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State, Pastoralists and Education in Tanzania: How Can Conflicts and Tensions be Resolved?

*Victor M. Mlekwa**

Abstract

Tanzania is one of the top ten countries in the world which accommodate the largest concentration of the traditional livestock producers. Since independence in 1961, the Tanzanian state has been making various attempts to provide basic social services to the pastoralists and other mobile communities.

In so doing, however, the state has been evolving policies and practices many of which are in conflict with the needs and interests of these communities because they are not based on their socio-economic realities: a long established and cherished cultural heritage, livestock production as a principal means of livelihood, high mobility through constant migration, and the harsh environment characterized by drought, animal rustling, disease, and poor means of communication.

The pastoralists themselves have accumulated a reservoir of knowledge and experience in managing their own lives in their own way, and in their own environment. It is encouraging to note from various studies that there is an ever increasing demand for education and other dimensions of development in the hitherto uncaptured communities.

This article, banking on what other people interested in the welfare of these communities have found out, suggests some alternative educational strategies to assist the pastoral and mobile communities to promote their own development without losing their freedom, autonomy, economy, social controls and self-reliance. The article advocates a more comprehensive study whereby the communities will be fully involved in determining what, how, where, and when to learn.

Introduction

Although one of the key elements of Tanzania's education policy has been the promotion of equitable access to education for all segments of the population, great inequalities still exist and persist between children from urban and rural

* Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam

areas, children of the poor and the rich, males and females, children from different geographical locations, and those from different cultural groups (United Republic of Tanzania (URT), 1992). In this regard, the pastoral and mobile communities are the most disadvantaged of all. With increasing deterioration of the economy, leading to a sharp decline in the domestic resource base needed to sustain the provision of social services, Tanzanians are now being called upon to supplement government efforts by meeting some of the costs involved. As richer communities take on greater responsibility for education, more inequalities are likely to surface unless the government works out some mechanisms to support educational activities in the poor parts of the country.

In this context, it is encouraging to note increased government commitment to delegate decisions on the management and financing of education to the local level (URT, 1990). Until recently, a centralized structure for management of education has been in place and has led to the development of a rigid, crowded and often irrelevant curriculum. Consequently, the educational scene in Tanzania has been characterized by deterioration in physical facilities: shortages in textbooks, instructional materials and equipment; as well as declining quality and motivation of teachers (URT, 1990). All these factors and others, have contributed much to the declining quality of education. This article makes a modest attempt to show that the pastoral and mobile communities in Tanzania have not only remained in the periphery of educational policy making but they have also been greatly marginalized by the policies formulated by the state. It is argued that there is an urgent need to implement the World Declaration on Education for All and Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs launched in Thailand in 1990.

The article is divided into six sections. The first one briefly points out some problems in defining these social groups, while the second examines their production systems and social organization. The third section addresses the issue of marginalisation of these pastoral and mobile communities, and the fourth one maps out educational provisions, highlighting some of the main problems and constraints. While the fifth section discusses quality issues and provides some suggestions on what should be done to create learning opportunities to the hitherto uncaptured population, the sixth makes some concluding remarks pointing out key issues which need serious investigation and action.

Towards an Understanding of Pastoral and Mobile Communities

For descriptive purposes, pastoral and mobile communities in Tanzania, and elsewhere, can be located at three points on the continuum. First, there are pure pastoralists whose most of their gross revenue emanates from livestock or livestock related activities (Mtengeti, 1994), second, there are agro-pastoralists whose livelihood is sustained both by agricultural production and livestock production. Kjaerby (1979:2), thus defined agro-pastoralism as "a combination of crop and livestock production which is distinguished not only from pure agriculture, on one side, and pure pastoralism on the other, but also from mixed farming, with which it is often confused." It should be borne in mind, however, that the so-called pure pastoralists, hunter-gatherers and agro-pastoralists themselves are not homogeneous groups. Over time, and due to a number of factors that will be dealt with later, some of those who used to be pure pastoralists have been steadily drifting into agriculture to become agro-pastoralists, while others have abandoned pastoralism to become agriculturalists.

Compilation of demographic data about the pastoralists and other mobile communities is difficult for two main reasons. First, census data have been silent on ethnic or tribal differences since the Tanzanian state resolved to discourage tribalism and ethnic sentiments. Second, these groups are so mobile that it is not easy to access all of them for reliable enumeration. Nevertheless, it is a well-known fact that East Africa accommodates the largest concentration of the traditional livestock producers in the world (Doornboss and Markakis, 1991). Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, rank among the top ten countries in the world in terms of pastoral population size. In all these countries, the Maasai constitute one of the largest pastoral groups in East Africa numbering as many as 250,000 people, while Simanjiro District is the largest of the four Maasai districts in Tanzania with a population of 71,531 practising pastoralism as a way of life (Ole-Lengisugi, 1994:1).

The pastoral and mobile communities have distinct characteristics shaped by different economic, political, social and geographical circumstances. And yet they share a common denominator: the fact that they are the most disadvantaged groups as far as access to, and acquisition of, educational and other social facilities are concerned largely due to their constant migration and dispersion (Chimah, 1990). They live under very difficult conditions, in harsh environments, and yet they use various strategies to survive in those risky environments such as resource exploitation, mobility (in response to

unpredictable forage and water availability), escape mobility (long distance migration to escape drought conditions), livestock accumulation and diversification of livestock species, income and subsistence sources such as migrant wage income (Mtengeti, 1994). The next section focuses on production systems and social organization of the typical pastoralists, namely the Maasai.

Production Systems and Social Organization

Production Systems

The traditional economy of pastoral societies is based on raising animals which include cattle, camels, buffalo, reindeer, goats, and sheep. For most pastoralists, their animals—particularly the large stock like cattle and camels—are a status symbol, and the most significant part of their self-identity and self-respect (Chimah, 1990). For the pastoral Maasai, for example, cattle of the shorthorned Zebu type is the most valuable property in society. In addition to being a source of milk, meat and blood, it provides the Maasai with their basis for subsistence and, coupled with grazing land, water and family labour, it constitutes the principal means of pastoral production. It provides food, utensils, clothing and adornment. It signifies wealth, conveys status, serves as a medium of exchange, and legitimizes marriage. It symbolizes social relationships, is an object of affection and ritual, and signifies life itself (Arheim, 1985:8).

Clansmen have some rights in each other's herds, but ownership of livestock is primarily individual. Water rights on the other hand are controlled by the clan, while specific wells, springs and water holes are usually controlled by local clan groups or certain families. In areas where water is abundant, such as in permanent rivers, possession is communal. Pastoral societies as a whole subsist mainly off the produce of their animals, even though there is currently an increasing exchange of livestock for agricultural products between pastoralists and agriculturalists. For centuries, the pastoral Maasai have resisted the adoption of alternative modes of subsistence like agriculture, fishing and hunting. What should not be overlooked here is the fact that pure pastoral diet is endowed with a high cultural value: in addition to being a dietary ideal, it is also a marker of ethnic identity.

Social Organization

Contrarily to the views of some people, the socio-economic organization of pastoralists is quite rational. Social organization is flexible so as to allow for periodic contraction, expansion and organization of herding units and social groups following changes in environmental conditions (Arhem, 1981). The organization of family labour and the management of herds are geared at striking a balance between the needs of the family (milk, blood, and meat) and the needs of the livestock (grass and water), as well as a balance between-man, domestic livestock and the natural environment. As Arheim (1981:10) puts it:

Social groups are recruited on the basis of practical considerations of resource utilization and congeniality in co-operation rather than static kinship ties or rules of residence.

Unfortunately, many development agents working in these pastoral communities do not seem to appreciate the uniqueness of their cultures and the sophistication of their socio-economic organizations. One of the organisational dimensions of the Maasai society, for example, is the age-set system which forms the basis for the Maasai political organization, and provides a model for the organization of society and the social division of labour (Arheim, 1985). For the Maasai, there are three distinctive phases in human growth and maturation. Uncircumcised boys, below the age of 14 years, provide the labour for the routine herding activities in the pastoral community. On reaching the age of 14-17 years, the boys are circumcised and initiated into warriorhood: they become junior warriors and enter an age-set. Seven or eight years later a ceremony known as '*eunoto*' is held at which the junior warriors are promoted into senior warriors, and at which the local leaders of the age-set are chosen. Thereafter, the warriors are permitted to marry. A final ceremony is held, about seven years after '*eunoto*', to mark the end of warriorhood and give a name to the age-set. After this ceremony, known as '*Olgensher*' the warriors become junior elders or '*bayan*', who are now supposed to settle down and assume full family responsibilities.

Elders wield both political and spiritual power in the community: they exert control over the warriors, they maintain and restore social order in the community, they transmit their accumulated experience related to herding and resource management to the younger generation, and they serve as spiritual guardians and sponsors of religious ceremonies, passing on the cherished

traditions and customs of the people to the youths and children (Arheim, 1985).

As early as thirteen years, a girl is eligible for marriage. Her husband gives her a small herd which she is expected to look after and keep in trust for her future sons. As a housewife and mother, she constructs her own hut in the 'boma' of her husband, and performs many domestic chores including fetching firewood and water, milking cows, loading and unloading donkeys as family moves from one camp to another, and looking after her children. Other tasks include cleaning and preparation of hides and skins for making skin clothing and bed coverings, making bead ornaments and necklaces, designing and keeping the milking gourds clean, and distribution of milk supplies among family members (Arheim, 1981).

Decision-making machinery in the Maasai society comprises the age-set leaders of the locality plus the Council of Elders. Religious powers are vested with the 'laibon', a ritual expert who is supposed to protect people from illness and misfortune, to cure diseases and perform rainmaking rituals. He is quite a powerful and respected person in the Maasai society: no age-set ceremony, for example, can take place without his blessing (Arheim, 1981).

Marginalisation of Pastoral Communities

Following their parochial perceptions of pastoralists, governments in Africa and elsewhere in the world where these people are found, have introduced policies and practices which have resulted in marginalisation of the people, environmental degradation, and disintegration of the pastoral economy. McCabe, Perkins and Schoefield (1992), for example, have shown that the dual policy of linking conservation of natural resources with human development has brought about adverse effects on the subsistence economy and nutrition of the Maasai living in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. What emerges quite clearly is that while the environment has been protected, the economy of the Ngorongoro Maasai is seriously declining. As a whole, the people are increasingly being unable to support themselves by pastoralism, and there is clear evidence of malnutrition in the human population. The authors further argue that the situation of the Ngorongoro Maasai is very much similar to what is happening in the pastoral regions of East Africa.

State intervention in the development of pastoral societies in Tanzania has been further studied by Mustafa (1989), who has shown the extent to which the livestock-producing peasants (pastoralists) of Tanzania have been

adversely affected by state policies which give more priority to the state capitalist sector. Tracing the process of capitalist accumulation from the colonial era to the present times—with reference to the Parakuyo Maasai pastoralists of Western Bagamoyo District—Mustafa has demonstrated that the latter are increasingly being transformed into agro-pastoralists, proletarianized, and dispossessed of their major forms of production, namely land and livestock.

Likewise, agro-pastoralists have also been adversely affected by state policies on social and economic development. Lawi (1992) for example, studied what he called 'the process of modernization' (*sic*) of the Iraqw peasantry of Babati, Hanang and Mbulu districts during 1960-90, and found out that the expansion of commercial cropping of wheat, maize and beans since the 1970s had resulted in social and environmental degradation, as well as other man-made ecological problems, all being attributed largely to the propensity for profit maximization.

Doornboss and Markakis (1991), examining the crisis of pastoralism and the role of the state, have shown that the traditional livestock sector started to decline during colonial rule whereby pastoralists were incorporated into the modern states without pastoralism itself being incorporated into the colonial economy. They have continued to show the marginalisation of pastoralism accelerated in the post-colonial era through encroachment into the pastoralist terrain by commercial agriculture, measures taken by the independent states to limit pastoralist movement, and degradation of the pastoralist habitat by recurrent drought which raises the spectre of desertification in many areas. A central problem discussed in the literature on how best to facilitate the social and economic development of pastoral and mobile communities is whether or not these people should be sedentary or remain mobile. Official policy in the East African region seems to regard settlement as the only solution to the numerous problems posed by the wandering herders, while hardly any effort is made to improve production in the traditional livestock sector (Doornboss and Markakis, 1991).

Expectations of most African governments, Tanzania included, are twofold. First, that the pastoralists must settle down as quickly as possible if they are to receive services such as water, health and education; and, second, that the primitive (*sic*) system of livestock management will in the final analysis break down completely (Mtengeti, 1994). These expectations, and others of the like, are made regardless of the fact that settling pastoralists requires either an improvement of the carrying capacity around the village or

destocking—measures which are hardly taken, while the latter is unacceptable to pastoralists (Mtengeti, 1994). As has already been shown, attempts to settle pastoralists, through coercion or persuasion, have resulted in land degradation around the villages due to overgrazing.

In their own traditional wisdom, the pastoralists and mobile communities have generally been resisting the whole notion of sedentarization. Mustafa (1990), for examples, has documented the Tanzanian Government's attempt to villagise the Iparakuyo Maasai in Bagamoyo District, showing that after the Arusha Declaration in 1967, the settlement scheme was changed into one of developing ujamaa villages for the pastoralists. However, what comes out very clearly from Mustafa's descriptive analysis of the Iparakuyo Maasai experience is that the latter resisted the government move as "the idea of permanent settlement without the necessary infrastructural development of water and grazing to support their cattle was too suicidal to contemplate;" and consequently "the idea of the ujamaa villages was abandoned as a failure" (Mustafa, 1990:108).

Writing on the same people, Ndagala (1991) has demonstrated that, notwithstanding the various pressures to abandon their production system, the Iparakuyo pastoralists have managed to hold on to their herds by persistently fighting against settlement, even though by so doing they continue to lose their grazing land to cultivators and various state institutions. Ndagala then laments that uncontrolled loss of land is likely to lead to the pastoralists' ultimate loss of their herds, which in turn may lead to loss of their self-reliance. The next section examines state-sponsored education in pastoral areas, with a focus on problems and constraints which need to be resolved to hasten the development process among the pastoralists.

Educational Provisions: Problems and Constraints

Traditionally the pastoralists, notably the Maasai, were unwilling to send their children to school. Currently, however, there is an increasing demand for education. Muir (1994), for example, has found out that nearly 67.8% and 60% of sampled households in Simanjiro and Monduli districts had at least one child in school. Contributing factors to this change in attitude towards education include "a need for change given the decline in herds and the pastoral economy; a need to be literate in Swahili, and to be able to demand better treatment at markets, hospitals, etc." (p. 20). One should also not

forget that as more educated people are returning to their home areas to work, they are setting an example of a salary and a higher standard of living. Consequently, education "is equated with getting more power, with leadership and influence outside the traditional institution" (Muir, 1994: 20-21).

Unfortunately, notwithstanding this increasing demand for education and the government's stated policy of promoting equitable access to education without any discrimination, most children of pastoralists and other mobile communities have no easy access to state sponsored formal and non-formal education. Despite the fact that the Ngorongoro Conservation Area is "a prestigious world heritage site and biosphere reserve, that nets at least US \$2,000,000 from tourism every year", there are only about four boarding primary schools in a place where pastoralists constitute 85% of the total population (Parkipuny, 1994:2). Because of lack of space in schools, only about 350 children enroll in primary schools, which is not more than five percent (Parkipuny, 1994: 2; Habari za PANET, 1994).

Girls education in the pastoral areas is even worse off. In her situational analysis of pastoralism in Simanjiro District, for example, Muir (1994) found out that more boys than girls were attending school for various reasons; including the general thinking that while "a boy returns the investment to the home, a girl is expected to leave home to marry and to bring in bridewealth" (p. 21). Worse still, a girl tends to be seen as less capable, an attitude which is reflected in the use of terms like '*nditto*' (child) while referring to wives (Muir, 1994:21).

Kenya provides a similar experience regarding educational provisions for the pastoral and mobile communities. Presenting a paper at a workshop organised by Action Aid, Kenya, in June 1995, Naitore pointed out that about 50% of children who were enrolled in school were dropping out before completing their studies (*UHURU*, October 7, 1995). In addition, Naitore also showed that in most primary schools the number of girls was by far less than the number of boys.

In secondary schools too, places for the children of pastoralists are seriously limited. Pastoral districts get very meagre allocations of state-owned boarding secondary school places. For example, Mbulu and Ngorongoro districts, with approximately 300,000 and 70,000 people respectively, receive annually quotas of only about 100 and 20 places in secondary schools respectively (Parkipuny, 1994: 4). Moreover, while state secondary schools are accessible only to children from within the districts where such schools are situated, there are hardly any day secondary schools in the typically

pastoral areas. In Arusha Region, where the majority of pastoralists in the country live, the Roman Catholic Diocese provides indirectly virtually the only secondary education opportunities to the Maasai through Oldonyosambu Seminary, and the Simanjiro Vocational Animal Husbandry School (Parkipuny, 1994: 5).

Other problems and constraints on educational development in these communities include long distances which must be covered to and from school, very little pressure exerted for women's education, many teachers not being prepared to work in the pastoral areas, and a general negative attitude of the community towards schooling as a whole (Kasunga, 1994). There is also the problem of poor educational facilities which characterizes virtually all the schools. Muir (1994) has drawn the following picture of a typical primary school: three or four rooms, one or two houses for teachers, no latrines, only a few textbooks, only basic buildings which are not maintained, many children having to walk long distances to school without food until evening when they come back home, and most teachers are only primary school leavers with a three year teacher training course, coming from outside the district. Table 1 further shows inadequacies of schooling in the pastoral areas.

Table 1: Inadequacies of Schooling in Pastoral Areas

Type of School	Problems and Constraints
Boarding Primary School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor accommodation: • No dining and kitchen facilities • Only about 5% enrol in school • High ideal of preparing children to live in their pastoral environment not translated into practice. • Focus mainly on agricultural plots.
Community Primary School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No adequate effort made to promote selfreliance. • Educational activities viewed as a transposition of arable agricultural labour in the pastoral context.
Secondary School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insufficient places in state owned secondary schools. • No state day secondary schools. • No private secondary schools.

Source: Developed from Parkipuny, M.L. (1994). Access to appropriate formal education is the key to pastoralists recovery from marginalization.

Given all these problems and constraints, most children of the pastoralists do not perform well in the National Examination in Standard Seven. As a result—and notwithstanding the government policy which requires that a fixed number of standard seven leavers from every district proceed to secondary school—many of those who go to secondary schools are the children of government employees, most of whom come from outside the district (Muir, 1994). The poor performance is largely attributable to the methods and content of education which are unrelated, and often conflicting, with the problems, needs and aspirations of the people emanating from the concrete economic, social, cultural and environmental realities. The next section focuses on the quality of education provided, and suggests alternative educational strategies which may be employed in the context of the socio-economic characteristics of these societies.

Alternative Educational Strategies

In all pastoral and mobile communities, informal education has always been transmitted to the young generation on a continuous basis: early in life children are taught by their parents, older relations, and peer groups how to survive and earn a living in the hostile environment usually characterized by drought, diseases, livestock rustling, and poor means of communication (Chimah, 1990; Maghimbi, 1991). At circumcision ceremonies, the young people are taught everything they ought to know as home-makers and home-keepers. In their teens, they assume greater adult roles and leadership positions. They become more resourceful and aware of their environment, and of their values compared to the sedentary children in school (Chimah, 1990. Kasunga, 1994).

Unfortunately, the type of formal education that was introduced in these communities generally was, and has remained, insensitive to the socio-economic characteristics of these societies; and has not been informed by the indigenous traditional educational practice. As a result, conflicts and tensions have emerged in the process of implementing the school curricula: while parents would like their children to be imparted with values, norms and customs of their societies to enable them grow into true members of their society, education in primary schools prepares children for modern society opportunities. As PANET (1994) observed, primary education does not prepare children to be better pastoralists. Rather, it motivates them to go to

towns to seek jobs which are few, and they do not have the requisite knowledge and skills to manage them.

The rhetoric of education for self-reliance notwithstanding, children of pastoralists are not convincingly and practically engaged in the activities which equip them with the necessary life and survival skills in the pastoral mode of production. Consequently, children find it difficult not only to transfer what they learned in school to solving their problems at home, but also find it hard to adjust to school conditions. At the same time, education provided in primary schools does not in any way produce any visible direct impact to the adult population around the schools. On the contrary, as the Prime Minister and First Vice-President's Office (1990) has correctly noted, enrolling children in schools is considered by the adult population to be some kind of robbery of the labour force which they need in herding their livestock and hunting. This generates tension between parents and education officials, leading to poor attendance which is a serious problem in these societies. Thus, Narman (1990) pointed out, with reference to the Kenyan experience, that planning for education in favour of pastoralists is not only a matter of building schools: account must be given to the special problems of providing education to minority groups, related to both practical and ethical issues.

It was in that context that the Prime Minister and First Vice-President's office (1990) commissioned a study, within the 8th IDA Education Project, that would take into account the priorities of these societies which centered on livestock or food and water. Societies covered by the study were the Maasai, the Barbaig, the Taturu, the Hadzabe, the Ndorobo, and the Sonyo, all living in the three regions of Arusha, Shinyanga, and Singida. The end result of the study was expected to be a multisectoral programme consisting of projects in education, agriculture, livestock, water development, natural resources, health and community development, all to be implemented within five years.

Referring to primary education, the study advised that it should be of dual purposes so as to establish a link between the formal and informal education. The following were the specific recommendations made to improve the quality of primary education for pastoralists and other mobile communities:

- Establish modern primary schools mainly for the children of nomads and hunters
- Equip the primary schools with sufficient school materials and facilities.

- Primary schools should undertake self-reliant production activities aimed at benefiting children and adults alike.
- Primary schools should have mixed farming or agroforestry, as may apply, and operate other education practicals like carpentry, masonry, etc.
- The mixed farming, or agroforestry to be introduced in the schools should primarily aim at food self-sufficiency in both horticultural and animal products.
- Maintenance of school horticultures and livestock should be done by both school pupils and adults surrounding the schools.

While the multisectoral programme, including education, was a plausible one, its major premise was questionable: the whole programme was intended to enable the pastoral and mobile communities eventually live in permanent settlements so as to fully utilise the social services provided by government, and send their children to school—hence the title of the study: *Proposed education and settlement programme for nomadic pastoral and traditional hunting societies of Tanzania*. As has already been shown, the notion of permanent settlement has always been resisted and rejected by many pastoral and mobile communities. Thus, it would be much more rational and practical to make the whole question of permanent settlement optional, and design different educational packages to cater for the needs and interests of those who want to become sedentary, and those who want to remain mobile. Thus Oba (1992:70), banking on a long experience with the Rendile nomads of Northern Kenya, cautioned:

Each nomadic community has taboos and expectations, organizational systems and channels of communication which all influence the effectiveness of extension work. It is advisable, therefore, for extension to be tailor-made to the needs and experiences of each pastoral group. Extension workers need to appreciate the uniqueness of each community, and recognize barriers to extension work that are intrinsic in each society.

Some suggestions and recommendations have been made by a number of scholars and institutions interested in the welfare of the pastoral and mobile communities. These suggestions and recommendations rotate around four basic socio-economic characteristics of these communities as follows:

1. *'Nomad' Culture and Experience:* In designing education and other development programmes, it is important to make use of 'nomad' culture and experience as a starting point (Chimah, 1990; Prime Minister and First Vice-President's Office, 1990; Parkipuny, 1994). There is a need to modify and expand 'nomadic' traditional education, and base that education on the actual situations of the nomads. As Oba (1992) advised, with reference to the Rendile 'nomads' of Northern Kenya, indigenous knowledge should be used as a basis for planning education and training.

2. *Livestock Production as a Means of Livelihood:* Primary and secondary education must be oriented towards animal keeping (veterinary) which is the major economic activity, as well as a symbol of social status in the pastoral and mobile communities. In this regard, there is a need to design an educational package and an educational process catering for these communities: theoretical and mainly practical training in animal husbandry, improved grazing methods and better veterinary services, as well as the development of special needs of livestock keepers (Ndagala, 1974; Prime Minister and First Vice-President's Office, 1990). Teachers involved should receive some training to enable them understand pastoral livelihood strategies, resource tenure and management procedures, as well as the pastoral indigenous knowledge (Drabner, 1991).

3. *High Mobility:* Constant migration of the pastoralists requires the use of 'multi-faceted approach', including establishment of boarding schools, use of mobile school teachers and trainers, use of radio cassettes on which lessons have been recorded, as well as use of radio broadcasts of lessons. These approaches, apart from the fact that they are cost effective, will ensure that as many people as possible are reached, and that continuity in learning is maintained so as to enable them to acquire and sustain their literacy and numeracy skills (Chimah, 1990; Oba, 1992).

Once the basic rudiments of reading and writing have been attained, well-organized distance education programmes should be developed in booklets and pamphlets, which in turn should be supported by a team of well-trained mobile teachers and supervisors whose main task will be to see to it that lessons are followed, and the respective assignments are done and corrected (Chimah, 1990). Adults too could be trained through seminars, exhibitions, demonstrations and film shows, instead of simply relying on the orthodox literacy training methods (Ndagala, 1974).

4. Recurrent Drought: The pastoral economy needs to be revamped so that it can support education and other social services. Bearing in mind the adverse effects that recurrent drought has on the livestock productive activities, it is essential to teach the pastoralists, particularly those who want to be sedentary, the need to decrease the size of their herds in order to reduce the pressure on land, and be able to secure enough grass and water. The quality of their stock should also be improved through the application of modern methods of animal husbandry such as the use of better cattle feeds, preparation of fodder, and pasture management (Ndagala, 1974).

Concluding Remarks

A number of issues emerge from the literature on the pastoral and mobile communities in Tanzania. First, notwithstanding the relatively large extent to which these communities have been studied by different scholars, demographic data have not been systematically gathered and recorded. This is a serious gap in the literature which, if not filled in, will continue to constrain efforts to provide education and other social services to these communities.

Second, in virtually all studies done on these communities, the gender perspective is not clearly or systematically adhered to. What we see in the literature appear to be general and disaggregated descriptions and analyses of the pastoral and mobile communities: their environments, their social and economic organization, their rich cultural heritage, their response to state sponsored policies and development activities, etc. What is not, and should be, vividly shown is the manner, and extent to which men and women differ in relation to all these variables. For example, one would like to know how girls and women as a whole fair with respect to enrolment, participation, and performance in both formal and non-formal educational programmes and activities.

Third, while commendable effort has been made to study the economic and social organization of these communities, no adequate attention has been directed to the issue of governance: how can education and other development activities be organized and coordinated in the context of these specific circumstances? More specifically, how can the primary and secondary schools be operated as community schools so that they may prepare children to meet the challenges and improve their lives in the communities? What should be the role of parents in these schools? What kind of training do the

teachers need, and what kind of incentives should they be given, to be able to teach effectively in these communities? What aspects of the state policy on education need to be revised to ensure equity and fairness? These questions, and others, still need to be posed and answered.

Fourth, except in a few cases, the deliberate involvement of these communities in the investigation of their own economic, social, political, cultural and environmental realities through the use of participatory and action-oriented research designs and processes, appears to be minimal. Indeed, we seem to be having a scenario whereby the problems, needs and aspirations, which are well articulated in the studies, are *not* the problems, needs, and aspirations of targeted population. One is inclined to believe that if the latter were given a genuine opportunity to speak out their minds they would come up with a different needs assessment package.

Fifth, and linked to the previous point, the contribution of the pastoral and mobile communities themselves to their own development does not seem to have been given adequate attention. What comes out of the literature tends to be a very paternalistic scenario whereby the state formulates policies and programmes aimed at 'civilizing' the 'backward' communities. In the process the pastoral and mobile communities lose their freedom, autonomy, economy, social controls, and self-reliance. A more liberating research agenda needs to be developed that will rely more on the reservoir of knowledge and experience existing in the communities, which are often taken for granted or simply ignored.

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