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Schooling in Hamar in the South Omo Zone

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1 Introduction

The south-western part of Ethiopia has a huge variety of diverse cultures. 17 ethnic groups with different languages live as pastoralists and peasants in the South Omo Zone with an extent of 22.000km² (Lydall 2000: 42). In the last three decades the life of these traditional living residents has changed rapidly. Before that, the region near the Kenyan and Sudanese border was quite unavowed and difficult to access. Today, tourists visit the newly build markets in the towns of Dimeka and Turmi. The tourists come to see the exotic Mursi women wearing lip-plates and the Leap over the cattle of the Hamar.

Missions, NGOs and government development programs are present in the region, working on peacemaking processes and preventing harmful traditional practices. However, one focus of these institutions is education, especially since the NGO 'Save the Children Norway-Ethiopia' (Redd Barna) started a new education program called Alternative Basic Education (ABE). Redd Barna builds schools in the settlements of Hamar and tries to get more children in schools aside from the already existing national-state schools. Schooling in the South Omo Zone takes place in two different ways and can be differentiated in formal and non-formal education (South Omo Zone Educational Office 2007).

This paper poses an embedded analysis of the socialisation of the Hamar and the effects of the different kinds of schools in the South Omo Zone. The following research questions are approached:

- Are both concepts of schooling approved by the Hamar?
- How is schooling comprised in the socialisation of the Hamar?



The effects and changes by schools are described by life paths and in the wider complex of modernisation, urbanisation and tourism industrialisation.

2 Socialisation in Hamar

The Hamar are the dominant agro-pastoral group living dispersed in a number of ca. 45.000 Hamar speakers (Banna, Bashada as own culture are included) belonging to the Omotic speakers of the Afro-asiatic languages (Ethnologue 2010: 15.03.2010, SNNPRS South Omo Zone Finance and Economic Development Coordination Main Department 2007). For Hamar boys, socialisation comprises to learn to take care of the cattle, learn apiculture and hunting and to become a man of the community through observing and imitation of the older members. Most of the time the boys live in cattle camps until they pass the initiation (the Leap over the cattle). As cattle owner and peasants the Hamar men are active in trade and exchange and connected with so called bond-friends, even to members of other ethnic groups. The girls are called “visitors”, because they leave home when they get married. The girls and women work in the fields and take care of the children and goats in the homestead (Lydall, Strecker 1979).

Socialisation implies to become a part of the community through learning social and cultural norms, rules and ethical values of the community in which the child is growing up (Haller 2005: 121,117). Socialisation is characterised by the stages of life such as birth, childhood and adolescence. All stages are marked by a *rité de passage* in which the most significant passage is initiation, when a boy becomes a man.

3 School education in Ethiopia

Schools are found in all countries of the world. There are institutional facilities with a definite curriculum to impart knowledge to the next generation for the respective societies. Functions of school are described as enculturation-function (denoting the reproduction of cultural understanding), as qualification-function (impart of skills for concrete profession) and as allocation-function (as a selection and carrier building). Equally important is the



integration-function, which includes social identity building and identification (Jobst 2008: 194). This integration and assimilation in a national state (like Ethiopia) through school is emphasized by Dyer and Krätli (Dyer, Krätli 2006: 9).

In international context, the Right for Education is an issue of the UNESCO¹. This right exists since 1948 and is included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 155 governances and some World Aid Organizations created the campaign Education for All. The goals are, among other things, equal access to schools for girls and improvement of the quality of education (UNESCO 2007: 15.03.2010). Ethiopia is affiliated with this campaign and has established new educational institutions.

The Ethiopian school system has evolved. It started with a Christian-school institution for a few exclusive students to a school expansion with an imitation of a Western styled school system in the Abyssinian Empire. Today it is characterized by mass-education. Compared to the time of the Abyssinian Empire, many children attend school, but the drop-out rate is very high and more boys than girls attend school (Mayrhofer 1999: 23-28, Zehle 2008). In the majority of the administrative districts, Amharic is the school-instruction language (G.Cohen 2000:190).

Socialisation (also enculturation) through family and social-cultural environment in Ethiopia is culturally different in all parts of the country. The formal educational institution, which has been established with the nation building process of Ethiopia, disposes education from within the family (Mayrhofer 1999: 20). The pressure of assimilation by school education increases for the Hamar and is analysed in this manuscript.

4 Schooling in South Omo Zone

Due to the diversity of languages, in 1991, the new democratic government decided to use Amharic as school-instruction language and as lingua franca for the South Omo Zone:

“In these zones no language presents itself as suitable for the purpose of education. All of the remaining zones have introduced the language that represents the largest proportion of the population for the purpose of primary education.” (G. Cohen 2000: 190)

¹ UNESCO means United Nations for Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.



Therefore, Amharic is the language spoken within the Primary Schools, even if it is not the mother tongue of the children (G. Cohen 2000: 190).

In 2007, 231 schools in total existed in the South Omo Zone, which has been separated in national-state schools and ABE-schools (South Omo Zone Educational Office 2007).

4.1 National school education

With the forceful incorporation in the Abyssinian Empire, the settlement of administrators and traders started in this area. The descendants of these “Northerners” and the re-settled Oromo in time of *derg*² in the 1980s became the inhabitants of the emerged towns. The formal-school and student hostels for the children of the towns and for Hamar children (living far away) were established in the 1980s through the *Semetsha*³ campaign with the support of Redd Barna and the Catholic Church in Turmi and Dimeka (Lydall 2010: 324).

However, just a few children from pastoral families attended school. Also today only 13 Hamar students attend Primary and Secondary School (class 1-8) from a total of 68.824 students in Hamar district (South Omo Zone Educational Office 2007).

As Carr-Hill examined, the reasons for attending national formal education, from the pastoralist point of view, is the hope of the parents to prepare their children with knowledge on preservation of cattle diseases and milk yield (Carr-Hill 2005: 72). Further reasons are the expectations to get a better income and a higher status through school education. Some pastoralists see their traditional way of life in danger caused of natural disasters (e.g. drought), conflicts between ethnic groups and pressure of assimilation from the national state. School education becomes the only option in the future for their children (Carr-Hill 2005: 74).

In Hamar the so called *tamari* (Amharic for students) were seen as transmitters between the Hamar and the inhabitants of the town (so called *gal* in Hamar) (Lydall 2010: 324). Baldambe, a former Hamar spokesman, explains that the first born Hamar boys are indispensable for ritual and social-economic role in Hamar community and do not attend

² *Derg* is the Marxist-socialist regime in Ethiopia from 1974-1989.

³ *Semetsha* was a national campaign called Campaign for development through imparts of knowledge and work founded in 1974. Over 56.000 teacher and students imparted knowledge in the villages for the peasants. This campaign was an alphabetization- program embedded in the social-society concept *Ethiopia Tikdem!* (Ethiopia first!) (Mayrhofer 1999: 28).



school. Also the girls were not sent to school, because of the danger of kidnapping for forced marriage by Hamar men, when they live in the towns unprotected. Girls are seen equally responsible in continuing Hamar culture. If they go to school, they would not learn to become a competent Hamar woman (Lydall 2010: 323).

Apart from the traditional reasons not attending formal schools; there is a financial barrier for a higher school education. For joining the Preparatory Level (class 11-12) the children have to go to the capital of the South Omo Zone (Jinka) and pay for accommodation and food by themselves. In the worst case there can be a real danger to become a victim of abuse through man and even teachers in Jinka, as Lydall indicated:

“Inevitably some children, both boys and girls, are lured into commercial sex with the many single men in town. Teachers may take advantage of schoolgirls, offering them better marks if they sleep with them, and some schoolgirls may initiate sex with their teachers. This is a serious source of HIV/AIDS infection.” (Lydall 2000: 44)

The national formal education in the Hamar district starts with the Primary School in Dimeka and Turmi. After five years of Primary School, the students attend Elementary School. When passing the exam the students move to Jinka if they have family members living there or are able to finance higher education on their own. In Jinka these students attend the South Omo Secondary and Preparatory School from grade 10-12.

Education in Ethiopia is for free, but the students have to pay for accommodation and food if they can't live with a family member. A few students with pastoral background can get a scholarship supported by the Catholic Church or *Aisosh Ethiopia!*⁴ through sponsorships and donations (Aisosh Ethiopia 2009: 25.03.2010). These few students from the different pastoral ethnic groups, most of them in traditional conflict with each other, found themselves in a situation full of hostility through students from the town. Therefore a wider identification took place: it is not only a Hamar identity but also a consideration to be an educated black pastoralist, different from the identity of the inhabitant of the town.

The Secondary School in Jinka, established in 1980, is marked by a shifting rotate of classes, caused of the amount of students. A new teaching TV-program, developed in South Africa, gives lessons for subjects like maths and English on a plasma display. The program is

⁴ *Aisosh Ethiopia!* is a NGO founded by German Anthropologists, who do research in South Omo (Aisosh Ethiopia 2009: 25.03.2010).



characterised through fast following pictures and a fast English teaching. A contrast to this plasma TV in all classrooms is the old shabby school inventories.

The number of students from pastoral groups in the classes 9 and 10 increased from 2006 to 2007 from 84 to 96. In class 11 and 12 only 9 male students with pastoral background attended from a total of 219 students (South Omo Zone Educational Office 2007). After passing the Preparatory Level the students have the opportunity for studying at college or university, however, the choice of the field of study is limited. Also the financing is a problem if family members are not able to support the students. In general, only a few girls start university studies. Girls with pastoral background have not even achieved the Preparatory Level (South Omo Zone Educational Office 2007). In this situation *Aisosh Ethiopia!* tries to give an opportunity through sponsorship to pass an apprenticeship or higher education in cities like Addis Ababa or Arba Minch (Aisosh Ethiopia 2009: 25.03.2010). Through higher education there is an opportunity to work for the government in the South Omo Zone, a great chance in an area where unemployment is one of the greatest issues and a reason for alcohol problems and *khat* usages.

The Ethiopian education system was subject of different European influences during the last centuries. The author Zehle characterised the present system by high drop-out-rate, overgrowing class rooms, low quality of lessons and inefficient school organisation visible also in the South Omo Zone (Zehle 2008: 38). These characteristics are applicable for the school situation in Africa generally, which is criticised by scholars in reference to curriculum and applied school instruction languages (critic refers to not using the first languages in schools) and sum up the African school systems as educational catastrophe and adversity (Samoff 2008: 115ff.; Kabou: 2001: 175; Wolff 2006: 9; Laaser 1996: 179).

4.2 Alternative Basic Education

As Mr. Losinde Lognasuhra Lokubuwo, the Head of the Education Department of the Administration of the South Omo Zone, pointed out, non-formal education is found in those districts, where almost pastoralists of Ethiopia are living. The Ministry of Education attempts to increase the number of children in education institutions by providing Alternative Basic



Education (ABE) (Licht without year: 29). Beside the ABE, Christian Missions' Schools, like the Swedish Protestant Mission, are active in the South Omo Zone.

Since 1969 Redd Barna is working in Ethiopia and in 2003 the Ethiopian government established ABE in the school policy:

“Because it was integrated into the permanent education structure offered by the government, alternative basic education did not become an isolated phenomenon or a parallel education system, unable to survive on its own. Financial sustainability was secured when the government started to pay all ABE teachers' salaries, replacing the subsistence allowance paid by Save the Children and local communities” (Save the Children 2007: 71f.).

As a result of adapting a curriculum in the formal school policy it is possible to attend the formal Primary School after passing the ABE-school. Save the Children designed working-papers with local background to convey local knowledge and skills (Save the Children 2007: 72). The teachers were trained by a three-week training program and by correspondence courses for two years (Save the Children 2007: 72). Redd Barna started to build ABE- schools in disperse settlements in the South Omo Zone in 2005. In total there are 110 ABE-schools visited by 8.453 students of all ages (3.132 are female students) in all districts (Salamago, Maale, Nyangatom, Dassanech, Hamar, Banna, Tsamai and South Ari). However, the tendency of enrolment by pastoralists is declining: in 2007, 497 fewer students visited schools than in 2006 (South Omo Zone Educational Office 2007).

In Hamar district 33 ABE-schools with 58 teachers exist for 1,430 students including 132 female students (South Omo Zone Educational Office 2007). These schools give basic education in reading, writing and arithmetic. Also the cultural context of pastoralism and local participation is embedded in the mission of Redd Barna:

“The consequences of providing education to pastoralist communities can be that children are alienated from their culture and at the same time are left without alternatives. The need to create opportunity for further education must be balanced with the need to provide relevant and appropriate education for the majority of children who will continue to live and work in the local environment” (Licht without year: 8).

In Simbalé (in teh Hamar district) the ABE-school is attended by 31 male students and two female students. Amharic is the school language which is used in lessons of sciences, English and maths. In the last three years 13 students passed the ABE and continued their education on the Primary School in Dimeka. Furthermore Amharic as a school language is used in the



Hamar region, it is positive to have illustrated textbook with Hamar people. But not many children are interested in school, as the teacher Maresha Zyga told me.

In conclusion the Ethiopian educational system is shaped by foreign influences and it changed from an education for the elite to a mass-education in terms of the opportunity of access to school. In fact few children go to school and most drop out of school. In the South Omo Zone the drop-out rate is high: class 5-8 is attended by 15,214 students, class 9-10 in contrast have a number of only 2,796 students (South Omo Zone Educational Office 2007).

Alternative Basic Education gives access to schools, however just a few use this offer and opportunity. Family duties, work engagements and the distance of school are reasons for truancy from ABE. Local communities wish to get a practical training embedded in local culture to improve local live-standards, like livestock farming, cultivation of grain and better health care. The practical training for pastoralists is not provided by ABE while following the national curriculum. Also local languages are unaccounted for school service and Amharic is still a language barrier (Carr-Hill 2005: 125f). This situation is more visible in the effects and changes of Hamar culture caused by school.

5 Effects and changes by school in Hamar

Which applications and changes are raised by formal and non formal education is described in this chapter by perception of three Hamar men, who passed the formal education and by the majority of Hamar and their view about ABE-school.

5.1 National school education

During Haile Selassie's Reign (with him as Minister of Education) the modernisation of the educational system was advanced (Mayrhofer 1999: 19). Furthermore, in South Ethiopia, schools were established for the children of administrators and policemen from the north. To the local people the opportunity of a national-state school education was not given. But Haile Selassie disposed to send the sons of local dignitaries to boarding schools in Addis Ababa to teach them Amharic language and custom in a western styled education (Lydall 2010: 320).



These boys became “Northerners” even in their names through Amharic socialisation. Most of these educated boys worked later as governors in their regional areas.

Makonnen Dori is one of these boys, who went, as a son of a ritual chief of the Banna, to Addis Ababa. In the 1960s he worked as administrator of the West Geleb district. Makonnen made his degree in management at Manchester University (UK). He was the first Banna who tried to establish aid-programs in South Omo Zone. The Hamar still remember Makonnen today, because he organised grain during the big drought in 1972-73 (Lydall 2010: 320).

Also in the time of *derg* new schools were established in South Omo and visited by the children of the northern administrators, but also affected by the *Semetsha* campaign, some older Hamar men decided to send their sons to boarding schools (Lydall 2010: 323). The separation from the parents and siblings produced a recognised alienation on both sides. So, Lydall describes, that the students were called *tamari* (Amharic for students) by their parents and were treated as Northerners when they visited the parent’s homestead in vacations (Lydall 2010: 324).

Sintayehu Garshi, judge of the South Omo Court, belongs to the Hamar generation which attended the school in time of *derg*. Supported by the Catholic Mission and Help the Children he passed college in Addis Ababa. He has his own cattle and lives in Jinka with his northern wife and his two children. As well as Makonnen, he changed his Hamar name in an Amharic name during his school time. He also supported Bazo Morfa, a member of the youngest generation of educated Hamar. Bazo and Sintayehu feel connected to each other through the same experience, to grow up between two cultures.

Bazo Morfa attended Primary School in Dimeka at the age of seven in 1992. The school is situated 5 km from his homestead in Simbalé, so he lived in a hostel. At the beginning the school was quite difficult. He was the only Hamar boy, couldn’t speak Amharic and the students and teachers treated him badly. After being hit by a teacher he ran away from school twice until his father, Morfa, had a discussion with the teachers. During his school time Bazo was forced by his classmates to take a Christian Amharic name, but he refused: “Why don’t you take an Amharic name, which we can understand?” Bazo: “Why, so that I can confuse my parents?” (Interview with Bazo Morfa: 15.03.2008).



This example points out, that the access to the national educational scheme caused a confrontation with the northern Ethiopian lifestyle and the Christian-Orthodox Church. Like his classmates, Bazo was baptised. Immediately Bazo was in conflict when he visited his family on the Christian fast-days, where it is prohibited to consume milk. In Hamar, milk is a staple food. Bazo's family was anxious about him, when he declined to drink milk. In the end, his father Morfa recommended to consider the Christian religion and Bazo abandoned from his faith. In the vacations Bazo switched from being a student back to being a Hamar boy and went to Hamar dances and took care of the cattle in the camps. His older half-brother annoyed him and till today he does not treat him as a "real Hamar". Nevertheless, the rest of his family accepts him and seeks advice by him in affairs with the Northerners. After his degree on Preparatory Level in Jinka, Bazo studied Linguistics at the University of Addis Ababa. Since 2009 he is working at the Educational Office in Jinka.

By acquiring higher education and working in the administration, school-educated Hamar became financiers for their families. In times of drought and diseases they can help their families, which are living from subsistence farming and pastoralism, with regular money-income to buy some food (Aisosh Ethiopia 2009: 25.03.2010).

From Bazo's point of view school was positive and important to learn the Amharic language in order not to be discriminated by Northerners. The influences on Hamar culture was described by him as follows:

"Keep your culture is nice. It has its own value. (...) Due to schools, I guess that the influences might be language and culture contact or may be language and culture assimilation or other influences. (...) As I think about schools, it is somewhat good to have schools in Hamar, because nowadays education is a key point to know yourself or alter your attitude and mind in the world. Also, Ethiopian government is providing chances for the change of Hamar or all pastoralists to see development in all parts of Ethiopia. I think that if Hamar do not learn, it seems difficult for them to share whatever they need in Ethiopia for the future, especially in pastoralist areas." (e-mail: 24.02.2010)

Bazo's option to school is described as assimilation of Hamar culture in the Amharic culture. He supported the governments' campaign for schools; because he sees the only chance for development is education. He is apprehensive, that the Hamar will marginalise themselves, because of the refusal of schooling. Bazo decided to keep his culture, that's why he made the Leap over the cattle in 2010 to become initiated in Hamar culture and to be able to get



married. During my last visit in 2008, Bazo was confused about his future: will he marry a Hamar girl or a girl from northern Ethiopia? Unlike the school-educated Hamar of the former generations he is now engaged with a Hamar girl. But it is difficult for him to handle between the two cultures and he feels not comfortable in his job, where he is discriminated as *shankila* (black person).

Even if only a few boys from Hamar attended formal education, the effects on identity on them are huge. The few school-educated Hamar leave the traditional pastoral way of live and pray the North-Ethiopian ideals and live like that. At the same time they support their family and Hamar traditions (Lydall 2010: 329). So they act in an antagonism between the two different linguistic and socio-economic cultures, namely Hamar and Amharic, in the search of their own identity.

5.2 Alternative Basic Education

The non-formal ABE-centres seem to be, as Lydall pointed out and explains, something odd and alien to Hamar culture:

“They saw the school and water pump as belonging to the *gal* world (i.e. world of northern Ethiopians), which they had always kept at a discrete distance. They were aware of the deep contradictions between the two ways of life, and were used to compartmentalizing them, accepting *gal* norms in town (*katema*), and insisting on Hamar norms at home. Accordingly, the school buildings were referred to and treated like a town.” (Lydall 2010: 324f)

School education is also an issue in conversations of Family Morfa: Kotto, Bazo’s younger sister, is married to an older Hamar man, who treated her in a violent way. Bazo considered sending her to the Primary School in Dimeka, to be apart from her husband.

Masuda describes a similar episode: a girl from Banna refused her family and her promised husband. She flew to Dimeka Police Station for protection and later she attended Primary School in Dimeka. Her relatives brought her back home, so she refused a second time. After long discussions between police and the family, the girl stayed in school. However, then her promised husband was angry and came, armed with a Kalashnikov, to the school to get his wife to be. He was shouting around and only some Arbore man could calm him down and hand him over to the police. The whole situation ended in a conflict between



Banna and Arbore. In the end the husband capitulated and the girl is now living in Dimeka and attends school (Masuda without year: 6).

As described above, seldom girls are permitted to go to school, because of the fear to lose them for Hamar society by raid through other Hamar man and in general by the allurements of the town (Lydall 2010: 323). In the described episode above, the Banna girl decided to egress Hamar society for an alternative life in town. Furthermore, Masuda considers in this story also a missionary influence. The number of converted Christians of the SIM (Serving in Mission) and the Swedish Church has increased in the last years in the Hamar-Banna-Bashada area. In 1999 more than 50 converted Banna changed their lifestyle as Masuda delineates: “They abide by typically Christian precepts like non-alcohol drinking, non-smoking, attending Sunday school, organise labour-groups and so on” (Masuda without year: 7). They differentiate themselves from the rest of Banna society in appearance: they didn’t wear the usual goat-skin skirt, decoration and typical red ochre hair. The converted Banna attached great importance to school education of their children (Masuda without year: 7). The girl was attentive to this people and saw alternatives to her traditional life. She was brave enough to resist against her family. School and church are two ways of alternative lifestyles and intervene in traditional Hamar-Banna-Bashada culture. The girl decided to become a “child of government” in a national culture (Masuda without year: 8).

Lydall describes the efforts of living conditions, marked by a paternalistic way of missionary, NGO’s but almost of the Northerners. Perceivable, instead of rights of ethnical freedom, over 100 things of Hamar tradition obtain as backward, illegal and harmful. Most of these things are connected with women: wearing the *binyere*⁵ and goat-skin, as well as abortion and ritual whipping. Therefore, to break through these traditions and to lead the Hamar into a “modern life“, the government started a campaign with a young woman living in Turmi as Women’s Representative to teach the Hamar. Lydall refers to an episode, where the young Women’s Representative came uninvited to an initiation (the Leap over the cattle) to instruct the girls to refuse the whipping by the *maz*⁶. The Hamar women responded as follows:

⁵ *Binyere* is an iron ring. It marks the first woman of a Hamar man and represents beauty (Epple, Brüderlin 2007: 10).

⁶ *Maz* are young Hamar men who pass the initiation.



“The Hamar women were offended that a *gal* [the Women’s Representative] who had no understanding of their customs, should come along and, implying that they were ignorant and stupid, tell them to abandon their ancestral customs. Rising to this provocation, several women deliberately had themselves ritually whipped directly in front of the uninvited ‘teacher’.” (Lydall 2010: 330)

Lydall is convinced that this campaign leads to more resolution to practice the old tradition (Lydall 2010: 330). On the other hand, there are supporters for school education and alternative lifestyles: a young girl from Hamar, Meseret Kala, spoke on the UN OCHA Pastoralist Communication Meeting in Kibish 2007, to persuade the men to attend their children to school:

“I do not want a girl to be given as a replacement for a dead person. All girls from pastoralist communities are interested in learning and changing the life of our families. We even imagine what it would be like if educated boys and girls to replace someone who is dead.(...) I beg you once again to send your girls to school, thus they can change their life as well as changing their country.(...) Please send your girls to school with us.” (Sullivan 2008: 21)

Also an elder of Kara refers, that peace and education belong together:

“These days Kara girls as well as boys attend schools. In Dassanech, Erbore [Arbore] and Nyangatom tribes, I have seen girls become nurses, vets and teachers. I want this to happen in my community. In the past a girl’s parents and community would reject her if she went to school; it was a taboo. Literacy among girls is an important way for the community to make contact with the outside world. I have a son and daughter who look after my animals and attend school. If the village people are educated and trained they would be willing to stay in the community to help people with health and education.” (Sullivan 2008: 41)

And the Premier of SNNPRS, Ato (Amharic: Mr.) Shiferaw uses the opportunity to refer to the new build schools for pastoralists:

“If we learn we will get knowledge. If we have knowledge we will be able to use our resources. If there is peace you can go to school and if you go to school you will have knowledge. (...) To take advantage of these developments going to school is the basic key. Look at us. We came from you. We are here because we went to school. Therefore schooling is your basic key. (...) Please be strong: focus on education.” (Sullivan: 2008: 33)

In these statements it is revealed that schools are seen as a part of Northerners from Hamar’s point of view, but Hamar and Kara didn’t condemn those in general.

Furthermore, Bazo’s younger brothers Worlè and Trygo like to go to school and Trygo



would like to visit the school more, but he is embedded in the duties of a young Hamar (care for cattle in cattle camps). Worlè is attending school more frequently than Trygo, but is not very interested in school. It is not seen as an imperative, more as a leisure activity, when visiting school twice a week. Like Trygo, Worlè is working with the cattle, sells firewood and goats on the market and operates as a bee-keeper. His interest in school is low, because the knowledge he gathers in school is not important for him in his daily life activities. Like most of the young Hamar man, Worlè passes the time on Wednesday and Saturday at the market in Dimeka, drinking *areke* (hard liquor) and meets his friends and tourists in bars. Tourists interrupt the daily activities of Hamar youth more than school. The tourists taking pictures, while the young Hamar dancing for them. The older Hamar criticise the tourists' activities, because the youth neglected their homestead duties: "Instead of giving the money to their parents, many spend more and more time in the town, drinking alcohol and sleeping with town people and tourists" (Lydall 2000: 45). The South Omo Research Center in Jinka organised a workshop about tourism in South Omo in 2005. Representatives from the local ethnic groups discussed tourism activities and efforts. Some of the representative criticised the intercourse with the tourists, because the tourists are staying for only five minutes in the homesteads and asking for taking photos. Akudor Nakotoi (a Nyangatom elder) sees also a problem in translating and explaining the local cultures by Northern tourist guides: "Do they [guides] know about our culture? They must translate the right way in Nyangatom. We need people from the different ethnic groups to be guides" (LaTosky 2006: 2).

But also Sex tourism is developing in the region, inspired by a novel of Fikre Markos, writing about Hamar as "noble savage" with a free sex life. These famous books reflected a wrong image in public. Tourists from Ethiopia and from other countries visit tourist camps also for sex with locals. It is a quite alarming cause of the high HIV-rate in Jinka at 30% infected people and it also infiltrated the norms and values of the society (Lydall 2000: 48).

Therefore, effects of the school have to be seen as a part in a complex overthrow of society through established towns with markets, the Northerners lifestyle, NGOs, tourism, anthropologist, etc. The school is not to be compared with the lure of town as an alternative. However, the school helps to learn Amharic for conversation on markets and in negotiations. So it leads to a kind of independence in acquaintance of town people. ABE-school does not



really change the daily activities, because it offers no practical lessons for improving agriculture, irrigation and stock breeding. Also ABE-schools mediated a national curriculum, which does not respond of requirements.

Save the Children developed an alternative school program, which is reckoned sceptically by most of the Hamar, like other aliened institutions, caused by interpreting it as strange from *gal* world and connected with aliened rules of the town (Lydall 2010: 332). These sceptic results stated above by the acquaintance with the Ethiopian government and the NGOs, which act paternalistic in the point of view of the Hamar (Lydall 2010: 333). Living in circumstances where all hands are needed for work, the non-formal education from Save the Children tries to offer school in the villages to prevent migration and keep the children as part of the daily working activities. Some Hamar see education as imperative for their children to be arranged with the Northerners, because of a sceptic regard for living as pastoralists. With schooling, they hope for protection by the *tamari* children. The majority of Hamar regard a loss of Hamar livelihood when their children attend school. The campaigns were seen as paternalism or with other words: how their life should be. This perception refers mostly to the formal education, because it forced the children to leave their parents to go to school and affected the Hamar culture more intensively. Most of the younger generation understood (influenced by mission, government and NGO's) school as an institution with access to alternative modern lifestyles in the towns.

6 Conclusion

School constitutes only a detail of alternative developments in the South Omo Zone connected with expanding infrastructure, the towns and the markets. As well as the Ethiopian government, missions, NGO's and tourists are part of these new changes.

The Ethiopian government follows a developmental mission, therefore to change traditional Hamar culture into modern. The majority of the Ethiopian population has a negative image towards pastoralists. They are seen as backwardly, dirty, ignorant and violent (Krätli 2006: 125f.). The government tries to prevent existing conflicts between some ethnic groups in South Omo through education of their children in schools.



Schooling in Hamar in the South Omo Zone Ethiopia



Ethiopia as well as all other African states, recognizes education as improvement to dispel economic and social disadvantages of the country. Education contains integration and assimilation in the national state (Krätli, Dyer 2006: 9f.). The Ethiopian national state expects stability, which is visible in school where the students with pastoral background are united. But it persists heterogeneity in schools, where homogeneity with national norms and values is expected, because of conflicts between town-students and students with pastoral background. In general the Ethiopian state does fight against inner conflicts caused by resettlements, increasing population, land grabbing and displacement of local people to get a national state stability (Belachew 2009: 85ff.).

Currently pastoralists close off this assimilation most frequently referring to school-enrolment, -presence, -achievement and change over to higher education (Krätli, Dyer: 2006: 7f). School intervenes strongest in pastoral social system, because as institution it acts at the cultural, social and economic base. Education (of both learning concepts) implies conveyance of knowledge and its transmission. It shifts knowledge for writing, reading and calculating and eliminates skills like livestock breeding, apiary and domestic cropping. School is aligned for opportunities outside the pastoral society to earn own money in a market-based economy. With schooling the opportunity for specialisation in pastoral sector is lost (Carr-Hill 2006: 48). As an educational institution it is a dominant, standardised and stereotypical instruction of the national state and replaces other forms of education, e.g. teaching myths (Y. Cohen 2000: 85, 96). Rather in that context, socialisation and education are in competition to each other, then through increasing formal education it degraded primary socialisation in the family at the same time (Y. Cohen 2000: 96). The long-term objective of school is to mediate universal values of the whole population of the national state and to undermine kinship as resource of solidarity, loyalty and authority (Y. Cohen 2000: 99).

To conclude, schooling in Hamar underlies standardisation processes and would be successful in achieving the goal, caused by the modernisation campaigns of the Ethiopian state. Instead of accepting pastoral live of the Hamar, the government attempts to assimilate them in national (northern) state, where unemployment is one of the greatest issues.



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