

Pastoralist Education and Peacebuilding in Ethiopia

Results and Lessons Learned



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Peacebuilding Education and Advocacy Programme
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DOCUMENT OVERVIEW

Purpose and Intended Use of the Case Study

Populations residing in the four Developing Regional States (DRS) of Ethiopia are vulnerable to frequent manmade and natural disasters. These regions rank low in development indicators, including education. This study will look at the opportunities and challenges of peacebuilding through education and how, in this context, PBEA interventions might strengthen social cohesion and community resilience.

This document is intended to be used by UNICEF staff, implementing partner ministries and organizations as well as other practitioners in the wider fields of Education in Emergencies as well as education and peacebuilding. It is hoped that the study will contribute to discussion and planning to strengthen peacebuilding through education initiatives designed to increase access to quality education for remote and marginalized communities, particularly nomadic pastoralists and agro-pastoralists. It will explore how education might advance peacebuilding and community resilience in vulnerable contexts prone to conflict through UNICEF supported Alternative Basic Education (ABE) centers for pastoralist and agro-pastoralist children and youth. It will also explore opportunities for UNICEF to develop and work with partners to implement ABE programming even more effectively and the challenges facing programme efforts.

Using an analysis based on the ABE programme theory of change (ToC), the report finds indicators of progress on outputs and intermediate outcomes as well as preliminary signs of final outcomes, increasing levels of social cohesion and resilience among conflict affected and vulnerable communities. The report finds, however, that the pathways of change may be different than those theorized by the ToC.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABE	Alternative Basic Education
BRIDGE	Building Relationships through Innovative Delivery of Growing Education Services
CFS	Centre for Federal Studies
CO	Country Office
DRS	Developing Regional States
EEPCT	Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition
ESARO	Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office
ESDP	Education Sector Development Plan
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FO	Field Office
GoN	Government of the Netherlands
KAP	Knowledge, Attitude, and Practice
KTB	Kebele Training Board
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoE	Ministry of Education
OOSC	Out of School Children
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PBEA	Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
REB	Regional Education Bureau (sub-national education office in Ethiopia)
ToC	Theory of Change
TOT	Training of Trainers
WEO	Woreda Education Office

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy (PBEA) programme in Ethiopia aims to strengthen resilience and social cohesion and improve equity in Ethiopia's four Developing Regional States (DRS) – Afar, Benishangul Gumuz, Gambella, and Somali. Populations residing in the DRS are vulnerable to frequent manmade and natural disasters, phenomena that are compounded by weak regional governance systems and low capacity of government to deliver effective social services, including the planning, provision, and management of education. PBEA is intended to address a number of specific conflict drivers affecting these regions that are clearly identified throughout this report as related to education; it is not designed to address all conflict drivers identified in these regions.

This study examines Alternative Basic Education (ABE), implemented in the Somali region that intends to make gains towards PBEA Outcome 4: Increased access to quality and relevant conflict-sensitive education that contributes to peace. ABE programming aims to support children (grades 1-4) in pastoralist and semi-agricultural areas as well as hard to reach communities to complete a full cycle of basic primary education. Specific focus is given to the ways in which:

- The programme's Theories of Change (ToC) have informed the provision of ABE centers;
- How these ToC are intended to address known conflict drivers in the Somali region; and,
- If and how these ToC have been actualized through ABE programming.

The study is designed to respond to a set of questions (included below) that correspond to PBEA Outcome 5—Generating Evidence and Knowledge through ongoing monitoring and reporting of the impacts of PBEA interventions in sites of implementation. To date, education, peace, and conflict literature has largely overlooked the impacts of pastoralist education programming on children and communities residing in conflict-affected contexts. On the other side, neither has pastoralist education literature explored the ways in which programming mitigates or alternately facilitates conflict. The study thus endeavored to address this important gap. The questions are as follows:

- How does PBEA-supported ABE programming support conflict transformation among beneficiaries?
- How have [ABE] programme interventions improved social cohesion within/between communities so as to increase resilience against conflict?
- What examples can be provided about how the PBEA-supported ABE programme is supporting peaceful conflict resolution strategies and resilience against conflict?
- To what extent are the needs of out-of-school children (OOSC) addressed through education [ABE] programming in a manner that reduces conflict pressures (both structural and cultural)?
- What challenges exist with promoting social cohesion and resilience through education [ABE] programming?
- What lessons can be drawn out with programme implementation?

The questions relate to outputs and outcomes, challenges, and lessons learned. In order to answer these questions, the study explicates ToC that primarily underlie Outcome 4. Interviews were conducted with key UNICEF PBEA staff members in both the Country Office (CO) in Addis Ababa and in the Somali Field Office (FO) in Jigjiga. Site visits were also made to three ABE centers in three different kebeles in Jigjiga woreda and interviews conducted with Parent Teacher Association (PTA) members, teachers, and students; interviews were also conducted with implementing partner staff at the Regional Education Bureau (REB) and Woreda Education Office (WEO). In total, 48 individuals participated in one-on-one and focus group discussion (FGD)

interviews. Additionally, this case study was informed by desk research of on-going PBEA monitoring and evaluation carried out by UNICEF's FO in the Somali region since programme implementation (including quarterly reports submitted by UNICEF Somali FO Education Officers, a Knowledge, Attitudes and Practice (KAP) quantitative dataset, and detailed field site reports from UNICEF CO and RO staff, as well as a review of literature relevant to peacebuilding and education in Ethiopia and pastoralist education.

UNICEF Ethiopia CO and UNICEF's FO in the Somali region work towards Outcome 4 through the following Education for Peacebuilding ToC: by providing marginalized communities with access to flexible and safe learning spaces with culturally and economically relevant curriculum, excluded communities will be more resilient to shocks and stresses resulting in greater social cohesion and resilience (UNICEF 2014a), as well as the following ABE-specific ToC: if access to education as well as relevant and appropriate education is improved through ABE centers, intra and inter-clan conflicts caused by inequity in access to social services will decrease and social cohesion will increase (UNICEF 2012, 2013, 2014).

The study derived observable implications – outputs, intermediate outcomes, and final outcomes – upon which findings are based. The observable implications are as follows:

- Outputs: the provision of ABE centers; 'culturally' and 'economically 'relevant' education;
- Intermediate Outcomes: improved equity in access to education (objective and perceptions), especially along inter- and intra-clan lines;
- Final Outcomes: increase in social cohesion (more responsive state to citizens and more networked relations among diverse communal groups) and in turn an increase in mechanisms utilized by communities for mediation and managing conflict; increased ability to be resilient (anticipate, withstand, and recover) to shocks (manmade and natural).

In sum, the interviewees (students, parents, teachers, as well as facilitators in the three kebeles that were visited) believed that PBEA-supported ABE centers were working to reduce intra-clan conflict and increase social cohesion (through the unanticipated local governance mechanisms that emerged from regular PTA meetings). However the research design did not allow for assessment of communities prior to and following the intervention of PBEA-supported ABE centers or to directly attribute causal changes to the programme.

Study findings also indicate that 'assumptions' and 'emergent TOC' of several key informants at local level seem to have shaped the development and implementation of PBEA programming in the Somali region. These were not documented or necessarily supported as theories of change by UNICEF PBEA, but rather emerged a number of times through field research discussions with local partners and government counterparts. These include:

- By changing livelihoods through ABE (from pastoralist and agro-pastoralist to a range of sedentarist livelihoods), drivers of conflict related to livelihood will be reduced or eliminated altogether. This view was often expressed by government officials at local level in particular.
- By bringing children from different ethnic groups together in the same learning space and parents from different groups together in PTAs, drivers of conflict related to resource scarcity will be reduced.
- By following a daily routine and adhering to school rules and guidelines, drivers of conflict related to undisciplined, youthful behavior will be reduced.

The study includes several Lessons Learned and Recommendations. Lessons Learned include:

- Through the construction of 20 new ABE centers and the upgrading of 9 existing ABE centers, programming has expanded access to agro-pastoralists throughout the region.
- PBEA and ABE-specific ToC are helping to inform PBEA interventions that are, by extension,

making gains in PBEA Outcome 4 as well as incidentally in Outcome 3.

- Expected implications (outputs and intermediate outcomes such as provision of safe and flexible learning spaces, and to a lesser extent final outcomes, such as increased social cohesion) are being observed.
- Emergent ToC (that have not been formalized by the programme), held by staff at the REB and WEO who develop and implement PBEA ABE as well as teachers in ABE centers are also facilitating gains in Outcomes 3 and 4.

Recommendations include:

- Extend/deepen research design for evaluation and consider more comparative (possibly experimental), longitudinal, on-going evaluations (collected by UNICEF FO and/or REB and WEO).
- UNICEF in partnership with MoE should continue the exercise of more fully drafting out ToC and the observable implications. They should also consider theories of change that emerged throughout the course of this research and consider other programming or programming changes that may allow them to more fully develop and actualize.
- Explore, develop, and implement programming that expands access to quality and relevant education for pastoralists to reach the most remote and marginalized communities in the region.
- Consider more explicitly, at the level of programme development and implementation, the ways in which programming might or could in the future contribute to conflict (e.g. initiatives to focus on girls). Include indicators for conflict in ongoing M&E of programming (i.e. conflict sensitive monitoring systems to help ensure 'Do No Harm' and timely programme adjustments to 'Do More Good' – or support 'peacebuilding').

1. INTRODUCTION

The Peacebuilding Education and Advocacy (PBEA) programme (or ‘Learning for Peace’) is a four-year USD150 million initiative established in 2012 funded by the Government of the Netherlands (GoN). The programme aims to strengthen resilience, social cohesion, and human security in fragile and conflict-affected contexts by improving policies and practices for education and peacebuilding.

PBEA represents a continuation of the work of UNICEF and the GoN to implement education programming in conflict-affected contexts. Specifically, PBEA followed the Education in Emergencies and Post-Crisis Transition (EEPCT) programme, carried out from 2006 to 2011 in 44 countries.³ Conflict-sensitive programming and peacebuilding through social services are seen as critical approaches by UNICEF that aim to strengthen resilience to the complex challenges facing children and communities in such settings. PBEA is perhaps the first UNICEF initiative that systematically aims to address the drivers of violent intrastate conflict in the 14 countries (see Figure 1⁴) where PBEA programming has been implemented, including Ethiopia, the focus of this report.⁵

TOCs informing interventions. PBEA is informed conceptually by a political-economy approach to understanding and explaining conflict (Novelli 2011; Novelli & Smith, 2011). The highest level Theory of Change (ToC), or guiding logic, underlying UNICEF’s PBEA programme is that

- (i) understanding the ways in which the interactions between actors and institutions across sectors and levels drive conflict leads to
- (ii) designing education interventions that aim to address those interactions and
- (iii) ultimately transforming these drivers of conflict and facilitating peacebuilding (Novelli, 2011; UNICEF 2013a). These same reports also outline several more specific ToC that underlie programming decisions.

Focus of the Report: This study adopts this approach in this case study and focuses upon the ways in which specific ToC at country-level have informed PBEA interventions, how these ToC are intended to address known conflict drivers, and how these theories of change have been actualized through programming to ‘work on’ (thus transform) conflict drivers to facilitate strengthening social cohesion and resilience (i.e. peacebuilding).

ABE in the Somalia Region of Ethiopia. This study focuses on PBEA in Ethiopia and specifically on Alternative Basic Education (ABE), implemented in the Somali Region. ABE programming aims to support children (grades 1-4) in pastoralist and semi-agricultural areas as well as hard-to-reach communities to complete a full cycle of basic primary education. The study explores if and how ABE has contributed to UNICEF’s Global Outcome 4, as intended by programme planners and implementers. UNICEF’s 5 Global Outcomes, which have been adapted to the Ethiopian context, include:

1. Increased inclusion of education into social cohesion, peacebuilding, and equity-promoting policies, analysis, and implementation.
2. Increased institutional (regional) capacities to supply context-responsive peace education.
3. Increased capacity of children, parents, teachers, and other duty-bearers to prevent and reduce conflict and promote social cohesion.
4. Increased access to quality, relevant, context responsive education that contributes to social cohesion and peace.

³ The goal of EEPCT was to support countries experiencing emergencies and post-crisis transitions in the process of sustainable progress towards provision of basic education for all.

⁴ Kenya is also included via support to the Dadaab refugee camp to address cross border conflict risks associated with Somali refugees.

⁵ UNICEF (2014a) “About.” Learning for Peace. Available: <http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/about/learning-for-peace/>.

5. Contribute to the generation and use of evidence and knowledge in policies and programming related to equity in education, social cohesion and peacebuilding.

This case study aims to contribute findings, lessons learned and recommendations for Ethiopia and PBEA more broadly. In doing so this work contributes to wider scholarship on the role of education services in fragile and conflict-affected settings. In this way, the study itself contributes to PBEA Outcome 5.

Table 1. PBEA programme countries

PBEA TARGET COUNTRIES				
West & Central Africa	East and Southern Africa	Middle East and North Africa ⁶	South Asia	East Asia and Pacific
Chad, Cote D'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone	Burundi, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, Uganda	Palestine, Yemen	Pakistan	Myanmar

1.1 Research Methods and Limitations

PBEA has as one of its goals, Outcome 5—Generating Evidence and Knowledge, on-going monitoring and reporting of the impacts of PBEA interventions in implementing countries. This outcome is focused on generating new knowledge and evidence about the ways that education contributes to peacebuilding in conflict-affected and post-conflict environments. This study explores the following questions:

- How is PBEA [ABE] programming supporting conflict transformation among beneficiaries?
- How have [ABE] programme interventions supported levels of social cohesion within/between communities increasing resilience against conflict?
- What examples can be provided about how the PBEA [ABE] programme is supporting peaceful conflict resolution strategies and resilience against conflict?
- To what extent are the needs of OOSC addressed through education [ABE] programming in a manner that reduces conflict pressures (both structural and cultural)?
- What challenges exist with promoting social cohesion and resilience through education [ABE] programming?
- What lessons can be drawn out with programme implementation?

This case study examining the role of PBEA programming in the Somali region of Ethiopia was informed by multiple methods. These methods are:

- 1) Primary qualitative research in the Somali region (including key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and direct observations),
- 2) Desk research of continuous PBEA monitoring and evaluation carried out by UNICEF's FO in the Somali region since programme implementation (including quarterly reports submitted by UNICEF Somali FO Education Officers, a draft quantitative KAP dataset and detailed field site reports from UNICEF CO and FO staff), as well as

⁶ Kenya is also included via support to the Dadaab refugee camp to address cross border conflict risks associated with Somali refugees.

- 3) A review of literature relevant to peacebuilding and education in Ethiopia and pastoralist education.

To the extent possible, the study triangulates these data sources to strengthen case study findings. Stakeholders at UNICEF ESARO and in the Ethiopia team also reviewed the report suggesting refinements and additional information, as relevant.

Key Informant Interviews and field visits. In Ethiopia, interviews were conducted with key UNICEF PBEA staff members both in the Country Office (CO) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and in the Somali Field Office (FO) in Jigjiga. The research included visits to three ABE centers in three different kebeles in Jigjiga woreda. Table 2 highlights the differences across the three centers.

Table 2. Traits of the 3 ABE Centres visited for data collection in Jigjiga woreda.

	Duk ⁶	Koborsh	Lomakaris
Number of ethnic groups	9	5	7
Distance (km) to water source	2	7	4
Scale of conflict as per interviewees	Low	Medium	Medium
Level of education attained by any community member	Secondary	First-cycle primary	First-cycle primary

Across these three ABE centers, 8 focus group discussions (FGDs) and six one-on-one interviews were conducted, reaching a total of 48 individuals, including staff from Regional and Woreda Education Offices (n=6), ABE centre teachers (n=5), PTA members (n=20), and children and youth attending school at ABE centres (n=17). As illustrated in Table 2, there was variance between the ABE centres in which this research was conducted in terms of the degree of ethnic diversity, access to water, the scale of conflict community members reported experiencing,⁷ as well as the level of education attained by community members.

Questions posed to research participants during FGDs and one-on-one interviews sought to capture:

- Drivers of conflict specific to the kebele in which research was carried out;
- Theories of change specific to the kebele in which the research was carried out; and,
- Changes in occurrence, scope and/or scale of conflict that participants observed and/or experienced.

Informed consent was obtained for all interviews and the study adhered to UNICEF ethical guidelines and research with children.⁸

⁶ Duk 1 and Duk 2 are two distinct kebeles served by the same ABE Centre.

⁷ For low-level conflict, community members reported tensions between and within clans that did not escalate into violent conflict. For medium level conflict, community members reported tensions between and within clans that did occasionally escalate into violent conflict.

⁸ UNICEF ERIC Compendium at <http://childethics.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/ERIC-compendium-approved-digital-web.pdf>.

Limitations. While there was much to learn from the fieldwork conducted, there are also a number of limitations to this study. First, the scope of field-based research of this study is limited geographically to Jigjiga woreda. During the time the fieldwork was undertaken, students were in exams and the school-term was near completion. As such, multi-day overland travel required to visit ABE centers in remote, hard-to-access woredas in the Somali region was not possible. Consequently, the study sample is biased towards more accessible woredas and those where conflict may be least acute and therefore cannot be taken as a representative evaluation of PBEA activities throughout the region. Second, the field research was of short duration due to a number of timing and logistical challenges. In sum, while the study gleans insight with regards to the ToCs guiding PBEA implementation in the region and the ToCs guiding stakeholders (e.g. PTA members, teachers) in the ABE centers visited, as well as the perceived programme impact on children as well as communities, the scope of the research did not allow for a sample that is fully representative of PBEA programming in the Somali region.

Additionally, there were also limitations to the KAP survey⁹ used to draw comparisons about people in the Somali region that lived in kebeles with ABE communities to those that did not. Although a KAP survey was implemented some six months prior to this case study field work, it is difficult to use this data to determine any levels of change as there is no pre-programme baseline data against which to compare. In the event there has been positive change, the study is unable to attribute such change directly to PBEA-supported ABE interventions as opposed to other potential factors. The most that can thus be claimed is that PBEA-supported interventions may be contributing to changes where they may be occurring. These are common concerns in non-experimental research.¹⁰

Despite these limitations, the study focuses on ABE centers in Jigjiga woreda. Interviews were conducted with a wide range of stakeholders at each of the three ABE centers visited in Jigjiga woredas, allowing for a strong cross-section of views to be gathered. The study also uses descriptive statistics drawn from the KAP survey data where appropriate to strengthen findings and observations.

1.2 Analytical Framework, ToC, Conflict Drivers, Outcomes

The research framework focuses on linking theories of change to outcomes and conflict drivers. Theory of Change is taken to mean “a set of assumptions that explain both the mini-steps that lead to a long-term goal and the connections between these activities and the outcomes of an intervention or program” (Anderson, 2004). This study borrows from the logic and techniques of process tracing (see e.g. George & Bennett, 2005) and endeavors to chart the “observable implications” of each theory. Process tracing means charting causal processes of decision-making and linking various initial decisions to outputs and outcomes (George & Bennett, 2005). Observable implications are the identifiable features one would expect to see if the ToC were, indeed, materializing. Given that PBEA programmes are meant to address context-specific conflict drivers, the study also considers if and how the ToC effectively do so.

Table 3 below combines UNICEF PBEA's Outcome 4 with ‘Education for Peacebuilding’ Theories of Change (UNICEF 2014a) which guide the work of UNICEF Ethiopia CO and UNICEF's FO in the Somali region. Included are ABE-specific ToC pulled from PBEA Ethiopia Annual Reports (2012, 2013, 2014). The study derives observable implications from the ToC.

⁹ Commissioned by the UNICEF CO and with the support of UNICEF's Regional Office conducted by the BDS Center for Development Research in the Somali region (as well as the other three DRS) and in collaboration with the REBs of the four DRS regions, UNICEF and BDS purposively selected 10 woredas (from a total of 22 PBEA sites of implementation) that are characterized by high ethnic heterogeneity and tension. UNICEF also ensured that the number of sample woredas from each region was roughly proportional to the total number of woredas in that region. In Somali region, the sample included Jigjiga (the woreda in which research for this case study was carried out). To access students and teachers, the REB, BDS and UNICEF randomly chose three schools (primary or lower secondary) in each woreda. The survey instrument focused on two primary outcomes, social cohesion and resilience, as defined by composite indexes including eight domains (Trust and Tolerance, Civic and Social Participation, Inclusion in Governance Processes, Attitude toward Social Services, and Constructive Dispute Resolution, Vulnerability, Coping Strategies for Dispute Resolution, and Support Mechanisms). In all, data was collected and analyzed from 3,299 participants. Analysis was separated by region, providing us with Somali Region-specific data. Analysis centered on descriptive statistics as well as comparing different groups of respondents (male versus female, direct versus indirect beneficiaries, as well as differences among students, teachers, parents, and out-of-school youth) were compared to see which group was better in terms of the composite indicators (social cohesion and resilience) and their respective domains.

¹⁰ See: CSDS (2011). Evaluation Strategies. New York: CSDS. pp. 4-5.

Table 3. UNICEF PBEA Targeted Outcome 4, ToC and Observable Implications

UNICEF PBEA Targeted Outcomes	UNICEF PBEA ToC	Somali Region ABE programme ToC	Observable Implications		
			Outputs	Intermediate Outcomes	Final Outcomes
<p>Outcome 4: Increased access to quality, relevant, context responsive education that contributes to social cohesion and peace.</p>	<p>Economic marginalization and group grievance theories</p> <p>By providing marginalized communities with access to flexible and safe learning spaces with culturally and economically relevant curriculum, excluded communities will be more resilient to shocks and stresses resulting in greater social cohesion and resilience.</p>	<p>If access to education as well as relevant and appropriate education is improved through ABE centers, intra and inter-clan conflicts caused by inequity in access to social services will decrease and social cohesion will increase.</p>	<p>Provision of ABE centers “culturally and economically” “relevant” and “appropriate” education;</p> <p>“flexible” and “safe” learning spaces.</p>	<p>Improved equity in access to education (objective & perceptions), especially along inter- and intra-clan lines.</p>	<p>Increase in social cohesion (more responsive state to citizens and more networked relations among diverse communal groups) and in turn an increase in mechanisms utilized by communities for mediation and managing conflict.¹¹</p> <p>Increased ability to be resilient (anticipate, withstand, and recover) to shocks (manmade and natural).¹²</p>

As will be further discussed below, the study also found, throughout the course of field-based research, emergent ToC that have shaped the development and implementation of PBEA programming in the Somali region. These ToC are called “emergent” since they were not documented as theories of change by UNICEF PBEA, but rather emerged a number of times through field research.

¹¹ Ethiopia PBEA Annual Report (2012, 2013, 2014).

¹² Ibid.

2. BACKGROUND

The Ethiopia PBEA programme started in October 2012 with the aim to support the Ministry of Education (MoE) in strengthening resilience, social cohesion, and improving equity in the four Developing Regional States (DRS)—Afar, Benishangul Gumuz, Gambella, and Somali. The four regions are prone to frequent natural disasters (i.e. drought and flooding) and have also been affected by longstanding conflicts fueled by the volatile situation of border countries (Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan, and South Sudan). The four DRS are characterized by weak regional governance systems and low capacity of government to deliver effective and quality social services, including low capacities for the planning, provision and management of education (CFS, 2014).

The PBEA programme focuses on improving education and making it more contextually relevant and responsive to the needs of local communities. The overarching aim of the programme in Ethiopia is to contribute to strengthening social cohesion and promoting equity through education. UNICEF’s approach to PBEA programming in Ethiopia is informed by a context analysis undertaken in each of the four DRS. The idea is that programming needs to directly respond to context-specific ‘conflict drivers’, or in the case of Ethiopia, factors that undermine social cohesion and equity. In 2013, UNICEF and the Ministry of Education, together with the Centre for Federal Studies (CFS) at Addis Ababa University, conducted a ‘context analysis’, entitled Equity, Social Cohesion, and Peacebuilding through the Education Sector: Context Analysis for the Developing Regional States of Ethiopia. The term ‘context’ replaced the term ‘conflict’ due to concerns raised by the MoE; none of the regional governments considered the regions to be ‘conflict-affected’ and therefore did not believe a conflict analysis was needed. The study returns to this point in the analysis below. Nonetheless, the Context Analysis provided programme planners at both UNICEF and Regional Education Bureaus (REB) and Woreda Education Offices (WEO) in the four DRS with a broad understanding of the many different types of conflict affecting each region as well as inequities undermining social cohesion. The study also focused upon the ways in which these conflict-drivers impacted and were thought to be impacted by education service delivery. Finally, it identified a number of peacebuilding entry points in education that informed the development and implementation of PBEA programming specific to addressing the different conflicts affecting each region. Table 4 below includes the types of conflict and conflict drivers in the Somali region as identified in the Context Analysis along with the PBEA approach implemented in the Somali region for addressing these conflicts.

Table 4. Conflict Drivers and PBEA Approach in Somali Region

Types of Conflict	Somali Region Conflict Drivers	Somali Region PBEA Approach
Inter-clan conflict	Lack of political participation and inequitable participation	Provision of ABE centers
Intra-clan conflict	Scarcity of resources, particularly water and grazing land	
Inter-regional/Inter-state conflict	Scarcity of resources, particularly water and grazing land	
Tension/conflict between pastoralists/ agro-pastoralists and government	Social cleavage among clans and between dominant pastoral Somali and occupational minorities Lack of political participation and inequitable participation	

2.1 Ethiopia and the Somali Region

Ethiopia is a highly diverse country of more than 70 ethnic groups. The country is divided into nine regional states (Amhara, Oromia, SNNPR, Tigray, Somali, Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz, Gambella, Harari) and two city administrations (Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa). The two largest ethnic groups, Oromo and Amhara, account for approximately 60 percent of the population (CSA, 2010). The net enrolment rate in primary school is approximately 85 percent across Ethiopia, though these figures are significantly lower in Afar and Somali regions (approximately 30 percent in Afar and 46 percent in Somali¹³).

In terms of Ethiopia's education system, since 1997 the government has been implementing the 20-year Education Sector Indicative Plan that is divided into four Education Sector Developments Plans (ESDPs). Currently, the ESDP IV (2010/11-2014/15) is being implemented and ESDP V for 2015-2020 will be finalized before the end of 2015. One of the key outcomes of the current ESDP IV is to universalize access to primary education by 2015 through the continued expansion of formal primary education and, wherever necessary, through Alternative Basic Education. A UNICEF study on out-of-school children (OOSC) carried out in 2011 found that more than 3 million children were out of school throughout the country, though the highest rates of OOSC were found in the Somali and Afar regions of Ethiopia. In these regions, children and youth were shown to be unable to attend school because they belonged to pastoralist communities who migrate for varied periods of the year and therefore could not regularly attend formal school and/or because there were simply no schools in the rural and remote areas in which they resided. The Somali Region, the focus of this study, has the highest rate of people with no education; 71 percent of women and 56 percent of men in the region have never attended school (UNICEF, 2014). It also has one of the highest proportions of pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities in the country.

Geographically, the Somali Region is in south-eastern Ethiopia and is the second largest region in the country with an estimated land area of 279,252 square kilometers. However, the population density in the region is sparse, standing at just 15.9 persons per square kilometer (BDS, 2015). The region is bounded by Kenya in the south, Djibouti in the north, Somalia in the east and southeast, and Ethiopia's Oromia region in the west. Administratively, Somali Region consists of 9 administrative zones, 52 woredas (districts) and 703 kebeles (small wards or municipalities where approximately 300 to 500 people reside).

In terms of demographics, according to the 2007 census (CSA 2007), the Somali Region has a total population of 4,439,147 (2,468,784 males and 1,970,363 females), roughly 5 percent of the national population. Just 14 percent of the population in the Somali region (621,210) are urban dwellers. The composition of ethnic groups inhabiting the region includes Somalis (97.4 percent), Oromos (0.46 percent), Amharas (0.66 percent), and Gurages (0.12 percent), among others. The mother tongue of more than 96 percent of the population is the Somali language; about 20.4 percent and 6.9 percent of the urban and the rural population respectively also speak other languages in addition to their mother tongue. In terms of religion, 98.4 percent of the population practices Islam (EPA, 2011).

The Somali region is inhabited mainly by pastoralists and agro-pastoralists.¹⁴ Climatically, it is mostly desert with high average temperatures and low bi-modal rainfall. The major type of economic activity is pastoralism (48 percent), followed by crop farming (25.2 percent) and agro-pastoralism (17.1 percent). In the urban areas, 32.6 percent of the total population is engaged in trade (the main source of income in urban areas), followed by pastoralism (19.1 percent) and crop farming (15.1 percent). The main source of income for the rural populations is livestock rearing (camels, goat, sheep, and cattle), which constitutes about 40 percent of their total income. This is followed by crop production (26.2 percent), trade (14.4 percent), and relief aid (7.4 percent) (data drawn from EPA, 2011).

¹³ See: UNICEF (2012). Study on Situation of Out of School Children in Ethiopia. Addis: UNICEF.

¹⁴ Pastoralists' livelihoods are based exclusively on animal herding; they are nomadic and move seasonally throughout the Somali region and occasionally into neighboring regions (e.g. Oromia) in search of grazing lands. Agro-pastoralists' livelihoods are based on a combination of subsistence agriculture and animal herding; they are semi-nomadic and move throughout the Somali region or into neighboring regions only when necessary (e.g. drought).

According to the KAP survey report that is currently being finalized, access to social services is low and there are important disparities in access between different groups. It was reported that in 2004, just 38.9 percent of the total population had access to safe drinking water of which 21.3 percent resided in urban locales. For the remaining 77.2 percent – predominately pastoralists and agro-pastoralist residing outside of urban centers – access to safe drinking water remains a constant challenge (CSA, 2007). Adult literacy is 22 percent for men and 9.8 percent for women. The vast majority has never participated in any kind of formal schooling; only 8.6 percent have completed Grade 4 (EPA, 2011).

Intergroup Relations and Conflict in the Somali Region

Like neighboring Somalia, Somali society in this region is highly structured by a system of clans and sub-clans that bind and divide people (BDS, 2015, p. 13). The clan system forms the basis of the core social institutions and norms of traditional Somali society, including personal identity, rights of access to local resources, customary law (xeer), and blood money (diya). The existence of hundreds of clans, sub-clans, and sub-sub clans render allegiance to the state and larger formations highly complex. Historically, the strongest allegiance has been to the lowest clan division (i.e., allegiance to the sub-clan is stronger than allegiance to the clan), however clan practices are also adaptable and dynamic (ibid.).

According to UNICEF's Ethiopia Context Analysis (CA), "inequity is a main driver of conflict in Ethiopia and is a result of weak service delivery capacity" (2014, p. 10). The report discusses these inequities in terms of asymmetrical access to government services as well as governance (e.g. local administrative boards and councils); access to economic opportunities and resources; and social cleavages amongst and between clans. It identifies three main types of conflict in the Somali region: inter-clan, intra-clan, and inter-regional/inter-state. The same study also found high levels of tension and conflict between pastoralists/agro-pastoralists and the Somali regional government. The CA further identified the three predominate drivers of conflict in the region: 1) scarcity of resources, particularly water and grazing land; 2) lack of political participation and inequitable participation; and 3) social cleavage among clans and between dominant pastoral Somali and occupational minorities. These are summarized in Table 4 above. The CA outlines the ways in which asymmetrical access to resources and social services between clans as well as between woredas to grazing land/water, political representation and participation, and wage-labor employment fuels long-standing tensions between, and in some cases even within, clans that periodically erupt into violent conflict. The CA (2014) sums this situation by stating that, "there is real and perceived inequity that has generated a sense of relative deprivation and marginalization" (PBEA Ethiopia Context Analysis, 2014, p. 104) between different groups. The CA also finds that "educational inequality negatively contributes to conflict in the Somali region...widely demonstrated by the uneven distribution of education resources along ethnic/clan lines that has fueled regional disparities and conflict" (ibid). Interviews conducted as part of this study suggest this is widely understood by officials and it helps to shape the ABE programme logic.

PBEA Alternative Basic Education (ABE) programming in the Somali Region

Since PBEA programming began in the Somali region in 2013, activities have focused on overcoming social service delivery inequities between pastoralists/agro-pastoralists and sedentary populations (primarily located in urban areas) by providing Alternative Basic Education (ABE) to pastoralist/agro-pastoralist children and youth. PBEA-supported ABE programming primarily intends to address and make gains in Outcome 4 (i.e. increased access to quality, relevant, context responsive education that contributes to social cohesion and peace). Ten out of sixty-eight woredas in the Somali region were selected as sites of implementation for PBEA-supported programming. According to programme implementers from the Regional Education Bureau and UNICEF's Somali Regional Office (RO), officers from the Regional Education Bureau, Woreda Education Offices, and UNICEF Somali FO these target woredas are characterized by high levels of conflict, high levels of ethnic diversity, low levels of access to social services, and low levels of literacy. The KAP study (2014) discusses how in the woredas surveyed, there exists a deep ambivalence and even fear towards education, particularly in areas where access to social services have been very low.

Ethiopia's Education Sector Plan IV 2010-2015 (MoE, 2009) includes the provisioning of ABE to the Somali region as well as in Ethiopia's three other 'developing regions' (i.e. Afar, Benishangul Gumuz, and Gambela) – the same regions in which PBEA programming has also been implemented. According to the Plan, "realizing the equitable [provision] of quality education services in [the four regions] has remained challenging because of the pastoralists' socio-economic problems emanating from a long period of neglect and marginalization and the natural environment they are inhabiting" (MoE, 2009, p. 44). As such, the Plan outlines a strategy for increasing access to education for pastoralist and agro-pastoralist children in the Somali region through "continuous expansion of regular schools and ABE centers" (MoE, 2009, p. 47).

In this way, the UNICEF PBEA programme in the Somali region maps on to existing government initiatives and does so by utilizing funding to fill a gap in service provision. As will be further discussed in subsequent sections of this report, since the year 2000, Ethiopia has directed significant funding towards increasing access to drinking water in the four DRS as well as other regions throughout the country as part of its Water Sector Strategy and Water Development Programme (2000). As a result, funding was directed away from other sectors (e.g. education), leaving few resources available to implement the strategies outlined in the Education Sector Plan. PBEA programme funding in the Somali region was, in part, utilized to fill this gap.

With the country and regional context in which PBEA programming in Ethiopia operates and the structure and content of PBEA in the Somali region thus established, the report now turns to a review of relevant literature.

2.2 Literature Review

This section includes a review of academic and practitioner-oriented literature related broadly to education, peace, and conflict and specifically to pastoralist education. To date, education, peace, and conflict literature has largely overlooked the impacts of pastoralist education programming on children and communities residing in conflict-affected contexts. On the other side, neither has pastoralist education literature explored the ways in which programming mitigates or alternately facilitates conflict. As such, this research provides an opportunity to consider these literatures collectively. Following is a review of the ways in which existing knowledge as well as gaps in each distinct body of literature informed the design of this research.

Education, Peace, and Conflict

Interest in harnessing education to build peace is longstanding and the number of education programmes explicitly designed for peacebuilding is growing (Ellison & Smith, 2012; Vaux, 2011; Novelii and Smith, 2012; Davies, 2013). Yet, there is relatively scarce analysis of the complex relationship between education, peacebuilding, and conflict (exceptions include King 2011, King 2014 and Burde 2014) and even less evidence of the effectiveness of specific education-focused peacebuilding programmes (Burde et al. forthcoming)

2015). That is, which education programs most effectively address conflict issues during emergency, recovery and development? How and in what ways do particular formal and non-formal education programs deliver peace dividends? How and in what ways can education policies and programming facilitate peacebuilding by addressing root causes of conflict? Finally, what are the ways in which issues of education access and content contribute to conflict or alternately make education students and personnel vulnerable to violent attack?¹⁶

The range of programs that include education in conflict-affected contexts is extensive. These include interventions focused on improving administration and infrastructure, to improving resources, to changing content and practices in education (Burde et al. forthcoming 2015). Three main ideal types of programming emerge from Novelli and Smith's classification (Novelli and Smith, 2012, p. 12). First, 'education in emergencies' programming, largely focuses on providing access to education for children and youth in conflict-affected situations.¹⁷ Second, conflict sensitive education, aims to 'do no harm' (Davies, 2013) through educational interventions by not only focusing on access but, for example, issues of equitable access to education as well as the nature of the content of what is taught in schools (UNICEF, 2012b). In this way, conflict sensitive education aims to ensure education is not accidentally 'doing harm'. Third, peacebuilding programs that actively tries to build peace and prevent a relapse into conflict (Boutros-Ghali 1992) and/or to bring peace dividends. Novelli & Smith's report for the UNICEF EEPCT recommends that UNICEF do more to integrate this third, peacebuilding, approach directly (2012). PBEA interventions cover and often combine this range of programming. It is also important to recognize the potential for education to contribute to conflict (King 2014). In much work on education, conflict, and peace, the role of education is reduced to the emergency or post-conflict phase without clear consideration of education 'pre-conflict'. This work considers all phases in the research case study.

A handful of UNICEF documents (UNICEF, 2012a; 2012b; 2014c; 2014e) usefully establish a common set of definitions for key 'peacebuilding' terms. These definitions are briefly reviewed here so as to make clear the ways in which the terms are utilized throughout this study. Peacebuilding is a multidimensional range of interventions that aim to solidify peace and prevent the lapse or relapse of conflict – it is a system wide undertaking across multiple sectors including, but certainly not limited to, education (UNICEF 2012a). Peacebuilding is conceptually distinct from conflict sensitivity, which is the capacity of an organization to understand its operating context, understand the interaction between its interventions and the context, and act upon this understanding to minimize any negative impacts of programming interventions due to conflict factors. Conflict-sensitivity is necessary but not alone sufficient for peacebuilding (ibid.). Peace dividends are the tangible result of peace, which might not necessarily address the underlying causes of conflict, but address the consequences of conflict. Peace dividends, such as "the strengthened capacities of education personnel in planning and management in DRS" (UNICEF 2013b, p. 33), begin instilling confidence in affected populations in their communities and in the legitimacy of their institutions (UNICEF 2012a) as people see the 'dividend' of peace. According to McCandless (2010), peace dividends represent one of the theories of change through which improved social services may be conducive to peace: "social tensions can be reduced through the provision of tangible, needed services, and by incentivizing non-violent behavior and supporting statebuilding efforts" (McCandless, 2010, p. 3). At the same time, the provision of services may also contribute to grievances by reproducing patterns of inequity or marginalization. In this sense, peace dividends are assumed to address grievances around lack of access to services simply through providing those same services. Nonetheless, UNICEF is also considering how providing access to services that perpetuate forms of violence against minority groups (e.g. access to education with contested curriculum) serves to reproduce inequities and/or biases that might aggravate pressures for conflict and/or undermine state legitimacy. Resilience is the ability of a community or society to anticipate, withstand, and recover from pressures and shocks (manmade and natural). Finally, social cohesion is the degree to which vertical (i.e. a responsive state to its citizenry) and horizontal (i.e. cross-cutting, networked relations among diverse communal groups) social capital intersect and in turn provide communities with mechanisms necessary for mediating and managing grievances so as to prevent violent conflict (UNICEF 2014e).

As previously discussed, pastoralist education has not generally been analyzed nor explained within literature devoted to education, conflict, and peace. However, this research on ABE programming for pastoralist children in the Somali region of Ethiopia provides the opportunity to do so.

¹⁶ See: Smith, A. (2010). The influence of education on conflict and peace building, Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report (2011). The Hidden Crisis: Armed conflict and education. Paris: UNESCO.

¹⁷ Not everyone understands EiE in this way. For instance, the new Journal of Education in Emergencies, an initiative of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) takes a much wider definition of EiE that includes all three of the types of programming distinguished here.

Pastoralist Education

Scholarship and reportage on pastoralist education can generally be divided into three categories: i) expositions on programme rationale; ii) descriptive and often comparative studies of what constitutes pastoralist education programming (e.g. boarding schools, formal education, non-formal education); and iii) evaluations of the impacts of specific pastoralist education programmes. Each is examined below in turn.

First, research devoted to programme rationale focuses on a main debate or what in some cases is considered a prevailing challenge of pastoralist education. That is, pastoralist education programmes often intend to transform pastoralist livelihoods from nomadic¹⁸ or semi-nomadic to sedentary and by extension 'modern'. For the majority of scholars and evaluators (Salzman, 1980; Galaty & Salzman, 1981; Heron, 1983; Nkinyangi, 1981; VerEecke, 1989, Swift et al. 1990, Anderson, 1999; Dyer, 2000, 2006; 2013), the transformative intention underlying pastoralist education is a problem that must be recognized, addressed, and ultimately recalibrated such that pastoralist education can be implemented in ways that do not inflict 'cultural violence' (UNICEF, 2015b) on pastoralists through seeking to fundamentally change pastoralist ways of life. For others (Heady, Taffesse, & You, 2014), aims of sedentarization and modernization through pastoralist education are simply means by which international and national development policy priorities (e.g. Millennium Development Goals, Education for All, Ethiopia's Growth and Transformation Plan 2011-2015) can be achieved.

Indeed, sedentarization is often an explicit goal of pastoralist education. In terms of sedentarization, Klute (1996) explains that, "state agents consider nomads in general as belligerent, difficult to control, and see their continuous movement much more as a sort of offence to the requirements of any modern state and its rational administration than as quest for water and pasture" (Klute, 1996, p. 3). Kratli summarizes the predominate logic underpinning pastoralist education by concluding that:

...by imposing a standard system designed for sedentary people (i.e. formal schooling) and therefore making it necessary to stay near settlements—if they want their children to go to school—and by antagonizing nomad's culture and inculcating in children the values of worldview of sedentary society... there is an expectation that education, as such, seen as a way of fully developing the individual, will naturally emancipate the nomads into wishing a more evolved and sedentary lifestyle (Kratli, 2000, p. 45).

Even where sedentarization is not an explicit objective of pastoralist education, some programmes have been offered in the hopes modernizing pastoralists' herding and agricultural practices that would allow them, through improved productivity, to play a role in economic development of their nation state. Ezeomah explains that "for this to take place, education would have to play a part in helping nomads to develop new attitudes and beliefs as well as new knowledge and practices that would help them become modern livestock producers" (Ezeomah, 1997, p. 11). As such, in order to be culturally and conflict sensitive, education provision would need to become more responsive to pastoralists' livelihoods and culture, particularly in terms of flexible and adaptable scheduling.¹⁹

Second, several accounts offer a typology of the range of programming that constitutes 'pastoralist' education, examining the content, curricula, and pedagogy as well as structure of what has been provided – primarily boarding schools, formal education, non-formal education, and open and distance learning. Carr-Hill and Peart (2005) find that the majority of ABE programs offered to pastoralist children and youth include: facilitators from the communities; community contributions towards the welfare of facilitators; centers located within or in close proximity to communities; teaching schedules that correspond with children's labor needs at home; and tailored curriculum (e.g. indigenous language of instruction, subjects devoted to livestock education, crop production, and environmental management). Owiny (1999), states that, "while the aims [of ABE] are clearly wider than just providing a funnel to primary schooling, the ABE programme is meant to develop a desire [in students] to join formal schooling" (Owiny, 1999, p. 7). While Odada and Olega (1999) find that only about ten percent of children across ABE programs matriculate to formal primary schools (generally for upper primary classes in Grades 5-8), Dyer states that nevertheless "ABE for pastoralists has attracted extensive agency support, often in partnership with the host-state" (Dyer, 2013, p. 72).

¹⁸ The term 'nomad' is widely utilized synonymously with pastoralists/agro-pastoralists throughout literature on pastoralist education. The term nomad is included only in the section devoted to surveying literature and utilize the terms pastoralist/agro-pastoralists throughout the rest of this case study.

¹⁹ See: UNICEF (2015). The Investment Case for Education and Equity. New York: UNICEF.

The programs to which Dyer makes reference include UNICEF sponsorship of more than 200 mobile schools in Sudan in the 1990's, 15 mobile schools in Uganda offered since 2009 by the Ugandan Ministry of Education in partnership with Save the Children, and 30 fixed ABE centers in Turkana Kenya, also offered since 2009, by Oxfam. Evaluations of the impact of other ABE programs in Kenya (Pattison, 2011) as well as Afghanistan and Tibet (Bangsbo, 2008) suggest that ABE's physical proximity, sensitivity to cultural practices, flexibility of class scheduling, and selection of teachers offer education "that is oriented to providing skills and knowledge that helps to sustain pastoralism...rather than provide an exit route from it" (Dyer, 2013).

A recent study was specifically devoted to evaluating education and peacebuilding in the Somali region. Richards and Bethke (2011) utilize a mixed methods approach (household surveys and one-on-one and focus group interviews with programme implementers and participants) to evaluate the twelve-month "Building Relationships through Innovative Delivery of Growing Education Services" (BRIDGES) program. Implemented in 2010 in the Somali region as well as the three other DRS of Ethiopia by Save the Children UK, Islamic Relief, and Mercy Corps, BRIDGE intended to develop and test strategies for state and non-state actors to work in partnership to promote peace and statebuilding in the Somali region through the provision of improved education service. The study's key argument is that while "education is critical to addressing the development needs of the Somali region in the long-term...education is probably not the best instrument to transform conflict, address the structural and proximate causes of conflict, or bring about stability in the short-term" (Richards and Bethke, 2011, p. 6). Instead, they recommend focusing on developing child protection mechanisms at both the school and community level in order to promote peace and statebuilding. In sum, "the findings indicate a clear need to continue to support basic education in the Somali region while also reshaping expectation on conflict-related outcomes" (Ibid). Recommendations also include continuing to make ABE centers flexible and mobile for pastoralist communities. Additionally, and of note for this research, the programme evaluators' recommend adopting a long-term approach and theory of change that ensures a closer link between pastoralist education and the improvement of livelihoods and associated skills as well as developing curriculum content that is aimed at messages of tolerance and respect. Finally, and also of note for this research, the study briefly mentions that stakeholders reported the primary cause of conflicts in the region to have changed. That is, while resources (primarily grazing land and water) remain important proximate factors and triggers to conflict, the root cause of conflict has now become ownership of these resources, rather than simply their use and access to them. Ownership as a root cause of conflict was not discussed during the course of this research in the region, although the field work phase did not ask about it specifically. However, as will also be discussed, there are a number of similar findings between this study and the findings of this earlier research.

In sum, distinct literatures on education peace and conflict and on pastoralist education have, when brought into dialogue in this way, much to offer one another. This research on UNICEF PBEA programming that focuses on expanding education access to pastoralist education through ABE in the Somali region as a means of strengthening resilience to violent conflict and improving social cohesion offers the opportunity to consider them collectively.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The case study has identified several aspects of ABE programming supported by PBEA in the Somali region that indicate gains in regards to Outcome 4. These are presented and discussed in turn. This is followed by a brief discussion on findings related to the other Outcomes as applicable.

3.1 Outputs: Provision of ABE centers

Between 2013 and 2015, a total of 20 ABE centers were constructed throughout the 10 target woredas in the Somali region. Additionally, nine (9) existing ABE centers were upgraded (e.g. infrastructure repairs, additional classrooms constructed). Figures from the PBEA Annual Report on Ethiopia (2014) indicate that since implementation began in 2013, over 27,000 children from pastoralist communities in Somali Region and Afar have been provided with access to flexible and safe learning spaces through the construction of ABE centers. Figures are unavailable regarding the number of children this accounts for in Somali Region.²⁰ These efforts were complemented with ‘back-to-school’ campaigns targeting children and youth who had left school and not returned the previous term or alternately ‘go-to-school’ campaigns for those who had not previously enrolled in school. These campaigns were broadcast through the local media (Ethiopian Somali Television and regional FM radio) for one month before the beginning of the academic year (targeting over 60,000 parents and caregivers). PBEA has also funded furniture (i.e. desks and teacher tables) for the ABE centers. Textbooks are provided for free to students enrolled in the program. Additionally, teachers at UNICEF supported ABEs also receive scholarships to complete a teacher training certification programme. Coursework takes place during the summer months and the programme takes four years to complete. Since 2013, more than 300 teachers in the Somali region have participated. Nine ABE centers in the region were also made learner-friendly through the provision of 441 desks, 18 teachers’ tables and 15 blackboards benefitting 1890 students. PBEA funding has also been utilized to support workshops aimed to improve education quality at ABE centers. In 2014, 43 duty-bearers (34 percent of ABE facilitators and school directors drawn from targeted woredas) attended a workshop on parental education and early stimulation. Additionally, 100 ABE-facilitators (23 percent of whom were female), School Cluster Resource Centre supervisors and educational experts were trained on multi-grade teaching systems and methods. These figures are summarized in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Outputs

Outputs	Total
Number of centers built	8
Number of centers upgraded	6
Number of children provided with access through construction/upgrade of ABE centers	27,000
Number of teachers who completed teacher training certification courses	300
Number of additional materials provided	441 desks 18 teacher tables 15 blackboards
Number of ABE teachers participating in workshops intended to strengthen education quality	143

²⁰ It is not known, proportionally, that 8 ABE centers were constructed and 6 were upgraded in Somali Region as compared to 12 ABE centers constructed in Afar.

3.2 Culturally and economically ‘relevant’ and ‘appropriate’ education including ‘flexible’ and ‘safe’ learning spaces

ABE programming is intended to be flexible and adaptable to the different needs of children and communities in each kebele in which it is implemented. Each ABE is managed by a Parent-Teacher Association, a decentralized structure meant to ensure that education is appropriate and flexible to the constituent communities. This management structure of the ABEs is decentralized such that each kebele can administer the time-table for studies differently as is relevant to their constituency. In addition to meeting regularly (PTAs in the sites visited met either weekly or bi-monthly), the PTA plans and facilitates back-to-school campaigns throughout the community prior to the start of the term and also follows up on issues of student absenteeism during the school term when they arise.

Case study interviews with ABE teachers and PTA members show that, because decision-making authority over class scheduling for each ABE center remains in the hands of PTAs, classes are flexible and, in at least this respect, culturally and economically appropriate. They can be offered in the morning, afternoon or evening – depending on the season (dry or rainy) and how far children and youth need to walk to reach grazing land and water for their herd animals. For example, in the rainy season, classes are typically held in the morning, as according to parents and students interviewed for this study, the distance traveled is an average of one to three kilometers. However in the dry season when children must walk an average of seven to ten kilometers, classes are held in the afternoon and evening as most of children and youth’s day is devoted to walking. As such, children’s participation in their clan’s cultural and economic practices – pastoralism and agro-pastoralism – are only partially disrupted. As programme facilitators noted during interviews, for parents, children are an important source of livelihood. PTA members and teachers interviewed echoed a strong sense of flexibility. In response to a question regarding flexibility of programming, a facilitator stated that, “the PTA determines the school timetable, at what time during the day classes are held.” That the three ABE centers visited each held classes at different times during the day is indicative of the high degree of flexibility communities maintain over schooling.

There was disagreement as to whether the ABE centers were yet providing a sufficiently flexible or culturally-appropriate strategy for pure pastoralists. Facilitators suggested that the current situation did not yet provide for pastoralists, but mentioned that programme planners are advocating for teachers to move with the communities so that communities can continue their education. However, the same facilitator acknowledged the enormity of the task in asking teachers to pack up and move with communities through areas with no roads and few resources. Additionally, there remain challenges with monitoring and evaluation of students’ educational achievements as well as how to pay teachers’ salaries. Both challenges would require solution before that approach can be brought to scale and be widely effective.

However, UNICEF and ministry staff interviewed for this study discussed a recent, innovative approach they had undertaken to increase equitable access to education for pastoralists and agro-pastoralists throughout the region. One facilitator discussed how officials at the Regional Education Bureau and Woreda Education Offices, in partnership with UNICEF, had printed and distributed for use more than 6,000 ‘network cards’. According to the facilitator, network cards allow students’ education achievements to transfer to any ABE center. The facilitator explained that:

There is seasonal variance in attendance and typically attendance is very low in the dry season when communities have to migrate in search of water...we were trying to come up with a different strategy, through working together in the different offices throughout the region and developed a networking card. This is basically a transcript that teachers fill out – a record of progress – that students can take with them to any school in the region and have their school achievements recognized.

However, the same facilitator discussed the ways in which the network card strategy does not work if communities move outside of the Somali region because their school achievements are not recognized in different regions (as each region has its own curriculum and utilizes local languages as the mediums of instruction). As such, access to education remains very limited for children and youth in communities residing in woredas bordering other regions and who frequently migrate across borders to access grazing land.

In terms of curriculum, ABE teachers teach five subjects: Somali, English, math, environmental science, and Amharic. According to interviews, parents were debating what they hope to achieve from their children's education, suggesting that there is space for continued discussion of curricular relevance. They discussed issues such as different or new strategies for crop rotation as well as opportunities to bring crops to market and how they hope what students are learning in school will allow students to gain an understanding of 'best practices'. This on-going conversation between parents about what they hope for their children's education (e.g. more efficiency in current livelihood practices or changes in livelihood altogether) in itself is positive compared to a recent study on pastoralist education in Kenya where parents felt that schools do not teach subjects relevant to pastoralism and that pastoralism is negatively portrayed in schools, particularly by teachers (UNICEF, 2015). According to facilitators in the Somali region, there are future plans to also focus on after-school programming including such things as girl guides and life skills and train-the-trainer workshops on gender-based violence (an issue discussed below).

Teachers are crucial to any education system, and of course, to implementing programming that is culturally and economically relevant, appropriate, flexible and safe. Recruiting teachers is a challenge for ABE as is teacher absenteeism. Ethiopia's National ABE Strategy (2009) indicates that ABE center teachers should come from the community. While efforts are made to select teachers from the targeted communities, many do not have an available individual with the level of education required to become a teacher (i.e. grade 10 certificate). In these cases, the Woreda Education Office seeks to recruit individuals from neighboring communities and encourages them to reside in the community where the ABE center is located. However in these communities, PTA members as well as facilitators noted that student attendance and dropout are high as is teacher absenteeism, limiting the ability of ABEs to reach their potential.

On the issue of safe learning spaces, gender-based violence in the region, including in schools is a significant problem (UNICEF, 2015). Even if infrequently reported, domestic violence is thought to be widespread in the more urban areas, and forced and early marriage are prevalent throughout the region. Corporal punishment in schools is also common as is psychological violence, such as teachers verbally abusing and humiliating students and bullying among students. In 2015, UNICEF PBEA provided two teacher trainings on alternate discipline methods to corporal punishment in schools. While these steps are important and promising, interviewees noted significant challenges in terms of both enforcement and monitoring. Data on the prevalence of these practices in ABE was not available for this study. Nevertheless, while interviewees noted that PBEA programming is well-placed to address these issues, the current government focus is predominantly on building infrastructure, rather than addressing curriculum and issues of pedagogy.

In these ways, the research found important evidence that ABE are working to provide culturally and economically relevant and appropriate education including flexible and safe learning spaces. Alongside these observations, however, the study also identified a rival 'assumption's at local level that directly contradicts the ToC based on the primacy of culturally and economically relevant education. The design of the programme is such that ABE's were built along migratory routes within the Somali region so that during drought or flood, the children can migrate and also pursue education in another ABE school. This alternate 'assumption' is not documented in PBEA materials or its programme approach, yet consistently emerged in interviews with representatives of the Somali Regional Education Bureau and Woreda Education Office. According to these interviewees, ABE is intended to change livelihoods from pastoralist and agro-pastoralist to a range of sedentary livelihoods, although UNICEF affirms that the government's original justifications were much more in line with UNICEF's theory of change. From the interviews conducted, many among the government education representatives believe that conflict drivers related to livelihood, such as conflicts over mobility and competition for scarce resources, would be reduced or eliminated through sedentarization. This appears to be a significant challenge as it is government representatives who act as programme facilitators for ABE programming. According to interviews with these programme facilitators, the MoE believes PBEA will, in the long run, facilitate industrialization of the region. When asked what long-term changes programme facilitators hoped PBEA would help to catalyze, one facilitator commented that,

We want them to "modernize" their livelihoods – especially in rural areas. So they might still grow crops or herd animals, but they do it better, more efficiently, and on a bigger scale. They can marketize too. We also want to attract industries to the region. So Polar Spring Water Company just opened a plant here, and we would like to see more of that.

As discussed in the literature review above, sedentarization and change of livelihoods are common underlying motivations for pastoralist education. The UNICEF CO confirms that this is not a ToC they aim to apply to ABE. Rather, the PBEA design and implementation of the ABE programme is one which does not aim to 'support' sedentarization, but is rather about 'moving with the communities'. Nonetheless, that it emerged with consistency across the research, from government officials considered the implementers of this programme, suggests that it warrants further investigation and monitoring. These local assumptions are directly at odds with the design, approach and stated goals of PBEA and could represent forms of 'cultural violence' against pastoralist groups (UNICEF, 2015). Moreover, this emergent ToC is consistent with findings from a UNICEF study in Kenya that identifies what is often a latent but pervasive bias against pastoralist livelihoods as 'backward'.²¹

3.3 Intermediate Outcomes: Improved equity in access to education (objective & perceptions), especially along inter- and intra-clan lines

The monitoring and evaluation data gathered by UNICEF's Somali RO on ABE programming does not specifically measure continuity or changes to equitable access to education for different ethnic groups. However, one facilitator offered an anecdotal example, explaining that:

Hodely is another kebele where we focused on because they had a minority population (the Gaboyas). They're Somali but very discriminated against by the Somali community—kind of a like the caste system. We wanted to facilitate assimilation of these people because we knew if we provided a school there then the 'majority' community would attend as well and then the children would have to be in the same school together and parents would be on the same PTA. Initially, the Gaboyas were so disenfranchised that they didn't even really want or actively request services from the administration [but ultimately, the ABE was built].

While inequitable access on inter- and intra-clan lines is noted in the Ethiopia Context Analysis, the PBEA ABE programming also aims to improve girls' access to school. The ABE strategy has focused on reaching children from 'disadvantaged families' (i.e. pastoralist and agro-pastoralists), particularly girls, children with disabilities, and ethnic minorities. There is also limited data that demonstrates gains or losses in terms of girls' access to education, though the Ethiopia Annual PBEA Report 2014 states that ABE centers in the Somali region are making a 'contribution to the reduction of out-of-school girls and retaining them' (UNICEF 2014f, p.18). UNICEF data shows an increase in girls' enrollment of some 7,000 (or a 4 percent increase) from 2012 to 2014, up from 170,213 to 177,400 in ABE centers. Likewise, the KAP study (2014) indicates that there have been significant improvements to the prevailing negative perceptions of girls' education in the Somali region, with 97 percent either 'agreeing' or 'strongly agreeing' that 'it is important for girls to attend school'. Such improvements were also observed through this study, albeit with a limited sample. According to FDGs conducted with male and females in Jigjiga woreda, the majority of participants reported positive attitudes towards girls' education and the increased access to schools for girls that ABE was providing. However, respondents indicated supporting girls' education so that "she can read" (BDS, Draft KAP Survey Report, 2015, p. 27) but not necessarily for expansive livelihood and educational opportunities. Additionally, the KAP survey report describes the resistance in some woredas to girls' education. One person interviewed for the study stated, "culturally, it is taboo to let women have access to education just like men" (Ibid, p. 77).

Improving equity to social services via education is of course an important human right. In terms of peacebuilding, in contrast to inter- and intra-clan issues of access, lack of access to education for girls is not listed as a root of conflict. To the contrary, conservative attitudes towards girls' education in Somali region render the promotion of girls' education, albeit important, potentially conflict-inducing between implementers and promoters on one side and community members on the other.

An additional intermediate outcome was identified during the research, although not included as a programme goal. This outcome was with improved ability of beneficiaries to advocate for other social services through

²¹ See: UNICEF (2015). Education and Resilience in Kenya's Arid Lands. Nairobi: UNICEF.

the learning process of petitioning for and receiving an ABE. According to one facilitator in response to a question posed regarding the ways in which ABE was impacting the broader community, the facilitator responded that PBEA-supported ABE centers helped communities understand the process of advocating for social services, and that PBEA-supported ABE was often the first time that communities received access to rights from the Ethiopian government. This facilitator explained that communities, through Kebele Training Boards (KTB) (local administrative councils), submit a request for consideration for an ABE to their Woreda Education Office. In consultation with UNICEF FO, the Woreda Education Office selects target kebeles based upon proximity to other ABE centers as well as the degree of diversity within the kebele. According to the Woreda Education officers interviewed for this study, the farther the kebele is from an ABE center and the more ethnic groups residing there, the more likely that kebele is to receive an ABE center. Another facilitator explained that,

Communities are realizing their rights through the expansion and access to schooling. They see where they petition for schools, which they have a right to, and then they know they can also petition for [health] clinics, water, and other basic rights.

Facilitators also mentioned during the course of informal conversations that there were instances where communities were specifically chosen as sites for ABE centers by REB and/or WEO without having submitted a request. It was unclear why these particular communities were chosen; further investigation into decision-making processes underlying site selection for these ABE centers will be important to ensuring that PBEA is targeting the most marginalized and conflict-affected communities.

3.4 Final Outcomes: Increase in social cohesion (more responsive state to citizens and more networked relations among diverse communal groups), increase in mechanisms utilized for mediating and managing conflict.

The field research located only a handful of anecdotal reports to investigate meaningful changes in social cohesion and resilience. A number of research participants, however, believed that social cohesion was improving because of ABE centers. For instance, one facilitator discussed that there were instances of slow-simmering tension between the regional government and marginalized communities – particularly those ‘at the end of the road’. These very rural and isolated communities lacked infrastructure (e.g. roads, bore holes for water, schools, health clinics) – and had not before received any government support. The facilitator stated that:

This was mostly true before PBEA...but PBEA has allowed us to build more schools in these areas, so there's more equity and spread of social services and this has gone a long way. For some, they never felt the government had done anything for them and at first they weren't even interested in services, but PBEA allowed us to reach these communities and say 'you can trust us [as government] and also have access to services that are your rights.' [Incidentally], it also allowed us to provide water to these communities [because bore holes were installed near schools] while at the same time providing education.

This interviewee reported on PBEA outcomes in a manner very consistent with the Theory of Change. He opined that conflicts caused by inequity of access to social services such as education were lessened due to the provision of ABE centers to marginalized populations.

The KAP analysis compared people in Somali region that lived in kebeles with ABE communities to those that did not. It concluded that there is a higher level of trust and tolerance between different ethnic and clan groups in their communities where PBEA-supported ABE centers have been constructed. Students and teachers in communities with PBEA ABE also indicated they felt more positive towards the social services provided by the government and that they felt more included in local and regional governments as beneficiaries of services. These reports indicate that there are positive gains being made through PBEA ABE

to tensions between the government and pastoralists/agro-pastoralists in the Somali region – one of the key conflict drivers in the Ethiopia 2014 CA.

As the KAP was implemented approximately six months after PBEA-supported ABE programming began, there is no way to measure changes over time as a pre-programme baseline had not been conducted. Moreover, even when considering comparative data between areas with ABE centers and those without ABE centers, as suggested above, it is possible that these communities would have presented the same results even before PBEA. Consequently, in the event there has been change it seems entirely plausible that PBEA-supported ABE centers have made contributions, this study is nevertheless unable to attribute change directly to ABE interventions as opposed to other potential factors. These are common concerns in non-experimental research.

This section concludes by raising a different theory of change relating to improved social cohesion that emerged over the course of the research. This ToC relates to increased inter-group contact between members of different ethnic groups. This emergent theory of change was not discussed in the PBEA literature, yet was raised a number of times in interviews. First, the PTAs (and KTBs) provide opportunities for ethnic groups to work together (to address issues of student attendance or absenteeism and/or community conflict resolution) as previously they had only interacted with one another when movement to new grazing lands brought them into contact. These movement-induced meetings often resulted in tensions and on occasion violent conflict. This is particularly significant as KAP data from the Somali region finds a noted lack of community mechanisms that facilitate group interaction (BDS 2015, p. 45). Second, ABE centers allow children from different ethnic group to learn together. “Like the parents, they really hadn’t interacted with one another before,” a teacher stated. This pathway to improved social cohesion resonates with the well-known contact hypothesis that posits that increased contact between communities in conflict promotes reconciliation (Alport 1954, see also Paluck & Green 2009). Also known as intergroup contact theory, the main premise is that under the right conditions – equal group status, common goals, intergroup cooperation and support from authorities (see Pettigrew 1998) – increased contact and interaction between members of different groups is effective at reducing prejudice. Classrooms are often thought to be an effective place to bring the contact hypothesis to fruition. It should also be noted that ‘community participation’ emerged as the lowest scoring domain in the KAP index of social cohesion, suggesting that people have few opportunities to interact (BDS, 2015, p. viii). As such, the contact dimensions of ABE may be particularly impactful.

In terms of the interaction of different ethnic groups at ABE centers, according to a PTA member, when an ABE center is constructed, the Woreda Education Officers liaising with the community ask community leaders to establish a PTA with representatives from each clan residing in the kebele. For example, in Duk kebele, one of the sites visited, there are 9 clans residing in a 2.5-mile radius and there are 9 PTA members, one from each clan. Additionally, selection criteria for PTA members include: having shown active involvement in day-to-day community life (e.g. through participating in decision-making about which lands to utilize for grazing and how to reach agreement on this issue with members of neighboring communities) and gender. In the three sites visited, while the majority of PTA members were male, approximately one-third of each PTA is comprised of female members. Similarly, ABE centers allow children from different ethnic groups to learn together. A student further explained that, “I now share desks with kids from other [ethnic] groups. During breaks we play football together.” Prior to the ABE centres, ethnic groups in the community had only interacted with one another when movement to new grazing lands brought them into contact. These movement-induced meetings often resulted in tensions and on occasion violent conflict. However, the lack of opportunity for positive interethnic interaction is not specifically mentioned in the 2014 Ethiopia Context Analysis conducted by the PBEA programme.

In sum, the interviewees (students, parents, teachers, as well as facilitators in the three kebeles that were visited) thought that PBEA-supported ABE centers were working to reduce intra-clan conflict and increase social cohesion (through the unanticipated local governance mechanisms that emerged from regular PTA meetings). However the research design for this study did not allow for attributing causal changes directly to the programme.

3.5 Summary Discussion

Having explored the ways in which specific ToC have informed ABE interventions, the study now discusses if and how these ToC have addressed known conflict drivers, and if and how these theories of change have been actualized through programming to facilitate peacebuilding. In so doing, several challenges for ABE are also identified.

With regards to the ways in which the provision of ABE centers address the conflict drivers prevalent in the Somali region (see Table 5), findings of this study, in ways indicate that education through ABE is addressing issues of social cleavage among clans as well as lack of participation and inequitable participation that drive inter-clan conflict and tensions between pastoralists/agro-pastoralists and government. Nonetheless, education is just one aspect of social inequality. Findings suggest that provision of ABE centers have not addressed intra-clan and inter-regional/inter-state conflicts driven by scarcity of water and grazing land. It should however be noted that the PBEA programme was not designed to address such conflict drivers, but rather those springing from inequitable access to education. Furthermore, as noted by one interviewee, PBEA alone is not sufficient to address all the root causes of conflicts, such as limited and inequitable access to scarce resources such as land, grazing pastures and water that are necessary for survival in the arid lands. This is not surprising as it is widely acknowledged that education alone cannot bring about peace but can be an important contributor (see King 2014).

Using an analysis based on the ABE programme theory of change, presented in Table 4, the report finds indicators of progress on outputs and intermediate outcomes as well as preliminary signs of final outcomes, increasing levels of social cohesion and resilience among conflict-affected and vulnerable communities. The report finds, however, that the pathways of change may be different than those theorized by the ToC.

As noted earlier, additional assumptions among local implementers emerged through field research that are not formalized by the PBEA program. At the highest level (Somali Regional Education Bureau and Woreda Education Offices seeking to implement the Education Sector Plan (2010-2015)), ABE is intended to reduce conflict believed to be driven through movement that inheres in pastoralist/agro-pastoralist livelihoods. According to this somewhat long established and 'entrenched' assumption, and one that is also prominent in the pastoralist education literature, by changing livelihoods through ABE (from pastoralist and agro-pastoralist to a range of sedentarist livelihoods), drivers of conflict related to livelihood will be reduced or eliminated altogether.

At the level of implementation (Woreda Education Officers and UNICEF RO Education Officers), site selection for ABE is driven by a theory of change that seeks to facilitate increased interaction among children and youth as well as parents from different ethnic groups who previously only interacted when movement to new grazing lands brought them into contact. It follows that, by bringing children from different ethnic groups together in the same learning space and parents from different groups together in PTAs, drivers of conflict related to resource scarcity will be reduced. This 'emergent' theory of change is found in wider intergroup conflict and peacebuilding literature, known as the contact hypothesis, or intergroup contact theory.

Finally, at the school level (teachers, parents) the method of instruction is driven by an emergent theory of change that seeks to instill in students verbal rather than physical means of conflict resolution as well as learned accountability and responsibility. It is thus believed that, by following a daily routine and adhering to school rules and guidelines, drivers of conflict related to undisciplined, youthful behavior will be reduced.

Each of these assumptions or emergent ToC is an important area of further investigation. The first assumption related to intended change in livelihoods is particularly significant because of the potential challenges and negative impacts on pastoralists/agro-pastoralists noted in previous scholarship and evaluations. It should also be noted that the views underpinning this assumption are deeply entrenched and have been in place for quite some time, with the aims of sedentarization and modernization of pastoralist livelihoods through pastoralist education well-known. However, these were not desired aims in the PBEA programme design nor were they discussed by UNICEF CO and FO staff designing and implementing PBEA programming in the Somali region. They were, however, discussed openly by implementing staff at REBs and WEOs. The aims of

sedentarization and modernization through pastoralist education as well as discussion of negative impacts of these aims for pastoralists, are prevalent in pastoralist education literature. Indeed, other research on pastoralist communities in Kenya carried out by UNICEF notes this approach as having the potential to inflict a form of 'cultural violence' that can drive alienation and, in some cases, contribute to the radicalization of young people.

Understanding better the emergent ToC (bringing adults and children/youth together in ABE centers) would potentially help programme facilitators develop and implement ABE in ways that maintain and/or increase the positive benefits of this aspect of programming on pastoralists/agro-pastoralists.

Finally, considering the final emergent ToC identified above offers an opportunity for programme planners and implementers to better understand how a previously unexamined conflict-driver (i.e. undisciplined behavior) is incidentally being addressed through ABE and, in the future, intentionally structure programming to this effect (e.g. by providing more teacher training on behavior management and multi-grade teaching).

4. LESSONS LEARNED AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This case study has focused upon the ways in which specific ToC have informed PBEA interventions, how these ToC are intended to address known conflict drivers, and if and how these theories of change have been actualized through programming. Based upon the study findings and analysis, several lessons learned and recommendations are offered for each of these areas.

4.1 How specific ToC have informed PBEA interventions

- PBEA and ABE-specific ToC are helping to correctly inform PBEA interventions that are, by extension, making gains in PBEA Outcome 4 and incidentally in Outcome 3.
- Emergent ToC (that have not been formalized by the programme), held by staff at the REB and WEO who develop and implement PBEA ABE as well as teachers in ABE centers, are also facilitating gains in Outcomes 3 and 4. These ToC need to be more thoroughly discussed, evaluated and analyzed by PBEA and Ethiopia COs.

4.2 How these ToC are intended to address known conflict drivers

- PBEA and ABE specific ToC map on to known drivers of conflict identified by the 2014 Context Analysis (see Table 4).
- ABE, as a programme intervention, is intended to address all four forms of conflict and four conflict drivers in the Somali region (although, of course, not every manifestation).
- Emergent ToC (that have not been formalized by the programme) are also addressing known, as well as previously unidentified, conflict drivers.
- There is variance in type and degree of conflict from one woreda to the next throughout the Somali region. More conflict-analysis down to the woreda level is needed if programme responses are to be shaped in a manner that addresses different conflicts affecting woredas differently. While the KAP includes three woredas from the Somali region, the CA notes that the ten woredas in which PBEA is implemented in the Somali region are prone to very different levels of conflict. As such, comparative analysis of all these woredas and/or specific kebeles known to be particularly conflict-affected within each woreda is needed.
- The deeply entrenched assumptions at local level regarding livelihood change for pastoralists through ABE is based upon a belief that conflict inheres in pastoralist livelihoods. Much more investigation and analysis of this ToC is needed to ensure that PBEA-supported ABE and government programmes are conflict sensitive (do not reproduce or enhance forms of cultural violence) and work towards building peace.

4.3 The ways in which these ToCs have been actualized through programming

- There are observable implications in terms of programming for each ToC. The study identifies outputs and intermediate outcomes, and to a lesser extent final outcomes. That these findings are observable in such a short term is promising since social cohesion and resilience (final outcomes) are typically very slow moving processes.
- The study is not able to clearly map the causal process along the theorized ToC. Emergent ToCs also account for the ways in which suggested gains are being made in Outcomes 3 and 4 through programming.
- Programming has expanded access to education throughout the Somali region for a large number of agro-pastoralists and some pastoralists.
- Evidence suggests that programming is still at too early a stage to have increased access to education throughout the Somali region for some of the most remote and marginalized communities (i.e. pure pastoralists).

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 How specific ToC have informed PBEA interventions

- Extend/deepen research design for evaluation and consider more comparative (possibly experimental), longitudinal, on-going evaluations (collected by UNICEF RO and/or REB and WEO).

5.2 How these ToC are intended to address known conflict drivers

- Consider more explicitly, at the level of programme development and implementation, the ways in which programming might or could in the future contribute to conflict (e.g. initiatives to focus on girls). Include indicators for conflict in ongoing M&E of programming (i.e. conflict sensitive monitoring systems to help ensure 'Do No Harm' and timely programme adjustments to 'Do More Good' – or support peacebuilding).
- Thoroughly investigate, at the level of programme development and implementation, the emergent ToC related to livelihood change and the ways in which this ToC is based upon assumptions regarding how conflict inheres in pastoralist livelihoods.
- Complete endline KAP survey.
- Mine existing KAP survey to better understand local level conflicts and experiences of conflict among different groups surveyed.

5.3 How these ToCs have been actualized through programming

- Explore, develop, and implement programming that expands access to education for pastoralists to reach the most remote and marginalized communities in the region.
- UNICEF in partnership with MoE should continue the exercise of more fully drafting out ToC and the observable implications. Also consider theories of change that emerged throughout the course of this research and consider other programming or programming changes that may allow them to more fully develop and actualize.
- Consider programming that expands access to second-cycle primary schooling for pastoralists/ agro-pastoralists/
- Consider increasing resources (e.g. textbooks, desks) for existing ABE centers as enrollment continues to increase.

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