JUNE 2011

Feinstein International Center

Strengthening the humanity and dignity of people in crisis through knowledge and practice

A report for the BRIDGES Project

The Role of Education in Livelihoods in the Somali Region of Ethiopia

Elanor Jackson

Tufts UNIVERSITY | Gerald J. and Dorothy R. Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy

Feinstein International Center
Tufts University
200 Boston Ave., Suite 4800
Medford, MA 02155
USA
tel: +1 617.627.3423
fax: +1 617.627.3428
fic.tufts.edu

Acknowledgements

This study was funded by the Department for International Development as part of the BRIDGES pilot project, implemented by Save the Children UK, Mercy Corps, and Islamic Relief in the Somali Region.

The author especially appreciates the support and ideas of Alison Napier of Tufts University in Addis Ababa. Thanks also to Mercy Corps BRIDGES project staff in Jijiga and Gode, Islamic Relief staff and driver in Hargelle, Save the Children UK staff in Dire Dawa, and the Tufts driver. In particular, thanks to Hussein from Mercy Corps in Jijiga for organizing so many of the interviews.

Thanks also to Andy Catley from Tufts University and to Save the Children UK, Islamic Relief, Mercy Corps, and Tufts University staff in Addis Ababa for their ideas and logistical assistance. Thanks also to Tina Wallace.

Above all, thank you to all those informants in the Somali Region who contributed their time and personal stories and to Asmaa Jama Mahamud for her expert translation skills and invaluable insights.

Disclaimer

The views expressed in the report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect DFID policies or the views of Save the Children UK, Islamic Relief, Mercy Corps, and Tufts University.

The names of many of the informants have been changed.

Children and adults gave their informed consent for the use of their photographs in this report.

Contents

ACRONYMS

ABE	Alternative Basic Education
ATVET	Agricultural Technical and Vocational Education and Training
BoE	Bureau of Education
BoYS	Bureau of Youth and Sport
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CMC/PTA	Centre Management Committee/Parent Teacher Association
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DFID	Department for International Development
EB	Ethiopian Birr
EDC	Education Development Center
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ESDP	Education Sector Development Program
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GPA	Grade Point Average
GRTPC	Gode Rural Technology Promotion Centre
HTP	Harmful Traditional Practice
HR	Human Resources
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IGA	Income Generating Activity
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IR	Islamic Relief
MC	Mercy Corps
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MFI	Microfinance Institution
MoE	Ministry of Education
MTR	Mid-Term Review
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
PCAE	Pastoralism Concern Association Ethiopia
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Programme
PTR	Pupil-Teacher Ratio
REB	Regional Education Bureau
SCUK	Save the Children UK
SRS	Somali Regional State
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region
TTC	Teacher Training College
TTI	Teacher Training Institute
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Human Affairs
USD	United States Dollars
WA	Women's Affairs
WEO	Woreda Education Office
WFP	World Food Programme (UN)

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report describes a qualitative study on the role of education in livelihoods in the Somali Region of Ethiopia, conducted over 18 days in April 2011. **The study was conducted for the BRIDGES project (piloting the delivery of quality education services in the developing regional states of Ethiopia) funded by DFID and led by Save the Children UK. The study focus was to understand people's perceptions as to how education has contributed to livelihoods—of pastoralists, of those exiting pastoralism, and of those seeking to diversify their livelihoods—in the region.** The main findings of the study are contained in section 4 of the report and the case studies have been collated in Annex I.

There was a general perception that education provides a pathway to economic independence and a route out of poverty. Many professionals and students talked about using their education to contribute to their communities and many respondents in areas where their educational and livelihood options were limited were adamant that continuing their education was key to a successful future. Many respondents who had completed their tertiary education were studying second or Master's courses, some of them emphasizing the importance of widening their livelihood options through further study.

The key issues arising from the study include:

- In the last twenty years, there has been a rapid increase in the size and population of the existing towns and the development of new urban centers across the region. The impact of the 1977 War between Ethiopia and Somalia, and the subsequent return of Ethiopian Somalis to the region in 1991, has had a significant impact—many people became urbanized in Somalia and on their return to Ethiopia settled in peri-urban and urban centers.

- Education services have also been expanded significantly in this period, resulting in greater awareness of the value of education and increasing educational opportunities for many urban Somalis and more limited opportunities in rural areas. The demand for education is increasing.

- Many respondents in the study had moved out of pastoralism (a few had diversified into other livelihoods as well as continuing, or supporting family members to continue, some pastoralist/agro-pastoralist activities), or were the children of former pastoralists. The few pastoralists consulted from two different communities felt that the poor amongst their communities were becoming a larger group. Many respondents felt that education offers people an alternative livelihood to pastoralism. However, most respondents were hopeful that education could serve to strengthen pastoral livelihoods.

- Many Ethiopian Somalis who fled Ethiopia during the Ethio-Somali war were educated in Somalia. On their return to Ethiopia, they became the first professionals employed by the regional government and served as role models for the new generations of Somalis accessing education in the Somali Region.

- The support of relatives, either in the form of money or provision of food and lodgings, has been critical in enabling many Somalis to continue with their education. This trend is continuing, with many young professionals in urban areas currently supporting relatives to access secondary or tertiary education. In the past 20 years, the influx of remittances from relatives overseas to family members in the Somali Region has enabled many Somalis to continue in education.

- Students from pastoralist backgrounds studying agriculture and related courses in universities and the agricultural TVET are optimistic that they will be able to gain employment with government, through which they will have the opportunity to enhance pastoral livelihoods and contribute to their communities.

- The provision of education in rural areas is in its early stages. Key learning from the BRIDGES project on the importance of flexibility and mobility in education provision should serve as the foundation for the further development of education services in pastoralist areas. Prioritizing the training of ABE teachers, the teaching methodology, the quality of the curriculum, and distribution of teaching materials were considered more important than the construction of school buildings by education officials, students, and professionals consulted in the study.

- In some areas there is a lack of options for young people to continue their education or gain employment; as a result young males may resort to chewing khat and young females to marriage. There is evidence that this issue has generated a backlash against education amongst parents in certain locations. Other barriers to education identified by respondents in the study included: inability to cover the hidden costs involved in education; child labor; shortage of Somali teachers (often resulting in courses being taught in Amharic); poor teacher quality; lack of teaching equipment; priority given to buildings rather than books and teaching materials.

- Increasing numbers of pastoralists and former pastoralists/those who have dropped out of pastoralism see the education of some/all of their children as an important pathway to bringing about the future security of the family. Those who cannot afford education have limited income earning/livelihood options in settlements and towns, such as the sale of charcoal, firewood and water, setting up a tea stall, shoe shining, daily labor, and khat selling. Despite the challenges, some have managed to develop viable businesses as khat or contraband traders and have prioritized their savings to educate their children.

- Girls and young women consulted in the study highlighted the challenges they face in accessing and continuing in education, including responsibilities for assisting their families and caring for siblings, their lack of confidence, and the discrimination they face from teachers. A common experience reported by girls is that they are unlikely to be educated to the same level as boys, often due to expectations around marriage and the likelihood that following marriage they will not continue their education or careers. Nevertheless, in urban areas there was a sense that this situation is changing as awareness of women's equal rights to education grows.

- Most graduates are destined for jobs in government, which is the main employer. Graduates do not necessarily work in areas related to their field of study and regular re-structuring of government departments leads to frequent changes in positions for professionals. There was a tangible sense of people feeling they do not having control over their employment prospects. Some informants recounted experiences of becoming disillusioned and frustrated through resource constraints at district level and a lack of opportunity to undertake their work.

- Some respondents alluded to having faced, or being aware of, discrimination towards certain people because of their clan or related to their having come from a pastoralist background, which affects both their options to secure employment and their treatment by employers and community members. Addressing the multiple barriers to employment should be a priority along with expanding access and equity in education. More work is needed to foster networks that can support and mentor young people to overcome these barriers.

- Ethiopians from other regions are currently working in the Somali Regional State in sectors where previously there has been a lack of qualified Somalis, i.e., education, engineering, construction, water, and sanitation. However, this pattern is changing as new Somali graduates are beginning to fill these positions.

- The trading of livestock and contraband has traditionally provided livelihood opportunities. Although conditions for livestock marketing are unfavorable, some respondents acknowledged that there are pastoralists with large herds who are prospering from the increasing commercialization of livestock trading and that educated former pastoralists with savings are investing in livestock. Contraband trading generates considerable profits but many involved in the contraband trade felt that it is becoming more difficult, due to increased border closures and greater activity of the Ethiopian Revenues and Customs Authority (commonly known as the finance police) in confiscating goods.

- In the long term, the capacity of the government sector to absorb increasing numbers of graduates will reach an optimum level. Unless the private sector can develop and expand to be able to absorb increasing numbers of educated young people, then the continued expansion of the region's education services will no longer be seen to offer favorable livelihood outcomes. Ultimately, this could result in a growing population of unemployed and disenfranchised youth, for whom emigration and involvement in conflict are considered options.

Jijiga TVET Vision

Pastoralist migrants, driven by drought to settle on the outskirts of Dandamane

2.1 Overview of the project

The BRIDGES project (piloting the delivery of quality education services in the developing regional states of Ethiopia) is a one-year DFID-funded project aimed at understanding how additional DFID funding for primary education can catalyze and complement existing government efforts in the developing regional states and contribute to peace building. The project is being implemented by a consortium led by Save the Children UK (SCUK), Islamic Relief (IR), and Mercy Corps (MC). It is being implemented in over 150 formal schools, ABE centers, and Quranic schools in Shinile Zone (Afdem and Mieso-Mulu Woredas), Afder Zone (Hargelle, Chereti, and Elkere Woredas) and Jijiga Zone (Kebribaya and Babile-Dandamane Woredas) of Somali Regional State (SRS) in Ethiopia. The project is also supporting the Jijiga Technical and Vocational Education and Training Centre (TVET), the Gode Rural Technology Promotion Centre (GRPTC), and the Gode Agricultural-TVET (ATVET). The project partners include the Regional Education Bureau (REB) and the respective Woreda Education Offices (WEOs), the Jijiga College of Teacher Education, the Regional Bureau of Youth and Sport (BoYS), as well as a number of local NGO partners.

The project started in May 2010. Activities implemented by SCUK and IR will continue until the end of June 2011, through a no-cost extension.

One of the project outcomes is: **improved livelihoods and participation outcomes for youth**. The project baseline reported a high number of SRS pastoralist youth with no formal education (one to two million) and that there are few vocational training opportunities—there are only two TVETs, and there are no structures in place to help youth to obtain apprenticeships with the private business sector. The TVETs do not target pastoral youth, e.g., through the provision of short practical courses (3–6 months) and there are no living-cost stipends for courses appropriate for illiterate youth, meaning high dropout rates. (In 2009, 300 of a total 700 TVET students in Jijiga dropped out[1]). The project strategies to address this outcome include: supporting uneducated pastoralist youth to participate in specially designed short courses with the Jijiga TVET and GRTPC (construction, plumbing, IT, woodwork, mechanics); youth participation in peace and sports events; and the facilitation of linkages between the private sector, youth, and the

Colleges, with a view to creating opportunities for apprenticeships and sponsorship of youth sports events (football).

Lesson learning and documentation are a strong component of the project, in order to inform future DFID strategies for peace building and improved education in the region. The research elements of the project are managed by the Feinstein International Center, Tufts University. This study, supervised by Tufts University, aims to complement the learning from the project's interventions, through exploring the role of education in the Somali Region, with a focus on the contribution of education to pastoralist livelihoods.

2.2 Background to the study

2.2.1 Objective and methodology

The study aim was to understand current perceptions of the role of education in the development and diversification of livelihoods in the Somali Regional State, particularly the perceived contribution of education to the livelihoods of pastoralists, those exiting pastoralism, and those seeking to diversify their livelihoods. The study includes the following objectives:

i) Development of a timeline of the development of secular education in the SRS, as well as exploring the evolution of Quranic education in the region.
ii) Using an individual case study approach, document personal experiences of education, perceptions of the role of education in supporting pastoral livelihoods and alternative livelihoods, and views on the main barriers to improving education in the region.

The following types of informant, both male and female, were consulted:

a) **Somali professionals** currently residing in the Somali Region or elsewhere, and who have experienced education from primary to tertiary levels.
b) **Community leaders**, including elders and religious leaders in the selected study locations.
c) **Government staff in the Bureau of Education.**
d) **Youth, both in and out of education.**
e) **Employers and small business owners.**

Community members—This group was not a specified group in the TOR (Terms of Reference) but it applies to small business people who do not fall into the other categories—ie., they have not been educated to tertiary level (Somali professionals group) and their businesses are not large enough to undertake significant employment (Employers group), nor are they community elders/leaders. Many of the women interviewed fall into this category.

The research was carried out through individual interviews and some focus group discussions, totalling 60 interviews in all, in addition to a literature review. Annex 1 of this report contains 55 of the case studies which contribute to the research findings. The researcher was dependent on the NGO staff of the BRIDGES partners to facilitate contact with a wide range of informants. The study was conducted over a two-and-a-half week period in April 2011, in the following areas: Jijiga town, Babile-Dandamane Woreda, and Kebribaya Woreda (Jijiga Zone); Hargelle Woreda (Afder Zone), Gode town, Dire Dawa, and Addis Ababa. Individuals or groups of students in the following institutions were also included in the study: TVET (Jijiga), University of Jijiga, ATVET (Gode), GRTPC (Gode), University of Dire Dawa.

Key findings were presented to NGO stakeholders in Addis and a representative from Tufts for further discussion, following the fieldwork.

2.2.2 Ethical issues

The data has been collected in line with the following ethical principles:

- The subject of the research, its aims and objectives, and its intended usage were explained to all participants.
- The informed consent of all respondents was obtained.
- The anonymity and confidentiality of those respondents who requested this has been ensured.

2.2.3 Limitations of the approach

It was not possible to organize many of the informant interviews in advance, and therefore it was not always feasible to access some of the contacts suggested by BRIDGES project staff. There were challenges in trying to link with ongoing BRIDGES project activities such as the Mercy Corps private sector workshops, due to last-minute changes in schedules and Save the Children staff in Jijiga being occupied with key training activities. Consequently, it was not possible to interview as many employers/business people or visit as many rural communities targeted by the project as originally intended. Meetings with pastoralists in rural areas were also affected by the drought affecting the region, which was increasing in severity during the first two weeks of April, when the fieldwork was conducted. The triangulation of findings in specific communities was difficult because of limited time in each location. The case study approach does not allow for representative sampling or reporting of overall statistics.

The Terms of Reference for the research stated that 50% of respondents should be female. However, considering the categories of respondents prescribed in the Terms of Reference, it was not possible to find equal numbers of women as men in many of these categories such as: Somali professionals educated from primary to tertiary education, Community leaders and elders, Government staff in the Bureau of Education, Employers.

3.1 Livelihoods in the study areas

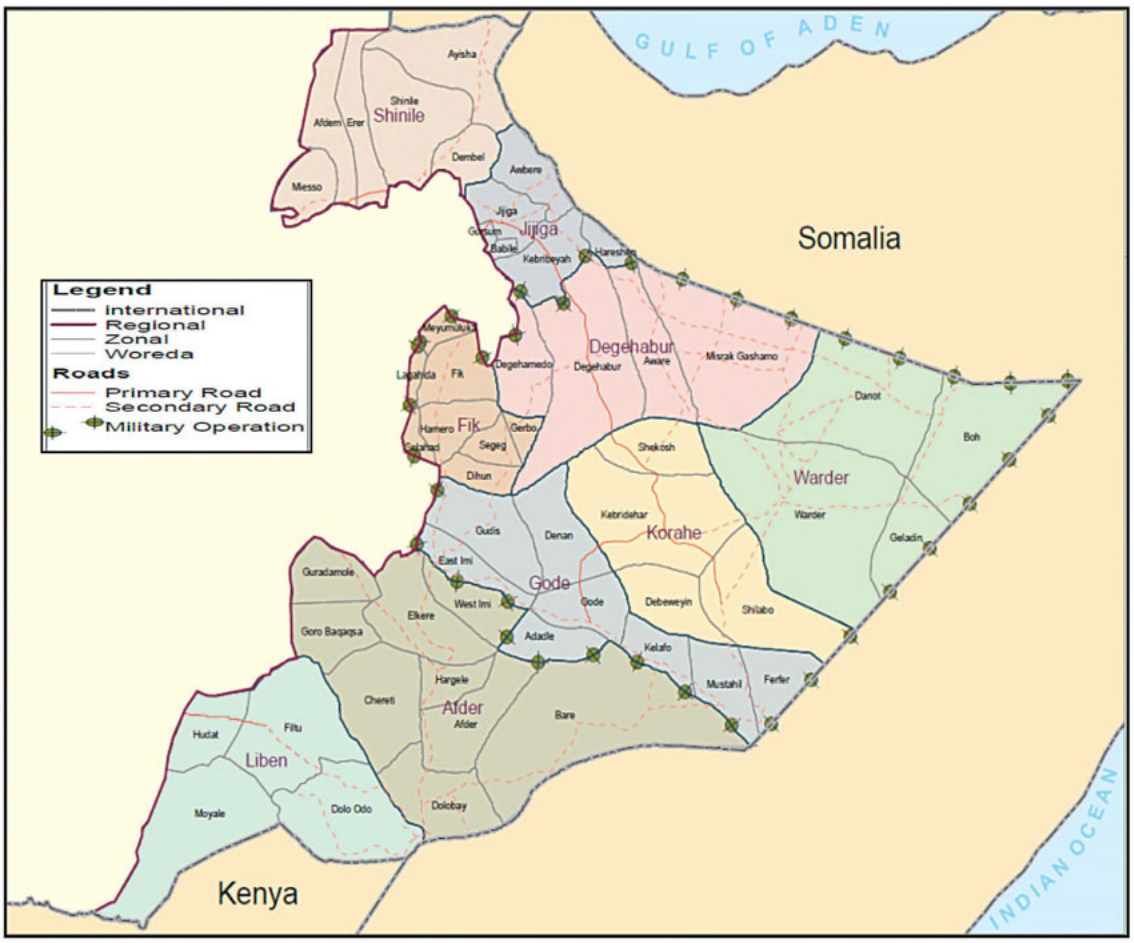
The Somali Region is the most eastern and second largest of the nine Ethiopian regions. The region is divided into nine zones and 52 woredas (see map in Figure 1). About 86% of the population lives in rural areas, and are mainly pastoralists and, to a lesser extent, agro-pastoralists.

3.1.1 Rural areas

Most Somalis are traditionally nomadic pastoralists. Life and survival revolves around livestock, with people constantly moving about in the interests of their livestock. Cross-border livestock export is extremely important—principally to Somalia, Djibouti, and Kenya, and, more recently, to Sudan. While cross-border exports from Ethiopia into Kenya and Sudan are destined mainly for the domestic markets in those countries, Ethiopian exports to Djibouti, Somaliland, and Puntland are mostly re-exported to the Middle East.[3]

Rural livelihoods in the SRS are changing; the region is witnessing large-scale transition in the form of rapid social, economic, and political transformation, caused by changes in the political landscape at national and regional level, increasing scarcity of resources, the adoption of farming as a complementary livelihood system, and increasing resource use conflicts. The most visible manifestation of this transition is in the shift away from pastoral activities towards more agro-pastoral and farming activities.[4]

Figure 1. Map of Somali Region[2]



Research undertaken by UNOCHA in 2005 suggests that livelihoods in rural areas in the Somali Region have been highly volatile from the mid-1900s until 2005. Pastoralists in Gashomo assessed their well-being status over a ten-year period—most households said they were doing well in the mid-1990s, but the drought of 1999/2000 caused a steep rise in those who were "struggling." This was followed by around three years of recovery, before the droughts of 2003/04 devastated livelihoods, reversing the positive pattern of ten years before. Similar trends were reported by agro-pastoralists in Kebribaya, but in urban Jijiga there was much less variability in self-assessed well-being over time. The researchers concluded that the impacts of these recurrent shocks and stresses are likely to be differentiated, in that more resilient households have survived the downturns and recovered, while others have been forced down and out of pastoralism altogether. This has already happened for many people, who have migrated to the edge of towns like Jijiga and Gode.[5]

Jijiga, Babile-Dandamane, and Kebribaya

The rural areas around Dandamane, Kebribaya, and part of Jijiga are agro-pastoralist, producing rain-fed sorghum, maize, and rearing livestock—mainly shoats (sheep/goats) and cattle. Closer to Jijiga town, the main livelihood is that of sedentary farming, also producing sorghum, maize, and shoats and cattle. There is high reliance on rain-fed agriculture and pasture in all areas, which makes the population particularly vulnerable to drought, Hamaday frost (October/November), crop pests, and market price fluctuations. The main risk-minimizing strategies include cultivation of higher-yielding crops (poor households), selling fodder and crops when prices are higher (middle and better-off households), and selling cattle (better-off households). Wealth in this zone is a direct result of agricultural activities and subsequent production. The most important income sources for all groups include: sales of crops, livestock products, and livestock. Poor households rely on the collection/sale of bush products, especially firewood and charcoal, for the majority of their income.[6]

Charcoal for sale near Dandamane

Agro-pastoralist communities are characterized by competition for farmland as well as water and grazing for livestock, since mobility is restricted by the need to stay near the farm. Kebribaya district is located close to Jijiga and is a corridor for trade to and from Somalia. It is also the location of Hartisheik, the world's largest refugee camp during Somalia's civil war in the early 1990s, now home to thousands of internally displaced people who have come to the camp as a result of drought or conflict.[7]

Hargelle[8]

Hargelle is in Afder Zone where livelihoods in the rural areas consist of pastoralism, mostly shoats, camels (important) and cattle. There is some irrigated farming of maize in the Dawa-Ganale riverine area and sorghum in the rain-fed areas. Salt farming is significant in God-Usbo, as it provides a safety net (in the form of labor) for poor households. Only middle and better-off households can afford the land to farm salt. There has been an increase in demand for salt, due to the lack of port access, road improvements (Gode-Negele and Gode-Hargelle), and an increase in good security, which makes transportation easier. The main constraint is the local road to the salt plain, which needs improvement. Growth in the salt trade has led to an increase in the size of God-Usbo town.

Salt workers in God-Usbo

In the pastoral livelihood zone, sales of livestock and livestock products are an important source of income for all groups, particularly middle and better-off households. Milk sales also increase with wealth. Bush products are collected and sold mainly by the poor; all wealth groups collect and sell gums and resins. Most expenditure is on food (water can also be expensive), but the better-off who can afford to restock livestock have considerable flexible income. Wealth is determined by livestock holdings, particularly camel and shoats. Relationships between the wealth groups are key to survival—the lending of milking animals during good years is an important part of the symbiotic relationship between rich and poor.

> *"During prosperous times and when we have lots of animals and animals reproduce—we give some to others so they can maintain their livestock but during the drought we do not give live animals. If we sell an animal we will give something to those in need but we need to keep our animals for the sake of our children."*

(Male pastoralist in Malkhaduur, near Hargelle)

In the pastoral livelihood zone, major risks include animal diseases, severe drought, high prices for staple foods, insecurity, decline in markets for livestock, gums/resins, and salt, and border closure. Coping strategies include distant migration with animals; "attaching" small herds to larger herds; reduced consumption; reduced spending on non-essential items; and splitting the household.

3.1.2 Urban areas

Devereux's research (2006) found that people in the two urban centers of Jijiga and Gode are better off than their rural counterparts in almost every respect—they enjoy higher average incomes and their incomes are less variable and less vulnerable to unpredictable shocks; they have better access to education and health services, and to clean water, so they are more likely to be literate and are less vulnerable to preventable diseases; they live longer and healthier lives. Women have more autonomy in towns than in rural communities. There is more livelihood diversification in urban areas—many people are employed in the public sector (government administration, drivers, teachers, nurses), the private sector (retail stores, hotel workers, builders, security guards), or as informal service providers (barbers, tailors).[9]

Research by CHF International (2006) on conflict in the region reported that many youth, especially boys, are leaving their rural communities for Jijiga and Gode, both of which have grown substantially in recent years. Consequently, there exists a large pool of unemployed and underemployed youth in urban areas that are susceptible to recruitment to various causes and inducement to violence. They come looking for economic opportunities but in most cases all they find is odd jobs—such as shoe shining, loading and unloading, or minor construction—or no employment at all.[10]

It is important to note that in reality urban and rural livelihoods are inextricably linked and many Somalis in urban areas may continue to keep livestock/manage land from a distance. This is highlighted in Devereux's research, which noted that many Somali families engage in multiple activities, and making a living requires working with others. Pastoralists negotiate access to land and water with neighboring herders and farmers, and sell their livestock into a lengthy marketing chain of traders and intermediaries. Farmers sell their produce to urban residents, who purchase various goods and services from pastoralists,

farmers, and traders. Relatives living temporarily or permanently abroad in the "Somali diaspora" retain strong linkages with their families, sending back remittances, which are invested in the rural economy and urban businesses. The regional economy is closely linked to the economies of neighboring countries—Somalia, Somaliland, Djibouti, Kenya, and the Gulf states—and any disruption to the flow of cash, livestock, and commodities, either within the Somali Region or between the region and the world beyond its borders, constitutes a major threat to many local livelihoods (Devereux 2006).[11]

3.2 Education in the study areas

The Somali Regional State is characterized by underdevelopment, limited service delivery, frequent livelihood crises, and insecurity. Conflicts and tensions in the region are complex. Traditional institutions and systems, which exist within Somali culture to manage relationships and resources between sub-clans, struggle to find a place within the growing presence of a developing, alternative, formal government structure. Despite ongoing decentralization, the local government system in the region still faces many challenges, often lacking in budget, qualified personnel, and subject to clan influences.[12]

All these issues impact upon children's access to education, reducing not only their ability to access education, but also the ability of local government to deliver it. Quranic schools are more numerous than secular schools, with most children attending a Quranic school before they attend secular school, if they do so at all.[13] The GER for the Somali Region was 32.7% (34.9 % for boys and 29.6% for girls), compared to a national ratio of 100.5% in the 2007/08 academic year.[14] However, these figures do not reflect the numbers of children who actually attend school, which are far less.

Research undertaken by Abdulahi (2008) on decentralization of primary education services to district level compared the Somali Region and the Southern Nation, Nationalities, and Peoples Region (SNNPR) of Ethiopia. Abdulahi reported that the Somali Region's education was performing worse than that of SNNPR due to inefficient service delivery, capacity constraints at district level, and lack of community participation. Primary schools in SNNPR have budget control and were participating in the budget deliberation process at district level. In contrast, primary schools in the SRS were excluded from planning processes for primary education and did not have control of budgets.[15] The BRIDGES project aimed to address some of these gaps through working with regional and district governments to improve the access to, and the quality and relevance of, primary education, especially for pastoral peoples in conflict-affected areas of the SRS, including building the capacity of PTAs/CMCs to engage in decision-making and manage school resources.

Literacy in Somali Region is low, but is much higher in urban areas than rural areas. In Jijiga town, half the population sampled in research

Table 1. Literacy levels

District	Gross literacy (%)*	Literacy rate (%)**	Male literacy rate (%)	Female literacy rate (%)
Kebribaya	9.2	8.1	12.4	3.8
Jijiga rural	12.4	15.4	22.9	7.0
Jijiga town	55.0	47.6	65.9	30.8
Gode town	44.7	52.8	69.8	35.8

* Gross literacy = percentage of individuals able to read and write in total population.
** Literacy rate = percentage of individuals able to read and write in population aged 15 and above.

undertaken by UNOCHA in 2005 could read and write, but in rural Gashamo and Kebribaya, literacy was only 7%, and 93% of people surveyed had never been to school.[16] Research by Devereux (2006), recorded literacy levels for some of the areas in the current study. These figures, broken down by gender, are included in Table 1.[17]

The BRIDGES project baseline study noted that the project woredas all face severe problems in terms of access to quality education. There is limited capacity of the respective Woreda Education Offices, and a lack of functioning, trained Parents Teachers Associations/ Community Management Committees (PTAs/ CMCs) that have either the commitment or capacity to promote access to quality basic education for their children, particularly in rural areas. The baseline found that most schools have limited technical and financial capacity as well as suffering from a shortage of teaching staff and materials. For example, Pupil Teacher Ratios (PTR) were reported to be as high as 1:91 in Hargelle Woreda (Afder Zone) while the textbook pupil ratio was 1:17. The project MTR found that in many ABE centers the teacher/ facilitator had the only available textbooks, and usually not in the full set of subjects. There were no teacher guides or resource materials.[18]

The BRIDGES project baseline also reported that the Somali Regional Education Bureau has established more than 2000 ABE centers throughout the region in all 52 districts that has contributed to raising the enrolment rate to 32.7 % in 2007/08. Although the progress made so far towards the realization of MDG for education in the last decade is encouraging, the region is still very far from attaining these goals. The low enrolment rates and quality of education in the Somali Region pose a serious threat to the future of its children. Millions, or more than 60%, of school age children are still out of school, and the majority of them are in isolated rural areas.

Dandamane Primary School

4.1 The evolution of secular education and development in the SRS

Education provision in the Somali Region has been extremely limited until the last twenty years. The timeline in Box 1 summarizes the development of secular education and other key events from 1930 until 2011, as reported by a range of informants in the region. The study findings in relation to the timeline are also discussed in detail.

Box 1. Timeline of the development of secular education from 1930 to 2011

	Secular Education Development
Imperial early 1930s (Haile Selassi Regime)	1930—first primary school in Jijiga. 1935—a secondary school established in Jijiga (funded by the European Union). Children had informal Quranic education. A selected few children from different parts of the region (Awbare, Hargelle), sons of chiefs mainly, were invited to attend schools in other parts of the country. There were secondary schools in Harar and Addis. 1951—a new school established in Jijiga by UNESCO (up to G 8). *SRS was a military base through Haile Selassi's Regime. This continued in the Mengistu Regime.* *1946 Haile Selassi visited the Somali Region when it was handed over to Ethiopia from Somalia.*
Imperial 1960s	1963—senior secondary school built in Jijiga. 1964—primary schools in Dehegabur, Kebridaha, Sagag, Degamadaw (Warder). Under ten schools in Dire Dawa. Education still available to children of chiefs or those invited to send children to school in certain areas. Many people suspicious of the offer of education because they thought their children would be converted to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Children attending Quranic schools. *The only livestock market was in Harar.* *1963—a group called "shifto" or "geish" by the Somalis were trained by Somalia and entered Ethiopia as insurgents. H. Selassi's response was brutal—led to a conflict in 1964 known as the Wajale war—fighting in Somalia Ethiopia border areas—Wajale, Ferfer, Dabagorayale, Inaguha.* *1969—Arba Adi drought—pastoralists lost many livestock in the Jijiga area.* *1960—Urban and rural literacy campaign in Somalia, increasing the literacy rate from 5 to 55% by the mid-1980s.*
Imperial 1970–74	First school in Babile. A few schools in Jijiga, Dehegabur, Gabridahar, Gode—mainly attended by children of the military. *1973—Somali alphabet introduced in Somalia, Radio Mogadishu broadcasting literacy program accessible in Ethiopia, accompanied by extensive adult literacy campaigns in Somalia.*

(continued on the next page)

Box 1. ***(continued)***

Socialist Mengistu 1974–91	Some schools were built (primary schools) in the cities and towns in the Somali Region. First high school established in Dire Dawa. First school in Hargelle around 1972—was closed down by government in 1975 because not enough children were attending. 1975—National literacy campaign launched. Somalis who fled to Somalia in 1977 accessed education in refugee camps and in the towns. Those who completed secondary education accessed tertiary education/jobs in Somalia. Many of those born in Somalia started their primary education there. 1979—Mengitsu launched an adult education campaign. *1974—Land reform in Ethiopia with all land under state ownership.* *1977—War between Ethiopia and Somalia. (Estimates of exodus: 90% from Jijiga area, 50% from Gode and Hargelle area. From Shinile many people fled to Djibouti.)* *Pastoralists split families, sending women and children, and others remained with livestock. Derg soldiers demanded tax—took animals, milk, and cheese and set payments for different types of livestock.* *1984—the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) was established.* *1988—Civil war in southern Somalia began—displacement within Somalia.* *1989–91—there was a clan clash between the Issa and Geda biersay in Afdem Woreda—Issa fled to Djibouti, Shinile, and Dire Dawa. The Geda biersay fled to Somalia.* *1991—war engulfed the rest of Somalia and Ethiopian Somalis returned to Ethiopia—many went to refugee camps, others settled in towns.*
EPRDF 1991–1999	Many schools built, mostly for grades 1–4. 1993—language in schools was officially changed to Somali. 1999—TTC and nursing college established in Jijiga. *1992–1995—Severe drought and emergency in Gode and surrounding area. First NGOs operational in region.* *1993—Transformation—creation of nine regions including SRS.* *1994—bad drought "Hurgufa" (wiping out)—killed almost all animals.* *1995—New Ethiopian Constitution maintains that all land is nationalized; regional capital moved from Gode to Jijiga.*[19] *1996—"First heard about ONLF" (Jijiga).*
2000–2011	2001—TVETs established (Jijiga, Gode) offering vocational training courses and agriculture-related options (Gode—ATVET). 2004/5—Dire Dawa Uni established—construction ongoing for new departments. 2006—Jijiga Uni established—construction ongoing. Expansion of primary schools in smaller towns, ABEs (G 1–4) in rural areas. Expansion of secondary schools in Jijiga, Gode, Dire Dawa. *2001—serious drought (and in 2007 and 2009).* *2004—referendum resulting in the allocation of 20/21 contested kebeles to Oromia—displacement of people, assets, and creation of new districts in SRS.*

(continued on the next page)

Box 1. ***(continued)***

2000–2011 (continued)	*2005—Land Administration Proclamation entrusts power of administering land to SRS.*[20] *Road construction, increasing urbanization, villigization, increasing khat consumption in rural areas.* *Crackdown on contraband trade—more difficult to take out livestock and bring in goods to Dire Dawa.* *Recent increased activity of the Ethiopian Revenues and Customs Authority (commonly known as the finance police) in Gode—no goods coming into the market.*

1800s to 1930—Education in Ethiopia[21]: Until the early 1900s, formal education in Ethiopia comprised of a system of religious instruction organized and presented under the aegis of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Church schools prepared individuals for the clergy and for other religious duties and positions. In addition, these schools also provided religious education to the children of the nobility and to the sons of limited numbers of tenant farmers and servants associated with elite families. Such schools mainly served inhabitants of the central highlands, from Amhara and Tigray.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Menelik II permitted the establishment of European missionary schools. At the same time, Islamic schools provided some education for a small part of the Muslim population.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, government-sponsored secular education was introduced. The first public school was established in Addis Ababa in 1907, and a year later a primary school opened in Harar.

In 1925 the government adopted a plan to expand secular education, but ten years later there were only 8,000 students enrolled in twenty public schools. A few students also studied abroad on government scholarships. Schools closed during the Italian occupation of 1936-41. After the restoration of Ethiopian independence, schools reopened, but the system faced shortages of teachers, textbooks, and facilities. The government recruited foreign teachers for primary and secondary schools to offset the teacher shortage.

4.1.1 Haile Selassi's Regime (1930–1974)

In the 1930s there were a few token primary schools in the main towns. Sons of chiefs were invited by Haile Selassi to attend schools in other parts of the country. By the 1960s, a few more primary and secondary schools had been established. Haile Selassi invited chiefs to nominate children for schooling but most people were suspicious because they thought their children would be converted to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Muhammed, a businessman in Hargelle (aged approximately 55–60) recalled that when he was ten, there was a leader in charge of the area:

> *"Haile Selassi asked the leader to bring 100 young boys to Addis Ababa for education. No one trusted him, people thought they might be brainwashed so in the end, only four boys were taken."*

Mohammed remained behind but was later able to attend school in 1972 in the first primary school established in Hargelle, and he learned Amharic. However, three years later, during the Derg Regime, when Muhammed was in Grade 3, delegates from the education sector came to analyze the education situation and found only 16 students attending, so they closed the school.

> *"The reason there were few students at the time, was due to it being a time of drought."*

There were some exceptions however:

> *"My oldest brother was educated in the time of Haile Selassi. My father was a Sheikh (religious leader) and he said, 'Who is better—a non-Muslim with*

camels or a non-Muslim who is educated? Even those who keep camels don't pray or fast.'"
(Mustafa, CEO of SOS Children's Village Gode, former politician)

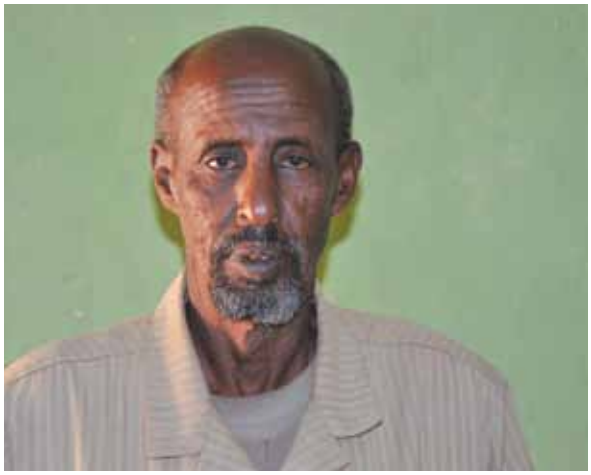
Mustafa's brother then went on to encourage and financially support his younger siblings to study during the Derg Regime.

Throughout Haile Selassi's Regime, Ethiopian Somalis migrated to Somalia, Yemen, and the Middle East for a range of reasons including economic hardship and ethnic and religious persecution. Some of those who left in the first half of the twentieth century secured jobs on British ships, eventually settling in the UK in the port areas (London, Liverpool, Cardiff). Others settled in the Middle East, working as laborers in the construction industry.

"During the Haile Selassi Regime we took our animals secretly to Somalia to sell them. People also left secretly to live in Somalia. If you were caught you were killed."
(Ali Nur, community elder, Jijiga)

Those who settled in Somalia often chose to live in urban centers, having left behind their livestock and pastoral livelihoods. In urban areas, their children were able to access schools.

Ahmed's parents were from the Kebribaya area (near Jijiga) around 90 years ago. His grandfather was an Islamic religious scholar who had many sons and many animals—cattle, camels, sheep, and goats. Ahmed's parents fled to Somalia during the time of Haile Selassi—his father had already learned about the Islamic religion and he became an important Islamic scholar in Ergabo. His father married the daughter of a local king and Ahmed was born in Somalia in approximately 1944. The family lived happily in Ergabo, where Ahmed attended primary school. He was a teenager in secondary school when the British pulled out of Somalia (1960). He then completed his tertiary education, studying social science, before becoming a teacher, and then an Inspector of Education. He was one of the people involved in designing the Somali alphabet (1972-3). Ahmed is now in charge of education projects in Kebribaya—responsible for schools, teachers, and students in the Kebribaya district.



Ahmed, WEO, Kebribaya

In 1963/4 there was conflict in the border areas between Ethiopia and Somalia, known as the *"Wajale War."* Haile Selassi's response was brutal—all Ethiopian Somalis were considered as enemies. He said,

"If a pig enters into your farm and you choose him and he enters and joins another four pigs, are you going to look for the one pig or kill all five?"

As a result, some Ethiopian Somalis fled the country and went to Somalia. Here there were more opportunities for them to access an education either in Somalia or beyond.

Abdi Hassan was born around 1940 in Jijiga. His father was Chief of the Bartire Clan. Abdi Hassan went to the UNESCO school: Ras Mekonen School, named after Haile Selassi, which was opened in 1951. He studied up to Grade 8 in 1958. In this year, being the son of a Chief, he was entitled to go to Harar or Addis Ababa for his secondary education. He went to Harar along with two of his brothers and was taught by teachers from Britain and Canada. He completed his secondary education in 1963 and then left for Somalia, because of the clashes between Ethiopia and Somalia. He went to stay with relatives in Mogadishu. At this time Pakistan was offering scholarships to the government of Somalia, which were independent of clan. Abdi Hassan

showed his secondary certificate for which he had achieved a high score and he was selected to study a BA in Business and Accounting, in Karachi University in Pakistan. When he returned to Ethiopia in 1991, he came back to Jijiga and worked for the Ministry of Education as an Auditor. In 2002, he retired.

Others were not so lucky and remained behind.

Ali was born in Dandamane during the time of Haile Selassi, during the conflict between the Ogaden and Hawiye clan. There was no school in the area until ten years ago. He cultivated land and had livestock. In 1964, he was very young and there was a war between Haile Selassi and Somalia. Ethiopians killed Somali people in the area and the troops took their livestock for food. When they went to complain to the local government, more livestock would be taken while they were absent from their herds.

4.1.2 Mengistu Regime (1974–1991)

The Marxist government established primary schools in the major towns. The first high school was opened in Dire Dawa.

The Mengistu government launched its national literacy campaign in early 1975 when the government mobilized more than 60,000 students and teachers, sending them all over the country for two-year terms of service. The government organized the campaign in rounds, which began in urban centers and spread outward to the remote parts of the country up to Round 12. Officials originally conducted the literacy training in five languages: Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, Welamo, and Somali. The number of languages was later expanded to fifteen, which represented about 93% of the population. By the end of Round 12, in the late 1980s, about 17 million people had been registered, of whom 12 million had passed the literacy test. Women represented about half of those enrolled.[22]

During the study, one of the informants consulted had benefitted from the adult literacy campaign in the Somali Region:

"In 1979, there was an adult education campaign by Mengistu. I was 13 so participated and did very well in school in Firtu and went directly to Grade 3 and half a semester later moved up to Grade 4 and jumped to Grade 6. From here I went to Negelle, as there was no higher education in Firtu. I continued my education, supported by my brother and completed Grade 12."
(Mustafa, CEO SOS Children's Village)

However, another key informant in the Awbare area had learned to read through listening to Radio Mogadishu, which broadcast a literacy campaign launched in Somalia in 1973, after the Somali alphabet had been developed:

The Somali alphabet was introduced in Somalia in 1973 and Ali Nur heard about it on Radio Mogadishu, which he was able to listen to from Ethiopia. He had a passion to learn the alphabet and a man who was visiting from Hargeisa from the same clan told him to bring paper and a pen and he wrote the alphabet for him. Ali Nur already knew Arabic from his Quranic education, so he used his knowledge of the Arabic alphabet to help learn the Somali alphabet. He took his animals to pasture from 12 until 2 pm and succeeded in learning the alphabet in these two hours. At 5 pm the program was broadcast on the radio and he learned the phonetics.

After three months of learning from the radio, he went to Wajale, which was under Somali control at the time, and he took the adult literacy exam. He later returned to collect his certificate and he learned that he had scored 100%.

In 1977, the war between Ethiopia and Somalia broke out which resulted in a mass exodus of Ethiopian Somalis to Somalia. Smaller numbers fled to Djibouti from the Shinile area. A respondent recalled that there were four refugee camps in Somaliland, six in Southern Somalia, and none in Djibouti. Many people ended up living in towns in Somalia. Pastoralists split families, sending women and children, and others remained with their livestock.

In its first public appeal to the UN, the Somali government estimated 310,000 refugees in the camps in September 1979. By the mid-1980s

Ali Nur, community elder, Jijiga

estimates had risen to 750,000 in camps and at least half that number outside them. In early 1981, the government in Mogadishu estimated that there were more than 1.3 million refugees in the camps and an additional 700,000 to 800,000 refugees at large, either attempting to carry on their nomadic way of life or quartered in towns and cities. In 1980 representatives of international agencies and other aid donors expressed scepticism at these numbers and in 1981 these agencies asked UN demographers to conduct a survey. The survey estimated 450,000 to 620,000 refugees in the camps; no estimate was made of the number of refugees outside the camps.[23]

Many children who had fled to, or were born in, Somalia after 1977 accessed education in the refugee camp schools or schools in urban areas and were the first generation of their families to be educated. Others who were already adults were able to access some adult literacy in refugee camps. Those who completed their education in Somalia by the early 1980s benefited most as from then onwards, the education system in the country began to decline (see Box 2 for some of the relevant developments in education in Somalia in the 1970s and 1980s). Qualified adults secured jobs in the education sector or in government.

Box 2. Education in Somalia in the 1970s and 1980s

Education in Somalia began to move in a dramatic new direction during the early years of the Siyaad Barre Regime. Two significant accomplishments were:

1) The establishment of an official script for the Somali language in 1972.
2) The launching of two national literacy campaigns, urban (1973) and rural (1974).

Both sought to overcome the legacy of elitist colonial educational policies.

The regime quickly nationalized all private schools and in 1975, the government made education free and compulsory for all children (aged 6–14).

By 1977, 135 textbooks in the Somali language had been produced and were being used through the first year of secondary school classes, with the intention of gradually phasing out English as the medium of instruction. Teacher training programs were expanded and, after 1972, all secondary school graduates were required to undertake a year of National Service by teaching in a primary school. The government also appealed to local communities to build schools in their districts under the principle of self-reliance.

As a result of the Somali language policy and the increase in numbers of schoolteachers and classrooms, primary school enrolments expanded dramatically in the early Siyaad years, from approximately 40,000 in 1970 to nearly 300,000 in 1979. Girls had made up approximately 20% of primary school students in 1970; by 1979, that figure approached 40%.

However, school enrolment at primary and secondary levels began to decline in the 1980s, teachers started to leave Somalia for work in Arab and other countries, and budgetary allocations for education reached an all-time low by 1985. Many Somalis had seriously begun to question the value of the education being offered and its relevance to the job market. The breakdown of law and order following the collapse of the state destroyed the remains of the system.

Those who remained behind in rural areas in the Somali Region of Ethiopia did not have any access to education, unless they were sent to towns to stay with relatives. However, opportunities to access schools in the towns were also limited, although better than during Haile Selassi's Regime. In some areas, such as Hargelle and Jijiga, respondents reported it was mainly the children of the military who attended the schools. Other Somalis were living in Oromia and had more opportunities to access schools, particularly in urban areas such as Dire Dawa and Harar.

Life was hard for pastoralists living with the Derg Regime. Derg soldiers demanded tax in the form of animals, milk, and cheese from pastoralists, setting payments for different types of livestock.

> *"During the time of Mengitsu, for every 100 shoats, 2 were taken. For each camel we paid EB 10 in tax and for each cow EB 5."*

(Ali Haj Hassan, pastoralist from Mela in Shinile Zone)

A pastoralist informant from Malkadhuur, near Hargelle, recalled his experience during this period:

> *"When I was a small boy my uncle asked me to accompany him to pay the tax, so we went to Hargelle with animals provided by various people in the community. The soldiers checked the animals and said they were not good enough and that we should return them and bring better animals or we would be punished. We returned the animals to the families who said, "These are the better ones, we don't have any more to give!"*
>
> *My uncle decided to run away and took his family in the middle of the night. Then some boys from my family went to Hargelle and were arrested. Their families had to take all their animals to the soldiers in order for them to be released.*
>
> *Another of my uncles had to pay tax. He got the biggest and best camel and sold it and went to pay the money to the soldiers but they said the money was not enough. They would also say, "Come and build ten traditional Somali houses in Hargelle—you bring all the materials and leave your family behind and come and build."*

(Pastoralist, Kebele Head and PTA Head in Malkadhuur, Hargelle area)

4.1.3 EPRDF (1991–2011)

In 1988, civil war in Southern Somalia broke out, leading to displacement of Ethiopian Somalis within Somalia. By 1991, the war had spread to the rest of the country and Ethiopian Somalis fled back to Ethiopia. Some of them came to refugee camps and others returned to the areas their families were from. Those who were from pastoralist areas found that their family members who had remained behind had lost many of their animals and most did not stay long in these rural areas, but settled in nearby towns. Those who were educated to tertiary level were the first to access senior government jobs in the newly-created Somali Regional State in 1993. From this date forward, the Somali language was introduced into schools and the expansion of the education services was prioritized. Some of the returnees who had been educated to secondary level were the first Somali teachers in the region and others worked for the Education Bureau and were instrumental in the expansion of education services in the region.

Yaseen and Faysal were two of the first teachers in Kebribaya when schools were established there.

Yaseen has been Principal of a high school for nine years and before that he was a teacher in primary and secondary schools for seven years. Faysal has been Principal of a primary school for two years and a teacher for 17 years.

Both men were born in rural areas. Yaseen went to school in Harar for around six years. His family had livestock but his uncle lived in Harar so he went to stay with his uncle, in order to go to primary school. In 1977, he was sent to Somalia and had his secondary education in Somalia. He returned in 1991. Faysal went to Somalia when he was small and studied his primary and secondary education there. He returned in 1991. When they came back to Kebribaya they both got jobs in the first school in the town.

In the 1980s, Somalia was very urbanized and developed compared to Ethiopia. Abdi Abdullahai of Pastoralism Concern Association Ethiopia (PCAE) recalled that:

> *"Somalis in Somalia had one leg in the city and the other in rural areas. When the Somali state collapsed, the returnees mainly came to urban areas and started up all sorts of businesses and became the connectors between the rural and urban areas."*

Not everyone was lucky enough to be able to access education in Somalia. On their return, those who had limited or no education had to start from scratch to build their livelihoods.

Mustafa (aged approximately 44) has a small shop in Kebribaya selling batteries, soap, oil, flour, rice, and sugar from India. He does not have a lot of stock. He was born in a rural area outside Kebribaya. His parents had camels and shoats but no land. He grew up looking after the animals. *"There were no schools, just a Quranic school."*

His father had three wives. In 1977, he fled with his father and two wives, whilst one wife stayed behind. His eldest brother also stayed behind with the animals belonging to his family—60 camels and 40 shoats. He lived with his parents, three brothers, and a sister in a refugee camp in northern Somalia. They received aid. His parents did not work, as there was no work available and only Quranic education. Later on he was able to study in the camp school up until Grade 5.

They returned in 1991, as refugees. People were scattered. His mother died. His brother had lost the camels and now only has shoats. *"During the '77 War, most people lost their animals because the warplanes targeted the camels."* Some of his siblings are in Gode, some fled to South Africa, and he came to Kebribaya. *"My brother was still here but since I was out of the rural area for many years and most of the animals were gone, there was no reason to go back, the only option was to come to town to look for ways to survive. First I worked as a porter wandering around the town. I managed to collect some things and now needed to settle so began this shop eight years ago."*

Qali was born in Dehegabur. Her father was a businessman; he worked as a driver transporting salt from Ethiopia to Northern Somalia. Her mother was a housewife. In early childhood, Qali attended a Quranic school for a short time and formal school until Grade 2, during the Derg Regime. During the '77 War, her family fled to a refugee camp in Hargeisa in Somalia. They used to receive food aid from the camp and sell it in the town. Her father died in Hargeisa. While in Somalia, she went to a private school for a short time and she learned the Somali alphabet and Arabic. She is also able to read and write numbers.

In 1991, she came back to Dehegabur with her mother when she was around 20 years old. After around three years she came to Kebribaya to get married. She has five children (two girls, three boys). Her husband, originally from Somalia, is unemployed (he had a shop for a short period), so she supports her family through the khat trade. She has been a khat trader for over ten years. *"My hard life forced me to find something to do. It doesn't require skills. When I wanted to start, I got a small amount of khat and began selling it in the streets to get our daily bread and gradually increased the amount I was selling. Then the government gave some land to the traders and we built stalls. I built my stall around ten years ago and by then I understood the market well. I started selling different types of khat, from local areas and from Haawaday, near Harar, which is famous for khat. Now thanks to Allah, I have enough to take care of my family."*

Some respondents from pastoralist areas recounted that, following successive losses of livestock in years of drought, part of the family would move to an urban area, or a man would marry a second wife in an urban area and establish a small business, such as a shop or restaurant. As a result, some of the children would access school in the urban areas, particularly those who moved to these areas from the early 1990s onwards.

Expansion of education services

The increasing urbanization of the Somali Region has influenced the demand for and development of education services (this trend and others are discussed in Section 4.3, Development

trends in the Somali Region). The EPRDF government has been increasing the number of **primary schools** in urban and peri-urban areas. For example, in Kebribaya (close to Jijiga), there are now a total of 210 schools, including ABE and formal schools and two secondary schools. Five years ago, there were only ten schools in the district. In Dandamane, which was established as a new district in 2005, 14,261 students were enrolled in primary schools (5,024 girls) this year. In 2006, when the WEO was created in Dandamane, 872 students were enrolled. However, the number of qualified Somali teachers has not kept pace with the number of schools created and there is a severe shortage of Somali teachers in the region, particularly in secondary and tertiary colleges and universities. For example, in Gode ATVET, there are 71 academic staff, of which only eight are Somalis. There are two female staff, one of whom is Somali. As a consequence, several students face the challenge of attending lectures in Amharic and are faced with a dearth of role models. Issues such as this contribute to perceptions of marginalization and could lead to anti-government sentiments.

Box 3. ABE in Dandamane (Jijiga Zone) and Malkadhuur (Hargelle Zone)

In the Dandamane area, due to the drought at the time this research was conducted (April 2011), people were moving from the area. In response, the WEO has opened seven mobile ABE schools in the locations to which people have migrated. 2,750 children have reportedly migrated and been re-enrolled in these mobile schools. The original plan had been to establish three mobile schools. The teachers in the mobile schools will return to their existing schools when the students return. A further 1,100 children have dropped out of school. These children are scattered and it has not been possible to gather them to provide mobile schooling.

The ABE school in Malkadhuur has been operating since 2005. It was established by Save the Children US, and Islamic Relief has subsequently built an extra classroom. Two of the current ABE teachers (one male, one female) have been at the school for two years and are from the local community. There are 192 students in the school:

- G 1: 91 girls 62 boys
- G 2: 5 girls 15 boys
- G 3: 7 girls 12 boys

When the children complete Grade 3, they remain in the class and keep repeating as they do not have relatives in the town so cannot continue their education elsewhere. At the moment the numbers attending in Grade 2 and Grade 3 are very low because they are older children (aged 12–20) who are watching animals and busy with other work. The ABE school operates from 8–10 am, since after this time, the children are needed by their families. The PTA follows up the students who drop out; their families do not ask them to drop out, they just stop coming because they have lots of work to do. *"Right now there is a drought so school takes a lower priority."* (Shamso, female teacher)

The school also offers adult literacy classes in the afternoons. The teachers reported that 59 adults attend. Later the PTA head, who himself attends, said there are 80 students (including about 30 women), with 25 women attending regularly.

The teachers do not migrate when the community migrates, as the community does not migrate as a group. Families split and leave the children in school and people go in different directions. *"Part of the ABE training is about moving and we are ready to do that"* (Shamso, female teacher).

Malkadhuur ABE center and ABE students

In the last six years, **ABE schools** have been established in rural areas. These offer education from Level 1 to 3, with the intention of intention of integrating children into formal schools in Grade 5. The ABE Facilitators in the region are generally poorly qualified; many have not completed their Grade 8 (last grade of primary education).[25]

Experiences in two of the study areas in relation to ABE are described in Box 3.

The first **TVETs** were established in 2001, in Jijiga and Gode; a few years later a **University** was established in Dire Dawa, followed by Jijiga. The TVET in Jijiga offers technical courses such as plumbing, construction, industrial electrical machinery and technology, water and sanitation. It offers three-year courses in a number of areas, in addition to shorter courses of 3–6 months in certain subjects (masonry, carpentry, plumbing, cobblestone, IT). Young Somali men and women, as well as other students from outside the region, are accessing TVET three-year courses; however, male students were mainly accessing the shorter courses at the time of the BRIDGES baseline study (July 2010), conducted by Mercy Corps, who reported 90% male attendance. The teaching staff are often young, fresh graduates having been recruited as instructors.

Jijiga TVET

The ATVET in Gode offers three-year diplomas in crops, livestock production, and natural resources; currently they do not offer animal health—those students go to Alega ATVET. The Universities offer degree courses in a broader range of subjects, although both Dire Dawa and Jijiga University are in the process of expanding, in order to include a wider range of courses.

4.2 Quranic education

The development of Quranic education was free from the influence of the different political regimes. Quranic schools are established by the community, administrated by the community, and financed by the community. In rural areas, whenever a child reaches the age of education (for Quranic education, this is fairly young e.g., five or six), families come together to discuss how to get a Moalim (Quranic teacher), because in the rural areas Moalims will not accept a small number of students, as it affects their income. In some areas, the Quranic school teacher is often the local imam. The Quranic school is locally named Mal`amad or Dugsi quran, which is different from the Mosque. There has been no government intervention in Quranic schools, financially, politically, administrationally, or pedagogically.

In rural areas before the EPRDF Regime, pastoral people did not know of modern education; hence Quranic education was very strong in such areas and available to almost every pastoral family. All informants consulted in the study had been to Quranic schools. Some informants reported that attendance in Quranic schools is declining due to the spread of secular education in rural areas, but others felt that it is continuing and that it is only the materials that have changed (textbooks instead of tree bark, in some but not all schools).

Quranic teachers charge variable fees, and often parents make voluntary contributions rather than paying fixed fees. Contributions can be made in cash or in kind, and are often differentiated according to ability to pay—wealthier families offer larger contributions. Quranic teachers are also more flexible than in formal schools, and are typically sympathetic to conditions of hardship that might afflict their clients.[26] Quranic teachers use a multi-grade approach to respond to the different learning pace of students.

Research carried out by Pact Ethiopia in 2008 concluded that Quranic schools are a little-known but omnipresent education activity in Muslim communities across Ethiopia, although they reported that data is not available on exact numbers of enrolment in Quranic schools in the country. They highlighted a trend in changing attitudes in the Somali Region: thirty years ago, Quranic classes were almost all male, but a study of 40 schools in the region in 2007 by the Pastoralist Development Research Association found that girls were enrolled in more than 50% of the schools and that in a few schools, girls' enrolment exceeded that of boys.[27] This trend was not identified in the current study, in which both males and females of different generations had attended Quranic schools/had sent their sons and daughters to Quranic schools, in both rural and urban areas.

In the last few years, according to the Principal and Deputy Principal of a Madrassa in Hargelle, the number of Quranic schools has increased as well as the number of Madrassas and Mosques.

> *"For example, in Jijiga there are now over 100 mosques but 20 years ago there were very few."*
> (Deputy Principal, Madrassa, Hargelle)

Residents of Malkadhuur explained how the Quranic school functions in their community:

> In Malkadhuur, those consulted said that the Quranic education takes place from 2 am until 6 am and also from 7 pm until 10 pm, so children sleep between 10 pm and 2 am. They make a fire at 2 am and boil tea and have time to study the Quran. It is better at this time because they have no shelters and it is very hot and windy so they study when it is cool at night. The smaller children sleep in the day, but the others get used to it. The Quran is 30 chapters so it takes a minimum of one year, maximum two years. If they start at the age of six to seven, by age nine they have memorized the Quran. *"All children attend Quranic school. The timing is more convenient than for the ABE school."*

Many Quranic teachers in urban areas have now also had a secular education.

> *"Now, most of the Moalims have additional knowledge, like other Islamic teaching subjects and basic knowledge of secular education, such as mathematics and the Somali Alphabet, because they are graduates from the mosques in the main towns, where secular education is available."*

(Islamic Relief staff member)

In urban areas, children are often sent to Quranic schools at the weekends and attend formal school during the week.

Some families opt to send their children to a Madrassa. Madrassas are privately-owned schools but are licensed by the government. Students pay a tuition fee and they learn subjects in the secular curriculum as well as the Arabic language and Islamic education. In Islamic education, they do not learn the Quran but learn the prophetic narrations, Islamic discipline, and Arabic. Children still go to Quranic schools to learn the Quran. The teachers in Madrassas are usually teachers from the government schools as it is not possible to get independent teachers. Many respondents were unclear about when the first Madrassas were established in the region; however, there was a general view that the numbers of Madrassas are increasing with the trend in urbanization. Details of a Madrassa in Hargelle are included in Box 4.

Most of those consulted view Quranic education and secular education as separate and were doubtful about Quranic teachers being able to teach primary education because of their lack of secular education. The Pact researchers clearly thought that there was considerable potential for working with Quranic teachers in the promotion of ABE. Some of the study informants remarked that having had a Quranic education, they are prepared better for learning. The Principal and Deputy Principal from Hargelle Madrassa highlighted that:

> *"Once children have learned the Quran, it is easier to join secular schools. Once children know the Quran, they can understand anything else. Their mind is open and sharp (a global study shows this)."*

4.3 Development trends in the Somali Region

Since the EPRDF formed a government in 1991, the Somali Region has experienced the most change and development compared to any other previous period. This study identified the following trends which have emerged as a consequence and which in turn have implications for the continued development of the region:

- Urbanization, including an increase in settlements and sedentarization.
- Increase in dependence on remittances (possibly stabilized in the last few years).

Box 4. Madrassa in Hargelle

The Madrassa is a branch of the main Madrassa in Jijiga (Omar Binin Hatabh), which was established over ten years ago. There is another branch in Dehegabur. The Hargelle Madrassa opened a year ago and currently teaches Grades 1-3. There are 200 students (94 girls, 106 boys) who pay tuition fees of EB 50 per month. There are seven male teachers who are all from the formal government school, since they cannot get independent teachers but are assigned teachers by the government. The teachers work in the government school in the morning and in the Madrassa in the afternoon (2–6 pm), and are paid the same salary by the Madrassa (EB 1,000). They teach the curriculum from SNNPR, which is in English, and also include Arabic language and Islamic education. They wanted to teach in English because secondary education is in English.

The Madrassa intends to extend its teaching to include the second phase of primary education. The parent Madrassa has been approved to teach up until Grade 8 by the government. If they are able to do this in Hargelle, children will be able to join Grade 9 in the high school.

- Increasing khat consumption in rural areas and reliance on the khat trade in urban and growing towns.
- Increasing employment opportunities in the government sector.
- Decreasing opportunities for contraband trading.
- Depletion of livestock for middle wealth and poor pastoralist groups leading to drop-outs/ livelihood diversification.

Some of these trends are discussed in more detail below, others in later sections.

4.3.1 Urbanization

In the last twenty years, there has been a rapid increase in the size and population of the existing towns and the development of new urban centers across the region. The impact of the 1977 War and the subsequent return of Somalis in 1991 have had a significant impact, in that many people became urbanized in Somalia and, on their return to Ethiopia, settled in peri-urban and urban centers, causing a rapid increase in the population of these areas.

When people returned to Ethiopia in 1991, they came empty-handed, but brought along farming skills and know-how acquired in Somalia. Farms expanded from riverbed fields to the flood plains. Manual cultivation continued assisted by water pump irrigation. With increasing pressure on basin farmlands and range degradation as a result of over-congestion aggravated by recurrent droughts, conflicts over farmlands and water points ensued.[28]

The construction of roads has contributed to an increase in settlements along transport routes and the resettlement and villigization program, development of water points (birkads), and conflict have all contributed to the creation of villages and eventually new kebeles. Education provision has also been shown to increase settlement formation, resulting in subsequent pressure on pasture and other natural resources formerly used by pastoralists. Some informants suggested that towns need better planning and that the rapid scale of urbanization is resulting in over-populated towns.

> *"Small villages have been forming in the area around Gode for the last two decades. These have mostly formed after droughts and where people lost livestock in areas where schools have been established and food distribution has been undertaken by WFP. Many female-headed households settle in villages because widows or abandoned wives do not want to move around but settle with their children. Also the elderly and children stay in villages whilst others migrate with the animals. The people who settle start organizing a Quranic school and then when the rest of the family come back, they continue to live there and decide not to go back to mobile life. Some villages are founded by local people, following the creation of businesses, such as around camel watering points. People make tea to sell to camel herders and then the government arrives for livestock vaccinations and creates a kebele for the election campaign. The settlement program (villigization) also contributes to an increase in numbers of settlements."*
> (NGO staff member)

Examples of the increase in settlements in Gode are included in Box 5.

Box 5. Increase in settlements around Gode

1) **The road from Gode to Kelafo (90 km)**—every 10 km there is a village, so there are about 12 villages in between Gode and Kelafo. Twenty years ago there was only one village and in 2004 there were very few.
2) **The road from Gode to Danan (75 km)**—three villages (two are new). One is a bit older around a camel watering point. This was a small village in 2003 and is now expanding.
3) **The road from Gode to Hargelle (211 km)**—in 2003 there was nothing in between except for God-Usbo (salt mining town) which is about 20 km from Hargelle. Now there are at least ten villages along the road. The road was only built in 2000. Some of these villages have appeared in the last two years.

4.3.2 Role of remittances in support of education development

For many young Somalis, their continuation in education has been dependent on support from their immediate and wider family. Many respondents recounted examples of living in towns with relatives, or in rental accommodation paid for by relatives. Most of these are now employed themselves and are supporting and housing younger relatives who are currently in education, as well as supporting their parents, if they are still alive. Linked to this has been the influx of remittances from family members overseas, particularly targeted to supporting relatives in education. Before the war in Somalia, family members who were working overseas sent money or food back to their relatives through contacts, boat, and rail/ truck. The appearance of remittance agencies in the region began after the civil war in Somalia, as a result of the increase in Somalis migrating to Europe, North America, and the Middle East. During the last 20 years, the technology has changed from message to broker to banking system to radio/ telegram and to the current system in the SRS, that of the telephone. In other parts of the world, money is transferred via email and online.

Respondents consulted on this issue claimed that the dependence on remittances has now stabilized in the last five years, although in times of crises, there is an increase in demand for remittances:

> *"Sometimes people in the bush call us and say 'hello cash' and ask us to send money. These kinds of calls are increasing because of the current drought. When people have problems there is always an increase in demands for cash."*

(Mohammed, Manager of Kaah Remittance Agency, Gode)

Ten respondents: six older men, (either retired or still in employment), two young men, and two young women, reported that they receive remittances from relatives overseas or have received them in the past while they were studying. The Manager of the Kaah Remittance Agency noted that the main recipients of remittances are families he would describe as being in the *"middle wealth group."* He describes the experiences of Kaah Remittance Agency in Box 6.

One or two respondents thought that there has been an increase in the pooling of remittances where Somali diaspora groups (usually clan-based) raise funds, which are sent back to specific communities for projects such as building a school or hospital, for example the Gorahay Education Forum in Dehegabur, which is building a school.

Box 6. Remittances

Kaah Remittance Agency has been in Gode for 18 years. It is the biggest remittance company in the town and is a global company. Three years ago there were four remittance companies, there are now seven formal companies, and in addition there are around five others, which are not registered in Gode, so do not have their own office but have an agent working for them.

Kaah receives remittances for around 1,350 families receiving regular monthly payments. These range between USD 50-300. The people sending the money are from South Africa, Europe, America, with an insignificant number in the Middle East.

The agency also handles cash from the business people in the town who send money to Somalia to bring back goods to sell. *"The business people send money to Jijiga, Dire Dawa, and to Somalia—Hargeisa, Bosaso, Mogadishu. In these places there are agents who buy goods to bring/send back to the business people. A small number of people send money to students in Finland and other parts of the world."*

4.3.3 Khat

There was a general view amongst respondents that khat consumption is increasing in rural areas. As the number of roads and settlements increase, the transport and trading of khat is able to reach new areas and markets.

> *"People did not know about khat before; it is after the roads came and cars were moving that people started chewing."*

(Female pastoralist, Malkadhuur)

This is in contrast to research by Richards and Bekele (2011), which explored the use and influence of khat across the region and highlighted that it appeared as though its use is increasing in urban environments but possibly declining in rural areas. The decline—if it is indeed happening—was associated with increasing religious practices as some considered the use of khat to be un-Islamic. The researchers linked this with opinions that the flavor of Islam was changing and moving away from the Sunni schools of Islam (in particular, the Sharafi School) mixed with traditional beliefs, towards the more conservative Middle Eastern Salafi or Wahabi interpretations. Respondents in their research were also of the opinion that the social environment was becoming increasingly religious, with people becoming more devout and the actual practice of Islam increasing (e.g., more people praying regularly together at the work place).[29]

The Principal and Deputy Principal of the Madrassa in Hargelle, who were consulted in this study, were unaware of an increase in Madrassas following the Wahabi school of Islam. They pointed out that they are against khat chewing personally but do not teach this in the Madrassa: *"Chewing khat is a personal hobby. Some of our teachers chew. It is the main driver of our economy."*

A number of respondents referred to khat consumption becoming a growing problem amongst young people who drop out of education or are unable to continue in education due to a lack of secondary education in their locality. These youth end up sitting in towns chewing instead of returning to their families to assist them in their pastoral livelihoods. One of the young men interviewed in Dandamane who was unable to continue his education described why he turned to chewing:

> *"We know it wastes health, money, and time but I don't have further education, I am young and jobless and I do not have a future. If I sit alone, I think too much and I will go crazy so instead I chew. Sometimes your friends are chewing and you are alone so you have to join them and chew."*

Others pointed out that lack of employment opportunities also leads to boredom, disenfranchisement, khat chewing, and other negative activities:

> *"To get young people out of chewing khat they need to get involved in sport and education. They need employment creation because they say they are chewing because of unemployment. The Quran says it is 'haram' (forbidden) but chewers will tell you it is allowed."*

(Businessman in Kebribaya)

The culture of khat chewing is difficult to avoid even in a small town such as Dandamane. While waiting for a meeting with the PTA, during the 10 am morning break, the researcher observed five soldiers, carrying guns, walk into the primary school compound and sit outside one of the classrooms to chew khat.

Khat is also affecting families and the division of labor within families. Several respondents highlighted that more men are chewing khat, resulting in women taking the lead in securing the household livelihood. This change in responsibilities within the household in turn has an impact on children's education:

> *"Women are involved in gum selling, vegetable selling, irrigation, etc. All of this will contribute to increasing girls' education. Previously it was the father who was responsible for educating the family and he focused on the boys—now mothers are more involved and so there will be more focus on girls."*

(Head of Women's Affairs Office, Kelafo)

The only activity which has attracted young men as an alternative to khat chewing has been football, which is being prioritized by BoYS in a

number of areas. In Gode, there are 35 football teams in two divisions. Matches are played every afternoon and those who are not scheduled to play a match watch the other teams. The teams consist of youth both in and out of education. The six players interviewed in the study reported the following benefits from playing football: good for health, good exercise, encourages youth integration, they have teammates from other zones and they make friends. One player reported:

> *"Some of us may chew khat and smoke, but if you are busy playing football, then this reduces chewing and bad habits; maybe in one team, one person will chew."*

> *"Khat chewing has reduced in Dire Dawa; amongst people of my age, 2/3 don't chew and 1/3 chew, whereas in my parents' generation all of them chewed. The reason is that many of them do sports, some are in education and my peer group mainly work in government so they are too busy to chew. However, it is increasing in rural areas—khat arrives and is sold at high prices, yet people buy."*

(Businessman, former contraband trader, Dire Dawa)

The influence of khat on pastoralism and the livelihood opportunities associated with it are discussed in later sections.

4.4 Perceptions of the role of education in supporting pastoral livelihoods and alternative livelihoods

Perspectives were gathered from the following groups of respondents

- Somali professionals
- Community members, including community elders
- Government staff in the Bureau of Education and Bureau of Youth and Sport, Somali Region
- Youth, both in and out of education
- Employers

There was general perception that education provides a pathway to an alternative livelihood other than pastoralism. However, most respondents were hopeful that education could serve to strengthen pastoral livelihoods and a number of young people studying agriculture and engineering-related subjects in tertiary education were aiming to work in rural areas. Many professionals and students talked about using their education to contribute to their communities. There were different perspectives between different generations: some older people were optimistic that education in rural areas will benefit pastoralist communities, whereas young people both in and out of education were less positive, referring to poor-quality teaching and a lack of educational facilities, suitably qualified teachers, and teaching materials in rural areas.

4.4.1 Somali Professionals

Somali professionals who were consulted in the study and who were educated from primary to tertiary levels view education as the key to opening up their livelihood opportunities, as well as enabling them to contribute to their society and the country. Many people described education as *"A light in the darkness."*

> *"Education is 'like a visa to a better livelihood'—if a young person has Grade 10, they will at least get a job as a teacher or will qualify to enter a TVET."*

(Rassas Kalif, Acting Head of WEO/Deputy Head, Gode)

Many people, both men and women, are continuing their education, studying for a second degree or a Master's. Some felt that this would provide them with a greater array of options:

> *"Education enables you to understand diverse groups. If you are uneducated you cannot give your maximum contribution to society. I graduated from my degree two months ago and plan to continue studying and to take up a second degree in rural development related to business. I want to get different experience as I have enough management experience. I am interested in rural development but do not know what kind of jobs."*

(Mercy Corps HR and Admin Officer, Jijiga [female])

Educated professionals now reside in towns but some of them retain links with rural areas, supporting family members or livestock looked after by relatives:

"I have my own shared land I inherited with my brothers and sisters. My younger brother cultivates it and grows maize, sorghum, and wheat, and keeps cattle and sheep. Life is harder now for agro-pastoralists because of drought. There are fewer animals and the land is divided between children. I do not get money from my land but during the harvest I pay for a tractor and get one quintal (100 kg) of grain. This is enough for around three–four months for breakfast food."
(Water Faculty Head, Jijiga TVET)

"The main benefit of education for me is that my children are in school today and if I had not been educated then I would still be a pastoralist and be illiterate. Pastoralist life is hard and harsh. I have no animals now but have land and I pay someone to cultivate the land and sell the crops (wheat, maize)."
(Hassan, Head of Dandamane WEO)

Some professionals work in NGOs in more remote areas because they are committed to improving life in rural areas. Those working in government posts in such areas are assigned to these areas rather than choosing to work there:

"I want to continue working for NGOs as I believe I can contribute to social change. When I worked for government, in one year I only went on one field trip for a week. I am happy to work wherever I can contribute whether in a rural or urban area."
(Islamic Relief staff member based in Hargelle)

The majority of those consulted highlight that education is a route out of pastoralism but that nevertheless pastoralist areas are important and that without pastoralism, the urban areas could not survive. Many people spoke of pastoralism being in their blood and the true essence of being a Somali, and one or two spoke of the importance of experiencing that kind of life:

Musa works for Mercy Corps in Jijiga. His grandmother is still living in the rural area in the same kind of lifestyle as she had 50 years ago and three of his uncles are also there. They did not flee in 1977 but stayed behind with their livestock. Musa went to visit every summer holiday with his two brothers when he was at school (Grade 1–6). He intends to send his own son to stay with his grandmother for one year when he is three to four years old. His parents talk so much about their rural backgrounds and he wants his son to have the opportunity to experience this. (If he has a daughter he will not send her.)

Respondents were less clear about how education can effectively support pastoral livelihoods. Responses tended to focus on the need for flexibility and mobility of education in pastoralist areas, better salaries for teachers in rural areas, as well as the provision of the second phase of primary and secondary education, using a curriculum which includes material relevant to pastoral livelihoods. Respondents were not that clear about how relevant they considered the current curriculum.

"Education should not be about educating children out of pastoralism but should teach children how to manage a pastoralist livelihood. It is dangerous to assume education is an exit point. We need more pastoralist-oriented education i.e., mobility, seasonality, teachers from pastoralist areas, greater community involvement."
(Abdullahi, Save Milk Matters Project Manager)

"The more educated you are, the more you respond to situations in pastoralist areas."
(Abdi Abdullahi, PCAE founder)

Likewise, respondents did not identify pathways for pastoralists to diversify into other livelihoods which support pastoralism, except for tertiary education in animal health and crop or livestock production. In relation to employment opportunities linked to pastoralism, such as the option of becoming a Community Animal Health Worker (CAHW), one respondent pointed out that this option offers limited job sustainability: *"Drugs come in by contraband—every pastoralist has drugs in his pocket so people are not using the CAHWs. The government should empower them. Likewise the animal health officers do not spend much time in the rural areas and do not have any drugs—the district offices have little power."*

Views were mixed in terms of the viability of pastoralism. Many educated professionals either began their lives in pastoralist families or are the children of former pastoralists, who had lost their animals in successive droughts or had left rural life behind as a result of the 1977 War. Most

young professionals born in urban areas in the past 25 years had limited connection with pastoral life and no desire to return to that kind of life, which they perceive as hard and risky. Some respondents felt that agro-pastoralism offers viable alternatives, whilst others highlighted the fact that the land provided is not enough, especially considering the tradition of dividing the land between one's children, but more importantly, that it relies on irrigation which most people do not have access to, reduces rangeland availability, and leads to conflict over natural resources. Others pointed out the need for a favorable livestock trading environment to allow pastoralism to flourish:

"I have two perspectives on the future of pastoralism:

1) *If there is no intervention, pastoralism will cease because the grazing land is shrinking fast. When I was in the rural area I knew the vegetation. Nowadays this is not there. The number of animals is decreasing. People are not looking after the natural resources (trees) properly—they are building fences everywhere for animal enclosures and emptying the area of trees. The population is increasing and the number of livestock overall is increasing, although the numbers owned per individual are decreasing. Grazing land is decreasing. In 30 years there will be no grazing land. Productivity of livestock is very low—animals used to give lots of milk but now they do not, even when there is rain. Today animals and people are malnourished in rural areas.*

2) *If there are interventions then pastoralism could be a viable economy. We need farming and irrigation around the rivers and to integrate pastoralism with farming. We should produce animal feed from riverine land to collect and accumulate during the rains, to be used in the dry season and droughts. People should be educated in how to control livestock numbers and improve livestock productivity and protect natural resources from being depleted. Natural resources need to be used in a planned way, because if left as it is at the moment, they will cease to exist."*

(Mustafa, CEO of SOS Children's Village, Gode)

"There is no doubt about the economic contribution of pastoralism to the country. The poor in pastoral areas cannot be compared with the poor in an agrarian area. Pastoralism can be modernized—this has already started—young pastoralists are riding motorbikes."

(Abdi Abdullahi, PCAE Founder)

Stonemason, Dandamane

4.4.2 Community members, including community elders

Most of those consulted in **rural areas** highlighted the importance of education in offering alternative livelihoods to young people, pointing out that in the future educated children will be well placed to support their parents.

"I have two wives and 15 children (nine with the first wife). Two of my children go to rural school, two are in the other Babile (Oromia) and the others are small. I think education can bring great benefits such as being able to read and write and to be able to get different kinds of work and being able to support your parents. I think girls are more active in education than the boys and that you have to force the boys."

(community elder, former pastoralist now working as stonemason, Dandamane)

However, not everyone was convinced about combining education with pastoralism:

"I have grandchildren aged one and two. Maybe they will go to school. I want my grandchildren to continue this way of life, although life is harder these

days so education is a good option, but it is not possible to combine livestock rearing with education. Our lives depend on the animals that are left, so the children need to make sure the animals do not get eaten by hyenas."

(Halimachat, female pastoralist, Malkadhuur)

Some of the pastoralists consulted during the study were far from positive about the future of pastoralism, highlighting increasing droughts and deterioration of rangeland as the main reasons:

"I now have only four cows, nine goats, and four camels, and currently there is a severe drought. This is all that is left following many droughts. My cattle had reached as many as 124 but in 2008, I was left with only 12 cattle following a severe drought which was named 'Tanaghele.' This relates to the tins of powdered milk which are called Tanag and which weigh 2.5 kg. When the drought happened the only money we got from selling two animals was enough to buy 5 kg of grain which is equivalent to two tins of this milk.

The future of pastoralism does not look good—a person who says I will rear livestock is wasting his time.

Eight years ago, a new tree species appeared in Shinile—'Waangaay' which is poisonous. It has far- reaching roots, which form a web under the ground and crack the ground into troughs and holes. Nothing grows in the ground around the Waangaay and when animals eat it they die.

I got some land to diversify from livestock and planted maize but not a single shoot appeared, my land was covered with Waangaay. In a couple of years Ayeleeso will disappear (around 20 households live there). There is no fresh water—the people dug a well and the animals which drank the water died. SCUK found another water source but the water turned out to be salty. People will not be able to survive due to the lack of water and the destruction caused by the Waangaay tree. SCUK is bringing in grass for animal fodder and food for children but the underlying problems need to be resolved. The government is not doing anything. There are six villages in the kebele of around 100 households. This used to be one of the best places for animals, it was extremely fertile. People never moved from here; instead people were arriving because this is where the largest number of animals survived—where we inaugurated the Issa leaders."

(Ali Haj Hassan, pastoralist and Head of Ayeliso kebele, Shinile Zone)

Ali highlighted the importance of education in providing his children an alternative future:

"In 1991, schools began to be built and kebeles established in the area. In Mela there are now eight schools. When I got married and received my animals, I divided them in to two. I sold half for cash—I saved half of it and with the other half, opened a small shop selling pasta, biscuits, sugar, etc. I handed over this shop and the rest of the money to my first wife. I had five boys and three girls with my first wife. Two of my sons are now in high school in Dire Dawa. The money that was saved and the income from the shop is being used to pay to support them. Two of my daughters live in Djibouti with an aunt and go to school. Another of my children went overseas for education, supported by a paternal and maternal aunt."

Other informants from NGOs, PTAs, and the WEOs talked about the challenges of mobilizing and sustaining a commitment to education in areas where many children are unable to continue to the second phase of primary or are unable to access secondary schools, because of the lack of facilities in the area and not having the option of sending their children to relatives in towns. These challenges are discussed in more detail in section 4.5 Barriers to improving education.

Many former pastoralists who had little or no education, who are now in towns and have established small businesses such as restaurants, food and clothes shops, and khat stalls, are determined that their children should have the chances that they never had—to become educated and find a professional job, as demonstrated in the following comments:

"With my savings, I have bought land and built a house. Four of my children attend school. The eldest girl is not in school because I am working all day and need her to look after the younger children so she dropped out of education and has not returned to it. My other children are in Grade 9, Grade 8, Grade

4, and Grade 3. I want them to continue to tertiary education and get the best of life so I can have a break and rest. I also pay for them to study a computer course, attend language classes, and Quranic school.

(Qali, Khat trader, Kebribaya, husband unemployed)

"I have three wives (now divorced from one) and ten children and all of them went to school. Some of my children live in the UAE. I retired from selling khat over ten years ago and have no other business⋆*, but receive remittances from my sons in the UAE. One of my sons lives in Haawaday and trades khat.*

(Ali Nur, community elder, Jijiga)

⋆ Ali Nur still owns some of his family's land and cultivates this with sorghum, maize, wheat, sesame, guava, mangos, and other fruits. His brother still lives in this area and looks after the land.

"In 1988, I came back to this area as a refugee and I started my shop from scratch—I am successful because I don't chew khat! I have eight children and they all go to school. My oldest son, who works in the shop, is 20 and has just completed his secondary education. I want him to go to university to study business."

(Abdirasheed, shop owner in Kebribaya with a large amount of stock—selling crockery, electrical items, cosmetics, suitcases)

However, just because people have diversified their livelihoods or even dropped out of pastoralism, they are not necessarily ruling out returning to pastoral livelihoods or perhaps combining their current livelihood with pastoralism in the future:

"I would like to expand my business—I could get a wholesale store or could have a second store or if the market for livestock improves I will buy animals."

(Shop owner, Kebribaya)

Some older men were positive about the future of pastoralism because they feel that the rural areas are far more developed than when they were growing up, although they recognized the challenge that young people are becoming distant from that way of life.

"We have things today that we have never had before. Now there are schools, clinics, agricultural offices, and water points for pastoralists so there has never been a time like today. In every 100 families living together there are these facilities. Haile Selassi and Mengistu were taking care of us by shooting us. This government is trying to make a change.

We work hard to educate our children in the modern way. My grandparents and parents were all pastoralists and so was I as a child. After the War, I became distanced from that life but one way and another I am still involved. My children have never seen that life. Today I asked my daughter a Somali word and she did not know it, nor does your translator, so parts of our language are already becoming extinct. It is true that day after day, younger people are getting distant from the pastoralist way of life. The only solution is for the government, community, and elders to arrange programs whereby young people are sent to rural areas to learn the practical skills so they will be committed to combine education with that life."

(Ali Nur, community elder, Jijiga)

"Young pastoralists have a bright future. Recently 2,000 Somali young people were trained as teachers and sent to a pure pastoralist area and there are ten teachers in every village. Also, recently 3,000 more teachers have been trained (ABE facilitators). When people migrate these teachers accompany them. The camel herders and cattle herders get their education at the same time as they watch their herds and women get an education while they are doing housework.

(Yusuf, community elder, Jijiga)

When questioned if education will pull youth out of pastoralism, Yusuf's response was: *"Our life depends on urban and rural areas. Urban people need rural livelihoods and vice versa. As long as interdependence exists, the two will continue side by side. Agro-pastoralist Bureau Ministers are assigned to work to ensure pastoralism does not become extinct."*

In relation to dropouts: *"No matter how bad the drought, people are more modernized. Even when they lose animals, they don't completely drop out, part of the family goes to urban areas and the rest remain in rural areas and prefer pastoralist life. The prophet blessed Ethiopia so it will never be free from rain—even if there is drought, there will always be rain."*

An alternative view was voiced by Muhammed, a community elder from Hargelle who was not concerned about his children losing their links with pastoralism and does not see a future in camel herding, yet he failed to see the significance of the fact that he continues to own livestock cared for by relatives:

"Life in town is better. I don't want my children to be watching animals. I don't worry about them moving away from pastoralist roots. Even today my children have no idea what the rural area is like. Other people look after our animals. I myself sold a camel for EB 10,000 for my son's wedding. These animals will last for long for sure. I have about ten camels looked after by relatives.

In rural communities I would advise them to prioritize education and make their livestock the second priority—the son of a camel herder will not have a future."

(Muhammed, community elder, Hargelle)

Shop owner Abdirasheed in Kebribaya was of the view that khat consumption is leading to the demise of pastoralism:

"Many pastoralists have lost their animals because of khat. Firstly they neglect their animals when there is a lack of water and they should be moving their animals, but instead they choose to stay near the khat (town). Then they sell their animals before they die and use the money for khat. In Kebribaya the smallest amount of khat is USD 10."

(Abdirasheed, shop owner in Kebribaya)

4.4.3 Government staff in the Bureau of Education and Bureau of Youth and Sport, Somali Region

The Head of the REB in Jijiga, who participated very briefly in the study, spoke of the need for flexibility in term times in the new Educational Strategy, which plans to close ABEs during the dry season when people move to look for pasture and water and re-open them during the rains. He emphasized that the expansion of ABE, to include Grades 5 to 8, is a priority. His views on the need for mobility of the ABE system were less positive. He stated that communities are semi-pastoralist so mobile education is not required, particularly if schools close during the dry season and open after the rains.

The staff consulted in the WEOs in Kebribaya and Dandamane were positive about the work they had been undertaking to expand the number of ABEs and to ensure that they can be mobile and move with groups of families. They recognized the need to provide the second phase of primary as well as the importance of focusing on the quality of education.

"It is important not to lose the connection with our pastoralist background. Pastoralists want education but do not want it to destroy our traditions. Education should improve crop production and animal health. Pastoralists should be able to export produce.

A new curriculum should be introduced which links education with pastoral livelihoods. They are trying to develop this and want to bring in education for youth so they can work more effectively in rural areas i.e., have clinics and other services in rural areas so people do not need to move from one place to another. Good education enhances what you have, it does not leave what you have behind."

(Ahmed Sheikh, Education Program and Supervision Head, Kebribaya)

The Head of BoYS in Gode referred to the increasing numbers of youth coming from rural areas with no education and no family to support them in the towns:

"It is difficult for them to attend formal schools or training centers because they are not integrated—these youth need to be prioritized, for creation of job opportunities and vocational/skills training. The Youth Federation tried to encourage youth groups to establish associations/coops for agriculture or business, but the main problem was a lack of start-up capital, or loans or grants for start-up."

He highlighted that ten years ago, there were no/very few drop-outs; five years ago about 25% of the population had come in from rural areas (including pastoralist "drop-outs"); now at least 55% are incomers from rural areas—there has been a significant increase because of the great loss of livestock over the past few years, people are trying to stay with relatives in town, and few youth want to stay in the rural areas. He added:

"To overcome these challenges firstly there is a need for education; then skills training, e.g., in agriculture and business; and then support, to start income-generating activities and loans for these activities. The demand for some skills is very high but these are not available in the colleges in Gode, e.g., electrical skills, masonry, plumbing."

4.4.4 Youth, both in and out of education

Youth in education

Students who were consulted in the study were generally very positive about their education leading them into employment in fields related to their studies. Nearly all felt that they would be guaranteed government jobs. Some were intending to start their own businesses and others wanted to continue studying and work in higher education. Those studying agriculture or related subjects were optimistic that their skills will enable them to enhance the lives of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists in the future and that they will offer a significant contribution to their communities. Young people's perspectives on their future opportunities will be explored further in the section on Youth Aspirations (4.7.1).

Five students at the Agricultural TVET (four studying livestock (three female, one male) and one studying crop science (male)) were optimistic that their fields of study will be relevant and useful to improving pastoral livelihoods. One student said they chose these particular courses because 75% of the population is involved in livestock or crop production, and it is very important for the country:

"I selected crop production because most of the SRS is a pastoralist area and people are not skilled in farming and I want to improve farming to serve my community."
(Crop science student)

"We want to improve animal production, combining our technical knowledge with indigenous knowledge, for example our learning on animal feeds, breeding, and how to milk in a more hygienic way and prevent diseases. People have been herders for generations and when it rains they have pasture, the animals graze and breed with no human input. Then in the drought periods, animals die. We are learning how to protect pasture, how to improve breeding and protect animal health. We can bring about development."
(Female livestock student)

"The biggest challenges to development in rural areas which we see are:
1) *Ignorance—people are not aware of how to combine animals and farms with urbanization.*
2) *Lack of knowledge of how to retain water and use it during the dry season."*
(Female livestock student)

In relation to the role of education in pastoral livelihoods, one of the female livestock students highlighted:

"Education is important in the rural areas, it enables people to be civilized and develop. We can make changes but we may be somewhere for two years and then gone, whereas education can benefit many people over the long term. Basic agricultural knowledge could be included in the primary curriculum."

Youth out of education

This section includes young people who are currently attending short courses facilitated by Mercy Corps as part of the BRIDGES project. Prior to this they were not in education.

Three young people (two male, one female) who had not been educated had participated in a short course at the Jijiga TVET, facilitated by Mercy Corps as part of the BRIDGES Project. They felt that this opportunity to receive some education would make a big difference to their livelihood prospects. In spite of the course being taught in Amharic and relying on fellow students to translate into Somali, they believe they now have skills which they can put into practice in the following fields: woodwork, plumbing, masonry. The students are about to graduate and are expecting the TVET to tell them about employment opportunities:

"This was a great opportunity, so if there were other similar opportunities for pastoralist youth that would be good. I was not educated and had no land or livestock, so this is the only option. We want others to be able to have the same opportunities as we have had."
(Female student of short TVET course, Jijiga)

Mercy Corps also supported 16 female youth to undertake an IT course in the GRTPC in Gode. The backgrounds and education of four of the girls are summarized in Table 2.

Two IT students in GRTPC

The girls started school after their families moved to the towns. In the rural area they looked after the animals, though they also went to Quranic schools; in town they don't go to Quranic schools. Due to their low literacy/numeracy level, they did a one-month course in the Somali language before taking the five months of computer training.

The girls have received a stipend, which they used to support their families, and it also allowed them to attend a private school (all four are now attending a private English language school). The girls felt they have gained new skills; now they want to support their families and also contribute to their communities and wider society; they are expecting to work in an office. They said their parents are expecting more from them: *"They benefitted from our stipend, now they hope for more from us."*

However, none of them have jobs and they haven't yet had any careers advice or discussion with the college or Mercy Corps in relation to this. The college told them they would be "rewarded in accordance with their grades;" the kebele told them "it is a good opportunity for them and they should do their best."

The girls' computer skills are very basic, so it will be challenging for them to secure employment as secretaries and it was not clear whether there was much of a demand

Table 2. Profile of IT students on GRTPC short IT course

Location	Age	Formal Education	Background
Gode	17	G 2—she dropped out because family needed her	Had livestock in rural area but lost livestock and family moved to town two years ago. Father drives donkey cart and gets firewood, which her mother sells in the market.
Kelafo	16	G 1	They lost their livestock and came to Kelafo nine years ago. Father works on his own land.
Gode	18	G 1—dropped out because of poverty	They lost their livestock and came to Gode five years ago. Father works on other people's land.
Kelafo	18	G 1—couldn't combine housework and school, so dropped out	They had land but harvests were poor and they moved to Kelafo town seven years ago. Father works on other people's land.

for this kind of professional in Gode or Kelafo. (The Women's Affairs office in Kelafo previously trained six girls in Jijiga and they are now working as secretaries in Kelafo, but they are the only ones.) Furthermore, government positions generally require a minimum of Grade 8 as an entry requirement.

Three young men who completed their primary education to Grade 8 in Dandamane Primary School spoke of their frustration that they could not continue to secondary education, as they have no opportunities to gain employment currently. They were certain that continuing their education would open out opportunities for them:

Out-of-school male youth, Dandamane
The boys are aged 22, 22, and 21. They completed their Grade 8 three years ago in Dandamane Primary School. One is working as an assistant teacher (unpaid), another is working as a porter around town, and another helps his parents and others on their land.

> *"We all wanted to continue our education but our parents cannot afford to send us to secondary school in Jijiga. Some of our friends who went to Jijiga are now in Grade 10 and Grade 11. There are no opportunities in the area. We do not want to be ABE teachers because the salary is 'nothing—only EB 300–400.' It is better to leave it. Also if you want to be an ABE teacher it is better to have completed Grade 10. And if we start being teachers our families will say, 'Now you are working, you must get married' —then there will be no chance of studying once we have a wife and children."*

The boys had just been to Harar to find out about a distance learning course, which their families have agreed to pay for. It costs EB 500 per term and will enable them to continue their secondary education. All the material is in English and there is no contact with any teachers. They hope that some of the primary teachers in Dandamane will be able to help them. They have to go to Harar to register for the course and to take the exams. They said they would try to find ways to cover the costs themselves. One has relatives in town and receives some money from them every month. They were disappointed by their Grade 8 scores but they said that they did not have good teaching.

4.4.5 Employers

There are relatively few business people with large businesses in the Somali Region, but many small businesses such as hotels, restaurants, tea shops, shops, and mechanics. Many of the small-scale traders have none or perhaps one or two employees and their owners are either former pastoralists (who have diversified their livelihoods whilst still retaining livestock or land) or pastoralist drop-outs (individuals from a pastoralist background but no longer involved in pastoralism and not intending to return to pastoralism), with little or no education. It is only recently that some of the colleges, i.e., Jijiga TVET and GRTPC, have organized apprenticeships with some of the larger-scale businesses in their respective locations.

Larger businesses such as the Hamda Hotel in Jijiga, which has a substantial number of staff, are relatively rare. The well-known billionaire khat trader, Sahura, established this business. For those without personal capital, it is difficult to establish a business because there have been no formal loan providers until very recently (a new MFI has been established in Jijiga), and it is difficult to procure equipment and invest in infrastructure.

A small number of employers were consulted in the study and it is therefore difficult to identify a common view amongst employers, in relation to the role of education in pastoral and alternative livelihoods. Amongst those employers consulted, opinions varied depending on the nature of their business, in relation to the educational level required from a prospective employee. The views of a selection of employers are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Employers' requirements for employees and selection processes used

Informant	Number and type of employees	Selection process
Mulud, garage owner in Gode	• two mechanics—each with five assistants • two welders—each with two or three assistants • one electrician—with two or three assistants • He took on six apprentices from the GRTPC. The previous batch of apprentices he had from the GRPTC were quite well established as mechanics. However, those who have just finished the six months training, supported by Mercy Corps, are not fully trained and need more practical training before they will be able to work without supervision.	Mulud does not select his employees by tribe, by certificates, or by qualification—what is most important to him is that the person has the willingness and enthusiasm to learn and is committed to improving themselves. Some of his apprentices might come from NGOs, some via government; he is open to using different selection processes.
Abdi, transporter of construction materials	eight workers—two drivers, six manual laborers (two Oromos and the rest are Somalis)	Abdi does not employ relatives, *"This is not a clan-based area, I need to employ people I feel comfortable with—the two drivers should have a license, the rest are manual laborers and do not need specific skills but should be active and competent."*
Anab, small restaurant owner, Jijiga waiter.	five workers—her sister, one relative, and three others	Aside from her family members, the others came looking for work. A 13-year-old boy works as a He dropped out of school in Grade 5 because he did not have the textbooks. She had tried encouraging him to go back to school.
Ali, manager of the Hamda Hotel, Jijiga (brother of the owner)	50 employees and five laborers on call Most of the hotel staff are women and are non-Somali (only around 10% are Somalis). The reason given for this was as follows: *"Culturally, Somalis are not prepared to work for lower salaries because they depend on their tribes and family. They want a lot of money for little skill. Also, Somalis s pend a lot of money and whatever they earn will not be enough. People from the Ethiopian highlands are more economical and use their income wisely."*	They hire staff through advertising and through telling their existing employees to recommend someone. Sometimes they recruit internally from their mother company.

Few businesses provide apprenticeship opportunities for young people, although through the BRIDGES project, relationships have been established between colleges, students, and businesses with a view to creating future opportunities for apprenticeships. Students on practical courses in TVETs emphasized the importance of apprenticeships, especially considering the lack of equipment and resources within the colleges, which are needed to fulfil the practical teaching part of their courses.

Mulud, the garage owner in Gode, described how many young people used to turn up and ask for apprenticeships and the opportunities he has been able to provide them:

> *"Some of them were Somalis trying to escape Ethiopia across the Red Sea— but their boats had capsized and they didn't make it so they had to come back."* Mulud offered apprenticeships to some and now some of them have even bigger businesses than Mulud. One of his former employees was looked down on as a thief and people told Mulud not to hire him; he'd been a pastoralist and come to town but had no way to make a living. Mulud advised him and took him on and now he is a garage owner in Gode and is himself supporting others. Another former employee used to collect gum, then he joined a construction company as a stone worker and one of the pieces of stone got in his eye. He asked Mulud to give him a chance, which Mulud did and now he is a garage owner in Chereti. One apprentice was a camel herder in Harshin who was paid two young camels for a whole year's work; he joined Mulud and is working as a general mechanic. One of his former staff joined an NGO, then became a driver with MSF Belgium, then moved up and is now on the verge of becoming an international staff.

4.5 Barriers to improving education

Most informants recognized that in the last ten years there has been a rapid expansion in the provision of primary and secondary education in urban areas in the Somali Region as well as ABE schools in many rural areas. Almost all respondents recognized the importance of education and the demand for education was high, although in the pastoralist community of Malkadhuur, ABE teachers reported that parents prioritized the care of animals over and above schooling, so attendance was low in Levels 2 and 3 of the ABE center. In certain areas there was frustration because of the lack of available services such as insufficient ABE schools and facilitators and the lack of secondary schools.

The competing priorities of education and child labor were also reported in research conducted on child protection in the Somali Region as part of the BRIDGES project, which highlighted that although access to education has greatly improved in the past few years, enrolment rates remain among the lowest in the country. Child labor is a main reason for children not to go to school and children struggle to combine school with work. In rural areas in particular, both children and their families see it as children's responsibility to help support their families through assisting with livestock tending, watching livestock for others, selling water transported by donkey carts, and other jobs.[30]

Research conducted Devereux (2006) on vulnerable livelihoods in the Somali Region found that the federal and regional government had made efforts in recent years to extend access to education services in the Somali Region, including building more schools, experimenting with mobile education services, and supporting NGO efforts to provide ABE. Devereux found that in some communities, school buildings have been constructed but the school is not functioning because of a lack of teachers. He also reported that although government schools are not supposed to charge fees, parents incur indirect costs; for example, in Jijiga, parents noted that they have to pay several indirect costs to send a child to school, such as registration fee and uniform.[31]

Views of a selection of respondents on the challenges to improving education are summarized below:

Some of the barriers to improving education identified by respondents:

> *"The most challenging thing is to be able to buy school uniforms and educational materials."*
> (Former pastoralist/stonemason, Dandamane)

"The main challenge is that 85% of the population are from a pastoralist background and 70% of young people are not educated. There is a need for more resources so that they can continue education and the schools need more materials. There is also a need for counselling for drop-outs."
(Member of youth federation, Kebribaya)

People migrate to Jijiga from nine zones; there are five to six children per family, so there are not enough schools. In rural areas, most people send boys to school but things are changing and there is more awareness about equal opportunities in education. Twenty-nine students dropped out of the rural water supply and sanitation course (19 males, 10 females). Some of the women students got married. Nine students had forged documents (Grade 10 certificates) so were not allowed to continue, some left due to family economic problems and returned to pastoralism and some joined the ONLF and have been caught and are in jail."
(Water Faculty Head, Jijiga TVET)

"The ABE schools can follow people but there is a shortage of teachers so if lots of people move, there will not be enough teachers to go round. This office needs to address this problem so we need more budget in order to train teachers. Next year we will have more resources allocated to this."
(Education Program and Supervision Head, Kebribaya)

"The ABE rationale is meant to be flexible but the school calendar is scheduled from Jijiga regardless of the local context. The ABE schools have no curriculum and even if they have, it is not relevant to the local context. Local people should be involved in inputting to the curriculum and the local context should be taken into account.
(NGO worker, Hargelle)

"Jijiga University has the capacity for 9,000 students but where do they go? We are not at the level yet where we need lots of university graduates; we need more vocational training schools. We need mechanical skills and building skills. All those skills we bring in from outside the region and the money we pay for this work is exiting the region. Somali society is confined to business. We are a creative people but we lack education."
(Manager of the Hamda Hotel, Jijiga)

Other barriers were not highlighted by the study respondents—for example, lack of government commitment towards the provision of quality education in the region and minimal involvement of communities or parents in the education of their children or in school improvement and school management activities, but were reported by NGO staff working with the BRIDGES project.

4.5.1 Demand for education

Devereux (2006), found mixed attitudes in relation to the demand for education in pastoralist areas. Similarly, Catley and Iyasu's research in Mieso-Mulu Woreda in 2010 highlighted that more women see the benefit of educating their children than men, although children in general are viewed as a source of labor. Women informants indicated that although they'd like to send their children to school, their husbands do not allow it, and that women do not have an independent source of income to pay for their children's education.[32] The BRIDGES Midterm Review (MTR) reported a huge unmet demand in some areas for more schools/ABE centers and for more ABE facilitators. For example, in Gedugas, Mieso-Mulu, of five potential ABE centers, with a potential of over 1,300 students, only one had a teacher and was operating. Men and women consulted in this study, both educated and non-educated, were positive about wanting to educate their boys and girls, although some respondents emphasized that it was their mothers who had been particularly positive and insistent that they get an education.

However, in spite of the demand, it is important to note that high numbers of children drop out of school, particularly in pastoralist areas. This pattern could be seen amongst respondents in the study and is documented widely elsewhere. Few children enrolled in school from pastoral households have the resources to complete the cycle. In the majority of cases, enrolment is triggered by the death of a father or the loss of livestock. A significant rise in school enrolment is often an indicator of impoverishment in pastoral areas, particularly when associated with school feeding programs. Enrolment will only start to indicate pastoral development once

formal education is made supportive and fully accessible to the children directly involved in production.[33]

4.5.2 Shortage of teachers

The expansion of schools in the region has clearly occurred at a greater rate than the output of qualified Somali teachers from the Teacher Training Institutes (TTIs) and Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs). This is particularly apparent at secondary and tertiary levels. For example, teacher certification in the Somali Region fell to only 4.2% for Grades 5-8, the lowest level in the country (MoE, 2008).[34] In the ATVET in Gode, there is currently a total of 71 academic staff of which eight are Somalis (two female). The BRIDGES MTR reported that all of the WEOs consulted cited shortage of teachers as one of the main challenges to upgrading ABE centers and in Dandamane, Afdem, and Mieso Mulu, specifically the shortage of Grade 10 graduates in their woredas.

> *"It is difficult to find female Somali teachers because the non-Somalis can delay their studies until over aged 30 but Somalis get married at 20 years old onward so it is difficult for them to continue in education and to work once they are married, so many quit."*

(School principal, Kebribaya)

The different options for teacher training reported by respondents in the teaching profession are summarized in Table 4.

4.5.3 Teacher quality

Some teachers and students in the study pointed out that there is a need for better-quality teacher training, that the entry requirements should be higher in order to qualify as a teacher, and that the low salaries awarded to teachers will not attract students who score higher marks in their final exams. The current shortage of Somali teachers in the region means that students are often faced with the challenge of having to learn in Amharic, relying on some of their peers to translate for them. Many of the teachers are newly qualified and lack practical teaching experience and some students complained that some of their teachers were not good teachers (both in primary and secondary levels).

According to respondents in Devereux's research, the quality of formal education services varies greatly between rural and urban communities. In Jijiga, almost half of the interviewees (45%) in his study described education services as "good" or "excellent," but in pastoralist Gashamo district only 13% held this positive view, and none at all in agro-pastoralist Kebribaya. 75% of respondents in Gashamo and Kebribaya perceived the education services that are accessible to their

Table 4. Teacher training options

Institution	Entry requirement	Course offered	What are eligible to teach
TTI[35]	Completed Grade 10; scoring higher than a two	One-year course	Grade 1–4
TTC	Completed Grade 12	Three-year teaching diploma; can also upgrade to degree level through four-year course	Grade 5–8
University	Completed Grade 12 with a high score	Four-year Bachelor's degree	To teach in a high school G 9–12
TTI	Grade 8 (males), Grade 6 (females)	Two-month summer course	ABE level 1–3

Female students taking three-year courses in construction, plumbing, electrical engineering, Jijiga TVET

children as "poor" or "very poor," compared to only 31% of respondents in Jijiga.[36]

4.5.4 Lack of teaching equipment

The BRIDGES MTR highlighted the lack of textbooks and teaching materials in ABEs and primary schools. Many students consulted in the study attending tertiary education pointed out the limited opportunities for practical training due to the lack of equipment and resources in the colleges. Some of their concerns are highlighted below:

> *"I am studying concrete construction but I do not understand the teaching which is conducted in Amharic, so I am only able to learn from the practical part of the training."*
> (Female TVET student in Jijiga)

> *"I have not had enough practical training on my course. The teachers speak in Amharic and even if we have one session of practical it is in Amharic."*
> (Male engineering construction student, Dire Dawa University)

> *75% of our course is practical but there is a shortage of equipment which makes learning the practical processes challenging."*
> (Female ATVET student, Gode)

4.5.5 No options for continuing in education

In areas without secondary schools, those young people who complete their primary education currently have limited options, especially if they are unable to move to other areas to stay with relatives in order to continue their education. A similar pattern was reported by Islamic Relief, in relation to communities without second cycle primary schools (Grades 5-8), where most girls dropped out of education.

In peri-urban areas, with few employment opportunities, young men are faced with unemployment and the disappointment of their families and turn to chewing khat. Girls are more likely to get married after completing their primary school, if they are unable to continue their education. This could produce a backlash against education in terms of parents adopting negative attitudes towards educating their younger children (as seen in Dandamane). Parents in these areas were very focused on the livelihood benefits of education and are less aware of, or place less importance on, the wider benefits of education.

The Head of the WEO in Dandamane conducted a survey before undertaking community mobilization for the mobile schools. People said:

"You enrolled our children and took them from their land and livestock and said you would educate them and during that time they were absent from the livestock. Now they are back and not willing to care for the livestock or farm the land so do not do the same with our younger children."

Then they were chased out of the community. The WEO Head said it was difficult to respond to this, *"As these people are right—their children are now wandering around the town."* He thinks that the children who have been educated recognize the value of being able to read and write but parents do not see it as a value. However, they have begun offering literacy classes to adults in the evenings so more adults are becoming interested in education.

PTA members of Dandamane School echoed this experience and described their biggest challenge being when parents send a child to school and they finish Grade 8, then they have no money to support their child to continue to Grade 9 and beyond:

"So the child hangs about the town and chews khat and the parents say 'Education has driven my child away. He is not doing anything—find a solution first—we will not lose any more children to the school.'"

The PTA in Dandamane Primary School described their approach to mobilizing communities for education in Box 7. The Dandamane PTA members consulted said that the PTA has yet to receive training as part of the BRIDGES project.[37] The group was unclear about their role; one of the teachers mentioned that they once wrote some guidelines but have not applied these. They said they needed training to understand the importance of education and to expand their way of thinking to influence the community. They were not clear about the role of the student members of the PTA.

Out-of-school youth in Dandamane recounted the views of their parents:

"When our parents see that we are not in Grade 9 and not working, they think their younger children will end up the same. They prefer us to get married and lead a life which is possible. They don't think education is worthless but cannot afford for us not to do anything. The lack of a secondary school has

Box 7. Mobilizing communities for education in Dandamane

"The aim of the PTA is to increase enrolment of students in the school. We do this through distributing books and pencils in the different communities. If parents are not interested in sending their children to school, we tell them that they can be arrested for three days. We also tell them—look at the rural children who are dirty and dressed in rags, while the urban children wear clean neat clothes. We ask them, 'Are they similar? If you want clean neat children, bring them to school.' Then many families bring their children to school. The uniform is distributed by the government. In the rural areas there is drought and people have lost their animals, so we tell them, 'You are behind and in the dark, if you come from the rural areas to the towns, you will have a brighter life.' Since the PTA was started, the enrolment rate has increased before the drought struck."

"Some families will send some children to school and keep the others back to watch the animals—this is independent of their gender. We tell parents, 'If your child is educated and gets a good life, the first one who can benefit is you. If you keep your child here and then you lose your animals, both of you will suffer. As long as your child is educated, you will be in good hands for the rest of your life.'"

"When a child marries the father gives half of the animals or half of the land to them. We tell them, 'If your child is educated then your child is independent from you and will not come back asking for something, rather they will be helping you.'"

(Various members of PTA: two teachers (one male, one female), three parents (two male, one female who was only there for the latter part of the discussion), Dandamane)

widely affected the community. I have 11 siblings. When I was in Grade 7, my parents were happy to send my four younger siblings to Grade 1. When I finished Grade 8 and had no job and would ask 'What next?' They said we cannot tolerate 'What next?,' so they withdrew my three brothers and sister from the school. They said, 'It is better to continue the way we lived before.'"

(Young man, completed Grade 8, unemployed in Dandamane)

A Save the Children Community Development Worker in the BRIDGES project working in Afdem Woreda described similar challenges in Afdem but noted that the pattern is changing as educational options expand:

"Three years ago in Afdem Woreda, there were only five schools, two years ago there were 17. Now there are 52 schools—six formal schools, one high school, and the rest are ABEs. Students who complete Grade 8 and are unable to go to Errer or Dire Dawa to secondary school drop out. Some become khat sellers. The girls get married or leave for Djibouti to work as domestic workers. This pattern has decreased in the last three years as the educational options have expanded and people's awareness of the value of education has changed—three years ago you would only find men in many kebeles."

The same challenge was reported by Richards and Bekele (2011) in their research on the specific types and causes of conflict in the Somali Region and in particular, in the areas where the BRIDGES project is currently operating—Afder, Jijiga, and Shinile Zones. The study found that people have very high expectations that education will ensure future employment. They surmised that at its worst, the consequences of this expectation not being met might well exacerbate some types of conflict. They reported that communities were vocal in their opinion that education was not yet delivering the expected results in terms of jobs. Parents were worried that students were not going on to secondary school, that they were ending up, *"On the street as they did not want to return to their basic traditional way of life, and that if they did return to their family then they ended up where they started—leading the string of camels."* In one kebele parents noted that of the 36 children who completed primary school, only two had continued to secondary school in Jijiga. The remainder were *"on the street"* where frustrations could be expressed in antisocial behaviors. These informants suggested that it would not be long before unoccupied school leavers *"went to Djibouti."* This term was code for a range of possibilities, from going to Djibouti or Somaliland in search of job opportunities, or more worryingly, heading to Somalia or joining the ONLF.[38]

One informant in the current study who works as a radio journalist was less pessimistic, reporting that in some areas communities are mobilizing themselves to build the schools they need:

"In communities such as Lanqerta, Lafaiisa, Harshin, Wajale, there were no secondary schools but the communities have built them and then invited the government to see the schools and asked for teachers and materials. For example, the school in Harshin cost EB 500,000 to construct and all these funds were gathered by the community."

To meet the demand for continued education for different groups of students, some informants suggested that there should be a greater range of technical courses available.

"The Social Science College in Jijiga runs short courses in Health Extension and in Animal Health and graduates from these courses get assigned by government but the salaries are low."

(Save the Children staff member, Dire Dawa).

The three-year plumbing or construction course currently offered by the TVETs could be shortened, especially if the practical elements of the course are improved through more effective apprenticeship placements. Short courses for less educated or uneducated youth such as those piloted by Mercy Corps should be long enough to provide students with the necessary skills and confidence to gain employment and also include basic literacy and numeracy and life skills. They should also be tailored to the market opportunities.

4.5.6 Bricks versus books

As reported elsewhere, a number of respondents noted that the focus of government officials and education staff has been predominated by a prioritization of school buildings. It was suggested to the Principal of Dandamane Primary School that the building could be used for secondary education in the afternoons, considering the high demand for secondary education in the area. Both the former students and PTA who were consulted thought this an excellent idea:

> *"It would be the greatest happiness of our lives to have a secondary school here, even a temporary one."*

(Former student who completed primary education)

The Principal's response however was far from encouraging:

> *"It will not be possible to teach students in the afternoon because their parents need them to work in the afternoons."*

Some respondents suggested that the government should prioritize other challenges over and above the need for school buildings, such as the quality of the curriculum, effectiveness of the PTAs, provision of sufficient textbooks, and ensuring flexibility to meet the needs of nomadic communities.

4.5.7 ABE challenges

A National Strategy for Alternative Basic Education (ABE) has been in place since September 2006. See Box 8 for a summary of the strategy.

Many young people in education consulted in the study view the option of becoming an ABE teacher as low status employment, particularly as it is poorly paid. Some respondents felt that ABE teachers should be better qualified and better trained.

> *"When we assess ABE students they do better than the non-ABE students, yet somehow their education is less complete. It would be good if ABE teachers were better qualified. They have completed Grade 8. Nowadays those who complete Grades 8–10 in towns do not want to go back to rural areas. This means that some literate people have been identified in pastoralist areas and have been trained as ABE teachers but these have not completed their Grade 8."*

(Two teachers in formal schools in Kebribaya)

In rural areas where children complete Level 1 to 3 in ABE schools, unless they have relatives with whom they can stay in the towns, they are unable to continue their education. This echoes findings in the BRIDGES MTR: there is high demand from parents to upgrade ABE centers to formal schools in rural/pastoralist areas to be able to teach higher grades. Most of the formal schools are in towns and only families with relatives in towns are able to send their children there.[40]

Some of these perspectives are also reflected in the DFID Social Assessment Study, which identified the following challenges in relation to ABE:

Box 8. ABE Strategy

The Strategy aims to develop a well planned, organized, and coordinated Alternative Basic Education system that will provide opportunities for out-of-school children, especially those between the age of 7 and 14, to have access to good-quality basic education and opportunities for further education and development (ABE Strategy, 2006).[39] The Draft Social Assessment Report on the Education Sector (DFID, 17.04.11) notes that the introduction of the ABE approach in the relatively settled pastoral and agro-pastoral regions of the country has played an important role in the increment of enrolments. The GER (grades 1-8) for SRS was 23.3 % in 2004 and has grown, according to the regional reports, to 58% in 2009, though the impact on girls' enrolment is more limited.

- Low retention rate of students during the dry season in lowland areas due to the demand for child labor, mobility of pastoral groups, and lack of water in some ABE centers.
- Qualification of ABE facilitators in pastoral communities was below the required standard of Grade 8 completion due to low level of education.
- The number of female facilitators was lower than desired due to fewer women meeting the standard (though lowered to grade 6) and lack of interest to work in remote areas.

The new Government Educational Strategy: the **Education Sector Development Program IV (ESDP IV), 2010/2011–2014/2015**, aims to address some of the challenges identified above. More detail on the challenges and proposed strategies are described in the **Somali Regional State ESDP IV**—some of the key challenges to be addressed and strategies to improve access and equity in primary and secondary education contained in this document are included in Box 9. However, some of the plans appear to be somewhat contradictory, for example formalizing ABE centers and emphasizing the construction of classrooms will reduce the options of mobility for the ABE schools. Many ABE schools operate effectively under the shade of a tree and there are persuasive arguments for channelling limited resources into teacher training and textbooks, rather than towards construction of school buildings. The BRIDGES MTR recommended prioritizing technical support to ABE centers such as facilitator training, provision of teaching materials and textbooks rather than desks and chairs, which further hinder the mobility of the ABE centers and are not a priority need as expressed by ABE facilitators. Likewise, the establishment of boarding schools does not reflect the findings of this study and other research, which highlight the unpopularity of boarding schools in the Somali Region, particularly as an option for girls.

Box 9. Key challenges to be addressed in the SRS ESDP IV and strategies to improve access and equity in primary and secondary education

The main challenges which ESDP IV will address are as follows:

- A strong improvement in student achievement through a consistent focus on the enhancement of the teaching/learning process and the transformation of the school into a motivational and child-friendly learning environment.
- The development of programs which help attract the unreached and the disadvantaged into school and ensure that they complete basic education. Without a significant decrease in the drop-out rates in the early grades (which also demands the promotion of Early Childhood Education), universal primary enrolment will never be achieved.
- A renewal of adult education with a specific focus on Functional Adult Literacy. The number of illiterates has remained high and, for reasons of justice as well as economic and social development, efforts need to be strengthened to build partnerships against illiteracy.
- The strengthening of the capacity for knowledge creation, in particular in the domain of science and technology, through an expansion of access to TVET and to higher education without sacrificing quality.
- Further improvement of the effectiveness of the educational administration at all levels, through capacity development and the creation of motivational work environments.

Key strategies to address equity and access in primary and secondary education:

The focus under ESDP IV in relation to equity and access in primary education—

i) **Expanding the number of primary schools** with special emphasis on reducing the

(continued on the next page)

Box 9. ***(continued)***

distance between schools and pupils' homes, particularly at second cycle primary, transforming existing ABE centers into regular schools, and establishing more ABE centers when and wherever necessary. ABEs are considered a temporary solution to providing access for hard-to-reach children. The strategy is to phase out ABEs and use other solutions to address those children who still cannot access formal schooling for a variety of reasons.

ii) **Strategies to address equity** include the use of multi-grade classes as a means of integrating and maintaining children of scarcely-populated areas in school, the provision of special support programs, scholarships, and school feeding. Alternative education services like mobile schools and para-boarding schools for second cycle primary will be continued to meet the needs of pastoralist and semi-pastoralist populations. NGOs, civic organizations, donors, and international organizations like the UN will be supported in their activities related to school feeding and to financial and material provisions to children with vulnerabilities and special needs. Support and accountability mechanisms for schools pertaining to actions relating to girls' access to and retention in schools will be developed.

Strategies to expand access and equity in secondary education—

i) **School expansion**—the number of secondary schools and classrooms will be increased with special attention to rural, pastoral, and under-served areas in order to decrease distance between schools and homes. In the expansion of preparatory secondary schools, the principle that one preparatory secondary school will be at the center of three general secondary schools will be followed. In order to increase the number of these schools, preparatory secondary education classes will be annexed to existing secondary education schools.

ii) **Several strategies will be developed to ensure greater participation of groups** whose access to secondary schools remains limited. This includes setting up a limited number of secondary boarding schools; providing special support to vulnerable children through a scholarship scheme; developing a school-based accountability system for actions related to access, survival, and performance of girls; and increasing the number of teachers from emerging regions and disadvantaged groups (pastoralists and indigenous groups).

iii) **Strategies to promote the involvement of stakeholders** consist of the provision of incentives to the private sector to promote its involvement in secondary school provision and the continued implementation of the cost-sharing scheme for preparatory secondary education.

4.6 Barriers to girls' education and livelihood opportunities

Many of those consulted in the study emphasized the importance of equal opportunities in education for boys and girls and many people with children said that the education of their daughters was as important, if not more important, than the education of their sons.

The WEO Head in Kebribaya highlighted that they are undertaking community mobilization to raise awareness on the importance of girls' education. They use religion as a starting point (which makes people listen), as the Quran promotes the equal education of girls and boys. They use role models of young educated Somali women from the kebele offices and say to parents:

> *"If you have two daughters and one son, it is more important to educate your daughters, as you will receive greater rewards in paradise."*
> (WEO Head, Kebribaya)

Some respondents highlighted the progress in

girls' access to education over the past few years:

"When I was teaching in an Afdem school three years ago, there were only three girls in Grade 8. Now there is almost the same number of girls as boys."
(SCUK community worker and former teacher)

"Attitudes towards women and girls' education have changed a lot—before people thought that women were born for housework and men were born for the Quran; it was a male-dominated culture, including within the government. Women themselves were happy to be that way—and they didn't even know that there was a government bureau that was dedicated to them. Now women in Kelafo know about the Women's Affairs Office, they know they have other opportunities, they are participating in public life more than before and they want to educate their girls. Girls enrolment in primary in Kelafo is around 35%."
(Head of Women's Affairs Office, Kelafo)

Nevertheless, the study identified the following continuing challenges to girls' education and livelihood opportunities:

- Lack of confidence amongst girls.
- Boys still likely to access education more than girls in rural areas, where girls are kept back for housework/marry early.
- Girls more likely to drop out of education than boys due to household work, early marriage.
- Very few female Somali teachers to serve as role models.
- Discrimination towards female students attending traditionally male courses such as construction and plumbing.
- Girls return home following their education and work in the house; they are burdened by household work and are less likely to apply for jobs than men.
- Female TVET graduates said girls are more likely to study in TVETs and TTIs and boys are more likely to go to universities, so they will be less qualified than boys. (This was borne out by the testimonies of five male students in Dire Dawa University, none of whom had sisters who had attended university—some had gone to nursing college, others had completed Grade 8 or Grade 10 and got married).
- Once girls get married, they are much less likely to study or to work.
- Girls' families are less keen on them to be assigned to work in remote rural areas.
- Women who are independent, unmarried and supporting themselves and their families are seen as trying to be like men.
- Some women are widows/2nd/3rd wives and struggle to earn a livelihood as well as take care of their children.

Pastoralist near Jijiga (non-educated)

The views of a number of respondents on the barriers to girls' education are summarized below:

"My secondary school should have been better—we had no maths teacher so did not get good grades in our national exams. Some of us girls were told to 'Shut up and sit down' by the male teachers and the boys were invited to answer the questions, e.g., in Chemistry class."
(Female TVET student, Jijiga)

"I am the only girl, along with a non-Somali student on the concrete construction course. There are 25 boys. When we ask the teachers how to mix concrete, they say, 'What do you care, you're a female, this is a man's job, better that you learn to be a secretary.' We undertook an apprenticeship at Jijiga University but were not supported or told what was expected of us."
(Female TVET student, Jijiga)

"Some of our friends are married with children and say to us: 'Tomorrow you will marry—until then continue your education.' Others say, 'What is the point as you will get married?'"
(Female TVET student, Jijiga)

"The opportunities for girls to get educated are improving. When I was a child, I was busy helping in the household but the numbers of girls in school are increasing year after year. People migrate and learn from other societies so there is general improvement in the region, although some families still favor boys' education. I have friends who did not complete their first degree because they stopped to get married and their husbands did not allow them to continue. However, most of my friends graduated."
(Female HR Officer, Mercy Corps, Jijiga)

"It is equally important to educate sons and daughters." (However, this respondent sent his sons to school, not his daughters, and when asked why he said it was because his father sent only the boys and kept the girls at home).
(Male pastoralist at a watering point near Jijiga)

"Girls are cooked meat. Anyone can eat them. Men are predators." (said in relation to why they do not send their daughters to school)
(Male pastoralist at a watering point near Jijiga)

"Educating women is more important than educating boys and has more benefits. In ten years' time the number of educated females will be more than the males because males are busy chewing khat—this is anti-development."
(Abdi Hassan, community elder, Jijiga)

"The problem is ignorant parents (it is different in towns—women are more educated); in pastoralist areas, girls do housework, care for siblings, and people believe girls are like property and their role is to bear children. Also there is early marriage—even if sent for education, girls get married when they are still being educated."
(Male student at Dire Dawa University)

"We need to focus on the socio-cultural aspects of gender discrimination which is a long process. We are educated but our girls are still suffering FGM. The education curriculum should address issues like HTPs, risks of early marriage, etc. This goes beyond schools and is about changing entrenched social practices. This needs an advocacy campaign in communities. Girls need to be confident to claim their rights."
(Save the Children staff member)

Uneducated girls are faced with fewer livelihood options than uneducated men, as they have less independence, less control over household assets, and are responsible for caring for their children. Many young women migrate to towns in search of work as domestic servants:

"Many girls leave rural areas so when I came to Jijiga I asked people who told me about the brokers who organize the domestic work. I went to a house where a broker (from Oromia) arranges placements for girls with Somali families."
(Former pastoralist girl, who accessed a short course in plumbing at Jijiga TVET through the project)

The challenges to girls' education and barriers to their livelihood opportunities identified in the study reflect issues which are documented in other research conducted in the region. Devereux (2006) reported that women and girls in the Somali Region live shorter and less healthy lives than men and boys. A large part of women's vulnerability derives from their limited control over key productive resources. He noted that pastoralist women complained specifically about their restricted ownership of livestock, especially large stock, which in Somali culture are traditionally the property of men. However, he highlighted that there is evidence that women are gaining increasing autonomy, partly as a consequence of the recent sequence of droughts, where loss of livestock translates into loss of male power.[42] This is substantiated by the experiences of some of the female informants in the current study who had dropped out of pastoralism and were very active and resourceful in creating an alternative livelihood for themselves, supporting their children in schools, and were not dependent on their husbands (they included a khat trader, a small restaurant owner, and a shop owner).

The government ESDP IV Action Plan notes that the gender gap in education in the country prevails at all levels of the system but it becomes more visible the higher up the educational

ladder, with girls only accounting for about a third of students entering preparatory education.[43]

Tackling these barriers to girls' education requires a multi-level approach, working both with government officials in the Women's Affairs and Education Bureaux at regional and district levels, teaching staff, and communities. The DFID Social Assessment Study highlighted existing good practices in the SRS, which aim to encourage girls to continue their education. These are included in Box 10. Roll-out/scale-up of these practices in primary schools and their adaptation for secondary and tertiary institutions would seem advisable in order to bring about long-term change in educational outcomes for girls. In addition, there is a need for the following actions:

- Further work to continue to raise awareness in communities of the value of girls' education, focusing not just on the livelihood benefits, but also on the other outcomes such as increased life skills for women, delaying the age of marriage and childbirth, and improved health and nutrition of women and their children.
- Tackling discrimination towards female students amongst teaching staff and providing support to girls studying in male-dominated courses.
- Incentives should be offered to women to take up teaching qualifications.

Box 10. Good practices adopted by primary schools in the Somali Region to encourage girls to continue their education

- Persuading girls that education will enable them to avoid the fate of working as maids for educated women in Boroma (domestic workers are amongst the lowest paid, most isolated, most at-risk populations in Ethiopia).
- Encouraging girls to continue education when they migrate; having female teachers serve as role models (employment opportunities).
- Establishing girls' clubs and counselling committees to create awareness on issues of early marriage, FGM, harmful traditional practices, HIV and AIDS, and provide peer support.
- Discussing with parents the economic return from children's education and in cases of early marriage, negotiation with parents of the spouse to allow married girls to continue education after giving birth (and become role models).
- Provision of food aid as incentives to parents who send their children to schools (given a little more than the allocated amount of 9 kg per person—food provided by WFP—currently WFP school feeding programs provide an incentive of two liters of oil per month for girls who attend regularly).*
- Flexibility for married women when they are absent from school due to household responsibilities.
- Supporting mothers to continue schooling while on maternity leave—friends and siblings copy/write down lessons and teachers tutor.
- Allowing time for breastfeeding and infant care.
- Weekend tutorial for girls creates space to ask questions they would not ask in front of boys.
- Schedules for tutorial support (physics, math, English, chemistry, and natural science) are posted on bulletin boards and students choose which class to attend.
- Girls' committee convinces parents to allow girls to attend tutorials on weekends.
- Lobby mothers to attend adult and non-formal education (PTA members as role models).
- Girls Education Advisory Committee established to provide guidance and support to girls.

(continued on the next page)

Box 10. ***(continued)***

- Purchase uniforms (through contributions) for poor children/girls to prevent girls' dropping out.
- Home-to-home follow-up of girls to prevent them from dropping out. **
- Construction of separate latrines for girls.
- Community members participating in mobilization committees; school hours and contributions are agreed with them.

*Opinion is divided about the strategy of providing food aid to encourage school attendance.
**PTAs/CMCs established by the BRIDGES project are following up school drop-outs.

4.7 Youth aspirations and experiences

Young people interviewed in the study were asked about their aspirations in relation to their education and livelihoods as well as their actual experiences. Some older professionals were also interviewed in relation to their experiences following on from their first jobs to understand how their careers developed.

4.7.1 Youth Aspirations

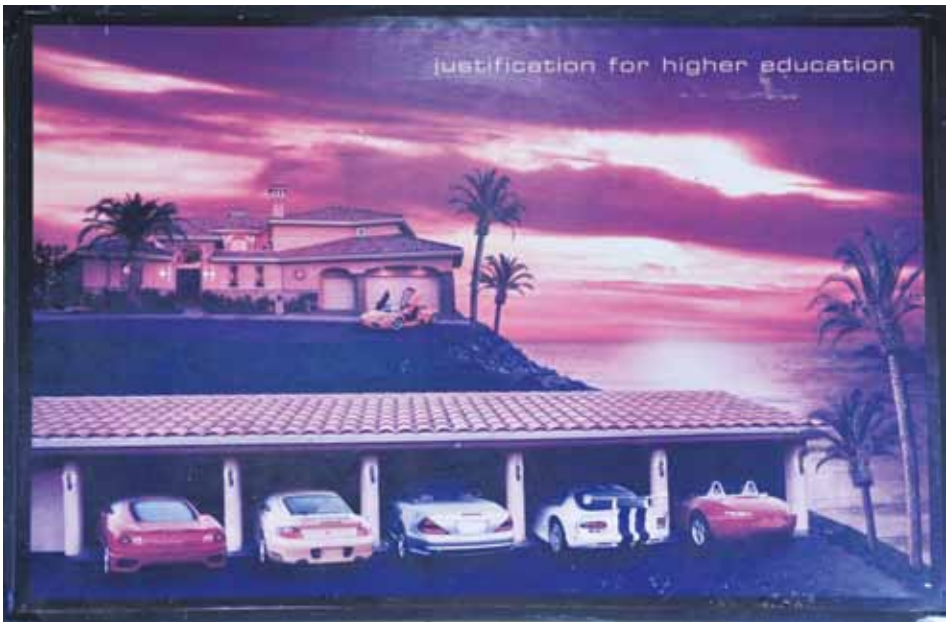
Several young people interviewed in the study were keen to undertake work which will contribute to their communities, society, and the country.

Many young people may not end up studying their first choice of course, due to their scores at Grade 8, 10, or 12 and/or because some courses are over-subscribed. Instead they are assigned to other courses by the government; nevertheless, they are optimistic about their future beyond education. The majority of young people in education who were consulted were expecting to be assigned a job by the government. A few people expressed the desire to start their own business.

A selection of young people's aspirations is included below. Note that the responses do not all suggest that education educates young people out of pastoralism or other rural-based livelihoods:

Young people's aspirations

"I have learned technical skills, one day I want a shop selling plumbing materials."
(TVET Mercy Corps-assisted student, female)



Poster on the wall of a restaurant in Jijiga

"I want to become Minister of Education so I can do something about the reckless education around here."
(Male primary school completer in Dandamane where there is no secondary education)

"I want to be an agricultural expert, I have a plants diploma and am now doing a degree in dryland agriculture."
(Male student at Jijiga University, studying an extension course)

"I want to be a doctor, I am currently in Grade 9 and will continue to Grade 12. I want to study medicine in Ethiopia."
(Female student, Kebribaya)

"I want to be a philosopher and a scientist. I am in Grade 10 but such knowledge can only be gained overseas. Some of my family are overseas."
(Male student, Kebribaya)

"I want to improve animal production, combining my technical knowledge with indigenous knowledge."
(Female ATVET student, Gode)

"I selected crop production because most of the SRS is a pastoralist area and people are not skilled in farming so I want to improve farming to serve my community."
(Male ATVET student, Gode)

"I completed my degree two months ago and plan to continue studying and to take up a second degree in rural development related to business."
(Female NGO admin worker wanting to move into technical area)

"I want to be a lecturer in psychology in Jijiga University. There are many possibilities as there is a shortage of teachers."
(Male psychology student in Dire Dawa University)

"I want to be an entrepreneur when I graduate. The challenges are the financial resources and the need for capital—machinery and human resources. I am thinking of having some shops selling food, clothes, etc. and setting up some kindergartens (there is a demand for these)."
(Male business management student, Dire Dawa University)

4.7.2 Young people's experiences

The experience of most of the young people in employment consulted in the study was that they had not had to wait long before securing a job with the government, although they were not necessarily assigned to the job most relevant to their studies or their interests.

Youth federation group, Kebribaya

Students who study a range of courses at Dire Dawa University reported the following experiences of their friends who had graduated:

- *A friend who graduated from economics is working in the Jijiga National Bank.*
- *Many went to government organizations; I don't know any working for private organizations. Some are about six months without work while they are applying for jobs.*
- *Many work for government— it depends on the demand, e.g., in Jijiga, there is a greater demand for young professionals and you can get employed there immediately.*
- *Around 80% are employed (this took six months) and 20% are still looking for work. Most of those who are employed work for government.*
- *Some got immediate jobs, others are still looking, especially those who graduated from political science (two to three years) —some get positions but their government bosses are less educated than they are and they try to push them out.*

Other professionals who had worked in several government positions highlighted the issue of personnel being moved around regularly and randomly, although in some instances, political nominations are an influencing factor. For example, the head of the BoE in Jijiga has changed four times in the last seven years. Such frequent re-shuffling clearly has implications in terms of continuity of policy implementation and embedding technical experience in government departments. Some respondents with several years' experience of working in government jobs were frustrated by being regularly reassigned, as well as by the lack of resources required for them to carry out their work effectively.

"Government recruitment is complex—other factors such as clan culture, political affiliation come into play."
(NGO worker, former government employee)

"People are assigned a bit randomly and put in areas where they are not qualified—political nominations are still partly like that but the Civil Service reforms have led to more appropriate assignations."
(NGO worker, former politician)

Some of those consulted had moved from government to working with NGOs. Those working in NGOs reported a high level of job satisfaction.

At woreda level, government professionals reported longer periods in their posts. However, woreda government departments are particularly hampered by a lack of budget resources, which manifests in a scarcity of equipment, vehicles, and personnel. The experience of two female graduates, who are employed by the Woreda Water and Sanitation Office in Dandamane, is representative of some of the issues facing young graduates working for woreda government offices:

Samira, aged 25, from Dire Dawa and Ubah, aged 19, are graduates from the TVET in Jijiga where they studied rural water supply and sanitation for three years. *"The course was good on the sanitation side but we did not get enough practical training on the water supply side."* They are working as Water Officers for the Water Office in Dandamane. There are a total of four women and six men working for the Water Office; eight of them are Water Officers.

The women have been in their posts for three months, but in all that time they have only seen a sand dam; they do not know how to fix it but they now at least know what it looks like. They have not accompanied the Water Office Supervisor on any of the work he has undertaken. He has access to the car (which is the only vehicle for the whole of the Woreda Administration), but none of them or their six colleagues at the same level have had the opportunity to go with him in the car. Initially they were supposed to be taken to 15 kebeles and shown the different water points but they have not visited any.

They have recently been told that they should pay for their own transport to go to visit the water points.

They are frustrated from doing virtually nothing for three months and are worried they will forget what they have learned, as it is seven months since they graduated. They are concerned people will say they are lazy, sitting in Dandamane.

That afternoon they were intending to visit a water point and use their own money for public transport. One of the women earns EB 900, which amounts to EB 700 after tax; the other earns EB 800, which amounts to EB 600 after tax. The salary is determined by a tax code, which is allocated by the regional government. *"This is unrelated to our scores at graduation. If you complain about the code you are assigned they say, 'You are a fresh graduate, are you not ready to do service?'"*

The girls' parents are not happy that they have been sent to the rural area; it is not safe to stay in Dandamane at weekends alone and their salaries are not enough to enable them to travel back to visit their families every weekend (i.e., the fare to Dire Dawa is EB 120). Therefore, their families are supplementing their salaries. Their supervisor pays the rent for them in Dandamane and for their other two female colleagues, from his own pocket.

Ubah had previously taken some computer courses after she completed Grade 8 and got a job as a secretary earning EB 500 per month. She then continued her education to Grade 10 and took a secretarial course at the same time. She got a job for an NGO involved in water projects and was earning EB 1,000 per month. She decided to take up a technical course, so she could avail of other opportunities in the NGO. However, the NGO has now moved out of the area. *"I would not have chosen the course I studied, if I knew I would end up here."*

Young female professionals

Some respondents alluded to having experienced, or being aware of, discrimination towards certain people because of their clan or related to their having come from a pastoralist background, which affects both their options to secure employment and their treatment by employers and community members. Mercy Corps highlighted that there are negative relationships between the business sector and ex-pastoralists, and that young people from rural pastoralist backgrounds face a high level of discrimination in urban areas. This is significant, because it suggests that education alone without addressing the multiple barriers to employment—both within and outside the education system—may not necessarily lead to a promising future. More needs to be done to foster networks that can support and mentor young people in this regard.

4.8 Employment opportunities arising from the current education approach

4.8.1 Working for government

As mentioned in Section 4.7, most graduates are destined for jobs in government; however, they do not necessarily work in areas related to their field of study and several of the younger professionals included in the study seemed to have moved positions within government many times already in their short working life. This sense of not having control over one's employment prospects was certainly apparent amongst young people in tertiary education, the majority of whom talked of *"waiting to be assigned"* to jobs by the government. Furthermore, the experience of the Water Officers indicates that enthusiastic graduates may soon find themselves disillusioned and frustrated through resource constraints and a lack of opportunity to undertake their work.

Employment experiences of some of the young professionals consulted are described below:

"I completed my secondary education to Grade 12 and also took a teacher training course in Jijiga whilst I was studying G11. I scored high marks and was able to study computer science for two years at Gondar University. I graduated when I was 23. I wanted to work in computers, either as a teacher or

in business but could not get a job. I lived with my family and my elder brothers supported me for two years. I applied for about ten positions. My parents were not disappointed because they recognize that there are not many employment opportunities. Some of the TVET College staff informed me of the vacancy for a librarian. My field of study is not relevant for this job—anyone literate person can do it.

Things have changed since I graduated three years ago and now there are new opportunities—I have seen several people apply to computer jobs in government Bureaux."
(Head Librarian at Jijiga TVET)

After graduating in hotel and tourist management, Hussein was assigned to the SRS Information, Culture and Tourism Bureau. He took this job for two months but then changed to another job, which he had also been offered as Instructor in Hotel Management, in the TVET in Jijiga. As soon as he joined the College, he was appointed as Student Dean, working on students' affairs and concerns, leading the graduation ceremonies, conducting disciplinary cases, student counselling, and resolving conflict amongst students and teachers and between students. After two years in this position, he was promoted to be Dean of the College, following the dismissal of the previous Dean. Hussein worked as Dean for 18 months. He found this position very political. At the beginning he was told he could make changes but there were no resources available for the practical parts of the training courses.
(Hussein, currently working for Mercy Corps as Education Outreach Coordinator)

Most people who have been educated to tertiary level in universities work in government in more senior positions, whilst some have moved to jobs with local and then international NGOs. Those working for international NGOs receive a significantly higher income. Graduates educated in technical colleges are more likely to work in technical positions at district government level. Options for those completing secondary school are more limited to lower level technical

Table 5. Job titles, employers, and salaries

Job	Employer	Gender	Salary/month
Project Manager (based in Addis)	International NGO	Male	USD 1,200 (was formerly a Bureau Head earning USD 200/month, 2004–2007)
Program Outreach Specialist	International NGO	Male	USD 700
Sports Development Head	BOYS	Male	EB 3,900, approximately USD 233
Representative for Radio Fana in SRS	Radio Fana	Male	EB 3,500, approximately USD 210
Pastoralist—Head of kebele and working in an NGO animal feeding program	Local government/ international NGO	Male	EB 3,000, approximately USD 180
Water officer	Woreda Water Office, Dandamane	Females (x 2)	EB 900 (USD 54) EB 800 (USD 48)
Teacher	Formal school	Male	EB 800
ABE Facilitator	ABE school	Female	EB 500

positions and opportunities in teaching, health extension, and administrative positions.

Salaries for NGO positions are considerably higher than for government as can be seen in Table 5.

> *"Pastoralism is better paying than government jobs, but it is a matter of chance."*
> (Abdi Abdullahi, founder of PCAE)

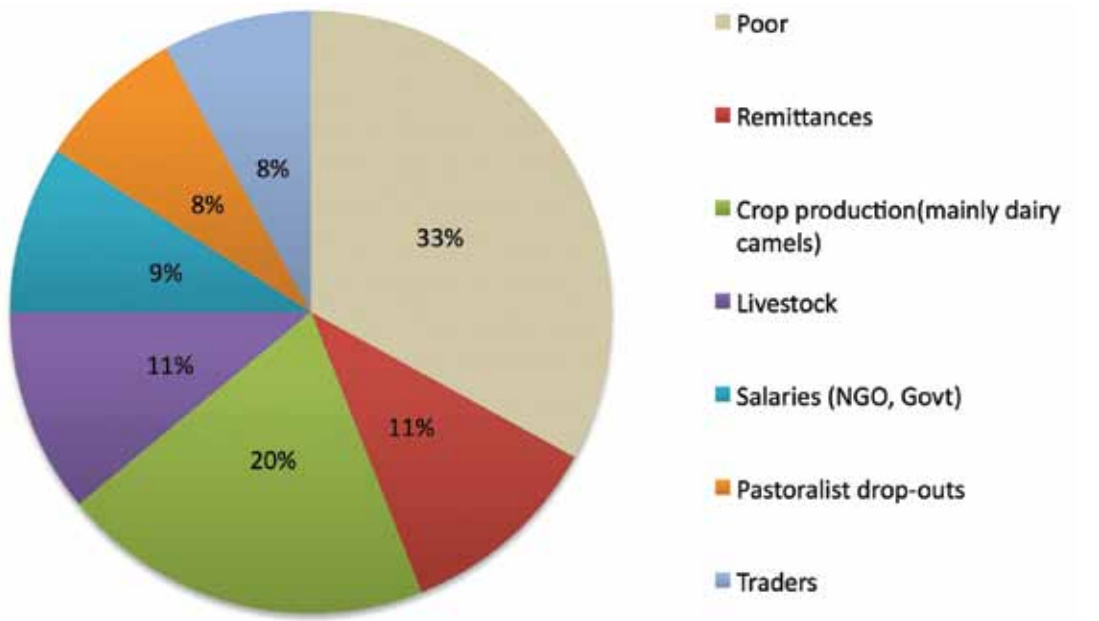
Men can be found in more senior positions, in both government and NGOs, whilst women tend to work in administration and management posts in both sectors and occupy less senior positions.

4.8.2 The impact of regional development on employment opportunities

As noted previously, the Somali Region is undergoing intensive development, which means that there are currently many opportunities for finding employment within regional and local government offices. There are many infrastructure projects—road building, construction, water and sanitation, creating a high demand for technical skills. Social services are also increasing throughout the region: the education sector is rapidly expanding and there is an urgent need for Somali teachers at all levels of education. Similarly, the health sector is also expanding and there are many opportunities for health professionals in urban and rural areas. Alongside the government sector and on a smaller scale, there are opportunities for employment with NGOs, which are also engaged in the development of the region.

Many students consulted in the study felt that there were more employment opportunities in the regional capital of Jijiga than elsewhere; students in Dire Dawa University and Gode colleges talked of gaining employment in Jijiga. Certainly there were large numbers of unemployed young people in Gode—in the mornings they collect around the wood/fodder market area, waiting to be hired as casual laborers for the day. This observation is reflected in the pie chart in Figure 2, which is an estimated breakdown of livelihood sources in Gode town,[44] which shows that opportunities for formal employment are limited.

Figure 2. Gode Livelihoods



Notes
1) The poor engage in the sale of water, firewood, and charcoal; shoe shining; work in tea-stalls; daily labor.
2) The pastoralist drop-outs are new migrants, which are increasing annually, adding to the proportion of poor people.
3) The livestock group refers to owners of around 700 dairy camels living in Gode.
4) The trader category includes the market traders, restaurant owners, garages, hotels, and khat sellers.

Owing to the regionalization of Ethiopia, it is unusual for people to be employed outside of their regions in government positions. The study did not explore whether there are other opportunities for Ethiopian Somalis in other parts of the country, but many young people in education who were consulted envisaged their futures in the Somali Region. There are currently many Ethiopians from other regions working in the SRS in sectors where there have traditionally been insufficient qualified Somalis, i.e., education, engineering, construction, water and sanitation. These fields therefore offer opportunities to new Somali graduates in the relevant disciplines.

The capacity of the government sector to absorb increasing numbers of graduates from TVETs, universities, nursing colleges, teacher training institutes, etc. is not infinite, nor will the development of the region continue at the same pace for ever. Once the rate of development slows, there will be less demand for technical government staff and NGO activity will diminish. **Yet the numbers of people becoming educated will continue to increase as a result of the expansion of education services, and ultimately unemployment amongst educated young people will rise, unless there is an increase in employment opportunities outside the government sector. There was evidence from this study of the link between unemployment and khat chewing, as well as negative attitudes amongst parents towards the value of education, as a consequence of children not being able to continue their education. Youth unemployment in the region has also been shown to relate to youth involvement in conflict.**

Richards (2011) concluded that education has a critical long-term role in societal and conflict transformation, especially at the basic and primary school level.[45] It is therefore critical that the development of education in the region effectively facilitates pathways to alternative livelihoods, whilst ensuring that the educational strategies adopted and the resulting livelihood outcomes do not exacerbate the drivers of conflict, but contribute to the construction of a stable society.

4.8.3 Working in the private sector

Alongside the trends described above, there appears to be a lack of political interest in enabling the development of a strong private sector. At the Fourth Joint Annual Meetings of African Union Ministers of Economy and Finance and the UNECA Ministers of Finance, Planning and Economic Development conference in Addis in March, Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi concluded that decades of experience with the "neo-liberal paradigm" of growth have failed to bring prosperity to Africa. He said such policies have led to a widening of the income gap, and urged Africa to reject western prescriptions for private sector-led development. *"It is time for the public sector to take the lead role in developing an African infrastructure that can spur growth. The state has to play the leading and vital role in the sector."*[46]

This suggests that it is unlikely that the private sector will expand in the next decade and therefore cannot be considered as a significant alternative for employment opportunities. The current scenario in Ethiopia is very different from the situation in neighboring Somaliland, in which the Somaliland government claims that the revival of Somaliland is due to the private sector owning and operating the main activities in almost every sector of the economy, with a minimum of government control. The resulting competitive forces have made Somaliland highly competitive with its neighbors, particularly in the field of trade and telecommunications.[47] Lee Cassanelli writes in relation to Somalia that most would agree that the north's initial economic recovery occurred in spite of (or maybe because of) the fact that the Somaliland State did not have the capacity to intervene very strongly in the private sector. As a result, the region succeeded in attracting valuable contributions of money, skills, and professional expertise from members of its own diaspora and from a number of NGOs.[48] In addition to the political environment, peace and security are also important for creating an enabling environment for the opening up of the private sector.

Government interest in the private sector is limited to its involvement in certain areas of government-controlled development such as in

the education sector. The Somali Regional State Education Development Plan refers to encouraging private sector involvement in secondary education and private provision of TVET training programs.[49] One of the key priorities in the government strategy for TVETs and Technology Centers has been to establish enterprises/cooperatives which employ graduates and work in collaboration with micro- and small-scale enterprises in relation to technical training provision. However, the implementation of this strategy has been weak to date and the learning from the BRIDGES project suggests serious concerns around the economic viability of the college-run enterprises. Nevertheless, there is renewed commitment to this strategy in ESDP IV, but still it is along the lines of enabling groups of TVET graduates to come together to work as a cooperative,[50] rather than providing a selection of financial instruments and regulatory frameworks which would allow a variety of business endeavors to emerge. In terms of opportunities for the private sector to offer apprenticeship options to students, the limited engagement with the private sector facilitated through the BRIDGES project indicates that in most areas the private sector is too small/ undeveloped to be able to offer significant training opportunities and that this strategy needs longer-term support. Students who had been placed in the Hamda Hotel for work experience reported to the Dean of the TVET that they were not supported in their placement and that the Hamda hotel staff were not that well trained themselves.[51] Clearly more work is needed to build the relevant relationships and encourage and accompany private sector actors to provide a well-structured, relevant, and supportive learning environment for apprentices.

The current situation for those who do not have the educational background to secure a government post or who would prefer to establish their own businesses is that people are faced not only with the challenge of acquiring the necessary capital and investment they need, but also the complex array of legislative and bureaucratic regulations which apply to business people, making it difficult for the private sector to flourish. A businessman who runs a transport company transporting construction materials in Dire Dawa explained how such challenges apply to a new business venture he is interested in:

Abdi wants to import sugar from factories in Addis and open a big store to sell sugar in Dire Dawa as sugar is in short supply and he would like to sell it wholesale. To do this, he will have to buy the sugar and take it to the government warehouse and pay tax on it, then the government will set the price for selling the sugar. However, the regulations state that it must be available for the whole population and cannot be sold wholesale. Abdi explained that this scenario means that he is unlikely to make a profit, nor does it allow him to exploit the gap in the market, which is at the wholesale level.

In the areas of mechanics, construction, and transport, respondents were more positive about the business opportunities in the private sector. There are large construction projects ongoing in the region and employment opportunities are available with the Ethiopian Roads Authority (government agency) and SATCON, a private limited company. Mulud, the garage owner interviewed in Gode, reported that several of his trainee mechanics had recently left to work for these organizations. Mulud pointed out that there should be plenty of jobs for mechanics in Gode, both because of the road building and because of government strategies for increasing irrigation etc. *"There are lots of water pumps but people don't know how to maintain them and I often have to send my staff to Kelafo, Ime, and Gode. I also give on-the-job training for NGO."* However, these large road construction and engineering projects will also decline over the next 10 to 20 years.

The business people consulted during the study were mostly operating on a relatively small to medium scale and have built up their businesses step by step, because most of them were not able to access loans or capital. Mulud described how he first established and developed his business:

Mulud is from Fik Zone. He never left for Somalia but stayed in Ethiopia during the Ethio-Somalia War. He started off in business in Babile, but lost money and was discouraged. He didn't have anything to do. One day he overheard a conversation where someone was saying "Whoever owns sheep or goats will lose

them, but people who have skills will never lose them." He took this to heart, and decided to move to Harar to train with Abdi Coule, a well-known Somali garage owner there. He worked and learned from him. Then he set up his own garage in Dehegabur. *"I visited Gode to see some friends and when I got here there were two broken pumps along the Wabe Shabelle that no-one knew how to fix, so I fixed them. Everyone started to ask me to fix their pumps and so I gave some pump owners 'on-the-job' training in maintaining the pumps and I was busy all week."*

Mulud then decided to move to Gode and rent some land and set up a garage in 1994. At that time the town was very small and there were few vehicles around. In those days mechanics were not really respected and were looked down on. When he started, his was the first garage; now there are over ten garages in Gode—around four were started by his former employees.

Some informants have been able to take advantage of the development in their local areas such as Muhammed, a community elder from Hargelle:

"In 1993, I was made Head of the Education Bureau for seven years (salary of EB 600/month). There were no schools in Hargelle in 1991. They built traditional houses which were used as schools. Three were established in Hargelle Woreda. Following that, 21 schools were approved for Afder Zone. I was asked to be the agent for the construction company which was going to build the school so I resigned from the Education Bureau and took up that role. I took the lead in the construction of four schools in Chereti, Hargelle, God-Usbo, Aba Korro. I got involved in other construction work in Hargelle such as the construction of the building which Islamic Relief uses as a guesthouse. Following this, the Zonal Administration assigned me to be an agent for all contractors involved in water, electricity, construction, and road building. I am now an agent for the road constructors and earn EB 1,000 per month.

In addition to this, I own ten pieces of land in the God-Usbo salt fields, which are mined by four workers and have another ten pieces that are not mined yet. The workers are entitled to half of the salt and I get the other half. My oldest son who is a degree holder will take over my salt mining business soon."

Respondents pointed out the difficulties in accessing loans and resources to establish their enterprises and highlighted the need for "in-kind" support:

"In order to stimulate the private sector, cash loans might be difficult and support 'in kind' would be more appropriate—e.g., pumps, machinery, training of youth in business skills, etc."
(Garage owner, Gode)

Some of the private business owners consulted have been able to set up their enterprises because they have accumulated savings from working as contraband traders or from the khat trade.

Abdi was born in Dire Dawa 25 years ago. His family were merchants, bringing goods via the railway from Djibouti. He went to school until Grade 10. While studying, he assisted his uncle who also traded contraband goods, bringing them in by camel and later by trucks. Because he was busy helping his uncle, his Grade Point Average (GPA) was less than he needed to be able to get into higher education. Instead, he continued to work for his uncle for two years after he completed school. Then for the following six years he worked for himself. He used his savings from working with his uncle to start his own business. He bought a car and travelled to Somalia to buy goods and bring them to Dire Dawa to sell. He was doing very well. He made between EB 100,000 and EB 150,000 per month and was able to buy a second car for his business.

A year ago he was in his car and was with friends in other cars who were bringing in goods. His friends were shot by the Finance Police and died. Abdi decided to stop his business as a result. He bought a truck for transporting construction materials and he is now taking part in the development of the region. An international NGO is constructing schools and water points and Abdi was awarded the contract to transport the raw materials to the construction sites. In the previous week he earned EB 36,000.

The Hamda hotel in Jijiga is owned by the billionaire khat trader Sahura. Her brother Ali returned five years ago after 30 years in the USA, to manage the Hotel. His sister and her husband wanted to build a hospital on the site of the hotel but it did not work out so they decided to build a hotel. His job is to expand the hotel and restaurant. His sister has bought a large plot of land in Addis and plans to build another Hamda hotel there.

Anab has had a small restaurant in Jijiga for three months. She was formerly bringing women's clothes from Djibouti to sell in Jijiga for the past eight years. She distributed the clothes amongst business ladies. *"The Contraband soldiers stopped my business. I used my savings to set up the restaurant. It is going slowly but is providing my daily bread."* The restaurant is open from 6 am until 10 pm every day. She sells spaghetti for EB 15 and tea and coffee for EB 2. She works there every other day now, but in the first two months she had no rest. Her sister and four others also work in the restaurant. *"I do not have high expectations of the restaurant and am planning to re-start my other business because it made more profit. Business people help each other. If the police take your things then someone will give you a loan to start again."*

Trading livestock and contraband are areas which have traditionally provided livelihood opportunities. Many of those consulted surmised that conditions for livestock marketing are unfavorable (prices for livestock kept low in national markets and lack of infrastructure and necessary controls to improve international livestock export). Nevertheless, some respondents acknowledged that there are pastoralists with large herds who are prospering from the increasing commercialization of livestock trading and educated former pastoralists with savings are investing in livestock.

> *"If I have EB 20,000, will I put in a bank, or buy two camels. If I buy two three-year-old camels, in three years' time, even if only one survives, I will have over 50% profit as I can sell the camel for 50% more. To generate 50% profit, this would take ten years in a bank."*

(Abdi Abdullahi, PCAE founder).

Respondents who were involved in the trading of contraband goods were fairly pessimistic about the future of contraband trading at the current time. Informants in Gode reported a recent crackdown by the Ethiopian Revenues and Customs Authority, making it very difficult for contraband goods to come into the marketplace and affecting the livelihoods of the shop owners in the Souk.

> *"In rural areas you are worse off because of drought—people from rural areas can only run to here but this is where we are running from."*

(Trader, Gode)

The remittance agency consulted in Gode noted that there has been a decrease in business people using their agency to send money to Somalia for the purchase of goods to bring in to the Somali Region. In Dire Dawa, respondents said there had been a decline in contraband trading over the last 15 years.

> *"Many people in Shinile Zone were involved in bringing in contraband goods from Djibouti. They were doing this by train but the train stopped functioning three years ago. In the last 15 years there has been increased activity by customs officials to control the contraband trade. Traders also use camels and cars and trucks but it has become increasingly risky.... Some people get round customs, but overall less is coming in than in the past and the price of goods is increasing."*

(SCUK Staff member)

The experience of contraband traders in Gode are described below:

"Around one third of the business people selling in the shops here also trade livestock. The other two-thirds of people selling in the souk (mainly women), buy their goods from the livestock traders. Some people also travel to Somalia to bring goods to sell. There are around 2,000 businesses in the town. Recently a truck was confiscated which was carrying goods to be shared by around 200 small business people. Our culture is to help one another. When one person goes to Somalia, a hundred others will give money to that person to buy goods."

The businessman stopped trading livestock (shoats) about seven months ago because the


Different wealth groups in Malkadhuur: i) When Halimachat was a girl (poor, medium, wealthy); ii) today (poor, wealthy, no medium)

animals have to travel a long way to Bosaso and they may be confiscated or be neglected. There are barriers on the routes and the borders are blocked by the customs officials. *"Currently there is a drought so the animals are not in good shape and there is no market for the animals."*

He used to buy the animals in Chereti. He paid someone to bring them to Gode, which takes about 10–13 days' walk. From Gode someone else would take them to Baladwinay or Goldogob, which takes about 15–20 days. Others travelled by car to check on the condition of the animals. *"It takes a long time because the animals need to graze en route so you let them go at their own pace to make sure they are healthy when they reach the market."* He used to send animals once every two months. The business was doing well before the current situation. *"It is a knowledge-based business so my education (completed Grade 8) has been an important foundation. I know all the stocks and prices."*

(Male trader in Gode)

Saafi began renting her present market shop over six years ago. She buys goods from Somalia. Traders club together and send their money through remittance companies to an agent in Somalia who buys the items for them and sends them. The goods may be bought in Mogadishu, Wajale, and Bosasu. Sometimes she buys from other larger traders in the town. Currently business is very bad because the Finance Police have been operating in Gode for the past three to five months. They confiscated a truckload of goods that were destined for the market traders and the borders have been closed by custom officials so nothing is coming in. *"Right now we are in a small prison. Many people are selling their remaining stock and are preparing to flee. No one is buying anything now, many business ladies are empty-handed."*

(Female trader in Gode)

Abdi (former contraband trader), explained what the contraband traders he knew are doing now:

"1) Some lost everything—their goods and cards and have no money to start up something else.
2) Some are still involved—sometimes they make a profit and sometimes a loss. They use camels rather than cars as roads are blocked by customs officials. The traders rent the camels from the pastoralists. In the past when they were caught the camels were released. Now the government sells the camels in the market so the pastoralists lose the camels. They also sell the contraband.
3) Others like me have stopped and diversified into legal businesses."

4.8.4 Livelihoods options for pastoralist drop-outs

Many respondents in the study had moved out of

pastoralism, (a few had diversified into other livelihoods as well as continuing, or supporting family members to continue, some pastoralist/agro-pastoralist activities) or were the children of former pastoralists. The few pastoralists consulted from two different communities (Malkadhuur and a group by water point 15 km from Jijiga) felt that the poor amongst their communities were becoming a larger group, the middle wealth group had been absorbed into the poor group, and the wealthiest group was a bit smaller.

This finding was also reflected by others from pastoralist backgrounds:

> *"From my community, those who moved to urban livelihoods are better off. There are a few people in my community managing more than 100 camels while they live in town—maybe 20% of the households. Meanwhile the middle and poor are worse off than before."*

(NGO worker from pastoralist background referring to a rural area near Kebridahar)

> *"Many pastoralists have lost their animals in consecutive droughts and turned to contraband trading instead but now that has virtually stopped. Instead people have come to the larger towns looking for daily labor. First they go to the small towns and then to bigger towns and eventually Dire Dawa. In the past when people lost livestock the elders and community were able to support them but this system is no longer working, as there are too many drop-outs. Those who drop out may also take up petty trading. Those who are better off get involved in trading khat. Most drop-outs set up tea shops or try to get daily labor, collect firewood and bring it to the market. They cannot afford to send their children to school."*

(Save the Children staff member, Dire Dawa)

In relation to the increasing number of pastoralist drop-outs and the challenges faced by poor pastoralists and agro-pastoralists, **all respondents considered education as the entry point to being able to access alternative livelihoods. However, provision of food aid and asset-building interventions as part of the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) may be counterproductive, as it encourages poor pastoralists to remain in rural areas, trapped in a cycle of dependency, not being able to create a viable pastoralist livelihood, yet without offering alternative options in rural areas**. Nevertheless, if outmigration is the preferred option for pastoralist drop-outs, the challenge remains of how to ensure that the children of the growing populations of pastoralist drop-outs in the towns throughout the Somali Region are able to access an education. The hidden costs of uniforms and materials has been shown to prohibit many of these children from joining schools. Without an education, the only livelihood options available to pastoralist drop-outs will continue to be daily labor, the sale of firewood or charcoal, shoe shining, setting up tea shops, etc.

Aklilu and Catley (2010) reflect on some of these issues in research on the commercialization of pastoralism, which showed that there is an increasing asset gap and a gradual redistribution of livestock from poor to rich. This trend explains why the pastoral areas they studied can export increasing numbers of livestock, but are also characterized by increasing levels of destitution. Their report estimated annual increases in the number of wealthy pastoral households of around 2.5% (in line with average population growth), but increases in poor households of 4.1%. They highlight that commercialization makes it more difficult for poor pastoralists to build or sustain herds, or withstand drought. While some poor or destitute households can return to pastoralism following droughts, the majority will remain on the margins and ultimately fall out of the system. Furthermore, commercialization cannot really be controlled. The drivers are market demands outside the region, and many of the market systems, mechanisms, and behaviors are informal or occur in the context of weak government systems and complex political economies. The researchers describe this scenario as one of *"moving up or moving out."* They conclude that this trend, together with the limited non-livestock economic opportunities in pastoral areas, indicates that outmigration is an important policy option. They note that outmigration as a policy contrasts with current safety net and asset-building strategies, which may encourage destitute and poor households to stay in pastoral areas despite the economic trends. They

Woman looking after goats in compound, Hargelle

highlight that the rapid acceleration of efforts to improve education seems central to support livelihoods both in and out of these areas.[52]

Even with an education, barriers to young people from pastoralist backgrounds accessing employment also need to be addressed—i.e., tackling discrimination and negative attitudes towards young people from pastoralist backgrounds, enabling links between vulnerable young people and existing support networks, facilitating their access to opportunities for gaining life skills and social/recreational opportunities (such as sports).

5. CONCLUSIONS

The expansion and improvement of education services:

- There is a clear demand for increased educational opportunities in both urban and rural areas of the SRS, and ESDP IV sets out priorities to expand the availability of, and equity of access to, ABE centers, primary schools, and secondary schools, as well as increasing the number of TVETS and strengthening their role in technology capabilities, accumulation, and transfer. In the rush to increase education services and achieve the Millennium Development Goal for education, it is critical to maintain a commitment and allocation of sufficient resources to improving the quality of education at all levels in both rural and urban areas. Ensuring education is relevant to existing livelihood options as well as enabling people to create or access alternative livelihoods is paramount.

- Furthermore, the need to expand employment/business development prospects and to tackle barriers to employment such as discrimination, particularly towards pastoralists and women, should be equally prioritized. Otherwise, young people are likely to become disillusioned, which could lead to their involvement in negative behaviors.

- Maintaining flexibility, mobility, and increasing community participation in the planning and management of education are fundamental in pastoralist areas. Education should be "an addition, not an alternative" to livelihood options for pastoralists.[53] The development of education in the region should be guided by the following consideration: Is education appropriate to pastoralists—will it enable them to be more successful pastoralists or is it only a route out of pastoralism? This is important in relation to the government's resettlement policy, which includes provision of fixed services with the aim of pastoralists fitting the services, not vice versa, ie., the government perspective is that education is a route out of pastoralism. Many people also shared this view in terms of education providing a route to alternative livelihoods, but nevertheless there was a strong desire that education should enable people to contribute to development in their region, including rural and pastoral development.

- Building on the lessons learned from the BRIDGES project in improving the quality and delivery of ABE and strengthening the capacity of PTAs and local government is crucial, as well as drawing on learning from neighboring countries such as Kenya and Somalia, which could provide useful

Box 11. Lessons from Somaliland and Kenya

In Somaliland, the Education Development Center has pioneered the use of radio in the education of nomadic groups to complement and strengthen ABE and formal schooling. Since 2005, it has been implementing its Somali Interactive Radio Instruction Programme (SIRIP), which has reached over 300,000 children in grades 1 to 5. During the past year, it has reached an additional 25,000 previously out-of-school children through 245 new educational centers, created and supported by communities with support from the program.[54]

The Kenyan Government developed a Strategy to Provide Education to Nomadic Communities in Kenya through Distance Learning, in 2010. The strategy is based on a comprehensive review of the options and possibilities for nomadic education, on the different approaches governments have tried in Kenya and elsewhere, and on ideas based on the use of radio and new technologies.[55]

experience of what is working well in pastoralist areas (see Box 11).

- The barriers to girls' education are well understood in the region and were clearly evident in this study. The government's strategies for tackling gender inequity in ESDP IV could be strengthened further, through the creation of an enabling environment for civil society and community-based organizations, to prioritize community awareness-raising about the benefits of education and the rights of women and girls. Close collaboration with religious leaders is important in order to address gender discrimination.

- Strategies should be prioritized which provide support to students so that children and young people, particularly girls and women, are more likely to remain in education—e.g., counselling for women and girls, flexible arrangements for married women, opportunities for non-formal education, etc. Both young men and young women consulted identified the link between remaining in education and delaying the age of marriage.

- Careful consideration should be given to areas where there are limited opportunities for young people to continue to secondary education. Respondents in the study reported an increasing trend in khat consumption in rural areas and there was evidence of school drop-outs or those young people with no options to continue in education turning to marriage (girls), and khat chewing and disengaging from pastoralism (boys). There needs to be greater flexibility in using existing school buildings to provide continued education in certain areas and greater creativity in supporting young people with the life skills and social skills needed to cope with the challenges they face.

- Curricula and education opportunities need to be tailored to different groups of youth—both pastoralist youth who come to towns specifically for education and are able to stay with and be supported by relatives and those who tend to be slightly older and often leave rural areas because they have lost their livelihoods (Mercy Corps' work indicates that these youth have less support to draw on).

The role of education in the expansion and diversification of livelihood opportunities:

- **The study findings confirm that people in the SRS view education as the key to providing alternative livelihood opportunities to pastoralist youth.** This link between education and alternative livelihoods is substantiated by Catley and Iyasu, who approach pastoralist livelihoods from the economic perspective. They highlight that if the economic trends evident in pastoralist areas continue, then education should be a core strategy for supporting livelihoods diversification. They add that education also has other multiple benefits and over time can produce professionals from pastoralist areas who are more comfortable working in these areas and more acceptable to communities.[56]

- Some respondents felt that pastoralism as a livelihood can work, given a favorable marketing environment and for those who are able to take advantage of and benefit from its commercialization. They emphasized that the education system should aim to enhance pastoralism and be supported by agricultural development policies that support pastoral livelihoods, recognizing that settlement will not work for all.

- The increasing development of the region means that in the short to medium term, the employment opportunities within the government sector and some of the related private sector areas are increasing, especially in the technical professions. However, in the longer term, opportunities beyond the government sector will remain limited

unless the private sector is able to open up and develop and the government relaxes its control of the economy and moves beyond the cooperatives model. If such changes take place, opportunities for industrialization and income generation will be created, which will be accessible to a growing population of educated young people. Encouraging private sector investment by the Somali diaspora, such as has occurred in Somaliland, would seem to be a feasible starting point.

6. ENDNOTES

[1] Integrated Baseline Report, BRIDGES project.

[2] UNOCHA.

[3] Yakob Aklilu and Andy Catley, "Mind the Gap, Commercialization, Livelihoods and Wealth Disparity in Pastoralist Areas of Ethiopia," December 2010, Tufts University.

[4] CHF International, "Grassroots Conflict Assessment of the Somali Region, Ethiopia," August 2006.

[5] UNOHCA, "Vulnerable Livelihoods in Somali Region, Ethiopia," Issues Paper, the Pastoralist Communication Initiative, March 2005.

[6] SCUK and DPPA (Save the Children UK and Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Agency), "Livelihoods and Vulnerabilities: An Understanding of Livelihoods in Somali Regional State, Ethiopia," Updated version, June 2008, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

[7] Stephen Devereux, "Vulnerable Livelihoods in the Somali Region, Ethiopia," Research Report 57, IDS, April 2006.

[8] SCUK and DPPA, "Livelihoods and Vulnerabilities."

[9] Stephen Devereux, "Vulnerable Livelihoods."

[10] CHF International, "Grassroots Conflict Assessment."

[11] Stephen Devereux, "Vulnerable Livelihoods."

[12] BRIDGES Inception Report, August 2010.

[13] CHF International, "Grassroots Conflict Assessment."

[14] MOE, 2008. National Education Annual Abstract 2007.

[15] Abdulahi Abdi Aden, "Decentralisation of Primary Education Service Delivery to the District. A Comparative Study between Somali Region and SNNPR, Ethiopia," a Research Paper presented in partial fulfillment of MA in Development Studies, ISS, The Hague, November 2008.

[16] UNOHCA, "Vulnerable Livelihoods."

[17] Stephen Devereux, "Vulnerable Livelihoods."

[18] "Education Situation Analysis in Afdem & Meiso Woredas in Shinile Zone of Somali Regional State, Annex 4," Save the Children Baseline Report for BRIDGES project, 2010.

[19] CHF International, "Grassroots Conflict Assessment."

[20] CHF International, "Grassroots Conflict Assessment."

[21] Country Studies Program, formerly the Army Area Handbook Program, The Library of Congress.

[22] Country Studies Program, formerly the Army Area Handbook Program, The Library of Congress.

[23] **http://www.photius.com/countries/somalia/society/somalia_society_refugees.html**.

[24] Lee Cassanelli and Farah Sheikh Abdikadir, "Somalia: Education in Transition," *Bildhaan, An International Journal of Somali Studies*, Vol. 7, Article 7, 2007.

[25] Save the Children UK, Integrated Baseline Report, BRIDGES Project, October, 2010.

[26] Stephen Devereux, "Vulnerable Livelihoods."

[27] Pact, "Education for Pastoralists: Flexible Approaches, Workable Models," February 2008.

[28] Ahmed Ali Gedi, "Herder-Farmer Conflicts in the Dawa-Ganale River Basin Area: The Case of Intra-Clan Conflict Among the Degodia Somali of Dollo Ado District in the Somali Regional State of Ethiopia," NCCR North-South, Bern, 2005.

[29] S. Richards and G. Bekele, "Conflict in the Somali Region of Ethiopia: Can Education Support Peace-Building?" Feinstein International Center, Tufts University, Report for BRIDGES project, *In Print*, May 2011.

[30] Marlijn Lelieveld, "Child Protection in the Somali Region of Ethiopia," Feinstein International Center, Tufts University, April 2011.

[31] Stephen Devereux, "Vulnerable Livelihoods."

[32] Andy Catley and Alula Iyasu, "Moving up or Moving Out? A Rapid Livelihoods and Conflict Analysis in Mieso-Mulu Woreda, Shinile Zone, Somali Region, Ethiopia," April 2010.

[33] Save the Children, "The School of Life. Education in a Pastoralist Community," Dryland Voices, 2009.

[34] Catley and Iyasu, "Moving up or Moving Out?"

[35] SCUK reported that the TTI does not exist any more in the Somali Region as it is now Dr.Abdul Majid Hussien's College of Teacher's Education, which is the only institution for teacher training in the whole region. Last year, with federal support, the College conducted TTI courses. It is also at this College that ABE facilitators are trained.

[36] Stephen Devereux, "Vulnerable Livelihoods."

[37] SCUK reported that four PTA members of Dandamane PTA were trained by BRIDGES in Nov/Dec 2010 and frequent mobilizations had also been undertaken.

[38] S. Richards and G. Bekele, "Conflict in the Somali Region."

[39] DFID, Social Assessment Final Draft, 17.04.11.

[40] Alison Napier and Gezu Bekele, "Mid-term Review Report to Save the Children UK, Mercy Corps, and Islamic Relief for the BRIDGES Project—Piloting the Delivery of Quality Education Services in the Developing Regional States of Ethiopia," Feinstein International Center, Tufts University, November 2011.

[41] Somali Regional State ESDP IV, Education Bureau, July 2010.

[42] Devereux, "Vulnerable Livelihoods."

[43] Education Sector Development Program IV (ESDP IV), Program Acton Plan 2010/2011–2014/2015, Federal Ministry of Education, August 2010.

[44] Two informants developed visual representations of livelihood opportunities in Gode. Abdi Rasheed from Mercy Corps reviewed these and in discussion with a colleague, developed the pie chart.

[45] S. Richards and G. Bekele, "Conflict in the Somali Region."

[46] Peter Heinlein, Addis Voice, 28 March 2011, **http://addisvoice.com/2011/03/meles-belittles-role-of-africa-private-sector/**.

[47] Somaliland Mission, 2009, **http://www.somalilandgov.com/challenges.htm**.

[48] "Private Sector Peacemaking: Business and Reconstruction in Somalia, Somali Accord," 2010, **http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/somalia/private-sector-peacemaking.php**.

[49] Somali Regional State ESDP IV, Education Bureau, July 2010.

[50] Education Sector Development Program IV (ESDP IV), Program Acton Plan 2010/2011–2014/2015, Federal Ministry of Education, August 2010.

[51] Information from Mercy Corps Education Outreach Coordinator (ex-colleague of the Dean of Jijiga TVET).

[52] "Mind the Gap, Commercialization, Livelihoods, and Wealth Disparity in Pastoralist Areas of Ethiopia," Yakob Aklilu and Andy Catley, December 2010, Tufts University.

[53] Save the Children, "The School of Life."

[54] **http://idd.edc.org/projects/somali-interactive-radio-instruction-program-sirip**.

[55] Jeremy Swift, assisted by Saverio Kratli, "Getting to the Hardest-to-Reach: A Strategy to Provide Education to Nomadic Communities in Kenya through Distance Learning," Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands, Education for Nomads, March 2010.

[56] Andy Catley and Alula Iyasu, "Moving Up or Moving Out?"

7.1 ANNEX 1–Informant Case Studies

These case studies were gathered from Somalis over a two-and-a-half week period in Addis Ababa and in the following parts of the Somali Region:

- Jijiga town
- Rural area close to Jijiga
- Kebribaya town, Jijiga Zone
- Dandamane town, Jijiga Zone
- Gode town
- Hargelle town
- Malkadhuur (rural kebele in Hargelle Woreda)
- God-Usbo (salt mining town in Hargelle Woreda)
- Dire Dawa

The interviews were conducted mainly with individuals but some focus group discussions were undertaken with groups of people.

The 55 interviews included in this annex break down as follows:

Interviews with men, women, and mixed groups have been shaded in a different colour.

The author wishes to thank all the respondents for their time and their invaluable contributions to the study.

Please note that the names of individuals have been changed for several of the case studies.

Respondent category	Numbers of interviews		
	Males	Females	Mixed groups
Somali professionals educated from primary to tertiary levels	14	5	0
Community leaders such as elders and religious leaders and community members			
• Community elders and leaders	6	0	1
• Community members	6	5	1
Government staff in the Bureau of Education	3	0	0
Youth, both in and out of education			
• Youth in education	4	1	2
• Youth out of education	2	1	1
Employers	3	0	0
TOTAL	38	12	5

7.1.1 Somali professionals educated from primary to tertiary levels

Addis Ababa

1 Najah, (female)

Najah was born in Erigabo in Northern Somalia to a Somali mother and Somali Ethiopian father. Najah's father left Ethiopia in the 1950s when he was a boy (fleeing Haile Selassi's Regime) with his father, to Yemen. His father died when he was 12 and Najah's father worked as a shoe shiner for the British army in Yemen. Following this, he got work on the British steam ships—shovelling charcoal. He travelled all over the world until he eventually settled in Dubai and worked in construction. He married his first wife in Dubai. Later, aged about 45, he had an arranged marriage with Najah's mother, aged 23. Najah's mother did not want to get married and tried to resist. Before she got married, she had finished primary education and can read and write in Somali. She conducted cooking and handicraft training as a women's club teacher for other women and trained for one year as a kindergarten teacher. Some people in the community did not like that she was encouraging women to be educated and said she was "becoming a man." After marriage, Najah's father would not let her mother work, so Najah's mother promised herself she would educate her children. She told her brother that she would divorce her husband if he stopped her children's education.

After Najah was born, she lived with her mother and her sister and her mother's extended family. Her father continued working in construction in Dubai and sent food back to them by boat (two months' journey) and then by lorry (a week's journey). Her mother sold some of this food to be able to buy vegetables. They had no livestock.

After Najah was born, fighting started in the area, so they moved to the northeast of Somalia. Najah went to Quranic school when she was five for two years. When the boats could no longer reach Somalia due to the fighting, her father suggested that they go to Ethiopia. They fled to Jijiga and a distant cousin of her father's arranged accommodation for them. Her father came to visit and a third daughter was born. People in Jijiga did not want outsiders. Najah and her older sister went to formal school and to Quranic school. Her father did not believe in education but was mostly in Dubai and when he heard rumors about his children in school he argued with Najah's mother. If they got bad marks at school, her mother would say to them, *"Maybe your father was right and education is pointless. Don't let me down, show me your education was worth it."*

Najah completed her primary and secondary education in Jijiga. They lived with an uncle who came with them from Somalia who had studied his degree in India. He started teaching Najah English when she was eight so she already knew English when she started high school and continued her education in English. There was only one high school in Jijiga at this time with about 30% female students (now around 50%). When her father retired in Dubai and came to live with them, Najah was 16 and had three younger siblings. Her father had a pension when he came back, so they lived off this money for a while.

It was 2002 when Najah completed secondary school and she went back to Somalia to live with her uncle who was working for a local NGO. She volunteered in the same NGO to gain experience as assistant to the Administration and Finance Officer. At the same time she worked for CARE International in the evenings and received training. In 2004 she got a job with COPI (an Italian NGO), as Cashier and Secretary; she was recommended to them by CARE. From her COPI salary of USD 300 per month, she sent back USD 200 to her family who used this money to pay for her siblings' education. She worked on COPI's emergency

program for one year and, at the same time, worked part-time for the local NGO where she earned USD 200 per month. She saved this money because the CARE people (CARE Coordinator—a Somali Kenyan, as well as the Finance Administrator who was from her home town and had a Master's degree) were convincing her to continue her education and then return to Somalia and get a higher-paid job.

When she was in Somalia, Najah's father appreciated the value of her education and pushed her younger siblings to follow in her footsteps. When her older sister completed secondary school she stayed at home —*"She was stubborn."*

In 2005, Najah went to Addis Ababa alone. She stayed with female cousins from Somalia who were waiting for the settlement program (refugees). Najah decided to study clinical nursing because she had seen the suffering in her home town of Ergabo—the town was abandoned and after the civil war there were no proper health facilities or infrastructure. She studied for three years using the money she had saved in Somalia. She graduated in August 2008. Following this she went to Jijiga to look for a job, *"But no one wanted a fresh graduate, they wanted someone with experience. So I returned to Addis and worked as a volunteer in a hospital for six months."* During that time Najah got a job in a Chinese clinic as a nurse and interpreter for Somali patients. She was initially paid EB 400 per month and was still living with her cousins. She did this for five months. The cousins were receiving remittances from abroad.

In 2009, she began working as a freelance interpreter for the Joint Voluntary Agencies, based in Nairobi (an American agency which interviews Somali refugees for resettlement programs under UNCHR). She also worked for the IOM, translating for the pre-departure cultural orientation program for Canada. She then worked for the USA citizen and immigration and translation for resettlement program. During this time she sent money to her family periodically (work was not constant). The relatives she was staying with were rejected for resettlement but their families decided to appeal through lawyers. When she earned money she contributed to their legal costs.

In February 2010, the IOM recommended her to the Dutch Embassy to work as an interpreter. For the first six months she was full-time (earning EB 20,000 per month) but is now working half-time (EB 7,000/month) as the demand has decreased. Nevertheless this is better than the pay for nurses (EB 800 per month, working long hours, nightshifts, weekends, etc.).

Since she got the job for the Dutch Embassy, she has been paying the rent for her family who joined her in Addis—she brought her sister first in 2007, then her brother and finally her remaining sisters and mother when she got the Embassy job. (Her father died in 2007). One of her sisters is currently completing high school (and wants to go to university or overseas and wants to be a journalist or a doctor) and another sister and brother are in secondary school and the youngest sister is in primary school. All of them go to private schools, apart from her older sister who stays at home and helps.

"The most important benefits of education for me were avoiding early marriage (most 25-year-old girls have ten children). Also if I had married early then my sisters would have followed in the same pattern, but thanks to me and my mother, my siblings value education. Then there are the economic benefits."

Najah wants to marry a Somali man who is happy with her working. She would like to continue with translation for the time being and is also interested in studying something else to enable her to work with NGOs.

2) Founder of Pastoralist Concern Association Ethiopia, (male)

Abdi Abdulahi was born in Negelle. His parents were agro-pastoralists and livestock traders, so the family was partly in the town and partly in the rural area. His older brother was educated in the time of Haile Selassi and worked as a teacher in Asmara and by 1977 was in Alamaya University. His brother encouraged his siblings to get educated and since this time, the importance of education has been embedded in Abdi's family.

Abdi went to Somalia in 1977 aged 17 and finished his secondary education there. He studied history and geography in college and trained as a teacher. He worked as a teacher and then for NGOs part time. After five years, he quit teaching and worked full time as a trainer for extension agents for Save the Children US, then he became the Extension Manager for refugee camps, then Project Manager for community development projects.

In 1991, he returned to Ethiopia for a regional meeting when war broke out in Somalia and he was stranded. He went back with the Red Cross to bring out his family (he had five children at the time). They settled in Negelle, where he was hired by UNHCR as a consultant for six months. Then he joined Save the Children US in a program dealing with the returnees who were coming back from Somalia to pastoral areas. In 1992, he was offered a job as the Country Representative in Somalia for Save the children and he went to Mogadishu for 2.5 years.

He came back to Ethiopia in 1995 and founded Pastoralist Concern Association Ethiopia (PCAE) with other colleagues and was the Executive Director until 2004, when he handed over to someone new. He is currently working as Executive Director again for a short period since March 2011, while the current Executive Director is away.

After 2004, he worked as a consultant for NGOs and took a Master's degree in the UK and returned to Ethiopia in 2010.

"Pastoral groups close to urban areas are benefitting most from the expanding education services. Some people go out of the country to South Sudan, Afghanistan to become engineers and doctors; however, Somalis are now catching up in these fields within Ethiopia."

"Education is important—one of the future options for pastoralists lies in education; the more educated you are, the more you can respond to situations in pastoralist areas."

"There is no doubt about the economic contribution of pastoralism to the country. The poor in pastoral areas cannot be compared with the poor in an agrarian area. Pastoralism can be modernized—this has already started—young pastoralists are riding motorbikes."

"If I have EB 20,000, will I put in a bank, or buy two camels. If I buy two three-year-old camels, in three years' time, even if only one survives, I will have over 50% profit as I can sell the camel for 50% more. To generate 50% profit, this would take ten years in a bank."

3) Save the Children, Milk Matters Project Manager

Abdulahi was born in Gode in 1973. His family had land and cattle when he was born and his father also had a small shop selling clothes and food. In 1977, the military confiscated their goods in the shop and they fled to Somalia, leaving their animals with relatives. They were in a refugee camp in Somalia where his father worked as a storekeeper in the camp, and Abdulahi went to school in the camp and completed his primary education. He started his secondary education outside the camp and then went to stay with a relative in Mogadishu. He was supported by his father who had started a business trading goods from Jalalaqsi to Mogadishu. Adulahi's mother returned to Gode in 1988, in order to claim their house as in this year the Derg Regime began returning assets to their original owners.

Abdulahi returned to Gode in 1991, having almost finished high school and joined his mother and brothers and sisters in a rural area outside of Gode. There was a bad drought in 1992 so his mother and sister returned to town. Abdulahi migrated with their cattle towards Fik. This was his first experience as a pastoralist, which he found very difficult as there was no food—"We had to eat mice." He was travelling with his uncle but decided to walk all the way back to Gode to try and send food to his uncle.

Unfortunately, most of the cattle died and Abdulahi convinced his mother not to continue in pastoralism. An emergency was declared in the area and Abuldahi applied for a job as an assistant with MSF Belgium and because a camp supervisor after one year. The emergency continued until 1995 and at this time he joined the government as an Educational Supervisor (the entry requirement for such a post is degree level although he had only completed high school). The regional government then moved to Jijiga in 1995. He was involved in collecting the first regional data on education; however, following government restructuring he was moved to become a radio and TV technician. Abdulahi did not feel that he was particularly suited for this job and requested to be assigned to a different job. Eventually he was transferred to become Head of Records and Archives, in 1997.

Abdulahi was keen to study for a degree and tried various avenues including taking the civil service examination which he took three times and passed the third time. This enabled him to study for three years from 1999–2000 in the Civil Service College in Addis Ababa for a Development Administration BA. Following this, he worked in the Pastoralist Development Control and Coordination Department and was Head of this department from 2003 and was responsible for developing the first district-based plans. He then moved to become Bureau Head of Livestock, Crops and Natural Resources in 2004, which he found less rewarding. In 2007, Abdulahi got a scholarship from the Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands, paid for by the regional government, and studied for a Master's in Local and Regional Development. He completed his Master's in 2008. He then came back to Ethiopia and worked as a consultant until early 2010, when he joined the Milk Matters Project as Project Manager.

"It is my ambition to do something for the community. Pastoralists are still facing challenges, I want to contribute to pastoralist livelihoods."

"Priorities should be education—not educating out but educating children on how to manage pastoralist livelihoods. It is dangerous to assume that education is an exit point."

"We need more pastoralist-oriented education—mobility, seasonality. We need teachers from pastoralist areas. The community needs to be involved."

"If pastoralists are educated on livestock marketing then they will be better able to get a reasonable market price—currently pastoralists are given a lower price in the national market than the price over the border."

"We need to focus on the socio-cultural aspects of gender discrimination which is a long process. We are educated but our girls are still suffering FGM. The education curriculum should address issues like HTPs, risks of early marriage, etc. This goes beyond schools and is about changing entrenched social practices. This needs an advocacy campaign in communities. Girls need to be confident to claim their rights."

Jijiga

4) Water Faculty Head, Jijiga TVET, (male)

Mohammed (aged 32) was born in Awbare district. His mother lives in a rural area, separated from his father who is now dead.

When Mohammed was born, his father worked as a laborer in Awbare. Mohammed was two years old when his parents got divorced. He came to town with his father and his mother returned to her rural home with Mohammed's brother. His father left his land to his brothers and set up a restaurant in the town.

Mohammed and his father lived with Mohammed's grandparents. Mohammed went to a Quranic school from the age of 4 to 12. He learned about Islam and learned Arabic. Mohammed's father died when he was 12. His grandparents encouraged him to go to school. Around this time he stayed with an old uncle who was trying to learn the Somali alphabet with a teacher who was a friend of his. Mohammed sat with his uncle and got interested in learning to read. He started primary school when he was 13. There was only one school in the town, the other one was in a nearby refugee camp.

Mohammed completed Grade 8, aged 21. He then went to secondary school and completed Grade 12 two years later. He moved to Jijiga to enter preparatory school. He shared a house with three friends, each paying EB 50 in rent per month (supported by his mother who sold livestock and his uncle and grandparents) and he visited distant relatives for his meals.

In 2005, after preparatory school, he went to Bahar Dar University, aged 25. He studied Water Resource Engineering for four years and was supported by his family and other friends with pocket money (EB 300/month). The government provided accommodation and food.

His friend whom he had shared a house with in preparatory school had become Dean of Jijiga TVET and recruited him as an instructor. He then became Head of Faculty because there were no other water engineers. He was trained to be an engineer not a teacher and would like to work for the Water Bureau or other enterprise. He is still looking for other possibilities but is happy to be serving his community. He would be interested in being a businessman and contractor.

His current salary is EB 3,300 per month. He has been married for eight months and his wife is pregnant. He supports his mother once in a while because his salary is not enough to do so more often. His rent is EB 1,000/month. He gives money to his wife who handles all

the household expenditure. His wife is his cousin (from Awbare) and does not work. She used to trade commodities from Wajale (Somaliland border town) to Jijiga (contraband). If his grandmother was still alive, he would have brought her to live with him. He has three relatives living with him at the moment—his brother (21), who came from the rural area, his wife's brother (20), and his wife's sister (18). All of them are studying and he provides them with somewhere to sleep and food. They came to stay with him two months after he got married and will continue staying with him until they become independent.

He still has links to agro-pastoralism and has his own shared land he inherited with his brothers and sisters. His younger brother cultivates it and grows maize, sorghum, and wheat, and keeps cattle and sheep. *"Life is harder now for agro-pastoralists because of drought. There are fewer animals and the land is divided between children."* He does not get money from his land but during the harvest he pays for a tractor and receives one quintal (100 kg) of grain. *"This is enough for breakfast food for around three to four months."*

5) Head Librarian, Jijiga TVET, (male)

Ahmed was born in 1985. His job is to control the books for the students and teachers to borrow, reporting any needs for the library.

Ahmed went to primary school in a rural area. His father who had reached Grade 8 at school had a shop selling food and his mother was a housewife (completed Grade 4). They had land but did not cultivate it and had no livestock. He had three brothers and four sisters. He went to school in a UN refugee camp (Grades 1–4), as there was no other school in the area. He then continued in a formal school Grades 4-8 in Dharwanaje. He came to Jijiga for secondary school and lived with his brothers and sisters who were already educated. Both his parents wanted them to be educated. They got support from relatives in the UK/USA (*"Not regular, but if they had a crisis or called for help"*).

He completed his secondary education to Grade 12 and also took a teacher training course in Jijiga whilst he was studying in Grade 11. He achieved high marks, so he was able to study computer science for two years at Gondar University—food and accommodation is paid for by the government. *"I graduated when I was 23. I wanted to work in computers, either as a teacher or in business but could not get a job."* He lived with his family and his elder brothers supported him for two years. He applied for about ten positions. His parents were not disappointed because they recognize that there are not many employment opportunities. Some of the TVET College staff informed him of the librarian vacancy. *"My field of study is not relevant for this job, but I feel that any literate person could do the job."*

Ahmed thinks things have changed since he graduated and now there are new opportunities—he has seen several people apply to computer jobs in government bureaux.

"I want to marry an educated woman and will send my daughters to school. I think differently than the older generation because I am literate."

6) Mercy Corps Bridges Outreach Specialist, (male)

Hussein is 26 years old and was born in Lafaiisa (35 km north of Jijiga). His father died when he was five. He has five brothers and two sisters. His mother did not work but his older brother worked as a tractor driver and they had some land and livestock—around 50 cattle (now only 10 cattle and 60 shoats with his oldest brother who still lives there).

When he was eight, Hussein went to primary school in Lafaiisa and completed Grades 1–6. In 1998, he moved to Awbare to study Grades 7-10. He lived with a relative who was a prosecutor in the Justice Bureau. He then went to prep school in Jijiga and lived with Mohammed (current TVET Water Faculty Head) and two other boys in a rented house. He had to eat in restaurants because he had no relatives to feed him. In Grade 11, he didn't attend school much but taught himself from the textbooks and enrolled in the TTI to qualify as a teacher. During this time, his brother gave him pocket money for books. He got married while he was in Grade 11 (aged 19) to his wife who was aged 17 (also a teacher). They got married in secret because their families were not happy about it, as they were so young.

When he left the TTI, he was assigned to Lafaiisa as a Grade 9 physics teacher. He taught in the school from Friday to Sunday. From Monday to Thursday he studied Grade 12 in Jijiga. In Grade 12, he specialized in Social Science and got a good score in the national examination (General Certificate of Education). His first choice was to study Political Science and his second choice was Business and Economics. He chose Alamaya and Addis Ababa Universities. He was randomly assigned to Awassa University and offered a Hotel and Tourist Management course. He studied this for three years. While he was at the University, he was still being paid his teacher's salary (EB 400/month). He used EB 200 for his needs and gave the rest to his mother. He already had two children by the time he went to Awassa. His wife stayed with her father in Jijiga during this time and taught Grade 7 and 8 Biology.

After graduating, Hussein was assigned to the SRS Information, Culture and Tourism Bureau. He took this job for two months but then changed to the other job he had been offered as Instructor in the Jijiga TVET in Hotel Management. As soon as he joined the College, he was appointed as Student Dean, working on students' affairs and concerns, leading the graduation ceremonies, conducting disciplinary cases, and resolving conflict amongst students and teachers and between students. After two years in this position, he was promoted to be Dean of the College, following the dismissal of the previous Dean. Hussein worked as Dean for 18 months. He found this too political. At the beginning he was told he could make changes but there were no resources for the practical parts of the training courses.

While he was Dean, he took a Master's at Haramaya University on Educational Leadership and Management. He still has to complete his graduation thesis, on "Factors that Affect Somali Females' Education." He paid for the course himself. His wife continued to work as a teacher during this time and also studied for a Degree in Sociology Extension from Jijiga University. She is now learning Civics and Ethical Education.

When parliament was establishing the regional government, he told them he wanted to leave his post as Dean. After a month of having no work he applied for his current job with Mercy Corps which he enjoys; however, his contract was only for six months as the project is finishing at the end of April. He wants to continue working for international NGOs (better salary than government jobs).

His salary in MC is USD 700 per month. He saves USD 300 and sends his mother EB 1,000

every month. He bought a four-person Bajaj for EB 85,000 from Harar while he was Dean through the money he saved. A driver uses it and pays him back EB 150 per day which amounts to EB 4,500 per month. This is enough to cover his household costs. He lives in a house which his wife inherited from her father. They now have four children. Five other relatives live with him, including Hussein's 14-year-old niece from a rural area. She looks after Hussein's children after school and is currently in Grade 5.

Hussein's oldest child is six and goes to private school in the morning and in the afternoon attends Quranic school. *"I will send all my children to private school (EB 100 per month) as the quality is better and there are 40 students per class (there may be as many as 100 in government schools)."* Hussein has formed a cooperative with two friends. The plan is for each of them to contribute USD 3,000. With this money they will open a restaurant, a shop selling building materials, and a DSTV (Digital Satellite Television)/Café and butchers. They are looking for premises so they can establish all the different businesses in the same building.

He also participates in a savings scheme with three colleagues. Each contributes money and each month, one person in turn can take all the money contributed and use it. They do not have to pay it back.

7) Mercy Corps BRIDGES Field Coordinator, (male)

Before he was born, Musa's parents were pastoralists. His father went to the town at a young age. He was illiterate and worked in a restaurant and met and married Musa's mother. His parents fled Ethiopia in 1977 to Somalia to a refugee camp. Musa's dad set up a restaurant outside the camp and became a khat trader. He was very successful and built a house and had a car.

Musa was born in 1982 in Somalia. In 1991, when the Somali civil war broke out, his family fled back to Ethiopia, to his father's home town, about 75 km north of Jijiga. Musa was eight at the time and began primary school in 1992. The family had to start from scratch again; they could not bring any savings back from Somalia. When they first came back they lived off food aid from a refugee camp. Two years later his father went to Jijiga to trade khat. Musa and his two brothers and five sisters stayed with their mother. Their father supported them to go to school. When Musa completed Grade 6, he went to Jijiga to live with his father to study Grades 8-12. After this he went to University in Addis for four years to study Social Science Philosophy/Sociology. During this time his father supported him with the extra costs he needed. He lived in student accommodation and ate at the students' cafeteria. At this time his mother worked as a home-based petty trader, selling women's clothes.

When Musa graduated, he joined the government office as an Expert on Marketing Livestock for a few months in Jijiga from 2006. A few months later he worked as the Vocational Counsellor in the Jijiga TVET, followed by other positions including working as Registrar for a year. He left in 2007 to work in a local NGO as Early Warning Coordinator for the Somali Region. From February 2008 for 2.5 years, he worked for ZOA Refugee Care (Dutch NGO), which involved working in the refugee camps based in Kebribaya. He began as IGA Officer and was promoted several times until he became Camp Project Manager for the Kebribaya camp.

He got married in January 2009. His wife, aged 23 at the time, had completed Grade 12. His son was born in October 2009. In June 2010, Musa joined Mercy Corps as Field Coordinator of the Bridges project.

Musa supports his mother who is raising two of his younger sisters still; she is still head of the family. He gives his mother EB 3,500 per month. He also supports three young pastoral/semi-pastoral young men who are staying in his house while they are studying: one is studying at university, one is in Grade 10 studying vocational skills, and the other is in Grade 8. He manages to save a quarter of his salary. As well as working he is studying for an MSC in Agricultural Economics and Rural Development—an extension course. He will graduate in June (from Alamaya University). He studies at weekends in Jijiga and sometimes has to go to Alamaya.

Musa's current job will not continue after the end of April when the BRIDGES project finishes. There are other opportunities in Mercy Corps he would like to apply for. He was shortlisted and interviewed for a job in Darfur. He is interested to work outside Ethiopia to broaden his experience and get a better salary.

Musa's grandmother is still living in the rural area in the same kind of lifestyle as she had 50 years ago and three of his uncles are there. They did not flee in 1977 but stayed there. Musa went to visit every summer holidays with his two brothers when he was at school (Grades 1–6). He intends to send his own son to stay with his grandmother for one year when he is aged three to four. *"My parents talk so much about their rural backgrounds I want my son to have the opportunity to experience that life."*

8) Mercy Corps HR and Admin. Officer, (female)

Ifraa has been in her post one year and eight months. She started in Mercy Corps as an Admin. Assistant for six months and was then promoted.

Ifraa was born in Jijiga and educated here. Her parents were business people—running an electronics shop. Her father had been born in a rural area and had come to Jijiga when he was 13 and tried to get an education. Her father studied up to Grade 12. Her mother studied until Grade 8 and stopped when she got married. Her father no longer has land. There are 22 children in the family, nine from her mother (she is seventh) and the others from her father's other two wives.

Following secondary school, Ifraa took a two-year secretarial course and then competed with eight girls for a job with Hope for Homes, which she got, and she worked there for nine months, studying for her degree at the same time. However, it was difficult to get to her classes on time so she got a job with an international NGO—the Education and Development Center. She was a script writer, developing materials in maths in the Somali language for Grades 1–3 and was able to come in early, work her eight-hour day and leave in time to attend her studies. She has recently graduated from her degree in Management from Jijiga University. *"I chose Management because it is related to my work and I am interested in it."*

Most of her siblings have been educated and all nine born to her mother are educated. Her little sister already has her first degree and her older sister is doing a second degree. Ifraa's father died three years ago and her elder brothers live overseas and are supporting them. She tries to cover her own educational fees through working.

Ifraa is determined to work hard and study and does not want to be a bother to her mother. Her plans are to continue studying and to take up a second degree in rural development, related to business. She is thinking of trying to study online. Mercy Corps will pay 10% of the fee. She wants to get different experience—she has enough management experience. She

is interested in rural development but does not know what kind of jobs. Ifraa married three months ago to a man who works for Mercy Corps in Degehabur as an Administration and Finance Officer. They live alone as their salaries are enough for them to rent a house. She sometimes gives money to her mother and family.

"The opportunities for girls to get educated are improving. When I was a child I was busy helping in the household but the numbers of girls in school are increasing year after year. People migrate and learn from other societies so there is general improvement in the region although some families still favor boys' education. I have friends who did not complete their first degree because they stopped to get married and their husbands did not allow them to continue. However, most of my friends graduated."

She sees the benefits of education of being able to understand diverse groups —*"If you are uneducated you cannot give your maximum contribution to society."*

9) Sports Development Head, (male)

Abdul was born in 1955 in Dire Dawa and went to school from Grades 1–6. He remembers only two Somali students in his school. He played football in school. He then went to secondary schools and completed Grade 12. In 1973, he fled with his family to Somalia during the Haile Selassi Regime and played for the LLTT (football) Club. From 1973, he participated in the Somali national football team for ten years. He also took an Accountancy diploma. He had the opportunity to participate in courses for football coaches in Nigeria, Egypt, Kenya, and Germany. In 1986, he was made National Coach of Somalia and continued in this position up until the Somali government collapsed in 1991.

In 1991, he was invited to Cairo for a course for national team coaches for three months via Djbouti. On the way back, he stopped in Djbouti for eight months looking for work whilst his family were still in Somalia (by this stage he had 15 children—nine boys and six girls). He tried to get a job as a trainer for clubs in Djibouti but was unsuccessful so then went to Saudi Arabia and worked as an accountant for three months, after which he got a job as a coach with a second division team. He was able to speak Arabic because he had been to Quranic school in Dire Dawa. While he was in Saudi Arabia for two years, his family moved from Mogadishu to eastern Somalia. He sent remittances to them so their life was good.

After two years, the football club he was working with brought in a Sudanese coach, so he used the money he had saved to go to Addis Ababa and then to Jijiga, where his mother had come from. In Jijiga he spent eight months trying to get a job, during which time he was supported through remittances from family in the USA and Canada. He got a job in the Internal Audit Bureau as Assistant Auditor. He was promoted to Auditor after two months. He sent the money he saved to his wife so she could come to Ethiopia with the children. A relative gave him a house to use freely. He later became Auditor General for 12 years and was promoted to Department Head during this time.

In 2008, there was general reform of the region and he was transferred to the Bureau of Youth and Sports to his current position of Sports Development Department Head. The work involves creating sports clubs. *"There were no clubs when I started but we have now organized eight football teams in Jijiga. For the first time, we had a football competition between the nine zones of the region."* He has also tried to include athletics and jumping but there were no appropriate fields for this. They are building a stadium for EB 15 million which will be completed soon. Abdul conducted a study, which highlighted that Somali youth are talented in football, netball, volleyball, track and field, and long distance running. Fifty-two woredas now have a

Sports and Youth Bureau with a budget and receive support from UNICEF. *"One challenge is the lack of equipment—everything has to be imported which makes it expensive and also the lack of fields for athletic tracks. In the future they need to create sports fields."*

So far they have not organized girls into sports but have begun to form girls' forums. In school, girls are playing volleyball and some run. *"Families need orientation to encourage them to allow girls to participate equally in sports as boys. They need to help people understand the link between sport and physical and mental health."* The government's new five-year plan (2011–2015)—Transformation and Development, includes professionalizing sport.

His salary is EB 3,900, which includes an extra component because he is involved in a business re-engineering initiative aiming at creating facilities for suppliers. He also receives remittances of USD 300 per month from nieces and nephews in Canada. His oldest child is 27 and his youngest child is a girl of 3. Three of his children are working; two are good footballers.

10) Radio Fana Journalist, (male)

Ali was born in 1964. His parents had a shop in Jijiga and also had land and animals. His parents had moved to town from the rural area a long time ago. In 1977 he fled to Somalia with his family. He had his primary and secondary education in Somalia and then worked as a radio reporter in Hargeisa. His parents died in Somalia.

Ali came back to Ethiopia during the Derg Regime in 1988 as the civil war had begun in northern Somalia. *"I first went to a rural area 15 km from Jijiga because if I was seen with a beautiful t-shirt by the military (based in the towns), I would have been shot. My wife and child came to Jijiga. I adapted to a rural life—eating meat and drinking milk and did nothing except listen to the radio. I even heard when the EPRDF captured Moyale and the Derg fled."*

In 1991, Ali came to Jijiga and was able to move freely around the town. He began selling sweets in a wheelbarrow on the street. He joined politics in 1993 when the transformation of the region began. He became a Woreda Parliamentarian, which was a good position, although unsalaried. At the same time he was doing translations for people and writing letters for people who were illiterate for two to three years to earn some money. He then got a job in the local municipality as General Service Officer responsible for transportation, procurements, security, etc. Four years later he had the idea of pursuing his education. He took a two-year course in the Ethiopia Mass Media Training Institute in Addis Ababa and graduated in 2003. His family stayed in Jijiga and received his salary during this time. The President of the SRS had signed for him to do the course which was open to one person per region from the nine regions of the country. When he graduated he was selected by Radio Fana (a shareholder-owned company) with four branches broadcasting in four languages—Amharic, Afar, Somali, Oromo. Ali is the representative for Radio Fana in the SRS. He has been at the radio station for around eight years. He enjoys his job and has also had the opportunity to study Sociology at Jijiga University, where he has completed his three years of study and is currently writing his thesis on child labor.

Radio Fana produces programs on family, education, and health. The education programs cover all levels of education from kindergarten to university level. There are 11 Somalis working in Radio Fana as producers and reporters. He is the person assigned to educational programs and goes to rural areas and talks to children to try and evaluate if they have

materials and asks about girls attending schools and meets the teachers. He tries to found out about the challenges to girls' education—*"The main challenge is that mothers want their daughters to do household work. There are also cultural beliefs that girls can end up in prostitution if they go to school."*

Ali has seven children. His son whom he fled Somalia with is soon graduating from Haramaya University with a BA in English and French. Ali's income from Radio Fana is enough for his family's needs (EB 3,500 per month). He owns his own house and does not receive any remittances. Other people including his brother-in-law and his cousins live with him.

"Pastoralism has a great future ahead. Programs have already been launched by the Pastoralist Development Project which include the establishment of animal clinics, water points, distribution of breeding animals, and the Ministry of Agriculture and international NGOs are actively working in this area."

Kebribaya

11) School Principals (educated to secondary level, males)

Yaseen and Faysal were two of the first teachers in Kebribaya when schools were established there. Yaseen has been Principal of a high school for nine years, and before that he was a teacher in primary and secondary schools for seven years. Faysal has been Principal of a primary school for two years and a teacher for 17 years.

Both men were born in rural areas. Yaseen went to school in Harar for around six years. His family had animals but his uncle lived in Harar so he went to stay with his uncle so he could attend primary school. In 1977 he was sent to Somalia and had his secondary education there. He returned to Ethiopia in 1991. Faysal went to Somalia when he was small and studied his primary and secondary education there and returned in 1991. Both men got jobs in the first school in Kebribaya.

Barriers to women's education—cultural and early marriage. To address the barriers they carry out awareness-raising in the community. They also offer morning and afternoon and weekend classes for girls. There are 168 girls in the high school (33% of the total) and 600 in the primary school (35% of the total). In the high school, there are 14 female teachers out of 33, but most of these are non-Somali. In the primary school there are 5 women out of 30 teachers and all 5 are non-Somali, although some speak broken Somali and others teach the Amharic language classes.

"It is difficult to find female Somali teachers because the non-Somalis can delay their studies until over 30 but Somalis get married at 20 years old onward so it is difficult for them to continue in education and to work so many quit. Overall there is a shortage of teachers."

"Education is improving—20 years ago there were only 7 students in Kebribaya, today there are over 30,000."

Dandamane

12 Water Officers, (two females)

Samira, aged 25, from Dire Dawa and Ubah, aged 19, from Jijiga were both born in urban areas and had not been to a rural area before. *"We all have pastoralist backgrounds—only those below the age of 30 are born and raised in towns. Our grandparents lost everything and now live in towns."*

The women are graduates from the TVET in Jijiga where they studied rural water supply and sanitation for three years. The course was good on the sanitation side but they did not get enough practical training on the water supply side. They are working as Water Officers for the Water Office in Dandamane. There are a total of four women and six men working for the Water Office. Eight of them are Water Officers.

They have been in their posts for three months but in all that time they have only seen a sand dam. *"We do not know how to fix it but at least know what it looks like."* They have not accompanied the Water Office Supervisor on any of the work he has undertaken. He has access to the car (which is the only vehicle for the whole of the Woreda Administration), but none of them or their six colleagues at the same level have had the opportunity to go. Initially they were supposed to be taken to 15 kebeles and shown the different water points but have not visited any.

They have had some on-the-job training from an NGO (Ethiopian Catholic Church). They have recently been told that they should pay for their own transport to go to visit the water points. They are frustrated from doing very little for three months and are worried they will forget what they have learned as it is seven months since they have graduated. They are worried people will say they are lazy sitting in Dandamane.

That afternoon they were intending to visit a water point and use their own money for public transport. One of them earns EB 900, which amounts to EB 700 after tax, the other earns EB 800, which amounts to EB 600 after tax. *"The salary is determined by a tax code which is allocated by the regional government. This is unrelated to their score at graduation. If you complain about the code you are assigned they say, 'You are a fresh graduate, are you not ready to do service?'"*

Their parents are not happy that they have been sent to the rural area; it is not safe to stay in Dhandhame at weekends alone and their salaries are not enough to enable them to travel back to visit their families every weekend (i.e., the fare to Dire Dawa is EB 120). Therefore, their families are supplementing their salaries. Their supervisor pays the rent for them and their other two female colleagues from his own pocket.

Ubah's family lives in a rented house in Jijiga and makes some money through renting out their own house. They do not work. Samira's parents do not work either. Her siblings work in an office and they assist her.

Ubah took some computer courses after she completed Grade 8 and got a job as a secretary earning EB 500 per month. She then continued her education to Grade 10 and took a secretarial course at the same time. She got a job for an NGO involved in water projects and was earning EB 1,000 per month. She decided to get technical training so she could avail of other opportunities in the NGO. However, the NGO has now moved out of the area. *"I would not have chosen the course I studied, if I knew I would end up here."*

13) Head of Women's Affairs Office, Kelafo

Amal's father is from Kelafo and her mother is a businesswoman from Somalia (educated to Grade 10). Her father fled to Somalia as a refugee in 1977. He trained there as a doctor and then came back to Ethiopia. Amal started school in Dire Dawa up to Grade 5, then the family moved to Kelafo. She completed Grade 9 there but then went to Gode for Grade 10. Her parents encouraged her in her education, her mother told her, *"If you don't educate yourself you won't even be able to make yourself a cup of tea."*

After completing her secondary education, Amal went to the TTI in Jijiga. She returned to Kelafo as a teacher and then she became a school director in 2007. An evaluation was done in the woreda and she became a "model woman" in Kelafo and held up as a role model. In 2009 she was invited to become the head of the Women's Affairs Bureau and accepted—her predecessor was not educated.

"In Kelafo in 2007, there were only four women teachers in the whole Woreda; now there are over 30. So things are changing fast."

Amal thinks that attitudes towards women's and girls' education have changed a lot—before people thought that women were born for housework and men were born for the Quran; it was a male-dominated culture, including within the government. Women themselves were happy to be that way— and they didn't even know that there was a government bureau that was dedicated to them. *"Now women in Kelafo know about the WA office, they know they have other opportunities, they are participating in public life more than before and they want to educate their girls. Girls' enrolment in primary in Kelafo is around 35%."*

"Part of this is because more men are chewing khat, and women are taking the lead in securing the household livelihood—they are involved in gum selling, vegetable selling, irrigation, etc. All of this will contribute to increasing girls' education. Previously it was the father who was responsible for educating the family and he focused on the boy—now mothers are more involved and so there will be more focus on girls."

"The main challenge for girls' education is girls' lack of confidence. They were part of their communities but were subjugated for a long time—still now many don't believe that they can learn like a man, they believe that they will end up in the kitchen so don't see the point of education."

The Kelafo WA office is linking with the Justice Office to promote that marriage should not be allowed while a girl is in school since this will encourage her to drop out. *"This needs to be strengthened and enforced. For example, once 'nikah' has been made the man is entitled to marry the girl whenever he is ready, whether she is at school or not. With increased confidence girls will realize that they can continue their education. Also, parents need to be encouraged to make a formal agreement with the boy's family that nikah is conditional on the girl finishing school to Grade 9."*

"Some men assume that educated girls are difficult, 'can't be managed,' others don't want their wife to be more educated than they are. As men get more educated they will also appreciate educated women."

14) Office Head, Mercy Corps, Gode (male)

Abdirashid was born in the Mandera area on the border between Ethiopia and Kenya in 1974. In 1978, his father joined the Somali war, so the family had to leave Ethiopia and they crossed with their livestock into Kenya to stay with his mother's family in the Mandera area. Two years later, his mother went to find his father in Somalia and left for Mogadishu, leaving him with his grandmother. Abdirashid started herding camels for his grandmother. When he was eight years old he wanted to go to school but his grandmother refused because they didn't have any relatives in town to support him. He had one uncle who was a teacher in town and he told him to wait a year.

In 1983, his father took him to Mogadishu to go to school for two years. Abdirashid then decided to return by himself to Kenya for his schooling. He hitched lifts and eventually arrived in Mandera where he enrolled in Grade 3. He finished secondary school when he was 18 and crossed the border to Dollo and after 13 days he got work with the Dutch Embassy. Then he worked on the Somali border as a UNHCR field worker; he left because of Al-itihad and returned to Dollo. After three months with no work he went to Negelle, Borana with SCUS as a Food for Work Coordinator which he did until 1996. In 1996, Abdirashid went to Mogadishu to learn computer skills; because of the war, he was almost killed and in 1998 he decided to leave and return to Dollo. He started working for Norwegian Church Aid in Afder. Following this, Abdirashid started working for WFP/PCAE in Filtu and also started a distance education course.

In 2003, he moved to Gode to work for SCUK, as part of the HEA (Household Economy Approach) team for four years. When he left SCUK he tried to start a business; he invested EB 40,000, but in the end EB 140,000 was taken by the customs. In 2005, Abdirashid stood as an MP to represent SRS at the federal level. He was standing as an independent and invested EB 63,000 in the campaign. However, the government threatened to "stop him" since they couldn't afford to lose that seat, so he stopped a week before the election.

In 2007/8, he joined the Ogaden Welfare Development Association as Area Manager. The Head of the organization was shot. Abdirashid again tried to go into business. He got around 13 hectares of land around the Wabe Shabelle and invested around USD 5,000 with a friend, to start irrigation. He went to the Hadj for three months and when he came back the money was gone. His friend doesn't have any money so he has written this off. In 2009, he joined SCUS as Program Coordinator and then became Sub-office Manager. He then joined Mercy Corps as Office Head in Gode. In 2010 he again tried to start a business—he bought a car from Somalia but he couldn't get it registered and so now it is not being used. He thinks part of the problem is that he doesn't have any family connections in Gode.

15) Mustafa, SOS Children's Village Director, former politician

Mustafa started his education when he was 13–14 through adult education. Before that age he was in a rural area; he was responsible for shoats and had camels and cattle. He did not intend to come to town, but it was due to conflict that he went to Doloado. He was in the rural area in 1977 when he was recruited for the conflict with Somalia by Somali forces. He spent 12 days in Somalia and escaped from the camp. After that it was not possible to stay in the rural area as he would have been found and killed. He abandoned the rural area and went to Firtu, near Negelle (Liban Zone).

In 1979 there was an adult education campaign by Mengistu. Mustafa did well and went

directly to Grade 3 and half a semester later he moved up to Grade 4 and then skipped to Grade 6. From here he went to Negelle as there was no higher education in Firtu. His oldest brother was educated in the time of Haile Selassi—clan leaders had the opportunity but people didn't trust education, as they thought it was related to Christianity. Mustafa's father was a Sheikh (religious leader)—he said, *"Who is better—a non-Muslim with camels or a non-Muslim who is educated? Even those who keep camels don't pray or fast."* So he sent two of his children to school. Mustafa's elder brother dropped out due to the conflict in 1964 but he was the person who encouraged his siblings to get educated and supported them. Mustafa rented a house in Negelle with one brother paid for by their older brother. Mustafa continued his education and completed Grade 12.

Mustafa went to Addis Ababa to study Natural Science in university. He was in his fourth year in 1991 and he ended up entering into politics and established a party (Democratic Unity Party), with a group of five others which was supported by the EPRDF. *"People coming back from Somalia in 1991 were enlightened and strong and conscious of politics which helped us."*

For six years, he was in regional parliament and administered a zone. He did not finish his degree as the university closed at the time. Six years later, he applied to university again and finished his degree. He came back to politics and was elected as an MP in the House of Federation. He worked there for five years. He was in a committee responsible for budget allocation for the regions. He was instrumental in securing an appropriate budget allocation for the SRS—his ideas were included in the formula which is used to calculate the budget distribution. He was also involved in the 2005 referendum—a large part of Babile Woreda went to the SRS (although Babile town was lost to Oromia). During these five years he attended university once more and finished a second degree in Social Science and Education Planning and Management. He was in politics for ten years and then decided to quit—*"I had achieved a lot, maybe not as much as I hoped. Partly this was due to the fact that the Somali tribes were not that organized."*

Mustafa joined SOS six years ago because he wanted a change and different experience. Now he is planning to return to university to be a lecturer (Jijiga University) —he can teach Natural Science or Education Planning. He hopes to do a third degree in Educational Leadership and a PhD. However, university salaries are low so he needs to do a cost benefit analysis, as well as find someone with integrity to take over at SOS. Mustafa is married and raises the children of one of his brothers who died.

Hargelle

16) Islamic Relief Education Coordinator, (male)

Nur was born in a rural area near Kebridahar, a town in Gorahe Zone. His parents were livestock herders. He remembers that, when he was eight, they had 60 camels and 120 shoats. They were in the middle wealth group in their community; there were families with over 100 camels. There was no school in the village.

In the 1977 War, his elder brothers and sisters left with his mother to Somalia and returned in 1991. He stayed with his father. When he was eight, his father took him to town to his grandma's house. He started primary school and completed his primary and secondary education in Kebridahar. His mother came to live in the town when she returned to the country with his two elder sisters and one elder brother and his father also moved to the town. Meanwhile, their relatives looked after their livestock; by this time there were fewer

animals—27 camels and no shoats. *"We lost animals after we left them with others as there is less of a sense of ownership."* Also due to the frequent droughts they gradually lost their livestock over the years.

Nur and his elder brother got jobs and were able to support their family. His brother joined the Ethiopian Civil Service College and became a Civil Engineer and Nur became a teacher, graduating from Harar TTC. He taught in his old school in Kebridahar for six years. In 2003, he went to Addis Ababa University to take a degree in Educational Planning. He lived on the University campus and continued to receive his salary and supported his family as before. He graduated in 2005 and joined the REB as an Examination Expert. He shifted his whole family to Jijiga. After one year, he joined SOS Children's Village as the Academic Principal. He then joined the Ogaden Welfare Development Association for three years as Project Coordinator. In July 2009, he joined Islamic Relief in Hargelle. Around this time he got married. His wife has completed her Grade 10 and is not working. His salary is enough for him and he is able to help his parents. He gives his father EB 3,000 per month, whilst his brother gives the same amount to his mother. His father remarried in 2006, so the money which Nur provides is used to help support the family of his father's second wife.

Nur's education has enabled him to secure a basic living and gain employment, support his family and will allow him to educate any children he may have: *"Children substitute your position for tomorrow."* He has a younger brother and supports his education (studying heavy machinery in Dire Dawa). *"From my community, those who moved to urban livelihoods are better off. There are a few people in my community managing more than 100 camels while they live in town—maybe 20% of the households. Meanwhile the middle and poor are worse off than before."*

"Now people are aware that education is more important than anything, especially in rural areas, although access to higher education is very limited. There are no locally available higher institutions, nor role models for children to envision. The ultimate dream of young children is to complete Grade 10 but there are meager job opportunities and there are graduates from higher institutions to compete with. In Gode there is only the ATVET. There are 67 districts in the region and only two ATVETs (one in Jijiga and one in Gode). There are only three faculties in these colleges. Other courses such as handicrafts should be introduced. The only work people can get is for government. Private institutes are needed to provide short-term skills training."

"It is better to skill a girl than a boy. Men consume khat and get involved in a volatile environment, it is better to equip women for the betterment of family."

"I want to continue working for NGOs as I believe I can contribute to social change. When I worked for government, in one year, I only went on one field trip for a week. I am happy to work wherever I can contribute, whether in a rural or urban area."

17) Islamic Relief Programme Area Manager, Hargelle

Muhammad was born in Jereti near Hargelle in 1964 to pastoralist parents. His father died before he was born and his mother died when he was six years old. Muhammad attended Quranic School first and then went to Somalia in 1972 to join his uncle and some of his brothers in Mogadishu. Here he went to school. For a while he lived with his uncle but then went to an orphanage when he was nine years old. His uncle was not able to support him because he was looking after his brothers who were also in school. *"The orphanage was good and I was able to complete my secondary education."* He studied electrical engineering in high school and continued in college and graduated and worked as a teacher in a technical school.

In 1991, he returned to Jereti and stayed with relatives for a few months. He then went to Addis Ababa to look for work and was supported through remittances from his brother in Kuwait. He did some work as an electrical shop fitter in Addis but it was difficult to find secure work and to access equipment. He then managed to get a job with Norwegian Church Aid in the Jereti area from 1993 for two years supporting the returnees from Somalia, implementing relief and development projects, introducing the first modern agricultural techniques and tools.

Following this, he then joined the federal government for five years as a Member of Parliament, based in Addis, after which he worked in the regional government on urban development and as Head of the Population Office for five years. He continued as a Member of Parliament on the Finance and Economics Committee until 2010 when the new government's five-year turn started and there was significant restructuring within the government, so he left and joined Islamic Relief. While he was in government he had studied for a Master's in Transformational Leadership.

Muhammad supports the children of his uncles and aunts in rural areas and his niece and nephew in their education.

Dire Dawa

18) Yusuf , SCUK Community Worker, (male)

Yusuf was born in the town of Danbel in Shinele Zone. His father died when he was 11. He worked in a shop selling food. Sometimes he traded animals from pastoralists to traders. His mother worked in the house. He went to school in Danbel until Grade 6. In 1997, he moved to Dire Dawa to stay with his brother and studied in secondary school. He completed Grade 10 and went to a TTI and completed a teaching diploma. He also has had the chance to take a summer degree in Jijiga University in Education Planning which he will finish in three years. He received EB 300–400 in support from this brother (living in Djibouti) while he was studying.

Yusuf has worked as a teacher and he later became the School Director and then the Woreda Education Supervisor for two years in Afdem Woreda. He left six months ago to join the BRIDGES project—he applied for the job and took an exam. *"I like the job because it is easy to supervise and monitor and I feel like I am making a contribution to the community."*

Yusuf's family no longer has animals. His mother now lives in Djibouti with his older brother who is a teacher. He has five siblings, four of whom are educated. One of his sisters is not educated. She dropped out in Grade 2 to help with the household work.

"In the '77 War most people from Afdem Woreda went to Djibouti. In 1989–91 there was also a clan clash between the Issa and Geda biersay—my father died in this fighting—the Issa fled to Djbouti, Shinele, and Dire Dawa. The other clan fled to Somalia."

"To make education more accessible to pastoralists—need to have a flexible curriculum in relation to time of day and during the year. If there is no rain there should be no education as pastoralists don't have time. More water points should be created. Adult education should be relevant, i.e., if you have a shop you need to know how to calculate."

"In Afdem Woreda half the pastoralists have lost their animals and dropped out and have started living in towns. The others took their animals to the mountains where they are growing but they are not trading or buying new animals. The future of pastoralism does not look too good—without enough grazing land people will be displaced and there will be drop-outs."

"Three years ago there were only five schools in Afdem Woreda, two years ago there were 17. Now there are 52 schools—six formal, one high school, the rest ABE schools." When Yusuf was teaching in an Afdem school three years ago, there were only three girls in Grade 8. *"Now there is almost the same number of girls as boys."* (Afdem schools have feeding programs and oil incentives—WFP-provided through the government to the formal schools).

19) Vice-president of Dire Dawa University, (female)

Uba was born in Oromia. Her parents were originally from Somalia living near the border between Somaliland and Oromia. Her uncle, who was a well-known business person, brought her father to Oromia to Machara. Her father was a coffee trader. Uba went to primary school in Machara from Grade 1–8. She moved to Gelanso to go to high school (50 km away). She stayed with a relative at first and then rented a house with her friends, supported by her parents. She is the eldest of seven brothers and two sisters who were all educated.

Uba joined Addis Ababa University but left due to a personal problem in 1998. In 1999, she joined the Civil Service College and took an Accounting degree. She graduated in 2001 and became an Internal Auditor in the Cooperative office in Jijiga. In 2003, she got a scholarship to India to study an MBA (two people from the SRS had the opportunity). Following this, Uba returned to Jijiga to work as an accountant on a joint project of IFAD and the Ethiopian government. In 2006, she came to Dire Dawa University as Vice President. Her main responsibilities are to oversee the administration, finance, HR, compound services, etc. She also teaches in the business course.

"Over the last five years, the number of Somali students has decreased. In 2009 there were around 200 Somali students—from SRS and Dire Dawa. This year there are around 30. Perhaps this is because Somali students are studying all over the country in universities, whereas the policy before was to keep them close to their families."

Uba said that she was successful because she had a lot of family support and encouragement for learning. Her father was self-educated—*"He can read English, Arabic, Somali, Amharic; he reads a lot."* Her parents still support her—they now sell construction materials and are involved in transportation. They have relatives overseas but do not receive support from them. Uba hopes to do a PhD. She is married with a two-year-old daughter.

Opportunities for pastoralist youth—*"The region should create more schools. There is affirmative action so Somali students from pastoralist backgrounds get preferences in terms of their choice of courses and after they join, the University is ready to help them. TVET short courses are good opportunities for starting their own businesses."*

7.1.2. Community leaders such as elders and religious leaders and community members

Community elders and leaders

20) Community elder, (partially educated, male)

Ali Nur was born around 1956 in a rural area close to Awbare. His family had land and livestock and were nomadic. His father was the only son of Hassan's grandfather and inherited his parents' land. However, he had five wives and now there are 81 children and offspring and the land has had to be divided so is insufficient to sustain them all.

In 1964, when he was around nine, they had to flee from their home to the mountains during the night because Haile Selassi was fighting Somalia and the military moved along the road on which they lived. He remembers airplanes and weapons. Around the same age he learned the Quran.

During the Haile Selassi Regime they took their animals secretly to Somalia for selling. People also left secretly to live in Somalia. *"If you were caught you were killed."* The Somali alphabet was introduced in Somalia in 1973 and he heard about it on Radio Mogadishu, which he was able to listen to in Ethiopia. *"There was a big adult literacy campaign in Somalia at the time. I had a passion to learn the alphabet and a man from Hargeisa from the same clan as me told me to bring paper and a pen and he wrote the alphabet. I already knew Arabic so used my knowledge of the Arabic alphabet to help learn the Somali alphabet. I went to take my animals to pasture from 12 until 2 pm and succeeded in learning the alphabet in these two hours. At 5 pm the program was broadcast on the radio and I learned the phonetics."*

After three months of learning from the radio, Ali Nur went to Wajale, which was under Somali control at the time and he took the adult literacy exam. He later returned to collect his certificate and learned that he had scored 100%.

By the end of the Haile Selassi Regime, Ali Nur was 18 years old and living near to Awbare. In 1975 he started trading khat between Ethiopia and Somalia. *"I had started chewing and trading follows."* Older men lent him the money to start off. In 1976 he was living in the mountains collecting khat to take to Somalia. After learning the Quran he was interested in visiting the towns because he wanted to see what they were like. His parents would say, *"A man is useless who only goes to towns, you have a lot of animals to take care of."* However, in 1977 he started living in town in spite of his parents' protestations. *"Our life is destined to be where we will be and what we will do. I was destined to leave my life in the rural area."* Around this time he became rich because the Hararghe khat was not available due to the fighting, so the traders used the local khat to trade with Somalia and made more money.

On June 27, 1977, he was in a place called Arsa near Harar—this was the night Djbouti became independent from the French. *"I listened to it on the radio and celebrated. I could see the lights from Harar. Then at 10 pm, Harar was attacked from all directions by heavy artillery by the Somali forces. A few hours later Dire Dawa was attacked. This was followed by a month of fighting in Jijiga. By March 1978, there were no Somalis left in Ethiopia and I fled to Somaliland with the woman I was engaged to be married to."* They settled in Borama and got married. He took some maths classes in Hargeisa and adult literacy. Whilst in Somalia he continued to work as a khat trader and would come back to Ethiopia to buy khat. *"Life was good, it was a prosperous country with a government and law and order."*

He returned to Ethiopia 1991 and in 1994 he became Head of Administration for the Awbare District and joined politics. He now lives in Jijiga.

He still owns some of his family's lands and cultivates this with sorghum, maize, wheat, sesame, guava, mangos, and other fruits. His brother still lives there. He has three wives and ten children and all of them went to school. He divorced one of his wives. Some of his children live in the UAE. He retired from selling khat over ten years ago and has no other business but receives remittances from his sons in the UAE. One of his sons lives in Haawaday and trades khat.

On the future of pastoralism— *"We have things today that we have never had before. Now there are schools, clinics, agricultural offices, and water points for pastoralists so there has never been a time like today. In every 100 families living together there are these facilities. Haile Selassi and Mengitsu were taking care of us by shooting us. This government is trying to make a change."*

21) Clan leader, (non-educated, male)

Yusuf was born around 1950 in a rural area to a pastoralist family near Awbare. His father told him that when he married Yusuf's mother they had 100 camels, 100 cattle, and had to pay 40 camels and 25 cattle as the bride price. When he was young, Yusuf watched the animals and brought them to Awbare for water. He saw a small school in Awbare but did not know who could attend. They sold their animals in a market on the eastern side of Awbare.

When he was 17, his father died, so Yusuf brought the animals to Awbare. *"A man who lived in Awbare gave me rice. When I tasted rice I hated watching the animals and the rural area so I decided to stay and live in the town. My uncle had the livestock from my mother and father and my brothers are still pastoralists."*

When Yusuf first lived in Awbare, he worked in a restaurant and earned one shilling per month. He later established his own restaurant. He also set up a shop in the village selling sugar, rice, and flour, etc. He got married at 29 years old and had six children before he fled to Somalia in the '77 War—the area was abandoned. *"We went to Somalia as refugees and lived there for 17 years receiving food aid. I did some work as a mason and a carpenter as well. Some refugees were learning in the camp but I preferred to work."*

Yusuf and his family returned to Ethiopia in 1991 to his father's land and went to Awbare. He now lives in Jijiga but still goes to Awbare. He has 1 camel and 14 cattle which are looked after by his family. The government of SRS assigned him to become a *"Suldan"* (leader) for his people for which he receives a salary. His duty is to liaise between the clan and the government, e.g., to give animals to people in the dry season: *"I report the problems and demands of my society to the government."* He has been Suldan for 12 years. If he has a smart and active son, the clan will nominate him to be his successor. His children go to school, though some of his daughters got married. His unmarried daughters go to school in Awbare. *"Now every family sends all their children to school."*

22) Community elder, (tertiary educated, male)

Mohammed was born in 1940 in Jijiga. His father was Chief of the Bartire clan and it was his responsibility to distribute land amongst the clan. He owned hundreds of cattle.

Mohammed went to the UNCESCO Ras Mekonen School (named after Haile Selassi), in Jijiga which was opened in 1951. He studied up to Grade 8, which he completed in 1958. As the son of a Chief he was entitled to go to Harar or Addis Ababa for his secondary education. He went to Harar along with two of his brothers, who are no longer alive ("they died early"). The teachers were from Britain and Canada. He completed his secondary education in 1963. Later the same year, he went to Somalia because of clashes between Ethiopia and Somalia. He was not a refugee but went to relatives in Mogadishu. At this time, Pakistan was offering scholarships to the government of Somalia. This was independent of clan. He showed his secondary certificate which showed that he had obtained a high score and he was selected to study in Pakistan. He left in 1964 for Karachi University, where he studied a BA in Business and Accounts from which he graduated in 1969.

He returned to Somalia from Pakistan and worked for the Ministry of Education teaching accounts in the two Business Schools (one in Mogadishu, one in Hargeisa). He got married in 1984, to a woman from Ethiopia who was not educated. They had four children before they fled back to Ethiopia in 1991. They came back to Jijiga, to his own house, and Mohammed worked for the Ministry of Education as an Auditor. In 2002, he retired.

Mohammed has six children and all of them go to school. Two of his daughters are graduating from Jijiga and Haramaya Universities. He has one daughter in Jimma University studying medicine, another child in Grade 11, one in Grade 8, and one in Grade 6. *"Educating women is more important than educating boys and has more benefits. In ten years' time the number of educated females will be more than the males because males are busy chewing khat—this is anti-development."*

Mohammed has land where they grow wheat and maize to sell. In a good year they harvest 200–300 quintals. They use ten quintals for the household and sell the rest. In a bad year no one knows how much they will make. He sometimes gets support from relatives in the USA—his uncle and cousins—when there are problems like someone being sick. After he retired he got a pension of EB 300 a month—*"which is enough for my morning tea.... My wife has a business selling clothes which is a good business."*

23) Community elder, agro-pastoralist/stonemason, (non-educated, male)

Ali was born in Dandamane during the time of Haile Selassi, during the conflict between the Ogaden and Hawiye clan. There was no school in the area until ten years ago. He cultivated land and had livestock. In 1964, he was very young and there was war between Haile Selassi and Somalia. *"Somali people in the area were being killed by Ethiopians and the troops took livestock for food. When we went to complain to the local government, more livestock would be taken while we were absent from our herds."*

"Somalis have never owned their land (during H. Selassi or the Derg) until recently so things have improved now. During the Ethio-Somali war in 1977, I stayed in the area and during the Derg Regime, there was no peace; people lived from their meat and milk."

Ali has two wives and 15 children (nine with the first wife). Two of his children go to rural school, two are in the other Babile (Oromia) and the others are small. He thinks education can bring great benefits such as being able to read and write and to be able to get different kinds of work and being able to support your parents. *"Girls are more active in education than the boys, you have to force the boys."*

Ali no longer has livestock—*"As I am an old man."* He cultivated maize but his son now does this and he has been working as a stonemason for the past two years, although during the rainy season he also works on the farm. He does not make enough money for their household needs. They do not receive remittances or government aid and just eat what they harvest. *"The most challenging thing is to be able to buy school uniforms and educational materials. Also water can be salty and some people cannot afford to buy it."*

24) Community elder, agro-pastoralist, (non-educated, male)

Mohammed was with a large group of pastoralists by a water point in a rural area approximately 16 km south of Jijiga. Most were men but there were a few women present. Several of the men were sitting in temporary shelters made from sticks and chewing khat.

Mohammed was born in Gulufer around 65 years ago. His father had four animals (two donkeys and two cows). He had five wives and 12 children. He also had four pieces of land on which he grew maize, sorghum, and wheat. They used to move to different places when he was young. Mohammed worked on the land and looked after the animals. He went to a Quranic school but there were no other kinds of school in the area. *"In 1977, most people fled but we were one of the rare few who remained behind. During this time we increased our livestock."*

Mohammed currently has eight animals (two oxen, two cows, two small camels, two female calves). He had four wives but one has died and nine children, some of whom have died of illnesses. Mohammed makes enough for their life—*"Every man takes care of his family."* His children went to Quranic schools and formal school. One of his children is a teacher. The nearest school is in Dude Afi (about two hours' walk). No one amongst the group had seen a mobile school.

"Life is better than it used to be. Now we have a water point near to our homes and can take the cattle to Jijiga for three days to drink water and come back. People are getting educated and can read and write. My son is a teacher in that far school."

Others present said that if their children get educated they want them to come back to help. They do not worry that their children will not want to come back—*"Some will and some won't."*

They face many challenges, mainly drought, but they do not think the government can address that, only God. The last bad drought was four years ago (*Doc kabood*) and there was one five years ago (*Odayo ka Wayn*) in which they lost all their livestock. *"The nearest animal health center is a long way away (20 km) and this is the only functioning water point around"* (the researcher saw another water point being used about 15 minutes' drive from this one).

Mohammed said that if there are good rains he sometimes makes enough from his land to be able to sell produce in the towns, but, in other years, there is not enough to feed themselves. They eat wheat/maize for breakfast—*"We have heard about lunch but have never had it."* They eat maize for supper. Sometimes when an animal is sick and about to die they will kill it and

eat the meat. They drink milk in tea and have tea with the maize. Some of them grow some khat on their land.

The community consists of 35 families and each family has the same sized piece of land. The richest person in the community of 35 families has 10 cows and 10 camels. The poorest have nothing—*"They are lucky enough to have a donkey. The richest families (of which there are very few) are the ones with the productive land. Others cannot afford to cultivate their land. They need tractors. Those people without animals cut trees and carry them for others and burn charcoal and watch animals for others."*

"It is equally important to educate sons and daughters" (he sent his sons to school, not his daughters, and when asked why he said it was because he saw his father send only the boys and keep the girls at home).

Someone else commented—*"Girls are cooked meat. Anyone can eat them. Men are predators."*

Another added—*"Today girls are more merciful to their own families and take care of them better than boys."*

25) Kebele and PTA Head/pastoralist, (non-educated, male); pastoralist elder, (non-educated, female)

Halimachat (female) was born in the Malkadhuur area (possibly 60–70 years ago). Her father had fertile land near Cherati where they grew sorghum and they also had cattle (40–50) and camels (around 100). She used to watch the cattle. They were middle class at this time. There were also wealthy people then—now the wealthy group is small, the middle group has disappeared, and the poor group is bigger. She said she is one of the few better-off families and that they have around 5 camels and around 30 shoats. (She said the wealthy have about 10 camels but later, another woman from the village, who the team took to the hospital in Hargelle, said the wealthy have 100 camels and the poorest have 10, if not more).

Halimachat's mother is now 92 and bedridden. Her father is still able but does not work. They lost many animals over the years through droughts. They did not leave the country during the 1977 War. Halimachat did not go to school but attended Quranic school. She got married when she was 18; her husband had animals but not enough and now they have even less. Her bride price was seven camels and ten cattle which immediately reproduced. They sell animals to buy maize, not regularly, but depending on their needs, i.e., to buy grain, tea leaves, sugar.

She had five children, one of her sons died aged five from measles, so there are now two boys and two girls—none of them went to formal school, only Quranic school. *"Our lives depend on the animals that are left so the children need to make sure the animals do not get eaten by hyenas."* While the children watch the animals, she goes to fetch water and firewood and to look after her mother as well as cook for the family. They only eat maize and sorghum, no meat—*"We drink milk from the animals, that is all."* They do not get crops from their land because it is too far away. Her grown-up children are still following the same life. She now has grandchildren aged one and two. *"Maybe they will go to school. I want my grandchildren to continue this way of life, although life is harder these days, so education is a good option but it is not possible to combine livestock rearing with education."*

Mahad is the PTA Head and also Head of the kebele, for the third time. He attends the adult literacy classes once a week. *"They are good and have been running for three years."* He has a rural wife whose bride price was five cattle and five camels and a wife in town (Cherati) whose bride price was five cows.

When he was a small boy he was living under the Derg Regime and his uncle asked him to pay the tax with him so they went to Hargelle with animals from various people in the community. The soldiers checked the animals and said they were not good enough and that they should return them and bring better animals or they would be punished. They returned them to the families who said, *"These are the better ones, we don't have any more to give."* His uncle decided to run away and took his family in the middle of the night. Then some boys from his family went to Hargelle and were arrested. Their families had to take all their animals to the soldiers in order for them to be released. The soldiers searched for his uncle for a long time. He did not come back until 1991.

Another of his uncles had to pay tax. He got the biggest and best camel and sold it and wanted to pay the money but the soldiers said the money was not enough. They would also say, *"Come and build ten traditional Somali houses in Hargelle—you bring all the materials and leave your family behind and come and build."*

In the last 13 years there have been more frequent droughts. *"Thirteen years ago, the site of this village was mainly land used for growing crops but with the droughts, people ended up building on the land instead of planting on it and so the settlement developed."*

"In the 1977 War, 50% left and 50% remained. People near the rivers left because they were poorer; the majority of pastoralists remained. Some split their families and sent their children but they did not want to leave their land and animals— 'Better to be killed than leave them behind.' Rural life was better then, people were able to drink milk and eat meat at the same time. The land was green all year round. There was lots of milk and animals and we even had cheese to eat." However the Derg soldiers took the milk and cheese. Halimachat added—"We wanted a small amount to keep back for our children, but the soldiers reported you and they took all your animals as punishment. We also had to give half our animals as tax. In the salt mining area, men were forced to mine the salt and be porters to give the salt to the soldiers."

During the prosperous time, people were more scattered—*"They are here because there is a water source so people gather round. This area is now the highest populated amongst the pastoralist communities. It is a kebele. It is not clan based and is open to anyone. It is difficult to track the population because people are settling here all the time. Young people do not leave the village, instead more people keep arriving at the village from more distant places."* There are no restaurants, only tea shops and a few small shops. They have an animal health post but no medicines.

No khat comes to Malkadhuur but it comes to Hargelle. *"People chew in the rainy season but no one is chewing now (referring to the drought) because they do not have money. When they have money, around one-third of the men chew (during the prosperous time—once a week). We are more traditional here and there is no khat grown in this area."*

"People did not know about khat before, it is after the roads came and cars were moving that people started chewing." (Halimachat)

26) Kebele Head/pastoralist, (non-educated, male)

Ali Haj Hassan was born in Mela in Shinele Zone, about 20 km from Shinele town. He was born during the time of Haile Selassi. His father had four wives and each wife had 30 cattle, around 20 camels and 80 shoats. He grew up looking after animals. They sold the animals, mainly the shoats, to cover their needs. They did not sell milk but drank it.

There were no schools in the area. There was no Quranic school, but his father brought a man to live with them and to teach them the Quran. He was given an animal every year by Ali's father as payment. Ali had 24 sisters and 4 brothers—now they are scattered over the globe.

In 1977 when the war broke out Ali was seven years old. He went to Djibouti to stay with his sister who lived there. His father and wives stayed back with the animals. Ali stayed in Djbouti for three months and then came back. *"During the time of Mengistu, for every 100 shoats, 2 were taken. For each camel they paid EB 10 in tax and for each cow EB 5."*

In 1991, schools began to be built and kebeles established. In Mela there are now eight schools. Ali got married aged 17; he was given 16 pieces of animal—2 camels, 10 cattle, 40 shoats (10 shoats counts as 1, each cattle and each camel count as 1). When he got married and received his animals he divided them into two. He sold half and with the cash, he used half to open a small shop selling pasta, biscuits, sugar, etc. and saved the other half. He handed over this shop and the money he got from the animal sales to his first wife. He had five boys and three girls with his first wife. Two of his sons are now in high school in Dire Dawa. The money that was saved and the income from the shop are being used to pay to support them in high school. Two of his daughters live in Djibouti with an aunt and go to school. Another of his children went overseas for education, supported by a paternal and maternal aunt.

Ali used the other half of his animals to marry his second wife from Ayeliso, where he lives currently and is now Head of the kebele. It is 10 km from Mela. Ali is doing some work with SCUK's animal feeding program for which he gets some payment, which together with his salary as Head of the kebele amounts to EB 3,000 per month. *"This is not enough because of inflation. In my father's time, they had no money but food was cheap and we were satisfied. Now we are starving in spite of having money."* He has a sister-in-law and sister in the USA and a brother-in-law in Norway. They send back money when there is a crisis.

Ali has only four cows, nine goats, and four camels, and now there is a severe drought. This is all that is left following many droughts. His cattle had reached as many as 124 but in 2008, he was left with only 12 cattle following a severe drought which was named *"Tanaghele." "This relates to the tins of powdered milk which are called Tanag and which weigh 2.5 kg. When the drought happened the only money we got from selling two animals was enough to buy five kg of grain, which is equivalent to two tins of this Tanag milk."*

"The future of pastoralism does not look good —'a person who says I will rear livestock is wasting his time.'"

"Eight years ago, a new tree species appeared in Shinele—'Waangaay' which is poisonous. It has far-reaching roots which form a web under the ground and crack the ground into troughs and holes. Nothing grows in the ground around the Waangaay and when animals eat it they die. I got some land to diversify from livestock and planted maize but not a single shoot appeared, my land was covered with Waangaay. In a couple of years Ayeliso will disappear (around 20 households live there). There is no fresh water—

the people dug a well and the animals which drank the water died. SCUK found another water source but the water turned out to be salty. People will not be able to survive due to the lack of water and the Waangaay tree. SCUK is bringing in grass for animal fodder and food for children but the underlying problems need to be resolved. The government is not doing anything. There are six villages in the kebele of around 100 households. This used to be one of the best places for animals, it was extremely fertile. People never moved from here, instead people were arriving because this is where the largest number of animals survived—where we inaugurated the Issa leaders."

Community Members

This group was not a specified group in the Terms of Reference but it used here to apply to small business people who do not fall into the other categories—i.e., they have not been educated to tertiary level (Somali professionals group) and their businesses are not large enough to undertake significant employment (Employers group), nor are they community elders/leaders. Many women fall into this category.

27) Small restaurant owner, (partially educated, female)

Anab has had the restaurant in Jijiga for three months. Prior to this, for the last eight years, she was bringing women's clothes from Djbouti to sell in Jijiga, which she distributed amongst business ladies. *"The contraband soldiers stopped my business. I used my savings to set up the restaurant. It is going slowly but is providing my daily bread." Anab lives with her mother and five family members. She is not married, even though she is 30—"I am waiting for the right man."*

Anab was born in Somalia in 1980. Her parents fled to Somalia in 1977 after her elder sister was born. They were not doing anything while they were in Somalia. When they returned from Somalia in 1985, her mother had one cow. She built up the herd to 35 and sold the milk but lost them all two years ago in a drought. She took them for pasture outside of Jijiga. Anab went to school in Jijiga and completed Grade 5 when she was 11 years old. After that she was at home playing around.

When she was aged 17, her aunt took her to Djibouti for education but she didn't want to study so hung around with other girls. Five years later her family gave her some money because she told them she wanted to start a business and that is when she began trading clothes. She buys the material in Djibouti and brings it in hand bags. She takes a land cruiser (passengers pay for the ride) from Djibouti to Borama (in Somaliland) and then a car to Awbare. She can sell the clothes for double here as this kind of material does not exist in Ethiopia and is better quality. The journey one way takes 18 hours. *"It is risky, people have been shot or the police can take some or all of your product. However, this business has been profitable enough for me to support my family."* She has built a big villa for her family (mother and sisters) and they are now settled. *"If I have been able to achieve this in eight years, I expect a palace if I live another eight years."* She has land outside of the town so could build there but needs to invest in it. "We will not buy more animals because if there is more drought why should I waste my money—even now you see the situation (referring to the current drought)."

Anab is very independent and feels like she does not need a man. *"Other men began calling me a man's name— 'Ali,' because I act like a man and have some hair on my chin."* She is now waiting for her prince—*"There is happiness after struggle"* (an Arabic saying). If she gets married and

has children, she will educate both boys and girls. She pays for the education of her sister's children. (Her sister is a housewife.)

"I do not have high expectations of the restaurant and am planning to re-start my other business because it made more profit. Business people help each other. If the police take your things then someone will give you a loan to start again."

The restaurant is open from 6 am until 10 pm every day. She sells spaghetti for EB 15 and tea and coffee for EB 2. She now works there every other day, but in the first two months she had no rest. Her sister and four others work in the restaurant, including a girl from her family. The others came looking for work—there is a boy who is 13 who dropped out of school in Grade 5 because he did not have the textbooks. She offered to buy him the textbooks but he is not interested in going back to school. She pays the following amounts to her staff: EB 3,000 (the cook), EB 1,500, EB 600, EB 450.

28) Small restaurant owner, (partially educated, female)

Safia has a restaurant in Dandamane which she has been running for two years. When the new district was established there were no restaurants so she saw this as an opportunity. She took a loan from a shop to start off. She has already repaid this loan. Her business is going well. She started it by herself but is now pregnant so has another girl working for her from a rural area. She pays her EB 200/month (aged 15). *"It was hard to find an assistant so I brought her and taught her."*

Safia was born in the other Babile (Oromia). Her father was Head of the kebele. He had been educated in Quranic schools. They still have land and grow maize for their own consumption. Safia was educated until Grade 3—she was able to read Amharic. She is now participating in the evening classes for adults (part of the BRIDGES project) and learning Somali, English, and maths. She goes from Monday to Thursday evenings and feels like she is learning. *"I want to make up for lost time. It will help me with the restaurant."*

Safia has four children (three boys and one girl). Those of school age are currently in Grades 4, 2, and 1. In the beginning her husband worked in the animal market; he now works as a porter in the sugar industry. He also helps in the restaurant serving customers while she cooks.

For now, she is happy with her business, they make enough money for their needs and get no support from elsewhere. *"If I increase my income I may expand my business to buy a car."* However, competition is increasing—now there are many restaurants in the town: six including hers, all run by women.

29) PTA member for Dandamane Primary School and school cashier, (non-educated, female)

Khadija is new to the position of school cashier (four months) —*"I am doing it until they get an educated person as I am illiterate." She is monitoring the cash flow—"I know how to calculate in my head, someone else writes the figures down."*

When Khadija was a baby, her parents got divorced. She went with her mother to Hargeisa in Somalia (during the Haile Selassi conflict with Somalia). They came back after this and then there was another conflict (1977 War) and they went to Djibouti. Her mother washed clothes and bought flour for their meals. Her mother was struggling to look after Khadija and her brother. They came to Babile (Oromia) when she was 13 which was her mother's home town. When she returned, the elders negotiated with her ex-husband and they remarried. They went to live in Danka near Fik. Khadija's father had livestock—camels, cattle, sheep, and goats. Khadija watched the animals for her family. The men migrated with the animals in the dry season, but the women did not. She spent two years looking after cattle. Her mother was sick and could not take the pastoralist lifestyle any more so Khadija came to Babile with her, while her father and older brother stayed with the animals. She sold peanuts for three years to earn their daily bread.

She got married when she was 18 (voluntary) to a shop keeper. He already had one wife and the shop was split between the two wives. When his first wife died a year later, she took in the daughters from that marriage (two) and the shop was joined back into one shop. She has six children with her husband.

She ran the shop with help from her stepdaughters for ten years selling clothes and food products. Her two step daughters went to school—*"The first completed Grade 8 but as there were no opportunities for continuing to Grade 9 in this area, she got married (aged 17) without telling us. The second girl completed Grade 7 and did not see the point of continuing. We told her we would send her to Jijiga to continue her education but she also got married without our knowledge."* Khadija considers 20 to be a minimum age to get married—*"Girls used to be promised younger, i.e., aged 10 but were told to stop that by the Women's Affairs Office which set the legal age at 18 and this was supported by the elders."*

After her stepdaughters left, Khadija could not manage the shop alone so she had closed it the previous week. It had been a good business but she needed to look after her children who are young. Her eldest daughter is eight and is in school, her youngest child is a year old. Her mother went to Babile to live in her son's house after he got married and there is no one to look after her children in the evenings if she were to attend the adult literacy classes (her relatives are in Fik). Her husband now has a third wife and since then he has not been supporting her—he lives half in her house and half in the house of his new wife (alternate nights). *"I do not like being one of many wives from a personal perspective but think it is a good thing for my children as they have many siblings."* Khadija has some land which she got from her husband when they married. She is growing khat and maize but the khat plants are too young to harvest still (three years).

30) Khat trader, Kebribaya (partially educated, female)

Qali was born in Dehegabur. Her father was a businessman—he worked as a driver bringing salt from Ethiopia to Northern Somalia. Her mother was a housewife. In early childhood Qali attended a Quranic school for a short time and formal school until Grade 2 in Dehegabur (during the Derg Regime). She is able to read and write numbers. During the '77 War they fled to a refugee camp Hargeisa in Somalia. They used to get food aid from the camp and sell it in the town. She was one of six children at the time, but only three are left now. Her father died in Hargeisa. While in Somalia she went to a private school for a short time and she learned the Somali alphabet and Arabic.

In 1991, she came back to Dehegabur with her mother when she was around 20 years old. After around three years she came to Kebribaya to get married. She has five children (two girls, three boys). Her husband (originally from Somalia) is unemployed (he had a shop for a short period), so she supports her family through the khat trade. She has been a khat trader for over ten years. *"My hard life forced me to find something to do. It doesn't require skills. When I wanted to start I got a small amount of khat and began selling it in the streets to get our daily bread and gradually increased the amount I was selling. Then the government gave some land to the traders and we built stalls."* (Qali estimates that there are over 100 khat sellers in Kebribaya. A local businessman suggests there are 150).

Qali built her stall around ten years ago and by then understood the market well. She started selling different types of khat, from local areas and from Haawaday, near Harar which is famous for khat. *"Now thanks to Allah I make enough to take care of my family."* Around Kebribaya there are khat farms so during the rains male traders buy khat from the farmers and she buys khat from the traders. During the dry season, along with three other khat sellers, she calls an agent in Haawaday, who brings them khat from that area in her car. Her name and order is written down and she counts the bunches and checks the condition and the next time the khat is brought, she gives the sack back along with the money owed. If the khat is not in good condition she will tell the agent and agree to sell it half price and the next time she will get very fresh khat. The first time they approached the agent they had to pay a deposit. Because she is one of four selling the khat from Haawaday, she is known for having this kind of khat. People trade many different types to try and be competitive.

Qali does not chew khat herself—*"If I do, I won't be active and I will forget my family, myself, and the profit I want to make."* Her husband chews khat but her children do not —*"Even small boys chew khat!"*

When the market is good, Qali can make more savings but sometimes it is only enough for their needs. *"For example, at the moment the khat is coming from far away and costs EB 700 per kg so is not profitable."* (1 kg is split into eight bunches. She sells a bunch for EB 800). A man who bought one such bunch said this would last for six hours of relaxed chewing. She also sells bags of lower-quality khat leaves for EB 30. During the rains, she buys local khat which is much cheaper and she gets more customers, although now in the drought season people buy quickly. She works from first thing in the morning until 11 pm at night. If she sells everything more quickly she can leave earlier, such as by 7 pm.

With her savings, she has bought land and built a house. Four of her children attend school. The eldest girl is not in school. *"I am working all day and I needed my eldest daughter to look after the younger children so she dropped out of education and has not returned."* Her other children are in Grade 9, Grade 8, Grade 4, and Grade 3. She pays for them to study a computer course, attend language classes, and Quranic school. *"I want them to continue to tertiary education and get the best out of life so I can have a break and rest."*

31) Shop owner, (partially educated, male)

Mustafa has a small shop in Kebribaya selling batteries, soap, oil, flour, sugar from India, and rice. He does not have a lot of stock. He was born around 1966 in a rural area outside of Kebribaya. His parents had camels and shoats but no land. He grew up looking after the animals. *"There were no schools, just Quranic school."*

His father had three wives. In 1977 he fled with his father and two of his wives. One wife stayed behind. His eldest brother also stayed behind with the animals belonging to his family—60 camels and 40 shoats. He lived with his two parents, three brothers, and sister in a refugee camp in northern Somalia. They received aid. His parents did not work—there was no work available and only Quranic education. Later on he was able to study in the camp up until Grade 5.

They returned in 1991 as refugees. People were scattered. His mother died. His brother lost the camels and now only has shoats. *"During the '77 War most people lost their animals because the warplanes targeted the camels."* Some of his siblings are in Gode, some fled to South Africa, and he came to Kebribaya. *"My brother was still here but since I was out of the rural area for many years and most of the animals were gone, there was no reason to go back, the only option was in town to look for ways to survive. First I worked as a porter wandering around the town. I managed to collect some things and now needed to settle so began this shop eight years ago."*

Mustafa did not get a loan for the shop—*"Where would I get it?"* Nor does he receive any remittances. He has four children. *"I can live from what I make from the shop."* His nephew works with him. The goods he sells come from Somaliland or Ethiopia—he buys them from business people. His wife does not work. He owns his house and has no land. He rents the shop. Two of his children are in school, the other two are small. His nephew who works in the shop is 22 years old and is in Grade 8 at school but is also graduating from computer classes.

"Benefits of education, whether secular or religious—if you want to work for someone or to work for yourself you need to be able to understand calculations and then comes reading and writing. You need this for the development of your life. It is equally important to educate both boys and girls."

Opportunities for young pastoralists—*"Too many people end up in the towns because of difficult situations— lack of education, facilities, drought, but here a man with land and animals is considered as wealthy as a businessman. Towns cannot exist if the rural pastoralist area disappears."*

"I would like to expand my business—I could get a wholesale store or could have a second store or if the market for livestock improves I will buy animals."

32) Shop owner with big, well-stocked shop, (non-educated, male)

Abdirasheed sells crockery, electrical items, cosmetics, suitcases in his shop in Kebribaya.

He was born in 1962 in a rural area. His family had camels, cattle, shoats. He looked after the animals. His father had one wife. He had five siblings, only one of whom is still alive. He went to Quranic school.

When the war broke out in 1977, they divided the family—some stayed behind with the animals. He fled with his mother to northern Somalia to a refugee camp. When he entered the camp he immediately left it and started working in Hargeisa selling small things so as not to be dependent on the camp—he was helped by relatives in Hargeisa. He used to buy watermelon and cut it into small pieces and sell the pieces. *"Those family members who stayed behind became rich for a time because they had a lot of livestock. We were poor in Somalia."* After a while he began selling soap and slowly increased the types of items he was selling. He became famous wandering around the town. He was very active although he had no education.

He came back in August 1988 to Kebribaya with the rest of his family (except his mother who had died). Abdirasheed was married but had not had children at that time. His father who had remained behind had lost all his animals to diseases as no medication had been available. His father had also died. Abdirasheed entered as a refugee and he started his shop from scratch. When he came back urbanization was expanding and people in rural areas were attracted to urban lives and began chewing khat so many lost their animals because of khat. *"Firstly they neglect their animals when there is a lack of water and they should be moving their animals, but they chose to stay near the khat. Then they sell their animals before they die and use the money for khat. In Kebribaya, the smallest amount of khat is USD 10."*

He added—*"What has destroyed our lives is khat. There are 150 khat traders in this town and the other business people do not even number 100. A person can spend up to USD 20,800 a year on khat."* (Taking into account the person we spoke to buying khat for USD 10, which would last him eight hours, if he chews every day of the year (which Abdirasheed claimed that many people do) then he would spend USD 884 per year). Abdirasheed added—*"People chew much more than the amount you get for USD 10 and they buy for others."*

Abdirasheed buys his products from Japan, China, and through middlemen in Addis Ababa or Somaliland. There are other shops like his but he considers competition good for development. He has eight children and they all go to school. His oldest son who works in the shop is 20 and has just completed secondary education. *"I want him to go to university to study business."*

"To get young people out of chewing khat they need to get involved in sport and education. They need employment creation because they say they are chewing because of unemployment. The Quran says it is 'haram' (forbidden) but chewers will tell you it is allowed. The most powerful khat is from Dire Dawa."

(While he was being interviewed, friends of his were coming to ask him for money to buy their khat and he pointed them out as examples of businessmen who were wasting their time and profits on khat).

33) Pastoralist, (non-educated, male)

[Aden was at the livestock market in Kebribaya. It was only possible to undertake a short interview with him as around 40 pastoralists were gathered round and many of them were demanding to be interviewed.]

Aden's family had livestock and land. He was born around 75 years ago and did not go to school. He lived the same life as his parents. He did not leave during the 1977 War. He has around four to five cattle. This is less than before (he had *"many many cattle and camels"*). He has two wives, one of whom lives in Kebribaya who he came to visit; she runs a small shop. He came to the livestock market today to see people from his village to ask how his family is doing there. He has six children, one from one wife and five from the other. His children do not go to school. He would like them to get educated but they live far from a school. His children are agro-pastoralists.

"Everyone is desperate for water. The rainy season has started but there are no rains. We watch who leaves and who dies. Some people are lucky to have one or two animals left."

34) Businessman, (partially educated)

Muhammed was born in a rural area near Hargelle. His family had camels, cattle. His father died when he was young so he was raised by his mother and paternal uncles. He remembers as a boy they had around 50 camels and 60 cattle. When he was ten there was a leader in charge of the area. Haile Selassi asked him to bring 100 young boys to Addis Ababa for education. *"No one trusted him, people thought they might be brainwashed so only four boys were taken."* He remained behind but went to school in 1972 in the first school in Hargelle and was learning Amharic. *"Delegates from the education sector came to analyze the education situation and found only 16 students attending so they closed the school. There were few students at the time because it was a time of drought."* Muhammed was in Grade 3 at the time. After this he was wandering around the town with his livestock in Hargelle and started a small business taking animals to Somalia and exchanging them for food products (contraband). He took cattle, shoats, camels; in exchange he bought clothes, food, rice, flour.

Soon after the 1977 War broke out and he fled the country. He took his wife and the rest of his family scattered with the livestock. He took two of his sons but left the youngest one with his mother. In Somalia he went to Gedo region to Lok town to a refugee camp. He became head of a section of the camp (there were six sections in all)—the section heads were chosen by the refugees. At the camp he went to school and learned Somali. After two years he took and passed an exam and was then offered a job as a storekeeper for CARE in the refugee camp and continued attending school at the same time as he was working and he completed Grade 10. After that he was transferred to other camps with CARE.

The two sons he had taken to Somalia died of measles. Another son was born in Somalia and began his education there. Muhammed married a second wife in Somalia. In 1991, he came back to Hargelle with both wives; there was a drought at the time. He settled one of his families in Hargelle and the other in God-Usbo because of the salt mine. He used to spend one month in God-Usbo and one in Hargelle. When he first came back he looked after the livestock he had left with his mother and siblings. There were only a few camels and cattle left. God-Usbo was very small at the time and his family now own most of the land—they are all of the same clan. He owns ten pieces of land which are mined by four workers and has

another ten pieces which are not mined yet. The workers are entitled to half the salt and the owner gets the other half. His oldest son who is a degree holder will take over his salt mining business soon.

In 1993, Muhammed was made Head of the Education Bureau for seven years (salary of EB 600/month). There were no schools in Hargelle in 1991. They built traditional houses which were used as schools. Three were established in Hargelle Woreda—one in each sub-area. Shortly afterwards, 21 schools were approved for Afder Zone. He was asked to be the agent for the construction company which was going to build the schools so he resigned from the Education Bureau and took up that role. He took the lead in the construction of four schools in Cherati, Hargelle, God-Usbo, and Aba Korro. He got involved in other construction work in Hargelle. Following this, the Zonal Administration assigned him to be an agent for all contractors involved in water, electricity, construction, and road building. He is now an agent for the road constructors and earns EB 1,000 per month.

The number of his livestock has gradually dwindled as a result of continuous droughts. There was a particularly bad drought in 1993 called *"Hurgufa"* which means wiping out—it killed almost all the animals.

"Life in town is better. I don't want my children to be watching animals. I don't worry about them moving away from pastoralist roots. Even today my children have no idea how the rural area is. Other people look after our animals. I myself sold a camel for EB 10,000 for my son's wedding. These animals will last for long for sure. I have about ten camels looked after by relatives."

"In rural communities I would advise them to prioritize education and make their livestock the second priority—the son of camel herder will not have a future."

35) ABE School Facilitators, Malkadhuur, (one male, one female, both completed primary)

Hussein (aged 32), completed Grade 8 in Hargelle, aged 30. Shamso (aged 20), completed Grade 8 in Hargelle, aged 18. Both teachers stayed with relatives when they were studying in Hargelle. They decided to become ABE teachers as the school needed teachers and their families live here. They are the only educated people in the kebele so the kebele administration agreed. They had 45 days' training which was enough but now they feel like they need more. There is another teacher who works in the school with them (male). They each teach different subjects to the different grades of children. Hussein teaches social science and Shamso teaches Somali. The other teacher does maths.

Shamso's family sold some animals to be able to afford to send her to town to stay with relatives. She has seven siblings. Two of her brothers are in Kenya learning. One got a scholarship around ten years ago to continue his Islamic education in Kenya and is able to study secular education as well. The other brother followed his elder brother there recently. Her brother sends USD 100 per month. Her salary is EB 500 per month. *"There is high inflation and we are a big family so both the money my brother sends and my own salary are not enough."* Shamso's father has cattle and shoats. During the rainy season they sell milk, cultivate some sorghum and sesame, and sell animals to buy clothing and other items. In the drought, they sell animals to buy food to survive.

The male teacher is one of four children. His mother died when he was young and he went as a refugee to Luq in Southern Somalia where he lived with his uncle. After the civil war he

came back to Malkadhuur. His father decided to send him to stay with an uncle in the town for his education. His uncle took care of him along with his own four children; he is a businessman in Hargelle with a small shop selling food, sugar, and rice. Hussein returned to Malkadhuur as soon as he completed Grade 8. He is married with a son. His salary is also EB 500 and he helps his parents. His father has 20–30 camels which are looked after by his elder brother. His brother lives in the bush with the camels and sells milk in the surrounding kebeles.

When the children complete Grade 3, they remain in the class and keep attending as they do not have relatives in the town. At the moment the numbers attending in Grades 2 and 3 are very low because they are older children (aged 12–20) who are watching animals and busy with other work. The ABE school operates from 8–10 am. At this time the children are needed. *"The PTA follows up the students who drop out. Their families do not ask them to drop out, they just stop coming because they have lots of work to do. Right now there is a drought so school takes a lower priority."*

The school also offers adult literacy classes in the afternoons. The teachers reported that 59 adults attend. (Later the PTA head who attends himself said there are 80 of them and about 30 women, with 25 women attending regularly.) The teachers feel welcomed by the community. *"'Without education there is no light' so no one will say no to education. Today almost everyone can write their name."* The teachers do not migrate when the community migrates as the community does not migrate as a group. Families split and leave the children in school and also people go in different directions. *"Part of the ABE training is about moving and we are ready to do that."*

Benefits of education—*"I used to watch the animals—my peer group do not know how to read/count. I have a salary and am passing my knowledge to others."* (Shamso).

36) Salt worker, (partially educated, male)

Ali was originally from God-Usbo but fled with his family to Somalia when he was young. He returned as a refugee from Somalia and settled here. He studied until Grade 3 in Somalia and then completed Grade 9 back in God-Usbo. He bought some land in the salt fields three years ago (three parts for EB 1,500). Today it would be worth EB 10,000.

Ali is also an ABE teacher and earns EB 500 per month—he teaches adult literacy in God-Usbo. He does not have a livestock background. He was working with his cousin. They work during the dry season only as when it rains, the salt area is flooded. *"If there is no transport/traders, there is no life. The town depends on salt."* They work from 6–10 am when they fill the patches with water. If there is a shortage of water they return at 4 pm to continue working. Ali makes enough for his daily bread but has no savings. He can sell a 100 kg sack of salt for EB 25. Per week he can produce 75 sacks (EB 1,875).

37) Businesswoman, (non-educated)

Saafi was born in the rural part of Gabridehar (Gorahay Zone). She watched her family's camels for around five years which numbered about 100 when she was small and the animals gradually dwindled. They also had shoats. There were no schools in the area. In the 1977 War, part of her family fled. She was around eight years old so she stayed with her parents as she was the youngest. She got married when she was 17 years old. She was married for eight years and then her husband died. By that time she had four children. Her husband had fewer animals and had lost them. She then went to Dehegabur and started selling tomatoes in the streets.

Saafi came to Gode 12 years ago and remarried. She had another four children; the youngest one is seven months old. When she came to Gode she bought cloth on credit from the bigger stores to sell and paid back the credit and gradually expanded her business. She began renting her present market shop 6.5 years ago. She buys goods from Somalia—traders club together and send their money through remittance companies to an agent in Somalia who buys the items for them and sends them. The goods may be bought in Mogadishu, Wajale, or Bosasu. Sometimes she buys goods from other larger traders in the town. Currently, business is very bad because the Finance Police have been operating in Gode for the past 3–5 months. They confiscated a truckload of goods that were destined for the market traders and the borders have been closed by custom officials so nothing is coming in. *"Right now we are in a small prison. Many people are selling their remaining stock and are preparing to flee. No one is buying anything now, many business ladies are empty-handed."*

"In the beginning the government was punishing those who belonged to the families of the insurgents and the insurgents were killing the family members of government people and the rest of us are caught in between. It is worse now because they are taking our daily bread. Around 200 businesses are affected, maybe more. The only goods we are legally allowed to import are spaghetti, oil, sugar, and rice because these are the products that the government troops live on."

Saafi claimed that there are now around seven private transport companies taking people to the Ethiopian/Kenyan border which have increased from two in the past three months and that people are leaving for Kenya (10–20 of her friends have gone).

She has no family now in the rural areas. *"You are worse off there as there is drought—people from rural areas can only run to here but this is where we are running from."*

38) Businessman, (partially educated)

Abidisalen has had his shop in Gode for almost nine years. He trades livestock from Ethiopia to Somalia and uses the cash to buy goods to bring back to sell in his shop and for other traders in the souk. His parents were from a pastoralist background. He was educated until Grade 8. Later he was wandering around and took some animals to Somalia and brought back goods to sell so from this he built up his business.

Around one-third of the business people selling in the shops also trade livestock. The other two-thirds of people selling in the souk (mainly women) buy their goods from the livestock traders. Some people also travel to Somalia to bring goods to sell. There are around 2,000 businesses in the town. *"The recently-confiscated truck was carrying goods to be shared by around 200 small business people. Our culture is to help one another. When one person goes to Somalia, a hundred others will give money to that person to buy goods."*

Abidisalen stopped trading the livestock (shoats) about seven months ago because the animals have to travel a long way to Bosaso and they may be taken or be neglected. There are barriers on the routes and the borders are blocked by the customs officials. *"Currently there is a drought so the animals are not in good shape and there is no market for the animals."* He used to buy the animals in Cherati. He paid someone to bring them to Gode which took about 10–13 days' walk. From Gode, someone else would take them to Baladwinay or Goldogob which takes about 15–20 days. Others travelled by car to check on the condition of the animals. *"It takes a long time because the animals need to graze en route so you let them go at their own pace so they are healthy when they reach the market."* He used to send animals once every two months. The business was doing well before the current situation. *"It is a knowledge-based business so my education has been an important foundation. I know all the stocks and prices."*

7.1.3 Government staff in the Bureau of Education, Somali Region

Dandamane

39) WEO Head, Dandamane, (educated to secondary level, male)

Hassan has been Head of the WEO for the past year. When the office was first established in 2005, he was also Head of the Office for three years but then resigned and was unemployed for a year and then became Supervisor of Education. The WEO was established following the referendum when Babile became part of Oromia, so Dandamane was selected as the site for the new district town. *"In the last six years since the WEO was established, the quality of education has been improving. The office undertakes community mobilization to encourage parents to send their children to schools and also assesses and monitors the teachers."*

Hassan was born in Jijiga to a businessman father who had a shop. They also had land and livestock. When he was a small child, he fled with is family to Somalia during the Derg Regime. He went to school in Somalia and completed his secondary school, aged 18. He fled back to Jijiga in 1991 when the Somali civil war broke out, with his parents, three sisters, and four brothers. He then started high school in Jijiga after which he became a science teacher (G 1–6) in a primary school in Jijiga. None of his family returned to pastoralism. His sisters were not educated. *"They say 'a girl is waiting to marry so let her husband work so he is ready to marry her.'"* However, Hassan believes girls should be educated—*"Because if a husband dies tomorrow, women need to be able to take care of themselves and their children."*

Hassan has nine children (four girls, five boys). All attend school except the youngest. They were living in Dandamane, until his oldest girl needed to go to secondary school and then the whole family moved to Jijiga. *"It is better for girls to be with family than relatives."* He emphasized the importance of safeguarding girls when they are in education as they can easily drop out and it is better for them to be living with their mother than with extended family: *"Girls are valued more than boys."*

Hassan's wife is illiterate and does not work but is busy raising the children. He has encouraged her to get an education as she would be able to help the children with their homework (he does this). Some of his children go to government schools and others to private schools. He receives remittances from his nieces and nephews in the UK as his government salary is not enough even for their daily bread. Around 70% of their needs are sourced from remittances. His older brother also lives in the UK but he does not know how he got there. He has no animals now but has land and pays someone to cultivate the land and he sells the crops (wheat, maize).

"I think that the TVETs have brought lots of opportunities. For example, we used to get electricians and plumbers assigned by federal government and you did not see skilled Somali people but now we have young Somali professionals working in the Ministry of Water who speak Somali."

Kebribaya

40) Education Program and Supervision Head, Kebribaya, (tertiary educated, male)

Ahmed Sheikh is in charge of education projects—responsible for schools, teachers, and students in the Kebribaya district. He has been in this post for six years. Prior to this he was Bureau Head for three years and was also a teacher. He has been in Kebribaya for 18 years.

Ahmed's parents were from the Kebribaya area around 90 years ago. His grandfather was an Islamic religious scholar who had many sons and many animals—cattle, camels, sheep, and goats. His parents fled to Somalia during the time of Haile Selassi. Ahmed's father had already learned about the Islamic religion and he went to Ergabo in Somalia and became an important Islamic scholar. His father married the daughter of a local king and Ahmed was born in Somalia around 67 years ago (1944). The family lived happily in Ergabo. Ahmed completed primary school in 1961, aged seven. He was a teenager when the British pulled out of Somalia. He completed his tertiary education, graduating in Social Science, and worked as a teacher, then as an inspector of education. He was one of the people who was involved in designing the Somali alphabet (1972–3).

His siblings left for other countries (Canada, USA, UK, Sweden) before the civil war broke out in Somalia. He and his sister were the only ones who remained in Somalia. He was living in Mogadishu when the war broke out—it began as tribal conflict between the Hawiye and the Daarood. Ahmed is Daarood. One day he was praying the Isha Prayer (last prayer) in his villa with his sister, wife, children, and nieces and some armed men entered the house. He turned off the light and went to the adjoining room where his children were and held the door closed. *"The men were knocking on the door but I did not want to open it because I did not want them to rape the women before my eyes."* He was pushing the door closed with his arm and seven bullets were fired by the men. One of the bullets hit him in the arm close to the armpit. The man who shot him was in shock and they took Ahmed by car to the SOS hospital and he got his wound dressed.

Two months later there was continuous shooting in Mogadishu; Ahmed pretended to be a member of the Isaaq tribe and left the country in a convoy of Isaaq people. He fled with his wife who was pregnant and two sons, leaving everything behind. When they first came to Ethiopia they went to Degehabur which is close to the border. One of his sons died and another son was born. He was there for two years. Relatives overseas sent remittances to them and his mother-in-law gave them some of her UNHCR food (she had come back earlier). He bought some land and built a small house for them to live in for those two years.

In 1993, the SRS was established and there was a demand for professionals. He was called to Jijiga and joined the Education Bureau as Zonal Education Head. He was promoted and became an Expert for SRS and has been in Kebribaya until now. He was one of the first people to create schools in the region. His two sons go to government schools in Jijiga where his family are living. *"I receive remittances from overseas but what I earn is enough for me as an old man."*

41) Acting WEO Head, Kebribaya, (secondary educated and trained as teacher, male)

Hassan was born in 1974 in Kebribaya. His father had land. He left for Somalia in the 1977 War with his mother and siblings. His father stayed behind in Ethiopia and died of natural causes. Hassan was a refugee in Somalia and studied up to Grade 8 in a refugee camp controlled by the UN. Then he studied Grades 8–10 in Hargeisa. When the civil war broke out in Somalia, he fled back to Ethiopia, aged 17. He came back, with his mother, brother, and sister to Kebribaya, his home town, so was not considered as a refugee.

"The town was small in those days and I moved between rural areas and the town looking for possibilities. We had my father's land but did not have the money to cultivate it. My mother sold vegetables in the kebele and relatives from rural areas supported us." After two years, the SRS was established and Hassan became a teacher for the government, attending training for two months over the summer. First he was a primary teacher for seven years and then a school principal for nine years. He has been working in the Education Bureau in Kebribaya for two years. His wife is also a teacher and was recruited at the same time as him. Their combined salaries are enough to support their seven children (four in school currently), in addition to receiving remittances from the USA every so often from his mother-in-law and sister-in-law.

If his wife were to agree, he would have more wives and more children but she will not let him. *"The main reason is financial. Whatever I earn is not enough for one family so why bring a greater burden upon myself. The tradition is to have many children but when you are educated you change your behavior and know more about commitment and responsibilities so change your attitudes to having many wives."*

Benefits of education—*"Apart from being able to provide for the family the benefit to me is that I was one of the first teachers at the beginning of this government and now my students are working in government offices, schools, NGOs, etc. So I believe what I taught them was valuable and relevant and I am proud of this achievement. This inspires me to do more."*

7.1.4 Youth, both in and out of education

Youth in education

42) Jijiga TVET students, (female)

[Focus Group Discussion with four Somalis and four non-Somalis.]

The Somali students were studying the following courses: industrial electrical machinery and technology (one), construction (one), plumbing (two)—all three-year programs. The students said they were happy with these courses and chose these subjects; however, they were not eligible for other courses requiring higher entry grades (they had all completed Grade 10) and, according to the ex-Dean of the TVET, they did not choose these courses, but were allocated them.

Benefits of education—
"Getting socialized and mixing in the workplace, having colleagues and being exposed to views as well as work experience."
"Being empowered."
"Being able to serve and benefit the community."
"Learning new things and working for the community and country."

Aspirations—the electricity student wants to work for the government, the plumbing students want to work for the Water Ministry and study water engineering at university, and the construction student will form a cooperative or work for government.

None of the students are married. They plan to marry after they complete their studies. Some would like to continue their education beyond the TVET courses. They all want voluntary marriages rather than arranged marriages. They all intend to work after they marry.

Living conditions—one of the girls lives alone, supported by her maternal uncles; her parents are khat traders and do not think that education is valuable, which is why she left home. *"They would prefer me to do household work and join them as a khat trader."* One of the girls is living with her sister whose husband is a khat trader; her parents are in Somaliland. One of the girls lives with her parents—her father works for the Water Ministry and her mother does not work. One girl lives with her uncle who has a shop selling soft drinks (her father is dead and her mother lives in Harar).

Attitudes of others towards their education—their community members are generally positive about them educating themselves. Some of their friends are married with children and say to them: *"Tomorrow you will marry—until then continue your education."* Others say, *"What is the point as you will get married?"*

Challenges experienced—they felt that they face challenges being girls, *"For example, boys will get Bachelor's degrees whilst we are getting diplomas from this college. Girls return home following their education and work in the house and girls are burdened by household work so they are never the same as men."*

Some of them felt there secondary school should have been better:
"I had no maths teacher so did not get good grades in the national exams."
"We were told to 'shut up and sit down' and the boys were invited to answer the questions, e.g., in Chemistry."
Others mentioned having good teachers at school.

The student in concrete construction, along with a non-Somali student on the same course, highlighted that they are the only girls along with 25 boys. The Somali student does not understand the teaching, which is conducted in Amharic, so is only able to learn from the practical training. *"When we ask the teachers how to mix concrete, they say, 'What do you care, you're a female, this is a man's job, better that you learn to be a secretary.'"* The students on the other courses are also taught in Amharic. The electrical student finds the boys on her course supportive. The construction students undertook an apprenticeship at Jijiga University but were not supported or told what was expected of them. One of them added, *"I would like to study nursing instead of construction."*

43) Jijiga TVET student, (male)

Omar studies construction, building, and electrical installation. He is in his third year of a Level 4 Diploma and has three months until he completes. In year one, ten of his peers dropped out of the course—some went to preparatory college to study Grades 11–12. The course is taught in English and he enjoys it. The course was developed in response to the need in the region. When he finishes the course, he will work for the government. He is happy to work in any part of the region. *"Education is the key to the future."*

He lives with his mother (his father is dead). His father was a farmer when he was alive. He brought them to the town so they could get an education. He has four brothers and five sisters. Some are farmers and did not complete their education and some go to school and have livestock and grow sorghum and maize. Two of his five sisters are educated. Four of them live with his mother and live on the crops harvested from their farm. They also sell some of the crops. They own some houses which they rent to others so they earn enough for their living costs. Some of his nieces and nephews from the rural areas are living with him.

44) Abdirahman, student at Jijiga University, (male)

Abdirahman was born in Jijiga. His father died when he was small. His mother was born in a rural area; he has three sisters. Two of his sisters are married. His unmarried sister looks after the home. His family is very poor and they never fled the country during the '77 War. (His friend added later, that he was friends with the boys living next door to him and that it is this family which supported him to go to school and they in turn are supported by a son in the USA.)

Abdirahman is now studying in this third year of a Health Sciences degree in Jijiga University. *"I wanted to study medicine which requires students to gain 300 points or over at Grade 12. I got 286 points so was offered a place to study my second choice of Health Sciences."* There are 54 students on his course; 13 of these are girls. The teachers are mostly non-Somali; there are only three Somali teachers in the faculty. Abdirahman graduates next year. He wants to be a teacher in Jijiga University. If he does this, he can study for an MSc or PhD. If not, then he would work for the Ministry of Health. There are many opportunities with the University. *"The quality of education on my course is good, most teachers are medical doctors. There are also relevant courses for pastoralists—soil and water engineering, animal science, dryland agriculture, horticulture."*

"The benefits of my education are that I know about many diseases and can treat patients as a Health Officer. I did one year of practical training so can treat and diagnose."

45) Youth Federation members, Kebribaya

[Focus Group Discussion with 11 males, 2 females]

Introduction to Youth Federation:
The Youth Federation members have a range of educational backgrounds including primary, secondary, and tertiary education. In their associations in their kebeles they also have non-educated members and 50% of their members are female youth. There is also one female-only association.

The benefits reported by a number of the members of the associations from the different areas were that they meet once a week and contribute money and use this for undertaking awareness-raising activities such as a drama about HIV and AIDS, khat chewing, FGM, homelessness. They also organize meetings for peace building and to discuss other issues. The members participate in different sports teams and the associations also develop proposals for different NGOs and access funding through the Youth Federation Office. Some groups have bought land and have planted maize and sorghum which they sell at harvest time to generate an income. They can take money from the savings for their needs on a rotational basis. If they had more resources they would want to increase the community mobilization

they undertake and create more jobs and build community centers. *"Young people are often idle chewing khat so they need to be occupied in other activities."*

Challenges to education:
"85% of the population are from a pastoralist background and 70% of young people are not educated."
"There is a need for more resources so that they can continue education and the schools need more materials. There is also a need for counselling for drop-outs."

Barriers to girls' education:
"Girls dropping out to get married."
"Parents are not aware of the importance of educating girls and they send their boys and keep their girls at home."

The benefits of education:
"Stand up for yourself and community (which is why formed association). Illiterate farmers do not have the idea of sharing knowledge with society."
"Education is the key to life—we are like animals when we are born, then we start learning from our parents, then from our teachers, and keep adding knowledge. With this we can protect the nature of human beings."
"Without education we cannot help ourselves our people or our country. Popular leaders around the world are not more active than me but they have more knowledge."

Aspirations:
- *" I want to be an agricultural expert—have plants diploma and am now doing degree in Dryland Agriculture. (JJ Uni extension course). I believe this is relevant for the kind of work I want."*
- *"I am in Grade 12 and want to go overseas to become a Doctor. I have nothing in mind of how to do this but I know that the quality of education in the international medicine institutes is not good quality. Doctors educated in Ethiopia are not that well trained or experienced."*
- *"I want to be an engineer—have full confidence that I can get a good enough education in Ethiopia. I am studying Physics at Wollayta Soderi University. I get my education through a government institution and want to work for government."*
- *"I want to be a Doctor (woman). I am currently in Grade 9 and will continue to Grade 12. I want to study medicine in Ethiopia."*
- *"I want to be a surgeon and am currently in Grade 12. Somalis are poor and full of sickness so I want to offer my services voluntarily to help Somalis free of charge. I will also run private clinics to cover my needs but will make 70% of my services free for my community. There are no doctors giving free services so I want to become the first and will continue my education in Ethiopia."*
- *"I want to be a philosopher and a scientist (am interested in astronomy). I am in Grade 10 but such knowledge can only be gained overseas. Some of my family are overseas."*

Families' views about their plans:
"My family encourages me to become an engineer and if I stop studying hard they remind me to work harder (other parents say, 'Why don't you run the family business?')"
"Our parents want them to get educated because will support our parents in the long run," (a view shared by many present.)

Views on whether parents want them to be pastoralists and keep those traditions alive:
"Our parents ended up in farming/livestock because of conflicts and drought. My parents want me to return to livestock but I won't" (philosopher).

"Livestock and farming is who we are (87% of us are from agro-pastoralist backgrounds) and humans depend on meat and vegetables to survive and there are colleges specializing in agriculture, so we can modernize our practices and keep our traditions alive—there is no way I will abandon this type of work, we just need to introduce new technology to enhance it" (agricultural expert).
"People are dependent on food which comes from the land both at country and global level; we want to supply food globally as is our tradition" (engineer).

46) Gode ATVET students, (three girls, two boys)

Four of the students were studying livestock, except for one boy who was studying crop science. The students were from the following places: Shinele town, Dehegabur town (two students), Dehegahele (Jijiga Zone), and Afder (rural). Parents of three of the students are agro-pastoralists, one is a land farmer, and one used to be a pastoralist but moved to town.

The students have been supported by their families throughout their education. Some sold livestock in order to do this. The students' motives for their courses of study—*"75% of the population is involved in livestock or crop production and it is very important for the country."*

"I selected crop production because most of the SRS is a pastoralist area and people are not skilled in farming so I want to improve farming to serve my community" (crop science student).

The others want to improve animal production, combining their technical knowledge with indigenous knowledge, for example their learning on animal feeds, breeding, and how to milk in a more hygienic way and prevent diseases. *"People have been herders for generations and when it rains they have pasture, the animals graze and breed with no human input. Then in the drought periods, animals die. We are learning how to protect pasture, how to improve breeding and protect animal health. We can bring about development"* (female livestock student from pastoralist family).

The students graduate in two years' time and are keen to work in their chosen disciplines for government as Animal Health Officers, Animal Science Specialists, or Crop Production Specialists. They will be assigned to work in different areas by the Bureau of Agriculture. Two of them said they would choose to live in rural areas when they settle and have a family, if there are facilities available. Others would prefer to live in towns. One girl who grew up in a rural area looking after livestock said she would like to have a combination of livestock and a better life.

"75% of our course is practical but there is a shortage of equipment which makes learning the practical processes challenging. The majority of students are Somali-speaking; however, much of the teaching is in English as the teachers are non-Somalis." (When asked why there are no Somali teachers, the students answer that people are not educated in the region.)

The biggest challenges to development in rural areas are:

1) Ignorance—people are not aware of how to combine animals and farms with urbanization
2) Lack of knowledge of how to retain water and use it during the dry season.

In spite of this, there are some people doing well. *"During the dry season we take our cattle and camels to the mountains. When it rains we breed them. We never sell camels except male camels when they are old and mature. We never buy new camels, just breed them from our stock. Camels produce the same milk in the dry season as the rainy season. In the rainy season we sell some of our cattle to buy others which we graze during the rains. Traders buy cattle from us"* (girl from pastoralist family).

"Education is important in the rural areas—it enables people to be civilized and develop. We can make changes but may be somewhere for two years and then gone, whereas education can benefit many people over the long term. Basic agricultural knowledge could be included in the primary curriculum" (girl from pastoralist family).

47) Football team members in Gode, (males)

[four boys—two from the Afder team, two from the 5 Stars—they are playing in the OA division (15 clubs). There is also an OB division for younger boys (20 clubs)]

One of the boys was from Jijiga studying in the Gode ATVET College, two of the boys were from Gode studying in the nursing college, and one was from Gode and was studying in Grade 11.

Aspirations:
"I want to continue studying and to work in poor communities" (nursing student).
"I want to work in rural development and to transmit what I have learned and continue in education" (ATVET student).
"I want to go to university to do something health-related" (Grade 11 student).

The students study in the mornings and play football in the afternoon. They have the chance to play a match once or twice a month. When they are not playing matches, they come to watch others play. The OA division was organized by the BoYS office; the OB division is a local system and uses a different playing field. Two of the boys have been playing for seven years and started off in the OB division and moved up to OA.

The teams are mixed—there are some school drop-outs and some students. Those who are not studying go to find work in the mornings.

The benefits of playing football:
"Good for health, good exercise, encourages youth integration—we have teammates from other zones, we make friends."

"Some of us may chew khat and smoke but if you are busy playing football, then this reduces chewing and bad habits." (None of the boys interviewed chew. They said that maybe in one team, one person chews.)

48) Dire Dawa University students, (four males)

1) Mustafa (Psychology) was born in Dire Dawa, his father is a khat trader. Mustafa had all his education in Dire Dawa. His first choice of university course was Political Science and Psychology was his second choice. He enjoys his course and wants to be a lecturer in Psychology in Jijiga University. *"There are many possibilities as there is a shortage of teachers."*

2) Ahmedwali (Business Management) was born in Jijiga to a pastoralist father. He went to school in Jijiga up to Grade 4 (he was able to travel to Jijiga from the rural area). He came to Dire Dawa after Grade 4, brought by his elder brother who got married. His brother was a soldier and is now a lawyer. Ahmedwali wanted to study in Dire Dawa University and Business Management was his first choice. *"If it was pure Management I would not be interested, I*

want to be an entrepreneur when I graduate. The challenges are the financial resources and the need for capital—machinery and human resources." He is thinking of having some shops selling food, clothes, etc. and setting up some kindergartens (there is a demand for these).

3) Hassan (Engineering Construction) is from Dehegabur. His father has a shop selling food products. He completed Grade 10 in Dehegabur and transferred to Jijiga. He took care of himself in Jijiga, through his family's support until he completed Grade 12. Then he came to university in Dire Dawa which was his third choice of location. His first choice was to study Surveying in Jijiga, but he is studying his second choice of subject. *"I have not had enough practical training on my course. The teachers speak in Amharic and even if we have one session of practical it is in Amharic."* When he finishes he wants to establish an organization and to be the manager—in construction.

(There are no Somali teachers in the Uni except the Vice President who lectures on the Business course).

4) Majed (Electrical Engineering)—his father has a small business selling khat. He had all his education in Dire Dawa. Dire Dawa was his second choice of university but the course was his first choice. He is enjoying the course and wants to be a lecturer in Jijiga University when he graduates as there is a shortage of Somali teachers.

None of the students' parents were educated and all their brothers and sisters are also being educated.

Importance of family's encouragement: *"They fulfill everything in terms of support, they give financial and moral support, are very keen for us to continue; support us in every way to reach our goals; even though my parents are not educated, they want me to get what they missed."*

Changes needed to give more opportunities for young people from pastoralist backgrounds: *"Mobile education, community mobilization, rural schools should be everywhere in rural areas along with basic facilities—roads, health care, shelter, water, etc., every locality of 200 HHs should have a school with a qualified teacher (minimum Grade 8)."*

Barriers to girls' education: *"Ignorant parents, (different in towns—women are more educated); in pastoralist areas, girls do housework, care for siblings, and people believe girls are like property and their role is to bear children; early marriage—even if sent for education, they get married when they are still being educated."*

Gender breakdown on their courses:

- **Psychology**—greater number of female students than males (none of these are Somalis)
- **Business Management**—one woman on the course (Somali)
- **Engineering Construction**—some women on the course, none are Somalis
- **Electrical Engineering**—around 40 women, one is Somali
- **Civil Engineering**—no Somali women, around 70 non-Somali women

Their sisters:

- Two sisters who went to private nursing college and are now working—one in Save the Children, another in a government nursing job (they are not married).
- Two sisters went to school until Grade 8 and left to do basic nursing classes. One is now

working in a rural area and the other one completed Grade 10 and left school for marriage.
- Has two sisters in Nairobi—were educated until Grade 8 and are now married.
- Has a sister in primary school.
- Has 13 sisters—one reached Grade 8 and got married. The rest are pre-school age.

Most important benefits of education:

- *"Backbone of society—has helped me a lot, I will be able to provide for myself, its importance is beyond my imagination."*
- *"I cannot conclude its importance. Being out of ignorance is a great advantage."*
- *"I do not want to be in the same position as an illiterate person. I will be able to become independent after graduation."*
- *"The more you are educated, the more you are exposed to the light—the greatest achievement is what you can contribute to society."*

What has happened to Somali friends who graduate from different courses:

- *"I have a friend working in Jijiga National Bank who graduated from Economics."*
- *"Many go to government organizations, I don't know any working for private organizations. Some are about six months without work while they are applying for jobs."*
- *"Many work for government—it depends on the demand, e.g., in Jijiga there is a greater demand for young professionals and you can get immediately employed there."*
- *"Some get government jobs and others are still looking (around one year). Around 80% are employed (took six months) and 20% are still looking for work."*
- *"Some got immediate jobs, others are still looking, especially those who graduated from Political Science (two to three years)—some get positions but their government bosses are less educated than they are and they try to push them out."*

Youth out of education

This section includes young people who are currently attending short courses facilitated by Mercy Corps as part of the BRIDGES project but prior to this they were not in education.

49) Uneducated pastoralist youth taking short courses at Jijiga TVET, (part of BRIDGES project), (male and female)

Shukri (age 30) —woodwork
Yasmin (19) —plumbing
Raage (20) —masonry

Raage was born in a pastoralist rural area. They had land where they grew sorghum and sesame and had a camel, cattle, sheep, and goats. They sold milk. When he was young he looked after the animals and when he grew up he worked on the land and his younger brother watched the animals. Raage went to Quranic schools. His parents encouraged him to learn but there was no school. In 2006, he moved to Jijiga with his family when he was 15 because of the drought and they had lost all their animals. His father died at the same time and his mother started selling tomatoes. He recently became a shoemaker about a year ago. His uncle was a shoemaker so he saw the techniques and started working with him, as before that he was jobless. He was also working as a volunteer for the security of the kebele

and someone approached him and two other boys with the offer of being nominated for the course he is currently taking at Jijiga TVET with the support of the BRIDGES project.

Yasmin was born in Tule, a pastoralist area and had land where they grew wheat and livestock—camels, sheep, and goats. Her parents encouraged her to have an education but there was no time. She watched the animals. Her father is no longer alive. Her family lost all their animals in 2009 in the drought, so she came to Jijiga to work as a house servant. *"Many girls leave rural areas so when I came I asked people who told me about the brokers who organize the domestic work. I went to a house where a broker (from Oromia) arranges placements for girls with Somali families."* The family Yasmin works for treat her well. She gets paid EB 500 per month. After one year her mother, two brothers, and sister came to live with her as Yasmin was able to rent somewhere to live. She stopped the work six months ago to join the TVET course which Mercy Corps developed as part of the Bridges project. Her mother sells gas and one of her brothers is a blacksmith. They have not re-stocked their livestock. The son of the family she worked for who worked for the kebele told her about the opportunity to access the TVET course.

Shukri was born in Harsinta to pastoralist parents. They had cattle, sheep, and goats, and no land. His father was a broker at the animal market. There was only a Quranic school in the area. He came to Jijiga ten years ago after his father died, with his mother. They had ten sheep and goats and six cows when he was born. When they left the rural area they had six shoats and two cows. He brought them to the animal market and sold them and bought a plot of land with the proceeds where he built a house. He got a stall for his mother to sell khat and he bought khat from town for her to sell and he worked as a shoe shiner. Around seven years later his mother died. He sold the khat stall to pay for her funeral. Then he was wandering looking for work for three years. He has two sisters in Djbouti and one in Hargeisa but does not receive remittances from them. Shukri does voluntary work for the kebele security and was nominated for the TVET course.

Aspirations:
All three of the students feel the course is a great opportunity. The teaching is in Amharic but some students translate into Somali for them. The teachers wanted to write but the students complained as none of them are literate so they asked the teachers to show them how the work is done. There are ten students on each course. The students are about to graduate and are expecting the TVET to tell them about employment opportunities. They are looking forward to doing something and believe they have the skills to put what they have learned into practice.

Yasmin—*"I have learned technical skills, one day I want a shop selling plumbing materials."*
Raage—*"I want to become an engineer—masonry is the starting point, I want to build tall houses."*
Shukri—*"I am learning woodcraft and want to have my own workshop. I would study more if I had the opportunity."*

Value of education:
Shukri—*"I am different—feel literate as have learned new skills and can do something for myself."*
Yasmin—*"I feel equal to those who have learned with blackboards."*
Raage—*"I am happy as I feel I can do something confidently."*

What they would do with savings:
Yasmin—*"I would buy land and livestock, would want a second chance but if not possible it is better to stay here."*

Do they want their children to have experiences of a rural life?
Yasmin and Raage—*"I would have to take them to see how I used to do it."*
Shukri—*"It is good to pass on the culture and traditions to the young and keep it alive."*

Opportunities for pastoralists:
Yasmin—*"This was a great opportunity so if there were more similar opportunities for pastoralist youth that would be good. She was not educated and had no land or livestock so this is the only option and we want other to be able to have the same opportunities as we had."*
Shukri—*"It is important to create job opportunities as well as educational opportunities."*

What they would say to parents whose children complete Grade 8 and then don't want to go back to pastoralism and parents ask, "What's the value of education?"?
Yasmin—*"That problem exists in many places because parents can't afford to send children to Jijiga. Education is free but we need accommodation and food so if you have no relatives, then parents cannot afford it. The fact that the children know how to read and write means they are not wasted. Droughts are making rural life more difficult and educated people from rural backgrounds want better opportunities."*

50) Grade 8 completers, Dandamane, (three males)

Jabir, aged 22, Abdiwahab, aged 22 and Abdullahi, aged 21, all completed their Grade 8 primary three years ago in Dandamane school. One is working as an assistant teacher (unpaid), another is working as a porter around town, and another helps his parents and others on their land.

All of the boys wanted to continue their education but their parents cannot afford to send them to secondary school in Jijiga. Some of their friends who went to Jijiga are now in Grade 10 and Grade 11. There are no opportunities in the area. *"We do not want to be ABE teachers because the salary is nothing—only EB 300–400. It is better to leave it. Also if you want to be an ABE teacher it is better to be Grade 10. Also if we start being teachers our families will say, 'Now you are working, you must get married'—then there will be no chance of studying once we have a wife and children."*

The young men had just returned from travelling to Harar to find out about a distance learning course which their families have agreed to pay for. It costs EB 500 per term and will enable them to continue their secondary education. All the material is in English and there is no contact with any teachers. They hope that some of the primary teachers in Dandamane will be able to help them. They have to go to Harar to register and for the exams. They said they will try to find ways to cover the costs themselves. One of the men has relatives in town and receives some money from them every month.

They were disappointed by their Grade 8 scores and said that they did not have good teaching.

"I have 11 siblings. When I was in Grade 7, my parents were happy to send my four younger siblings to Grade 1. When I finished Grade 8 and had no job and would ask, 'What next?' they said we cannot tolerate 'What next?' so they withdrew my three brothers and sister from the school. They said it is better to continue the way we lived before."

"When our parents see that we are not in Grade 9 and not working they think their younger children will end up the same. They prefer us to get married and lead a life which is possible. They don't think

education is worthless but cannot afford for us not to do anything. The lack of a secondary school has widely affected the community."

Abdullahi explained why they chew khat: *"We know it wastes health, money, and time but I don't have further education, I am young and jobless and I do not have a future. If I sit alone, I think too much and I will go crazy so instead I chew. Sometimes your friends are chewing and you are alone so you have to join them and chew. We have only been chewing khat since we completed Grade 8 and left school."*

Aspirations:

- *"I want to become Minister of Education so I can do something about the reckless education around here."*
- *"I want to come back to this area and develop my community. The world is small due to technology but we are isolated. I want to be in the administration of the region to enable my community to join the world."*
- *"I want to become a gynecologist or obstetrician—many women die in childbirth here. I want to save the women."*

51) Discussion with girls sponsored on the IT course at GRTPC

A total of 16 girls were sponsored; 13 were present at the center; some were sharing computers.

All the girls started school after their families moved to the towns. In the rural area they looked after the animals, though they also went to Quranic schools; in town they don't go to Quranic schools. Because they had such low literacy/numeracy, they did one month's training in the Somali language before starting the computer training.

Benefits mentioned were: the stipend—they used it to support their families, and also it allowed them to attend private schools (all four are now attending private schools); they also gained new skills; now they want to support their families and also contribute to their communities and wider society; they are expecting to work in an office.

None of them have jobs and they haven't had any careers advice or discussion with MC or the college about this. The college told them they'd be "rewarded in accordance with their grades;" the kebele told them it is a good opportunity for them and they should do their best.

Location	Age	Formal Education	Background
Gode	17	G 2—she dropped out because family needed her	Had livestock in rural area but lost livestock and family moved to town two years ago. Father drives donkey cart and sells firewood.
Kelafo	16	G 1	They lost their livestock and came to Kelafo nine years ago. Father works on his own land.

(continued on the next page)

(continued from previous page)

Location	Age	Formal Education	Background
Gode	18	G 1—dropped out because of poverty	They lost their livestock and came to Gode five years ago. Father works on other people's land.
Kelafo	18	G 1—couldn't combine housework and school	They had land but harvests were poor and they moved to Kelafo town seven years ago. Father works on other people's land.

52) Discussion with woodwork trainers (two) and students (two) and mechanic trainer (one) and students (four), GRTPC (all males)

Woodwork:

- There were originally eight woodwork students, but four dropped out (one got job and three went home)
- The remaining four don't have jobs yet; they are not expecting to go back to rural areas since no employment there and they don't have materials to start up a business
- However, they have just finished the course at end March so haven't really looked yet
- One student came from a rural pastoralist background, but when he came to the town after losing livestock, he wasn't able to do anything because he had no education; the other one also came from a pastoralist background and was living in a mosque as had nowhere else
- They believe there are many "drop-outs" and they were lucky to get the chance

Mechanics:

- One was a pastoralist, because of recurrent drought he lost livestock, he came to Bur'Cado kebele but couldn't adapt to the town life. He came to Kelafo and there he met the Sports Bureau Head who told him about this opportunity. He applied and got it.
- They had no previous experience of mechanic work prior to the course, and feel that six months is too short—they need more time to practice and get practical experience since they are still students and not fully-qualified mechanics.
- Four students got an apprenticeship in the afternoons; they get trained but they are not paid.
- Their trainer studied and is a fully qualified mechanic—he trained for three years, worked for two years, and has been teaching for five years. He thinks six months is too short and at minimum they need additional six months' practice/training.
- If they are well trained there are plenty of jobs, e.g., private vehicles, farms, irrigation, etc.
- The other trainer already has his own garage and hires apprentices. This trainer is accumulating capital and hopes to start his own business.

7.1.5 Employers

Jijiga

53) Manager of Hamda Hotel (Jijiga's biggest hotel), (male, tertiary education overseas)

The Hamda Hotel is owned by the famous billionaire khat trader Sahura. Her brother Ali returned to Ethiopia five years ago after 30 years in the USA, to manage the hotel. His wife and two daughters (age 21 and 15) have remained in the USA.

Ali was born in Ethiopia; his mother was a khat trader. There were only three primary schools in Jijiga in the early 1970s and one high school. He started high school in 1973. He did sport every weekend when he was at school. Jijiga was about a quarter of the size it is now. He was still in high school when the war broke out in 1977 and went to Somalia as a refugee. He worked for USAID in Somalia and got a scholarship to the USA in 1984. In the USA he studied a BSc in Chemistry and Maths and an MSc in Public Education and Master's of Art of Instruction. He taught maths for eight years and Chemistry for two years. He went on to work as Quality Control Officer for C Gate Company for five years.

His sister and her husband wanted to build a hospital on the site of the hotel but it did not work out, so they decided to build a hotel. Ali does not have any hotel management experience, so he is learning a lot of the time. The hotel opened three and a half years ago. His job is to expand the hotel and restaurant. His sister has bought land in Addis and plans to build another Hamda Hotel. Ali is interested to take on the Addis project but also wants to go back and visit his family.

The hotel has 50 employees and 5 laborers on call. The front office consists of five people, including a financial officer with a BSc degree in Accounting, someone to manage the internet, someone to manage the reception, and a function coordinator. Thirteen staff work in housekeeping, 11 in the restaurant, 11 in the café, and 8 in security. Most of his employees are women—"Women do not get the kind of status they deserve."

He ensures the staff get staff development training. He gives some training himself. (His assistant used to work in UNHCR.)

"It is difficult to find good people in this environment. Many young people are high school dropouts and there is a shortage of skilled people." They hire staff through advertising and through telling their existing employees to recommend someone. Sometimes they recruit internally from their mother company. Most of the hotel staff are non-Somali (around 90%). *"The reason for this is that culturally, Somalis are not prepared to work for lower salaries because they depend on their tribes and family. They want a lot of money for little skill. Also Somalis spend a lot of money and whatever they earn will not be enough. People from the Ethiopian highlands are more economical and use their income wisely."*

"Somali men chew and smoke and do not want to work in Jijiga. I conducted my own research and in 75% of families around here, women are working, whereas men wake up late, go to the khat stall and then go and chew. Women have a big burden…. 54% of our society are women, but women do not have enough rights to develop. Women bring milk, cows, goats, and agricultural products to the city for selling and inside the city the shops and stalls are at least 60% run by women and the peddlers are 80% women. There is a lot of potential—with education women can raise their voice."

"Somali society needs to move from family dependency to individual dependency—education can play a role in this. People need orientation on how to bring up their children so as not to be dependent."

"Family planning is needed. Islam is misinterpreted. Islam tells you to go according to your ability."

"The region was neglected for 40 years. We were finally recognized as part of Ethiopia with this government. People live in a primitive tribal system, which is anti-development because people are chosen by tribe/clan and not by their skills and knowledge."

"Young people who drop out of education and are chewing khat are coming from dysfunctional families because the father is out chewing and the mother is working outside the home so there is no one to guide the children. The government should create more sports opportunities."

Gode

54) Garage owner, (male)

Mulud is from Fik Zone—he never left for Somalia but stayed in Ethiopia during the war. He started off in business in Babile, but lost money and was discouraged. He didn't have anything to do. One day he overheard a conversation where someone was saying, *"Whoever owns sheep or goats will lose them, but people who have skills will never lose them."* He took this to heart, and decided to move to Harar to train with Abdi Coule, a well-known Somali garage owner. He worked and learned from him. Then he set up his own garage in Dehegabur. He visited Gode to see some friends—*"When I got here there were two broken pumps along the Wabe Shabelle that no-one knew how to fix so I fixed them."* Everyone started to ask him to fix their pumps and so he gave some pump owners *"on-the-job"* training in maintaining the pumps and he was busy all week. Then he decided to move to Gode and rent some land and set up a garage, which he did in 1994. At that time the town was very small and there were few vehicles around. *"In those days mechanics were not really respected and were looked down on."* When he started in Gode, his was the first garage; now there are over ten in Gode—around four were started by his former employees.

When he started the garage, many youth used to turn up and ask for apprenticeships; some of them were Somalis trying to escape Ethiopia across the Red Sea—but their boats had capsized and they didn't make it, so they had to come back. He gave some of them apprenticeships and now some of them have even bigger businesses than he—one travels to Afder, Liben Zones; another one was looked down on as a thief and people told Mulud not to hire him; he'd been a pastoralist and come to town but had no way to make a living. Mulud advised him and took him on and now he is a garage owner in Gode and is himself supporting others. Another one used to collect gum, then he joined a construction company as a stone worker—one of the pieces of stone got in his eye. He asked Mulud to give him a chance, which Mulud did and now he is a garage owner in Chereti (Fara Awol). One apprentice was a camel herder in Harshin—he only used to get paid with two young camels for a whole year's work—he joined Mulud and now he is a general mechanic. Another one moved "with only his kettle" from the rural areas—he is also now a general mechanic. One of his former staff (Abdi Geda) joined an NGO, then became a driver with MSF Belgium, then moved up, and is now on the verge of becoming an international staff.

"I don't select my employees by tribe, by certificates, or by qualification—what is most important to me is that the person has the willingness and enthusiasm to learn and is committed to improving themselves. Some of my apprentices might come from NGOs, some via government—there are different selection processes."

Dire Dawa

55) Businessman, (former contraband trader, secondary educated male)

Abdi was born in Dire Dawa 25 years ago. His family were merchants, bringing goods via the railway from Djibouti. He went to school until Grade 10. While studying he assisted his uncle who also traded contraband goods, bringing them in by camel and later by trucks. Because he was busy helping his uncle, his GPA (Grade Point Average) was less than he needed to get into higher education. He continued to work for his uncle for two years after he completed school. Then for the following six years he worked for himself. He used his savings from working with his uncle to start his own business. He bought a car and travelled to Somalia to buy goods and bring them to Dire Dawa to sell. He was doing very well. He made between EB 100,000 and EB 150,000 per month—*"A month's salary in a day!"*

Abdi bought a second car for his business. A year ago he was in his car and was with friends in other cars who were bringing in goods. His friends were shot by the Finance Police and died. So he decided to stop his business.

He was in the medium-wealth group amongst the contraband traders. He started from the lowest position, i.e., from working for someone else—when he was working for his uncle he sold the goods and only got commission for this work. Then when he had his own business he got to a moderate level. Those in the richest group are living in Djibouti and have many properties. His uncle moved to Djbouti and his father retired; Abdi supports his father.

Abdi bought a truck for transporting construction materials and he is now taking part in the development of the region. An international NGO is constructing schools and water points and Abdi was awarded the contract to transport the raw materials to the construction sites. For one week's work he had just been paid EB 36,000. He now has two trucks and eight workers (two Oromos and the rest are Somalis). He does not employ relatives, *"This is not a clan-based area. I need to employ people he feels comfortable with—the two drivers should have a licence, the rest are manual laborers and do not need specific skills but should be active and competent."*

Future plans: *"I want to expand and if possible import goods ('contraband times are over')."* He would like to import sugar from factories in Addis and open a big store to sell sugar in Dire Dawa as sugar is in short supply. He would like to sell sugar wholesale; however, this is not possible—he will have to buy the sugar and take it to the government warehouse and pay tax on it, then the government will set the price for selling the sugar and it must be available for the whole population and cannot be sold wholesale. There are also opportunities in other food products—rice and oil are greatly needed.

Importance of his education and on-job training: *"I was raised in a business environment and gained experience of how to do business. I am educated enough to read and write and calculate and speak Amharic. This combination can make you successful."*

Others who were involved in contraband trading—what they are doing now:
1) "Some lost everything—their goods and cards and have no money to start up something else."
2) "Some are still involved—sometimes they make a profit and sometimes a loss. They use camels rather than cars as roads are blocked by customs officials. The traders rent the camels from the pastoralists. In the past when they were caught the camels were released. Now the government sells the camels in the market so the pastoralists lose the camels. They also sell the contraband."
3) "Others like me have stopped and diversified into legal businesses."

"Khat chewing has reduced in Dire Dawa; amongst people of my age, two-thirds don't chew and one-third chew, whereas in my parents' generation all of them chewed. The reason is that many of them do sports, some are in education, and my peer group mainly work in government, so they are too busy to chew. However, it is increasing in rural areas—khat arrives and is sold at high prices, yet people buy."

7.2 ANNEX II–Terms of Reference for Study

Feinstein International Center, Tufts University

Impact Assessment and Analysis Support to DFID: *Piloting the Delivery of Quality Education Services in the Developing Regional States of Ethiopia*

Terms of Reference for a study on the role of education in livelihoods in the Somali Region of Ethiopia

Background
Save the Children UK in Ethiopia are implementing a one-year project in the Somali Region of Ethiopia which combines education and peace objectives. Partners include Mercy Corps, Islamic Relief, and the Somali regional government. The project is funded by DFID and includes a strong component of lesson learning and documentation, with a view to influencing future DFID investments in the region. Specifically, the project aims to develop and test strategies for state and non-state actors to work in partnership to promote peace building and state building in Somali Region through the provision of improved education services. It intends to gain a better understanding of the role and function of local civil society organizations in supporting education service delivery and peace building in conflict-affected areas of the region, which includes issues of CSO access, capacity, and politicization. Other areas of interest are the role of community groups in promoting peace building and the use of pedagogical and curriculum development to encourage tolerance, social cohesion, and peaceful settlement of conflicting interests. The Feinstein International Center (FIC) at Tufts University has a contract from Save the Children UK to provide analytical support to the project.

Terms of Reference
A consultant is required for a study on the role of education in Somali Region, with a focus on the contribution of education to pastoralist livelihoods. The study should cover major urban and rural areas of the SC UK project, with different livelihoods characteristics. These areas are provisionally identified as Miesso-Mulu Woreda (Shinille Zone), Dire Dawa, Babile-Dhandamane Woreda (Jijiga Zone), Jijiga town, Hargelle/Chereti Woredas (Afdher Zone), and Gode town.

The specific Terms of Reference are as follows:

1. Produce timelines showing the evolution of education in the Somali Region, including the approaches to education provision by different regimes, and the ways in which Somali communities accessed education outside the region, e.g., in neighboring countries or elsewhere. Although this should be a relatively small part of the work, of particular interest would be the juxtaposition of Koranic and non-Koranic education and how that has evolved, and also understanding the ways and extent to which communities have been involved in the decision-making processes.
2. Using an individual case study approach, document personal experiences of education, perceptions of the role of education in supporting pastoral livelihoods and alternative livelihoods, and views on the main barriers to improving education in Somali Region. Education is broadly defined and includes Koranic education. This activity is expected to focus on four main types of informant, clearly divided by gender, to ensure at least a 50% female response rate:
   - Somali professionals currently residing in Somali Region or elsewhere, and who have experienced education from primary to tertiary levels. Information collected from these informants should include accounts of the types of education they experienced, and how education has benefited (or not) them as individuals, plus their families and wider communities. Interviews with these informants should also gather information on perceived barriers to better education for pastoralists in Somali Region. Interviews should distinguish between barriers to education for girls and boys, and explore cultural or other issues which particularly affect girl's access to education.
   - Community leaders such as elders and religious leaders in the selected study locations. The emphasis of these interviews will be similar to above, but noting that some informants may not have attended school. Specific questions in these issues should also cover issues of mobility and local views on options for delivery education to mobile households.
   - Government staff in the Bureau of Education, Somali Region, again to cover issues above, plus regional government thinking on the provision of education in pastoralist areas.
   - Youth, both in and out of education, focusing on their aspirations, experiences of education, and if and how they see education as contributing to their future opportunities.
   - Employers, understanding the extent to which education in Somali is (perceived to be) preparing youth for employment.

Deliverables

The analysis is expected to draw on existing literature and key informant interviews.

1. The study report is a deliverable of the consultancy, to be delivered in final version within four weeks after the completion of field interviews. The study is qualitative in nature, based on individual case studies. The report is expected to present much of the material in the form of direct (translated) narrative from informants, although the analysis should clearly consider these within a sustainable livelihoods framework. Photographs can be included.
2. Provide a verbal briefing/presentation to DFID, SCUK, Mercy Corps, Islamic Relief, and FIC, and other stakeholders as identified with these agencies. The briefing is a deliverable of the consultancy.

Time input

35 days, including travel and report write-up.

Consultant skills and experience

- At least ten years' experience of pastoral livelihoods in the Horn of Africa.
- Ability to conduct rigorous field research with Somali communities; either fluency in the Somali language, or experience of working with Somali translators.
- Strong writing and presentation skills.
- Ability to work in a politically-sensitive environment, and engage government and other actors accordingly.
- Experience of education programming, and related donor and NGO strategies.

Other information/options

The FIC office in Addis Ababa has a collection of resource documents on Somali Region, including education in pastoralist areas of the Horn.


BOY

Feinstein International Center

Feinstein International Center
Tufts University
200 Boston Ave., Suite 4800
Medford, MA 02155
USA
tel: +1 617.627.3423
fax: +1 617.627.3428
fic.tufts.edu