**Parallel Report on the Republic of Cameroon**

**submitted to the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights**

**for the 62nd Session of the Committee (Pre-Sessional Working Group)**

**Dates: 3-16 April 2018**

**Issues for consideration in reviewing the report of the Republic of Cameroon**

**Submitting organisations:**

**Association Okani** is an indigenous (Baka) association based in Bertoua Cameroon. Founded in 2006, Okani now works in various areas of the south and east regions, with Baka and Bagyeli forest indigenous peoples. Okani is a member of (and currently holds the coordination of) Gbabandi, the national platform for forest indigenous peoples.

**Forest Peoples Programme** (FPP) is an international NGO based in the United Kingdom, which works with indigenous peoples and other forest-based communities in relation to their human rights (and particularly their land rights), in various countries around the globe. FPP has been working in Cameroon for over 10 years.

1. This report is respectfully submitted to the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (the **Committee**) by one indigenous peoples’ organisation in Cameroon, and one international non-governmental organisation, in advance of the April 2018 pre-sessional working group of the Committee to define the issues for discussion in the review of Cameroon’s periodic report. This parallel report focuses specifically on issues around compliance in respect of forest indigenous peoples under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (the **Covenant**). Following the definition of issues by the Committee, the submitting organisations may lodge a further parallel report with more details in relation to those issues identified by the Committee.
2. This report considers a number of situations with severe impacts on the enjoyment by indigenous peoples of rights under the Convention, with a particular focus on (a) the right to self-determination (specifically insofar as it is connected with ownership and access to traditional lands and resources) (Article 1 of the Convention), and (b) the right to education (Article 13 of the Convention). In reality, the issues raised in relation to these rights also have impacts on a number of other Convention rights, including (inter alia) the right to an adequate standard of living (article 11); the right to take part in cultural life (article 15) and the right to work (article 6), and are also linked to the obligation of non-discrimination contained in article 2.

**Background: Indigenous peoples in Cameroon**

1. There are two broad groupings of indigenous peoples in Cameroon:
   1. Forest indigenous peoples (also pejoratively known as “pygmies”), comprising the Baka, the Bagyeli, the Bakola and the Bedzang. Forest indigenous peoples are found in the South, East and Centre regions of the country, and their population is thought to be approximately 120,000 in total.[[1]](#footnote-1) Traditionally, forest indigenous peoples are primarily hunter-gatherer communities, complemented by periodic engagement in agricultural activities; they live alongside other traditional (Bantu) communities who are primarily agriculturalists, but who also have a (less important) reliance on hunter-gatherer activities for their livelihoods;
   2. pastoralist indigenous peoples (the Mbororo), who live in the North, North-West, West, South-West, Adamawa and East regions (primarily in border areas), and are estimated to number approximately 1 million people.
2. This report is derived from the experiences of forest indigenous peoples, although many of the issues referred to below will be equally applicable to other indigenous peoples in the country (as well as in some respects to other traditional communities in rural areas[[2]](#footnote-2)).
3. Although there are limited figures (in part because the State does not collect disaggregated data), it is well recognised that indigenous peoples in Cameroon are economically, socially and historically marginalised, and face severe risks to their cultural survival. Forest indigenous peoples in Cameroon face especially severe structural and direct discrimination.
4. The preamble to the Constitution affirms the attachment of the State to various fundamental human rights principles, including that “the State shall ensure the protection of minorities and shall preserve the rights of indigenous populations in accordance with the law”, and the State of Cameroon voted in favour of the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2007. However, although Cameroon has recognised the existence of “indigenous peoples” within Cameroon in certain international fora,[[3]](#footnote-3) it has not officially recognised the status of the forest, pastoralist or mountain peoples as “indigenous peoples” in national law. It is urgent that the State of Cameroon define this concept. After almost five years, the study carried out by the Ministry of External Relations on this issue has still not been finalised.

**Self-determination and access to land**

*Community governance arrangements*

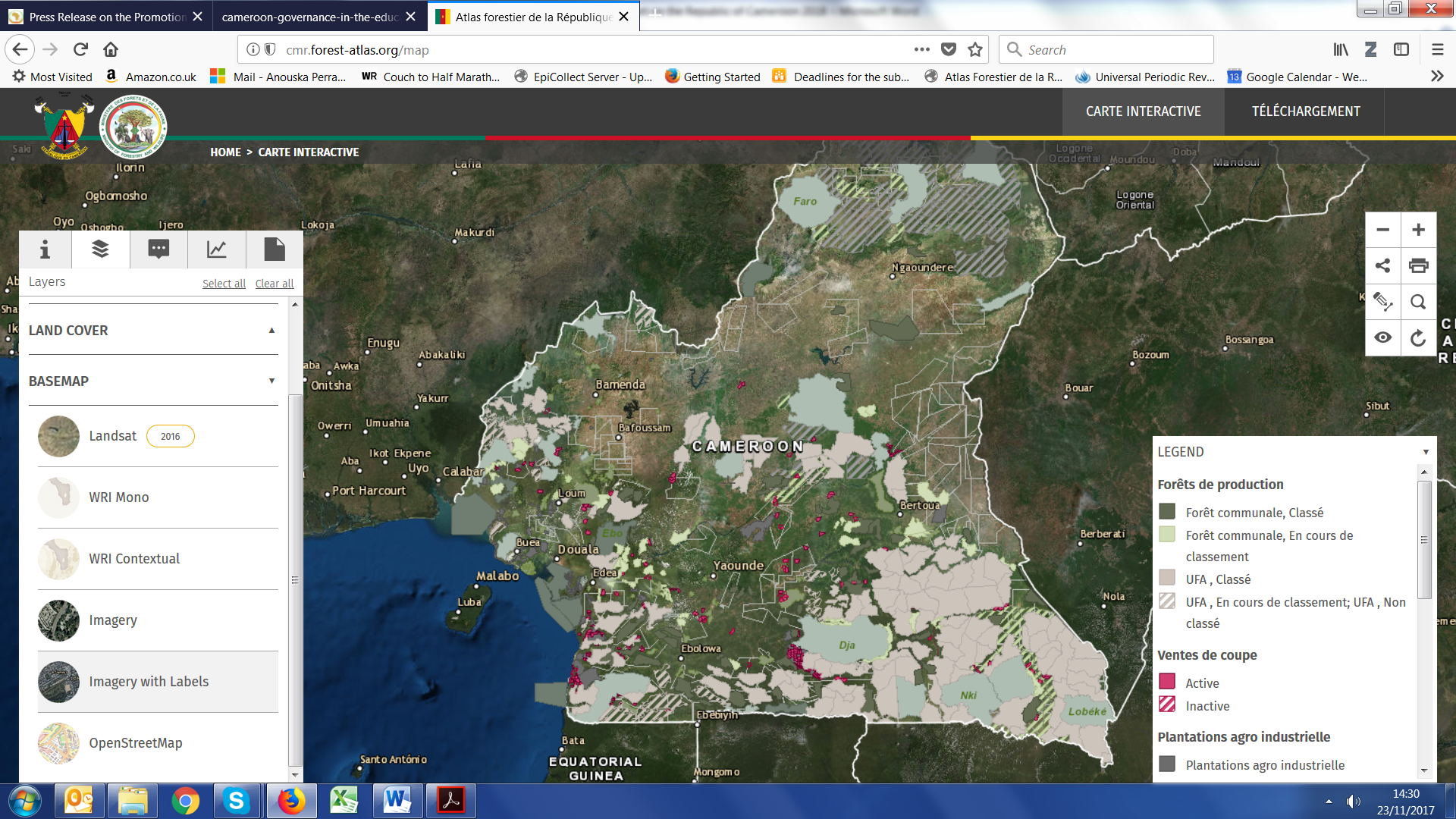
1. As a starting point, it is worth noting that forest indigenous communities have a systemic disadvantage in relation to governance of their own affairs in Cameroon, because of their large-scale exclusion from administrative recognition as separate communities. In brief, the lowest geographical unit in the administrative system in Cameroon is the “village”, which is headed by a traditional chief that acts as the authority within that village area.[[4]](#footnote-4) The traditional chief – an institution which is genuinely traditional in some parts of the country, and which was imposed by colonialism in others – is, as the result of legislative changes, an official of the State, from whom he receives a financial allocation (and therefore legally speaking, is accountable primarily upwards to his[[5]](#footnote-5) civil servant superiors[[6]](#footnote-6)), as well as maintaining a traditional authority role (including in relation to land allocation and resolution of disputes) within the community. Under modern administrative arrangements, the role of chief has significant importance: he is the legal representative of the community (and must generally sign most legal documents for the community, as well as acting as the representative for the community in certain administrative processes), is the decision-making authority for the community vis-à-vis its relationship with the authorities, and is also e.g. the formal recipient of notifications from the administration (some of which have legal consequences).[[7]](#footnote-7) Even where it is not clearly stated that the chief has such authority, there is a general acceptance (both in villages and within the administration) that a village may not engage with the authorities except by or with the agreement of its chief.
2. However, only about five[[8]](#footnote-8) “3rd degree traditional chiefs” for forest indigenous communities are recognised nationally. Instead, forest indigenous communities are generally considered to form “part” of a Bantu village with a Bantu chief. In these cases, one indigenous representative is generally invited to form part of the chief’s council of advisors (“notables”), along with a representative from each Bantu “family” within the village. This situation is highly problematic for forest indigenous peoples, for several reasons:

* Representation “via” a Bantu chief means that forest indigenous peoples are subject to the authority of a different ethnic group (and often one at the hands of which it has long-time suffered discrimination and marginalisation);
* Forest indigenous peoples have distinct concerns, particularly in relation to activities that will affect forest lands, on which they rely much more heavily than Bantu communities. However, forest indigenous peoples are frequently a numerical minority in the broader village (and always a minority in the council of advisors), meaning that their differential concerns are highly unlikely to be accepted or prevail;
* There are numerous issues of discrimination suffered by forest indigenous communities in their interactions with Bantu communities, and they have no access to remedy these issues directly with the administration because this recourse is blocked by the very group who is involved in marginalising them[[9]](#footnote-9);
* Forest indigenous peoples are not considered to be “independent” communities entitled to their own lands, to their own (separate) consultation and free, prior and informed consent, and to govern and develop their own communities in accordance with their own culture and vision for socio-economic development;
* The lands and territories of forest indigenous communities, historically recognised as the first forest inhabitants, are not recognised as their own - the advantages and benefits derived from the use of the areas they occupy are therefore not passed on to them.

1. The lack of direct administrative recognition of forest indigenous communities has been entrenched by a suspension of the (administrative) creation of any new traditional chiefs, which has been in force for many years, and which has frozen the situation of marginalisation of indigenous peoples. It engenders significant marginalisation and resentment in communities. Separate administrative recognition for their communities is a key demand of forest indigenous peoples, as expounded in the declaration on land rights made by the Gbabandi platform in September 2017.[[10]](#footnote-10)

*Ownership of and access to land*

1. In its 2012 Concluding Observations, the Committee noted “with concern that the system of land tenure in the State party is out of step with the country’s economic and cultural situation, and that it makes indigenous population groups and small-scale farmers vulnerable to land grabs”.[[11]](#footnote-11) Unfortunately, in 2017 the recognition of customary land rights has not improved; a brief outline of the situation follows.
2. Despite having been enacted after independence, the present land and forestry laws in Cameroon reflect a colonial legacy that fails to recognise the traditional customary land ownership by local communities and indigenous peoples. Under the 1974 Land Law, customary lands are not considered private property unless registered; unregistered customary lands are considered to be owned by the State.[[12]](#footnote-12) While the 1974 Land Law envisages the possibility of registration of customary lands in some circumstances, there are significant limitations and difficulties in doing so, including:
   1. Only lands which “manifest human presence and development” may be the subject of registration, meaning that forested lands occupied by forest indigenous peoples are entirely excluded from this provision, with disproportionate impact upon them.[[13]](#footnote-13) In addition, large swathes of forest areas on which forest indigenous peoples are reliant are subject to allocation for the State by other purposes without the application of free, prior and informed consent or the provision of any compensation (see further below);
   2. Only customary lands which had already been developed at the date of publication of Ordinance No. 74-1 of 6 July 1974 to establish rules governing land tenure (i.e. 5August 1974) may be eligible, excluding all younger generations who have created new agricultural areas. This again has a disproportionate impact on the registration of customary lands by forest indigenous peoples, as most indigenous communities have become more reliant on agriculture in recent years (many did not engage regularly in agriculture at all at the time the law was enacted, or their lands were regularly expropriated by Bantu neighbours), with the result that they are excluded from registration;
   3. The registration process itself is complex, lengthy and expensive, for the vast majority of local community members (and even more so for forest indigenous peoples, on the basis that they are poorer and more likely to be illiterate);
   4. Registration does not generally reflect or recognise the collective use and ownership rules under customary laws (or the overlapping use and ownership of neighbouring areas by different groups).
3. The lack of legal recognition of customary ownership means that indigenous peoples (as well as local Bantu communities) are extended insecure “privilege” use rights only, subject to extinguishment in the case of allocation by the State for a different purpose, without any of the protections (sufficient and adequate compensation, effective participation, free, prior and informed consent) which international law requires. In fact, the pace of extinguishment, for purposes including large-scale agribusiness, forestry activities, mining, conservation, or hunting reserves, is increasing. In many cases, extinguishment of access rights is tantamount to forcible eviction and/or criminalisation, as essential livelihoods activities are made illegal with no or vastly insufficient compensation, requiring indigenous peoples to run the gamut of undertaking illegal activities to support their basic needs (e.g. for food), or to relocate to other areas (often where they will have no access to land and extremely limited employment prospects).
4. The map below (sourced from the World Resources Institute’s Interactive Atlas of Cameroon) shows the extent to which the South, East and Centre regions of Cameroon (where forest indigenous peoples are located) have been allocated by the State for purposes including forestry, agro-industrial concessions, trophy hunting reserves, conservation and mining.[[14]](#footnote-14)



1. As the Committee has acknowledged, ownership of and access to their ancestral territories is central to the ability of indigenous peoples to exercise self-determination, maintain their standard of living and livelihoods (under Article 11), and take part in their cultural life (article 15). The Government of Cameroon has, in the last several years, been engaged in discussions over reform of the land laws, as well as the forestry and mining code (a new Mining Code was in fact adopted in 2016). However, at no point has the Government of Cameroon seriously entertained the prospect of recognising customary land ownership of local communities and indigenous peoples, which is essential for the realisation of the human rights of both indigenous people and local communities (and in accordance with its obligations under inter alia article 14 of the African Charter of Human and Peoples’ Rights, Article 5(d)(v) of ICERD, Article 21 of the ICCPR as well as under the Convention).
2. Moreover, in addition to a failure to recognise the ownership rights of indigenous communities, there are limited[[15]](#footnote-15) or no legal requirements to consult with communities and ensure their effective participation in all decision-making which may affect them, and to ensure their free, prior and informed consent in relation to activities that are proposed to take place on their customary lands.
3. Large scale agro-industrial concessions have particularly dire impacts upon indigenous peoples. Such concessions are frequently granted over forested areas, which are the particular domain of forest indigenous people and remain key to their livelihoods, without consultation or consent and with no or limited compensation (given that the land is not seen as belonging to them, it follows that compensation is not seen as appropriate). When mitigating measures are made for communities, they are generally made on the basis of Bantu communities’ traditions – for example, excising bands of land near to the road, where Bantu communities usually engage in agriculture,[[16]](#footnote-16) or providing support for income-generating activities that are suitable for Bantu but not indigenous communities.
4. Forest indigenous communities have also been significantly impacted by conservation activities, often involving collaborations between the national government and international conservation actors such as the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF), specifically through the creation of protected areas and reserves on lands traditionally occupied by those communities. There has been significant evidence of the substantial human rights abuses perpetrated on indigenous peoples by virtue of these reserves (not only loss of their lands and access rights, and corresponding impoverishment and deterioration of their standard of living, but serious physical abuse and killings, criminal persecution for carrying out traditional activities, and inability to practice culture and religion as a result of restrictions on access and activities).[[17]](#footnote-17) While the State is the guarantor of the respect and protection of human rights in this area, the submitting organisations would also like to signal the responsibility of international conservation actors who collaborate in these projects. Despite evidence of these serious human rights violations caused by projects and policies pursued by WWF and other international actors, such actors are continuing to support and participate in similar projects in Cameroon and across the Congo Basin region, in defiance of their responsibilities under the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights which require, inter alia, that businesses “avoid causing or contributing to adverse human rights impacts through their own activities” and also “seek to prevent or mitigate adverse human rights activities that are directly linked to their operations, products or services by their business relationships, even if they have not contributed to those impacts”.[[18]](#footnote-18)

**Education and forest indigenous peoples**

1. As noted above, most indigenous peoples in Cameroon are located in remote areas of the country which are not easily accessible. Overall educational statistics in rural areas in Cameroon are substantially worse than in urban areas.[[19]](#footnote-19) These figures reflect, inter alia, inadequate investment of educational resources in small rural communities (both physical buildings and teachers); lack of accountability in relation to resources that are invested (including diversion of resources destined to support rural schools, and teacher absenteeism). Such geographical inequities cause disadvantage to all children living in rural areas.
2. Indigenous children, however, suffer additional disadvantages over and above the under-provision of education services in rural areas. Although as a matter of government policy, primary education is guaranteed free of charge, in reality this is rarely the case. As noted above, it is frequently the case that teachers allocated to remote areas abscond (with impunity) from their positions (while continuing to receive a State salary). When this occurs, the village parents, through the parents’ and teachers’ association, will often decide to engage a private teacher, the costs of which are paid by all parents whose children attend school in the area. These costs are often unaffordable for indigenous parents, and their children are therefore frequently banned from attending school.
3. Similar costs are levied on all parents for basic school materials (exercise books, chalk, pencils etc); moreover, children are generally required to wear a uniform. Even where indigenous children are able to attend school, such additional costs associated with attendance (including text books and materials) are often unaffordable for their parents. As a result, it is regularly the case that indigenous children do not have textbooks or working materials. In these circumstances, they quickly fall behind, get bored, or suffer teasing and bullying – and drop out of school.
4. The lack of birth registration is a very serious issue faced by children in rural areas, including indigenous peoples’ children. Almost all indigenous children attending school do not have a birth certificate. Therefore, they do not legally exist, which makes it difficult for them to register for exams, to obtain certificates and to obtain official documents, such as the national identity card, the voting card, etc. This situation is very often the result of the remoteness of civil registries and the lack of an adequate birth registration policy.
5. Decisions around the placement of educational institutions are also frequently unfavourable to indigenous communities, because of the lack of direct administrative arrangements. For example, in one large village in the department of Océan (South region) in which FPP and Okani have been working, after significant lobbying by Bagyeli representatives of the community (who had a large number of young children that were not attending school), the Ministry of Education allocated a kindergarten teacher to the village. The kindergarten teacher (who would teach 3-4-year olds) was sought by the Bagyeli community particularly to allow the set-up of a kindergarten close to their community, to encourage their youngest children to attend school. The village is, however, large, and the Bagyeli community is centred in an area approximately 10 km distant from where the (Bantu) chief’s house is located (and about 7 km from the village primary school).[[20]](#footnote-20) After the allocation by the State of the kindergarten teacher to the village, the decision about the placement of the new kindergarten was in the power of the Bantu chief. Despite the fact that there were more children of kindergarten age in the Bagyeli quarter of the village (and that the Bagyeli community had done the lobbying for the teacher’s allocation), the chief decided to place the kindergarten in the location of the present primary school, making it (at approximately 7 km distant) inaccessible for the Bagyeli children of 3-4 years of age.[[21]](#footnote-21)
6. Indigenous peoples are also affected by the lack of cultural adaptation or appropriateness of the Cameroonian schooling system, which conflicts with traditional activities and transmission of cultural knowledge. The Cameroonian school year is modelled (from colonial times) on the Western academic year, and runs from September to June. However, there are a number of traditional activities (such as, for example, ritual hunting trips or the collection of wild mangoes during the season) which conflict with the school year. Indigenous parents are faced with the dilemma of taking their children from school (meaning they will fall behind) in order that they can participate in these activities and receive instruction in traditional cultural activities; or leaving them in, and either abandoning those activities themselves (with economic and cultural consequences) or leaving children to fend for themselves while they are absent in the forest, sometimes for many weeks. This conflict, reflecting the absence of culturally-appropriate education, frequently leads to absenteeism among indigenous children that impacts on their continuation in the formal education system with its rigid schedule.
7. Moreover, in the formal education system, classes are taught only in official languages (French or English), although teachers will often also speak local Bantu languages. There are very few schools in the country which offer instruction in indigenous languages. This again impacts both the accessibility of education (as most indigenous children will have grown up in families where official languages are not spoken, and are more likely to have parents who do not speak them), and the cultural appropriateness of the education system. Some experimental Intercultural and Multilingual Education (*Éducation Interculturelle et Multilingue - EIM*) schools were set up by NGO Plan International in the East Region of Cameroon. Unfortunately, this project came to an end in December 2017. The ORA education system (Observe, Reflect, Act), designed to facilitate the preparation of indigenous children for primary education has simply been eliminated, to make way for public primary schools, which struggle to define special educational methods adequate for indigenous children’s education.
8. The lack of equal access to primary education has drastic, long-lasting effects on the experiences of forest indigenous peoples. It removes their ability to achieve higher education and significantly reduces their employment prospects (and therefore affects their enjoyment of the right to work under article 6). It has impacts on their ability to engage in civic and public life and engage effectively with the administration, affecting a wide range of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, including their political participation, access to justice and to remedy, access to public services such as health and education, among others. Moreover, the lack of culturally-adapted education programmes which foster the transmission and reproduction of cultural knowledge present serious limitations on the enjoyment of the right to participate in cultural life.

**Conclusion**

1. The authors thank the Committee for its consideration of this report, and respectfully request that it include these issues in its examination of the report of the State of Cameroon in the coming session.

**Submitted by:**

Association Okani

Forest Peoples Programme

23 January 2018

1. Population estimates range from 40-60,000 for the Baka, 5-20,000 for the Bagyeli/Bakola, and around 300 for the Bedzang. However, these numbers are difficult to verify, including because the Government of Cameroon does not collect population statistics disaggregated by ethnic group as part of the census. As many indigenous peoples are unregistered at birth and never receive documents, these figures may be substantially underestimated. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. For example, experiences are similar in terms of expropriation of lands and systemic neglect of rural areas with public services; however, experiences differ in terms of, for example, local marginalisation and discrimination, administrative recognition, and levels of poverty. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. See e.g. Republic of Cameroon, *3rd Periodic Report of Cameroon within the framework of the African Charter of Human and Peoples’ Rights*, submitted to the 53rd Session of the African Commission of Human and Peoples’ Rights of the African Union, 9-24 April 2013, available at <http://www.achpr.org/files/sessions/54th/state-reports/3-2008-2011/staterep3_cameroon_2013_eng.pdf>, at pp 142ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. It should be noted that the exact territories of each village are generally not precisely mapped in much of Cameroon, and are instead considered to correspond to customary ownership. In reality, there are often overlaps between lands used by neighbouring villages. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Or occasionally “her”, but the vast majority of traditional chiefs in Cameroon are men (and in many communities women are not considered eligible for the role). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Immediately this is usually the district chief, then the sub-divisional officer (*sous-prefet*), the divisional officer (*prefet*) and governor. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. For example, under *Arrêté No. 518/MINEF/CAB fixant les modalités d’attribution en priorité aux communautés villageoises riveraines de toute forêt susceptible d’être érigée en forêt communautaire*, which provides that before allocating forests for certain other purposes the administration must first give communities the opportunity to create a community forest in the area, article 6 provides that the notification of the intention to allocate the forest for an alternative purpose must be signed for by the village’s traditional authority. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. The villages of Lossou, Assoumindele, Payo, Nomedjoh and Bosquet. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. We note the presence of the Social Action Managers (*Chefs de Service d’Actions Sociales*), but this is insufficient to counter the lack of separate recognition and representation. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. See item 3 of the Declaration, which can be found at: <https://www.forestpeoples.org/en/rights-land-natural-resources/news-article/2017/declaration-land-rights-gbabandi-platform-cameroon>. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. UN Doc No. E/C.12/CMR/CO/2-3, para 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Ordinance No. 74-1 of 6 July 1974 to establish rules governing land tenure (“**1974 Land Law**”), article 2 and article 14(1) [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. 1974 Land Law, articles 15 and 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Downloaded on 23 November 2017. The map (with the full legend showing) can be accessed at <http://cmr.forest-atlas.org/map> [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Some examples of where some community participation (primarily by chiefs) is required include under Decree No. 76/166 of 27 April 1976, under which, prior to “allocation” of village lands by the State, the administration must convene a consultative board (including the chief(s) of any villages affected by the proposal) which will visit the site, consider the proposal and make recommendations. However, there are no specific requirements for community involvement in the consultative board process, no requirements for information to be provided (or even for any discussions to occur in local languages – we are aware of instances where administrative visits have been conducted in English in francophone areas of the country, despite the local population not fully mastering even French), nor are there are requirements for equitable participation of different groups (including traditionally marginalised groups such as indigenous peoples or women). Frequently, if the community is involved at all, visits by authorities under provisions such as this are “information” meetings where communities are told about projects that will be going ahead, and in many cases indigenous communities are not even invited to such meetings (which occur in the Bantu chief’s headquarters). As such, these types of provisions do not amount to genuine community participation in decision-making, let alone consultation or free, prior and informed consent. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Indigenous communities may also be engaged in agriculture in these zones, but because they have traditionally relied much less on agricultural activities, their activities in these zones are not by themselves sufficient for their livelihoods (which continue to depend significantly on the forest). Moreover, because indigenous communities have only recently begun to engage in agriculture more significantly (in part because of necessity as forest lands are reduced), they generally have much smaller agricultural land areas than other groups. Fields are owned according to traditional Bantu rules of the “right of the axe” – whoever clears the land owns the land (subject sometimes to other limitations, e.g. that lands behind the house of one family grouping cannot be cleared by another family grouping). Many indigenous peoples also (and relatedly) have their land holdings further from the road, as lands by the road were already “taken” when they began engaging more in agriculture, or because their fields adjoin forest areas which they continue to use frequently, and may not be within the “bands” left for communities. Moreover, as the installation of a new project reduces the overall space available for communities and removes their ability to supplement their livelihoods with forest activities, there is increasing demand for agricultural land in these small bands and often insufficient space, and indigenous communities (who are not as well established as cultivators and are also marginalised) are usually squeezed in this situation. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. These are alarmingly regular complaints in indigenous communities in which the submitting organisations work, which span a large area of the South and East regions; see also the 2017 report from Survival International, available at: <https://assets.survivalinternational.org/documents/1683/how-will-we-survive.pdf> (downloaded 23 November 2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. UN Guiding Principles, Principle 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. A 2014 World Bank publication noted that primary school completion rates in urban areas were 91% compared with only 68% in rural areas, and that illiteracy rates in rural areas were 57%, more than 3 times higher than in urban areas (17%): see World Bank (2014), *Cameroon Economic Update: Revisiting the Sources of Growth: The Quality of Basic Education*, Issue No. 7, January 2014, available at <http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/Africa/Cameroon/Report/cameroon-economic-update-vol7.pdf>. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. In fact, in a situation typical of many communities in Cameroon, the chief does not in fact live in the village and his own children attend schools in the urban area where he resides. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. There are some Bantu families also living in the area where the Bagyeli community is located, and they are also negatively affected by the distance from both the kindergarten and the primary school. As a result, a number of Bantu parents are constrained to take their younger children to school on motorbikes in order to enable their attendance. This is not an option for the poorer Bagyeli families who do not have motorbikes (and can generally not afford the costs of paying for a motorbike “taxi” for this purpose). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)