Pergamon

International Journal of Educational Development 20 (2000) 305–322

International Journal of EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

www.elsevier.com/locate/ijedudev

Old institutions, new opportunities: the emerging nature of Koranic schools in Somaliland in the 1990s

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Abstract

While Koranic schools are omnipresent throughout Somaliland and can boast a student enrolment rate of 60% compared to just 17% in primary schools, their contribution to basic education is either not known or thought to be insignificant. This paper reports on a survey to establish the current structure of Koranic schools in Somaliland, with a view to documenting the changing nature of the institution and assessing its potential to effectively address the expansion of basic education. It discusses survey findings on the material conditions of the Koranic schools; enrolment by age and sex; background of the teachers; opportunities for learning beyond memorisation of the Koran; and level of community and outside involvement in managing and sustaining the schools. The conclusion drawn is that Koranic schools have remained remarkably resilient and popular since their introduction in Somaliland 700 years ago, and contrary to common beliefs about the institution, virtually all the Koranic schools surveyed included elements of basic education and thus offered more than rote memorisation of the Koran.

Although more research is required, the evidence appears to strongly support the possibility of widening the focus of Koranic schools to include primary education as envisioned by the Somaliland white paper on education. Koranic schools have the advantage of high coverage, low cost and willingness of parents to pay. Without an effective bridge to formally link Koranic and primary schools, the paper suggests that Somaliland may never be able to lift itself out of the present spiral of low human capital development and under-investment in the most vital base of its population, the children. Nor could Somaliland meaningfully aspire to the objective of Education for All, including nomads, or any future national development objectives that are based on a large educated labour force. On the other hand, the introduction of basic education in Koranic schools will contribute both instantly and immensely to human resources development in the Republic, by targeting the large number of in-Koranic-school but out-of-primary-school children.

1. The problem and objectives

Imagine a country at war with itself, without law, security or a formal government for nearly a decade. Normal commerce, air, sea, ground and other logistical networks no longer exist. Further, imagine the future development of such a country when there are no functioning universities; only 11% of primary school age children are in school; only 25% of this handful have access beyond grade five; and gender disparities among the enrolled children range from 43% to 21% for the higher grades. To assess how much learning is achieved, it was observed that 45% of the current teaching

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0738-0593/00/$ - see front matter © 2000 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.
PII: S0738-0593(99)00076-0

force is untrained and 45% of the schools have not received any teaching or learning materials for more than five years. Can there be any glimmer of hope for this "hypothetical" country, considering that no country has ever achieved economic advancement with less than 10% primary school enrolment rate for its entire population? This well established correlation between enrolment rate and economic progress (Peaslee, 1967) puts our hypothetical society at about 2.6%, using a conservative population estimate. Assuming that civil governance, law and order can and do return to such a country, or at least parts of it, can an approach be found which has the potential to quickly address its educational problems of alarmingly low enrolment, limited learning and substantial gender disparity? What can African governments and their educators do in concrete terms to reverse this destructive trend of gross under-investment in human capital?

This paper attempts to answer these questions by examining the current situation in Somaliland (also known as the Northwest Somalia Zone). With Somaliland's progress in creating a relatively conducive environment for rehabilitation, reconstruction and development (Bradbury, 1996; UNICEF, 1996; Morah, 1996; SCF-UK, 1993), some clear achievements can be seen in its post-war development indicators, e.g. peace and governance, nutrition and health status, economic investment and educational progress. A large UN random sample survey in 1996 showed that 17% of Somaliland children (12% of girls and 23% of boys) were enrolled in primary school, compared to just 11% assumed for the Greater Somalia including Somaliland. But the same survey also showed that 60% of children four to 10 years of age were enrolled in Koranic schools (43% of girls and 75% of boys). Koranic schools can be likened to preschool, which precedes primary education in the west. They are so omnipresent amongst the settled population in Somaliland that one can be found every 300–500 meters. However, the institution's assumed limitations for primary education are the exclusive teaching of rote memorisation of the Koran, and the untrained teachers who are poorly prepared to impart anything more than religious education.

Perhaps recognising that a new approach to the educational deficit in Somaliland had to be found urgently, the Somaliland Government white paper on education (1996) curiously mentioned in passing that "the Koranic school will serve as the prephase of the formal school years". This policy declaration may represent a dramatic step in the right direction. However, without any elaboration on how the policy might be achieved, the declaration only invites the challenge of concrete innovations. This paper reports on a survey to establish the current structure of Koranic schools in Somaliland, with a view to indicating their possibilities for addressing the encouraging, albeit still deplorable conditions for formal education. It asks the question: can Koranic schools meet the challenge of contributing significantly as the pre-phase to formal learning, a move that could dramatically increase overall enrolment, as well as further narrow the current gross gender gap? The underlying assumption is that the intellectual stimulation of children at an early age is likely to encourage parents to favour the continuation of education beyond Koranic schools.

Because Somaliland is bound to be an area of the world about which most people hear little, the first part of this paper presents a brief history to clarify the relationship between Somaliland and Somalia. The second part examines the recent history of basic education in Somaliland, including the history of Koranic schools. The third part reviews some theoretical arguments to place the survey findings and discussions in the proper intellectual context. Part four presents the survey methodology as well as the findings and analyses. Finally, part five undertakes an extended conclusion to situate both the resulting analyses and findings within the context of opportunities and lessons learned. Additionally and indirectly, this paper hopes to realistically appraise Somaliland's post-war development progress and potential, which is seen by this author to differ markedly from those of its southern neighbour of Somalia, with whom they are frequently lumped.

2. Background information on Somaliland

As a former British colony, Somaliland gained its independence in June 1960. However, four days

later on July 1, it opted to join with the Italian Somalia to the south, in pursuit of the dream of a Greater Somalia. The Pan-Somali nationalism of that time sought to include other areas in the union: the French Somalia (Djibouti), the Kenyan Somalia and the Ethiopian Somalia. This dream was driven by the fact that the four main Somali-clan families (Darod, Dir, Isaaq and Hawiye) scattered in these enclaves share a homogeneous ethnic, linguistic and religious background.[1] Hence, Somaliland is not an entity that was born after the disintegration of the latter-day Somalia. In pre-historic times, Somaliland was known as the land of the Punt, famed for its production of Frankincense. A Republic of Somaliland Government statement (April 1997) asserts that "there is no other place in the Horn of Africa where the Frankincense tree grows except in the southernmost region of Somaliland". In recent recorded history, Somaliland was part of the Uthman Empire, under the Khadif of Egypt. In 1848, it was taken over by Britain and established as a Protectorate, mainly to serve as a source of food and water for yet another British colony across the Red Sea at Aden. Aden, on the other hand, functioned as a major port for British commercial and navy ships plying the strategic and lucrative route between England and the "jewel" colony of India (Hussein, 1994, p. 22).

It was essentially the great wind of pre-independence change that propelled Somaliland to rush headlong into an immediate union with Italian Somalia. When this dream finally crumbled with the removal of the dictatorship of Siad Barre, and the consequent implosion and disintegration of the Somali State due to vicious armed clan conflicts, Somaliland sought to return to its previous sovereign existence as the Republic of Somaliland. At a clan conference in the town of Burao in 1991, the Somaliland clan elders re-declared their independence from Somalia, under a two-year transitional government led by its first president, Abdirahman Ahmad Tuur. Shortly thereafter, there began in the town of Sheikh, and later in Boroma, a much wider consultative and conflict resolution process involving a cross-section of clan elders, religious leaders, intellectuals, former prominent civil servants and businessmen. In an extraordinary demonstration of consensus politics, the Grand National Reconciliation Conference in Boroma continued for four months from February to May 1993 and produced three important outputs. The first was an agreement among the clans to re-affirm the independence of Somaliland. The second was the formulation of a mini-constitution to guide this sovereign state, comprising the National Charter and the Peace Charter. The third was the emergence of Mohammed Haji Ibrahim Egal as the democratically elected second president of Somaliland for a two-year term ending in the early part of 1995. Ironically, a veteran and skilled politician, Egal was the Somaliland Premier at the time of the union with Italian Somalia in 1960. Although Egal went on to become the first Prime Minister of the united Somalia Republic at the age of 30, history records him as having advocated a "gradualistic" approach to the union. But he was misunderstood by other politicians who organised demonstrations against him and called him "a power hungry opportunist" (Hussein, 1994, p. 23).

Despite its distinct history, the demonstration of

[1] The Somalis are a Muslim people of Hematic origin who speak dialects of the same Cushitic language. Popular Somali oral traditions trace their descent to a common ancestor, Samaal, from who they all take their name. However, other (Somaliland) traditions claim descent from Sheikh Darod Jabarti who migrated from Arabia in the 11th century, and Sheikh Isaaq who migrated in the 13th Century. Both have been regarded, respectively, as the founders of the present day Darod and Isaaq clans. The population of Somaliland is largely descended from the three of the four main clan-families: the Darod, Dir and Issaq. The Issaq are numerically the largest clan grouping (60%, according to a 1991 World Bank draft mission report), followed by the Harti-subclans, the Dholbahantes and Warsengeli who belong to a larger Darod clan found in Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya. The third and fourth largest are respectively the Gadabursi and the Issa, both members of the Dir clan family. The Issa, though numerically relatively small in Somaliland, are the dominant group in Djibouti. There are other small minorities including the Midgan, Tumal, Yibir, Akishe, Fiqishini, etc. In order to counterbalance the numerical superiority of the Isaaqs, the two Harti-Darod sub-clans (Dholbahante and Warsangeli) in the east, and the Gadabursi and Issa in the west, maintain a kind of alliance in principle against political domination by the Isaaq. The weakest internal links in the new Somaliland Republic are the two eastern regions of Sool and Sanaag, populated by the Dholbahante and Warsangeli sub-clans who are, at best, ambivalent about their political allegiance to what they describe as the Hargeisa government.

compromise politics among clan elders, the measures taken to avoid the devastation of war-lordism of the south, and the restoration of peace and stability to the territory under its control, Somaliland has yet to be accorded political recognition by any country. For a closer assessment of the deeper issues involved, refer to Drysdale 1991, 1994; Gilkes, 1993; Hussein, 1994; Bryden, 1996; The Economist Newspaper, 1999. Nevertheless, both Somaliland and President Egal remain unbowed by the challenges they have faced, including a mini civil war in Hargeisa, from November 1994 to August 1995, with the Idagale, Habar Yonis and Haber Jelo sub-clans headquartered in Burao and Odweine towns. This incident was triggered when the Government tried to obtain the revenue from the Hargeisa international airport, which was under the control of the Idagale clan militia. Pending a widespread political solution to the war, which was eventually secured, the Somaliland parliament voted in 1995 to extend President Egal's mandate by 18 months, to November 1996. At that time, Egal was once again returned to office with a sweeping majority in yet another clan leadership congress in Hargeisa that lasted from November 1996 to March 1997. At this congress, the Somaliland parliament also democratically adopted a full-fledged constitution, finalised over a period of a year with the resident technical support of a distinguished Sudanese constitutional lawyer, academic and seasoned diplomat. Earlier, Bryden (1996, p. 3) had written that "[Somaliland's] most striking achievement has been the emergence of a functional administration throughout much of the country.... Since 1993, these parts of Somaliland have acquired a central government, a military force comprised of mixed units from across the country, a police force, and — in some districts — local civil administrative structures. On these counts, [Somaliland's] record is hard to fault: whatever its imperfections, the Somaliland government's progress in growth and efficiency represent a victory over the social and political dislocation that have frustrated similar efforts in the South. No other part of [Somalia] has come that far".

At present, Somaliland occupies an area of 109 000 sq. km. that coincides with the former territory of British Somaliland. It comprises five regions (Awdal, West Galbeed, Togdheer, Sanaag and Sool), which share boundaries with the Republic of Djibouti and the Red Sea coast on the north, Ethiopia to the West and South and the Northeast Zone of Somalia to the East. (Please refer to the map in Section 5.) Population estimates vary between 1.1 and 1.5 million, of which 45% are believed to be urban, 6% rural and sedentary and 49% nomadic. Not included in this population are about 180 000 Somaliland refugees in nearby camps in Ethiopia who are still awaiting repatriation. Compared to Somalia's current population estimated at 5.5 to 6.5 million, Somaliland represents roughly 20% of the Greater Somalia population. The principal urban areas and regional capitals are the national capital Hargeisa (200 000), Burao (80 000), Boroma (60 000) Las Anod (30 000) and Erigavo (25 000).

The main port of Berbera (25 000) provides the backbone of the modern Somaliland economy, which has traditionally depended on livestock export. According to available statistics, the pre-war exports of sheep and goats averaged more than one million head annually. By 1995, the average for Berbera port alone was 2.5 million head which, on the basis of 1996 market prices (Yemen: US$25 for goats/sheep; US$210 for cattle and US$320 for camels), is estimated to yield more than US$90 million in foreign exchange. The Berbera port facilities have also helped to revive the old trans-export trade to the neighbouring regions of Ethiopia, with about 60% of imports through the port in 1997, comprising mostly food stuff, destined for Ethiopia. Other significant exports include hides and skins, aromatic gum, gems, charcoal, fruit and vegetables. There is a large trade in the import of Khat from Ethiopia. The leaf of the "Catha edulis" plant or shrub is a stimulant that is commonly chewed fresh and daily by almost all Somaliland men. Up to 1983, Khat production was a profitable business in Somaliland until the Siad Barre regime officially banned its cultivation and burned the crops. Although some farmers in the Gabiley area resumed farming the crop in 1996, the present level of trade in Khat, estimated at US$150–200 million annually, is entirely with Ethiopia. Remittances from Somalilanders abroad (Gulf States, Western Europe and North America) still provide a signifi-

cant, though unquantifiable, income. As an increasing number of pastoralists in the Awdal, West Galbeed and Togdheer regions become sedentary and, thus, cease to look down on cultivation and farming, the Somaliland agricultural sector will become more important with time.

The role of the state in the economy is also significant. With up to 8000 employees, the Somaliland civil service is the biggest employer in the Republic, helping to bolster the economy and household purchasing power. In October 1994, the Somaliland currency (Shillings) was introduced, and the former Government Treasury was transformed into the Central Bank of Somaliland, with four branches in Hargeisa, Gabiley, Boroma and Berbera. Despite its weak circulation in the eastern part of the Republic (Sool and Sanaag) and severe inflationary pressures, the Somaliland Shilling has offered the government a creative means of financing deficits, i.e., the gap between its fiscal needs and limited revenues primarily from the Berbera port and Djibouti/Ethiopia border crossings. The initial exchange rate was set at SL. Sh.50 to US$1. By October 1996, the official rate dropped to SL. Sh.4, 300, before it regained value and stabilised in 1997 at between SL. Sh. 3,200 and 3700. Presently, it exchanges at SL. Sh. 3750 to the US$1 (March 1999).

When compared to its Somalia neighbours to the south, many analysts and keen observers basically conclude that Somaliland has made significant progress toward recovery — politically, socially and economically — since the collapse of the Somali State. Recounting the Republic's most recent developments, The Economist Newspaper (7–13 August 1999, p. 35) observes that "Somaliland has a flag, a president, a parliament, a currency, a central bank, a university, an army, and a planning department… But nobody recognises it… Since 1995, Somaliland has enjoyed remarkable stability and security". These are the additional factors that contribute to make it interesting to examine Somaliland's prospects for long-term sustainable development, starting with the education of its children — the flowers of today and fruits of tomorrow.

3. History of basic education and Koranic school in Somaliland

3.1. Formal primary education

Public sector primary education in Somalia was in deep trouble long before the collapse of the Siad Barre dictatorship and the Somalia state in 1991. Its greatest strength was in the mid to late 1970s when primary school enrolment reached 55%, only to decline to about 33% in 1988. The devastating clan wars of the 1990s only dealt the final blow to an already collapsing public education system. In Somaliland, prior to the outbreak of large-scale civil war in 1988, there were roughly 200 primary schools with about 34 300 pupils. By the end of the war years, most of the school buildings laid in ruins. A UN assessment in 1992 found that up to 15% of the schools had their walls demolished and timbers looted; 75% were without roofs and nearly 80% without doors, windows, fixtures, etc. The few schools still reasonably intact were taken over by squatters and displaced persons. Effectively, there were no schools for Somaliland children to attend in the aftermath of the war. Table 1 illustrates the collapse of primary school education in Somaliland during the difficult war-years and the current move toward recovery.

Through a combination of self-help and support from international aid agencies, the Somaliland Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MOEYS) had 159 primary schools in operation by 1995/96 with 27 178 pupils (25.3% girls). An extensive random survey conducted by the UN and the Somaliland Ministry of Health in 1996 revealed

Table 1
Pre-war and post-war enrolment by sex[a]

Year	Enrollment	
	Total	No. and % of girls
1987/88	34 278	6898 (20.1%)
1991/92	10 190	2500 (24.5%)
1992/93	2141	477 (22.3%)
1993/94	24 519	6534 (26.7%)
1995/96	27 178	6874 (25.3%)

[a] Source: UNICEF, 1997, p. 64.

that 17% of the primary school age children (6–14 years old) were enrolled in these schools. The figure was considerably higher in urban areas (27%) than in the rural (16%) and nomadic areas (1%). A difference in the enrolment of boys and girls was also observed, with almost one quarter (23%) of boys enrolled in primary school compared to 12% of girls. The latter compares to 1988 pre-war data of 19% enrolment of girls. Another UN school survey across the Greater Somalia a year later in 1997 found that 613 schools were operating throughout the country with an estimated 153 335 children enrolled. Of these, Somaliland had 171 functioning primary schools, with approximately 36 600 pupils, 30% of whom were girls. This enrolment rate — which exceeds the pre-war level of 34 300 children in 1987/88 — accounts for approximately 18% of school age children (6–14 years) in Somaliland, compared to just 11% for the whole of Somalia. Somaliland's 15% enrolment in upper primary school (grades 5–8) was almost double that of Greater Somalia. This is all the more impressive in view of the fact that no primary schools in Somaliland were operated by international NGOs, compared to the Greater Somalia where 23% of the schools were managed and financed by NGOs and aid agencies. More schools are managed and supported by local authorities (48%) and parents (27%) in Somaliland compared to 39% and 22% Somalia-wide. There were 31 pupils per teacher in Somaliland schools compared to 26 pupils per teacher Somalia-wide. (All Greater Somalia figures include Somaliland.)

While the above quantitative progress is encouraging in the context of Greater Somalia, progress in the quality of education is yet to be seriously evaluated either on the basis of pre-war quality or new standards. In addition to the issues of school access and gender disparity, another major problem currently plaguing basic education in Somaliland is the high attrition rate, estimated in 1996 at more than 70%. Furthermore, the dropout rate is alarmingly higher among girls in higher grades. In Boroma town, for instance, only four out of 20 girls progressed from grade five to seven. This indicates that the educational crisis is still extremely serious. There are many reasons for this. One is the unavailability of qualified and reasonably remunerated school teachers. The Government salary for a teacher is the equivalent of less than US$20 per month or about 20% of the cost of living for one person. Also, according to information from MOEYS, more than 50% of the current teachers are either untrained or under-trained — only 44% have a secondary school or teacher training certificates. School textbooks and other learning materials are few and far in between. Proper class examinations, which ceased in 1988, were only recommenced in a few schools in the capital of Hargeisa in mid 1997.

The lack of opportunities for further education after primary school is another major constraint, although in 1996 three secondary schools were established in Hargeisa, Gabiley and Boroma with less than 300 students in total. Beyond this, there are no further learning opportunities in Somaliland and youth unemployment is almost 100%. For female students, the main reason for their high dropout rate is related to early marriage or preparations for it. As a traditional male-oriented society, many parents in Somaliland expect that their daughters should be married before they are 18 years of age. Besides, most girls of school-going age are considered more valuable at home, where they are engaged in helping their mothers in household chores or herding sheep and goats. Within the school environment, the lack of a critical mass of female teachers as a role model is also a factor. In the 1995/96 school year, only 15% of Somaliland's 954 teachers' force were female, the majority of whom were concentrated in the urban areas. Another notable factor which makes school less inviting for girls in a universally Islamic context, especially for the older girls and their parents, is the limited availability of separate sanitation facilities and water supply in the schools. According to the 1997 UN survey, almost 40% of the schools had no toilet facilities; about 30% had only one or two latrines and more than 90% had no running water within the school compound.

3.2. Non-formal education

To compensate for the limited opportunities for formal education, the MEOYS established a department of Non-formal Education. As a result

of both pressure and support from aid agencies and women groups, it has managed to open 12 family life centres for women since 1995, with more than 1300 students. These are mainly women who, for various reasons, had missed schooling when they were younger. They generally received training in areas such as business, financial management and income generation skills. There are also a number of privately operated adult classes, mainly for language training, which are attended by out of school youth, especially women and adolescent girls. Most of these schools operate in convenient afternoon hours. Besides language skills, they teach basic numeracy and general knowledge. New types of business schools, such as the Red Sea Institute, have emerged in the major urban areas (Hargeisa, Berbera, Boroma and Yirowe) and provide business courses including management, computers and secretarial training. Beyond these initiatives, however, both the MEOYS department for Non-formal Education and the handful of non-formal education programmes in Somaliland are weak and lack effective co-ordination.

There is also another world of non-formal Koranic school education in Somaliland that has not been properly studied since 1988 and possibly earlier than this date. It is to be recalled that the 1996 UN survey, which showed only 17% of Somaliland children enrolled in primary schools, also showed 60% enrolled in Koranic schools. Koranic schools were the only education in Somaliland prior to 1945, when the British Government introduced public education. These schools are the primary means of spreading and perpetuating Islamic principles and way of life, and are closely linked to the mosques or places of worship. The schools, in both pre-colonial times and at present, are located in a mud and wattle structure, a stone walled enclosure, or a simply cleared space under the shade of a tree. A largely voluntary pool of male adults and youth served as teachers, compensated almost entirely in kind by the parents of their pupils. As is shown here, these traditions have changed considerably. For instance, while male adults still serve as teachers, they are compensated almost entirely in cash by parents of the pupils.

As a result of the affordable tuition of Koranic schools, which was carefully keyed to the means of the population, and the simplicity of learning materials (i.e., a wooden slate, local ink made of a mixture of charcoal and gum-Arabic, and wooden writing sticks), no interested parent was ever turned away because of the cost. This practice is sustained by the fact that Islamic study is universally considered a responsibility of every good Moslem. Only when children were able to prove that they had learned the first 10 out of 30 chapters of the Koran could they go on to enrol in the public education system. In earlier times, parents normally made a token in-kind payment when a pupil learned the first 15 chapters. They paid considerably more, up to the level of a camel, depending on their economic status, when a pupil completely learned the 30 chapters of the Koran. The requirement that children prove that they memorised the first one-quarter of the Koran, as well as the inclusion of Koranic studies in the primary school curriculum, was meant to immunise them against attempts at conversion to Christianity. Some of the children who completed their basic Koranic education may go on to further religious studies. However, no titles, certificates or diplomas are awarded to graduates. Neither are they prepared for any particular job competencies. After completion, the pupils are mainly charged with the sacred duty to spread the word, and do the work, of God without seeking personal gain.[2]

[2] This brief overview of the Koranic institution in Somaliland is based on an account by a contemporary Somaliland education scholar, Abdi Haybe Elmi (1993), with whom this author had personal discussions. He later acted as a local referee for the paper. Elmi's account is supplemented with an indirect pre-war treatment of the subject by Qalib (1978). This author's five years of work tenure both in Somaliland (Hargeisa) and Somalia (Mogadiscio) included a two-year period as the Chief of Reports, Monitoring and Evaluation Unit of a large UN agency, with five zonal operations in Somalia/Somaliland and liaison offices in Djibouti and Nairobi, Kenya. Throughout this period, the author did not come across any specific post-war research treatment of this subject matter other than the one by Abdi Haybe Elmi (1993). The closest was the pre-war work by Qalib (1978) which was concerned with "The Content of Basic Education in a Nomadic Context, Somalia". This dearth of sources and information became for the author an additional motivation to address more comprehensively this important and pivotal subject for the development future of Somaliland (if not Somalia).

4. Theoretical overview

"Every person — child, youth and adult — shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs. These needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions and to continue learning. The scope of basic learning needs and how they should be met varies with individual countries and cultures and, inevitably, changes with the pass of time". This is Article 1 of the World Declaration on Education for All, adopted in Jomtien Thailand in March 1990. It represents a powerful global consensus that basic education is a right for every individual and a prerequisite for any community of people who want rapid progress. In his article, Returns to Education: A Further International Update and Implications, Psacharopoulos (1985) supports the proposition that primary school education should have the highest priority for investment compared to the returns from secondary and higher education. Corroborating this notion is a much earlier work by Peaslee (1967) on Primary School Enrolments and Economic Growth, which examined the production record of 34 leading countries in the world. The findings of the examination revealed that no country had ever managed to achieve significant economic advancement in the previous 100 years without first attaining a primary school enrolment rate of more than 10% of the total population. A calculation of Somaliland's and Greater Somalia's position, using 1997 conservative population estimates, produces a 3.3% and a 2.6% enrolment rate, respectively. A more recent Case for Investing in Basic Education was made along the same lines by Carnoy (1992). Summaries of these references are contained in the thematic compilation of key texts on basic education by Ennew of UNICEF, 1995. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is probably the best known contemporary global leader in advocating and demonstrating real-life values of basic education especially for mothers, e.g. higher chances of child survival, growth and development.

The impetus for basic education as a development philosophy or paradigm swept through Africa in the early 1970s, under the rubric of Universal Primary Education (UPE). In some countries where a legalistic interpretation of this wind of change prevailed, it was translated into a mandatory obligation of parents to send their children to school. But effective enforcement of the law has proved to be an insurmountable problem. At about the same time as the early interest in UPE, there was also a new interest in non-formal education, which is not to be confused with "informal" education. The latter refers to an unorganised, and even unintentional, lifelong learning process through which individuals acquire knowledge and life-skills from their environment. Non-formal education, on the other hand, is a structured and organised approach to meet the gap in developmental opportunities and basic needs faced by people in rural areas and the poor in general. In her review of works on the Rise of Non-formal Education, Ennew (1995, p. 8) wrote that: "it was evident that if a real dent was to be made in basic need, millions of people of all ages and walks of life would have to learn many new things... The formal education system could help in these matters, but even if it were more fully developed and widely accessible, it could not be expected to serve more than a fraction of this great melange of learning needs and learners". This is precisely the situation in Somaliland with only an 18% primary school enrolment in 1997. How can the Republic confront the globally articulated objectives of Education for All, and Human Development and Education for Girls? Even if the huge financial resources required for a massive intervention were available, finding the other elements of the capacity required would be an insurmountable hurdle.

What is non-formal education, what does it look like and how does it work? Some have equated non-formal education with adult education and occupational skill training. Others identify it as all educational activities, both private sector initiated and community-based, that occur outside the formal school system. Many saw it as an opportunity

to break the monopoly of formal institutions, while others considered it as an alternative to meet the needs created by a variety of learners, peculiar subject matters, limited coverage or affordability of the formal sector. Still, others viewed it with suspicion as an unnecessary competitor with the formal learning system, and perhaps a grand hoax by liberal educators intended to fool the poor into thinking they were being brought into the mainstream of learning. This debate has been fuelled in recent times by the willingness of big multilateral development agencies (World Bank, UN agencies, U.S. Agency for International Development) and countless international NGOs to finance initiatives in this area. These perspectives notwithstanding, as will be shown by the analysis and conclusions here, non-formal education "does not constitute a distinct and separate education system parallel to the formal education system. Non-formal education is simply a generic label covering any organised, systematic, education activity carried on outside the framework of the formal school system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children" (Ennew, 1995, p. 29).

Appendix A compares and contrasts the characteristics of non-formal community schools and Koranic schools. It indicates a great deal of similarity between them, including their relationship to the formal educational system. In the case of Koranic schools in Somaliland, their link to the formal primary school system is direct, sequential, inevitable and increasingly strong, as 30% of Koranic pupils simultaneously attend primary school. Indeed hardly any Somaliland child attends a primary school without first passing through a Koranic school.

5. Survey methodology and sampling

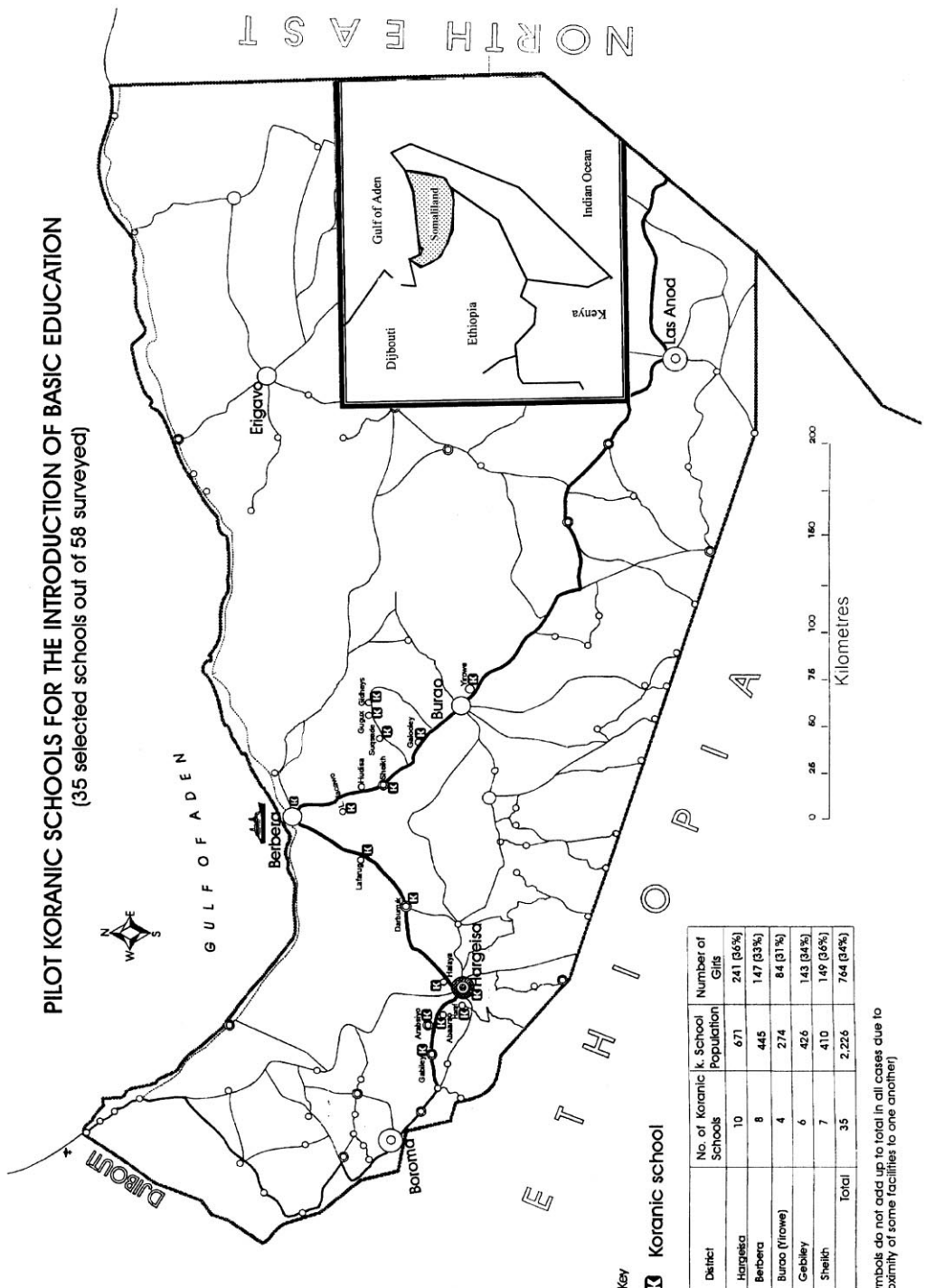
A total of 58 Koranic schools were surveyed: 20 in the Hargeisa district, 11 in the Gabiley district, 12 in the Berbera district, 10 in the Sheik district and 5 in the Burao district. Fifteen of the schools were located outside of these district towns, in much smaller villages of less than 1000 people. The selection of the schools was determined by an interest in a UN pilot project, which was underway in these highly populated districts and accessible locations along the main tarmac highway (Please see the map for locations of the 58 schools surveyed as well as additional data on the 35 schools that were selected for the pilot project.) (Fig. 1). Beyond this, the selection of the schools was carried out randomly in the target 5 out of the 20 districts that constitute Somaliland. It was not possible to include the nomadic population in the survey, even though Koranic schooling is generally what is available to them. The 1996 UN survey showed that 76% of urban children attended Koranic schools, compared to 64% of rural children and 18% of nomadic children. While relatively low, the latter compares to only 1% of nomadic children with access to primary education. Approximately 50% of Somalilanders are believed to be nomads.

A questionnaire instrument, written in English and containing 39 questions, was used in the survey. The questions consisted of 15 close-ended and 24 open-ended questions, with 85 sub-questions. To eliminate threats to conduct validity during the field survey, a single researcher was used to interview teachers in all 58 schools. Being a Somali University graduate in social sciences, a primary school teacher for more than 7 years and a UN staff in the field of education, the interviewer had no difficulty administering the English questionnaire. The fieldwork began in late March and concluded in late May 1997, and there was no extraneous event or anything else unusual about this period to substantially influence the findings.

6. Survey findings

6.1. School environment and location

While the large majority of Koranic classes took place under a tree (36%) or thatched roofs (26%), a sizeable proportion (38%) were in buildings roofed with iron sheets. The land on which the Koranic schools were situated belonged to the community in 73% of the cases, or to private individuals, mostly Koranic school teachers, in 21% of the cases. The Somaliland Government was reported



District	No. of Koranic Schools	k. School Population	Number of Girls
Hargeisa	10	671	241 (36%)
Berbera	8	445	147 (33%)
Burao (Tirowe)	4	274	84 (31%)
Gebiley	6	426	143 (34%)
Sheikh	7	410	149 (36%)
Total	35	2,226	764 (34%)

(Symbols do not add up to total in all cases due to proximity of some facilities to one another)

Fig. 1.

to own the land in 6% of the cases. Most of the teachers (77%) lacked desks, and most pupils (79%) lacked chairs. The pupils generally sat on tins or large milk cans. The overwhelming majority of the schools had no latrines (88%) or a drinking water source (96%). Thus, basic facilities have remained rudimentary. About three-quarters of the Koranic schools had a functioning primary school within one hour walking distance. This factor proved to be extremely significant for the enrolment of Koranic pupils in primary schools.

6.2. Enrolment of pupils

There were 5284 pupils enrolled in the 58 Koranic schools surveyed of which 33% were girls. However, according to both Elmi (1993) and the 1996 UN survey, overall participation of girls was considerably higher, at 42% and 43%, respectively. This 10% difference in findings can be explained by the lack of a national profile for this survey's sample. Also, for the same districts surveyed (e.g. Hargeisa, Gabiley, etc.), Elmi recorded a similar enrolment for girls as did this survey (33%). It is also possible that parents in the more nomadic parts of Sool, Sanaag and parts of Togdheer, not covered by this survey, attach higher importance to Koranic education for girls as a source of traditional values required for later roles as wives and mothers. In the less nomadic regions of Awdal and West Galbeed, this was indicated by higher female enrolment rates in the more conservative towns of Boroma and Berbera. Nearly 30% of all pupils in the schools surveyed simultaneously attended primary school, but this figure varied substantially, between 35% and 17%, depending on whether there was a primary school within one hour walking distance of the Koranic school.

The age categories of the pupils indicate that those children nine years and above constituted the largest proportion of the total enrolment (54%). This is surprising, as Koranic schools in Somaliland have generally been assumed to be the domain of younger children. The next category comprised children who were between the ages of six and eight (32%). Pre-school age children, between the ages of four and five years, accounted for 14% of the enrolment. It is believed that very young children, below the minimum starting age of four years, sometimes accompany their older sister or brother to Koranic schools. This might be the case because a sizeable number of mothers are now involved in market activities, due to the unusually high male unemployment and overall decline in household incomes brought on by the Somali clan conflict. However, this survey found no real evidence to indicate that the Koranic schools are increasingly serving as child-minding centres.

School sizes typically range from 40 to 300 pupils in the larger towns, with 78% of the schools having between 50 and 160 pupils. Some 8% of the schools had more than 200 pupils. In smaller villages, the school sizes drop to between 30 and 65 pupils. With fairly large school sizes, especially in the urban areas, classes are divided into shifts. More than half of the schools (55%) operated three shifts per day, 25% operated two shifts and 14% operated four shifts per day. In 28% of these shifts, girls and boys were separated.

6.3. Teachers

All of the 58 teachers interviewed were males, except for one female in the capital city of Hargeisa. The teachers varied in their level of education and years of teaching experience in Koranic schools. While 27% had no formal education, 31% completed primary school and 14% had some education beyond primary school. Another 10% completed five to seven years of primary school while the remaining 19% had one to four years of primary school education. Some other formal training was claimed by 32% of the teachers. A large majority of the teachers (88%) claimed that they had the ability to read and write Somali. A surprising 34% claimed that they were also able to write "some" English, which may be supported by the fact that 45% reported completion of primary school education or beyond. Virtually all the teachers claimed that they could read and write Arabic. Most teachers had either three to five years teaching experience (46%) or 6–10 years experience (26%). At the two extremes, 13% of the teachers had more than 11 years experience and 15% had less than three years experience. Five of the longest

serving teachers interviewed reported an average of 31 years teaching experience.

6.4. Teaching materials and learning

Some 84% of the schools surveyed made use of blackboards, while 29% of the pupils read from "Kitab" or the Holy Book and frequently used exercise books to write their verses. These were mostly the 30% of Koranic pupils who also attended primary school. The next most advanced group of pupils was the 55% who used exercise books. Surprisingly, only 15% of the pupils used the traditional wooden Koranic slates which, by this account, are fast disappearing. Virtually all the Koranic schools (95%) taught more than rote memorisation of the Koran. A large majority of the teachers reported teaching Arabic (82%), arithmetic (79%) and Somali language (57%). Some 43% of the schools reported teaching all of these courses, whereas 30% taught Arabic and arithmetic alone. A visual inspection of the schools revealed a confused mix of teaching materials, including a sizeable number from the Gulf States and Egypt. Not surprisingly, the Somaliland Ministry of Education has observed that the Grade-one intakes (e.g. including pupils from Koranic schools) comprise children of different educational achievement, hence, the need to standardise curriculum at an earlier level.

Koranic schools are normally open six days a week, Saturday to Thursday, except for closures during Ramadan or due to unforeseen circumstances befalling the teacher. Frequently, Thursday's are half days. While estimates of the time pupils spent at school each day varied, the majority of teachers (80%) stated that each shift, for the same group of pupils, lasted three to four hours. But for those schools that have more than three shifts per day, it is unlikely that each shift could be more than two to three hours. It is estimated that an average Koranic student can fully memorise the Koran and, thus, graduate from Koranic school in 18 to 24 months. An exceptional student may take as little as 12 months to master the memorisation. Koranic schools essentially do not engage in group teaching, except when having non-Koranic lectures. According to the teachers interviewed, 82% reported that they gave one-on-one teaching to the pupils for only about 5–10 minutes per day. A sizeable number of the teachers (18%) reported giving less than five minutes of direct lecture per pupil per day. After these few minutes of individual attention from the teacher, usually to copy Koranic verses for the pupil for the day, the teacher may never return to the same child on that day. The child will be seated in a corner, or with a group of other children, where they will recite the day's lesson aloud. Notably, this survey was not sufficiently in-depth to discern the extent to which the teachers remain cognisant and mindful of those children who had already received, or have yet to receive, their lesson for the day. Also, the survey did not cover the exact group-teaching process and dynamics.

6.5. Community involvement in sustaining Koranic schools

The 58 Koranic schools surveyed were 100% financed by parents. This financial support, contrary to old beliefs, took the form of cash payments made directly to the teacher by the parents. Food was only mentioned as a form of payment in about 5% of the cases. For all its methodological inadequacies, some 32% of the teachers stated that they received less than US$40 per month in fees. About 60% reported receiving between US$40 and US$80 per month; while 10% reported receiving more than US$80 per month. These figures often depended on the number of children the Koranic teacher is responsible for, a factor which may explain the large class sizes and one which probably has a negative impact on the quality of instruction and learning for the non-Koranic teaching component in these schools.

Contrary to popular belief among Somalilanders and foreigners alike, there was hardly any evidence of community involvement in the management of the Koranic schools beyond the payment of fees by parents. What pupils learn and how they progress is entirely the prerogative of the teacher and possibly the student. A new pupil is normally brought to the school by the father, or mother nowadays, who may never have any cause to return unless explicitly sought out by the teacher. A

teacher in Berbera gave an instance of pupils moving to another location, but no members of their family bothered to inform him. He believes that teachers have learned not to be concerned if a pupil suddenly stops attending school and does not return. Out of 58 schools surveyed, 93% did not have a parent-teacher committee. The 7% who reported the presence of such a committee could not state how frequently it met or what tasks it performed. The teachers also stated that the involvement of local religious groups and intellectuals in managing the Koranic school was minimal. Only about 10% of the schools had private individuals, or local businessmen, donate either land or funds for roofing. International assistance to Koranic schools was also minimal. Only 32% of the teachers interviewed stated that they had received some form of help since 1992. Most (78%) of this limited external assistance was in the form of teacher training, offered jointly by the Somaliland Government and an international agency during 1994–1996. Only one other foreign agency, an NGO, was mentioned as having provided some minimal assistance sometime ago.

6.6. Urban Koranic schools vs. village Koranic schools

Apart from the sharp drop in the average Koranic school size in towns (107 pupils) compared to villages (49 pupils), there were none of the usually significant differences expected between urban areas and villages (see Appendix B). If anything, Koranic schools in the villages have a slightly better record for girls' enrolment; numbers of Koranic pupils who also attend primary schools; and teachers who are able to read/write Somali and "some" English. One likely explanation for these apparent anomalies is that there are fewer Koranic schools in the villages to compete for the talents of educated teachers. Also, the usually small circumference of a Somaliland village probably means that the one primary school in the village was bound to be within one hour walking distance of the pupils' homes. Some primary school teachers were also reported to serve as Koranic school teachers. As suggested earlier, it could also be that the more conservative values of parents in villages, or the more cohesive village settlements, might emphasise Koranic education of girls.

Although the nomadic populations were not covered in this survey, Qalib (1978) confirms the popularity of Koranic education. The teachings of this system are considered the best education a nomad father can give to his sons. Prior to the 1950's Koranic education was generally not seen as an appropriate domain for girls. Each nomad nucleus of about 10 families normally has its own Koranic teacher, a male, who is then supported in part by the other families. In addition to teaching youngsters of the nucleus, the Koranic teacher is usually called upon to perform other important social functions concerning marriages, funerals, religious ceremonies, dispute settlements, etc. Qalib indicates that Koranic education is one of the important means for members of the nomad communities to transfer survival skills and the discipline necessary for the next generation in their challenging, harsh and unforgiving state of nature.

7. Concluding remarks and major lessons learned

As the first major attempt to assess the changing nature of Koranic schools anywhere in Somaliland/Somalia in the post-war period, the main finding of this survey is that more significant changes have taken place in the Koranic schools since the indicative survey findings of Elmi in 1993. These notable recent changes include the following elements: teachers' qualifications, class size, age of pupils, range of subjects offered, widespread utilisation of black boards and exercise books. Clearly, many of the Koranic schools in the survey have begun transforming themselves by acquiring some of the characteristics of formal schools, such as permanent physical structures and the introduction of components of basic education. The analysis here reveals that virtually all the Koranic schools surveyed offered more than the memorisation of the Koran: 87% taught at least two subjects in addition to the Koran; 43% offered up to three courses, namely Arabic, arithmetic and Somali language. The major difference is that these Koranic schools are undergoing this transformation

completely on their own, using self-help and ad hoc methods with no co-ordinated formal guidance. These new, mutated forms of Koranic schools seem to have gained substantial maturity and popularity in the early 1990s, as the public school system reeled and tried to recover from years of wartime devastation and pre-war neglect.

While there is no denying that these changed Koranic schools provide education of some type and are a contribution to human resource development in Somaliland, the findings of this survey clearly indicate a huge missed opportunity for guided basic education. Somaliland had an estimated 1.3 million population in 1997, of which 528 500 (41%) were considered settled (i.e., non-nomadic) in about 375 settlements. The large majority of this settled population (85%) live in 34 small towns of 1000 or more persons, and the rest (15%) live in some 341 settlements scattered throughout Somaliland (UNICEF, 1997a,b). Applying data from this survey regarding average urban-rural enrolment, as well as the 60% Koranic school enrolment rate for children 4–10 years of age, this means that there may be up to 750 Koranic schools scattered throughout Somaliland (including 225 in the smaller villages with less than 1000 people), serving about 66 000 children. This number of Koranic schools is more than four times the number of currently functioning primary schools in Somaliland. Discounting both the underage children (14%) and those children who are of the right age and already attending primary school (30%), this indicates that there are about 37 500 primary school age children enrolled in Koranic schools today who are not included in any standardised formal learning. This is slightly more than the number of children currently enrolled in Somaliland's formal primary school system.

Although more research is required, the evidence here clearly supports the possibility of a widening focus and approach to primary school education in Somaliland as "fleetingly" prescribed by the Government's white paper on education. Koranic schools have certain advantages, including their high coverage, low cost and willingness of parents to pay. Unless an effective bridge can be built to link formally Koranic schools and primary schools, the view here is that Somaliland may never be able to achieve the global objective of Education for All. Neither can it meaningfully aspire to any future development objectives that are based on a large educated labour force. On the other hand, the introduction of basic education in Koranic schools will contribute both immensely and instantly to the goal of Education for All (including girls and nomads), by targeting the large number of in-Koranic-school but out-of-primary school children. In the late 1950's, in Hargeisa and Burao, the Koranic education system learnt its first lesson from the public school system by introducing co-education. In the 1990's, it seems that the system has learnt its second major lesson by beginning to integrate elements of basic education on its own. But this latest lesson and consequent transformation deserves to be encouraged deliberately and without delay (see [3]).

Koranic education has remained remarkably strong since its introduction in Somaliland about 700 years ago. It has survived well all that ensued

[3] A good beginning, being attempted by the Government of Somaliland and one international agency, is to design and implement the integration of Grade-one Early Childhood Education and Primary Education in 35 selected Koranic schools over an 18 months period. As a transition programme for those Koranic pupils who are of school age, but who do not attend primary school, the main goals are to stimulate diversified learning, develop literacy and numeracy skills at an early stage and encourage continuation with primary school education. So far, the following learning and teaching materials have been developed as a result of this novel and challenging co-operation: a curriculum and syllabuses for basic education; transition or Grade-one textbooks in arithmetic, Somali language and Life Skills (all based on the immediate Somaliland environment); manual for teachers training; assessment tools for learning; monitoring guides. Trainers and resource persons have also been identified and trained, following the development of a beginner's teacher training course. Appropriate baseline data were established for measuring the impact of the experiment at a later date. When the programme is fully developed, any interested and properly trained and equipped Koranic teacher need only add an extra lecture time of 40 minutes per day, six days a week, to teach three periods of Somali, two periods of arithmetic and one period of Life Skill. The total learning for the three subjects in 18 months will be 270 hours, comparable to 250 hours a year for regular Grade-one education in primary schools. At the successful completion of the courses, graduates will be able to join Standard-two, without having to do Standard-one. This would help solve partially the problem of overage children enrolling in Standard-one.

since then: British colonisation, technological advancements and urbanisation, large scale warfare and involuntary migrations due to civil and environmental upheaval. Apart from the minimal start-up costs for a Koranic school, basically the Holy Book and a willing and recognised teacher, the commitment of parents provides the sole explanation of the longevity, resilience and sustainability of the system. Although this survey clearly points out that parents rarely appeared at the Koranic schools their children attend, there can be no disputing the fact that Koranic schools are sustained 100% by parents and their heartfelt Islamic duty to have their children learn the Koran. Parental acceptance and support for any innovations to the system are therefore both essential and paramount. Although this survey did not explicitly address the position of parents, it did raise such concerns with the Koranic teachers who, themselves, were very eager to receive some guidance and training support. The feedback on parents provided by the teachers solidly supports the findings of an interview with parents by Elmi (1993), p. 19):

> "Parents have no preference for one education system over the other. Rather, they would like to see their children learn the Koran first, then enrol in a public education system. They believed that these two systems complemented each other. Koranic education system provides children with moral and spiritual knowledge while public education provides them with skills for life... It can, therefore, be concluded that schools providing both Islamic Studies (Koranic education) and preparing the children for life is the preferred or ideal system for parents."

Thus, parents will be agreeable to the systematic introduction of formal basic education in Koranic schools, provided that cultural/religious sensitivities are respected and there is no interference with the existing provision of Islamic education. However, it may be necessary for potential interventions to be undertaken by a trusted authority, with separate teaching-time allocation, in order to avoid both the suspicion of motives and interruption of regular Koranic education. Also, the economy or resource base of the Koranic schools will need to be respected and guarded jealously, lest the entire system becomes dependent overnight.

Lastly, for any intervention that aims to bring basic education to Koranic schools to be a success, further research will be required to gather additional data on the profile and practices of the Koranic schools. It would also be imperative, at that time, to substantiate in empirical terms, the Koranic teachers' level of education, skills and dispositions. One of the obvious shortcomings of this survey is that it accepts interviewees' responses as factual. Yet, the ability to read and write Somali or English language can be more accurately established by assigning interviewees a passage to read or by giving them a dictation to write. Teaching methods and other related issues of pedagogy should also be among topics to be addressed by such a follow-up in-depth research (e.g. categorisation of the pupils into classes according to their abilities and improved group teaching to replace the drawn-out individualised recitations.) The challenge of upgrading the intellectual knowledge base and class-teaching skills of the Koranic teachers will prove to be the biggest threat to success. As for the problem of providing additional cash incentives for the teachers, this should not be an obstacle given that the teachers will now be implementing what parents consider an ideal system for their children. With the training and learning materials costs borne by the Government and donor groups, the teachers should not have a problem charging parents a marginal cost for the basic education component.

Acknowledgements

Dr. Erasmus U. Morah was the head of the largest United Nations operation in Somaliland from July 1994 to December 1997. He is particularly indebted to the UN for his data and to a UN colleague Rashid Musa, who conducted the field interviews and undertook the data entry. Together with two other UN colleagues, Mohammed Ali Bile and Geeta Verma, Rashid also contributed to analysing and interpreting the data. The author is also grateful to the Somaliland Islamic Relief Committee,

Abdi Haybe Elmi (Hargeisa), Seifulaziz Milas (Nairobi), Dr. Agostino Paganini (UN), Professor Brahm Wiesman (Vancouver), Girmay Haile, Mehret Kiflu (Asmara) and Caroline Achieng' Morah for acting as initial referees and contributors to the paper. He takes it for granted that all views and suggestions expressed in the paper are solely his, and not necessarily related to those of the individuals and organisations mentioned. Finally, the author wishes to use this opportunity to pay special tribute to the great people of Somaliland and their Government who, in their lonely but determined struggle to overcome immense odds, are shinning a new light of hope in that troubled historic part of the Horn of Africa formerly known as Somalia.

Appendix A

(Table 2).

Appendix B

(Table 3).

Table 2
Key features of non-formal community schools as compared to Koranic schools[a]

Community schools	Somaliland Koranic schools
1. Purpose and character:	
To provide children the opportunity for the first two or three grades of primary education close to their home.	To provide children with the opportunity for two to three years of Koranic education, in addition to whatever knowledge or subjects the teacher chooses to pass on to them.
Although the costs of the school could be shared between the government and community, the provision of physical facilities, teachers and general management are to be in the hands of the community	The Koranic schools are very near to the children's homes, usually every 300–500 meters in the settled areas. The communities generally provide the space for the school and the teachers are 100% supported by parents of the pupils
2. Government commitment and support:	
The community school can be an integral part of the local UPE system only if the government recognises it and provides teacher training, basic learning materials, regular supervision and a small financial subsidy for recurrent costs	Previously, the Koranic schools operated without any formal links to the public school system. However, with the establishment of the Ministry of Religion and Endowment Affairs (MREA), this Ministry has begun collaborating with the MOEYS and an international development agency to develop policies in the area and gradually commence providing minimal training and monitoring support
3. Cluster of community schools as part of local UPE:	
In order to ensure that all young people have access to schools within a reasonable distance from home, a plan for a catchment area has to be developed with a formal primary school surrounded by a number of community schools.	Given the great number of Koranic schools compared to primary schools, the latter is often surrounded by many of the former. As shown by the survey, 30% of Koranic school pupils attend primary schools simultaneously.
A clearly defined relationship between the "central" formal school and the community schools have to be established, ensuring that children from the community schools, upon completion of two or three grades, will find a place in the central primary school	According to a new "formal" understanding reached between the MREA and MOEYS in connection with an ongoing pilot project to introduce basic education in Koranic schools, those Koranic pupils who successfully completed three subjects of numeracy, literacy and life skills in an 18 months period (for a total of 270 hours) will be permitted to join primary two without having to do primary one. The main problem here is with the nomadic populations for whom access to primary schools is only 1%
4. Class size:	
A sufficient number of community schools have to be set up in each catchment area to ensure a manageable class size of not more than 40 children in a class with one teacher	In the rural areas where the average Koranic school size is less than 50 pupils, there is a limited problem in this regard. However, for schools in the urban areas with class sizes typically ranging from 100–200, learning in three to four shifts has been the solution to-date
5. Teachers, teachers training and supervision:	
Teachers of community schools are to be appointed locally by the concerned communities.	All Koranic school teachers emerge from the communities and cannot practice their trade without the sanction of the community.
They are not expected to have formal qualifications of a certified teacher but, to ensure acceptable teaching quality, they must have a crash pre-services training and continuing supervision	They are also not expected to have formal qualifications of a certified teacher, but should be known to be literate as well as an Islamic scholar albeit of a local stature.
	To be able to teach basic education (as has been formally proposed in the pilot project by MREA/MOEYS), the Koranic school needs to be assessed, its teacher given an intensive training of two cycles (3 weeks each time) and then provided with a package of materials support (including textbooks, teaching aids, etc.) and continuing supervision
6. Potential standard schools:	
As the UPE plans for areas are progressively implemented, some of the community schools can be identified for development into standard primary school with up to five grades	With 8% of the Koranic school surveyed having more than 200 pupils and children up to 11 years of age, there is every potential that some of these schools could be earmarked for development into a standard primary school with up to six grades

[a] Source for features of Community Schools: UNICEF, 1997, p. 31.

Table 3
Summary of selected survey results, by urban and rural grouping[a]

	Urban	Rural	Overall
1. Average # of pupils per school	107.4	48.7	91.1
2. % of girls among the enrolled	32.2%	34.1%	32.5%
3. % of pupils nine years of age and above	54.3%	52.9%	54.1%
4. Average # of hours schools open per day	3.7 hrs	3.5 hrs	3.6 hrs
5. Average time of one-on-one instruction per pupil per day	5.9 min	6.6 min	6.1 min
6. % of pupils using exercise books	53.1%	63.6%	54.6%*
7. % of pupils using slates	15.3%	16.0%	15.4%*
8. % of schools teaching at least two subjects in addition to Koran	89.7%	80.0%	86.8%
9. % of pupils attending primary school, simultaneously	29.3%	32.2%	29.7%
10. % of teachers who completed primary school	30.3%	33.3%	30.9%+[b]
11. Average # of years of teaching experience	9.9 yrs	6.5 yrs	9.0 yrs
12. % of teachers who could read/write Somali	84.6%	100%	88.9%
13. % of teachers who could read/write "some" English	30.7%	40.0%	33.7%

[a] Most of the remaining 30% of the pupils used the Holy Book and exercise books, thus suggesting that about 85% of the pupils used exercise books when copying their lessons.

[b] This excludes 14% of the teachers who claimed some education beyond primary school.

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