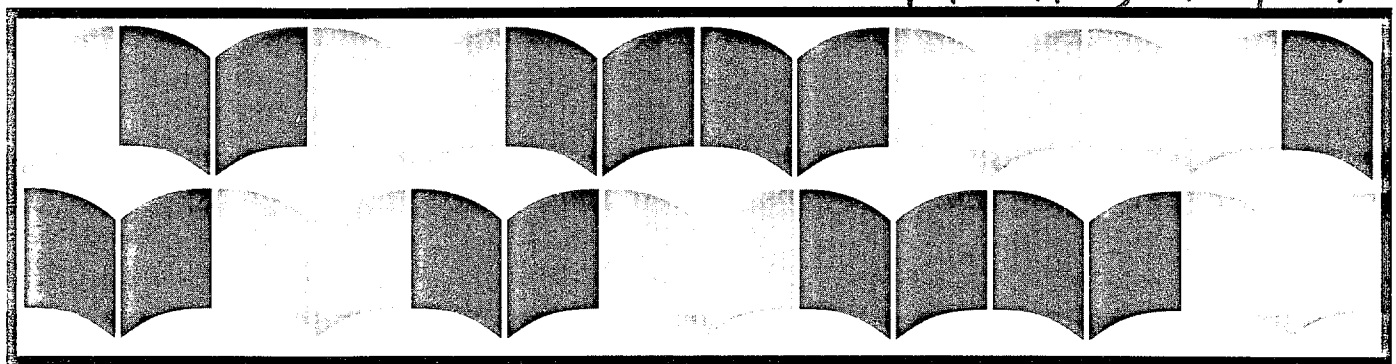


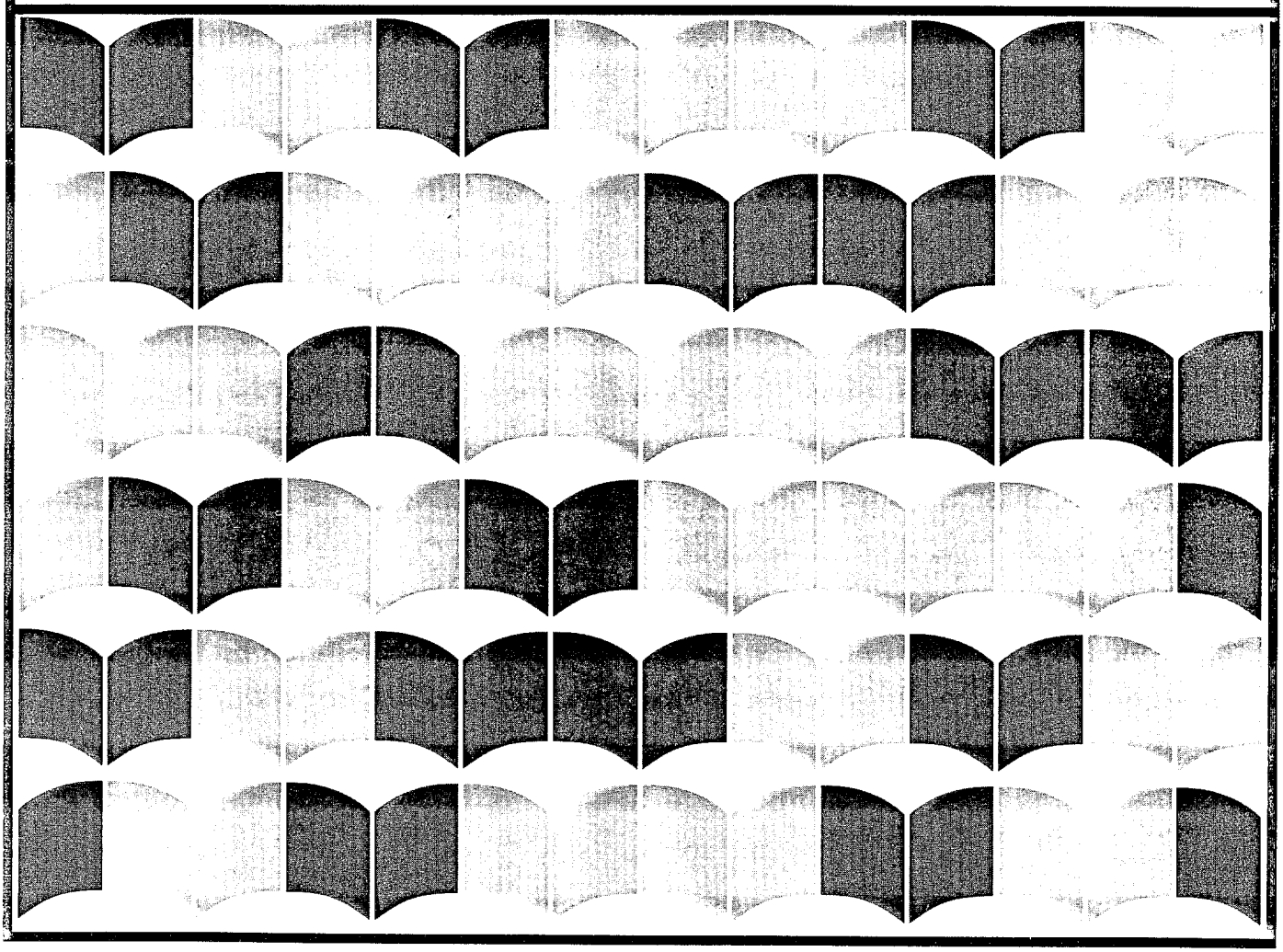
A B E L

Advancing Basic Education & Literacy

ETHIOPIA

EDUCATION SECTOR REVIEW

PART II



Bureau for Research and Development • Office of Education • Office of Women in Development
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USAID/ETHIOPIA

EDUCATION

SECTOR

REVIEW

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADB	*African Development Bank*
ADF	*African Development Fund*
APC	*Awarja Pedagogical Center*
AAU	*Addis Ababa University*
BDE	*Basic Development Education*
CHE	*Commission for Higher Education*
CLC	*Community Learning Center*
CSTC	*Community Skills Training Center*
EICMA	*Education Institution Construction and Maintenance Agency*
EFA	*Education for All*
EMPDA	*Education Materials Production and Distribution Agency*
ELPC	*Ethiopian Light and Power Company*
ERRP	*Emergency Recovery and Rehabilitation Program*
ICDR	*Institute for Curriculum Development and Research*
IDA	*International Development Association*
MOE	*Ministry of Education*
PCCP	*Pedagogical Center Coordinating Panel*
PERS	*Planning and External Relations Service*
SIDA	*Swedish International Development Agency*
SPC	*School Pedagogical Center*
TGE	*Transitional Government of Ethiopia*
TTI	*Teacher Training Institute*
WCEFA	*World Conference on Education For All*

PREFACE

The following report is the result of a three week, four person mission in Ethiopia from April 5 to April 24, 1993. The team consisted of two AID/W staff, Joseph DeStefano and Karen Tietjen from AFR/ARTS/HHR, and two consultants, Bernard Wilder and Susan Hoben, hired through the ABEL project from the Academy for Educational Development. This team was also assisted by Cameron Bonner, Deputy Director of AFR/ARTS. The information gathered and analyzed during this mission builds on the work conducted during USAID/Ethiopia's preliminary assessment of the education sector conducted in December, 1992.

The team spent two of the three weeks in country meeting with Ministry of Education officials, USAID/Ethiopia, and other donors or NGOs in Addis Ababa. One week was spent up-country. The team split into two groups, with one group traveling to the Oromo and Amhara regions to the north of Addis Ababa, and the other traveling to the south and west of the Southern People's and Oromo regions. The data used for this assessment derives from three sources: i) the preliminary report produced in December, 1992; ii) interviews with and documents provided by the Ministry of Education and other government officials; and iii) interviews with education officials, school directors, teachers, students and parents, and from documents collected during field trips. General and statistical information obtained from the central ministry was greatly enriched and expanded on by the information gathered during the field visits.

The completed assessment of the education sector consists of three elements: the preliminary report produced in December (copy attached), the body of this report, and its technical annexes. The December report serves as a descriptive overview. The body of this report provides a summary of the status of the education sector, current MOE policy, the primary constraints to implementing that policy, and recommendations for USAID/Ethiopia sectoral strategy. The technical annexes to this report provide more detailed assessment of constraints in the education sector in the areas of finance, language of instruction, regionalization, demand for education, equity, teacher training and support, statistics and planning, infrastructure, and staff development.

The team wishes to thank USAID/Ethiopia for its assistance in completing this assessment, especially for its help in arranging the logistics for the field trips, and, in general, for its hospitality. In addition the team extends its thanks to the Ministry of Education, in the person of the Minister, Mrs. Genet Zewdie, and all her staff for their cooperation, assistance, and cordiality. The team would like to specifically thank Ato Wendham Aoras for all his help in facilitating our work and the guidance that he and Ato Gebre Medhin Kid provided during our field trips.

INTRODUCTION

In the context of preparing a CPSP Concept Paper, USAID/Ethiopia is examining possible sectors to be included in its country program. A preliminary overview of the education sector was conducted in December, 1992. This report builds on that primarily descriptive survey and identifies critical elements of the education system to be considered in the Mission's CPSP concept paper development. The result of these two efforts constitutes a summary assessment of the education sector, highlighting the key constraints to the realization of proposed policy and operational reforms. On the basis of that assessment, inclusion of education as a Mission strategic objective is justified and the framework for assistance to the education sector is developed.

Given Agency-wide mandates and the Ethiopian government's priorities, this report focuses on formal primary education. Some mention is made of other education sub-sectors, but the bulk of the analysis and strategic considerations is limited to basic education. The analysis presented here is based on an evaluation of the government's sector policy. The three main elements of that policy are regionalization, expansion and reform of basic education. Regionalization is already underway and the implications of the administrative and operational reorganizations it entails are analyzed. Given Ethiopia's extremely low gross enrollment rate, the goal of expanded access is examined. An outline of the proposed elements of a basic education reform has been revealed, and this report attempts to analyze its implications. However, government decisions regarding the exact nature of education reform and the relevant priorities to be established for the sector are yet to be finalized.

The report consists of five sections in addition to this introduction. The second section gives a concise overview of the current status of the education sector, with some indication of recent trends in the areas of access, equity and quality of the system. The administration, management, and finance of the sector are also discussed. Section three presents the current education policy of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE), outlining priority objectives and operational strategies. The fourth section considers the principal problems in the education sector as well as the likely constraints to successful implementation of sectoral policy. The fifth section highlights current levels of external assistance to education and explores some of the important issues confronting donors at present. The final section offers justification for USAID/Ethiopia intervention in the education sector and constructs the strategic framework for that intervention. An education strategic objective is formulated and recommended target areas of assistance are outlined. This section also suggests areas for further analysis and study, as well as activities that could be carried out prior to the design of an education assistance program.

CURRENT STATUS OF EDUCATION[1]

The Ethiopian education system suffers many of the problems faced in other sub-Saharan African countries, and ranks among the least developed in the World in terms of provision of access at all levels. The most striking characteristic of the education sector is a decreasing trend in enrollment in absolute terms, for all levels since 1988. Primary school enrollment decreased by as much as 28 percent between 1988 and 1991. Some of this decrease is attributable to the prolonged effects of war and the instability inherent in a change

[1] For a more detailed overview of the status of education in Ethiopia, see the report prepared for USAID/Ethiopia in December of 1992 entitled, Ethiopia Education Sector Review: Preliminary Report.

of government. In addition, a substantial number of schools may have been destroyed or abandoned in the northeastern regions.

The most recent national data available on participation rates are from 1988 and 1989. At the primary school level, despite over 2.5 million students enrolled in 8,345 schools, the system was only reaching some 27 percent of the relevant age group at that time. Since then, the proportion is estimated by the MOE to have dropped to as low as 22 percent. Only 10 percent of the secondary age population had access to junior secondary school and eight percent to senior secondary.

Aggregate national statistics mask the extreme regional disparities in access to formal schooling. For example, 1989 regional primary gross enrollment ratios show some regions with rates as high as 70 or 80 percent. In contrast, in the same year the MOE reports gross enrollment rates as low as 4 percent in the Ogaden. In addition to the regional variations in overall participation rates, female access to schooling also varies significantly among regions. Gender disaggregated gross enrollment rates are not available for the regions, however 1991/92 data on the share of places occupied by girls show some regions with girls making up as much as 50 or 60 percent of the enrollment. This is in contrast to the regions where the percentages of places going to girls are as low as 30 percent. Female gross enrollment rates for primary and senior secondary education are 22 and 6 percent respectively.

While the education budget may have grown in absolute nominal terms during the socialist era, its increase in real terms has been minimal. Enrollments have grown substantially while education's share of the national budget has decreased considerably. From the early 1970's level of 19 percent of government expenditure, education's share has shrunk to 9.5 percent of total government spending in 1990/91.

The quality of education at all levels of the system has deteriorated markedly during the last decade. The indications of poor quality include un- or under-qualified teachers and shortages of inputs such as materials and texts. MOE officials cite large numbers of unqualified teachers as one of the critical constraints currently facing the sector. The poor quality of existing staff is exacerbated by the need, as a result of regionalization, to recruit or retrain primary school teachers in each of the five regional languages.[2] The MOE recognizes an important need for qualified senior secondary teachers as well. Current teaching personnel at that level are under-qualified in subject area knowledge, especially English--the language of instruction. The MOE reports that approximately only 40 percent of schools have texts, and that the national student-book ratio is 4:1. Difficulties in delivering materials to remote areas, the MOE's production limitations, lack of supplies and recurrent budget all contribute to the low textbook ratio.

The education sector, like all sectors in Ethiopia, is undergoing important changes as the TGE redefines the direction and organization of the country. The MOE is undergoing a reorganization in which the structure of many offices will be redefined and staff hired or reassigned. In fact, the structure of the ministry is currently in a state of flux. With the advent of regionalization, the MOE faces additional challenges in establishing and staffing regional, zone and district-level offices.

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[2] Four additional languages of instruction will be introduced at the start of the next school year.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PRIORITIES

3.1 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

Since the installation of a transitional government (TGE) in 1991, Ethiopia has been undergoing sweeping changes aimed at nothing less than a total redefinition of the country's political and economic system. The TGE is moving decisively towards democratization, privatization of the economy, and redefinition of the internal organization of the country. The one political and administrative change undertaken so far which has had the most significant implications for the education sector is the redrawing of internal regional boundaries on the basis of present and historic patterns of ethnic group settlement. This policy of regionalization does not stop at redefining regions, but includes complete federalization of government responsibilities. The TGE envisages a high degree of regional autonomy in the collection and allocation of revenues, as well as in the management and administration of the provision for public services.

3.2 EDUCATION POLICY FORMULATION PROCESS

Last year, the TGE formed sectoral task forces under the auspices of the Prime Minister's office to study each sector and to make recommendations for policies, objectives, and priorities. The education task force, supported by six technical sub-groups, has been involved in this process. The task force has worked over the past six months to define the parameters of an education sector reform. An initial policy proposal has been produced and the details, as they were explained to the team, are presented below.

Although official policy decisions are pending a broad debate of this proposal (scheduled for the end of April), MOE officials are already involved in redefining their roles and have a good idea of the important policy issues in the sector as well as new priorities. In fact, actions to implement new policy have been undertaken in some critical areas, most notably regionalization of educational administration.

The implications of regionalization dominate the policy agenda in the education sector. Specifically, regionalization is:

- determining education sector policy on language of instruction;
- leading to decentralization of central ministry services (e.g. curriculum development, educational radio, adult education, materials production); and
- dictating the reorganization of decentralized systems of management and administration.

3.3 EDUCATION POLICY

In formulating its educational reform, the Ministry of Education has followed a process of diagnosing problems and establishing new policy goals both policy reform and a rough outline of implementation strategies.

Problems

Major problems besetting the educational system, according to the Ministry task force, are divided into three categories.

From an access and equity perspective, the MOE cites the following:

- One of the lowest gross enrollment ratios for primary education in Africa;
- A high gender disparity in educational participation, with two boys to every girl enrolled; and,
- A high regional disparity, ranging from 5 percent enrollment rates in some areas to 75 percent enrollment rate in Addis.

From a quality perspective, the MOE reports:

- A high student:teacher ratio;
- Overcrowded schools stretched beyond capacity;
- A high percentage of unqualified teachers;
- A shortage of text books, with one book per six students; and
- Irrelevance of schooling to societal needs.

From a socio-economic perspective, a final problem which the MOE underlines is:

- The use of education as an indoctrination tool, which in conjunction with a didactic pedagogical approach, has stifled student creativity and independence.

Policy Objectives

Through its problem analysis, the Ministry has identified five major policy goals. They are:

- Increased educational access, especially for girls and rural children, at the primary level;
- Increased relevance of schooling to children's lives and prospects;
- Diversified skills training and vocational education;
- Emphasis on environmental issues, addressed through basic science instruction; and
- Decentralized educational delivery systems, emphasizing the district, or wereda, and village levels.

Policies and Strategies

The Ministry of Education has formulated several policies to address the issues of access, quality and relevance, and is considering an innovative strategy/approach for the provision of schooling to its children. The policies call for:

- An emphasis on the provision of basic education (literacy and numeracy), which will be transmitted ideally in four years of schooling through alternative, non-traditional means (based on MOE experience with literacy campaigns);
- Primary education will be inclusive of grades one through eight, with an overall goal of ensuring universal access to at least grades one through four;
- Government schools will provide "free" education up to grade ten, discontinuing fees for enrollment or books. Grade eleven and twelve students will be charged 50 percent of normal tuition, and 100 percent subsidization of university students will be abandoned in favor of assistance through a loan system and work-study program based on merit and need;
- More junior secondary school opportunities (ie. up to grade ten) will be provided at the district level;

- Grade ten graduates will be recruited into a two-year pre-service training program and then posted in village community educational centers;
- Practical skills training will be provided to grade four and grade eight school leavers, who will be awarded a certificate/diploma upon completion;
- Each grade level will have performance criteria and educational output defined, in order to ensure a "universal quality profile";
- The exam system will be reformed to a curriculum-based system, placing more emphasis on student competencies and skill acquisition. Continuous assessment will be introduced in all subjects (including non-academic, practical skills subjects such as gardening and hygiene). Regionally developed exams will be administered at grade eight. A nationally-developed exam will be administered at grade ten to screen students entering senior secondary school; and
- Students entering grade eleven will decide whether they will pursue higher education or follow a track of professional study.

The Ministry of Education proposes to operationalize its new commitment to primary education through two major vehicles at the village and district levels. At the village level, it cites the need to create 19,000[3] **Village Community Educational Centers** which will provide basic education to children through the following means:

- Providing four years of basic literacy, numeracy and life skills training (eg. hygiene), followed by an unspecified amount of practical skill training (eg. gardening and agriculture) through an alternative, parallel delivery system;
- Using flexible timing and modular curriculum to accommodate local schedules and individual needs;
- Employing a condensed curriculum to ensure basic skills acquisition in four years;
- Equipping schools with radios to supplement classroom learning with radio instruction; and
- Requiring community support through building construction and contribution of materials.

The Centers will also serve the adult population with literacy training. At the district-level, **Wereda Pedagogical Centers** will be created to support village Community Educational Centers with teacher training, curriculum adaptation, materials development, and coordination/supervision. **District Community Education** Centers or **Community Skills Training Centers** (CSTC) will provide adult education.

PROBLEMS AND CONSTRAINTS

4.1 UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

The proposed strategy for assistance to education rests on four underlying assumptions:

- That there will be political stability, allowing a smooth transition to a stable, consensual form of government;
- That educational policy will also be stable, providing the kind of continuity required to build a viable educational system;
- That the government's economic policies will lead to macro-economic stabilization and growth; and

[3] According to the Ministry, Ethiopia has 27,000 village and 8,000 primary schools, resulting in the 19,000 village community education center cited above.

- That, in addition to the assistance USAID can offer, Ethiopia can continue to count on other international donors to provide educational support.

The strategy also accepts the premises that, for the foreseeable future, as budgetary constraints continue to be a limiting factor in educational development, regionalization will have important implications for decentralization and administration of education, and the new emphasis on mother-tongue instruction will have a significant bearing on curriculum and materials development.

4.2 OVERARCHING CONSTRAINTS

This section examines the factors external to the education sector which will continue to have an important impact on the government's ability to implement its policy and restructure the sector.

A. Financial and Resource Constraints

The objective of this section is not to present a detailed cost analysis[4], but rather to raise questions and identify constraints relating to implied and explicit resource needs, sources of educational finance, and management capacity in relation to the two main policy orientations of the MOE: expansion of basic education and regionalization.

Implications of the new policies

The critical issue facing the MOE and the Regions concerning the new policy directions is the nexus between the existing budgetary constraints and the projected and actual resource needs.

Budgetary constraints

The current educational system is grossly under-financed, with public educational expenditures in 1991 representing less than 9.5 percent of the government budget and less than 4.4 percent of GDP. Specific indications of the tight budget constraints affecting the delivery and quality of primary education are:

- The low recurrent per student costs for primary school compared with the unit costs for technical/vocational education and tertiary education.

- The high percentage of the primary recurrent budget allocated to salaries (98.9%), leaving a negligible 1.1 percent of the recurrent budget to fund all primary education operating costs, which compares unfavorably with the 41 percent and 24 percent for non-salary recurrent costs enjoyed by tertiary and technical/vocational education, respectively.

- The schools themselves have to raise operational budgets through the combination of fees and income generation activities (averaging less than Birr 1,000 per year).

- The MOE is dependent on external assistance and loans to underwrite 85 percent of its investment budget for capital and development expenditures.

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[4] MOE cost data and projections of costs for the proposed system expansion were not available.

- The cost of the rehabilitation of educational infrastructure destroyed or damaged is estimated at Birr 205 million, which is equal to approximately 80 percent of primary education's recurrent budget.

- On a macro-economic level, indications are that during the transition to a federated system, government expenditures have decreased. Augmentation in the primary education budget will probably come from successful competition with other sectors and higher levels of education for the limited resources, and from community contributions (voluntary or otherwise).

Resource needs

Both basic education expansion and regionalization will require additional resources. The gross estimates presented as examples below, though solely illustrative of orders of magnitude of some costs associated with policy implementation, indicate that they could significantly exceed current government resources for education.

Expansion of basic education

Using MOE estimates of the number of new schools required for "universal"[5] access (19,000) to grades one through four as called for by the emerging policy statement, the amount of resources required to expand the system to these specifications are staggering. School construction could require seventeen times the annual pre-university capital budget, and 38,000 additional teachers--nearly six times the full-capacity total output of the TTIs--could be required. The additional new teacher salaries would require approximately a two-thirds increase in current primary school salary allocation. Coupled with the severe budgetary constraints detailed above, the goal of education for all in the near term can only be regarded as impossible.

Implementation of the regionalization policy

To put in place the organizational structure designed for regionalization, the number of education sector administrative staff must increase in the regions. By comparing former numbers of central and regional staff with current staffing norms, it appears that the regional reorganization in the education sector will exceed previous administrative staffing levels in absolute terms. For example, it is estimated that administrative staff must grow by nearly 7000 persons, roughly ten percent of the teaching force.

As the regional educational offices indicated that they have no budget to hire additional people not already on the education payroll, regional offices plan to draw their professional personnel from both the MOE and lower levels in the educational system. The zones and woredas will reach lower down, depriving primary and secondary schools of their most able directors and teachers. The training needs in educational administration and planning at the regional level will be great, as few professionals currently have the skills or experience to perform their new duties. While a training program is under development and funded by an external source, there is no provision for staff training in the MOE recurrent budget nor indication that it will be included in regional budgets.

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[5] It is unclear that the 19000 schools as configured would provide universal access.

Wastage and inefficient use of current resources

There is some scope for reducing the amount of new resources required through the more efficient use of existing resources. Examples of resource wastage and opportunities to improve efficiency are:

- Rational use of teaching resources and elimination of structural rigidities which lead to overstaffed schools, low student:teacher ratios and under-utilized teachers in rural areas.

- Reduction of student wastage: Both drop-out and repetition rates are reportedly high. Estimates of the cycle year index, the comparison of the average number of years of schooling necessary (including repetition and drop-out) to produce a graduate compared with the ideal number of years, is 1.86. This means that 11.18 years of schooling is required to produce a sixth grade completer rather than the planned six years, nearly twice as many years as estimated.[6]

- Improved instructional quality via radio: Constraints to the effective use of radio instruction in the classroom are the lack of, or the inadequate numbers of radios in schools and the mis-use of instructional modules. For relatively little added cost per student, radio instruction could be remediated to have greater effect on classroom learning.

- Private school development: Today, 11 percent of primary school children are in private school compared to 25 percent in 1974. The stock of schools could be increased and budgetary pressure on the public sector decreased by liberalizing the certification criteria and procedures for private schools (a policy reform currently under consideration).

- Inservice teacher training vs. pre-service teacher training: Whereas the Ethiopian education system currently seems to suffer primarily from a maldistribution of teaching resources rather than a shortage, the system expansion plans explored above will require greater numbers of teachers. Reorienting TTIs to include inservice training and teacher support may be a feasible option.

Sources of Finance

Over the past two decades, there have been two main sources of educational finance: i) the central government and ii) the community and school in partnership. Regionalization throws this configuration into question. The largest issue arising from the new policy in terms of finance is the responsibilities and authority of the regions to raise and allocate revenues for education (and all other sectors) vis-a-vis the central government's responsibility for providing financial support and inter-regional reallocation of resources. Discussions with the three different levels -- central government (MOE), regional government and the community and schools -- which will be involved in the financing of the education system indicate that expectations differ and some expectations will probably not be met when financial responsibility is devolved next year.

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[6] Calculations are based on data for the 1983-89 cohort. Seventh grade enrollment is used as a proxy for sixth grade completion, which in all likelihood adds slightly to the number of cycle years.

Central and Regional finance. The central government, ie. the ministry of education, will no longer be the primary source for funds for pre-university education. The regions will be responsible for financing primary and junior secondary education, including teacher salaries, curriculum development and teacher training institutes for primary school teachers. The regional representatives interviewed are eager to claim authority in levying the taxes and fees as well as allocating revenues. All taxes collected at lower levels (ie. zones and weredas) will be remitted to the regional finance office or tax authority. Zones, weredas and communities will be permitted to raise extra funds for specific purposes, such as school construction, with community concurrence. The regions expect to collect and retain the land tax currently in effect, and some are considering additional taxes, although they have not addressed the details any taxation schemes. Areas of potential conflict between the central and regional levels include:

- Allocation of educational resources according to policy objectives. Regions indicate they may not conform to central level policy priorities. MOE officials are unsure how central policy can be enforced.

- Remittances to central government. Regions have no clear idea of the mechanisms and guidelines for sharing tax revenues with the central level.

- Expectation of central government support -- particularly in education. Uniformly, regional officials are incapable of estimating what funds will be raised locally, but expect that all education (and other) budgetary shortfalls will be made up by centrally allocated funds. Inter-regional subsidization was a mechanism with which they agreed in theory but further discussion revealed that they expected to be the beneficiary and not a contributor. Like the central government today, the regions are counting on external funds and donors to foot the bill for capital and development costs.

Community/school finance. Central government and the regions also expect that community and school resources will compensate for budgetary shortfalls. Zones and weredas will be responsible for administering and supporting primary schools. Schools and the communities which choose to support them continue to be responsible for covering -- either in cash or in kind -- infrastructural improvements, maintenance and other operational costs. The school committee, with its members elected from the local peasant associations comprising the community around the school, is responsible for financial management, including basic revenue generation and resource allocations. Parents' committees are composed of people with children in the school; they are expected to help with maintenance and support special activities to improve the school or generate revenue.

There appears to be a wide variation in the amount of support a school receives from parents and the community. While there are notable exceptions, the poor repair of schools generally points to lack of community and parental support in terms of labor. Most rural schools rely on land rent or share cropping for revenues, augmented modestly by students fees for registration, book rent and sports -- although those are mainly earmarked for specific expenditures. In some cases, active school committees will convince the community to authorize a one-time local "tax" on merchants and farmers. The largest budgetary expenses and/or the most frequently cited purchases are: sports equipment, stationary (for teachers and directors), and maintenance materials and student clubs (agriculture, health, handicrafts). If schools do not have the money, they do without -- as attested to by missing roofs, classrooms using rocks for furniture, etc. Potential areas of conflict are:

- the central level's intention that primary education should be free, i.e., no fees should be levied. This deprives the school of needed revenues and assumes that these costs can be passed on to the community at large (including those without children in school). The cost burden to the community could be further increased by the MOE's intention of extending primary education to grade 8.

- the discontinuation of the central government policy requiring that schools be accorded ten hectares, which will deprive new schools of their largest revenue source for operating expenses.

- the community's possible reluctance to accept additional financial responsibility for an institution that does not appear to be valued by the populace nor used by a majority of its school-aged children.

Regional financial planning and management capacity

There is currently little financial planning or management capacity in the regional, zone or wereda offices. The problems observed include:

- little real budget preparation experience due to the salary-driven nature of the current regional and central budgets;

- no enrollment projection models to facilitate planning or to indicate that planning might occur according to enrollment goals or targets (this is also manifested at the central level);

- there are no regional cost norms developed for school construction, textbooks, material, etc.;

- little concern and understanding of local revenue raising mechanisms;

- a casual assumption by regional education administrators and planners that funds for operating the schools are to be obtained from the community and parents;

- a bifurcation between budgeting and planning at the regional level as well as at the central level; and

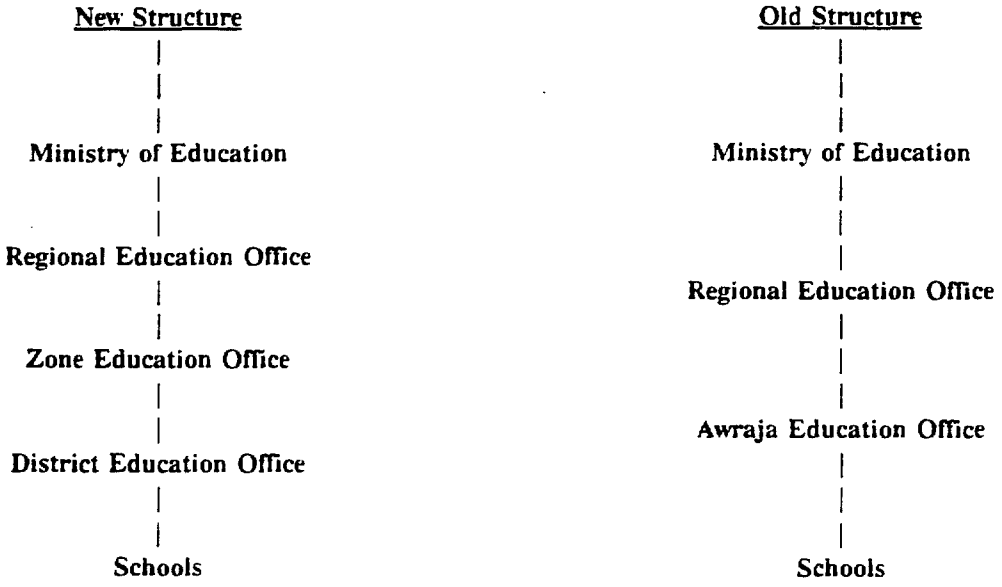
- no systematic approach to planning at the central and regional levels. No school mapping exercise has been instituted.

B. Regionalization

The new regionalization plan provides the administrative and management context within which education policy will be implemented. The objectives of the new education management structure are to i) decentralize decision making, ii) facilitate flexibility to make education more relevant to local needs, iii) localize the responsibility for finance, and iv) enhance the ability of education managers to supervise and otherwise support schools. In the new administrative structure, the central ministry will continue to formulate national policy and set national education standards and norms. It will assist the ten Regions in implementing central policy as well as policies formulated at the Regional Education Office level.

Each of the ten Regions are organized into anywhere from five to twelve Zones. As of April 1993, new Zones were still being created by the Regional Offices as they saw fit. As a result, the definitive number of zones in each Region and the total number in the country remains unknown. Each Zone is divided into five or more newly created administrative units that have the responsibility for directly supervising schools. These correspond to the Wereda administrative units as they existed in 1974. Each of these units supervises approximately one fifth the number of schools as the previous smallest administrative unit -- the Awraja, which no longer exists as an administrative unit.

The new education sector administrative structure adds one additional layer to the previous structure and can be summarized in the following diagram:



The following paragraphs present the division of responsibility within the new structure and indicate each level's role in administering the sector.

- Central Ministry of Education - determines and enforces National education policy; formulates national standards; manages University and Senior Secondary Education; maintains a national statistical base and approves and coordinates donor assistance.
- Regional Education Office - manages and, within national policy, sets curriculum for primary and junior secondary education; trains primary school teachers; manages vocational and agricultural secondary schools; and finances the above educational institutions.
- Zone Education Office - in some cases, develops curriculum specific to the Zone; supports the Wereda Education Office; and maintains the first level of aggregated educational statistics.
- Wereda Education Office - directly supervises and supports schools, both administratively and pedagogically.

Each level of the system from the Region down to the individual schools maintains a Pedagogical Center. Each supervises and provides technical support to the centers below them in the system. At each level local authorities will have the power to levy special "taxes" for the support of education.

Factors Affecting Implementation of Education Regionalization Policy

- National policy is poorly understood and less than fully endorsed.
- There is great variability in the availability of staff, physical infrastructure and management support.
- Staffing of the system is incomplete and consists primarily of newly assigned people who lack management experience. There is little supervision or clear guidance as to what their responsibilities are or how they should be carried out.
- Problems of education finance are not understood and receive little priority.
- Mechanisms to be employed to enforce national policy are unclear.

Impact on Primary Schools

- Increased support for schools from the new Wereda office in the medium term is problematic. Approximately 400 of the 583 new Wereda Education Offices will be created where no education office existed previously. They are more poorly staffed than the former Auraja education offices previously supporting the schools and they lack infrastructure.

- Staffing of the Wereda Offices at the level recommended by the Central Ministry would require more than 10 percent of the present teaching force. In some instances, the best headmasters and teachers are being moved to the Wereda and Zone offices.

- The Wereda office will have even fewer resources at its disposal to support schools than did the old Awraja Office.

Summary

A comprehensive assessment should be conducted to i) detail the management needs of the new decentralized structure, ii) recommend management systems and procedures, iii) determine staffing and training needs, iv) prepare job descriptions, and v) estimate the resources needed to allow the decentralized administrative system to adequately support schools. The Management and Educational Staff Development Department, a newly created department reporting directly to the Vice Minister, hopes to conduct the above assessment. Its support by AID has merit.

C. Use of Nationality Languages

Language issues have been identified as a constraint affecting primary education in Ethiopia because the implementation of a major shift in educational language policy requires extensive revision of educational materials as well as the retraining of a large portion of the teaching force.

The new language policy promotes:

- use of mother-tongue instruction in grades one to six; and

- use of Latin script for languages other than Amharic and Tigrinya.

Up to now, Amharic has been the language of instruction in primary school. Amharic and English will be offered as school subjects starting in grade one, and instruction in children's home language will now be conducted in grades one to six. This means that all first-graders will be studying three languages and learning not just one but two scripts in their first year of school. Learning English is necessary because, starting in grade seven, it will become the language of instruction.

Using Latin script for the non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia[7] represents a departure from the last regime's use of the traditional Ethiopian script. As a result of both this and other historical factors, the use and spelling of these languages has not been standardized. Lack of accepted norms for their use in writing is likely to be a problem, especially for widespread use in teaching.

This language policy has operational consequences for:

- textbook and materials production; and
- teacher training and reorientation.

A major effort is under way with donor support to prepare grade school texts, teachers' manuals and Teacher Training Institute syllabi and texts in each of the languages chosen for instruction. While the languages are being introduced at the rate of about four per year, the materials in each are being prepared for all the six primary grades at once. To do this, materials have been translated from Amharic with only minor adaptation. In principle, though, teaching materials are supposed to be rewritten by regional or lower authorities to adapt them to local needs and culture. Thus, all the materials prepared in this first effort will be replaced as soon as new ones can be readied, multiplying considerably the cost of materials production.

Moreover teachers, even those who are native speakers of the designated languages, have never learned to read or write them and must first become literate themselves. This involves wholesale rapid retraining of teachers already in the schools as well as the training of students in TTIs who will be assigned to areas where Amharic will be replaced by other languages. Until these languages come into wider written use, teachers feel unsure of their own ability to write, and consequently to teach, in them.

The policy also raises broader issues concerning:

- the level at which language choices will be made,
- reinforcement of literacy in newly-written languages and
- inter-regional communication, especially between regions and the central ministry (which will continue to use Amharic).

Even in regions, zones and weredas in which one language predominates there are linguistic minorities. It is not clear at present at which level authorities can decide which language to use in the schools and how to accommodate speakers of other languages. Some decisions apparently come from the regional and zone levels. Weredas, where the language composition of particular schools can be best ascertained, are least likely so far to make independent decisions regarding language choice.

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[7] These include Orominya, Wolaytinya, and Sidaminya in use this year; Kembatinya, Hadiyinya, Gedeoinya, and Somali are in preparation for the next school year.

Aside from school texts, there is very little as yet to read in the newly scripted languages - only an occasional notice, sign, or fledgling journal. Some are coming into use as written languages of local government. At least initially, the lack of written materials in the broader community means reinforcement of literacy will be weak.

Finally, while the consequences of this shift for knowledge of Amharic, heretofore the language of federal integration, are not yet clear it seems safe to predict that the ability to speak and read it will diminish.

D. Educational Demand and Equity in Primary Education

Demand for Education

Some Evidence of Low Demand

Throughout much of the development of Ethiopia's modern education system, the focus has been on the alleviation of supply-side constraints through system expansion, resulting in an exponential increase of enrollments between 1960 and 1989 (approximate annual growth in enrollment being 12 to 15 percent). Nonetheless, there is evidence that **many children in Ethiopia may not be kept out of school because of lack of school places, but because their parents may have made the conscious decision not to enroll them.**

Under the marxist Mengistu regime, supply-side constraints were overcome by requiring community support in the construction and financing of village schools. Demand-side constraints were addressed in a similar fashion: each family was required to enroll at least one child in primary school, and parents themselves were required to participate in adult literacy programs under penalty of fines and imprisonment. **Thus, lack of demand for education was simultaneously masked statistically and revealed politically by the need for coerced participation in schooling.** Today, low demand for education in some areas is evidenced by the following:

- The national gross enrollment ratio for primary education has plummeted from a high of 35 percent in 1988 to an estimated 22 percent in 1992. Interviews with parents and teachers indicate that **because schooling is no longer compulsory, parents have withdrawn their children from school.**

- **Many schools in rural zones are characterized by half-empty classrooms and low class sizes**[8]. Drops in enrollment have been precipitous. Many schools have suffered from large decreases in students or have been abandoned.

- **Rural schools have little notion of excess demand.** Many rural schools enjoy a "surplus" of teachers, yet no efforts at double shifting are required.

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[8] Low student:teachers ratios are also evident, but this phenomenon can be attributed in some regions to the transfer of teachers from destroyed, non-functional schools. Class-size is more often a function of classroom capacity than lack of teachers.

- The general level of community interest in school appears low. While school committees and parent associations continue to exist, their support activities are often negligible: i) schools are in bad repair, attesting to lack of maintenance supposedly provided by parents; ii) fund-raising activities are limited; and iii) some schools have been destroyed or looted, not as a result of the war, but by the parents themselves.

Causes of Low Demand

Several factors have been identified by parents, teachers and administrators to explain the low demand for education in rural communities. They are (not in order of importance):

- **No further educational opportunities:** According to some parents, once they make a commitment to send their children to primary school, they want them to continue to secondary school in order to attain the level of schooling necessary to obtain a government or non-farm (ie. wage) job.

- **Education does not lead to non-farm employment:** Primary education, in the experience of those parents interviewed, leads to nothing better than farm work. Parental expectations of the educational system is non-farm, modern or wage sector employment for their children, which in rural areas represents a sound income-diversification strategy (although the 23 percent unemployment rate in the formal wage sector, among the highest in East Africa, is hardly encouraging).

- **Irrelevancy of schooling to rural life:** As noted above, parents do not relate schooling to improved agricultural production, but to off-farm employment. Not a single parent queried could say how basic literacy and numeracy would make their child a better farmer. In fact, they seemed stunned at the concept. Nor could they say how education could improve life in rural areas.

- **High direct costs of schooling:** Parents interviewed complain that the out-of-pocket costs for schooling are too high. Rather than citing the apparently negligible fees charged by the school for registration, book rent and/or sports, they focus on the costs associated with clothing, exercise books and pens. These constitute a significant portion (5-13 percent) of annual household cash incomes.

- **High opportunity costs:** Tending livestock, fetching water and collecting firewood or dung are major responsibilities of rural children. While the latter activities can be done by girls before and after school, boys are required to tend herds all day. Some parents encountered in the Amharic say they cannot spare their boys to go to school.

- **Poor quality of schooling and infrastructure:** Some parents cite both the instability of the curriculum and the vertiginous number of educational reforms undertaken over the past decade as reasons to distrust the quality of education received by their children. Inadequate and deteriorating schools also add to distaste for schooling.

- **Confusing language policy:** As the MOE introduces its new language policy in the schools, some parents of enrolled children are concerned that the Amharic painstakingly learned will be dropped as a medium of instruction in certain regions or are angered that the local language chosen for instruction is not their own.

- **Resentment of schools:** Under the previous government, parents were forced to enroll their children in school and to support schools with labor and monetary contributions with little voice in decision-making. This, coupled with the perceived inutility of education, has bred a deep resentment and distrust on the part of some parents and communities towards education.

Implications of Low Demand for Educational Policy and Planning

It appears that schools in rural areas, representing much of Ethiopia, are neither valued nor supported by many of those they are supposed to serve. Easing supply constraints by expanding basic education and reforming the curricula is unlikely to have much effect on those who send their children to school whose goal is not basic literacy and numeracy, but advancing through the system to a government or wage job. For those who do not enroll their children, it is unlikely that a new emphasis on basic literacy and numeracy will convince them of its utility in a traditional agrarian economy in which literacy is little valued and ostensibly appears to contribute little or nothing to agricultural production. The task of making the curricula more relevant must take into account parental aspirations for their children, as well as be realistic about the appropriateness of schools as the means to transmit the agricultural knowledge currently taught at home. Finally, the assumption that the costs of educational expansion will be borne in significant amount by parents and communities appears unrealistic in light of the negative attitudes towards schools and the demonstrated lack of community support.

There is little evidence of school-level programs aimed at increasing demand for schooling. Rural parents indicate that they need help with clothing and exercise book purchases as well as the provision of school meals to alleviate income constraints.

Equity Issues

In Ethiopia, equity issues can be readily addressed from three perspectives: gender, rural-urban, and regional.

Gender Equity

National-level statistics place Ethiopia among the higher of African countries in terms of gender equity. In 1991/92, the participation rate of girls as a proportion of total enrollments averaged about 42 percent in primary school, 46 percent in junior secondary school and 45 percent in senior secondary school. Surprisingly, as girls advance to the eighth grade, their participation rate increases and then slowly diminishes to a low of 39 percent in 12th grade. However, these national statistics mask significant regional disparities -- the 50 to 57 percent participation rate of girls in Shewa Misrack, Addis and Gonder Semen contrasts dramatically with the 31 to 32 percent rate of girls in Hararge Misrak, Omo Debub and Hararge Mirab. But some unpublished zonal statistics indicate that in some areas the proportion of girls in primary and junior secondary school approaches parity or exceeds the proportion of boys enrolled.

Similar percentages are observed in the schools themselves: anecdotal evidence indicates that in some regions, the more rural the school the greater the proportion of girls in class, occasionally exceeding boys' enrollments by 80 to 100 percent. At the primary level, there does not seem to be a distinctive pattern of primary school attrition which distinguishes girls from boys. Sixth grade completion rates seem to be similar for both sexes.

In those regions where it was observed, the presence -- and often predominance -- of girls in the classroom must be regarded with some caution. In war-torn regions, the comparatively weak participation of boys in primary school may be an artifact of the previous regime's conscription practices. Information lags and recent instability may make the under-representation of boys a short-term aberration. Nonetheless, the robust presence of girls in primary schools in certain rural areas may also be the exception in Africa that proves the rule: that opportunity costs are the primary determinant of educational participation, and opportunity costs for boys in a rural economy relying on livestock production/management exceed those of sending girls to school. Further, where girls and boys may contribute equally to household chores, it may be the father who is allowed to keep his helper. Additionally, statistics can only hint at the instruction and treatment girls receive in the classroom. The issues deserve further study, especially in the southern regions of Somali and Afar where muslim culture predominates and the participation rates of girls in primary school are low.

The relatively favorable aggregate statistics on female participation are overturned at the tertiary levels of schooling. In 1989, fewer than 15 percent of diploma seekers were women; and in 1991, fewer than 20 percent of vocational school graduates were women. Within the primary education sub-sector, 25 percent of the primary school teaching force are women, and a walk through the MOE halls and regional education offices reveals few females in administrative positions. Only 21 percent of total Teacher Training Institute enrollments in 1991 were women; a growth of 14 percent from 1985 which represents the results from a quota regulation reserving 20 percent of places for women. The proportion of female TTI instructors is about 12 percent. It is possible that women stand last in the queue to gain access to an educational program which does guarantee wage employment in an economy where wage security is scarce. MOE programs to redress gender disparities are nearly non-existent, basically consisting of the above-mentioned TTI quota regulations and discussion of the creation of an office for female education within the MOE.

Rural-Urban Equity

More immediately striking than gender inequities in the educational system are the disparities of educational resource allocation between rural and urban populations. It is estimated that rural enrollment in general education is 18.9 percent compared with 53.8 percent in urban areas. The indications that rural areas have been disfavored by educational policy and practices are:

- **Unequal resource allocation:** in the more rural areas, the infrastructure is of lesser quality and the schools are less well equipped with materials, etc. There are fewer junior and senior secondary schools, although only 12 percent of the population resides in urban areas.

- **Predominance of destroyed schools:** of the 10 percent of primary schools reported destroyed, most are situated in rural areas.

- **Unequal expectation of community financing:** rural communities are expected to contribute land, resources and labor to school construction, maintenance and operations.

- **Curriculum aimed at the modern, urban sector:** although a great deal of rhetoric and discussion has surrounded the issue of relevant curricula for rural zones, little of a practicable nature has been developed for communities where nearly 98 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture.

- **Education as a disruptive force:** as introduced -- by force and coercion -- education in rural areas has been disruptive to both the traditional culture and the hoe/plow/pastoral economy by imposing structures and agendas not readily assimilated into agrarian life.

- **Rural schools are short-changed in terms of staff:** the MOE policy of placing "fresh" (ie. new teachers) in rural schools and transferring them to urban areas after 3-5 years of service ensures that the quality of teaching is lower in rural areas. Teacher flight to urban centers and assigning teachers to regional administrative positions exacerbates the situation.

While many of the above policies were promulgated by the previous government, they have serious implications for the new policy directions proposed by the TGE. Specifically, they are:

- The disinterest of many rural communities in schooling and their apparent disinclination/resistance to contribute local resources to financing and supporting educational facilities.

- The formidable challenge of developing a "relevant" curriculum which at once i) is appreciated by the rural population, ii) does not create a dual system of education which renders rural education inferior and further decreases demand, and iii) can actually offer a practical skills program which will have significant value in the market place and surpass the knowledge of agriculture transmitted in the home.

Regional Equity

As the MOE devolves educational management authority to the regions, an emerging central issue concerns the disparities among regions and their differing abilities to support the provision and delivery of educational service. The various regions will face different challenges and priorities of needs, including:

- **Different resource levels:** the economies and resource bases among administrative regions differ tremendously, which will affect the regional revenue available for education.

- **Varying regional priorities:** the regions will most likely have differing development priorities and agendas, reflecting different needs. Poorer regions will not only have less money to devote to educational goals, but most certainly will have more urgent competing demands made on their resources. The emphasis given to education will vary regionally.

- **Unequal levels of educational infrastructure:** educational facilities were not equally distributed among the regions to start with, and the recent war has further disadvantaged certain regions by destroying educational infrastructure.

- **Unequal teacher production capacity:** teacher training institutes are not distributed equally among the regions, ranging from none to six per region. It may prove difficult for regions without teacher training capacity to obtain their fair share of teachers with the requisite language skills and familiarity with regionally designed curricula.

- **Local "nationality" languages:** some regions (particularly the Southern People's Region) must face the challenges of introducing multiple local languages in the schools and deal with the attendant problems of curriculum and materials which will require more resources in terms of funds, expertise and materials.

- **Varying manpower capacity:** with observed regional policy of recruiting and employing their "native sons", it is possible that those regions which have a higher proportion of educational specialists will be better off than those not as well represented in the education sector.

- **Differential central support:** as various problems arise in the education sector, regions may find themselves competing for central MOE attention and support, with different levels of success.

The implications of the above factors distill down to a single question: what will the central government do to equalize the distribution of educational resources among the regions so that all Ethiopian children enjoy equal opportunities for primary education? To date, beyond vague declarations of central MOE staff and the expectations of regional political and educational staff that the central government will ensure reasonable redistribution, no mechanism for ensuring this has been described. The level and modalities of central support and the formulae for cross-subsidization among the regions remains to date a blackbox in the planning of educational reform.

4.3 EDUCATION SPECIFIC CONSTRAINTS

In addition to the overarching constraints of finance, regionalization, language and demand for education, the following section attempts to identify the main technical constraints within the education sector.

A. The Teaching Profession

The current status of the primary education teaching profession is influenced by three main categories of constraints. These include the quality of the existing teaching corps, the capacity to produce new, better quality teachers, and the provision of opportunities for continuing, in-service training and support.

Existing Teaching Corps

The Ministry of Education reported 68,399 teachers employed at the primary level in the academic year 1991/92. This corps of teachers could generally be described as poorly trained and unmotivated. Their teaching could be characterized as traditional, teacher-centered and limited to "chalk and talk." Deployment and use of teachers includes many surprising inefficiencies. The main constraints to improved teaching include:

- Many unqualified teachers were brought into the system in the past and what upgrading they have received has focused on credentialing, not acquisition of specific skills;

- Most teachers employ a traditional classroom methodology focused on memorization of bodies of knowledge with little use of stimulation, practical application, or student centered learning;

- Teaching is reported as a low status job because of poor pay and limited potential for career advancement within teaching (all promotions take teachers out of the classroom).

Teacher Pre-Service Training

Twelve teacher training institutes (TTI) with a total capacity of 6,750 trainees provide post-secondary pedagogical training for primary teachers. The TTIs are resident institutions that provide students with room and board. One additional TTI is currently being constructed. Total TTI enrollment in 1992/93 is 5,765. Quotas for recruitment are established each year by the MOE, with indications of the number of slots reserved for trainees in each of the current languages of instruction. In addition, a minimum of 20 percent of TTI places are reserved for women.

While the quantitative capacity of the TTIs to produce teachers is adequate for the current level of primary school enrollment, the quality of those teachers is a major concern. The principal constraints on the quality of TTI output include the following:

- Recruitment is based on neither competency nor a preference for teaching;
- The training curriculum has a theoretical approach to pedagogy, contains only 30 days of practice teaching, and is burdened with academic specializations;
- Although 65 percent of TTI teaching staff have first degrees (equivalent of a BA), most of them have no training as teacher trainers or experience as primary school teachers; and
- Limited recurrent financing has contributed to the deterioration of the physical plant and the poor living conditions of trainees.

In-Service Training and Support

The only in-service training provided by the MOE is to unqualified teachers through a sequence of three summer programs. This training attempts to replicate the one year pre-service program. Its focus is on helping unqualified teachers acquire certification. No specific training adapted to the special needs of these teachers is provided, nor is there any follow up support during the periods between summer sessions.

Other in-service programs include 46 day training sessions for headmasters offered during the summer and the ad hoc short (five days) workshops being conducted to introduce teachers to the latin script versions of Welaitigna, Sidamigna, and Oromigna.

On the job support for teachers is generally lacking. Under the previous regime, pedagogical support was delivered through a network of Awarja Pedagogical Centers (APC). One APC was located in each of 98 awarjas, which under the new organization are now either at the zone or wareda level. Many of these centers were established under donor funded projects and developed locally made materials (posters, diagrams, models, etc). With the end of external support for operating costs, the APCs appear to have ceased functioning. Current MOE policy includes the establishment of pedagogical centers at every Wereda (583), without any analysis of the cost of opening and running these centers.

B. <u>Teaching Support Systems</u>

This section focuses on the three most highly developed aspects of the education system in Ethiopia: curriculum development, materials production, and use of educational mass media. In comparison with many other African countries, Ethiopia's central level capacity in these three areas is exceptional. However, these well developed institutional capacities appear to have limited impact on the quality of instruction delivered in primary school classrooms. This situation is explored below.

Curriculum Development

The Institute for Curriculum Development and Research (ICDR) reports that over the years some 200 syllabi, books, and guides have been produced for all grades and subjects and 30,000 teachers have been trained in the classroom-application of these materials. This year ICDR has been preoccupied with translating teaching materials into the regional languages of instruction. The institute is also organizing and implementing the introductory training of teacher trainers in the latin script versions of Oromigna, Sidamigna, and Welaitigna.

In general, problems in curriculum development center around the issue of relevancy, and with regionalization, concern the development of decentralized curriculum design capacity. The principal constraints include the following:

- Curriculum development has been centrally managed. With regionalization, responsibility for curriculum will be devolved to the regions, zones, and/or waredas, where no technical capacity currently exists;

- Present regionalizational efforts and language issues contribute to curricular instability;

- Talk of a "more relevant" curriculum risks reproducing the mistakes made elsewhere in introducing "practical" subjects too early in the formal primary cycle;

- Books are being translated into new languages without consideration of differences in complexity of vocabulary and without appropriate analysis from the perspective of grade appropriate readability; and

- Curricular focus needs to shift from "what to teach" to "how to teach" specific topics.

Materials Production

One of the most impressive features of the education sector in Ethiopia is the MOE's capacity to develop, publish, produce and distribute textbooks and educational materials. The Educational Materials Production and Distribution Agency (EMPDA) produces books written by ICDR. Books are distributed free on a loan basis, but students pay a nominal rental fee of 1.00 Birr for the full set of books. EMPDA currently handles 300 titles (now in five languages) and for the current academic year it has printed, or contracted for the printing, of 7.8 million texts. EMPDA reports 80 percent of these titles distributed to the regions.

In general at the school level, the availability of texts and teachers guides varies greatly from urban to rural areas and from region to region. Where books are present, schools and teachers appear not to be maximizing the benefit of these materials. Some important constraints to sustainable production and optimal use of texts and teacher's guides include:

- Production of materials is subsidized and only sustained through external financing (paper and equipment);

- Teachers receive little or no training in how to make use of materials in their classrooms. No follow up training or support is ever provided to aid teachers in using materials;

- Neither any systematic evaluation of delivery and use of materials, nor any analysis of the impact of materials on student achievement has ever been conducted; and

- Production is not based on need, nor on any targeted level of student to book ratio. EMPDA does not even know how many of its books reach classrooms.

Educational Mass Media

The Education Media Agency (EMA) is a vast enterprise consisting of 12 medium wave AM stations as well as the necessary studios and personnel to produce radio programs not only for its own stations but also color educational TV programs for government television. The present radio transmitters cover approximately 90 percent of the country. Educational television targets junior secondary schools, and provides instruction in English, science and mathematics. Current broadcast capacity and distribution of sets has educational television reaching 312 schools, or roughly 45 percent of the junior secondary enrollment.

The primary mandate of EMA is to provide a series of approximately 15 minute radio programs designed to be used in conjunction with teachers' regular classroom lessons as integral parts of the concerned curricula. An evaluation conducted in 1991 found that for a sample of 280 schools (143 rural & 137 urban):

- 70 percent of schools had at least one media teacher, 75 percent of which were trained;
- 71 percent of the schools had functioning radio sets;
- 23 percent of teachers reported frequent use of support materials, 65 percent reported rare use, and 10 percent no use; and
- 87 percent of the schools had adjusted their schedules to coincide with radio broadcasts.

The evaluation makes no mention of how broadcasts are used in classrooms and does not discuss the content of programs.[9] No attempt has been made at establishing a framework for evaluating the impact of the use of radio programs. This lack of systematic evaluation and redesign of the use of mass media in education represents a substantial limitation on the effective use of radio programs to enhance learning. Problems in the use of educational radio include:

- All capital investments and maintenance are underwritten by donors;

- The overall supply of radios is inadequate;

- Media teachers appear trained in little other than managing the storage of radios and the scheduling of programs;

- Radio lessons are not cast in an interactive format;

- Teachers do little before, during, or after the broadcasts to enhance the pedagogical content of their lesson;

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[9] Educational Media Agency, Schools' Radio Programmes Utilization Evaluation Report, April, 1991.

- Limited availability and use of support materials to facilitate planning a lesson around a radio broadcast; and

- Regionalization will focus future investments on developing production capacity at the regional level rather than on evaluating and rethinking the use of programs in the classroom.

Radio programs for the first six grades were formerly broadcast in Amharic. Under the new language policy, programs for the first six grades are being translated into or produced in the five national languages. Regionalization also calls for radio program production capability to be developed at the regional level. The EMA reports that five regional studios are already in operation and three are to be added through funding provided under an IDA credit.

C. Statistics and Planning

The Planning and External Relations Service (PERS) of the MOE is responsible for collecting and managing information for the education sector, supervising the use of that information for planning, and cooperating with donor agencies in the preparation of projects and programs in support of the ministry's plans. Specifically, the Education Information Management Section has the capacity for the collection, aggregation, and computerization of education system statistics. Full computerization of the education systems information network is proceeding under World Bank and SIDA support. The MOE is currently two years behind in entering school-level data.

Shortcomings in the MOE's collection and use of statistical information include the following:

- Little or no analysis beyond calculation of standard indicators (i.e. gross and net enrollment rates, student to teacher ratios) is performed;

- At present no planning applications of education system data are in use. Likewise, no modeling or simulation tools are available for assisting in policy formulation and decision making. Little or no analysis of costs is conducted;

- Planning for recurrent activity has been limited to compilation of personnel needs. Investment planning has been carried out only within the context of donor funded projects, with no overall sectoral investment strategy; and

- Planning has been highly centralized and must now be devolved to the regions where little capacity or experience exists.

D. Infrastructure: Repair and Maintenance

With only 8,325 primary schools, overall supply capacity relative to the primary school age eligible population is extremely low. In addition, the distribution of supply is skewed towards urban centers and towns. The MOE estimates that the overall urban GER is 54 percent, while the rural GER is 19 percent. The limited capacity of the primary sub-sector has been further constrained by the damage to educational infrastructure from both the war and the general looting and destruction of buildings that followed the collapse of the central government in 1991.

The Minister of External Economic Cooperation stated in his address to the Consultative Group in November of 1992 that some 1,160 primary schools have been partially or fully damaged. The MOE, as well as the regional bureaus, cites rehabilitation of damaged infrastructure as a top priority. All investment in infrastructure is financed out of donor projects, with some requirements for community in-kind contributions.

Maintenance of existing infrastructure is an important constraint on the quality of the supply of educational opportunity. The constraints on maintenance in the education sector fall into two categories. The first constraint concerns problems in maintaining externally financed infrastructure, and can be described as cost intensive because of the need to periodically replace imported materials. The second concerns the maintenance of schools constructed of local materials, and can be described as participation intensive because the upkeep of buildings relies on mobilizing community participation. Poor maintenance of facilities in both categories is characterized by: i) completely inadequate financing of recurrent maintenance; ii) community disinterest in participation in maintaining what are perceived as government facilities; and iii) apparent lack of initiative and interest in even the most simple upkeep (preventative maintenance) at the school level.

E. Staff Development and Training

The World Bank's Sixth Education project financed the construction and equipping of the nearly completed Center for Educational Staff Development (CESD). The ministry has further signalled the importance it attaches to staff training (especially in the context of regionalization) by forming a new staff development department as a permanent part of the MOE structure. Under the auspices of this new department, the CESD will be used for national capacity building and systematic training and upgrading of educational administration personnel. In light of the additional administrative capacity required to manage regionalization, the CESD will also play an important role in the training of decentralized educational administrators and managers.

Critical constraints on the CESD's capacity to handle the training requirements of the sector include:

- The center is completely untested as a training facility and has no staff;
- Responsibilities and staffing of MOE, region, zone, and wereda offices remain unclear, making it difficult to identify the specific capacities and skills to be developed in personnel at each level.
- No comprehensive training needs assessment has been conducted, training modules need to be developed, and competent trainers need to be identified and/or trained;

F. Adult Education

The Adult Education Division and Its Programs

The Adult Education Division and its programs, which under the Dergue had been the flourishing centerpiece of its educational program dominated by a major literacy campaign, is now in a state of decline. Its staff, once numbering approximately 150 with thirty to forty professionals, has been reduced to a total of 42 with only 28 professionals left. Its library, a valuable repository of materials on adult education is closed for lack of a librarian.

This year, at least, the Adult Education Division did have a budget which it used to provide printed teaching materials and support for adult education programs in zones that requested it. The programs it supports include: literacy and post-literacy programs, mainly in areas that use Amharic; support materials for the distance teaching program; and Community Skills Training Centers (CSTCs).

Literacy and post-literacy

Literacy programs are now being run on a purely voluntary basis. At the start of the year, the Adult Education Division sent out a letter to regions and zones offering support in response to any request for assistance in literacy programs. The Division has since disbursed 1.3 million Birr to Tigray, North and South Gonder, South Wollo, West Shoa, West Gojjam, Jimma, Asosa, and Metekel; basing its grants on the anticipated number of students, teachers, and quantity of chalk each area requests.

The Division had also just shipped supplies of literacy primers to areas using Amharic -- North and South Gonder, East and West Gojjam, and North and South Wollo -- from its remaining supplies. Tigray had sent manuscripts of primers in Tigrinya to the Adult Education Division which underwrote the costs of printing and shipping the materials back to Tigray. West Shoa and Jimma plan to have programs in Oromo; Asosa plans to start with both Amharic and Oromo.

The Division has also negotiated a small pilot program with a Canadian NGO -- CODE, to resuscitate part of another remnant of the late literacy campaign, the reading rooms for post-literacy students. It is transforming the ones it supports into community libraries. CODE has bought books in both Amharic and English which it is supplying to centers constructed of local materials by the communities in which they are located. The community must also agree to supply and pay a reading room attendant. The books are not limited to materials appropriate to new readers; they are intended to appeal to all literate community members, including those with secondary school education and more. In addition to the community contribution, each center costs the Division 22,000 Birr for furniture, some books and the training of the reading room attendant. Donors provide other equipment.

Distance education

The Adult Education Division's role is limited to printing and shipping distance education materials and contracting with qualified personnel (mainly teachers in Addis Ababa) to grade papers. Primary level courses are conducted strictly by correspondence while junior and senior secondary courses are broadcast by EMA. Plans are afoot to provide training for upgrading unqualified primary school teachers, as well. Currently, the Division reports that some 6,000 students are registered. These are mainly former soldiers and police, now demobilized and with time on their hands. The Division has sent out a circular letter announcing the programs, but has not publicized them actively since it feels it cannot handle a much larger number of students.

Community Skills Training Centers

Aside from literacy programs, the main form of adult education offered by the Adult Education Division has been in the form of courses in skills such as leather-making, smiting, soap-making, modern farming, and the like. Under the Dergue 401, Community Skills Training Centers were established to provide materials and teachers for these courses at the local level. As that government collapsed, some were put to use as military training centers and many were looted and bombed. The MOE reports that of the total number, some 177 CSTCs are classified as intact (i.e. not destroyed). Of those, it is unknown how many are functioning.

In principle, each center is staffed by a coordinator who schedules classes and also arranges times for local representatives of other ministries -- Health or Agriculture, for instance -- to use the facilities for extension and training programs. The Adult Education Division negotiates with donors to supply materials for the classes to be offered. A center in rural Gojjam, unscathed by the events of the past two years, had its coordinator in place and its schedule posted but no materials to begin this year's courses. In the interim, a number of local smiths were using the center's smithy and its equipment for their own private work. The coordinator, who was also serving as wereda educational officer in the absence of any other, was still receiving his pay from the Ministry. The community was providing pay for the center's guard.

In sum, the Adult Education Division's activities at present are a low-key, demand-led remnant of the nation-wide, often coercive programs it mounted under the last regime. Despite the potential of adult education programs to deliver pertinent training at the local level to adults -- schooled and unschooled alike -- who want and can use it, these programs, for the moment, appear to be a backwater on the Ministry's educational map.

G. Private Schools

Non-governmental or private schooling in Ethiopia accounts for only 12 percent of the primary schools and 15 percent of the total enrollment. Private schooling is provided by a variety of institutions and organizations. All non-government schools follow the government curriculum. However, the Orthodox Church and Mosque schools are not officially recognized by the MOE because of their addition of religious instruction to the curriculum.

Present MOE policy restricts private institutions' capacity to levy fees, requiring that fee increases be approved by a school's community. Government policy regarding private schools also expects the MOE to certify and supervise non-governmental institutions. To receive official certification, a private school must maintain MOE established standards, i.e. employ duly qualified teachers and follow the MOE curriculum. Private school teachers are allowed to attend TTI training courses (pre- and in-service), and MOE inspectors and administrators supervise the private schools in their districts. All private school students must sit for MOE cycle completion exams.

The MOE has received numerous requests from the private sector to establish schools, and feels that private schooling could help respond to excess demand, especially in urban areas where government schools are severely overcrowded. The MOE has submitted a draft of a law that would liberalize the establishment of private schools and is awaiting the TGE's reaction.

DONOR ACTIVITY IN THE EDUCATION SECTOR

Several multilateral and bilateral donor agencies, as well as a number of NGOs and PVOs, are currently active in the education sector. Total external assistance to education in 1992 is about US$ 266 million, with 13 principal projects providing support to all the education sub-sectors on a variety of issues. Table I below shows the currently active projects for which data were available and indicates the levels of financing and activities associated with each. Details of donor supported education programs are included in Annex E.

TABLE I: Current Projects in the Education Sector

DONOR/PROJECT	TOTAL FINANCING	ESTIMATED END OF PROJECT	PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS
World Bank	**162.0**		
Education VI	70.0	June, 1993	Construction: 335 primary, 24 lower sec, 1 TTI, MOE staff dev. ctr, jr college of commerce; Expanding TTI. Training, Equipment, TA: Curriculum development, materials production, adult & media education, APCs and central planning services.
Education VII	92.0	Unknown	Being restructured
Afr Dev. Bank	**41.0**		
Education I	20.0	June 1993	Construction: 2 TTIs, 4 tech., 6 sr secondary; Labs & wrkshps for 12 sr sec; Trng for sec. science teachers.
Education II	21.0	1997	Construction: 60 primary, 7 lower secondary, 8 APCs; School radios; Training center for ELPC.
SIDA	**8.0**	1993	Training: Trng curric. develpmnt; Head teacher trng; Distance ed.; Environ ed.; AIDS ed.; Paper, training & TA for EMPDA; Science kits, desks. Construction: 110 primary schools/year.
UNICEF	**5.0**	1994	Training: Trng for decent. planning and mgmt; Trng for ed. radio; Trng pre-prim. teachers; Prim curric. develpmnt; Teacher & headmaster trng; Trng production of literacy materials; BDE centers.
GTZ	3.5		
	1.0	1997	20 prof., equip & support for Fac of Tech at AAU.
	2.5	1996	TA: trng/equip for reg. admin & curric dev. in Tigrai & Oromia; Equip TTI in Tigrai; Rehab. damaged schls.
ODA\ BRITISH COUNCIL	2.5	1997	TA: English department at AAU, ICDR, EMA; Textbooks for secondary schools and English TT.
OPEC	**4.0**	1993	50 primary schools and 50 BDE centers.
EEC	**14.0**	1997	Univ. prof. grad degrees & AAU library support.
ERRP:	25.7		
USAID	10.0	1993	EMPDA - trucks; EMA - radios; TVs
IDA	15.0	1993	School furniture, construction materials, radios
EEC	0.7	1993	Primary school furniture
UNFPA	**0.5**	1993	Materials, training, support for PFLE
TOTAL	266.2		

*\ For a more detailed overview of donor supported education programs in Ethiopia, see the report prepared for USAID/Ethiopia in December of 1992 entitled, Ethiopia Education Sector Review: Preliminary Report.

As illustrated by Tables I (above) and II (below), donor activity, in dollar terms, is focused primarily on equipment and construction for primary and secondary education. The World Bank and African Development Bank are the largest financiers of civil works projects. Donors are also involved in numerous projects relating to curriculum development, teacher training, non-formal education, etc. However, most of these activities are limited in terms of their scope and the amount of resources they contribute to a specific issue. Projects are experiencing successes in such areas as developing curriculum materials on family planning (UNFPA), supporting environmental education (SIDA), or establishing adult basic education centers (UNICEF). However, given the limitations of these projects and the size of Ethiopia, there is cause to question the tangible impact they are having in the sector.

TABLE II: Matrix of Donor Interventions

	Higher Education		Vocational Education		Secondary Education		Primary Education		Non-Formal Education		EMPDA	
DONOR	Trng;	Equip	Const Equip	TT; Curr.	Const Equip	TT; Curr.	Const Equip	TT; Curr.	Media	Adult Trng	Supp.	TA
IDA			XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX				
ADB			XXXXX		XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX		XXXXX			
UNDP												
UNICEF								XXXXX		XXXXX	XXXXX	
GTZ	XXXXX	XXXXX		XXXXX				XXXXX				
ODA	XXXXX					XXXXX		XXXXX				XXXX
SIDA							XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXX
OPEC							XXXXX			XXXXX		
EEC	XXXXX	XXXXX					XXXXX					
ERRP IDA USAID EEC							XXXXX XXXXX		XXXXX XXXXX		XXXXX XXXXX	
NGOs							XXXXX			XXXXX		

Donor Assistance Issues

Given the magnitude of need in the education sector, substantial external assistance will be required for several years in order to improve the quality of and expand education in Ethiopia. However, there are some important issues to consider regarding the capacity of the sector to manage and absorb donor support.

Coordination

As donors rush to provide assistance to education in Ethiopia, the MOE will be called on to play an important role in coordinating a multitude of programs and projects. This coordination consists of two facets. The first concerns the aligning of donor efforts with government sectoral policy. This will require that the MOE and the regions have clearly defined policies and priorities in place and that a single mechanism or entity for coordination of donor assistance be identified. The second concerns coordination of various donor initiatives to ensure mutual complimentarily. This will require that the MOE develop a

sectoral support strategy and the regular mechanisms to enforce it (i.e. sectoral round tables, donor coordination committee, etc.)

Absorptive Capacity

The MOE's capacity to utilize externally provided assistance will be a direct function of its ability to coordinate efforts as mentioned above. In addition, and more importantly, the education sector's absorptive capacity will depend on the quality and thoroughness of sectoral policy definition, information management, planning, and budgeting. Essentially the extent of development of those institutional capacities required to administer and manage the sector will determine how well the MOE can manage resources in general, be they government generated or externally provided.

OPTIONS FOR USAID/ETHIOPIA

6.1 THE CASE FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION IN ETHIOPIA

It is widely acknowledged that education contributes to economic development and is a vital factor in economic growth. Extensive research in Africa and elsewhere provides strong evidence that increased investment in education can yield a broad range of benefits -- in economic terms though increased productivity and higher individual and national incomes, and in social terms through lower fertility and improved health.

With a GDP per capita of US$ 133, Ethiopia ranks among the poorest countries in Africa. Equally dismal are its life quality indicators. Life expectancy is 52 years, infant mortality is estimated at 133 per 1,000, and the population growth rate approaches 3 percent per annum. With 22 percent of its children enrolled in school, it is imperative that Ethiopia increase enrollments at the primary level in order to realize the economic and social benefits associated with education. A number of studies conducted in Africa show high social rates of return to primary education (averaging 27%), followed by secondary education (17%) and higher education (12%)[10]. A recent study suggests that an increase of one year in average aggregate years of education may lead to a three percent rise in GDP, once threshold levels of quality primary education are reached[11].

In Ethiopia, nearly 80 percent of the population is employed in the agricultural sector. The leading role of the agricultural sector in Ethiopia's economy argues for concomitant investment in basic education in order to optimize gains from the introduction of new agricultural technologies. Education increases the productivity of labor, and educated farmers are more likely to adopt new farming methods and seek more contact with agricultural extension workers. Education has been found to reduce the variability of farm output and to ease the process of adjustment to export agriculture by accelerating the transition to new efficient patterns of resource allocation when prices or inputs change. Virtually all studies on agricultural

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[10] Psacharopoulos, George and Woodhall, Maureen, Education for Development: An Analysis of Investment Choices, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

[11] World Bank, World Development Report, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

productivity show that better educated farmers earn a higher return on their land. One study in Africa found that farmers having completed four years of education produce, on average, eight percent more than farmers who have not gone to school[12].

Education yields other important benefits that are not directly reflected in increased productivity or earnings. The better educated woman will bear fewer children and know more about and practice contraception[13]. In Ethiopia, where the population growth rate is 3 percent and the fertility rate 7.6, research findings on determinants of family size in Africa have special relevance. Raising educational attainment beyond three years can reduce fertility by raising marriage age and reducing the demand for children through improved employment opportunities and increased probability of child survival[14]. Primary education contributes to better family health and longevity. A one percentage point gain in literacy is associated with a two year gain in life expectancy[15]; one year of a mother's education corresponds to a nine percent decrease in infant mortality[16].

Children of better educated mothers are healthier: they are better nourished and suffer from illness less frequently. They are also more likely to enroll and advance in school, and -- ultimately -- make better parents to children of their own. This "virtuous cycle" of education and social well being argues strongly for investment in girls' primary education; intervening before they assume an adult productive and reproductive role in society[17].

Ethiopia is at a critical juncture in its educational development. The demographic pyramid in Ethiopia illustrates a preponderance of children in the population, who are critical to the future of the country. The perceptions and understandings developed in the formative years directly influence how health, family and income-producing decisions will be made as adults. The past twenty years has shaken popular support for schooling. In an effort to restore confidence in the education system, the government has initiated a wide-sweeping educational reform which will focus on primary schooling and equity and quality issues. For USAID, it offers an opportunity to contribute to and influence systemic and qualitative changes in the sector, as well as provides a means towards increasing the well being of Ethiopian families.

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[12] Lockheed, M., Jamison, D. and Lau, L., "Farmer Education and Farm Efficiency: A Survey," Economic Development and Cultural Change, No. 29, 1980.

[13] Cochrane, Susan, O'Hara, Donald and Leslie, Joan, "The Effects of Education on Health," Staff Working Paper, The World Bank, July 1980.

[14] Cochrane et al., op.cit.

[15] World Bank, Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion, Washington, D.C.:IBRD/World Bank, 1988.

[16] Cochrane et al., op.cit.

[17] King, Elizabeth, "Educating Girls and Women: Investing in Development," The World Bank, 1990.

6.2 JUSTIFICATION FOR EDUCATION GIVEN MISSION & BUREAU PRIORITIES

Ethiopia's basic education system cries out for improvement. The system is not serving the country's future generations in terms of quality and quantity. Only 22 percent of the age cohort is enrolled in primary school. with many of these few children denied adequate quality instruction. Vast numbers of the rural populace and females lack opportunities for schooling and parents' traditional beliefs in the value and promise of education have been seriously eroded. Systemic, structural educational reform is vital. The economic growth that will fuel Ethiopia's development cannot be equitably sustained without a much broader and stronger human resource base.

Strengthening Ethiopia's human capital can and should proceed at several levels, from primary through tertiary education. This process will take decades. But, to serve best the country's long-term needs and the Mission's short to medium term strategic interests, the place for USAID to assist initially is at the foundation -- primary schooling. As the findings of this report suggest, overcoming system constraints to achieve the quantum and structural improvements needed will be difficult. The primary sub-sector is seriously under-financed, particularly in the recurrent budget, quality is poor, teachers are under-qualified and unsupported, educational inputs are unevenly available and inadequately used, and equitable access to schooling is denied many rural children and girls. Further complicating efforts to overcome these problems will be the introduction of national languages into the schools and the curriculum.

There is strong congruence between the TGE's development priorities and those of USAID with regard to education. The government sees improvements in the social sectors as essential and has indicated its intent to increase budget share accordingly. Within the education sector, the MOE's formal and informal statements indicate that its goal is the development of a quality, equitable primary education system. In discussions with USAID, the TGE has asked for assistance in the basic education sector. While many donors are active in education, external resources available to undertake systemic qualitative changes at the primary level are likely to be inadequate. If USAID assists the sub-sector, it will however be essential to coordinate its efforts with those of the other donors, especially the World Bank, African Development Bank and SIDA.

Based on the analysis of the USAID education sector review team, discussions with government officials and an understanding of the Mission's proposed development assistance thrust for the next three to five years, it is recommended that a strategic objective in primary education be included in the Concept Paper. Ethiopian good will abounds for American assistance to the sector, much of it based on the positive experiences with past Point IV, A.I.D. and Peace Corps programs. Also the time is opportune for USAID involvement. The system is at a critical crossroads in its development. It is about to decentralize in a monumental way and will no doubt face many anticipated and unanticipated problems along the way. The United States has the most effective model from which to draw lessons and examples, and USAID has the opportunity to help meet the challenges of re-directing and rebuilding Ethiopia's primary school system with the resources and technical know-how that can assist Ethiopians accomplish this goal.

The U.S. has much to offer Ethiopia besides a model for a decentralized education system. State Boards, local education systems and academia are particularly skilled at planning and managing education resources, diagnosing problems, conducting policy and operations research, relying on private sector forces and interests, and using curricula to pursue social and economic objectives through the education system. A.I.D. has over the past 5 years drawn increasingly on such experience and skills in assisting sub-Saharan African education systems undertake fundamental system-wide reform in basic education. Such policy-based reform

programs are active in eight sub-Saharan countries, most of which involve close collaboration with other donors, especially the World Bank. By providing assistance to the education sector, USAID would be helping Ethiopia benefit from the U.S. models and expertise pertinent to the sector as well as from the growing experience of other African countries as they are endeavoring to overcome many of the problems currently facing Ethiopia's primary schools.

By assisting the sector, USAID will also be contributing to a Congressionally mandated earmark in basic education. Although this is an Agency earmark, the particular concern of Congress since 1988 has been sub-Saharan Africa. Congress mandated eight new basic education initiatives, five of which were to be in Africa, over the period FY-88 to FY-91. Subsequent to FY-91, Congress has not specified a specific number of new education programs nor a geographic focus, but has increasingly boosted the levels of DA (including DFA) to be spent in the sector. For each of FY-93 and FY-94 the basic education earmark totals approximately $130 million, of which the Africa Bureau is expected to meet about $90 million each year. Based on current Bureau plans and mortgages, it appears the FY-93 level will be met, but that a shortfall of about $22 million exists for FY-94. If USAID/Ethiopia decides to assist the sector, it is likely that an initial obligation in FY-94 would be expected.

The Mission should have the capacity to undertake design and management of a new program in education with the assignment in late FY-93 of an additional General Development Officer. Analysis for the design has started with this sector review, and the AFR/ARTS and R&D/ED staff have indicated their willingness to assist (as they have with each of the other basic education initiatives in Africa) with additional analytic requirements leading to a PP and/or PAAD before the end of FY-94. REDSO/ESA assistance will also be required, as will PD&S funds for additional design consultants.

6.3 EDUCATION STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE AND TARGETS

Ethiopia's major challenge in the primary education sector is how to provide quality instruction on a significantly larger and more equitable basis. With the population estimated to be growing at three percent per year, just staying in place will require a major effort. But as demonstrated above, staying in place is clearly not an acceptable state in order for development to occur. The mistake made across the continent by governments and donors alike, was to deal with expanding populations by expanding school facilities, without due regard to the attendant additional inputs needed to keep the systems viable and sustainable. The result has been precipitous declines in quality of schooling, bloated central bureaucracies, gross inefficiencies in managing system resources, and, in many places including Ethiopia, parental disenchantment with schooling. Given this history, and the current situation, Ethiopia will have to move in a very measured way to improve and expand its primary system -- and improvements in system quality and management must be the leading forces in this effort.

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE

Quality of primary education improves as system decentralizes and access broadens.

Performance Indicators (to be disaggregated by region, rural/urban, gender):

- Increased 4th grade/primary completion and examination pass rates.
- Increased numbers of students meeting MOE "standard quality profile".
- Reduced repetition, dropout and cycle completion rates.
- Increased overall enrollments and participation rates.

As suggested by the wording of the objective, the emphasis is on quality enhancing efforts, but in the context of delivering education services through a decentralized structure and on an expanding and more equitable basis. Given the autonomy and discretion that the Regions are likely to have under the new Education Policy, it is impossible at this stage to anticipate the degree to which regional systems will benefit from a quality-led strategy. The MOE clearly sees the twin problem of low quality and low demand as key, and in its assistance to the Regions as decentralization occurs, quality and management issues will dominate. While the level of improvements will vary by region, the effects will be felt and measurable at the school level within the five to seven year time frame of the Concept paper. The first two performance indicators relate, albeit indirectly, to quality improvements, the third to closely related efficiency improvements, and the last to the access improvements that are expected from a rebound in demand.

More analysis and dialogue with the TGE, MOE and Regional authorities is needed before a plan for USAID assistance can be proposed. However, based on similar constraints and opportunities in other A.I.D. education efforts in Africa, it is highly probable that the major portion of a Mission supported intervention would be in the form of non-project assistance, complemented and supported by a training and technical assistance project.

In order to achieve the S.O., two Targets (each supported by three sub-targets) are proposed -- the first focusing on improving the flow of financial resources and quality-boosting inputs through the decentralized system, and the second on directly enhancing the quality of educational services, particularly teaching. Benchmarks are also suggested for each of the sub-targets, though at this stage these should be viewed as mostly illustrative of the indicators which generally relate to such efforts. More work is needed to finalize the indicators, establish baselines, and calibrate progress.

Target 1: **Improve efficiency and decentralized management of primary education system.**

Subtargets

1.1 **MOE and Regions cooperate to improve decentralized capacity for policy analysis, planning, and management.**

This sub-target would apply principally at the interface between the national and regional systems. The MOE needs to restructure its relationship with the regions and re-organize the services and resources it will provide. It will also have to assist in building regional capacities in skill areas heretofore the domain of the center. The intent of this sub-target is to assist the MOE in dealing with these needs.

Benchmarks

- Decentralized management structure well-defined and codified.
- Existence of cost projection models, cost norms, school mapping plan, MIS, transparent and analysis-based budgeting process.

1.2 **Increase level of resources for primary education.**

Sub-target 1.2 proposes to help leverage more financial resources for primary education, particularly those that will be directed to qualitative improvements. Increasing sector funding will occur through policy dialogue at the national and regional levels, as well as through more direct assistance in selected regions that are interested in promoting more active involvement of communities in primary schools, and of the private sector in primary and secondary schools.

Benchmarks

- Increased share of TGE budget for education, of MOE budget for primary education, of primary budget for non-salary recurrent expenditures.
- Increased unit expenditures per primary school student.
- Increased community contributions to primary education.
- Decreased teacher to class section ratio.
- Increased # of books/student/subject.
- Increased number of private primary/secondary schools.

1.3 **Rationalize allocation of education resources to improve quality and equity of primary education.**

The intent of this sub-target is to provide attention to and planning/budgeting tools for allocating resources in ways which enhance quality and equity objectives. Efforts would be based at the MOE for those budget elements that apply nationally, and at the regional level to the extent their budgeting or delegated authorities pertain.

Benchmarks

- Same indicators as for sub-target 1.2, but disaggregated by region, rural/urban, gender.

Target 2: Improve key qualitative inputs for primary education system .

Sub-targets

2.1 **Improve Teacher Training Institute (TTI) programs and student intake in selected Regions.**

This sub-target could involve policy analysis assistance at the national level, but primarily would be focused on individual regions and TTIs that indicate commitment to improve the caliber of students now in these institutions as well as their programs of study. Within the TTI curriculum more attention to teaching methods is needed, and the TTI instructors themselves need further training in promoting effective instructional strategies for primary teachers.

Benchmarks

- Increased average pass level of TTI entrants.
- Increased proportion of TTI curriculum and time devoted to instructional methods.
- Increased number of TTI instructors trained in teacher training
- Increased percentage of female TTI students and primary teachers

2.2 **Selected Regions establish programs for primary teachers to adapt to instructional and curricular changes**

Sub-target 2.2 will operate in selected Regions, Zones or Woredas to address teacher training and support needs arising from the new curriculum and language policies. It will also promote the strengthening the capacities of the appropriate units to undertake teacher support and professionalization activities on an ongoing and sustainable basis.

Benchmarks

- Increased number of teachers and school directors participating in in-service training programs.
- Increased # of methods, content and language focused training modules.
- Increased # of school-based teacher professionalization activities, e.g. workshops.

2.3 Improve MOE and Regional capacity to undertake operational research and formative evaluation of effectiveness of educational services.

The final sub-target aims to strengthen abilities at the center and in the regions to investigate the effects of various education interventions. For decades in Ethiopia, "modern" innovations have been tried (e.g. educational radio and TV), learning materials massively produced, and teacher upgrading efforts attempted (e.g. pedagogical centers). But little is known of the real educational costs and benefits of such efforts, and low quality continues to plague the system. Efforts under this sub-target would involve building capacity to evaluate ongoing or past interventions as well as to conduct experimental trials of new quality or equity boosting programs to determine if they will have intended effects.

Benchmarks

- Increased # of locally identified and executed studies on effectiveness of educational services.
- Existence of pilot/experimental access promoting programs for targeted groups (e.g., rural, females).

NEXT STEPS

The following discussion outlines a number of activities that will serve as "bridging" mechanisms between CPSP strategy development and program design and implementation. The proposed actions will not only enrich our knowledge in critical areas identified in this report, but also will provide the basis for further information and analysis required by the upcoming program design effort. Furthermore, the proposed activities are congruent with the targets identified in the objective tree, and as such will lay the foundation of program initiatives foreshadowed in this document.

The recommended next steps are:

- An **educational demand study** aimed at identifying the status of and constraints and solutions to the demand for primary schooling in Ethiopia. The issues of rural, regional, gender and language disparities will be addressed through a combination of methodologies: i) a broad-based questionnaire survey of demand, including sub-samples to obtain detailed information on school and household financial issues, to create profiles and/or typologies of different demand situations; and ii) using a stratified sample, the conduct of focus studies to obtain more qualitative data on attitudes and behaviors toward primary schooling and exploration of the barriers and solutions to educational participation, particularly at the community level.

- A **policy analysis workshop** building on the Public Expenditure Review (completion date: September 1993) for MOE planners and decision-makers. The objective is to make explicit in financial and resource terms the requirements and implications of the new educational policy package through cost projections and financial/planning simulations, in order to facilitate planning and rational resource allocation and to build MOE capacity.

- A preliminary **training needs assessment**, more rigorous than is usually conducted at the design stage, to identify skill deficits and training needs associated with decentralized administration, management and technical requirements and with the language policy. The analysis will encompass management as well as technical considerations, will serve as the basis for future intervention and longer term analysis, and provide planning and needs articulation assistance to the central and regional levels.

- **Short-term study tours, conducted in conjunction with the above bridging activities,** for key central and regional educational administrators in finance, decentralization, management information systems, decentralization, etc. The tours could consist of short-term "technical" courses offered in the U.S. or visits to countries which have successfully grappled with similar educational reform problems and policies.

ANNEX A

FINANCIAL AND RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS

- The rehabilitation of educational infrastructure destroyed or damaged is estimated at 205,204,000 birr, approximately 80 percent of primary education's recurrent budget. As an illustration of the strain on primary education resources, a MOE study states that with over 1000 primary schools destroyed, assuming a classroom capacity of 45 students, that the existing primary school infrastructure would serve only 16 percent of the school-aged population. In fact, it is serving 22 percent.

- On a macro-economic level, indications are that during the transition to a federated system, government expenditures have remained stagnant or decreased. Consequently, the overall budget envelope is not likely to increase in the near future, and any augmentation in the primary education budget will probably come from successful competition with other sectors and higher levels of education for the limited resources available.

Resource Needs

Both basic education expansion and regionalization will require additional resources. Gross estimates, solely illustrative of orders of magnitude, of each policy far exceed current government resources for education.

Expansion of Basic Education: The MOE currently estimates that to provide universal access to grade one to four, 19,000 new schools will be required. An alternative, also using MOE planning norms, calls for a ratio of 1 school for every three villages or 6,333 schools.[2] Using MOE budgetary norms provided by the PMO and Administration and Finance, and holding constant (ie. no reallocation) all other existing educational resources and school-aged population, additional resources required are:

- School construction: 2,280,000,000 birr (US $456 million), at seventeen times the annual pre-university capital budget OR, using the alternative scenario, 253,332,000 (US $50,664,000)[3];
- Additional teachers: 38,000 additional teachers, nearly six times the full-capacity total output of the TTIs OR 12,666 teachers[4];
- Teacher salaries: 189,878,400 birr (US 37,975,680) OR 63,289,465 birr (US $12,657,893)[5];
- Additional students to primary system: 7,600,000 added to the current primary school enrollment of 2,063,636 would produce 103 percent enrollment OR 2,533,200 added to current enrollment would result in a 50 per enrollment ratio[6].

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[2] It is unclear whether either of these planning norms is related to the actual number of school-age children.

[3] 19,000 schools @ 120,000/school (using PMO norms); or based on 1 school:3 villages for 6,333 villages @ 40,000/school (govt norms).

[4] 19,000 schools @ 2 teachers/school; or 6,333 schools @ 2 teachers/school.

[5] 416 birr/month/teacher (including 20% hardship pay) x 12 months x 38,000 teachers.

[6] 400 students x 19,000 schools or 6333 schools. 100 percent gross enrollment figure is extrapolated from 2063636 student currently in the system representing 22 percent.

FINANCIAL AND RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS

This section addresses two main policy orientations of the MOE--expansion of basic education and regionalization--the former being under consideration and the latter under implementation. Briefly, they are:

- **Expansion of Basic Education** is based on the creation of 19,000 village education centers which will provide children with the first four years of primary schooling, using a redesigned curriculum and techniques to ensure the acquisition of basic literacy and numeracy skills.

- **Regionalization of Educational Management** which devolves management, financial and decision-making authority for primary and secondary schooling on the new administrative regions, making them responsible for the planning and delivery of educational services.

The objective of this section is not to present a cost analysis[1], but rather to raise questions and identify constraints relating to implied and explicit resource needs, sources of educational finance, and management capacity.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW POLICIES

The critical issue facing the MOE and regions and concerning the new policy directions is the nexus between the existing budgetary constraints and the projected and actual resource needs.

Budgetary Constraints

The current educational system is grossly under-financed, with public educational expenditures in 1991 representing less than 9.5 percent of the government budget (compared with African norms of 15-20 percent) and a significant reduction from its 1970's high point of 17 percent. Specific indications of the tight budget constraints affecting the delivery and quality of primary education are:

- The low recurrent budget unit or per student costs for primary school (128 birr) compared with the unit costs for technical/vocational education and tertiary education.

- The high percentage of the primary recurrent budget allocated to salaries (98.9%), leaving a negligible 1.1 percent of the recurrent budget to fund all primary school operating costs (including a percentage to cover head office and regional administration). This translates into 1.4 birr per student, hardly enough to cover the purchase of two exercise books or one-fifth the cost of a textbook. This compares unfavorably with the 41 percent and 24 percent for non-salary recurrent costs enjoyed by tertiary and technical/vocational education, respectively.

- The schools themselves must raise their operational budgets through a combination of fees and income generation activities (averaging less than 1000 birr per year).

- The MOE is primarily dependent on external assistance and loans to underwrite 85 percent of its investment budget for capital and development expenditures. In fact, educational planning is driven by government estimates of expected donor funds to the sector in order to determine the numbers of new schools which can be constructed, and consequently, the number of school places available.

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[1] MOE cost data and projections of costs for the proposed system expansion were not available.

Clearly the scenarios for educational expansion presented above are unrealistic: they are merely additive, do not attempt to reorganize existing resources (infrastructure and teachers) for greater efficiency, do not take into account student catchment areas, population growth, input production capacity, and are not amortized over time. Nonetheless, they do give an idea of the magnitude of resources that would be required by current MOE policy proposals even spread out over a number of years. For example, new teacher salaries alone would require approximately a two-thirds increase in current primary school salary allocations. Even the more conservative estimate of 12,666 additional teachers would require an increase in the primary education salary budget of nearly 22 percent. Coupled with the severe budgetary constraints detailed above, the ministry's goal of education for all at this time can only be regarded as extremely unlikely.

Implementation of the Regionalization Policy: To put in place the organizational structure designed for regionalization, the education administrative staff must increase in the regions. The previous organization entailed three administrative levels in regions--MOE (70 persons), provincial (72) and araja (47). The new configuration calls for four levels--MOE (91), regional (271), zone (72) and wereda (33). While the MOE office and regional education are only one per region under the reorganization, the number of zone and wereda offices are multiple and variable.

Exemplary of the tremendous increase in manpower devoted to educational administration is the case of Region 3. Before the regionalization policy, it had one MOE office, one provincial office and five araja for a total of 377 persons (professional and support). After the regional re-organization, it will have one MOE office, one regional office, seven zone offices and 119 wereda offices, employing in total approximately 4800 persons.[7] Because of the redeployment of personnel currently taking place in the education sector and variations among regions, the above estimates can not simply be multiplied by the number of regions to demonstrate the numbers of personnel required by regionalization.

However, to put in place the organizational structure designed for the regions, an increase in the number of education sector administrative personnel is necessary. By comparing former numbers of central and regional staff with current staffing norms, it appears that the regional reorganization of the education sector will exceed previous administrative staffing levels in absolute terms. For example, it is estimated that on a national basis administrative staff must grow by nearly 7000 persons, roughly ten percent of the teaching force. Countering this estimate are statements from Ministry of Finance personnel which claim that former staff levels will not be exceeded.

Nonetheless, it is evident that the regions are now scrambling for manpower in order to staff up to predetermined norms. Where will they find the personnel? As the regional educational offices indicated that they have no budget to hire additional people not already on the education payroll, they must recruit those already working in the public education sector. Clearly there will be "competition" for limited human resources.

Regional offices have indicated that they will draw their professional personnel from both the MOE and lower levels in the educational system, while the zones and weredas will reach lower down, depriving the primary and secondary schools of their most able directors and teachers. In fact, this has already begun.

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[7] These exemplary figures should be regarded with a great deal of caution as discussions with the officials in Region 3 yielded conflicting, and often confusing, figures.

One zone director said that 90 percent of the wereda staff were drawn from primary schools. The training needs in educational administration and planning at the regional level will be great, as few professionals currently have the skills or experience to perform their new duties. While a training program is under development, funded by external source, there is no provision for staff training in the MOE recurrent budget or indications that it will be included in the regional budget.

Wastage and Inefficient Use of Current Resources: Although system expansion and re-organization require considerable, if not staggering, amounts of resources, there is some scope for reducing the amount of new resources required through the more efficient use of existing resources. Examples of resource wastage and opportunities to improve efficiency are:

1. Rational use of teaching resources. There is a vast difference between the national and regional statistics treating teacher:student ratios and reality, which demonstrate rigidities in the system. While the MOE reports that the average ratio is 45:1 (1988), this statistic neither provides the entire picture nor is it indicative of class size.

- **Imperative of classroom capacity**. It is erroneous to assume that the ratio of teachers to student will give an accurate idea of class size. In reality, the number of students in a class is determined by classroom capacity (and educational demand). Although government norms plan on fifty students per classroom, in cities, towns or in areas of high demand it is not unusual to see twice that many crammed into a class. However, no matter how large the class size or abundant the teachers, it appears no classroom and class is assigned more than one teacher to ease the teaching burden and improve instruction (and discipline). For example in one school with an ostensible student teacher of 1:20, actual class size was approximately 50 students.

- **Wide variation of teacher:student ratios among primary schools**. Large cities such as Addis or Bahar Dar may truly suffer from high student:teacher ratios. But visits to school in the Amhara and Southern Peoples regions uniformly reveal that in rural towns and villages the student:teacher ratio are low, although for different reasons. They range from 3:1, 7:1, 28:1, with the highest observed ratio being 45:1. The low proportion of students to teachers in rural villages is generally due to the low demand by the community for primary education. In rural towns, it is most likely a combination of generally low demand for education, limited classroom capacity, temporary assignment of teachers from destroyed schools, re-assignment of "senior" teachers to more urban schools according to policy, and spousal placement (many women teachers are married to local administrators).

- **Overstaffed schools**. As a result of the above policies, many schools in rural areas enjoy a favorable number of teachers, but are unable to benefit from them. One rural town primary school with 1261 students counts 65 teachers plus 7 administrators. Due to structural rigidities and norms, teachers are under-employed in many schools, teaching only 11 periods per week rather than the norm of 26. Nonetheless, they receive full pay. Idle teachers sitting in the school yard are a familiar sight.

2. Reduction of student wastage. Both drop-out and repetition rates are reportedly high. The percentage of repeaters in 1988 was 44 percent. Ironically, one of the overstaffed schools mentioned above reports a 40 percent repetition rate. Estimates of the cycle year index, the comparison of the average number of years

of schooling it take to produce a graduate compared with ideal number of years, is 1.86. This means that 11.18 years of schooling is required to produce a sixth grade completer rather than the planned six years, nearly twice as many years as estimated.[8] While it is more desirable that excess teachers be re-assigned to expand educational opportunities for primary education, teacher efficiency is also an issue. At the very least, excess teachers could be required to provide tutorials or remedial assistance to students.

3. Improved instructional quality via radio. Ethiopia supports one of the best developed educational media facilities in Africa. With the installation of its thirteenth transmitter and the addition of more and stronger frequencies, coverage will extend to the entire country. Radio instruction can both extend and improve teaching capacity. Use of underqualified teachers can be made educationally feasible with instructional radio support, and trained teachers can benefit from the supplemental curricular support of radio instruction. Constraints to the effective use of radio are either a lack of or inadequate numbers of radios in schools and less than effective instructional modules. For a relatively little cost per student, these obstacle can be overcome. For example, the MOE estimates that the development of a 28 module program (15 minutes each) is approximately 22,000 birr.

4. Private school development: The stock of schools could be increased by liberalizing the certification criteria and procedures for private schools, currently under consideration by the MOE. The main restriction on the growth of private schooling is that entrepreneurial or for-profit schools are prohibited. Since the nationalization of private schools, only church or mission schools have been certified. Today, 11 percent of primary school children are in private school; prior to 1974, 25 percent were in private school. In addition to creating more schools, the growth of private schooling could take budgetary pressure off the government and regions for the provision of higher education. Throughout Africa, secondary education has been the primary beneficiary where private school have been allowed to develop.

5. Inservice teacher training v. pre-service teacher training: Although there are no cost data comparing inservice training with pre-service training, inservice training deserves some consideration as a means of increasing teacher production capacity. Whereas, the Ethiopian education system currently seems to suffer primarily from a maldistribution of teaching resources, rather than a shortage, the system expansion plans explored above will require greater numbers of teachers. Converting TTIs to an inservice training and teacher support basis may be a feasible option.

SOURCES OF FINANCE

Over the past two decades, there have been two main sources of educational finance: (1) the central government and (2) the community and school in partnership. Taxes and fees collected at regional and local levels are remitted to the central government, which in turn allocates funds to the centralized MOE. The MOE budget primarily funds the costs of supporting the MOE administrative structure at all levels, educational support services (eg. mass media, EMPDA, ICDR), and teachers salaries and some recurrent costs for primary, secondary, technical/vocational and adult education, and some capital improvements. An additional budget is developed for higher education under the HEMD. Community and schools together

[8] Calculations are based on data for the 1983-89 cohort. Seventh grade enrollment is used as a proxy for sixth grade completion, which probably adds slightly to the number of cycle years, given that not all completers enrolled in junior secondary school.

have been expected to assume primary responsibility for school maintenance and operation, student services, school materials and occasionally school construction, either through revenue generation or labor/materials contributions.

Regionalization throws this configuration into question. With the regions now serving as administrative, decision-making and financial centers, the largest issue arising from the new policy in terms of finance is the responsibilities and authority of the regions to raise and allocate revenues for education (and all other sectors) vis a vis the central government's responsibility for providing financial support and inter-regional reallocation of resources. Discussion with the three different levels--central government, regional government and community/school-- which will be involved in the financing of the education system have indicated that expectations differ and some expectations will probably not be met. In short the questions are:

- Who is going to pay?
- How much will they pay?
- What will be the revenue collection structures and allocation procedures?

Central and Regional Finance.

The central government, ie. the ministry of education, will no longer be the primary source of funds for pre-university education. The ministry will fund a core management staff to set policy, advise the regions and coordinate donor assistance, and will continue to support certain research & development and support services, such as the ICDR, the EMPDA and the EMA. The regions will be responsible for financing primary and junior secondary education, including teacher salaries, curriculum development and teacher training institutes for primary school teachers. During this year of transition and reorganization, salaries are being funded by the central government.

The regional representatives interviewed are eager to claim authority in levying taxes and fees and allocating revenues. According to them, all taxes collected at lower level (ie. zones and weredas) will be remitted to the regional finance office or tax authority. The region will have sole authority to levy taxes, although zones and weredas and communities will be permitted to raise extra funds for specific purposes, such as school construction, with community concurrence. The regions expect to collect and retain the land tax currently in effect, and some are considering additional taxes, although their thinking has not progress very far. For example, Region 3 is proposing an agricultural production tax on both consumed and marketed produce, payable in cash. (This will prove a challenge to the subsistence farmers in the region, as well as the tax collectors.)

In general, the regions expect to control the allocation of resources, both in determining levels of support to different sectors and in remittances to central government. One regional leader claimed that the region would decide how much it would give to the central government. Although it was conceded that the central government may exercise some policy control through its financial subsidies to the regions, policy formulation-- specifically levels and types of investment in education--was a responsibility claimed by the regions. Indeed, one regional education director indicated that although the office was supportive of primary education, they would not necessarily feel constrained by central MOE policy to favor it financially.

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Similarly, on this issue of policy coordination, central MOE officials were hesitant when pressed to say how it would be achieved. One tentatively suggested the government could take the region to court.[9]

At the same time regions are jealous of their authority over revenue generation and allocation, they have significant expectation of central government support, particularly in education. For example, one regional official expected the central government to fund 50 percent of the region's education costs, although it was not apparent that this was based on any analysis or norm. Uniformly, regional officials expect that all education (and other) budgetary shortfalls will be filled by central funds. Inter-regional subsidization was a mechanism they agreed with in theory but further discussion revealed that they expected to be the beneficiary and not a contributor. Like the central government today, the regions are counting on external funds and donors to foot the bill for capital and development costs. They say they will develop their proposals and submit them to the central government for presentation.

Regions also have similar expectations of communities and schools to compensate for budgetary shortfalls. Zones and weredas will be responsible for administering and supporting primary schools. Beyond salaries, like the central MOE today, regions expect that operating costs and some construction/rehabilitation costs will be shouldered at the community/school level.

Community/School Finance.

Schools, and the communities which choose to support them, will continue to be responsible for covering--either in cash or in kind--infrastructural improvements, maintenance and other operational costs, such as electricity (if available), student services (eg. agricultural club), school equipment (eg. furniture and radios) and teacher supplies (chalk, stationary, etc.). The school management structure is well developed, if not always active. The school committee, its members appointed from local peasant associations comprising the community around the school, is responsible for financial management, including basic revenue generation and resource allocations. Parents' committees are composed of people with children in the school; they are expected to help with maintenance and support special activities to improve the school or generate revenue (eg. school gardens). These two groups are analogous to the U.S. system of school boards and PTA's.

There are several formulas for school revenue generation:

- Land rental/crop sharing: Most schools are endowed with 10 hectares of land contributed (or confiscated) from the community at the time of construction. Rental of the land to local farmers, along with crop-sharing (50-50 or 30-70 depending on who plows the land), is the largest source of revenue for most schools, netting between 500 and 1700 birr per year. The school committee decides to whom to rent the land and for what amount.

- School fees: Schools charge fees in differing combinations, but generally they are limited to (1) registration fees, (2) book rental fees, and (3) sports fees. Frequently, the fees are waived or lower at the lower primary levels. In general the fees are modest; for example, fees in Region 3 do not

[9] The preceding discussion must be regarded as solely indicative of regional understanding of revenue and tax structures. We were informed that the Ministry of Finance had issued guidelines and instructions on these issues.

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exceed 3.50 birr per student in the higher grades. Some schools do not turn away students who can not pay the fees; others give preference to children of former military men or require a statement from the kebele attesting poverty. Fees are set by the school committee.

- School gardens, etc.: Most schools maintain a school garden although with varying effort and success. Students--as part of their agricultural education--and parents will help in tending it. Gardens were not mentioned as source of cash revenue, the produce often being consumed by the students or teachers. Infrequently, students create simple decorative handicrafts to be sold for .20-.30 birr. It is uncertain if there is any demand for these articles.

- Community fees: In some cases, active school committees who desire another school (junior secondary) will convince the community to authorize a one-time local "tax" on merchants and farmers, according to a sliding scale based on amount of "capital" and land. One school committee successfully collected 50-200 birr from merchants and 15-25 birr from farmers to build a new school.

There appears to be a wide variation in the amount of support a school receives from parents and the community. While there are notable exception, the poor repair of schools generally points to lack of community and parental support in terms of labor. With a few exceptions, most schools rely on land rent or share cropping for revenues, augmented modestly by fees--although those are mainly earmarked for specific expenditures (eg. sport fees purchase sport equipment). However, schools--unlike their wereda, zone and regional counterparts--do keep track of their modest budgets, ranging from 900 birr to 4010 birr, depending on the size of the school. The largest budgetary expenses and /or the most frequently cited purchases are: sports equipment, stationary (for teachers and director), maintenance materials and student clubs (agriculture, health, handicrafts). If schools do not have the money, they do without--as attested to by classrooms using rocks for furniture, missing roofs, etc.

While school directors and school committees remain largely indifferent to the administrative changes in the region, it is apparent that most school budgets reflect the level of support the community is willing to provide (without exceptional pressure). Expectations by both the central and regional governments of communities and schools to contribute more than what is currently being covered, given the prevailing attitude toward education in rural areas, may simply be wishful thinking

Current central level policy recommendations vis a vis financing school operations suggest that, at least in the short- to medium-term, schools may experience significant financial setbacks. The MOE's intention that primary education should be free, ie. no fees levied, could deprive schools of needed revenues. It assumes that school operating costs can be passed on to the community at large (including those without children in school). The cost burden to the community could be further increased by the government's intention of extending primary education to grade 8. In addition, the discontinuation of the central government policy of requiring that schools be accorded ten hectares of land will deprive new schools of their largest revenue source for operating expenses. In general, it seems unlikely that communities will readily accept additional financial responsibility for an institution that does not appear to be valued by the populace nor used by a majority of its school-aged children.

REGIONAL FINANCIAL PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT CAPACITY

There is currently little financial planning or management capacity in the regional, zone or wereda offices. The problems observed are:

- The regional budget, like the central budget, is salary driven, which merely requires a payroll type preparation and obviates the need for reflective and creative budgeting. One regional office director indicated that defending the education budget entailed getting regional council approval of the organization chart and salaries, underscoring that operational costs beyond salary are neither expected nor addressed.

- There are no enrollment projection models, either at the regional or central level, to facilitate planning or indicate that planning might occur according to enrollment goals or targets.

- There are no regional cost norms developed for school construction, textbooks, material, etc., in part due to the lack of operational and investment funds in the budget and in part due to the reliance on the central government for the provision of these items--which is supposed to change next year as the regions become budgetary responsible for operations of all pre-university education.

- There is also a great naivete on the part of educational administrators about the financing of education. Responses to questions about funding sources indicated that "funds come from the finance office" from the wereda level up to the regional level. When pressed about how educational revenues would be raised and allocated, they continued to insist that was the ubiquitous finance office's responsibility. (In fact, it appeared that only schools seemed to have a realistic view of funding sources, probably because school directors and school committees have to deal with budgeting on a daily basis.)

- Similarly, there was a casual assumption that funds for operating the schools would be obtained from the community and parents.

- There is a bifurcation between budgeting and planning at the regional level as well as at the central level. Plans for infrastructure improvements or increasing the number of schools, etc. are not costed out by the budget office nor included in the regional budget. Because of the expectation that they will be donor funded, they are considered separate from the regional education budget, although the obvious recurrent cost implications of expansion (ie. teachers) will probably be regional responsibility.

- There seems to be little systematic approach to planning at the regional level. While there were school maps (pins marking schools on a map), no school mapping exercise (indicating student catchment areas, distances, etc.) had been prepared. Region 3 had prepared a survey, however, of the extent of school destruction and type of rehabilitation effort needed.

ANNEX B

REGIONALIZATION

REGIONALIZATION

The Regionalization policy is driven by political considerations to accommodate ethnic and language diversity. The efficiency and effectiveness of the administration and management of government services does not appear to be a primary consideration. The Ministry of Education, which claims to have long experience with decentralized management of its system, is, and will continue to have, problems accommodating to the new structure and its attendant delegations. It is not apparent at this time how or whether it will increase the efficiency or effectiveness of the education system in the short to medium term. (10 to 15 years)

Policy

The policies already published (Proclamation 7/1992 and 41/1993) and under discussion decentralize administration and devolve decision making. The new policy is intended to shift the responsibility for planning, financing and managing the lower levels of education to the new "Regions". It is hoped that by moving these responsibilities closer to the population served the system will become more efficient and responsive to their needs.

There are a number of problems that the new regional educational structure must overcome. Some of these are:

- Policy is not well defined, still poorly understood and no agreement/consensus exists and there is no structure to enforce it in the absence of consensus.
- Administrative structures are not well defined.
- Both human and material resources of all kinds are insufficient.

New Decentralized Administrative Structure

The new administrative structure is comprised of four levels. At the top of the pyramid is the National government. The Nation is divided into nine Regions, plus Addis Abeba. The regional boundaries are based on language and ethnic characteristics. The basic building blocks of the structure are 583 Weredas as they were define prior to 1974. An average of about 9 Weredas are grouped together into Zones. Each Region is composed of five to 10 Zones. Viewed as a pyramid there is one National central government, nine Regions, about 60 Zones and 583 Weredas. (N.B. Regions are still creating new Zones so the number may increase.)

Relationship To Previous Structure

Except for senior secondary and tertiary level education the Regional Education Office is tantamount to a "Ministry of Education" for its Region. One Zone Education Chief commented that the only change in the new structure is that the Ministry has moved from Addis to the Regional capital. This is an oversimplification but from the perspective of the middle level of the regional educational administrative structure, it contains a kernel of truth.

In some cases the Zone level office is equivalent to the Regional offices as they existed during the last days of the previous regime, although Zone offices are usually responsible for a smaller geographic area. In terms of geographic area of responsibilities, a Zone is often closer to the size of the previous Awaraja Education office.

The new Wereda office assumes the old Awaraja office's responsibility of direct supervision of schools. The basic rational for creating the Wereda office has been stated above. Its ability to carry out its responsibilities obviously depends upon the level and quality of staffing, supervision from the Zone and the resources placed at its disposal.

Political Structure

Parallel to each of the above levels is an elected council that designates a member to monitor the activities of the education unit at its level. It appears that this primarily involves reviewing budgets. The elected Zone and Wereda Council reportedly have the authority to levy additional taxes if they are for specific purposes, such as the support of education. Actual authority is unclear except at the school level. The school committee of the local Peasants Association raises money to support the operating costs of the school. This can be done through school fees or special levies. Following the "land grant" principle, the previous regime gave each school ten hectares of land which the school can rent or share crop. The above are the only sources of direct financial support primary schools receive other than teacher salaries. The local School Committee controls the budget and actually holds and disburses the cash money raised in the local community for support of the school.

Roles And Responsibilities Of The New Decentralized Structure

Central Ministry of Education

The MOE is responsible for University and Senior Secondary Education. The Ministry will formulate national education policy and prepare syllabi and profiles of student competencies for all levels. It will ensure the quality of education through such means as i) determining teacher qualifications; ii) formulating national examinations at the 10th and 12th grade level; iii) providing quality textbooks at all levels; and iv) providing support to education through mass media, the curriculum development institute and the textbook production unit. The Ministry will provide the Regions with technical assistance, training and other support in all aspects of education.

The central Ministry will review all Regional budgets and, through some undetermined mechanism, subsidize Regions that have a budgetary shortfall. The Statistical office of the Ministry will continue to gather and distribute national statistics. Relations with donors and overall administration of donor assistance programs will remain the responsibility of the central ministry.

All staff development for the Ministry of Education will be concentrated in a the newly created Management and Educational Staff Development Department, reporting directly to the Vice Minister. The existing Educational Staff Development Center will provide facility and logistic support for Addis Ababa-based training and will function as a part of the new directorate. Within the new Department, there will be two substantive "panels", one on Organization and Management and one on Staff Training. The first will

concentrate on research, evaluation and needs assessments in the management area. Its primary objective will be to assist the administration and management of the decentralized education system. The second will assist Ministry departments and Regional Education Offices to organize, plan and implement training programs of all types. It will primarily draw on outside expertise.

Regional Education Office

The Regional level education office will be responsible for Primary and Junior Secondary level education, the Teacher Training Institutes (eventually), vocational schools, mass media support, literacy and other adult education, as well as maintaining a district level Pedagogical Center which will develop curriculum materials.

The tentative organagram issued by the MOE for the Regional level office also calls for an examination unit, a construction and maintenance organization and inspection, finance and statistics units. All Regional Education Directors do not feel bound by this organizational structure.

Zone Education Office

The Zone Education Office is theoretically responsible for all aspects of primary education. This now consists of grades 1-6. There has been some discussion of the possibility of raising this to grades 1-8 in the future. The degree of authority to be given a Zone to deviate from national or regional dictates is unclear and discussions indicate it may vary considerably between Regions.

The Zone Office is responsible for teacher assignment in the Zone following central Ministry guidelines. The Zone is to maintain a Pedagogical Center that will support Wereda level Pedagogical centers.

A statistical unit is to be created to gather and collate statistics. These are to be aggregated for each Wereda and also transmitted to the Regional level. A World Bank project will provide data processing equipment to automate some of the Zonal level statistical offices. A Zone level budget is to be prepared for review by the local elected council and then forwarded to the Region for approval and funding.

Wereda Education Office

This level office in each of the 583 Weredas is responsible for the direct supervision and support of Primary and Junior Secondary schools and is the basic unit of the decentralized structure. It was created to provide schools with closer, more frequent and more effective supervision

A Wereda Pedagogical Center to support the Pedagogical Centers in each primary school will be created. However, it was pointed out by one Wereda Education Officer that this unit has been omitted from the MOE structure proposed for the Wereda and at present is the responsibility of no one.

Factors Affecting Capacity to Implement The New Policy

- NATIONAL POLICY IS POORLY UNDERSTOOD AND NOT FULLY ENDORSED

  For example, the degree of autonomy anticipated by the Regional Education Directors is at some variance with published proclamations and the detailed policy under discussion. It is unclear who will have authority over and responsibility for the TTIs. One proclamation gives the central Ministry responsibility for "tertiary" education. Another gives the Regions the responsibility over and the authority to create "Junior Colleges."

- THERE IS GREAT VARIABILITY IN AVAILABILITY OF STAFF AND INFRASTRUCTURE

  Zones are located at sites of previous Regional and Awraja offices. Some Wereda offices are located at sites of previous Awraja offices. In these instances relatively good physical infrastructure and support staff appears to exist. Wereda offices being established where no Awraja office previously existed have no facilities to move into and are occupying whatever space can be found. Some have yet to be created and, where in existence, have had to recruit completely new staff.

  At least one Regional education office is in temporary quarters much too small for its needs. Its office equipment consists of four typewriters. Both Zone offices visited in Region 3 were better equipped than the Regional Office.

- STAFF REASSIGNMENTS HAVE HINDERED IMPLEMENTATION OF REGIONALIZATION POLICIES

  Professional staff at all levels were relatively new in their positions. Tenure varied from a few months to a few days. Administrative, management and financial staff for all three levels of offices in the Regions were being obtained from schools of various levels and occasionally from the central Ministry. Few were well informed about their geographic or professional areas of responsibility.

  The tendency is to obtain personnel from within the system to staff Regional, Zone and Wereda offices rather than seek possibly more qualified people from outside. Those from within come with their salary and additional funds need not be obtained to employ them.

- QUALIFICATION OF STAFF FOR POSITIONS FILLED IS PROBLEMATIC

  In the areas visited, levels of staff qualification was hard to judge directly. However, few had appreciable knowledge of their areas of responsibility. This could stem from their short tenure in their new positions or a lack of clear guidance from their superiors, probably both. It also stems from the fact that they were recently classroom teachers. They were what was available from the pool of personnel the Weredas, Zones and Region offices had to draw on. A few were ex-head masters whose training in education administration consisted of 46 days training at a TTI. It was striking that most administrative and management personnel responsible for primary school supervision and support had never taught in primary schools.

- PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION FINANCE RECEIVE LITTLE PRIORITY

A feature of the new "regionalization" is that the responsibility for financing most levels of education is to rest with the Regions. Some aspects may be delegated to the Zones and Weredas. At no level was there found any awareness of the difficulties of financing the educational system. At this time, two months before the beginning of the next fiscal year, no one seems to know much about how the schools will be financed in the coming year.

- INCREASED SUPPORT FOR SCHOOLS FROM THE WEREDA EDUCATION OFFICE IS QUESTIONABLE

More effective support of primary schools by the Wereda Office is predicated on the assumption that they will have easier access to schools, more staff to provide supervision and pedagogical support and more and better instructional materials to supply the schools. Continued lack of transportation mitigates against the first. Under staffing and inadequately trained personnel precludes the second. The better trained and more experienced staff are being assigned to the Zone and Region level offices. Concerted efforts to produce instructional materials in National languages will improve the supply of instructional materials in the few areas where materials in National languages are being produced. Because of concentration of efforts in these areas, supply of materials in other languages will suffer.

- MECHANISMS TO ENFORCE CURRICULUM POLICIES ARE UNCLEAR

Complete autonomy to use whichever and as many languages as the Regions chooses has been granted and is being implemented.

Curriculum for the senior secondary schools and tertiary education will be determined at the national level. The MOE will also control the TTI curriculum by dictating the necessary qualifications for teachers.

The freedom of a Region to determine junior secondary curriculum is unclear. The central Ministry of Education will formulate the leaving examinations for grades 10 and 12. This will to some extent determine curriculum content. The sixth grade leaving examination is now prepared by the individual schools. If the primary cycle is extended to eight years it is unclear whether the schools or the central ministry will prepare the leaving examination for eighth grade.

The Regions are to have complete freedom in determining the actual content of the primary school curriculum. There are indications that at least some Regions will allow Zones to determine content. However, there will still be national curricular guidelines in the form of student "profiles" for each grade (i.e. competencies to be acquired by a student at completion of each year of primary school). The exact mechanisms to be used to enforce these national standards for primary school are unclear, especially if regions are allowed to develop their own exams.

By moving the locus of control closer to the primary school by creating Wereda Education Offices, it might become easier for the Regional Education Offices to exercise control over the schools. This could well result in less autonomy at the school level rather than more.

- HOW WILL CENTRAL POLICY BE ENFORCED?

The biggest obstacle in implementing central policy is in knowing what it is! As of this writing, it has not to our knowledge been officially approved and therefore not officially issued. The field team often found themselves in the position of knowing more about policy proposed by the Ministry than the Regional government officials it was interviewing.

One can only speculate that the three most powerful tools for implementing central government policy will be by controlling access to the higher levels of education, which it alone controls, by determining the content of textbooks and other instructional material, which it alone produces, and by controlling the subsidization of the Regions' education budgets. After all, the central government can force even the richest Regions to apply for supplementary funds from the center by increasing the percentage of general revenue regions must send to Addis.

Impact On Schools

- SHORT TO MEDIUM TERM IMPACT MAY BE NEGATIVE

Impact in this time frame will probably be negative because of the staffing requirements of the new education offices at the Regional, Zone and Wereda levels. There will be 583 new Wereda educational offices created. Each will have a Pedagogical Center attached to it. A total of 16 professionals will be assigned to each Wereda office and approximately 3 to each Pedagogical Center. A total professional staff of about 11,057 persons will be needed. It will take a number of administrators equal to 15 percent of the total teaching force to staff these new offices. About 60 Zone level educational offices will be created. Professional staff levels at each is projected at 32, for a total of 1,920. The staff from the old Awaraja and previous Regional Offices may or may not be available for reassignment to Zones and Weredas because of large shifts of personnel between Regions. The estimated staffing needs for the new Regional Education Offices is approximately 250 each. The total staffing needs for the new structure is overwhelming: about 15,000 people. In some areas, these needs are now being filled by reassigning the best staff from existing schools. One can only speculate about the impact on the school due to the lose of experienced teachers and administrators. Some of the need for additional staff at the decentralized levels is also being filled by re-assigned central ministry personnel. The full impact of this massive shifting of staff needs to be carefully monitored. Despite planned redeployments, it would still appear that huge numbers of additional staff will be required if the proposed structure is fully implemented.

In the short run the Wereda offices will have no additional means with which to provide technical and logistical support to schools than did the old Awraja Offices. The pool of vehicles will be spread even thinner. Walking distances will in most cases remain the same as most Wereda offices are on roads. Wereda staff to school ratios will be lower in most cases. However, the Wereda offices are smaller and mostly staffed by the same people who were previously in the schools. They

must now support those same schools but from a greater distance. There are no general budget figures for what it will take to run a Wereda or a Zone office. But whatever it is, it will come from funds that could otherwise support schools.

- COMMUNICATION CHANNELS NEED TO BE DEVELOPED

  If schools are to be given increased levels of assistance, communication channels of all types between all levels and in both directions need to be developed. It is unclear, for example, how the new curriculum revision effort is to be informed by the will and the needs of the people the system is serving, as is the stated objective of the national policy.

  The supply of educational management information needed by all levels to plan and budget is to be based on a decentralized, automated system. It will take several years to put this system in place. In the meantime alternative systems will have to be utilized.

Summary

Harsh as the above assessment may seem, none of the problems are insurmountable. There are large numbers of educated unemployed that can be trained to staff the system. Given adequate resources, good will and time, the Regionalization Policy as it applies to education can work and the efficiency and effectiveness of education in Ethiopia can be improved.

ANNEX C

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

LANGUAGE POLICY

The TGE is actively promoting mother-tongue instruction in Ethiopia's primary schools in grades one to six. At the same time, Amharic and English are to be taught as school subjects - Amharic as the language of national integration, and English to be the medium of instruction from grade seven onward. The Sabean script traditionally used for Amharic, Tigrinya, and Church writings in Gi'iz, a liturgical language, will continue to be used for these languages and possibly other, related Semitic languages. The remainder of Ethiopia's eighty or more languages will use the Latin alphabet.

This policy breaks with both imperial language policy and that of the Dergue. During Emperor Haile Selassie's reign of over four decades, Amharic was the only permitted national language of the schools and of government throughout Ethiopia. In reaction, the Dergue regime recognized ethnic rights of "self-determination" and mounted a long-term literacy campaign to teach literacy in fifteen "nationality" languages in Sabean script. Though the Dergue's policy supported "nationality rights" to use different languages, the choice of languages and script was implemented from the center. It was imposed on the various ethnic groups without consulting them regarding to their interests and desires.

TGE policy responds to objections to these policies, first by switching to Latin script for Orominya and other languages of Ethiopia's southern tier. Secondly, by devolving the right to choose which language to use to the region (*killil*) and below, it claims to allow community self-determination. This, however, is problematic.

Policy Problems and Emerging Issues

Since there is strong political motivation to implement language policy at once, there are problems entailed by aspects of its implementation. Among these are:

- Rushing to implement the policy throughout the primary system without sufficient preparation time. Since the languages are not yet in widespread written use, they have not been standardized and there is little as yet to reinforce and sustain literacy in them. Under the circumstances, a phased approach to introducing teaching and learning in these languages is called for. Though languages are being introduced in phased fashion at a rate of about four per year, phasing in the sense of introducing them a year at a time, as one cohort moves through, is lacking;

- Whether the level of decision making and choice of language will be allowed to move down to the communities which are the only entity able to assess the linguistic needs of each school;

- Marked drops in enrollment signaling, among other things, dissatisfaction with the imposition of nationality languages on students, many of whom may be from other minority ethnic groups;

- Overloading the basic educational curriculum with language subjects; and

- Continuing instability of curriculum planning resulting from the hasty translation of the Amharic curriculum, which will have to be replaced later by curricula adapted to regional and local needs and culture.

Implementing the Language Policy

Which languages? Who decides?

In principle, the national government has washed its hands of language decisions. It promotes the use of "nationality" languages for mother tongue education, however, by underwriting the costs of translation and production of curricular materials and stands ready to respond to requests coming from the regions for these materials.

Regions, in turn are responsible for receiving requests from their component districts (*wereda*) and passing them along to the script experts in the capital. Tigray and Oromia regions, with predominant Tigray and Oromo populations whose rights to self-expression had been long suppressed, were clearly eager to assert their linguistic independence. The issue is less clear-cut in other regions and areas of mixed population.

Tigrinya, a Semitic language, already used the Sabean script. So far, panels have been formed of local representatives and professionals, assisted by linguistic experts, to prepare scripts for the three most numerous groups of speakers of non-Semitic languages: the Oromo, the Sidamo, and the Wollayto who, in all but name, share a language with the Gamu and Gofa. This involves deciding which letters or letter combinations to use to represent sounds unique to the languages in question and establishing spelling conventions for them. Work is now under way to do the same for four more languages: Kembata, Hadiya, Gedeo, and Somali, which are next in order of importance.

From where do these decisions about language choice come, and how do they affect the communities in which they are implemented? For Tigray and Oromia regions the choice of their mother tongues was clearly a region-wide priority. It is less clear at what level - regional, zonal, or possibly national - the decision was taken to prepare scripts for Sidaminya and Wollaytinya.[10]

Some communities, however, differ in their ethnic composition from the rest of their district or zone. Small enclaves of ethnic groups exist that do not speak the predominant language of their district. In towns and villages along the road, especially, there is generally a sprinkling of Amharas - petty officials and their offspring - as well as traders and settlers from other ethnic groups. Many of these people object to having the local language forced upon their children in school.

In a large town like Jimma, streams for Amharic-medium and Orominya-medium instruction have been established. On the other hand, in Natri, a hamlet on the road to Jimma, the school has shifted to Orominya-medium instruction, though the local populace are Gurage, Amhara, Hadiya and Zinjero. At this school, enrollments have plummeted, going from 357 students two years ago to 281 last year and this year to

[10] The question of what to call the language spoken with only minor variations by the Wollayto, Gamu, Gofa, and Dawro is still unresolved. The last three groups, internecine rivals of the Wollayto and each other, resent using materials labelled Wollayto. A joint committee has been formed to debate and resolve the issue but has not yet come up with a solution. It has so far merely agreed that members should join the discussion using their respective mother tongues and that all will thus be able to understand each other.

133 at the start of the year, over a quarter of whom have since dropped out. In such a locality, local preferences have played no role in determining language choice. Similar situations exist in parts of Wollayta and Sidamo.

According to policy, each region and even district should also adapt the national curriculum to its own distinctive culture and needs. Yet in an initial crash effort, the Amharic curriculum for grades one to six was simply translated into the Oromo, Sidamo, and Wollayto languages; EMPDA printed the student texts required. Tigray sent its own texts to EMPDA for printing. Materials for these languages, with only a few exceptions (math and science for the fifth and sixth grades) reached the schools in time for the 1992-93 academic year in remarkably adequate numbers.

In sum, even in areas in which the local language has become the language of the schools, there are linguistic minority students who are now being forced to learn in a language that is foreign to them - sometimes in place of their own mother tongue. The question is whether, as time goes on, local communities will be allowed to choose languages of instruction that match their own needs and composition or whether they will be more and more forced to comply with political decisions handed down to them from above.

Developing Languages for Use in the Schools

Deciding which languages to use for school instruction is only the first step toward using them. Two further issues must be addressed. They are:

- which script -- Latin or Sabean -- to use; and
- how to standardize the vocabulary and spelling of a previously unwritten language.

The Script

Amharic and Tigrinya are written in Sabean script. They share a millenial tradition of literacy, a source of national pride. This script consists of a set of characters that each represent a consonant-vowel combination. The script is well-adapted to represent the sound system of the languages for which it is used.

Children learn to read the script by chanting the characters. After learning a few, they also learn to read short words combining two or three of the characters they have learned. The methodology, which has its roots in traditional teaching practiced through the centuries in church schools, suits the script.

The other major group of languages in Ethiopia, the Cushitic languages, including Orominya, Sidaminya, and many others, have a different sound system. Instead of having seven vowels, for example, they have a system of five short vowels and five long ones. Many speakers claim that the Latin alphabet can be adapted to represent these sounds better than the Sabean script because the long vowels can simply be written as double letters. But conventions for spelling these vowels and also for representing some consonant sounds that do not occur in European languages have had to be established, for these languages have been written only rarely and not always in the same way.

Standardization

Lack of a single standard form of the newly written languages also creates problems for schooling in them. Up to now these languages have been spoken, not written. They have not even been used on radio and television until recent years. As a result, speakers in each local area have developed their own dialect, differing slightly from the next town or hamlet. Since no one dialect has been spread more widely by a dominant group or by the media, usually there is no one form of speech that everyone agrees is the "best" or the standard. To use such languages as school languages or written languages committees or experts have to decide how to choose among local variants to develop a "correct" or standard written norm. Much of this work has not been done yet. Until it is, we can expect complaints that "this is not *our* mother-tongue - these books are not right for us."

Teacher Training and Recruitment

For each newly-written language, teachers must be found and trained to teach in it. These teachers do not already exist because no one has used this particular form of writing for the languages before, so no one has learned to read it. Teacher training takes two forms:

- short courses for training teachers already in the schools; and
- year-long courses in the TTIs.

Training Existing Teachers

For Orominya, Sidaminya and Wollaytinya, teachers who spoke these languages (and who already knew the alphabet, since they had studied English) were given one week's training in reading and writing over the summer. They were given the student texts from which they were to teach, occasionally a teacher's manual, and sent off to their classrooms. For anyone who is already familiar with the alphabet, one week is probably enough to learn to read a language he or she already knows well. Writing correctly is another matter. Spelling words not in the text, words the writer has never seen written, can be daunting. At the very least, there must be considerable variation in the spellings students are exposed to, each teacher writing as he or she sees fit.

We found some teachers attending a voluntary evening course to improve their skills. In-service courses of this sort will continue to be necessary for some time, until teachers become more experienced in using their native tongue in writing and some standard for it evolves. The task is the harder because so little has been written in these languages that even the most dedicated can find little beyond school texts to read for practice. These short courses are one obvious cost of implementing the current language policy.

The TTIs

Teacher Training Institutes (TTIs) offer a one-year pre-service training course for twelfth grade graduates who will then teach in the primary schools. This year some of them offer training in the newly-added languages. The pattern for 1992-3 is shown in the following table:

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Table C1: TTIs and the Languages of Instruction

Region	TTI	Languages Used
1	Adowa	Tigrinya
2	Gonder	Amharic
"	Dessie	"
"	Debre Berhan	"
4	Nekempte	Oromo
"	Robe	"
"	Nazret	"
"	Jimma	Oromo and Amharic
13	Harer	Oromo and Amharic
South	Awasa	Sidama and Amharic
"	Arba Minch	Wollayto and Amharic

A twelfth TTI is presently under construction in Gambela. When Somali and Afar are added to the list of languages of instruction it is not clear where they will be taught, since there are no TTIs in the regions in which they are spoken.

On the whole, TTI students studying in their mother tongue are among the most enthusiastic supporters of introduction of these languages. Blackboards are a mosaic of scripts and languages, notices are posted in the newly written languages, alongside those in Amharic.

TTIs offer more solid grounding than in-service courses in using these languages as languages of instruction, but the process is slow - adding some 3000 teachers a year to a total teaching force of somewhat more than 68,000 - and it is expensive. They also offer a site for summer courses to retrain existing teachers, courses which will be needed to support the language policy.

Curricular Issues

Introducing new languages and a new script in the primary grades affects the curriculum in a number of ways. Issues that arise include:

- technical vocabulary for modern subjects;
- methodology for learning to read;
- loading the curriculum with too many languages;
- the rush to introduce mother tongue instruction in grades one to six; and
- the switch to English in seventh grade.

Technical Vocabulary

A problem frequently raised about newly-written languages is that their technical vocabulary is not adequate for modern use. In this instance, the texts have been prepared by committees of translators whose job it was, among other things, to determine which words to use or borrow for the vocabulary of school subjects. For the primary grades the problem has not been overwhelming; we were not aware of complaints about it.

Reading Methods

As described above, the reading methods appropriate for learning the script of Amharic or Tigrinya are different from those for learning to read in Latin script. Moreover, because of the spelling conventions adopted, most words in the Cushitic languages are long, strung out with double letters. This adds to the difficulty of teaching young children to read them. To teach reading properly, the words of each language must be grouped into sets of words of increasing difficulty so that graded readers can be constructed. This is an analytic task that must be done for each language separately. Yet the texts have been translated wholesale. We were not able to explore the consequences of this in detail. Obviously teaching methods will have to be developed to suit these languages.

Too Many Languages

Because Amharic is no longer the language of instruction it has passed the ranks as a school subject. It is introduced sometimes in grade one, sometimes in grade four. Since it is overwhelmingly the main language of inter-ethnic communication as well as the working language of national government it remains important as a language to learn.

In addition, since instruction from grade seven on up will be in English, that language is now being introduced in grade one. This means that, though many young children entering school for the first time will now be greeted in the language of their home, the already large number of subjects they study will be augmented by two foreign languages *in two different scripts* - a heavy burden for a small child. The time devoted to teaching all these languages eats into the time available for the more immediately pertinent subjects of the basic education curriculum in primary school. If the proposed government policy focusing on basic education is adopted, it will be virtually impossible to fit in so much foreign language teaching.

Phasing in Languages

A characteristic that sets this introduction of mother tongue instruction apart from most is that it is being done in grades one to six, all at once. Despite the political enthusiasm that pushed this policy, no Ethiopian educator is happy with it. Teachers, administrators, and ministry officials all are quick to point out that it would be preferable to introduce the languages with one cohort as it moves through the system. That would involve taking this year's first-graders through the system in their native languages, adding a grade each year. Among the most unhappy are fifth and sixth graders who have, until now, learned in Amharic and are now faced with materials in a barely familiar script and a different language. They say it's tough.

The Switch to English

One aspect of school language policy that has been preserved is the use of English as language of instruction at the junior secondary level and above, from seventh grade onward. Sixth grade math and science, for which mother-tongue texts were not yet ready, were also being taught in English in classes we observed. The difficulty is that over the years of the Dergue regime levels of English competence have eroded to the point where both teaching and learning in English are questionable at best. Switching to mother-tongue instruction means that English will be only one of two foreign languages non-Amhara students will study - and, for Ethiopian children, by far the more difficult of the two. The proposed solution is to introduce it earlier, in grade one. As mentioned above, this, too, is not without its costs in terms of time allotted for learning basic skills.

Effects And Implications

Looking beyond the immediate problems that the new language policy presents for the schools, several broader possible effects should be noted. These include:

- demand for nationality languages;
- redefining national identity;
- changing patterns of language use;
- continuing instability in education;
- declining enrollment; and
- the political consequences of promoting nationality languages.

The Nature of the Demand

There is no doubt that non-Amhara leaders and intellectuals throughout Ethiopia have felt for a long time that they were conquered peoples under the Empire, forcibly prevented from developing their own valid ethnic identities. The Dergue's gesture of using their languages in Sabean script for literacy was viewed as ambivalent; using the Sabean script implied that, sooner or later, literacy in these languages would be a stepping-stone to Amharic. The use of the Latin alphabet is based in the choices and desires of speakers of non-Semitic languages.

That said, there is also no doubt in the minds of parents and students all over Ethiopia that anyone who wants to get ahead has to learn Amharic. Commerce, government jobs, virtually any salaried employment still requires Amharic. Though in the future this may change somewhat, this is reality for now. In a country where the schools are turning out increasing numbers of educated unemployed, there are strong factions within non-Amhara communities who want their children to learn Amharic and learn it well. If this means learning in Amharic, not in their mother tongue, so be it. No surveys have been conducted to gauge the extent of this demand, but anecdotal evidence suggests that the issue has sharply divided communities. Moves to accommodate the differing factions by providing alternative tracks within schools have been few and tentative so far.

National Identity

Under the Emperor, Amharic was the linguistic symbol of integration into the Ethiopian polity and was actively promoted as such. During the Dergue regime, though it gave lip service to promoting other languages and nationality self-determination, the government remained highly centralized and Amharic retained pride of place. What now?

Some intellectuals maintain that, once the major ethnicities have equal rights with Amharas to their language, culture, and local governance, this will be the basis of a stronger, healthier form of national integration: "Once we have our rights, then it will be time to think of what it means to be Ethiopian."

In the mean time, the obvious danger is that the regions will go their individual ways and lose all sense of common over arching identity. At this point, the crystal ball is cloudy.

Language Use in the Community

Learning to read and write in a language in which nothing has been written is a recipe for relapse into illiteracy. The literacy campaign of the Dergue regime was faced with this problem. The question, then, is how much, and in what ways are the newly-written languages being used?

To begin with, there are no books published in these languages as yet, and there are not likely to be any soon. There has been an active press in Amharic for over half a century, but the market for books in any language other than possibly Oromo is still too small and too uncertain to make book publishing in them anything other than guaranteed financial disaster. For some time to come, school books are likely to be the only thing available between covers.

There is a scattering of journals and broadsheets appearing in the Latin alphabet in local languages, as well as many in Amharic. Many of these are ephemeral, disappearing after a few issues because they prove not to be economically viable. We were unable to probe the extent of this type of publication, but the main Oromo journal, Berissa, has reportedly switched to Latin script; in the Kuraz outlet in Abiyot square we came upon another Oromo journal using both scripts, side by side. Word has it that most of these circulate mainly within Addis Ababa, few reaching the areas where the languages are widely spoken.

Yet there are signs that the newly-written languages are indeed coming into wider use. Driving through Oromia and the Southern Region, an observer finds some towns boasting new signs in Latin script in place among the older ones in Sabean script, mostly, though not all, in Amharic. In other towns, though, there is no evidence of the switchover.

More significantly, Oromia and Tigray are mandating use of their languages for regional government records. This is a dramatic break with the past. Civil servants are finding it imperative to learn to read and write them. In the Jimma zone educational office English typewriters are in short supply, while there is a glut of Amharic typewriters. In Sodo, we found voluntary evening classes in reading and writing Wollayto in session during the twilight hours, one for teachers, another for 70 or more twelfth grade graduates who were hoping that the new literacy would place them in a privileged position for employment. If this form of literacy paves the way to salaried jobs, people will learn it and maintain it.

Lack of Educational Continuity

The rush to replace Amharic totally and at once will continue to prove costly over the next years. If regions are really to provide curricula geared to the needs and cultures of their constituent populations, all the books and materials so rapidly but surprisingly well-prepared last year, as well as those currently in production, will have to be discarded and replaced by new materials. Not only is this costly and wasteful, but the discontinuities this introduces into an educational system which sorely needs stability to recover from the turbulence of the last two years will continue to buffet it for years to come.

Drops in Enrollment

The dramatic drop in enrollment discussed elsewhere in this report is due to many factors: declining quality of education, a reaction against enrollment by coercion under the last regime, the costs and opportunity costs of sending children to school, snowballing numbers of unemployed graduates, and the perceived irrelevance of education to useful occupation either in town or in the rural areas. Language policy takes its place among the causes. School headmasters in parts of the Southern Region and Oromia attribute part of the decline to parents' perception that mother-tongue education is even more useless than education in Amharic, which has left them with unemployed sixth and twelfth grade graduates.

Politics and Language

Finally, whatever one may think of the promise and problems inherent in Ethiopia's language policy for education, it is essential to remember that this is fundamentally a political, rather than a strictly educational, policy. Intervening, either to support it or to modify it, is risky and can draw unwary donors into troubled waters. It is essential to take account of the impact language policy will have on the educational system, but it is not the aspect of the system that should serve as an entry point for assistance.

ANNEX D

EDUCATIONAL DEMAND AND EQUITY

EDUCATIONAL DEMAND AND EQUITY IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

DEMAND FOR EDUCATION

Some Evidence of Low Demand

Throughout much of the development of Ethiopia's modern education system, the focus has been on the alleviation of supply-side constraints. System expansion through school construction, teacher production, curricula development and textbook distribution since 1946 has resulted in the exponential increase of enrollments, growing approximately 12-15 percent annually between 1960 and 1989. Nonetheless there is compelling evidence--both historical and current--which suggests that low demand for schooling by society may be equally, if not more, important in explaining the strikingly low primary school enrollment ratio (22 percent) the nation suffers from today. **In short, many children in Ethiopia may not be kept out of school because of lack of school places, but because their parents may have made the conscious decision not to enroll them.**

The modern schooling movement initiated under Haile Selassie gained momentum under the marxist Mengistu regime, which embraced the concept of mass education. Attempting to transform Ethiopian society to a socialist system, the government emphasized schooling at the local level. Supply-side constraints were overcome by requiring community support in the construction and financing of village schools. Between 1974 and 1984, the number of government primary schools increased nearly 300 percent. Demand-side constraints were addressed in a similar fashion: parents were required to enroll their children in primary school and themselves in adult literacy programs under penalty of fines and imprisonment. The pace of growth in primary school enrollment accelerated, approximately trebling between 1974 and 1984. **Consequently, the lack of demand for education was simultaneously masked statistically and revealed politically by the need for coerced participation in schooling.**[11]

Today, as Ethiopia's transitional government moves towards democracy, evidence of the lack of demand for schooling appears equally dramatic. The national gross enrollment ratio for primary education has fallen from a high of 35 percent in 1988 to an estimated 22 percent in 1992. In part, this decrease can be explained by the disruption of civil strife, breakdown of educational delivery systems during the war, and the considerable destruction of schools themselves. However, interviews with parents and teachers also indicates that, **as schooling is no longer compulsory, many parents have withdrawn their children from school.**[12] Even if the drop in primary school enrollment proves to be a temporary phenomenon, the 35 percent high point of enrollments hardly indicates a high demand for primary education, and must be a result of both supply and demand constraints.

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[11] The growth in schools and enrollments cannot, of course, ne solely attributed to coerced support and participation. Across Africa the linkages between Marxist regimes and mass education movements are depicted statistically. To some undetermined extent, increases in enrollments, etc. in Ethiopia must be attributed to genuine pent-up demand for schooling.

[12] A number of parents interviewed stated that "with democracy,...(they) were free to no longer send their children to school."

While enrollment ratios for predominately urban regions are high (eg. Gambella at 83%, Addis at 74%, and Metekel at 60% in 1989) and class size often exceeds 70 students per teacher, educational statistics and observations in rural areas tell a different story.[13] Predominately rural regions gross enrollment ratios in primary school ranged between 20 and 40 percent in 1989, with some regions as low as 4 (Ogaden), 13 (Tigray) and 15 (Gonder Debub) percent. Today, under the regional reorganization, estimates of educational participation are even lower. In Region 3, an estimated 14 percent of the 7-12 age group is enrolled in primary school (1992/93).[14]

Countering arguments that the precipitous drop in primary school enrollment is due uniquely to destroyed infrastructure in war-affected areas is the non-intensive use of schools that continue to operate. **Many schools in rural zones are characterized by half-empty classrooms and low class sizes.**[15] One rural school in Region 3 has five students and two teachers, resulting from a steady attrition of students from a high of 179 students in 1986, despite head master "agitation" of the community to encourage them to send their children to school. Another school saw parents withdraw two-third of its students between 1991 and 1992. A village cooperative community's primary school enrollments fell from 525 students to 340 students over the last academic year. Each school is characterized by a large number of children playing around the school grounds, but not enrolled in school.

Further, while urban schools indicate that they regularly exceed manageable classroom capacity to accommodate student demand or were forced to reject students attempting to register, **rural schools have little notion of excess demand.** Many rural schools enjoy a "surplus" of teachers, as student enrollment rates are falling faster than MOE teacher assignments. This translates into theoretically high student:teacher ratios, ranging from 2:1 to 30:1. Even where classrooms were few, these favorable student:teacher ratios could permit double shifting to accommodate more students; yet, the schools indicate there is no demand for afternoon sessions nor do they meet the government criteria for double-shifting. Indeed, one rural school where students had to walk a relatively modest 5 kilometers each way explains that its low enrollment is due to too many schools in the area.

Low demand is also evidenced by an apparent general lack of community interest in the school. While school committees and parent associations continue to exist, their support activities are often negligible: schools are in bad repair, attesting to lack of maintenance supposedly provided by parents; and fund-raising activities are most often limited to renting school hectares to local farmers and levying the conventional book and registration fees. A final anecdotal indicator of low demand for education is the frequent destruction of

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[13] Rural-urban breakdowns in educational statistics are tenuous. In fact, the MOE does not present an official disaggregation by urban and rural locales nor does a formal definition exist. Since educational statistics are reported on a regional basis, inferences drawn from the characteristics of the region itself.

[14] Underscoring the difference in demand between rural and urban areas is the class size in Bahar Dar, the capital of Region 3, whose primary schools have more than 100 students per classroom.

[15] Low student:teachers ratios are also evident, but this phenomenon can be attributed in some regions to the transfer of teachers from destroyed, non-functional schools. Class-size is more often a function of classroom capacity than lack of teachers.

schools, not by war, but by the parents themselves, taking advantage of civil unrest to simultaneously strip the school of its materials and express their disdain of its utility. One school in Woreta has been looted three times by parents, and is now charging .50 birr/month/student to pay a guard.

Causes of Low Demand

While it is impossible to determine at this point whether the demand for schooling is only temporarily depressed, several inherent structural factors have been identified by parents, teachers and administrators to explain the low demand for education in rural communities.[16] They are (not in order of importance):

- No Further Educational Opportunities. Parents with children in primary school complain that they would not send their other children to school because they can not advance beyond primary school (grade 6) for lack of a junior secondary school in the area. Interestingly, new construction supported by school committees and parent associations is not directed at primary school improvement--even where classroom capacity is limited and facilities degraded--but instead at the junior secondary level. This points to a bifurcation in educational demand: once parents make a commitment to send their children to school, they desire them to continue in order to attain the schooling necessary to obtain a government or non-farm (ie. wage) job.

- Education Does Not Lead to Non-Farm Employment. The "educated unemployed" have had a visual and dramatic impact on parental and community perceptions of the value and utility of education at all levels. Parents emphasize that even senior secondary school graduates have been forced to return to their community to work on the farm. Primary education, in their experience, leads to nothing better than farm work. Why, therefore, invest in education at all? Clearly, parental expectations of the educational system is non-farm, modern or wage sector employment for their children, which in rural areas represents a sound income-diversification strategy. However, the 23 percent unemployment rate in the formal wage sector, placing it among the highest in East Africa, is hardly encouraging. When queried as to why they had enrolled their children in school, parental responses centered on government jobs (or, failing that, initiation into priesthood), followed by the hope that their children would write and read them letters and faded into vague statements about the value of literacy qua literacy ("literacy is good").

- Irrelevancy of Schooling to Rural Life. As noted above, parents do not relate schooling to improved agricultural production, but to off-farm employment. Not a single parent queried could say how basic literacy and numeracy would make their child a better farmer. In fact, they seemed stunned at the concept. Nor could they say how education could improve life in rural areas. The situation is exacerbated by the graduates themselves, bitter at finding no wage employment, who testify their education is useless and a waste of time.

[16] We must note again that while there was a remarkable consistency in responses, our inquiries were limited to Region 3 and the South Peoples region.

- High Direct Costs of Schooling. Parents complain that the out-of-pocket costs for schooling are too high. Rather than citing the apparently negligible fees charged by the school for registration, book rent and/or sports (ranging from 1.50 to 5 birr per year), they focus on the costs associated with clothing (35-50 birr used), exercise books (1 birr/book x 5-10 books) and pens (10 birr). A minimum of 50 birr/child/year represents a significant portion (5-13 percent) of annual household cash incomes, estimated at 400-1000 birr[17], which also must pay for farming tools and other consumables, such as kerosene, some food items, salt, family clothing, etc. In contrast, a civil servant in Addis, sending his child to a private "community" school and providing normal educational accoutrements, would spend less than 4 percent of his income (including consumption) on schooling per year.[18]

- High Opportunity Costs: Tending livestock, fetching water and collecting firewood or dung are major responsibilities of rural children. Boys as young as three years are invariably seen with herding sticks in their hand, as little girls stagger under the weight of heavy earthen water jugs. While the latter activity can be done before and after school, boys are required to tend herds all day. Parents say they can not spare their boys to go to school, particularly in areas where land plots are small, farming is no longer communal, and livestock must be kept on off others' property and from trampling food crops.[19]

- Poor Quality of Schooling and Infrastructure: Parents cite the instability of the curriculum and the vertiginous number of educational reforms undertaken over the past decade as a reason to distrust the quality of education received by their children. Inadequate and deteriorating schools also add to distaste for schooling.

- Confusing Language Policy: As the MOE introduces its new nationalist languages policy in the schools, parents are once again bewildered by changing policy. Parents of enrolled children are annoyed that the Amharic painstakingly learned will be dropped as a medium of instruction in

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[17] While clothing and supply prices were verified in local markets, it was more difficult to get an idea of annual household cash income from the farmers interviewed for several reasons. First, their perceived self-interest was to deflate their income; second, the brief interviews do not allow for accuracy. Nonetheless, farmers in different areas indicated that they consumed about 75 per cent of their tef production, and sold between 300-500 kilos at 130 birr/kg, for a total of 390-650 birr year. This is congruent with official average income per capita of US$120. In one zone where cattle seemed plentiful, farmers indicated that 50 birr/month on butter sales supplemented household income, and that a cow would bring up to 1000 birr at the market. However, fewer than 60 per cent of the farmers had more than two cattle for plowing, and only very rich farmers could take advantage of butter production and cattle sales. In another area, a rich farmer supplementing his income with honey production earned an annual cash income of 1,200 birr.

[18] A MOE official in Addis earns 600-800 birr/month. A good quality community school costs 10/month x 10 months. Purchases include clothes (100 birr), 15 exercise books (1 birr/ea.), 5 pencils (.40 birr/ea), 10 pens (1 birr/ea), 7-8 textbooks (15 birr/ea).

[19] The utility of this explanation is limited where cattle-ownership is not extensive.

certain regions or are angered that the local language chosen for instruction is not their own. While regional educational administrators are enthusiastic that the new policy will eventually benefit local children, they are insensitive to the crisis of confidence the new policy has created for the real consumers of education.

- Resentment of Schools: Under the previous government, schools and the education system were used as means of draconian cultural transformation of society. Parents were required to enroll their children in school and participate in literacy programs. They were forced to support schools with labor and monetary contributions, and were unable to exercise little voice in decision-making as the school committees were politically appointed. Land was taken from farmers to endow schools. In some instances, families were compelled to settle in villages of which the school was the centerpiece. During the war, schools served as de facto conscription centers, as young boys were pulled from the classroom into the armed conflict. This, coupled with the perceived inutility of education, seems to have bred a deep resentment and distrust on the part of many parents and communities towards education. With the onus of compulsory schooling removed, parents have not only withdrawn their children from school, but have participated in the destruction of the schools themselves. Entire communities formed under the "villagization" program have disbanded, leaving schools empty and neglected.

Implications of Low Demand for Educational Policy and Planning

It appears that schools in rural areas, representing much of Ethiopia, are neither valued or supported by many of those they are supposed to serve. While Ethiopia's emerging educational policy is clearly centered on the demand problem, administrators at the MOE believe the lack of demand can be addressed by expanding basic education and reforming the curricula. But there is little reason to believe students will flock to the "reformed" educational system. For those who send their children to school, basic literacy and numeracy is not necessarily a goal, but advancing through the system to a government or wage job is. There are indications that, if the latter is not a probability, it is unlikely that the new proposed grate 1-4 primary schools will be appreciated.

For families who do not enroll their children, it may be unlikely that a new emphasis on basic literacy and numeracy will convince them of schooling's utility in a traditional agrarian economy in which literacy is little valued and ostensibly appears to contribute little or nothing to agricultural production. The MOE's efforts to make the curricula more relevant must take into account parental aspirations for their children, as well as be realistic about the ability of school to surpass the wealth of agricultural knowledge currently taught at home. Finally, assuming the costs of educational expansion will be borne in significant amount by parents and communities could be unrealistic in light of the expressed negative attitudes towards schools and demonstrated lack of community support.

There is little evidence of school-level programs aimed at increasing demand for schooling. Teachers and head masters spoke of visiting households to ask parents to enroll at least one child; in Jimma, a school has reduced fees in order to stimulate enrollments. Cursory discussions with parents pointed to a few programs

that might attract more children to the classroom. With the exception of indicating the need for a junior secondary school, none focussed on supply-side constraints, such as improving infrastructure or quality or relevancy of education. Instead, rural parents uniformly indicate that they need help with clothing and exercise book purchases, as well as the provision of school meals, to alleviate income constraints. A shepherd boy association or "cooperative", in which boys traded off herding responsibilities on a rotating basis, is the only suggestion which did not entail outside assistance and could be organized by the community.

While the above discussion cannot be considered conclusive on the demand for education, the disturbing trends, attitudes and views cited above signal the need for further, more sophisticated inquiry and investigation in order to understand the magnitude and dimensions of the problem and to craft interventions which will increase educational participation.

EQUITY ISSUES

Closely related to educational demand is the question of the equitable distribution of educational resources and the segmented demand for education. In Ethiopia, equity issues can be readily addressed from three perspectives--gender, rural-urban, and regional.

Gender Equity

National-level statistics place Ethiopia among the higher of low income SubSaharan African countries in terms of gender equity.[20] In 1991/92, the participation rate of girls as a proportion of total enrollments averaged about 42 percent in primary school, 46 percent in junior secondary school and 45 percent in senior secondary school.[21] Surprisingly, as girls advance to eighth grade, their participation rate increases and then slowly diminishes to a low of 39 percent in 12th grade.

These national statistics mask significant regional disparities: the 50-57 percent participation rate of girls in Shewa Misrack, Addis and Gonder Semen contrasts dramatically with the 31-32 percent rate of girls in Hararge Misrak, Omo Debub and Hararge Mirab. There is, however, an interesting phenomenon observed in both Region 3, Oromia and the South. Recent unpublished zonal statistics indicate that the proportion of girls in primary and junior secondary school approaches parity or in some cases exceeds the proportion of boys enrolled. For example, in the zone of Debre Tabor girls represent 49 percent of primary school enrollments; in Jimma, they represent 47 percent; and in the wereda of Debark, they represent 54 percent.

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[20] By this, we refer to participation rates or girls' share of actual enrollment, with 50 per cent representing parity or 1.0 ratio of female students:male students. For comparative statistics see Table 7 (pg. 189) in Lockheed and Verspoor (1990), Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries: A Review of Policy Option, The World Bank.

[21] The reader should not confuse the participation rates (the percentage share of girls in total enrollment) with gross enrollment ratios (the percentage of school-aged girls in the population enrolled in school).

Similar percentages are observed in the schools themselves. In fact, in some areas the more rural the school the greater the proportion of girls in class, occasionally exceeding boys' enrollments by 80 to 100 percent. Likewise, where school-level data on gender is disaggregated by grade, there does not seem to be a distinctive pattern of primary school attrition which distinguishes girls from boys (although, transition to Grade two for both sexes seems to be a major attrition point). In the one school where test data was available, 92 percent of the girls passed the mid-year primary school exam compared with 90 percent of the boys. Sixth grade completion rates seem to be similar for both sexes.

What can be concluded from these surprising statistics? Certainly overall it appears that gender equity of girls in terms of participation rates is not as acute a problem as in some countries in sub-Saharan Africa. But, in those areas where it was observed, the presence--and often predominance--of girls in the classroom must be regarded with some caution. In war-torn regions, the comparatively weak participation of boys in primary school may be an artifact of the conscription practices of the opposing forces who drafted boys from schools. Information lags and instability may make the under-representation of boys a short-term phenomenon, an aberration in the system. The presence of over-aged boys, 15-18 years old, in the back of some rural primary school classrooms may demonstrate that as normalcy returns, boys' enrollments will increase--possibly to the exclusion of girls. Further, it is possible that with the elimination of the compulsory education statute, the enrollment of girls may shrink.

Nonetheless, the robust presence of girls in primary schools in certain rural areas may also be the exception in Africa that proves the rule: that opportunity costs are the primary determinant of educational participation, and opportunity costs for boys in a rural economy relying on livestock production/management exceed those of sending girls to school. This is the case in other African countries where herding predominates, such as Lesotho and Botswana. Further, where girls and boys may contribute equally to household chores, it may be the father who is allowed to keep his helper. Ironically, in some parts of Ethiopia, efforts at increasing gender equity at the primary school level may mean targeting boys.

The above discussion is not intended to state that girls do not suffer from unequal access to primary school, but rather that this is not readily revealed by the available statistical data or cursory observations. Additionally, statistics can only hint at the type of instruction and treatment girls receive in the classroom. Reportedly, girls suffer from mistreatment both at the hands of their male classmates and teachers.[22] These issues deserve further study, especially in the south and the Somali and Afar regions where muslim culture predominates and the participation rates of girls in primary school are low. The fact remains that given the extremely low gross primary enrollment ratio, on a national basis less than one out of every five girls attends primary school, a striking under-investment particularly in light of the abundant worldwide evidence about the economic and social benefits of educating girls. While the proposed MOE policy reform targets girls' education as a priority, there are no special studies, policies or programs mentioned or underway under its sponsorship.

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[22] A minor issue of school-level investment may portend more serious and insidious gender biases against girls. Many schools spend a significant portion of their budget on relatively expensive sports equipment (balls, etc.) and collect sports fees from all students, claiming equally access and use by boys and girls. However, it appears that the equipment purchased is generally that for sports that are traditionally played by boys, such as soccer and basketball.

The relatively favorable statistics on female participation are overturned at the tertiary levels of schooling. In 1989, fewer than 15 percent of diploma seekers were women; and in 1991, fewer than 20 percent of vocational school graduates were women. Within the primary education sub-sector, 25 percent of the primary school teaching force are women, and a walk through the MOE halls and regional education offices reveals few females in administrative positions. Only 21 percent of total Teacher Training Institutes' enrollments in 1991 were women, up from 14 percent in 1985 due to a quota regulation reserving 20 percent of places for women. The proportion of female TTI instructors is about 12 percent. In Gonder, currently, 30 percent (158 out of 512) of students are women, yet only 2 out of 30 instructors are female--specialized in home economics. Similarly, in Jimma, 2 of 30 instructors are women; and in Aber Minch, 1 of 31.

Marriage is often offered as a reason for women not progressing to higher levels of education. But as the percentage of women in TTI's remained static throughout the 1980s while girls' enrollment grew, it is possible that women stand last in the queue to gain access to an educational program which guarantees wage employment in an economy where wage security is scarce. MOE programs to redress gender disparities are nearly non-existent, including only the above-mentioned TTI quota regulation and discussion of the creation of an office for female education within the MOE.

Rural-Urban Equity

More striking than gender inequities in the educational system are the disparities of educational resource allocation between rural and urban populations. Significantly, unlike gender statistics, the MOE does not routinely disaggregate its data on a rural-urban basis, making quantitative comparisons difficult. However, it is estimated that rural enrollment in general education is 18.9 percent compared with 53.8 percent in urban areas. While extending educational services to rural areas is rendered difficult by the ruggedness of the terrain, the extreme isolation of communities, the traditional culture and economy, grinding poverty and malnutrition, there are indications that rural areas have been disfavored by educational policy and practices:

- Unequal Resource Allocation: In general in the more rural areas, the infrastructure is of lesser quality and the schools are less well equipped with materials, etc. than in urban areas. There are fewer junior and senior secondary schools, although only 12 percent of the population resides in urban areas.

- Predominance of Destroyed Schools: Rural areas in northern Amhara and Southern Peoples' regions suffered most during the civil strife of the last few years, resulting in widespread destruction and looting of educational facilities--approximately 10 percent of primary schools--which further reduces the school infrastructure available to rural populations.

- Unequal Expectation of Community Financing: The expansion of primary education in rural areas required a disproportionate amount of rural community resources compared with urban areas. Rural communities are expected to contribute both resources and labor to school construction, maintenance and operations in proportions that do not seem to be required of urban communities.[23]

[23] Urban communities, however, are reportedly required to pay more in terms of fees and charges.

- Curriculum Aimed at the Modern, Urban Sector: Although a great deal of rhetoric and discussion has surrounded the issue of relevant curricula for rural zones, little of a practicable nature has been developed for communities where nearly 98 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture.

- Education as a Disruptive Force: When introduced by force and coercion, education in rural areas is disruptive to the traditional culture and hoe/plow/pastoral economy, by imposing structures and agendas not appropriate to agrarian life, such as a school calendar and operating hours which do not accord with the agricultural calendar and daily work schedule. Further, while education in urban areas has been demand-driven, schooling in rural areas has been supply-driven and mainly at the expense of local communities.

- Rural Schools are Short-Changed in Terms of Staff: The MOE policy of placing "fresh" (ie. new teachers) in rural schools and transferring them to urban areas after 3-5 years of service almost ensures that the quality of teaching is lower in rural areas than in urban ones. Although the MOE indicates that it does pay a hardship allowance to rural teachers, this does not seem to prevent teacher flight to urban centers via medical excuses, obligatory employment of spouse if one of teaching couple is in an urban area, etc. This is further exacerbated by the restructuring of educational administration in regions which has inadvertently resulted in the removal of the most able teachers from the classroom.

While the many of above policies were promulgated by the previous government, they have serious implications for the new policy directions proposed by the TGE. Specifically, implementation of the new policy which calls for the creation of "village community education centers"--emphasizing four years of schooling and a vocationally-oriented curriculum--will be complicated by:

- the disinterest of rural communities and their disinclination/resistance to contribute local resources to financing and supporting educational facilities.

- the formidable challenge of developing a "relevant" curriculum which at once (1) is appreciated by the rural population, (2) does not create a dual system of education which renders rural education inferior and further decreases demand, and (3) can actually teach practical skills which have significant value in the market place and which surpass the knowledge of agriculture transmitted in the home.

Regional Equity

As the MOE initiates the implementation of the government's "regionalization" policy, devolving educational management authority to the regions, an emerging central issue focusses on the disparities among regions and their differing abilities to support educational service provision/delivery. The various regions will face different challenges and priorities of needs, including:

- Different Resource Levels: The economies among administrative regions differ tremendously. Some, such as Tigray and Amhara, are predominately characterized by subsistence farming and non-cash barter; others, such as Somali, are distinguished by nomadic pastoralists; still others, such as the Southern Peoples' region and Oromia, have a developed agricultural cash crop economic base; and finally some, such as Addis, enjoy a growing industrial/manufacturing sector. This, of course, has implications for the regional revenue available for education.

- Varying Regional Priorities: As a corollary of the above point, the regions will most likely have differing development priorities and agendas. The education budgets in poorer regions will not only have less money to devote to educational goals, but most certainly will have more competing demands made on their resources, such as for health and other social service investments. The emphasis given to education is likely to vary regionally.

- Unequal Levels of Educational Infrastructure: Not all regions will be starting from the same base. Educational facilities and schools were not equally distributed among the regions to start with, and the recent war has further disadvantaged certain regions by destroying educational infrastructure.

- Unequal Teacher Production Capacity: Teacher training institutes have not been established equally among the regions. While Oromia has six, Amhara three, and a few others have one, six regions of have none. Given the observed tendency to regionalize all educational facilities, it may prove difficult for regions without teacher training capacity to obtain their fair share of teachers with the requisite language skills and familiarity with regionally designed curricula.

- Local "Nationality" Languages: Some regions, eg. the Southern Peoples, must face the challenge of introducing multiple local languages in the schools and deal with the attendant problems of curriculum and materials. This will take more resources in terms of funds, expertise and materials than in those regions where the new language policy is not applicable, both complicating support procedures and burdening the budget.

- Varying Manpower Capacity: Historically the trained educational manpower in the MOE has been drawn from certain regions, and those professionals have the benefit of both training and experience in educational administration. With the observed regional policy of recruiting and employing "native sons", it is possible that those regions which have higher proportion of educational specialists will be better able to plan and manage their education systems.

- Differential Central Support: As various problems arise in the education sector, regions may find themselves competing for central MOE attention and support. Recently, for example, the MOE has concentrated on supporting the introduction of local languages in the schools in the south through the development of textbooks, materials, etc. Anecdotal evidence relates that while schools in the south are well provisioned with texts and materials in the new languages, the northern regions have not received textbooks and materials.

The implications of the above factors distill down to a single question: what will the central government do to the equalize the distribution of educational resources among the regions so that all Ethiopian children enjoy equal opportunities for primary education? To date, beyond vague declarations of central MOE staff and fervent expectations of regional political and educational staff that the central government will ensure reasonable redistribution, no mechanism for ensuring this has been described. The level and modalities of central support and the formulas for cross-subsidization among the regions remains, to date, a black box in the educational reform planning.

ANNEX E

EDUCATION SECTOR TECHNICAL CONSTRAINTS

EDUCATION SECTOR TECHNICAL CONSTRAINTS

THE TEACHING PROFESSION

The current status of the primary education teaching profession is influenced by three main categories of constraints. These include the quality of the existing teaching corps, the capacity to produce new quality teachers, and the provision of opportunities for continuing, in-service training and support.

Existing Teaching Corps

The Ministry of Education reported 68,399 teachers employed at the primary level in the academic year 1991/92. This corps of teachers could generally be described as poorly trained and unmotivated. Their teaching could be characterized as traditional, teacher-centered and limited to "chalk and talk." Deployment and use of teachers includes many surprising inefficiencies. Teachers in large urban centers have huge classes, while those in remote areas where enrollment has dropped have classes of less than 20 (in some cases, less than 10). In some towns, where schools are double shifting and class sizes exceed 60 or 70, teachers are still inefficiently employed. For example, a primary school in Arba Minch has an enrollment of 1,071 students in two shifts of 14 total sections and employs 36 teachers. While the average student to teacher ratio is 30, the average class size is 82, because of limited space. Yet the average teacher workload is 12 periods per week (about eight hours). This combination of limited physical space and inefficient teacher use is one example of the inefficiencies characteristic of the education system.

The overall low quality of instruction, demoralization of teachers, and their lack of motivation are frequently cited by education officials as the principal problems in the sector. The main constraints to improved teaching include:

- Many unqualified teachers were brought into the system in the past;
- Although many of these underqualified teachers have received, or are receiving upgrading, the training provided focuses on credentialing, not acquisition of specific skills;
- Most teachers employ a traditional classroom methodology focused on memorization of bodies of knowledge with little use of stimulation, practical application, or student centered learning;
- The teaching profession has been degraded as parents and communities have become dissatisfied with formal schooling and because of their resentment of the previous politicization of education; and
- Teaching is reported as a low status job because of poor pay and limited potential for career advancement within teaching (all promotions take teachers out of the classroom).

Teacher Pre-Service Training

A network of 12 teacher training institutes (TTI) provides post-secondary pedagogical training for primary teachers. The TTIs are resident institutions that provide students with room and board. Their total capacity is 6,750 trainees. One additional TTI is being constructed with IDA financing. Total TTI enrollment in

1992/93 is 5,765. Quotas for recruitment are established each year by the MOE, with indications of the number of slots reserved for trainees in each of the current languages of instruction. In addition, a minimum of 20 percent of TTI places are reserved for women.

At full capacity, pre-service training is capable of adding almost ten percent to the teaching force per year. Given that primary school enrollment has dropped considerably over the last three years, TTI production capacity is more than adequate for the current level of enrollment in the system. In fact, present levels of teacher production, without rationalization of teacher deployment, will continue to exacerbate the inefficiencies referred to above.

While the quantitive capacity of the TTIs to produce teachers is currently not a problem, the quality of those teachers is a major concern. The principal constraints on the quality of TTI output include the following:

- Recruitment is based on the Ethiopian School Leavers Certification Examination (ESLCE) results. Students who pass the ESLCE with highest marks are eligible for admission to the university. Those with the lowest end up entering teacher training;

- The training curriculum has a theoretical approach to pedagogy, contains only 30 days of practice teaching, and is burdened with academic specializations. No specific pedagogy for teaching reading and writing (especially in new languages of instruction) is being promulgated;

- Training focuses on content area knowledge, not on methods for teaching;

- Graduation from the TTIs follows a tacit policy of not denying certification to any trainees;

- Although 65 percent of TTI teaching staff have first degrees, most of them have no training as teacher trainers, nor experience as primary school teachers

- Limited recurrent financing has contributed to the deterioration of the physical plant and the poor living conditions of trainees (crowded dormitories, insufficient meals budget, lack of maintenance of infrastructure and equipment);

- Trainees will be teaching in new languages of instruction and are being trained themselves by instructors who have had only one short training seminar (not section on language).

In-Service Training and Support

The only in-service training which the MOE is providing is to unqualified teachers through a sequence of three summer programs. This training attempts to replicate the one year pre-service program. Its focus is on helping unqualified teachers acquire certification. No specific training adapted to the special needs of these teachers is provided, nor any follow up support during the periods between summer sessions.

Other in-service programs include 46 day training sessions for headmasters offered during the summer and the ad hoc short (five days) workshops being conducted to introduce teachers to the latin script versions of Welaitigna, Sidamigna, and Oromigna.

On the job support for teachers is generally lacking. The Educational Mass Media Agency has provided some training of media teachers, but spot checking of schools revealed that often these media teachers have gone for long periods with no reinforcement and seem hardly capable of instructing their colleagues on how to make use of radio programs. A similar situation exists regarding the use of textbooks and teaching materials. While EMPDA does a good job in some areas under adverse conditions in distributing materials, teachers have received little or no training on how best to exploit them.

Under the previous regime, pedagogical support was delivered through a network of Awarja Pedagogical Centers (APC). One APC was located in each of 98 awarjas, which under the new organization are now either at the zone or wereda level. Many of these centers were established under donor funded projects and developed locally made materials (posters, diagrams, models, etc). With the end of external support for operating costs, the APCs appear to have ceased functioning. Some schools still show the remains of this approach. There are charts hung on classroom walls and teaching models and materials available in school pedagogical centers. However, the centers for the most part have turned into dusty storerooms with little sign of continued production or use of local teaching aids.

TEACHING SUPPORT SYSTEMS

This section focuses on the three most highly developed aspects of the education system in Ethiopia: curriculum development, materials production, and use of educational mass media. In comparison with many other African countries, Ethiopia's central level capacity in these three areas is exceptional. However, these well developed institutional capacities appear to be having limited impact on the quality of instruction delivered in primary school classrooms. This situation is explored below.

Curriculum Development

The Institute for Curriculum Development and Research (ICDR) is the single most important element in the development and publishing of curricula, textbooks, and materials for the entire pre-university education system. ICDR reports that over the years some 200 syllabi, books, and guides have been produced for all grades and subjects and 30,000 teachers have been trained in the classroom application of these materials.

This year ICDR has been pre-occupied with translating teaching materials into the regional languages of instruction. The institute is also organizing and implementing the introductory training of teacher trainers in the latin script versions of Oromigna, Sidamigna, and Welaitigna.

The most frequent complaint heard about primary school curricula concerns the relevancy of subject matter to student's lives. Most education professionals in Ethiopia agree that the primary school curriculum needs to be adapted to the rural context and to the likely employment opportunities available to school completers. However, few are able to articulate what a more relevant curriculum would look like.

In general, problems in curriculum development center around this issue of relevancy and, with regionalization, concern the development of decentralized curriculum design capacity. The principal constraints include the following:

- Curriculum development has been centrally managed. With regionalization, responsibility for curriculum could be devolved to the regions, zones, and/or waredas, where no technical capacity currently exists;
- Numerous reform efforts have been tried and have often been incompletely implemented. The overall effect has been to create an atmosphere of instability and uncertainty regarding curriculum. Present regionalizational efforts and language issues are continuing that instability;
- Talk of a "more relevant" curriculum risks reproducing the mistakes made elsewhere in trying to introducing practical subjects like farming and handicrafts in the early years of formal primary schooling;
- Books are being translated into new languages without consideration of differences in complexity of vocabulary and without appropriate analysis from the perspective of grade appropriate readability;
- Present curricula contain bodies of knowledge with defined scope and sequence and are not competency based. Regional curriculum development may lead to divergent standards unless national competency criteria are established; and
- Focus needs to shift from what to teach to how to teach.

Materials Production

One of the most impressive features of the education sector in Ethiopia is the MOE's capacity to develop, publish, produce and distribute textbooks and educational materials. The Educational Materials Production and Distribution Agency (EMPDA) was founded 18 years ago with a mandate to produce and distribute educational materials to the entire country. The books it produces are written by ICDR. Books are distributed free on a loan basis, but students pay a nominal rental fee of 1.00 Birr for the full set of books.

EMPDA currently handles 300 titles (now in five languages) and for the current academic year, it has printed, or contracted for the printing, of 7.8 million texts. EMPDA reports 80 percent of these titles distributed to the regions. The focus this past year has been on producing materials translated into the new languages of instruction. In those regions introducing new languages, supplies of newly translated materials are present, with only certain texts or teacher's guides missing.

In general at the school level, the availability of texts and teachers guides varies greatly from urban to rural areas and from region to region. Some schools have almost complete sets of books for each grade in sufficient number for every child, or one set for every two children. Other schools have almost no books.

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Limited data are available on EMPDA's costs. The table below gives indicative figures, as supplied by EMPDA, for production costs. It is unclear if these costs figures take into account all inputs, including donor provided paper and equipment. These figures also do not include transportation costs.

Table E1: EMPDA Book Production and Costs for 1992/93
Numbers of books produced in each language and costs in Birr

Language	Student Texts		Teachers Guides	
	# Produced	Unit Cost	# Produced	Unit Cost
Amharic	908,965	1.57	--	--
Tigrigna	57,200	3.71	17,700	6.22
Oromigna	646,000	1.25	53,500	2.25
Welaytigna	160,000	1.65	4,500	3.20
Sidamigna	81,000	1.66	3,300	5.35
English	1,921,000	2.68	--	--
TOTAL	3,774,165	AVG 2.09	79,000	AVG 4.26

Source: EMPDA

Aside from EMPDA's production and distribution constraints, there appears to be reason to question the actual impact of their materials in the classroom. In those regions where books are available, schools and teachers appear not to be maximizing the benefit of the these materials. Some important constraints to sustainable production and optimal use of texts and teacher's guides include:

- Production of materials is subsidized and only sustained through external financing (paper and equipment);
- Teachers receive little or no training in how to make use of materials in their classrooms. No follow up training or support is ever provided to aid teachers in using materials;
- Some schools have large surpluses of previous years' texts which are going unused, others do not have any;
- Neither any systematic evaluation of delivery and use of materials has ever been conducted, nor any analysis of the impact of materials on student achievement; and
- Production is not based on need, nor on any targeted level of student to book ratio. EMPDA does not even know how many of its books reach classrooms.

Educational Mass Media

The Education Media Agency (EMA) was created 40 years ago with the assistance of the U.S. Point IV program. EMA is a vast enterprize consisting of 12 medium wave AM stations and the necessary studios and personnel to produce radio programs for its own stations and color educational TV programs for government television. The present transmitters cover approximately 90% of the country. The EMA is in the process of adding a second channel to each of its radio transmitters, which will double the effective broadcast time, and radios for schools are being purchased under the ERRP education component. Under the restructured World Bank seventh education credit, the MOE has proposed the installation of a 13th station, to complete the coverage of the entire country.

Educational television targets junior secondary schools, and provides instruction in English, science and mathematics. Current broadcast capacity and distribution of sets has educational television reaching 312 schools, or roughly 45 percent of the junior secondary enrollment.

The primary mandate of EMA is to provide a series of approximately 15 minute radio programs designed to be used in conjunction with teachers' regular classroom lessons as integral parts of the concerned curricula. Approximately 7,200 of the nation's more than 8,400 schools are reported to have a radio coordinator, trained by the Media Unit. The agency has a testing and evaluation unit, that conducted an evaluation in 1991 that demonstrated that, for a sample of 280 schools (143 rural & 137 urban):

- 70 percent of schools had at least one media teacher, 75 percent of which where trained;
- 71 percent of the schools had functioning radio sets (not clear if same 70 percent as above);
- 90 percent of the schools relied on dry cell batteries for power;
- 23 percent of teachers reported frequent use of support materials, 65 percent rare use, and 10 percent no use; and
- 87 percent of the schools had adjusted their schedules to coincide with radio broadcasts.

The evaluation makes no mention of how broadcasts are used in classrooms and does not discuss the content of programs.[24] No attempt has been made at establishing a framework for evaluating the impact of the use of radio programs. This lack of systematic evaluation and redesign of the use of mass media in education represents a substantial limitation on the effective use of radio programs to enhance learning. It is a tragedy that this incredible resource and technical capacity appears to serve little to improve the quality of teaching at the classroom level. Problems in the use of educational radio include:

- All capital investments and maintenance are underwritten by donors;
- The overall supply of radios is inadequate. Many schools do not have radios, and some that do, do not have adequate numbers to serve all classes and sections;
- Media teachers appear trained in little other than managing the storage of radios and the scheduling of programs;

[24] Educational Media Agency, Schools' Radio Programmes Utilization Evaluation Report, April, 1991.

- Use of radio is limited to short content area lessons delivered by the program instead of the teacher, and which are not cast in an interactive format;

- Teachers use radio programs as a 15 minute hiatus from teaching, doing little before, during, or after the broadcasts to enhance the pedagogical content of their lesson;

- Limited availability of support materials to facilitate planning a lesson around a radio broadcast; and

- Regionalization will focus future investments on developing production capacity at the regional level rather than on evaluating and rethinking the use of programs in the classroom.

Radio programs for the first six grades were formerly broadcast in Amharic. Under the new language policy, programs for the first six grades are being translated into or produced in the five national languages. Regionalization also calls for radio program production capability to be developed at the regional level. The EMA reports that five regional studios are already in operation and three are to be added through funding provided under an IDA credit. As with other MOE agencies, regionalization of programming capacity will require that the EMA become more of a central service organization that will provide training, technical advice, prototype materials, and evaluation and research services to the regions. EMA will also continue to produce programs for the local (Addis Ababa) educational radio station.

STATISTICS AND PLANNING

The Planning and External Relations Service (PERS) of the MOE is responsible for collecting and managing information for the education sector, supervising the use of that information for planning, and cooperating with donor agencies in the preparation of projects and programs in support of the ministry's plans. Specifically, the Education Information Management Section has the capacity for the collection, aggregation, and computerization of education system statistics. A school-level questionnaire is the basis for data collection, and five copies are filled out annually by school principals and their staffs. The central office computerizes the data. Staff trained in data entry essentially redo all the work performed by hand at the regional and sub-regional levels. The MOE is currently two years behind in entering school-level data.

Full computerization of the education systems information network is proceeding under World Bank and SIDA support. SIDA is providing guidance and technical assistance in setting up the central EMIS network and for the organization, training, and support required for the computerization of the regional education offices.

Shortcomings in the MOE's collection and use of statistical information include the following:

- Although yearly statistical reports are published, little or no analysis beyond calculation of standard indicators (i.e. gross and net enrollment rates, student to teacher ratios) is performed;

- No finance data are collected through the school questionnaires and rural and urban classifications are not standardized;

- At present no planning applications of education system data are in use. Likewise, no modeling or simulation tools are available for assisting in policy formulation and decision making. Little or no analysis of costs is conducted;

- Planning for recurrent activity has been limited to compilation of personnel needs. Investment planning has been carried out only within the context of donor funded projects, with no overall sectoral investment strategy; and

- Planning has been highly centralized and must now be devolved to the regions where little capacity or experience exists.

INFRASTRUCTURE: REPAIR AND MAINTENANCE

With only 8,325 primary schools, overall supply capacity relative to the primary school age eligible population is extremely low. In addition, the distribution of supply is skewed towards urban centers and towns. The MOE estimates that the overall urban GER is 54 percent, while the rural GER is 19 percent. The limited capacity of the primary sub-sector has been further constrained by the damage to educational infrastructure from both the war and the general looting and destruction of buildings that followed the collapse of the central government in 1991. The following table gives data from two regions on the total number of schools and the amount of schools reported as damaged. It can be seen that roughly 10 percent of the primary schools are reported as damaged in the two regions visited. This coincides with the MOE's overall estimates of damaged schools. The Minister of External Economic Cooperation stated in his address to the Consultative Group in November of 1992 that some 1,160 primary schools have been partially or fully damaged.

TABLE E2: DAMAGE TO SCHOOLS IN SELECTED REGIONS

Region	Total Primary	Amount Damaged	Total J. Sec.	Amount Damaged	Total S. Sec.	Amount Damaged
Amhara	2,483	267	233	2	72	--
Southern People's	1,665	172	216	2	44	1
Total	4,148	439	449	4	116	1

The MOE, as well as the regional bureaus, cites rehabilitation of damaged infrastructure as a top priority. The Project Management Office (PMO) of the MOE, which is responsible for the coordination, implementation, and monitoring of all externally financed civil works in the education sector, reports approximately US$ 41 million in damage to schools. All investment in infrastructure is financed out of donor projects, with some requirements for community in-kind contributions. For rehabilitation, about US$ 15 million has been allocated from the ERRP.

For new construction, IDA, ADF, and SIDA financed projects are the principal sources of investment. The PMO estimates that a four classroom concrete block school, with two latrines (in IDA financed projects) costs roughly $US 24,000 to construct. Problems in availability of government counterpart financing have slowed implementation of most projects. The PMO estimates that on average 50 schools are constructed each year. However, in 1992, 110 schools to be financed by the SIDA project were not built.

Maintenance of existing infrastructure is an important constraint on the quality of the supply of educational opportunity. The constraints on maintenance in the education sector fall into two categories. The first concerns problems in maintaining externally financed infrastructure, and can be described as cost intensive because of the need to periodically replace imported materials. The second concerns the maintenance of local material constructed schools, and be described as participation intensive because the upkeep of buildings relies on mobilizing community participation. Poor maintenance of facilities in both categories is characterized by:

- Completely inadequate financing of recurrent maintenance for cost intensive maintenance;
- Community disinterest in participation in maintaining what are perceived as government facilities; and.
- Lack of initiative and interest in even the most simple upkeep (preventative maintenance) at the school level.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING

The World Bank's sixth education project financed the constructing and equipping of the Center for Educational Staff Development (CESD), which is nearing completion. The ministry has further signalled the importance it attaches to staff training (especially in the context of regionalization) by forming a new staff development department as a permanent part of the MOE structure. Under the auspices of this new department, the CESD will be used for national capacity building and systematic training and upgrading of educational administration personnel. In light of the additional administrative capacity required to manage regionalization, the CESD will also play an important role in the training of decentralized educational administrators and managers.

Critical constraints on the CESD's capacity to handle the training requirements of the sector include:

- The center is completely untested as a training facility and has no staff;
- Responsibilities and staffing of MOE, region, zone, and wareda offices remain unclear, making it difficult to identify the specific capacities and skills to be developed in personnel at each level.
- No comprehensive training needs assessment has been conducted, training modules need to be developed, and competent trainers need to be identified and/or trained;

ADULT EDUCATION

The Adult Education Division and Its Programs

The Adult Education Division and its programs, which under the Dergue had been the flourishing centerpiece of its educational program dominated by a major literacy campaign, is now in a state of decline. Its staff, once numbering approximately 150, with thirty to forty professionals, has been reduced to a total of 42, with 28 professionals left. Its library, a valuable repository of materials for adult education in this country and elsewhere, is closed for lack of a librarian.

This year, at least, the Adult Education Division did have a budget which it used to provide printed teaching materials and support for adult education programs in zones that requested it. The programs it supports include:

- Literacy and post-literacy programs, mainly in areas that use Amharic;
- Support materials for EMA's distance teaching program; and
- Community Skills Training Centers (CSTCs).

Literacy and Post-Literacy

Literacy programs are now being run on a purely voluntary basis. At the start of the year, the Adult Education Division sent out a letter to regions and zones offering support in response to any request for assistance in literacy programs. The Division has since disbursed 1.3 million Birr to Tigray, North and South Gonder. South Wollo, West Shoa, West Gojjam, Jimma, Asosa, and Metekel, basing grants on the anticipated number of students, teachers, and quantity of chalk each details.

The Division had also just shipped supplies of literacy primers to areas using Amharic - North and South Gonder, East and West Gojjam, and North and South Wollo - from its remaining supplies. Tigray had sent manuscripts of primers in Tigrinya to the Division, which then simply underwrote printing and shipping the materials back to Tigray. West Shoa and Jimma plan to have programs in Oromo; Asosa plans to start with both Amharic and Oromo.

The Division has also negotiated a small pilot program with a Canadian NGO, CODE, to resuscitate part of another remnant of the late literacy campaign, the reading rooms for post-literacy students. It is transforming the ones it supports into community libraries. CODE has bought books in both Amharic and English which it is supplying to centers constructed of local materials by the communities in which they are located. The community must also agree to supply and pay a reading room attendant. The books are not limited to materials appropriate to new readers; they are intended to appeal to all literate community members, including those with secondary school education and more. In addition to the community contribution each center costs the Division 22,000 Birr for furniture, some books and training of the reading room attendant. Donors provide other equipment.

Distance Education

The Adult Education Division's role is limited to printing and shipping distance education materials and contracting with qualified personnel (mainly teachers in Addis Ababa) to grade papers. Primary level courses are conducted strictly by correspondence while junior and senior secondary courses are broadcast by EMA. Plans are afoot to provide training for upgrading unqualified primary school teachers, as well. Currently the Division reports that some 6,000 students are registered. These are mainly former soldiers and police, now demobilized and with time on their hands. The Division has sent out a circular letter announcing the programs but has not publicized them actively, since it feels it cannot handle a much larger numbers of students.

Community Skills Training Centers

Aside from literacy programs the main form of adult education offered by the Adult Education Division has been in the form of courses in skills such as leather-making, smithing, soap-making, modern farming, and the like. Under the Dergue 401 Community Skills Training Centers were established to provide materials and teachers for these courses at the local level. As that government collapsed, some were put to use as military training centers and many were looted and bombed. The MOE reports that of the total number, some 177 CSTCs are classified as intact (i.e. not destroyed). Of those, it is unknown how many are functioning.

In principle, each center is staffed by a coordinator who schedules classes and also arranges times for local representatives of other ministries - Health or Agriculture, for instance - to use the facilities for extension and training programs. The Adult Education Division negotiates with donors to supply materials for the classes to be offered. A center in rural Gojjam, unscathed by the events of the past two years, had its coordinator in place and its schedule posted but no materials to begin this year's courses. In the interim, a number of local smiths were using the center's smithy and its equipment for their own private work. The coordinator, who was also serving as wereda educational officer in the absence of any other, was still receiving his pay from the Ministry; the community was providing pay for the center's guard.

In sum, the Adult Education Division's activities at present are a low-key, demand-led remnant of the nation-wide, often coercive programs it mounted under the last regime. Despite the potential of adult education programs to deliver pertinent training at the local level to adults who want and can use it, schooled and unschooled alike, for the moment it appears to be a backwater on the Ministry's educational map.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Non-governmental or private schooling in Ethiopia accounts for only 12 percent of the primary schools and 15 percent of the total enrollment. Private schooling is provided by a variety of institutions and organizations, including:

Public Schools: Previously private schools that were nationalized and/or community founded schools. There are a total of 424 primary and junior secondary public schools serving 356,198 students.

Mission Schools: Mission supported primary and junior secondary schools catering to a variety of Ethiopian students, with a total enrollment of 92,994. The numbers of mission schools by church affiliation are as follows

Catholic	162	Evangelical	31
Adventist	17	Lutheran	10
Combined Other	7		

Foreign Schools: Foreign run institutions intended to serve expatriate children, but with 70 percent of enrollment taken up by elite Ethiopians. There are a total of 16 such schools, 12 in Addis Ababa, 4 elsewhere, with total enrollment of 7,743.

Orthodox Schools: 15 primary and junior secondary Ethiopian Orthodox Church affiliated schools serving 6,590 students and providing religious instruction.

Mosque Schools: 20,000 students in 16 large schools providing Koranic education and instruction in Arabic.

All of the above mentioned non-government schools follow the government curriculum. However, the Orthodox Church and Mosque schools are not officially recognized (accredited?) by the MOE because of their addition of religious instruction to the curriculum.

Mission schools charge the same annual fees as government schools, about a total of 5 Birr/year. Public or community schools charge higher fees, approximately 100 Birr/year. Foreign schools are comparatively very expensive, charging 10,625 Birr/year. Mission schools receive additional support from external partners, and the government affords them duty free importation of school supplies and equipment. Public schools are partially assisted by the MOE, receiving some government books and teachers, or government support for construction costs.

Present MOE policy restricts private institutions' capacity to levy fees, requiring that fee increases be approved by a school's community. Government policy regarding private schools also expects the MOE to certify and supervise non-governmental institutions. To receive official certification, a private school must maintain MOE established standards, employ duly qualified teachers, and follow the MOE curriculum. Private school teachers are allowed to attend TTI training courses (pre- and in-service), and MOE inspectors and administrators supervise the private schools in their districts. All private school students must sit for MOE cycle completion exams.

The MOE has received numerous requests from the private sector to establish schools, and feels that private schooling could help respond to excess demand, especially in urban areas where government schools are severely overcrowded. The MOE has submitted a draft of a law that would liberalize the establishment of private schools and is awaiting the TGE's reaction.