regimes create a border for education inclusion. These norms reflect an unspoken principle that would-be pastoralist service users should adapt to the needs of schooling, rather than *vice versa* (Leggett 2005) by making him/herself available, i.e. sedentarising, to benefit from the service provided. This principle constructs pastoralist absences as a problem that rests with the (non-) user rather than the service provider (Dyer 2014). It arises within an education regime that imposes problematic 'terms of inclusion' (Dyer 2013) by relying on a model of provision - static day schools - that are designed to serve the needs of sedentary populations (Danaher et al. 2009). This regime demands that learners are available at the same time every day at during the full school year: yet children in many pastoralist families need to attend to animal-husbandry related activities during the day, and to migrate to ensure animal welfare while schools are in session (Dyer 2014). Even if initial enrolment is possible, formal, place-based provision lacks the requisite flexibility to accommodate sporadic learner attendance. This leads to interrupted learning for children who migrate during the lean season, and compromises retention (Bengtsson and Dyer 2017).

The border of education inclusion is also regulated via the moral geographies of schooling discussed earlier, which bound the knowledge and identities of 'proper' (schooled) citizens. Global actors draw from statistics of low schooling participation the conclusion that pastoralist children suffer from (extreme) 'education deprivation' (e.g. UNESCO 2010). This reflects a widely shared construct of 'education' that not only elides education with schooling, but also excludes indigenous knowledge. Misconstructing 'education' in this way negates the importance of situated livelihood learning and raising children in the relations of close mutual dependence that are intrinsic to successful pastoralism. Chatty (2006) points out that the notion of formal education as an individual right is problematic among social groups such as pastoralists, who have a communitarian orientation to individual roles in a productive unit (the 'household') and invest in formal schooling selectively for some children as a means to spread risk by diversifying household income-generating capabilities. While this pattern of investment is widely found (see Krätli and Dyer 2009), a counter-argument to Chatty is that it also reflects terms of inclusion (Dyer 2013) imposed by education regimes that enforce a choice between schooling provision and pastoralist livelihoods and learning (Dyer 2014). When faced with those terms, particularly where schools themselves under-perform, there is evidence (e.g. Scott-Villiers et al. 2016, Krätli and Dyer 2009, Dyer 2014) that pastoralist parents

perceive schooling as importing an alien culture while simultaneously largely failing to equip children with knowledge and skills that are useful to livelihood diversification; this fuels disengagement with formal education.

The following section develops these points in a contextually situated discussion of the regime of education inclusion for pastoralists in Ethiopia's Afar region. Its findings have resonances across the Horn of Africa, where pastoralist populations are experiencing the complex dynamics of livelihood transitions (Catley et al. 2016) reflecting the exigencies of remaining within, adapting, altering and/or exiting this livelihood (Lind, Sabates-Wheeler and Kohnstamm 2016) and being, or becoming, proper citizens.

4 Ethiopia's regime of education inclusion for pastoralists: perspectives from the Afar region

4.1 Ethiopia and the pastoralist periphery

Ethiopia has a land area of about 1.1 million km^2, approximately 60% of which comprises arid and semi-arid lands. This vast and diverse country has the second highest population in Africa (after Nigeria), estimated at nearly 88 million in 2014, with a rapid average annual growth rate of 2.67% [1]. Some four fifths of the population live in the temperate highland regions, while about one fifth lives in the arid lowlands (the 'periphery', cf. Markakis 2011) (MoE/ESDP V 2015). Approximately 14% of the population is estimated to be from pastoral and agro-pastoral groups; and Ethiopia has the highest livestock holdings in Africa (Anbessa and Abdulahi 2015). Ethiopia aspires to achieving middle-income country status by 2025 (MoE/ESDP V 2015), facilitated by economic growth and structural transformation (World Bank [2]): its economic growth rate between 2003/04 - 2012/13 was 10% per year which, despite resilience to the effects of drought, slowed to 8% in 2015/16 (World Bank, ibid). Agricultural production is recognised as the dominant livelihood source for a majority of the population; commercialisation of smallholder agriculture is a key development strategy (MoE/ESDP V 2015, 11), alongside continuing to improve the physical infrastructure through public investment projects, and transforming Ethiopia into a manufacturing hub (World Bank, ibid).

After years of military rule, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) came to power in 1991. Anbessa (2015, 17-18) argues that by the time independence came in Ethiopia, pastoralism was 'out-of-the-way on the periphery of the African state and the social order' (see also Markakis 2011, African Union 2010). The EPRDF's development policies have attempted to address a long period of neglect of the dryland regions – reframed as 'emerging' regions - and of pastoralism, as their dominant livelihood. Politically, Ethiopia is organised according to a model of 'ethnic federalism': ethnic-based regional states govern internal affairs, including development planning, nuancing federal policy frameworks according to regional conditions. This has been argued to put pastoralist affairs in the hands of regional governments that lack both financial autonomy and administrative capacity (Agegnehu and Dibu 2017).

National political leadership has long seen mobile pastoralism as an economically unviable, primitive occupation and encouraged pastoralists to become sedentary farmers (Hundie and Padmanabhan 2008). As Sintayehu and Ashine (2015, 99) assert, 'The Ethiopian government's policy approaches

---

[1] According to Africa Ranking: http://www.africaranking.com/most-populous-countries-in-africa/.
[2] Information available via: http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ethiopia/overview

pastoralism as a transitory livelihood strategy rather than a permanent one which is here to stay', although the 1995 Constitution guarantees 'Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands'. Pastoralism is publicly recognised in a 'National Day of Pastoralism', the sixteenth of which (25th January 2017), was themed: 'increased participation and benefit of the pastoralist on national development and peace building for our renaissance' (EBC 24.1.2017). Despite these public discourses, policies that seek to develop and diversify the national economy are diminishing pastoralists' grazing areas, and constraining both migratory routes and access to livestock markets (Catley et al. 2016, Hundie and Padmanabhan 2008). Current policies encourage both 'voluntary sedentarisation' and expansion of agriculture on riverbanks, while legislation to secure pastoralists' land and water rights is problematic (Anbessa 2015; see Reda 2014 for discussion). The regime of education inclusion operates, therefore, in the context of a regime of pastoralist dispossession from the land and state ambivalence about the value of pastoralism – despite evidence of its significant contribution to the national economy (e.g. Catley et al. 2016).

Pastoralist communities have historically had limited access to education and other social services (PES 2008). Education initiatives during the Haile Selassie era (1930-1974), which used civil education in state-managed schools to build national unity and identity amidst high linguistic and ethnic heterogeneity, were delivered via schools concentrated in urban areas, far from pastoralist populations. The Provisional Military Government of the subsequent Derg regime declared that education should be based on equal distribution of schools (MoE 2008). With an emphasis familiar from the Selassie years on using education to inspire patriotism and nationalism, it embarked on its centrist project of assimilation and homogenisation to enforce unity by dissemination its socialist philosophy through schools (Desta 2017). Insofar as there was any attempt to include pastoralists, effort focused on bringing the children of chieftains to urban centres to attend boarding schools, with a view to preparing them to serve the regime (Desta 2017, MoE 2008). The Derg's overall contribution was condemned by the Ministry of Education in 2008 as an 'educational structure … which could not provide quality, equitable and relevant education' and as 'unfit to support the promotion of national development and mutual respect among nations, nationalities and people. Limited provision, inequitable distribution, inefficiency, irrelevance and poor quality are fundamental problems of education prior to 1991' (MoE 2008, 2).

In 1994, a national Education and Training Policy established a decentralised framework of education organisation and management, included non-formal education, and proposed a new curriculum. Describing the pre-1994 curriculum as 'contentious' in relation to 'the objective situation in Ethiopia', the new curriculum was expected to 'produce citizens who stand for equality, justice and democracy; harmonize theory and practice; integrate national and regional realities; maintain the level of international education standards and reflect the principles of equality of nations, nationalities and gender' (MoE 2008, 4). A 2005 policy shift marked a significant boundary move in the regime of education inclusion from the perspective of pastoralists: the third Education Sector Development Plan (ESDPIII) (2005/2006-2010/2011), which itself was orientated towards the national Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty and the 2nd Millennium Development Goal (MoE 2008), mainstreamed pastoralist education as a priority in all sub-sectors of the educational system. The National Report on Development of Education and Inclusive Education in 2008 notes that 'the policies, strategies, packages and programme plans in the education system are designed to alleviate poverty, social exclusion and cultural marginalization' (MoE 2008, 8), with reference to pastoralists, among others. The 1994 Policy and ESDPIII directives were given focus by the first Pastoral Education Strategy of 2008, which outlined specific challenges and opportunities in relation to pastoralists' education inclusion (PES 2008). The Pastoral Education Strategy of 2008

primarily focused on access strategies, such as institutionalising different educational modalities (Alternative Basic Education [ABE], mobile schools, boarding schools, hostels, distance education, adult education, education radio programmes and formal primary schools), along with mention of improving the quality and relevance of primary education to address the cultural, environmental and economic constraints of Ethiopia's pastoralists (PES 2008).

The Ministry of Education initiated revision to the 2008 Pastoral Education Strategy in 2016, recognising that achievements had not met targets, and that educational provision had been unable to respond appropriately to pastoralists' mobility, culture, or their need to retain flexibility to sustain their livelihoods in changing, often adverse, circumstances (pers comm senior MoE official March 2016). While more formal schools had been constructed in the intervening years, the regime of inclusion tended to concentrate those in larger settlements; in rural areas, outside those settlements, it was ABE that had taken off. ABE aims, *inter alia*, 'to provide good quality basic education… through an alternative mode of delivery suited to the socio-economic and cultural realities of the regions' (MoE 2006, 4). It is a non-formal, school equivalency programme that began with accelerated learning (learners cover the first four grades of primary school in three years) (Anis 2008) and now mirrors formal grades (1-4) with ABE levels (1-4), with no accelerated element. Learners then transfer into the formal system. ABE has been widely adopted to enable universal enrolment, particularly where schooling provision is very thin; and was envisaged as 'a short term measure to reach rural, remote and dispersed communities, pastoralists and semi-agriculturalist societies' (MoE 2008, 6). In pastoralist zones, ABE centres were to be built in areas where the community is settled permanently or for at least 8 consecutive months in a year (pers comm senior MoE official April 2016). ABE provision is run by Regional Education Bureaus, supported by non-state organisations. Despite ABE's potential to be valuably region-specific, quality assurance is a well-established concern (Onwu and Agu 2010, pers comm senior UNICEF representative April 2016), reflecting aforementioned issues with regional governance capacity.

ABE potentially enables pastoralists to access the formal education that is becoming ever more relevant in contexts of pressures on their livelihoods, gaining initial access to the system via ABE provision and from then, transiting into formal schooling. Successful border crossings are, however, subject to how the regime of education inclusion applies principles, norms, rules, and decision-making: 'checkpoints' for pastoralists include sustaining the flexibility of provision that enables pastoralists' participation, and quality assurance of provision to ensure retention, achievement and transition.

4.2   The Afar region's regime of education inclusion for pastoralists

Afar regional state in northeastern Ethiopia is one of the country's four largest regions, and comprises some 13 percent of the national land area (Reda 2014), part of which (the Dallol depression) has a mean temperature of 45°C. Ethnically the region constitutes 91.8% Afar (Reda 2014), among whom 97% live in the rural areas: the Afar people's predominant economic activity is mobile animal husbandry, mainly of cattle, camels, goats and sheep. Policy attention began to focus on this region during the 1960s: the Afar plains in the middle Awash valley were seen to have potential for irrigated farming on a wide scale, notably cotton production to support textile industries. Using its coercive power, and without consulting pastoralists (Hundie and Padmanabhan 2008), the state initiated new forms of land use, including mechanised farming and hydroelectric schemes, that have curtailed access to dry-season grazing (Catley et al. 2016); and 'villagization' as a strategy aiming, in part, to improve the accessibility of state-provided services (Sintayehu and Ashine 2015). While providing some opportunities for livelihood diversification, such changes have had negative impacts on pastoralist capabilities to sustain traditional mobile livestock production, leaving

them more vulnerable, for example, to the effects of drought. Research evidence on the livelihood adaptations of pastoralists in the Afar region is limited (Tsegaye et al. 2013, 145) but suggests that while livestock 'still plays a pivotal role and has not lost its economic, political and social relevance to the Afar people', general patterns are of 'pastoralist contraction and increased sedentarisation' (ibid; see also Sintayehu and Ashine 2015). These are all drivers for a new form of belonging that formal education can help to enable.

The most recent statistics available on the 2016 field visit were those collected in a 2012 report by the Afar National Regional Education Bureau (Afar REB 2012). The report shows expansion of the education system but notes that discussion of access indicators 'will definitely raise the question of the capacity of the existing schools to receive or accommodate the incomers' (Afar REB 2012, 5). Pre-primary education, despite a reported annual average growth rate of 77% (ibid) between 2009-2012, attained a total gross enrolment ratio of below 10%, with 80% of provision concentrated in three *woredas* (districts) (Afar region has 29 *woredas*, grouped into five administrative zones). Access to primary provision expanded at an annual growth rate of 13.7% in this period (Afar REB 2012, 10) but the inadequate number and uneven distribution of schools is a highlighted concern. Enrolment in the second (upper) primary cycle was recorded at just 15.1% (boys 16.6%, girls 13.3%), pointing to 'either the limited capacity of the cycle to enrol those who reached to the level or the abnormal functioning of the preceding first cycle which serve as feeders to the next cycle' (Afar REB 2012, 20).

Statistics on retention or learner achievements that might give insight into schooling outcomes do not accompany the published overview of access and were not available at the Bureau. However, in interviews, Bureau officials raised issues of concern in relation to primary schooling that are significant 'border checkpoints' for pastoralist inclusion: i) the operating parameters of the school system and governance structure are guided by national norms that are based on an assumed 'highland' context and need to be adapted to improve their utility in lowland regions; ii) the academic programme lacks relevance, and is unable to demonstrate a positive relationship between engaging with formal education and improving one's livelihood as a pastoralist; and iii) the school calendar does not take the local reality of children's workloads and availability into consideration, which has negative impacts for access and retention. Adapting regulation to fit the context is a measure the Bureau could in fact undertake, but its regime of inclusion is shaped by a context of decentralisation that, characterised by the federal government's firm control and centralization tendency, tends to pull strings of accountability upwards rather than downwards towards citizens (Agegnehu and Dibu 2017).

The 2012 Report and all interviewed officials also raised concerns over the emerging disproportionate reliance on ABE provision, with some *woredas* having large ABEs 'at the expense' of regular primary schools (Afar REB 2012, 11). By 2012, 425 ABE centres were reported (Afar REB 2012, 7-8), their provision comprising 28.8% of all primary provision, but again with significant intra-regional disparities. Over 63% of ABE facilitators had an educational profile of 8th grade or below, prompting the observation that if they 'are to be genuine places from where children get quality education service, ABE centres, like their counterparts, do deserve facilitators who meet the minimum standard required to teach at that level' (Afar REB 2012, 9). The report also notes 'unhealthy functioning' (p. 12) with many over-aged children enrolling – an 'exceptionally high' net intake ratio of 468% was recorded in one *woreda* and over 300% elsewhere, which is attributed to both inaccurate data (p. 17) and high 'backlog' of admissions, with 48.72% of learners unable to access age-appropriate admission (pp. 14-15). What this signifies, also, is that pastoralists are willing to enrol their children once provision becomes available: their decision-making reflects increasing

stresses on pastoralism which prompt a search for livelihood alternatives that education is expected to make possible. But their border crossing is into a territory with troubling institutional arrangements, governed by a regime that, by its own admission, struggles to recruit, train and retain facilitators; and to provide oversight of, and support for, ABE centres to ensure they operate according to stipulated quality thresholds; and to ensure transition of children from ABE to higher educational levels.

Despite expansion, ABE lacks equivalence with formal schooling and its overall organisation and governance is neither systematic nor adequate (as Onwu and Agu (2010) reported [3]). At both region and *woreda* levels, oversight of ABE is designated to a single person, who is charged with organising ABE, adult education, and special education. Primary school principals and cluster supervisors are ostensibly in charge of monitoring ABE, but are trained in primary school supervision, while ABE technically has different monitoring norms. In reality, officials at both Regional Education Bureau and *woreda* levels pointed out in interviews that there is hardly any capacity to support since they have neither transport, budget nor adequate human resource to take on this additional role – added to which, ABE centres are very dispersed and difficult to access. They also highlighted an absence of rules for ensuring regular monitoring visits to centres that may lie 30km apart (one aspect of which is limited access at lower levels of government to an official vehicle). The researchers found that enrolment, retention and achievement data are not routinely collected from ABE centres. Afar Regional Education Bureau officials unanimously recognised that ABE is not well managed; and that rapid turnover of staff creates challenges of ensuring that new incumbents are familiar with the norms and rules of established schemes. Interviews with Bureau officials and with ABE facilitators themselves affirmed that ABE facilitators are mostly educated only to grades 6-8. The acute shortage of ABE facilitators from an Afar background means that an unshared language of instruction is a serious challenge: as one respondent from an international non-government organisation remarked, 'An urgent problem to be resolved is how to recruit indigenous teachers. In the absence of any ability to communicate, teaching and learning simply cannot take place' (pers comm March 2016). Further, the training of ABE facilitators had changed: the teacher training college had run a one year course for three years, but in 2016 the Afar Regional Education Bureau reported that it provided training itself, on a more occasional basis for 15 days, 30 days and sometimes 60 days, justified as providing training 'where it is needed' (pers comm REB official March 2016). The Bureau's appropriation of the ABE facilitator training role undermined principles of equality in its regime of inclusion by introducing sporadic training for alternative provision, separated from a professional course in dedicated primary teacher colleges.

In ABE centres visited, accommodation included purpose-built facilities provided by development partners, particularly UNICEF, to shelters with no facilities; from abundant desking to stones on the dust floor; and a blackboard (often broken) – all of which are typical of ABE provision (cf. Onwu and Agu 2010 and respondents). There were no arrangements for school feeding, nor water supply or toilets even in the better buildings; again, this reflects the wider status quo. A lack of textbooks was evident, but in one ABE centre an arrangement, reported as widespread, was found where books from the primary school were being borrowed as the dedicated ABE curricular materials had not reached them. Those books were in some places, but not everywhere, in Amharic (which Afar pastoralist children do not speak). In all three ABE centres visited, learner age varied widely, from about 4 years old to young men aged up to 20. This profile is typical in the early stages of rolling out

---

[3] Unicef commissioned a national review of Alternative Basic Education in 2016 (for which this author was interviewed) but its findings are not available at the time of writing.

ABE centres (Onwu and Agu 2010) and speaks to both the previous lack of an education service – a border with no available crossing point - and to demand among pastoralists.

Sampled parents, who had children in those ABE centres, reported that flexibility of time – a key principle of 'alternative' provision and critical boundary checkpoint for pastoralists - is rarely sustained. This was affirmed by all officials. Temporal borders, constituted by adhering to the daily schedule and annual calendar of formal schools, are exclusionary for pastoralist communities. The best times for these children to attend ABE are early morning, late afternoon and at night, since they use day time hours to fetch water, and perform other household / livestock-related activities, including gathering cattle to search for water and local pasture. As facilitators are not usually from the community and reside elsewhere, the exigencies of public transport play a role: nevertheless, control of timing is by facilitators rather than service users. Parents pointed out that the schooling calendar is inconsistent with labour needs: the dry season in February-April, when pastoralist children are busy in search of water and pasture, falls in term time; the summer vacation falls in June-August, which is normally the wet season for the region when child labour is not intensively demanded, although changing weather patterns make prediction more difficult. They also pointed to quality deficits such as poor availability of teaching-learning materials, physical conditions in ABE centres that are unconducive to learning; and difficulties of both absence and competence of ABE facilitators. Notable too was the absence of drinking water, reflecting not only poor water availability in general, but also an absence of integrated planning that could ensure water points and education facilities are co-located.

While provision of ABE centres had, nevertheless, enabled enrolment where there had previously been no access to provision, families who had successfully crossed that particular border checkpoint of education inclusion found themselves moving towards others. Availability of a nearby primary school in which to transition on completion of ABE was poor; but when a primary school was available, children were leaving ABE with levels of learning lower than required to transition successfully. These conditional prospects for transition were reported by parents as demotivating, and contributing not only to early drop-out but also to disconnection between their aspirations for outcomes of engaging with formalised education and the realities of institutional arrangements.

It is worth briefly commenting at the conclusion of this section on a conflicted local narrative about mobile school provision, another measure proposed in the 2008 national strategy for pastoralist education. The principle of mobile schooling is attractive to a regime of education inclusion because it can enable physical access for mobile pastoralists; but it has known risks around norms and procedures that include exacerbated difficulties in recruiting and retaining facilitators, and in quality monitoring (USAID 2012, Ngugi 2016); and challenges in sustaining concentrations of mobile learners (Krätli and Dyer 2009, Manyire 2011). In the Afar region, a local NGO representative claimed it is running mobile schools, and provided verbal insights but no documentation - yet the Regional Education Bureau was unable confirm this effort. A senior Bureau officer was of the view that mobile schools run by NGOs are not a sustainable model: 'We do not give any support and even NGOs do not communicate, so if one project is phased out they do not hand over to the government, it is not sustainable' (pers comm March 2016). This comment in interview points to other boundary markers – of state and non-state provisioning, and disconnections between differently positioned actors - in Afar region's regime of education inclusion (and echoes Onwu and Agu's 2010 findings).

5   Towards putting the last first

Drawing on concepts from the fields of migration, sociology, international development and education, this paper has suggested that education inclusion for pastoralists can usefully be

conceptualised as a 'border regime'. The regime analysis applied here has illustrated ways in which the various formal and informal principles, rules, norms and decision-making in the practices of education regimes comprise what are, in effect, a series of 'checkpoints' of inclusion along a border that pastoralists have to negotiate and attempt to pass. States present the territory of being educationally included as a place that is open to all, but this analysis has shown that borders are imposed by how regimes of inclusion operate. The case study of Ethiopia's Afar region has provided empirical insight about the nature of those borders in one context, and shown that they make it difficult for mobile pastoralists to reach and remain within that territory. Their experience has global resonance.

Exploration of regimes of education inclusion is located here within the context of mobile pastoralist livelihoods, notably dispossession brought about by environmental change and drylands development policies (Sintayehu and Ashine 2015). Discussion has shown persistent contradictions across policy and practices of governance about pastoralists as 'proper citizens' and, hence, following Hess (2012, 430) revealed 'regulation as an effect of social practices'. Because education is socially embedded, long-standing state ambivalence towards pastoralism as a livelihood, neglect of pastoralist regions, and fragmented attempts to address this neglect, are all reflected in the contradictions of state regimes of education inclusion. Ethiopia is a case in point: its dependence for pastoralists' inclusion on ABE, which emerges here as a poorly regulated service widely regarded as inferior to the 'regular' system, highlights tensions between the discourses and the practices of equitable education inclusion. Shaped by such stratification, the symbolic value of the 'education' offered by the state to those on the periphery is less than that of the offer for those who fit the normative, sedentary frame of proper citizenship. This is not unique to Ethiopia: it is occurring widely as regimes of education inclusion attempt to 'reach' pastoralists (Krätli and Dyer 2009, Dyer 2014 and 2016, Manyire 2011, Scott-Villiers et al. 2016) or, in this analysis, as states attempt to (re)move the border between the educationally included and unincluded.

The regime analysis supports the theoretical claim that formal education has a contested role in the production of 'proper citizens' and shows that this is particularly conflicted when those 'citizens' pursue a mobile livelihood. It has revealed a series of disjunctures and contradictions between policy discourses of universality – of primary education and, in the Sustainable Development Goal era, equal access to opportunities for lifelong learning for all – and institutional arrangements on the ground. It makes a general case for closer research and policy attention to border setting in relation to education inclusion and equality of educational opportunity, and a specific call to consider this in relation to mobile pastoralist communities.

The paper also underlines the interdependence of Sustainable Development Goals 4 and 10 – lifelong learning for all cannot be achieved without the reduction of inequalities. The Sustainable Development Goal framework pledge to reach the last first (UN 2015), in turn, requires us to inspect the boundaries of migration scholarship, to include mobile pastoralists and provide the interdisciplinary analysis of inequalities needed to place them among those who do, indeed, count first.

References

Afar REB 2012. *Education Statistics: Afar Region.* Samara: Regional Education Bureau.

African Union. 2010. Policy framework for pastoralism in Africa: securing, protecting and improving the lives, livelihoods and rights of pastoralist communities. Available: https://www.au.int/en/documents/30240/policy-framework-pastoralism-africa-securing-protecting-and-improving-lives.

Agegnehu, A. and W. Dibu. 2017. Does decentralization have a role in poverty reduction? The Ethiopian experience. *Journal of African Studies and Development* 9(1), 1-6.

Anbessa, D. 2015. Ethiopian Pastoralist Policy At The Crossroads: Further Marginalization Or Revitalization? In: Anbessa, D. and Abdulahi, M. (eds.) 2015. op cit pp. 16-21.

Anbessa, D. and Abdulahi, M. (eds.) 2015. *The intricate road to development: government development strategies in the pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa*. Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University. Available: http://www.ipss-addis.org/y-file-store/resources/publication//the_intricate_road_to_development.min.pdf.

Anis, K. 2008. *Education for Pastoralists: Flexible Approaches, Workable Models*. Addis Ababa: Pact Ethiopia.

Arnot, M., C. Schneider and O. Welply. 2013. Education, mobilities and migration: people, ideas and resources, *Compare* 43 (5), 567-579.

Bengtsson, S. and C. Dyer. Forthcoming 2017. *Ensuring High Quality Primary Education for Children from Mobile Populations: A desk study*. GIZ/Educate A Child.

Bourdieu, P. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Carr-Hill, R. 2012. Finding and then counting out-of-school children. *Compare* 42 (2), 187-212.

Catley, A., J. Lind and I. Scoones. 2016. The futures of pastoralism in the Horn of Africa: pathways of growth and change. Rev Sci Tech. 35(2), 389-403.

Chatty, D. 2006. Boarding schools for mobile people: The Harasiis in the Sultanate of Oman. In Dyer, C. (ed.). op cit, 213–231.

Colclough, C. 1982. The impact of primary schooling on economic development: a review of the evidence. *World Development* 10 (3), 167-185.

Cosgrave, J., Hargrave, K., Foresti, M. & Massa, I. with Beresford, J., Dempster, H. & Rea, J. 2016. *Europe's refugees and migrants: Hidden flows, tightened borders and spiralling costs*. ODI Report. London: ODI. Available: https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/resource-documents/10887.pdf

Danaher, P., M. Kenny and J. Leder (eds.). 2009. *Traveller, Nomadic and Migrant Education*. London: Routledge.

Davies, J. and M. Nori. 2008. Managing and mitigating climate change through pastoralism. *Policy matters* 16, 127-141. IUCN-CEESP. Available: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228417188_Managing_and_mitigating_climate_change_through_pastoralism.

Deshingkar, P. and S. Aktar. 2009. *Migration and Human Development in India*. Human Development Research Paper 2009/13. United Nations Development Programme. Available: http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/migration-and-human-development-india

Desta, A. 2017. *Political Socialization in the era of Globalization in Ethiopian Schools*. Institute of Development and Education for Africa. Available: http://www.africanidea.org/Political_socialization_Ethiopia.html.

Dyer, C. 2013. Does mobility have to mean being hard to reach? Mobile pastoralists and education's 'terms of inclusion'. *Compare* 43 (5), 601-621.

Dyer, C. 2014. *Learning and Livelihoods: Education For All and the marginalisation of mobile pastoralists*. London: Routledge.

Dyer. C. 2016. Evolving approaches to educating children from nomadic communities. *Prospects* 177 (1), 39-54.

Dyer, C. (ed.) 2006. *The education of nomadic peoples: current issues, future prospects*. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Press.

EBC 24.1.2017. The 16th Ethiopian Pastoralists' Day to be observed Tomorrow. http://www.ebc.et/web/ennews/-/the-16th-ethiopian-pastoralists-day-to-be-observed-tomorrow.

Ezeomah, C. 1998. Redemptive Egalitarianism as a strategy for equalising educational opportunity: The case of nomads in Nigeria. *Journal of Nomadic Studies: An Inter-disciplinary Journal on migrant groups* 1(1), 111-121

Freire, P. and D. Macedo. 1987. *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Giroux, H. 1992. *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education*. Routledge: New York and London.

Herrero M., J. Addison, C. Bedelian, E. Carabine, P. Havlík, B. Henderson, J. Van De Steeg and P. Thornton. 2016. Climate change and pastoralism: impacts, consequences and adaptation. *Rev.Sci.Tech*. 35(2), 417-433.

Hess, S. 2012. De-naturalising Transit Migration. Theory and Methods of an Ethnographic Regime Analysis. *Population, Space, Place* 18, 428–440.

Hickey, M. and B. Yeoh. 2016. Crossing Borders and Traversing Boundaries: Closing the 'Gap' between Internal and International Migration in Asia. *Population, Space Place* 22, 642–650.

Hundie, B. and M. Padmanabhan. 2008. The transformation of the Afar commons in Ethiopia. State Coercion, Diversification, and Property Rights Change among Pastoralists. CAPRi working paper #87. Available: http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/44360/2/capriwp87.pdf.

IIED. 2010. *Modern and Mobile: The Future of Livestock Production in Africa's Drylands*. London: IIED.

Jeffery, P. and R. Chopra (eds.). 2005. *Educational regimes in contemporary India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

King, R. and R. Skeldon. 2010. 'Mind the Gap!' Integrating Approaches to Internal and International Migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(10), 1619-1646.

Krasner, S. D. 1982. Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables. *International Organization* 36 (2): 185–205.

Krätli, S. 2001. Education Provision to Nomadic Pastoralists: A Literature Review. IDS Working Paper 126. New York: World Bank.

Krätli, S. and C. Dyer. 2009. *Educating Mobile Pastoralists: A Strategic Review of Literature.* Education For Nomads Issues Paper #1. London: IIED.

Leggett, I. 2005. Learning to improve education policy for pastoralists in Kenya. In: Aikman, S. and E. Unterhalter) *Beyond Access: Transforming Policy and Practice for Gender Equality in Education*, pp. 128-148. Oxford: Oxfam GB.

Levinson, B. and D. Holland. 1996. The cultural production of an educated person: an introduction. In Levinson, B., D. Foley and D. Holland (eds)*. Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Lind, J., R. Sabates-Wheeler and S. Kohnstamm. 2016. Changes in the drylands of Eastern Africa: understanding and mapping livelihood dynamics and resilience within pastoralist systems. Available: http://africaleadftf.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Changes-in-the-drylands-of-Eastern-Africa-understanding-mapping-livelihood-dynamics-resilience.pdf.

Markakis, J. 2011. *Ethiopia: The Last Two Frontiers*. Oxford: James Currey.

Manyire, H. 2011. *Evaluation of the Mobile Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK). Final Report*. Available: https://www.norad.no/globalassets/import-2162015-80434-am/www.norad.no-ny/filarkiv/ngo-evaluations/evaluation-of-the-mobile-alternative-basic-education-for-karamoja-abek-program.pdf.

McCowan, T. 2011. Human rights, capabilities and the normative basis of 'Education for All'. *Theory and Research in Education* 9(3), 283–298*.*

Middleton, N., L. Stringer, A. Goudie and D. Thomas. 2011. *The Forgotten Billion: MDG Achievement in the Drylands*. New York/Bonn: UNDP/UNCCD. Available: http://www.unccd.int/Lists/SiteDocumentLibrary/Publications/Forgotten%20Billion.pdf.

Migdal, J. 2004. Mental maps and virtual checkpoints: struggles to construct and maintain state and social boundaries. In Migdal, J. (ed.) *Boundaries and Belonging: states and societies in the struggle to shape identities and local practices*, pp. 3-26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Miller, D. 2012. 'Border Regimes and Human Rights'. CSSJ Working Papers Series, SJ021. University of Oxford: Centre for the Study of Social Justice.

MoE. 2006. *National Alternative Basic Education Strategy for Out of School Children (2006).* Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education, Ethiopia.

MoE 2008. *The Development of Education. National Report of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia*. Available: http://www.ibe.unesco.org/National_Reports/ICE_2008/ethiopia_NR08.pdf.

MoE/ESDP V. 2015. *Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP V) 2015-2020*. Addis Ababa: Federal Ministry of Education, Ethiopia.

Narayan. D. 1999. Bonds and Bridges: Social Capital and Poverty. Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network. Policy Research Working Paper #2167. World Bank: Washington D.C.

Ngugi, M. 2016. Challenges Facing Mobile Schools among Nomadic Pastoralists: A Case Study of Turkana County, Kenya. *American Journal of Educational Research* (4) 1, 22-32.

Nkinyangi, J. 1982. Access to primary education in Kenya: the contradictions of public policy. *Comparative Education Review* 26 (2), 199–217.

Nori, M., M. Taylor and A. Sensi. 2008. *Browsing on fences. Pastoral land rights, livelihoods and adaptation to climate change*. IIED Issue paper #148. Available: http://pubs.iied.org/pdfs/12543IIED.pdf

ODI 2009. *Pastoralism and climate change. Enabling adaptive capacity.* HPG Synthesis Paper. London: Overseas Development Institute. Available: https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/4317.pdf.

Onwu, G. and A. Agu. 2010. Examining some aspects of alternative basic education programmes in Ethiopia. *Perspectives in Education*, 78 28 (2).

Oxfam. 2005. *Evaluation of the Regional Pastoral Programme in the HECA Region.* Available: http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/evaluation-of-theregional-pastoral-programme-in-the-heca-region-119458.

PES. 2008. Pastoralist Area Education Strategy. Addis Ababa: Federal Ministry of Education, Ethiopia. Available: www.ethiopia.gov.et/.../Pastralest%20Education%20stratege%20Eng.pdf.

Pike, J., and P. Kelly. 2014. *The Moral Geographies of Children, Young People and Food. Beyond Jamie's School Dinners*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Randall, S. 2015. Where have all the nomads gone? Fifty years of statistical and demographic invisibilities of African mobile pastoralists. *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* 5 (22).

Reda, K. 2014. *Formal and informal land tenure systems in Afar region, Ethiopia*. African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD). Available: http://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/formal-and-informal-land-tenure-systems-in-afar-region-ethiopia/.

Ruto S., Z. Ongwenyi and J. Mugo. 2009. *Educational Marginalisation in Northern Kenya*, background paper to the 2010 EFA Global Monitoring Report. Available: http://unesdoc.UNESCO.org/images/0018/001866/186617e.pdf.

Scott-Villiers, P., S. Wilson, N. Kabala, M. Kullu, D. Ndung'u and A. Scott-Villiers. 2016. *A Study of Education and Resilience in Kenya's Arid and Semi-Arid Lands*. UNICEF Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office (ESARO). Available: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/303818211_A_Study_of_Education_and_Resilience_in_Kenya%27s_Arid_and_Semi-Arid_Lands

Shahshahani, S. 1995. Tribal schools of Iran: sedentarisation through education. *Nomadic Peoples* 36-37, 145-156.

Sintayehu, F. and Y. Ashine. 2015. Appraisal of praxis of pastoralist policies in the Afar National Regional State. In In: Anbessa, D. and Abdulahi, M. (eds.) 2015. op cit pp. 72-105.

Tikly, L. 2017. The Future of Education for All as a Global Regime of Educational Governance. *Comparative Education Review* 21 (1), .

Tsegaye, D., P. Vedeld and S. Moe. 2013. Pastoralists and livelihoods: A case study from northern Afar, Ethiopia. *Journal of Arid Environments* 91, 138-146.

Tsianos, V. and S. Karakayali. 2010. Transnational Migration and the Emergence of the European Border Regime: An Ethnographic Analysis. *European Journal of Social Theory.* 13(3) 373–387.

UN. 2015. *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. Available: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld.

UN. 2016.   New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants. Available:
http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/71/L.1

UNEP. 2012. *Renewable resources and conflict. Toolkit and Guidance for Preventing and Managing Land and Natural Resources Conflicts.* Available:
http://www.un.org/en/events/environmentconflictday/pdf/GN_Renewable_Consultation.pdf.

UNESCO. 2000. *Dakar Framework for Action, Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments*. Paris: Unesco. Available: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001211/121147e.pdf.

UNESCO. 2010. *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010. Reaching the Marginalized*. Available:
http://unesdoc.UNESCO.org/images/0018/001866/186606e.pdf.

UNESCO. 2015. *Education For All 2000-2015, Achievements and Challenges*. Paris: UNESCO. Available:
http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002322/232205e.pdf.

UNICEF. 2012. *For a Better Inclusion of Internal Migrants in India. Policy Briefs.* New Delhi: UNICEF/UNESCO. Available:
http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/FIELD/New_Delhi/pdf/Policy_briefs_full_low_01.pdf.

UNICEF. 2016. *Situation analysis of pastoralist education in Ethiopia, 2008-2016.* Unpublished mimeo, available from Unicef, Addis Ababa.

USAID. 2012. *Alternative Education: Mobile Schools for Nomadic Pastoralists in North Eastern Province*. Available: http://kenya.usaid.gov/programs/education-and-youth/290. 21.3.2012.

WDEFA. 1990. *World Declaration of Education For All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs*, World Conference on Education for All, Jomtien, Thailand. Availabe: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001275/127583e.pdf.

West, A. and R. Nikolai. 2013. Welfare regimes and education regimes: equality of opportunity and expenditure in the EU (and US). *Journal of Social Policy* 42(3), 469-493.

Wolford, W., M. Saturnino, R. Hall, I. Scoones and B. White. 2013. Governing Global Land Deals: The Role of the State in the Rush for Land. *Development and Change* 44(2), 189–210.