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A Pilot Study of Effects of Primary Schooling in a Rural Community of Ethiopia

The Case of Saya Debir

Rolf Sjöström

in co-operation with the Ministry of Education

SIDA

July 1986

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
SIDA

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ABSTRACT

Cooperation between Ethiopia and Sweden in the field of education dates back to the nineteenth century. During the last 20 years a large portion of Swedish development aid to Ethiopia has been directed to the education sector.

The present study was commissioned by SIDA, the Swedish International Development Authority with the purpose to explore effects of primary schooling on the local community and to develop research methodology and competence. The study was conducted between August 1985 and February 1986. A sample of 100 respondents in a rural community in Ethiopia of which 40 had gone to school and 60 had not, were interviewed about perceptions and experiences of primary schooling. The research site of Saya Debir consisted of 16 Peasants Associations served by one SIDA-built primary school opened in 1973/74. The school contained grades 1-6 with 5 teachers and 378 students, one third of whom were girls.

Findings of the study indicate that living conditions in Saya Debir were quite typical of those found in many rural environments of Ethiopia. Data collected on 40 out-migrants showed that most left for further studies. School-linkage with the National Literacy Campaign was manifested in support to literacy instruction and admitting neo-literates as students. With regard to wastage, drop-out was most frequent in grades 1-2. Most repetition took place in grade 1 and absenteeism was generally related to work in agriculture. Major causes for wastage besides work in agriculture were early marriage and difficult economic conditions.

Suggested school improvements pertained to e.g. addition of classes, establishment of new schools, facilities such as water, electricity and practically oriented subject matter. Expected and experienced benefits of schooling were most often seen as related to literacy, occupation and career, mass-organizations, social and political consciousness and health and hygiene. Effects of the school other than providing formal education were related to e.g. occupation, literacy and mass-organizations. Some respondents, however, saw the school as a place of learning only. All primary school completers and most drop-outs showed good retention of school-acquired skills and knowledge and frequently used and transferred the same to non-schoolers. Schoolers were actively involved in mass-organizations, e.g. participating in meetings and holding office.

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0.1 SUMMARY

0.1.1 Findings and Conclusions

Presentation of findings and conclusions follows the research model with its three components of Conditions, Process and Effects (See p 11).

CONDITIONS

Societal level

With regard to education, Ethiopia by 1974 listed one of the lowest literacy rates in the world, and only a small percentage of school age children had the opportunity for primary schooling. Female enrolment was very low especially in rural areas. In post-revolutionary Ethiopia education has been given an important role in the process of societal change. Three significant documents, the NDR and WPE programmes and Ten Year Perspective Plan, indicate the nations intentions in the field of education with the guiding principles of Education for Production, Education for science and research, Education for Socialist Consciousness.

The National Literacy Campaign has drastically raised the number of literates and there has been considerable expansion of the primary system with for instance a doubling of the number of primary schools. In line with expansion of the system the structure of the Ministry of Education has been reorganized to facilitate the teaching-learning process and services have been created to support development of the education system.

Community level

The research site of Saya Debir is located in a rural area about 190 kms north of Addis Ababa. Predominant economic activity is agriculture. There is a SIDA built school which serves 16 Peasants Associations, with a combined population of 14000. Social and political participation seems to be at a fairly high level with, besides Peasants Associations; REWA, REYA, Producers Cooperatives and Service Cooperatives. About 1260 people

from the two Sample Peasants Associations participated in the 12th round of the National Literacy campaign 1984/85.

Respondents

- The sample of 100 respondents was divided into four groups
  - Primary School Completers (PS)
  - Drop-Outs (DO)
  - Non-Primary Schoolers (NP)
  - People in the Milieu (PM)
- One third of the respondents are females
- Two thirds of the respondents are under 30 years of age
- All respondents are Ethiopian Orthodox Christians
- The majority speak Amharic as first language
- Data collected about out-migrants show that most left for further studies
- With regard to living conditions
  - water is usually not boiled before drinking
  - there are no latrines
  - most cooking is done inside the house
  - cattle is mostly kept outside the house
  - almost all have a garden plot for cultivation of vegetables
  - household possessions seem to represent what is commonly found in rural homes of Ethiopia

To conclude Education has been given a key role, and expanded resources in transforming the Ethiopian society-The research site of Saya Debir probably shares a number of characteristics with many rural communities in Ethiopia with respect to for instance

economic activity, demographic profile and access to services. It is conceivable, however, that in Saya Debir involvement in and activities of mass - and social organizations are on a higher than average level.

PROCESS

Saya Debir School

Physical facilities

- Built by SIDA, opened in 1973/74
- Two separate buildings, six classrooms
- Plot for farming and gardening
- Scarcity of teaching aids
- No school library
- Students adequately furnished with text-books
- Stock of sports equipment and tools for handicraft and farming

Economy

- Teachers salaries and teaching-learning materials provided by Government
- Locally generated income
  - e.g. from selling produce from school plot

Students

- 378 students 1984/85 in six grades
- Only one third are girls, but tendency for increased proportions of girls.

Teachers

- Five teachers including headmaster, all males, age 22-30, only two have TTI, average length of service 4 years, difficult conditions of living

Management

- School management committee, working with among other things to solve problems of the school e.g. lack of quarters for teachers

Linkage with literacy

- The school provides assistance in terms of classrooms and instruction after regular classes. Certain recruitment of neo-literates; mostly to grade 3

Content

- Content most favoured by respondents; science, arithmetic, agriculture, languages (Amharic, English)

Wastage

- Drop-out in Saya Debir school mostly from grade 1-2

- Most repetition in grade 1

- Being absent without permission is twice as common as with permission. Permitted absenteeism related to work in agriculture

- Some major causes for wastage according to respondents are

  . Labour
  . Early marriage
  . Difficult economic conditions

Suggested school improvements

- Most frequent suggestions regard addition of classes to existing school and establishment of new schools

- Some other suggestions pertain to

  - facilities such as water, electricity, clinic, teachers cafeteria
  - practically oriented and applied subject matter

To conclude. Saya Debir school appears to be more or less comparable to many primary schools in rural areas of Ethiopia in terms of e.g. enrolment and resources. Findings suggest a fairly high community involvement with the school. The often voiced suggestions for adding higher grades to existing school as well as establishing new schools appear well grounded. One effect of such improvement would probably be reduced wastage.

EFFECTS

Expected and experienced benefits of schooling both at the level of individuals and community are most often stated by respondents as related to

- Acquiring and spreading literacy

- Occupation and career

- Mass-organizations and social and political consciousness

- Health and hygiene

Schoolers transfer of skills and knowledge

- Mainly through spreading literacy

Effects of the school other than providing formal education

- Related to e.g. occupation, mass-organizations, literacy. Some respondents, however, see the school as a place of learning only.

Reasons for sending and not sending children to school may be viewed as reflecting expected benefits of schooling.

Major reasons why parents send their children to school are stated as

- to assist the family and provide social security in parents' old age
- to lay the ground for a good career
- to acquire educational skills and knowledge including literacy
- to assist the community as a whole
- to raise the level of consciousness
- to lead a good and healthy life

Major reasons for not sending children to school are

- demand for child labour
- unawareness of the benefits of schooling
- economic problems

Reasons for not sending girls to school include

- o early marriage
- o alleged weakness of females
- o alleged sexual misconduct
- o demand for labour

Occupations preferred for educated people are

- o teaching, other government employment and technical jobs

Career proposed for someone who completed grade 6 is

- o to move and seek further education
- o to stay and improve the environment

All primary schoolers and most drop-outs show good retention of skills and knowledge.

Schoolers use their skills in daily life by way of e.g.

- o Reading activities and writing

Schoolers and mass-organizations

- o Schoolers attend meetings frequently and often hold office and assume responsibilities in mass-organizations.

To conclude the school in Saya Debir is viewed by our respondents as a positive force in their community. Respondents expect as well as experience benefits from schooling both at the individual and the community level. Skills and knowledge acquired by schoolers seem to be fairly well retained and applied in daily life by both completers and drop-outs. The latter on the whole appear to be active in many fields notably,mass-organizations.

Looking at effects of schooling in Saya Debir two circumstances should be kept in mind. One is that there is likely to be interaction between the formal school and non-formal education in the shape of the National Literacy Campaign. Conceivable effects of Church schools should also be taken into consideration. Secondly, the school in Saya Debir diffuses its services to a community with 14000 inhabitants thereby, it appears, seriously limiting its potentiality for impact.

0.1.2 Recommendations for Action

In the following are presented a number of recommendations for action emanating from findings of the study.

1. Accelerate establishment of new primary schools as well as expanding existing schools with more classrooms and higher grades, so as to bring children closer to school. If a child lives reasonably near the school it may be easier to combine studies and work and thus reduce drop-out and absenteeism.

2. Plan local school activities in a decentralized manner, to fit child labour demands i.e. by placing vacation periods during busy seasons in agriculture.

3. The process of establishing School Pedagogical Centres (SPC:s) ought to be given all possible support because of the potentiality of SPC:s to significantly improve the situation with regard to teaching aids.

4. A school-library is a vital facility for the school and indirectly also for the community. Establishment of school-libraries is therefore an intervention which should be accorded high priority.

5. Educational content and reading materials should be more functionally oriented both in primary schooling and in literacy.

6. Learning capability of a child is closely related to proper nutrition. Most of rural students walk long distances to school spending the whole day without any refreshment. To remedy this unfortunate situation it is recommended that simple school cafeterias where e.g. tea and bread is served be organized, preferably with community assistance from for example the school management committee and REWA.

7. Pre- and in-service training should be programmed in such a way that for instance any professionally un-trained teacher would receive training within a limited number of years.

8. Emphazis should be given to assigning better qualified teachers to lower grades from which there is a very high rate of educational wastage.

9. The problem of lack of quarters and other problems with regard to living conditions for rural teachers should be treated as a matter of urgency.

10. Employing more female teachers might promote female student enrolment.

11. Follow-up courses for Primary School completers and Drop-outs. The formal curriculum is to be adhered to. Required minimum of assistance from school should consist of e.g. providing instructional aid and lending books. Students should be allowed to study subjects of their own choice.

0.1.3 Implications for Future Rsearch

1. In - depth studies applying a combination of qualitative and quantative methods to explore to what extent schooling contributes to improvement of living conditions. (For a related study from which methodological lessons could be drawn, see Fassil, 1983). The time dimension should be considered by seeking information about the situation e.g. ten years ago.

2. Longitudinal tracer study on primary school completers in and from different rural settings into the issue of out-migration of the educated. Such a study could focus on

   . Magnitude of out-migration over time
   . Causes for out-migration
   . Consequences of out-migration for individual and community

3. As a base for planning of Universalized Primary Education, UPE, carry out a study in a number of sample areas to determine the size of the school-age population and the proportion who attends school and to explore reasons for not attending.

4. Studies into linkage between Primary Education and Literacy in order to explore ways of productive interaction.

5. Feasibility studies on temporal organization of primary schooling with regard to both scheduling of the school day and the school year.

6. Studies into what constitutes relevant content in rural environments with special reference to agriculture, taking into account consequences for teacher training.

7. Studies of the teaching-learning process in classroom interaction with a method of systematic observations.

8. Several of the research proposals enumerated above should be able to in varying degree benefit from the EPS-study in terms of e.g. research issues and methodology. However, it is suggested that studies similar to EPS be conducted in other regions and types of environments in order to among other things explore the wider relevance of EPS-findings. In EPS-related studies methodological variants could be attempted e.g. with a deepening of the qualititive aspect. So for instance could the technique of participant observation be applied involving research trained personnel assigned as primary teachers to the research area as data collectors.

0.2 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present study would not have been possible were it not for the concerted efforts of several institutions and individuals.

Thus, my heartfelt thanks go to the Curriculum Department of the Ministry of Education and more specifically to its Curriculum Evaluation and Educational Research Division which was the immediate host for the project. The Curriculum Department has in an efficient and generous way offered technical and administrative support, by among other things office facilities, secretarial assistance and making drivers and vehicles available for the field work. I am likewise indebted to the Planning Services of the Ministry of Education who have been responsible for official contacts and liaison with SIDA.

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Several of the EPS-research partners mentioned in the foregoing took part in an intensive three-day seminar in Nazareth. At this instance constructive criticism on the draft report was given, and in a joint effort report sections dealing with Findings and Conclusions, Recommendations for action and Implications for Future research were outlined.

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Holmsund April 1986

Rolf Sjöström

0.3 EXPLANATIONS OF TERMS AND ACRONYMS

Awraja — Sub-division of Region (see Region below)

APC — Awraja Pedagogical Centre

Calendar — The Ethiopian (Julian) calendar (E.C.) is seven years and eight months behind the Gregorian Calendar (G.C.) The Ethiopian New Year falls on September 11 (G.C.). E.C. and G.C. may be equated in the following manner.

E.C.	G.C
1976	1983/84
1977	1984/85
1978	1985/86, and so on

CSO — Central Statistical Office

CSTC — Community Skills Training Centre

E.C. — See Calendar

EMPDA — The Educational Materials Production and Distribution Agency

EPS — The Study of Effects of Primary Schooling in a Rural Community of Ethiopia

G.C. — See Calendar

NDR — The National Democratic Revolution (Programme of)

MFS — Minor Field Study .SIDA-funded scholarships.

NLC	The National Literacy Campaign
PA	Peasants Association
Region	For administrative purposes Ethiopia is divided into 14 Regions, with the Capital of Addis Ababa as an additional region. Each Region is organized in Awrajas, 106 in number. The Awrajas are in their turn divided into Woredas.
REWA	Revolutionary Ethiopia Women's Association
REYA	Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association
SIDA	Swedish International Developement Authority
TTI	Teacher Training Institute for Primary School teachers
Woreda	Administrative Sub-division of Awraja (See Awraja and Region above)
WPE	Workers Party of Ethiopia

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1 BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Cooperation between Ethiopia and Sweden in the field of Education traces its historical roots down to the nineteenth century. In 1870 Swedish missionaries opened their first school in Massawa, Eritrea. (Sjöström & Sjöström, 1983).
Government level cooperation between Ethiopia and Sweden started some 30 years ago. It is interesting to note that the first development project was concerned with education. In 1954 an agreement was signed for Swedish support to the Ethio-Swedish Institute of Building Technology (Gumbel, Nyström & Samuelsson, 1983).
During the last 20 years a large portion of Swedish development aid has been channelled towards the education sector notably to the construction of rural schools. By 1984 about 6200 schools had been built with Swedish assistance. (Ministry of Education, 1984 b).

In 1983 SIDA commissioned an evaluation study on the impact of Swedish assistance to the education sector in Ethiopia (Gumbel et al, 1983). The study, focussing on the primary system, pointed out a number of problems and deficiencies which allegedly constituted grave constraints to the quality and efficiency of schooling. One of the recommendations emanating from the study was that a so-called micro-study be carried out on rural primary schools. It was suggested that such a research project should address itself to the problems of drop-out and to effects of primary schooling on the local community.

In February, 1984 a preparatory study was conducted by the author, resulting in a Research Plan and Terms of Reference for A Pilot Study on Effects of Primary Schooling on the Local Community (Sjöström, 1984 a). During a planning visit to Ethiopia later in 1984, the research plan underwent a revision, accounted for in Sjöström (1984 b). Certain issues related to theoretical framework and research methods were treated as a further means of preparation. (Sjöström, 1984 c). The Project was called A Pilot Study of Effects

of Primary Schooling in a Rural Community of Ethiopia, EPS. EPS was implemented between August, 1985 and February, 1986. Project activities were carried out roughly according to the following calendar:

August, 1985	Selection of sample
September	Construction of instruments
October	Data collection
November - January 1986	Data processing and reporting

1.2 PURPOSE

The EPS-study is focussed on Government-operated Primary Schools in rural communities. The Purpose of the study falls into three sections concerned with generation of knowledge, quality of schooling and competence building. The Purpose is repeated and elaborated on further in the text under the heading of Method (p 8 ff).

- The main purpose of the study is to explore effects of the introduction of primary schooling on the local community.
- Insights and knowledge gained in the study should supplement those of related research projects to serve continued qualitative and quantitative expansion of the education system in Ethiopia.
- The study is also expected to generate hypotheses and to develop research methodology that could contribute to the strengthening of MoE research capacity in the field of education.

1.3 CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

The present study of primary schooling in Ethiopia should be situated within a societal context of education and socio-political change. Context

in the present case is the society envisioned by the Ethiopian revolution.

The elements of the new political ideology in Ethiopia are spelt out in the "Programme for the National Democratic Revolution" of 1976 and the Programme for the Workers Party of Ethiopia of 1984.

The political ideology of revolutionary Ethiopia emphasizes accelerated economic and democratic development centering on better living conditions, equitably shared by the population in its entirety. Transformation of the Ethiopian society, it is maintained, calls for massive popular participation.

In this process of radical and comprehensive change, education has been given a leading role as expressed in the above mentioned NDR and WPE Programmes as well as in the Ten Year Perspective Plan based on the WPE Programme.

Important objectives for the system of education, derived from the political ideology are

- education for production
- education for science and research
- education for socialist consciousness

Education according to an often quoted definition is the process where the existing society transmits its traditions and time-honoured values and patterns of behaviour to a new generation. It is of interest to note, however, that in Ethiopia, the principal task for the educational apparatus is to serve as a vehicle for thorough and sustained change.

With a view to pursuing the societal perspective of Primary Schooling in Ethiopia a partial study is being carried out by a SIDA-scholarship holder. Main features of the study - a report of which is forthcoming - are education and society in a Marxist-Leninist perspective and the

role of schooling in relation to Ethiopia's national development.

An outline of the study is presented below:

- Education and Society
  - . A Functional/Structural Perspective
  - . A Conflict Perspective
- Education in a Marxist-Leninist Perspective
- Education in Some Socialist Countries
- Education in Ethiopia before 1974, a short overview
- Education in Ethiopia after 1974
  - . Goals
  - . Implementation
  - . Resources
  - . Future

Analysis and Discussion

1.4 ETHIOPIA - SOME BASIC FACTS

Ethiopia is situated on the Horn of Africa and occupies an area of about 1.2 million square kilometres, roughly equivalent in size to Scandinavia. The country can be divided into three geographical regions:
The Central Plateaus, the Rift Valley and the Ogaden Plateau.
The greater part of the Central Plateaus, which gives the country its characteristic topography, has an altitude of more than 1500 metres. Ras Dashan reaching about 4600 metres is the highest peak. The Central Plateaus are broken by numerous deep valleys, and the slopes down to the plains are usually very steep and difficult to negotiate. Flowing from the Lake Tana down towards the Sudanese plains, the Blue Nile cuts a deep canyon through the Central Plateaus.

The Rift Valley divides the Central Plateaus into two parts. The landscape in the southern part of the Valley is dominated by a number of large lakes. Further to the north, the Valley widens into the vast Danakil Desert, one of the hottest areas in the world. The Ogaden Plateau is a sparsely populated semi-desert.

The climate presents wide variations from one part of the country to the other. The climate in the highlands is fairly agreeable with warm days and chilly nights. The rainy season generally occurs between June and September, often preceded by a period of less heavy rains in March-May. The annual rainfall varies from about 2000 mm in the eastern part of the Central Plateaus to 60 mm at Assab on the Red Sea.

The population figure arrived at during the population census carried out in 1984 is a little more than 42 million. Close to ninety per cent of the population live in rural areas. (Office of the Population and Housing Census Commission, 1984). Population growth (rate of natural increase) was estimated in 1981 at 2.9 per cent and infant mortality at 144 pro mille. Estimated average expectation of life at birth was 46 years (Government of Socialist Ethiopia, 1985).

Ethiopia's economy is predominantly agrarian with about 85 per cent of the work force occupied in the principal trade. Dominant export goods are coffee, cattle, hides and skins.

Linguistically Ethiopia presents a picture of great diversity. About half a dozen of the languages that are spoken can be regarded as major tongues and there is a large number of dialects. Amharic with its unique alphabet is the official language, English is also widely used within public administration and as language of instruction in secondary schools and in higher education.

A process of radical political change started in 1974, which among other consequences led to the overthrow of the regime of emperor Haile Selassie.

In pre-revolutionary Ethiopia the rural classes were exploited by feudal landlords. With regard to education Ethiopia listed one of the lowest literacy rates in the world with an average of 7 per cent (World Bank, 1973). By 1974 less than one child in five could be accommodated by the Primary School system. (Ministry of Education 1984 c).

Figure 1. Map of Ethiopia
(Source: Central Statistical Office, 1982)

The new government soon proclaimed as its ideological loadstar "scientific socialism" modelled on Marxist-Leninist philosophy. First among a series of reforms was nationalization of a number of privately owned companies. Later to follow was the realization of long overdue land reform and national appropriation of all urban land.

Vigorous efforts were manifested in the field of education notably with regard to primary schooling and literacy.

2 PURPOSE AND ISSUES

The EPS-study is concerned exclusively with grades 1-6 of Government schools in rural settings. The purpose of the study is threefold:

- The main purpose of the study is to explore effects of the introduction of primary schooling on the local community.
- Insights and knowledge gained in the study should supplement those of related research projects to serve continued qualitative and quantitative expansion of the education system in Ethiopia.
- The study is also expected to generate hypotheses and to develop research methodology that could contribute to the strengthening of MoE research capacity in the field of education.

From the overall purpose of the study a number of research issues may be derived.

What are the conceivable effects of primary schooling on th local community related to

- literacy and educational achievement
- work and occupation

- scholarization of children
- social and political consciousness
- social and political participation

What are the relationships between Effects of Schooling and Conditions in terms of

- societal goals
- educational objectives
- organization
- local environment
- formal and non-formal education
- living conditions
- migration

What are the relationships between Effects of Schooling and Process in terms of

- teachers and students
- physical facilities
- content
- wastage

3 METHOD

3.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

In the following the issue of qualitative research methods is briefly treated. Written texts about qualitative research methods abound. The present discussion draws essentially on the works of Bogdan and his associates. (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984; Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; see also Wikman, 1985).

In social sciences two main perspectives have been at the forefront. Positivism, to start with, is looking for hard facts and causes of social phenomena rather than | for the subject's own point of view. The phenomenological tradition views human behaviour as contingent

on how individuals interpret their world. In other words, "the phenomenologist is committed to understanding (underlined in original) social phenomena from the actor's own perspective. He or she examines how the world is experienced. The important reality is what people experience it to be." (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p 2). Contingent research methods are generally qualitatively oriented.

As an example of a phenomenological approach in social sciences may be quoted Marx's study of capitalism (Eneroth, 1984). Marx did not try to find out in a quantitative way what separated capitalism from other economical systems. On the contrary he attempted to identify the distinguishing qualities of capitalism.

A principle characteristic of qualitative research is that it is descriptive and generally non-experimental. Data, often of a subjective nature, contain for instance records of verbal statements i.e. interviews, transcripts rather than numbers. As a consequence written accounts of qualitatively conceived research are often laced with quotations of respondents' actual utterances.

Another specific quality of qualitative methodology is its holistic orientation that is to say that "people, settings, or groups are not reduced to variables, but viewed as a whole". (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p 6).

Qualitative research can also be described as naturalistic in the sense that for instance in an interview situation the researcher tries to associate with respondents in an informal and natural manner. Preferrably the interaction occurs on the subject's condition with regard to for instance time and location.

Three important methods for collection of qualitative data are participant observation, personal documents and interviews.

Participant Observation is defined by Bogdan & Taylor (1975), as;

> ... "research characterized by a period of intense social interaction between the researcher and the subjects, in the milieu of the latter. During this period, data are unobtrusively and systematically collected." (p 5)

What separates personal documents from other approaches is that they are written in the words of the subject. Personal documents include for example material such as diaries, letters and autobiographies.

The interview is probably the most widely used of the three approaches mentioned in the foregoing. Interviews as a means of collecting data are employed in both quantitative and qualitative research approaches. A statement by Kerlinger (1965) may be quoted to illustrate this point.

> "The best instrument available for sounding people's behaviour, future intentions, feelings, attitudes and reasons for behaviour would seem to be the structured interview coupled with an interview schedule that includes open-end, closed and scale items."

One strategy applied in qualitatively oriented research is so-called open-ended interviews. This type of interviews dispense of fixed response alternatives but leaves interviewers free to formulate personal perspectives in their own words (Patton, 1980).

As three basic approaches for collection of qualitative data through interviews may be distinguished:

- the informal conversational interview
- the general interview guide approach
- the standardized open-ended interview

What separates these three approaches is the extent to which questions are determined and standardized before the interview. In the informal conversational interview there are no predetermined questions.(Patton 1980)

With the general interview certain issues and guidelines are outlined before the interview. No specific wording or sequencing of issues is observed. The interview guide serves as a check-list during the interview to make sure all topics are covered.

When using the standardized open-ended interview the questions are worded and arranged in some form of questionnaire. This approach is useful when the same questions are given to many interviewees and to facilitate data processing if a large number of respondents is involved (Patton, 1980).

To conclude, there exists a wide range of methodological strategies available to the social researcher depending on the nature of the problem which the inquiry addresses. Consequently, there does not seem to be a case for polarization between qualitative and quantitative approaches, but on the contrary reasons for an integrated perspective (cf. Holter & Kalleberg, 1982).

3.2 RESEARCH MODEL

Even if the present study is directed towards effects, it seems necessary to take into account also other aspects of primary schooling. This attitude stems from the previously stated aspiration to view education within a broader societal context.

Thus, attention should be paid to conditions which affect the educational process and its subsequent effects. Conditions are here broadly conceived of as encompassing factors ranging from societal and educational goals to human resources and other requirements.

With regard to effects, it is of importance to take notice also of those that are un-anticipated in a positive as well as in a negative

sense. The approach which is outlined above is influenced by among others, Dahllöf (1979); Franke-Wikberg (1982) and Lundgren (1972).

As can be deduced from the preceding discussions, the present study may be viewed within the general research framework of evaluation. The components of an evaluation structure have been indicated; conditions, process and effects. It can be maintained that this set-up mirrors an approach, which with variations, has set its mark on much evaluative research both in industrialized and developing countries. (See for instance Dave (1979); Franke-Wikberg & Johansson (1975); Elzinga (1981) and Sjöström & Sjöström (1982).

Dominant protocols of educational evaluation have often reflected traditions and philosophies in Western industrialized countries. Elzinga (1981) discussing this predicament raises the issue that evaluation approaches should be tuned to different philosophies of development.

Elzinga (1981) brings to the fore three development paradigms and corresponding evaluation formats. The so called self reliance paradigm, seems to have a bearing on the present study. The self reliance paradigm embodies comprehensive national-economic development involving mass-mobilization and indigenous potentialities. The associated evaluation format envisages a broad combination of economic, social and political factors.

The heuristic approach suggested in the foregoing is translated into a research model where categories of requisite information are indicated within the basic components of Conditions, Process and Effects.

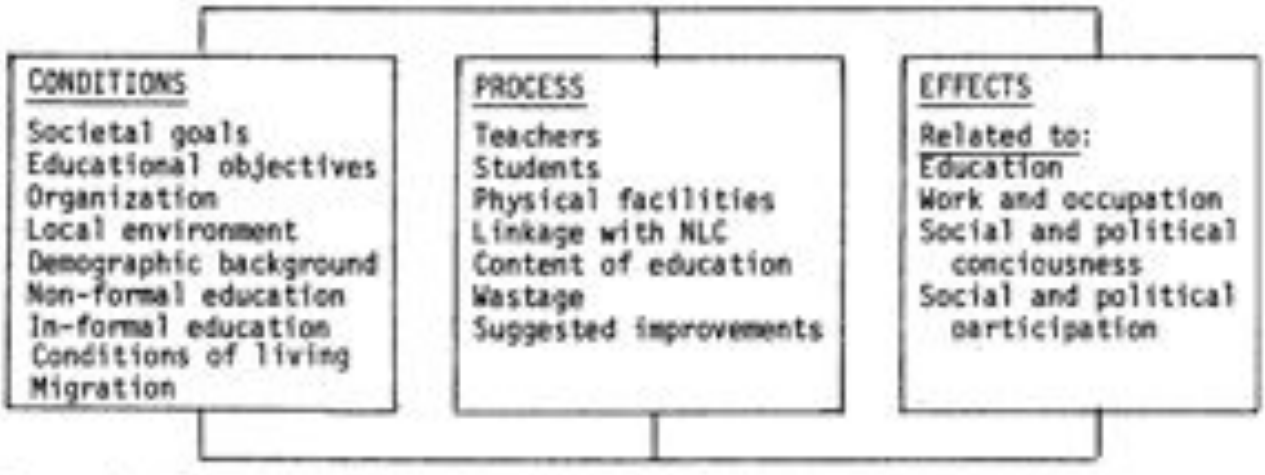

Figure 2. Research model for the EPS-study

In this context it seems appropriate to point out that there hardly exists any objective criteria for determining to which of the three model components a given variable belongs. Certain variables can probably be evaluated from a dual perspective of for example Conditions and Effects. The pattern of variables displayed in Figure 2 is nevertheless maintained for reasons of structure and analysis.

Categories of information in the research model have been organized in sets of variables as shown in Appendix A.

The general stragegy is to collect a rather broad spectrum of information about categories of people, namely those with and those without primary education. On a different level attention will be directed towards a community endowed with a primary school and one which does not yet possess such a facility. An analysis of the possible role of schooling vis à vis perceived differences may then be endeavoured. Subsequently the outcome of that analysis should be related to information about conditions and process.

3.3 INSTRUMENTS

The following section opens with a list of instruments that were developed for the EPS-project.

- Guide for Open Interviews
- Schedule for Structured Interviews
- Data Form for background information about respondents
- Data Form for Popular and Development Organizations
- Themes for Small Talk
- Mini-test in reading, writing and arithmetic
- School Quality Checklist
- People with Positions
- Background Data Checklist

A principal purpose of the EPS-project is to study effects of primary schooling on the local community. We elected to look at schooling effects from the perspective of the individuals concerned. We sought to achieve

depth and insight rather than breadth and overview. Factors mentioned above motivated the choice of a qualitative approach using interviews as the principal research tool.

In the main two different but related instruments were designed i.e. Guide for Open Interviews (OI) and Schedulefor Structured Interviews (SI). (See Appendix B). The reason for applying alternative interview approaches is the pilot orientation of the EPS-study.

As a base for instruments construction a table of variables derived from the research model (Appendix A) was prepared. With these variables in mind relevant literature as well as available existing instruments were compiled and scrutinized in search for ideas and material.

A special Blue-print was prepared where variables were combined with the different respondent groups and type of instrument. All questions were written down on separate cards to facilitate organization of the instruments.

With regard to interview language we followed a strategy which involved framing the questions in English and then making an oral translation in the field situation. English was the working language of the data collection team. Moreover, four of the ten interviewers had actively participated in instrument construction and had familiarized themselves with the text. The others received training prior to the field work. Extemporizing questions in Amharic was deemed to facilitate communication by avoiding formal and academic phrasing. Another motivation for the language strategy was simply to save time in construction of instruments and data processing. Finally, it is conceivable that the language issue is of less consequence in Open Interviews where the material in English is more limited. For a discussion of interview language see also Inkeles & Smith (1974) and Sjöström & Sjöström (1983).

A second draft of the principal instruments, Guide for Open Interviews and Schedule for Structured Interviews were tried out in rural locality served by Meta Jara School, about 35 kilometres from Addis Ababa in

Menagesha Awraja. The schedule for People with Positions was pre-tested in a school administrative office in Addis Ababa. Participating in these exercises were, apart from the expatriate investigators, personnel from Curriculum Department and from the Planning Services of MoE.

Experiences gathered during the try-out phase were discussed and analyzed. As an outcome of this exercise some items were deleted and others were rephrased. Re-sequencing of items was also undertaken.

The Guide for Open Interviews (Appendix B) comprises a number of themes to be covered during a conversation-like communication with the informants. We reckoned that the majority of our respondents would be uneducated persons unfamiliar with an interview situation. Therefore we reasoned that a dialogue without simultaneous registration with pen and paper might yield more and possibly also more frank information than a questionnaire. Responses were to be recorded after the interview.

The Schedule for Structured Interviews (Appendix B) features a set of specific questions to be answered in a quite conventional encounter between interviewer and respondent.

Intended for the collection of certain background and other non-sensitive information about respondents a Data Form was prepared (Appendix C).

Also developed to supplement the interviews was a Mini-test intended to assess level and retention of skills in reading, writing and arithmetic. The text for the reading and dictation was taken from an Amharic text-book for grade 2 (Ministry of Education, 1979). The arithmetic items were picked from a test used in evaluation of the National Literacy Campaign (Ministry of Education, 1983).

As a device to gather information pertaining to the school a School Quality Checklist (SI) was fashioned. Yet another instrument, labelled People with Positions (PP) was directed towards

office-holders in Public Administration and mass-organizations .

Remaining instruments include

- Background Data Checklist
- Themes for Small Talk
- Data-form for Popular and Development Organizations

3.4 SAMPLE

The EPS-study was planned as an in-depth exercise concentrating with regard to space on a limited geographical area of rural Ethiopia. On a different plane the in-depth strategy is tied to the pilot orientation of the study.

The site for the in-depth study is defined as a locality containing one government operated primary school with grades 1 to 6 and the Peasants Associations served by that school.

3.4.1 Sample criteria

Definition of the research site has been done on a judgement base guided by a set of criteria. These criteria, sketched out in the research plan were finally decided upon during the initial phase of the study. In the following, sample criteria for the EPS-study are accounted for.

The rationale for conducting the study in a rural setting is quite obvious. Ethiopia is predominantly agrarian as regards means of living and occupation. A vast majority of the population live in the countryside. For our immediate purpose "rural" is defined as any locality which is not a city or a township. By town is here understood

a conglomerate of habitations containing more than 2000 inhabitants.

Another sample requirement is that the study should be confined to within the limits of the Shoa region. The concentration on one single region is an apparent consequence of the in-depth approach. And staying within Shoa obviously means minimizing field travels thereby conserving time and expenditure.

Selecting Shoa has necessitated the condition to identify a site outside the immediate influences of metropolitan Addis Ababa.

Also associated with the aspect of rurality is the principle to stay away from the mainroads. Admittedly the category of mainroad is hardly self-evident. However, for our purpose, mainroad connotes one of the paved roads which as major lines of communication branch out from Addis Ababa to e.g. Gonder, Dessie, Moyale etc.

The overwhelming majority of primary schools in Ethiopia are operated by the government. It therefore follows for reasons of representativity that non-government establishments should be excluded from the sample.

A related prerequisite is to the effect that the school should preferably be at least ten years old. The idea behind this stipulation is that such a school would have turned out cohorts of graduates from Grade 6, a category which forms an essential part of the interview audience. In like manner the criterion which calls for a low-migration area is conceived from the point of view of recruiting as respondents primary school completers as well as drop-outs.

A further principle demands of the sample site the presence and a certain level of activity of mass-organizations. As already pointed out a conceptual standpoint which guides this research venture is that schooling should be studied from the point of view of socio-political functions. It therefore appears logical to look for effects related to the nation-wide mobilization of the countryside

as manifested in activities such as Peasants Associations, Producers Cooperatives and Women's and Youth organizations. In order to make it possible to observe such activities they must evidently have attained a certain momentum. A possible side effect of this methodological endeavour is that it might to some degree detract from the representativity of the sample.

Diversity of language and religions is a stipulation motivated by the ambition to reflect in the sample an important ingredient of the Ethiopian society.

Finally mention is made of two sampling criteria which were introduced for reasons of a practical and technical nature.

- Accommodation facilities at within such a distance to enable the team to make day trips to the research site from base.
- In order to secure a productive substratum for data collection the research site should contain a reasonable number of households. These should not reside very far from the school and should form a fairly concentrated pattern of habitation.

3.4.2 Sample selection

The initial step taken to select the sample consisted in identifying suitable Awrajas where the desired research site could be found. It was envisaged to visit in a later stage Awrajas that had been thus identified and obtain on-the-spot information. However, a certain amount of knowledge was available in Addis Ababa with a view both to aiding the screening of Awrajas and to gathering data about Awrajas singled out for preliminary visits. A tentative discussion about suitable localities was in fact started already during planning sessions about one year ahead of commencement of the project implementation.

One readily available source was information possessed by several people at the Ministry of Education, MoE. Those were individuals directly or indirectly connected with the project. Visits were also paid to the Central Statistical Office (CSO) and to the Ethiopian Mapping Agency. Contacts were taken with the Shoa Region Educational Office in Addis Ababa. The Regional Educational Officer communicated with his colleagues in the concerned Awrajas in order to facilitate the forthcoming visit by our research team. At the MoE was found a complete list of primary schools in the Shoa Region. Moreover, a letter of introduction was drafted at the Planning Services of the MoE. That document was to be produced when calling on local officials as a means of legitimating our presence in their respective areas of jurisdiction.

Based on information available in Addis Ababa and with regard to the sampling criteria,selection of three Awrajas was undertaken.

The three Awrajas so selected were in order of preference

- Tegulet and Bulga
- Selale
- Haikotch and Butajira

In view of limited project resources in the way of funds, time and manpower it was deemed wise to visit all three Awrajas only if necessary. In other words, as soon as a suitable site was located the sample selection process would be concluded.

Participating in the feasibility study were:

- The Project Leader (Department of Curriculum MoE)
- the Assistant Project Leader (MoE, SIDA)
- a research officer (Planning Services MoE)
- a research officer (Curriculum Dept. MoE Selale only)
- a visiting researcher (SIDA)
- an MFS scholarship holder (SIDA, Selale only)

The round of facilitating field trips thus started with a visit to Tegulet and Bulga Awraja, situated to the north-east of Addis Ababa. The distance from Addis Ababa to the Awraja capital of Debre Berhan is 130 kilometres. Prior to inspecting the presumptive research sites in Tegulet and Bulga the team presented itself at the relevant places of authority, starting with the Education Office in the Awraja capital of Debre Berhan. After having briefed the Awraja Education Officer about the background of the study, its purpose and the selection process, a number of possible sites were discussed.

The following three days were spent travelling to the proposed localities. During this phase we were accompanied by one staff member from the Awraja Education Office. These trips took us to three different Woredas. In the Woreda capitals contacts were made with the representatives of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE), where such offices existed and the Woreda administrations. At these occasions the team was provided with close-at-hand information about presumptive research sites. For the visit to the actual spots we were assisted by a person who had local knowledge.

Arriving at the schools we approached knowledgeable individuals who represented popular organizations such as Cooperatives and Peasants Associations. We also received information from members of the teaching staffs as well as from former students.

After having evaluated the results of the first trip of reconnaissance we considered having identified three environments that fairly well suited our purpose. Nevertheless, in keeping with the selection strategy it was resolved to visit the second Awraja, namely that of Selale. The administrative centre of Selale is Fiche at a distance of 110 kilometres from Addis Ababa.

The visit to Selale followed essentially the same pattern as the one to Tegulet and Bulga. Only one possible site was identified with the possibility of a second environment accessible after termination of the seasonal rains in late September - beginning of October.

Since we regarded now having secured a reasonably sound foundation for our sample choice we decided to close selection activities and thus not proceed to the third pre-selected Awraja of Haikotch and Butajira. After evaluating the field data a final decision about selection of the sample was reached.

3.4.3 Outcome of the selection process

The site selected for the EPS-study is a community situated in Tegulet and Bulga Awraja. Community in this context denotes a primary school and the surrounding areas served by the school.

Below a few glimpses of the research site are given. A more detailed description is offered further in the text (p 31 f).

The school is situated in Saya Debir Peasant Association and serves altogether 16 PAs. To reach Saya Debir one travels 45 kilometres on all-weather road from Debre Berhan to the Woreda capital of Deneba and then continues about 15 kilometres on a dry-weather road to Saya Debir. The rual character is well established.

Language-wise both Amharic and Oromigna are spoken with Amharic dominating. The activities of mass organizations were reported to be on a high level.

We were informed that out-migration of school-completers to urban areas was of limited proportions. It moreover appeared that the settlement pattern was relatively concentrated.

Respondents to be approached in the research programme fall into four categories defined as follows:

1. Individuals who have completed grade six preferably at least three years ago. (PS)
2. Individuals who have dropped out of primary school after having preferably completed at least grade three. (DO)
3. Individuals who did not go to primary school in spite of there being a school in their community. (NP)
4. Individuals for whom there were no educational facilities when they were in the school-going age. (PM)

In addition information was to be solicited from individuals with responsible positions in popular organizations such as Peasant Associations, REYA and REWA. (People with Positions, PP).

4 PROCEDURE

4.1 FIELD VISITS

Data collection was carried out during two field visits with destination to the selected research site Saya Debir in Tegulet and Bulga Awraja. Cooperation in Administrative matters with regard to the field visits was established with the following offices and organizations:

- The Shoa Region Education Office, Addis Ababa
- Shoa Region Administrative Office
- Tegulet and Bulga Awraja Office of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, WPE, Debre Berhan
- The Awraja Administrators Office of Tegulet and Bulga in Debre Berhan
- The Saya Debir and Wayou Woreda Office of the WPE in Deneba
- The Woreda Administrators Office in Deneba
- Chairpersons of Saya Debir and of Aleyo Peasants Associations as well as of Saya Debir's Producers Cooperative

4.1.1 Field Visit I

The first field visit took place between October 1 and October 11, 1985. Participants of the trip were four staff members from the Curriculum Evaluation and Educational Research Division of the Curriculum Department of MoE, one staff-member from the Research Services of the Planning Services of MoE, the Assistant Project Leader and one SIDA scholarship holder (MFS I).

The Awraja capital of Debre Berhan served as base for daily trips to the research site. This initial field visit was devoted to collection of data using the following instruments:

- Data Forms for Open and Structured Interviews (DF)
- Guide for Open Interviews (OI)
- Interview Schedule for People with Positions (PP)
- School Quality Checklist (SQ)
- Data Form for Popular and Mass Organization (PO)

As can be recalled from the outcome of the selection process (p 20) the majority of respondents were recruited from two of the 16 Peasants Associations served by Saya Debir School namely Saya Debir P.A. and Aleyo P.A. The latter was selected because it is situated in the periphery of the catchment area of Saya Debir School. It therefore seemed to offer an opportunity to compare one locality close to the school with one distant from the school. Twenty-five respondents lived close and twenty far from the school. Three of the respondents - Primary School Completers (PS) and counted among those living near the school - however, came from two Peasants Associtions neighbouring that of Saya Debir. The reason for this deviation was the scarceness of Primary School Completers.

The actual selection of respondents was effectuated with the assistance of local contact persons who together with the research team made an inventory of available respondents. Final selection followed two principles.

Thus, when the number of eligible individuals was restricted everyone was included. When there was a situation of choice, identification was made either by way of judgement or randomly. Judgement was invariably made on the basis of spatial accessibility, that is to say that only the potential interviewees who could be reached by a four-wheel drive vehicle, or by the interviewer walking a reasonable distance were selected. In a following step the interviewers were assigned to their respondents. When necessary the interviewer was guided to the respondent by the contact person.

During Field Visit I a number of 45 interviews were carried out. Total interview time for 44 interviews on which such data are available amounted to a little more than 65 hours. The average duration of open interviews was close to an hour and a half. To this should be added the time spent on the data forms on which demographic and total factual data were gathered. Account should also be taken of the time - usually about one hour - interviewers devoted to writing down the open interviews after the encounter with respondents.

All interviewers were well qualified academically trained educationists and in the team were represented experience in teacher training and research including field work. Four of them had been involved in development and layout of instruments, a process which included training for the interview work and the study of relevant literature. In order to facilitate interviews with women there was one female interviewer on the team.

A major portion of the time in Field Visit I was occupied by Open Interviews. During most of the eight days spent on the research site only one Open Interview per crew member was achieved due to the time demanding technique and to the time devoted to travelling to the research site.

We made it a rule that whenever possible the interviews were to take place in the respondent's own environment i.e. his or her home or the vicinity thereof. Interviews with other respondent categories e.g. People with Positions (PP) were normally conducted at their respective offices and work places.

Written accounts of the Open Interviews were completed as soon as possible after the interview sessions. Occasionally the interviewers jotted down brief notes immediately after the interviews were concluded. The finished interview accounts were couched in English, but some of the notes were at times written in Amharic.

All the interview material was read through by the author and by the scholarship holder. Follow-up discussions with the interviewers were conducted throughout the field-work either on a person to person basis or in team-sessions at the base. During these occasions missing data were brought to attention for immediate or later completion. Certain items were discussed with respect to for example ambiguities in formulations and interpretations. There were also exchanges of ideas about interview techniques and points of interest for the continued field work.

4.1.2 Field Visit II

The programme for the second field visit followed in the main that of the first trip. A period between October 22 and November 1, 1985 was spent on the research location. At this occasion the team was composed of the Assistant Project Leader, four staffers from the Curriculum Evaluation and Education Research Division of the Curriculum Department, MoE, and two staff members from the Curriculum Department's Kindergarten and Formal Education Division. One of the members of the field crew had participated in Field Visit I. The new members were briefed and trained both at the EPS office in Addis Ababa and during a seminar in the field base of Debre Berhan.

Focus of activities during Field Visit II was the application of Schedule for Structured Interviews (SI) which was combined with Data Form for Open and Structured Interviews (DF) plus the Mini Test (MT) for assessing retention of school knowledge and skills.

In the process of Field Visit II, 55 structured interviews were realized. Thirty-four respondents lived near the school and twenty-one in the distant Aleyo Peasant Association. Six PS-respondents in the near-group lived outside of Saya Debir P.A. The combined interview time was 96 hours with an average of about 1 hour 45 min per interview. Data on one interview is missing. Time expended on Data forms is not included. Attention is called to the circumstance that the Data Form applied during Field Visit II contained an addition of eight items about living conditions.

4.2 DATA TREATMENT

The first step in the data treatment process was simply to have the material typed in order to facilitate reading and further handling. Categorizing the interview data then followed a procedure which was piloted by research issues and variables.

Each statement in the Open and Structured Interviews was assigned a numerically coded sub-category derived from respective category as well as emerging during analysis of the interview material. Categories and sub-categories are compiled in Appendix D.

Following the coding procedure each interview statement was transferred to data sheets each of which accommodated one category with corresponding sub-categories.

As a device to facilitate retrieval and digestion of interview data, statements relating to particular sub-categories were compiled. This measure among other things simplified selection of quotations for the report-writing.

5 RESULTS

As a "readers' guide" to the part of this text which concerns results a few notes are written down on how the data are presented.

It is recalled that the Research model (p 11 f) builds on three elements, namely Conditions, Process and Effects. Organization of the text adheres to that model and observes the same sequencing of content.

Presentation of the data also when applicable takes into consideration the division of respondents into four groups i.e. Primary School Completers (PS), Drop-outs (DO), Non-Primary Schoolers (NP) and People in the Milieu (PM). Often however there is a comparison between PS+DO (Schoolers) and NP+PM (Non schoolers).

Another analytical dimension regards the respondents' distance to school. Thus there are two sub-groups; those who live near the school and those who live far. Occasionally comments are presented which emanate from the reference interview panel of 15 People with Positions (PP).

The interview material is generally presented first quantitatively in the form of tables and then with the means of quotations.

5.1 CONDITIONS

5.1.1 Education in Ethiopia

In the following a brief account is given of in the first place education in present-day Ethiopia. Further treatment of this topic is expected in a forthcoming report of a part-study within the present project.

At the time when the new political order was introduced in 1974, education was regarded as an area of neglect and in need of massive and resolute efforts. Of the age-relevant population no more than 18 per cent received primary schooling, while secondary education was limited to about one youth in ten. Out of the total population 93 per cent were illiterate. According to a study of eleven Regions, as few as half a per cent of the rural women were considered literate (NLCCC, 1981).

5.1.1.1 Education and social change

In post-revolutionary Ethiopia education has been accorded a significant role as an instrument for social mobilization towards the goal of radical societal change. The Programme of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) was proclaimed in 1976 (Ministry of Education, 1982). NDR is committed to accelerated social development structured by centralized planning based on the principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. The place of education in transforming the Ethiopian society is articulated in the following manner;

> "there will be an educational programme that will provide free education, step by step, to the broad masses. Such a programme will aim at intensifying the struggle against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism. All necessary measures to eliminate illiteracy will be undertaken. All necessary encouragement will be given for the development of science, technology, the arts and literature. All the necessary efforts will be made to free the diversified cultures of imperialist cultural domination from their own reactionary characteristics. Opportunities will be provided to allow them to develop, advance and grow with the aid of modern resources." (Ministry of Education, 1982, p 10).

Furthermore the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) programme of 1984 gives to the school the assignment to educate the young generation "in such a way that knowledge-wise, physically and spiritually it is ready for the building of socialism". (Ministry of Education, 1985 a, p 3, draft translation of the WPE Programme on Education, November 14, 1984, p 1).

5.1.1.2 Educational expansion

In accordance with NDR high priority has been given to the struggle against illiteracy and to rapid expansion of the primary education system.

A National Literacy Campaign was organized which became operative in July, 1979. (Gudeta, 1982; Sjöström, 1984 d). Since the start of the Campaign up to the end of the 13th round in August 1985, 17.5 million have participated. Of these 12.9 million have been awarded literacy certificates and 11.1 million have taken part in post-literacy programmes. (Ministry of Education, 1986).

Turning to Primary education the number of Primary Schools has more than doubled from 2754 in 1973/74 to 6582 in 1982/83. (Ministry of Education 1984 d). Most of the new schools were established in rural areas. During the same period the number of teachers rose from 18644 to 42347 and student enrolment from around 850000 to 2.5 million. (Ministry of Education, 1984 d).
The annual average growth rate between 1973/74 and 1983/84 (Ministry of Education, 1985 b) was 11.2 per cent, with 10.3 percent for boys and 13.0 per cent for girls. Even if the proportion of girls is still relatively low it has been growing at a faster rate than for boys. (Ministry of Education, 1985 b).

5.1.1.3 Resources and supporting services

The education budget has been growing at an average annual rate of 9.3 per cent for Primary and 10.6 per cent for secondary education. The 1976 E.C. (1983/84 G.C.) education budget for the Government School System was a little more than 315 million Birr representing 9.1 per cent of the total government budget. (Ministry of Education, 1985 b).

The growth in education among other things drastically raises demand for teachers. As an answer to these needs the number of Primary Teacher Training Institutes has been increased from five to ten.

Services which have been created to support the development of the education system include among others;

- Curriculum development and testing. Subject areas, panels within the Curriculum Department of the Ministry of Education have developed detailed syllabi for grades 1-12, prepared and commissioned textbooks, teachers' guides, workbooks and other supplementary materials etc. A project involving 70 experimental schools is testing and evaluating a curriculum based on the concepts of polytechnic education.
  The Curriculum Department also conducts workshops and seminars with a view to acquainting teachers to the new Curriculum. Organized under the Curriculum Department are moreover 106 Awraja Pedagogical Centres.
  Another feature is implementation of new Curriculum materials, modification and adaptation of the new Curriculum to the local environment and improvement of the quality of classroom instruction. (Ministry of Education, 1984 b, see also Tekle Ayano, 1985).
- The Educational Materials Production and Distribution Agency [EMPDA] within the Ministry of Education is charged with producing and distributing basic teaching materials required by the new Curriculum. (Ministry of Education, 1984 b).
- The Educational Mass Media Services, duly re-organized and strengthened, has been assigned the task to assist a wide range of educational activities with technical media such as radio, television, films and other audio-visual aids. (Ministry of Education, 1984 b).

5.1.1.4 Administration and management

Administration, management as well as structure of the education system are summarized in Appendix M. The reader who desires detailed information is referred to a monograph titled Education in Socialist Ethiopia. (Ministry of Education, 1984 c).

5.1.1.5 Prospects

As already pointed out, the mandate given to education in Socialist Ethiopia is indeed a significant one. The changes that are envisioned are of such scope and magnitude that it will engage generations to come.

Progress towards what has been termed "the learning society" is blueprinted in the Ten Year Perspective Plan reflecting the policy of the WPE programme.

> ."The eradication of illiteracy and the encouragement of the use of literacy skills in a variety of post-literacy programmes.
>
> . The rapid growth of a system of general polytechnic education reaching a significant proportion of the primary school age group by 1994.
>
> . The democratization of access to education above grade 6 (i.e. education to grade 10 level, in each Woreda, and to grade 12 level in each Awraja).
>
> . The equitable distribution of access to technical/vocational education (i.e. facilities in each Administrative Region).
>
> . Enrolment in each level and type of education sufficient to meet the demands for specific training." (Ministry of Education, 1984 c, p 50).

5.1.2 Description of research site and respondents

5.1.2.1 Research site

The research site is situated in the Administrative Region of Shoa with the national capital of Addis Ababa as its administrative centre. Population of the Shoa region exceeds eight million, not counting Addis Ababa. (Office of the Population and Housing Census Commission, 1984/85). A large portion of Shoa is covered by the Shoan Plateau, the general elevation of which is about 2200 metres (Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, 1972).

Scaling the next step on the administrative ladder we arrive at Tegulet and Bulga Awraja in north-eastern Shoa (see Figure 3). The strength of the population is more than half a million. (Office of the Population and Housing Census Commission, 1984/85). Tegulet and Bulga is confined to the east by the Awash River and Hararghe Region. The area occupied by the Awraja is ca 10000 square kilometres. (Ministry of Education, 1974). Awraja capital is Debre Berhan, one of the oldest provincial towns in Ethiopia (Junge, 1985). Debre Berhan is located about 130 kilometres north of Addis Ababa on the northern main road towards Dessie

and situated at an altitude of about 2700 metres. About 25700 people live in Debre Berhan (Office of the Population and Housing Census Commission 1984/85). Debre Berhan has a Teacher Training Institute (TTI) and is the site for the Awraja Pedagogical Centre (APC). The APC is one of the first of its kind and was established in 1977.

Getting one step closer to the actual research spot of Saya Debir a few words will be said about Saya Debir and Wayou Woreda which lies on an all-weather gravel road at about 45 kilometres to the north-west from Debre Berhan. The distance from the Woreda capital of Deneba to Saya Debir is around 15 kilometres by dry-weather road. According to information acquired at the WPE office in Deneba the Woreda population is 57701 with about equal proportions of women and men. There are ten primary schools and one junior secondary school (grade 7-8). (Tegulet and Bulga Awraja Education Office, 1985). A medical clinic was established in Deneba in 1963/64 and staffed with health assistants. Major types of diseases and the number of patients who were treated for the Year 1984/85 were Pneumonia (1619), Intestinal parasite (514) and Diarrhoea (498).

There are bus services to Debre Berhan and Addis Ababa and also post and telephone facilities. The National Literacy Campaign is active and was in November, 1985 carrying out the 14th Round in Saya Debir and Wayou Woreda. (For information about the National Literacy Campaign see for instance Gudeta, 1982; NLCC, 1984 and Sjöström, 1984 d). The total number of literates up to the 13th Round which started in April, 1985 was 11468 out of which 7155 were males and 4313 females. (Data collected within the Study of Health and Nutrition in Curriculum and Community, Department of Curriculum, Ministry of Education).

And let us now approach the research site proper; the school of Saya Debir and its catchment area of 16 Peasant Associations, in the following referred to simply as Saya Debir. (See Figure 4). It has just been mentioned that Saya Debir is accessible by a dry-weather road utilizing a vehicle equipped with four-wheel drive.

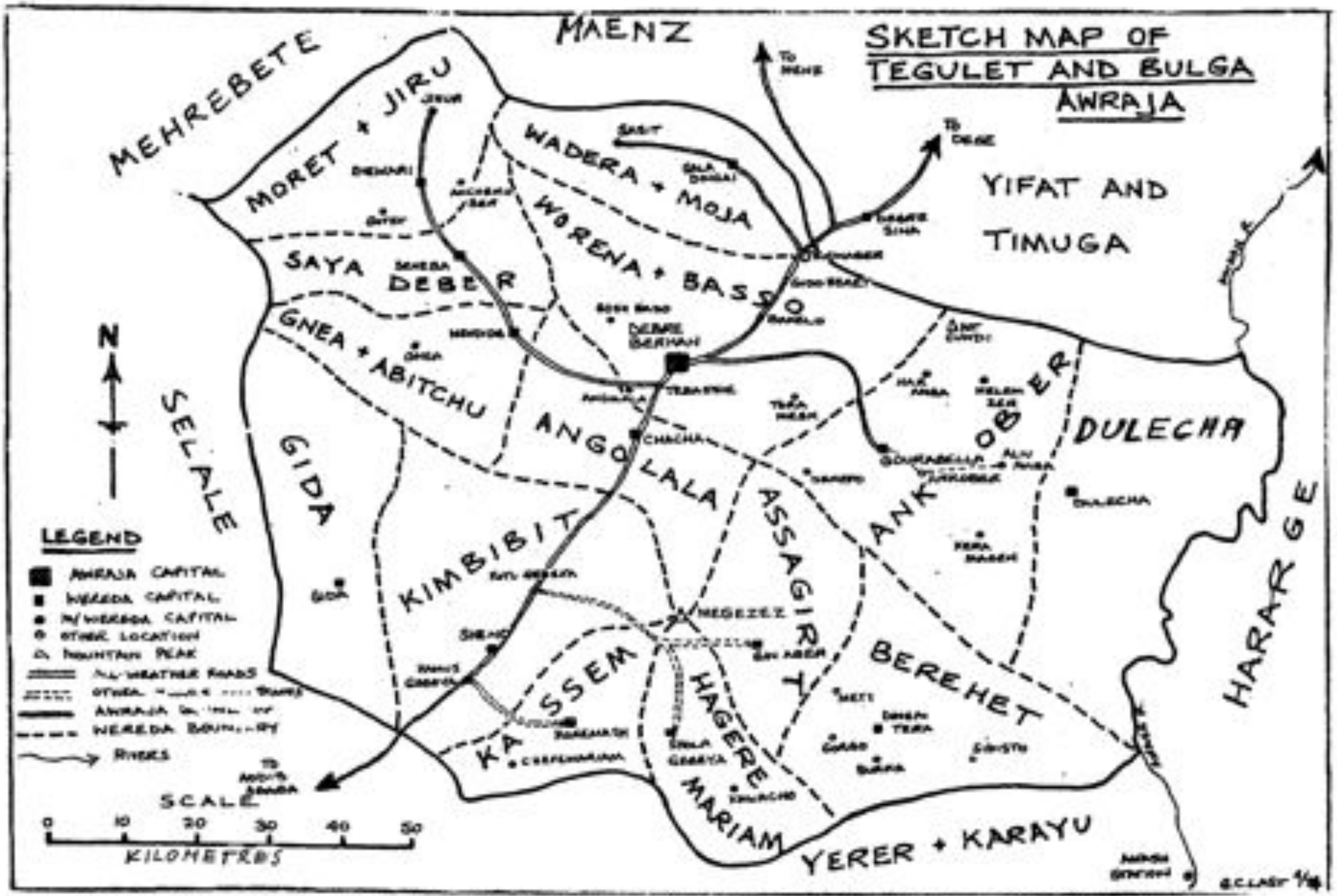

Figure 3. Sketch map of Tegulet and Bulga Awraja. Source: Adapted from Ministry of Education (1974).

Figure 4. Map of the research site Saya Debir

Source: Adapted from Central Statistics Office, CSO, National Population and Housing Census, May, 1984 (Reduced).

The road takes us across a plateau landscape with wide horizon. We travel close to fields of maturing 'bakela' and other highland crops such as barley, wheat etc. At the time of our visits in October people are occupied with weeding. There are also herds of cattle, goats and sheep shepherded by youngsters and children some of which appear barely to have reached school-age.

Having covered some 15 kilometres or so from the Woreda capital of Deneba we sight in the distance the school of Saya Debir with its easily recognizable outline of a SIDA-built concrete element structure. From the school we have a wide view over the plateau at an elevation of about 2600 metres and swept by a crisp wind which makes you feel chilly even under the persistent sunshine. Villages can be sighted around the expansive horizon, spread out like islands and sometimes sitting on a small knoll. The villages are made up of clusters of houses, protected by wooden fences and giant-size cacti. Trees are in sparseness and seen mostly shadowing the habitation with their tall eucalyptus crowns. As far as the eye reaches open fields for cultivation and grazing are seen. On the far horizon to west and south one sees a jagged outline of mountains. To the north and west one senses more than actually sees an impressive gorge with the Zega Wodel River at its bottom (Stitz, 1974).

The Sixteen Peasant Associations which Saya Debir school serves occupy a combined area of an estimated 200-300 square kilometres.

The total population is 14525 divided between 3426 households. There are almost equal number of females and males. Average number of inhabitants per Peasant Association is 9078. (Central Statistics Office, 1985).

The bulk of data has been collected in the Saya Debir P.A. close to the school and the peripherally situated Aleyo P.A.

The number of students from Saya Debir P.A. is 77 for 1984/85 and the corresponding figure for Aleyo 24. Information pertaining to 13 of the P.A.s show that enrolment from the Saya Debir P.A. and the three bordering P.A.s is 42 on the average, whereas the average number of nine

outlaying P.A.s is 17. (Data collected by the Study of Health and Nutrition in Curriculum and Community, Department of Curriculum, Ministry of Education). These figures give a hint of the part played by distance with regard to school enrolment.

Saya Debir P.A. is a conglomerate of six villages, whereas Aleyo P.A. contains seven villages.

Communication-wise there is no public road transport, no telephone and no postal service, even if exchange of mail is reported to be possible through the post office in Deneba. The nearest clinic is also in the Woreda capital of Deneba. The area is without electricity.

The predominant economic activity is agriculture - farming and the keeping of cattle, sheep and goats. The community has been spared from the recent drought and famine which has hit some locations in the neighbouring lowland. Some other occupations which, probably on a marginal level, co-exist with farming are represented by black-smiths, weavers and tailors.

Oxen are used as draught animals for ploughing and the soil is also cultivated with handtools such as hoes and spades. The most important crops appear to be wheat and teff. Other crops include e.g. chick peas, horse-beans, barley, (bakela), and flax (talba). Staple food is injera made of wheat and teff and sauce (watt) sometimes containing meat, but more often prepared it seems with vegetables such as cabbage, onions, peas and beans.

As already mentioned Saya Debir School has a large catchment area. We faced certain difficulties in establishing how many P.A.s sent children to Saya Debir School. The number of P.A.s we arrived at after careful checking is 16.

A number of students belonging to the territory of Saya Debir visit two other schools, Dirma and Wokollo. Reportedly this is so because these schools are closer to the students in question.

Dirma School is at about a two hours' walk from the school in Saya Debir. According to information from the Dirma School director at present 40 students from the two P.A.s in Saya Debir attend Dirma School. This school was established in 1981/82 and includes grade 6 starting from 1985/86. The total number of students is 146 in 1985/86.

The other school, Wokollo, is situated in Selale Awraja and Insaro Woreda. Some students from Aleyo P.A. started according to information obtained in Aleyo to go to Wokollo three years ago. Currently six students from two villages were reported to attend classes at Wokollo School.

Saya Debir appears to be a fairly active community with regard to participation in mass-organizations. The creation of mass-organizations is a striking feature of the Ethiopian revolution. Most important of these are the Peasants Associations covering practically all of rural Ethiopia (Fassil, 1984). Peasant Association connotes both an organizational body and an administrative unit, namely the land under the jurisdiction of the Peasant Association. (Dessalegn, 1984). Information about the establishment and function of Peasants Associations is found in the 1975 Proclamation to provide for the Public Ownership of Rural Lands (Negarit Gazeta, 29 April 1975).

Linked to the Peasants Associations are other mass-organizations such as Women (REWA) and Youth (REYA) organizations (Fassil, 1984; Negarit Gazeta 9th August 1980; REWA, 1984). One mandate shared by both REWA and REYA is

> "to politicise and agitate the youth (women) to increase their participation in production of activities and to contribute the shares expected of them in building the economy of Socialist Ethiopia." (Negarit Gazeta op.cit., p 110 and 116).

Within the framework of the mobilization of rural development agrarian Service Cooperatives are being organized throughout the country. One prominent service rendered is the establishment of cooperative shops where commodities essential to the peasantry are made available (Fassil, 1984). The Service Cooperatives are conceived of as a pre-stage to the Producers Cooperatives.

The main objective of Producers Cooperatives is to assume control of the means of production in agriculture. (Fassil, 1984, to which reference is made for an overview of the Planned Process of Development of Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives).

The following pages are devoted to an account of information assembled about mass-organizations in our sample community of Saya Debir.

Saya Debir Peasant Association. Starting with the branch which has jurisdiction of the administrative unit of Saya Debir we note that it was started in 1975/76 that is to say at the very beginning of the reform. The membership is 246 with a slight growth from the starting year. If one compares enrolment figures with population data one gets the impression that the majority of the household's are represented.

Out of the 15 members of the executive committee only one has gone to school, a grade 4 drop-out who serves as chairperson. The chairpersons in the sub-committees plus two of the secretaries are also drop-outs from grades 1 to 3.

During the last year a meeting place for the P.A. has been constructed with three office rooms and a hall. Among other recent activities are reported the planting of 70,000 seedlings. Future plans include digging of water wells and providing a latrine near the P.A. office.

We now turn to the Peasants Association in Aleyo at the far end of our research area. Aleyo P.A. also started in 1975/76. Initial membership figures were not available because "register book taken by bandits" (703). At present 213 men and 47 women are listed as members out of a population of 925 (CSO, 1985). Looking at the education level of executive committee members only one has gone to Primary school - a grade 3 drop-out. Eleven of the remaining are recorded as literacy participants and one has Church education.

Recent and current activities are reported as

> * - Seedling preparation
> - Tree planting - 15,000 seedlings planted
> - Farmed 3 hectares jointly for income generating to the association
> - Farmed an unknown amount of land for families whose head of family have joined the Peoples' Militia
> - Planted onion in one hectare for the benefit of REYA and REWA
> - Constructed seven houses to settlers in Seke Peasants Association." (703)

Aleyo P.A. plans to establish a Producers Cooperatives, but there is

> "division among the peasants between the progressives who struggle to form a Producers Coop and the reactionaries who do every mischief to stop it." (703)

Aleyo Peasant Association has assisted the school in Saya Debir by making a fence and by farming land allotted to the school.

5.1.2.2 Revolutionary Ethiopia Women's Association (REWA)

The REWA branch in Saya Debir P.A. started in 1977/78 that is to say about two years after the Establishment Proclamation (Negarit Gazeta, 9th August, 1980).

Saya Debir REWA reports around 160 members. The total female population is 276 (CSO, 1985). None of the executive committee members have attended primary school. All are designated as "semi-literate" except the secretary who is classified as literate. REWA-activities which are mentioned feature cultivation of onions and potatoes, and there are plans to develop horticulture.

Aleyo REWA was established in 1978 assembling around 160 women. At present there are 191 members. The total number of females in Aleyo is 231 (CSO, 1985). There is no one with any amount of primary schooling on the Executive Committee. Five are listed as illiterates and the

remaining four as semi-literates. Due to the absence of educated board members a male, whom we assume is literate, has been co-opted as acting secretary.

Reported activities comprise cultivation of onions and garlic and planting of eucalyptus. Cultivation of onions is mentioned as the most successful activity. Future plans conceive of

> "1. Cultivation of potatoes, onions, cabbage, garlic, beetroot, carrot.
> 2. Organizing cultural activities...."

With regard to participation in training we were told that some members went for community skills training for three months. However, they later left Aleyo and moved elsewhere.

5.1.2.3 Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA)

Saya Debir REYA counts 169 members, 55 of which are women. All seats on the executive committee, however, are occupied by males. The school director serves as chairperson. The remaining members of the executive committee have all gone to school. One is a teacher and the rest are drop-outs from grades 2, 3 and 4.

Work in the common farming plot (limat), gathering the harvest and cleaning a spring are recent and current activities. For the future Saya Debir REYA plans to prepare sports fields, to raise the output (make more efficient) of the farming plot, to prepare places for recreation and to organize a cultural music club.

Relations with the school are manifested in the following ways:

> "- in planting tree to the school
> - fencing the school compound
> - the school helps in giving literacy program." (707)

The REYA association at Aleyo posts a membership of 123 and of whom only three are women. One of the six members of the Executive Committee

is a grade 4 drop-out from Primary School - the remaining five have participated in the literacy campaign.

Aleyo REYA reports the following recent and current activities:

"- Seed - planting.
- Participated in farming, weeding for those who joined the Peoples' Militia.
- Participated in building the houses of the Producers Cooperative, and also contributed Birr 15.-
- Participated in teaching literacy and agitate the illiterates to learn.
- Help the peasant association in agitation." (705)

Looking ahead, Aleyo REYA wants to engage in well cleaning, the water to be used for irrigation of vegetable cultures. One also plans to build an office for the Youth Association.

Relations to the school are manifested in making a fence and in putting in work at the school farm.

5.1.2.4 Service Cooperatives

Three Service Cooperatives within the research are reported to have been established. No further information related to this issue has been obtained.

5.1.2.5 Producers Cooperatives

We were informed that Producers Cooperatives are organized in four of the 16 Peasants Associations.

Saya Debir Producers Cooperative was formed in 1979/80 enlisting 11 members. At present, 1985, there are 51 participants among whom five are women. Three of seven members of the Executive Committee have attended primary schools, the rest have literacy training. The Cooperative has been engaged in a wide range of

farming and related activities e.g.

- tilling, sowing, weeding, harvesting and threshing
- planting of eucalyptus
- potato planting

Future plans are focussed on among other things meat production via cattle breeding, afforestation and village formation.

The Producers Cooperative assists the school in harvesting, and the school in its turn teaches literacy and numeracy to coop members. Five members have been sent for training for six months in accounting and agricultural management.

5.1.3 Literacy

Information in this section was assembled during a field visit by the team from the previously mentioned study on Health and Nutrition in Curriculum and Community.

5.1.3.1 Saya Debir P.A.

The National Literacy Campaign started operating in Saya Debir P.A. in 1979/80. Literacy instruction has been given on three stages; beginning, remedial and post-literacy. Participation in the 12th Round of the Campaign 1984/85 is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Participation in Literacy Instruction in Saya Debir Peasant Association 1985/86

Participation	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
	1)		
Registered	128 (40)	193 (60)	321 (100)
Appeared for Exam	50 (29)	125 (71)	175 (100)
Passed	38 (28)	98 (72)	136 (100)

1) Per cent figures within parentheses are rounded throughout the description of results.

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There were (November 1985) two Literacy Centres. The literacy programme was suspended because peasants were reportedly busy in harvesting and in re-building their villages. (Data collected by the Study of Health and Nutrition in Curriculum and Community, Department of Curriculum, Ministry of Education).

5.1.3.2 Aleyo P.A.

Literacy activities in Aleyo P.A. were begun during the third Campaign Round 1980/81. Participation in the 12th Round of 1984/85 is detailed in Table 2.

Table 2. Participation in Literacy Instruction in Aleyo Peasant Association 1985/86

Participation	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Registered	208 (57)	156 (43)	364 (100)
Appeared for Exam	117 (51)	114 (49)	231 (100)
Passed	20 (31)	45 (69)	65 (100)

Like Saya Debir P.A. Aleyo also lacked Reading Room and was without access to reading materials. Literacy activities were suspended for the same reason as in Saya Debir. (Data collected by the Study of Health and Nutrition in Curriculum, Department of Curriculum, Ministry of Education).

5.1.4 Respondents

The sample respondents are 100, divided into four groups, namely PS (Primary School Completers), DO (Drop-Outs), NP (Non-Primary Schoolers) and PM (People in the Milieu). In addition a reference audience of 15 People with Position (PP) is included. PP are office holders in mass-organizations and civil servants such as educational

administrators. Table 3 shows distribution of the sample by sex.

5.1.4.1 Sex

Table 3. Distribution of Sample by Sex

Sex	Schoolers		Non-Schoolers		Total
	PS	DO	NP	PM	
Female	4 (22)	7 (32)	8 (36)	7 (18)	26 (26)
Male	14 (78)	15 (68)	14 (64)	31 (82)	74 (74)
Total	18(100)	22(100)	22(100)	38(100)	100(100)

As can be seen in Table 3, males are about three times more in number than females in this sample. The largest differences are among the PS and PM groups.

5.1.4.2 Age

It is notoriously difficult to obtain valid assessments of age in environments of the type represented in this study. The data shown in Table 4 are based on responses from participants, who were asked straighforwardly about their age. The resulting information should be interpreted with due caution.

Table 4. Distribution of the Sample by Age

Sex	Schoolers		Non-Schoolers		Total
	PS	DO	NP	PM	
14-19	3 (17)	5 (23)	10 (46)		18 (18)
20-29	11 (61)	13 (59)	10 (46)	10 (26)	44 (44)
30-39	2 (11)	4 (18)		18 (47)	24 (24)
40-49	1 (6)			6 (16)	7 (7)
50-59				3 (8)	3 (3)
60-69					
70-79				1 (3)	1 (1)
not stated	1 (6)		2 (9)		3 (3)
Total	18(101)	22(100)	22(101)	38(100)	100(100)

Of the total sample 62 per cent of the individuals are below 30 years of age. PM are on the whole older than other categories of respondents. Average age for the whole sample is 28.4 years, while it is 24.9 for Schoolers and 30.7 for Non-schoolers.

Distribution of age between sexes is somewhat uneven. Most of the females are found in the interval 14-29 (73%) while 76% of the males are in the interval 20-39 year.

Table 5. Distribution of the Sample by Age and Sex

Age	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
14-19	11 (42)	7 (10)	18 (18)
20-29	8 (31)	36 (49)	44 (44)
30-39	4 (15)	20 (27)	24 (24)
40-49	2 (8)	5 (7)	7 (7)
50-59	1 (4)	2 (3)	3 (3)
60-69			
70-79		1 (1)	1 (1)
not stated		3 (4)	3 (3)
Total	26(100)	74(101)	100(100)

5.1.4.3 Civil Status, Religion and Language

There are 71 respondents who are married, 28 who are un-married and one who is divorced. All respondents are Ethiopian Orthodox Christians. Eighty-nine respondents speak Amharic and eleven Oromigna as first language. For eleven respondents Amharic is a second language while the corresponding figure for Oromigna is 28.

5.1.4.4 Occupation

As might have been expected in a rural area most of the respondents are farmers (see Table 6).

Table 6. Distribution of Occupation

Occupation	No.
Farmer	72
Housewife	21
Other	7
Total	100

Housewives are likely in most, or possible in all cases, to be married to farmers. Farming then stands out as the dominant occupation.

5.1.4.5 Distance to School

Most of the respondents (59%) are coming from an area Near school (generally less than 3 kms). All of these except 11 live within Saya Debir Peasants Association. Nine of these 11 PS are found in P.A.s neighbouring that of Saya Debir, and the remaining two in a P.A. at about 3-5 kms from the school. Reason for inclusion of these individuals in the Near school group was the apparent scarcity of Primary Schoolers in the research area. Respondents who live Far from school (generally between 3 and 10 kms) are mostly individuals belonging to Aleyo Peasants Association.

Table 7. Distribution of Sample by Distance to School

Distance to School	Schoolers		Non-Schoolers		Total
	PS	DO	NP	PM	
Near school	17 (94)	14 (64)	12 (55)	16 (42)	59 (59)
Far from school	1 (6)	8 (36)	10 (45)	22 (58)	41 (41)
Total	18(100)	22(100)	22(100)	38(100)	100(100)

Table 7 shows that about two-thirds of the total sample are coming from an area near the school. Of the four groups there is a majority of far-dwellers only among PMs.

5.1.4.6 Drop-Outs

Table 8. Distribution of Drop-Outs by Grade

Grade	
1	8 (36)
2	3 (14)
3	5 (23)
4	4 (18)
5	1 (5)
Not stated	1 (5)
Total	22(101)

In six of the cases the grade from which students dropped out has been estimated from data about which year they started and left school respectively. Drop-out is most frequent in grades 1-3.

5.1.5 Migration

Respondents were asked whether any member of their family had moved to another place (out-migrated) during the last five years. A total of 40 individuals had changed domicile during that period. The most common reason for moving is continued studies.

5.1.6 Living conditions

Certain data were gathered about living conditions i.e. boiling of drinking water, existence of latrine, cooking place, garden plot,

where cattle is kept, and household possessions. Boiling of water and latrine are included under this category even if these aspects in a strict sense could be viewed as linked to health and hygiene. Information about Living Conditions was solicited in connection with Open Interviews, covering a total of 55 respondents.

5.1.6.1 Drinking water

Only three respondents boil the water before drinking. One respondent attests to filtering water for drinking. In one case information is missing.

5.1.6.2 Latrine

None of the respondents who were asked whether they had a latrine said that they possessed such a facility. Information is missing in one case.

5.1.6.3 Cooking place

Information about locating of cooking place falls into two categories namely inside or outside the house.

Table 9. Where the Cooking Place is Situated

Location	Schoolers PS+DO (n=19)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=36)	Total (n=55)
Inside the house	13 (68)	29 (81)	42 (76)
Outside the house	2 (11)	6 (17)	8 (15)
None	3 (16)	1 (3)	4 (7)
No information	1 (5)		1 (2)
Total	19(100)	36(101)	55(100)

More than three fourths of the respondents have their cooking place inside the house. Four respondents say that they have no special cooking place. There are no perceptible differences between Schoolers and Non-Schoolers in this respect.

5.1.6.4 Where cattle is kept during night

Cattle is kept inside or outside the house. Sometimes there is a combination of the two habits.

Table 10. Where Cattle is Kept During Night

Location	Schoolers PS+DO (n=19)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=36)	Total (n=55)
Inside the house	3 (16)	4 (11)	7 (13)
Outside the house*	8 (42)	22 (61)	30 (55)
Both inside and outside the house*	6 (32)	10 (28)	16 (29)
No cattle	1 (5)		1 (2)
No information	1 (5)		1 (2)
Total	19(100)	36(100)	55(101)

* Outside the house includes both the existence and non-existence of a shelter.

The most common way of keeping cattle during night is outside the house, with or without shelter. Non-schoolers more frequently keep cattle outside the house than is the case with Schoolers.

5.1.6.5 Garden plot

A majority of the respondents stated that they had a garden plot for cultivation of vegetables.

Table 11. Existence of Garden Plot

Sub-Category	Schoolers PS+DO (n=19)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=36)	Total (n=55)
Garden plot	16 (84)	26 (72)	42 (76)
No garden plot	2 (11)	10 (28)	12 (22)
No information	1 (5)		1 (2)
Total	19(100)	36(100)	55(100)

Most of the respondents, or 76% have a garden plot. This facility seems to be quite evenly distributed among schoolers and non-schoolers. With regard to types of vegetables grown potatoes, onions and cabbage dominate.

5.1.6.6 Household possessions

A list of Household Possessions is presented in Appendix F. It appears that the objects accounted for represent what is commonly found in many homes in rural Ethiopia.

Data collection in this study on Living Conditions, besides serving as a description of respondents, could also be seen as having a bearing on effects of schooling. However, the material involved is limited in scope and quantity and hence interpretation has to be done with great care. It would thus appear that the school has had little perceptible effect on living conditions in Saya Debir.

5.2 PROCESS

5.2.1 Saya Debir School

Information about the starting year for the school in Saya Debir is not univocal. The safest estimation, however, seems to be 1966 E.C. or 1973/74 G.C. The school is located in the village of Saya Debir and the distance to the nearest habitation is about 500 metres.

5.2.1.1 Physical facilities

The school was built by SIDA reportedly during 1965 E.C. or 1972/73 G.C. There are two separate buildings or blocks constructed from concrete elements.

The main physical features of Saya Debir school can be summarized in the following way:

Overall measurements:	block 1; 7x22 metres block 2; 7x29 metres
Classrooms etc.:	6 classrooms 6.6x29 metres 1 staffroom, 2 storerooms 1 office
Building material:	Concrete elements
Roofing:	Corrugated metal
Flooring:	Tiles
Lighting:	Glass windows
Seating arrangements:	Seat and desk combined, seating 2-3 students each

The school is equipped with a latrine. On the school compound there is also one hut built of wood, dung and straw and used for students' and teachers' recreation. Facilities for sports exist in the form of grounds for volley-ball and football.

Adjacent to the school is a plot for gardening and cultivation of farm products. The plot is divided into four parcels of land with an estimated total area of about 2 hectares where crops such as teff, flax ('telba') are grown.

Inspection of the classrooms reveals the absence of any teaching aids besides the blackboard. Two classrooms are equipped with noticeboards and in one classroom there was a mobile radio receiver.

Equipment kept in the store room, office and staffroom is listed below:

Sports equipment; football, volleyball, locally made weight-lifting bars (disc-bars) weights for throwing (rounded stones), football pumps.

Tools for handicraft e.g. saws, planes, chisels, files, screw-drivers, soldering iron, leather punch.

Tools for gardening and farming e.g. shovels, hoes, knives for cutting bushes etc., axes, planting spades, rakes.

Other equipment and utensils; boxes of chalk, map of Ethiopia.

No school library was visible. However, an inventory of textbooks among randomly selected students (every third) in all grades, indicates that the students were adequately furnished with textbooks, i.e. students had individual copies at their disposal.

5.2.1.2 School-economy

Teachers' salaries, textbooks and chalks are provided by the Government. Income and other support is generated locally in the following ways:

- A fee of one Birr is paid when a student enters the school.

- P.A.s served by the school make contributions e.g. by fencing in the compound and ploughing the land.

- Internal income earned by the school itself e.g. by selling produce from the land allocated to the school.

5.2.1.3 Enrolment

At present (1984/85) a total of 378 students are enrolled in Saya Debir Primary School.

The students are distributed over six grades and there is one section for each grade.

Table 12. Number of Students in Each Grade by Sex

Grade	Students		
	Males	Females	Total
1	72 (59)	50 (41)	122 (32)
2	53 (62)	32 (38)	85 (22)
3	41 (80)	10 (20)	51 (14)
4	32 (73)	12 (27)	44 (12)
5	24 (69)	11 (31)	35 (9)
6	30 (73)	11 (27)	41 (11)
Total	252 (67)	126 (33)	378(100)

Only one third of the students or 33 per cent are girls but the proportion of females increases towards the lower grades. It is, however, difficult to say whether a tendency is indicated or whether the phenomenon is accidental. At the national level in 1983/84 female enrolment in Primary Schools was 38 per cent. Also at the same level the percentage of girls is growing faster than is the case for boys.

5.2.1.4 Drop-out 1984/85

Table 13. Drop-out by Grade and Sex

Grade	Sex		Total
	Males	Females	
1	3	4	7 (37)
2	5	2	7 (37)
3	0	0	0 (0)
4	0	0	0 (0)
5	0	0	0 (0)
6	5	0	5 (26)
Total	13	6	19(100)

Somewhat unexpected is the comparatively large number of drop-outs from grade 6. In our interview sample not a single respondent was identified as a drop-out from grade 6. The school director gives lack of support from parents and work demands at home as reasons for drop-out.

5.2.1.5 Repetition

Repetition is at a seemingly low level. At present (1985/86) only 19 students repeat. Most of these are in Grade 1 and there is only one repeater above grade 3.

5.2.1.6 Absenteeism

With a view to getting an assessment of absenteeism at Saya Debir School we obtained statistics pertaining to Grade 3 during the month of April (Megabit, Miyazia) in 1984/85. For each of the

45 students was registered the number of days absent together with frequency of absence. We also separated absences with or without permission.

Together 38 students chalked up 173 days of absence with an average of four and a half days. Being absent without permission is about twice as common as the opposite case. Looking at frequencies most of the absentees were away one or two times during the selected month. Students most often are absent during busy periods of the agrarian year, engaged in ploughing, weeding, harvesting etc.

5.2.1.7 Teachers

There are five teachers including the headmaster at the School of Saya Debir. Some basic information is summarized in Table 14.

Teble 14. Basic Data about Teachers at Saya Debir School

Teacher	Sex	Age	Highest Grade Completed	TTI	Years of Service	In-service Training
1	M	22	12	Yes	2	No
2	M	26	12	No	4	No
3	M	26	12	No	5	Yes
4	M	24	12	No	5	No
5	M	30	12	Yes	4	No

Information in Table 14 attests to the fact that all five teachers are males and quite youthful. Two have professional training of one year at a Teacher Training Institute (TTI). One has received in-service training of six weeks at the TTI in Debre Berhan.

Moreover, one of the teachers (5) represents a recent expansion of the staff and joined the school in late October. The five teachers teach across the grades and are assigned subjects and grades according to interest. Subjects such as Physical Education and Home Economics, however, are assigned by the headmaster.

Living conditions for the teachers appear difficult but probably do not deviate substantially from the situation encountered by many of their colleagues in other parts of rural Ethiopia. Teachers' quarters are non-existent and teachers have to look for shelter as lodgers in the owner's houses. One of the teachers showed us his living quarters, a small but neat looking space which he shared with the owner's two children. Poor cooking facilities prevented him from preparing the staple food of 'injera' and 'watt' - (a type of pancakes with gravy).

5.2.1.8 The School Management Committee

According to a Proclamation from 1984 (Ministry of Education, 1984 a).

> "Each Government school shall have its own Government School Management and administration committee..." (Part 2, Para 6).

The School Committee in Saya Debir counts nine members including the director and one of the teachers. Only one of the members has gone to primary school i.e. a drop-out from grade 2. The remaining six members have Church-school education.

The School Committee is convened once a month during the academic year as prescribed in the Proclamation. (Ministry of Education, 1984 a).

The above cited Proclamation lists a certain economic responsibility as one of the mandates of the School Committee.

> "to encourage and coordinate the efforts made to develop the internal income of the school..." (Ministry of Education 1984, Part 2, Para 7:4).

Saya Debir School Committee obviously tries to live up to that demand, because as important areas of activities are mentioned among other things taking care of buildings and classrooms and raising money for the purchase of e.g. teaching equipment. The School Committee is also making efforts to solve the problem of living quarters for teachers.

5.2.1.9 Linkage with Literacy

As apparent in other sections of the present text Saya Debir School is engaged in the National Literacy Campaign by for example providing instruction and classrooms.

A certain recruitment of neo-literates to the school is reported. Concerning the number of entrances conclusive information is lacking. However, it would seem that most of the literates entered grades 1 and 2 1984/85. The remaining were admitted to grade 3. The influx of neo-literates did not result in push-out of students who joined the school in the regular way.

5.2.1.10 Content of education

The following paragraphs treat Content of education, Wastage and Suggested improvements of the school. The data were collected with the aid of Open and Structured Interviews respectively.

In the account of interview data those sub-categories which are not self-explanatory are briefly defined when their meaning is not transparent in quotations of responses. Some sub-categories are applied in relation to more than one category. In such cases definitions are not reiterated. A list of sub-categories with definitions, when necessary in alphabetical order, is found in Appendix K.

Opinions were sounded among Primary School Completers and Drop-Outs about what they regarded as most important content and about what

should be given more attention.

Science together with arithmetic/mathematics draw the most responses.

Some of the motivations for these stand-points are quoted below;

> "Mathematics help the people around here when buying and selling things by enabling them to calculate properly." (1004, PS, female, age 26).

> "Science - so that the society may make use of fruits of technology more and more." (1005, PS, male, age 27).

Languages i.e. Amharic and English have many supporters.

> "I think the most important content for both boys and girls is Amharic. Because one should read and write Amharic in order to get a job in the government offices for example, to be the chairperson of any public organization you need to know to read and write Amharic." (207, DO, female, age 17).

> "English - for international communication." (1003, PS, male, age 25).

Agriculture also ranks high in importance.

> "Agriculture is the most important. It is the source of development. Life without agriculture is useless. To produce different kinds of foodstuff agriculture is important." (414, PS, male, age 38).

One respondent would like to see more political education in the school in order

> "to make the community understand about socialism better..." (1010, PS, male, age 22).

Furthermore the school is recommended to combine theory and practice

in its teaching.

> ..."Some of the contents such as weaving lessons need to be given along with practice." (106, PS, male, age 22).

Other types of content/subjects respondents advocated include social science, home economics, health and handicraft.

The idea about differential importance of content for boys and girls gets limited support.

> "Both sexes should learn same subjects. He thinks that if he meets some difficulty or his wife leaves him, he must be able to prepare his own food. The same can apply in farming concerning the wife that she has to have knowledge of farming." (211, DO, male, age 20).

All in all, even if a wide range of desiderata is articulated there is a pronounced tendency for stressing content with practical day-to-day applications.

The practical attitude receives strong support from our reference audience of fifteen People with (responsible) Positions (PP). One motivation is that of self-reliance.

> "An educated person shouldn't ask a carpenter to make his chairs, he must be able to do it for himself." (506).

And again:

> "Because Ethiopia is an agricultural and developing country our people need educated people to educate others. As a result of this our people could be able to improve their way of living." (503).

In the above quotation is highlighted the role of primary school students as transmitters to the community of skills and knowledge.

In connection with Open Interviews, also Non-Schoolers' opinions about content were sought. Probably due to the circumstance that this respondent category is without direct Primary School experience, the interview material involved is limited and less qualified than that of Schoolers. Types of educational content mentioned by Non-Schoolers are, Language, Arithmetic/Mathematics, Agriculture, Science, Practical subjects and Political education.

5.2.1.11 Wastage

Educational wastage has been accorded attention even if it is not of a primary interest for the present study. We have combined three elements of wastage i.e. drop-out, absenteeism and repetition of classes. A drop-out in the present context is someone who left school without completing grade 6 or transferring to another school. Reason for this combination is the assumption that the three components are closely inter-related and caused by similar circumstances.

Information bearing on wastage is tabulated below. With regard to the data in Table 15 and other tables dealing with data from Open Interviews and Structured Interviews a note of caution seems called for. The number of respondents is quite limited and the sampling procedure is non-random. Therefore quantitative treatment is not un-problematic. The main concern in presenting and analysing the interview data should be on the content of responses. Nevertheless, it can be argued that treated with due care numbers are not without interest. There is also, we think, a methodological value in treating qualitative data in this manner.

Table 15. Responses on Causes for Wastage

Sub-category	Schoolers PS-DO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers NP-PM (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Labour	36 (23)	49 (22)	85 (22)
Individual characteristics	33 (21)	50 (22)	83 (22)
Family	23 (15)	29 (13)	52 (14)
Economy	16 (10)	27 (12)	43 (11)
Early marriage	16 (10)	25 (11)	41 (11)
Sickness	16 (10)	13 (6)	29 (8)
Misbehaviour	4 (3)	13 (6)	17 (4)
Distance to school	3 (2)	10 (4)	13 (3)
Alternatives to schooling	7 (4)	2 (1)	9 (2)
School	3 (2)	6 (3)	9 (2)
Miscellaneous	1 (1)	1 (1)	2 (1)
Total	158(101)	225(101)	383(100)

The most frequently mentioned cause for wastage is Labour i.e. children are needed in the daily work at home.

> "Being overworked by the family the student as soon as he comes home from school becomes engaged in household activities like cutting grass; "..." weeding, sowing, going out for fuel collection, bringing water from far away river and others. So no spare time to do home works and study." (205, DO, female, age 17).

Individual characteristics is another common sub-category which represents circumstances directly related to the students themselves. In a large proportion of the responses mention is made of laziness, lack of interest and inattention.

On the part of students:

> "The reason for it (absenteeism) is also laziness. Even though parents make some pushes they remain behind." (405, PM, male, age 40).

As connected with alleged laziness etc. one notices in the data frequent allusions to playing as cause of wastage. This is in conflict with the oft-mentioned reason of helping at home (Labour) with regard to not sending children to school. It is debatable whether play is an authentic reason for wastage when one takes into account the apparently extensive use of children as workforce in rural Ethiopia.

Some of the respondents mention lack of intelligence and mental resources as a cause for wastage.

> "Some students are dull by nature." (4009, PM, male, age 70).

> "lack of natural gift or low intelligence." (4010, PM, male, age 50).

Family pertains to circumstances within the student's family, such as sickness and death of parent.

> "If their parents die and they become helpless." (2101, DO, male, age 20).

A typical response dealing with Economy is quoted below:

> "When parents cannot afford to fulfill the needs of their children, such as buying books, pencils, clothes." (201, DO, male, age 27).

Early marriage as reason for Wastage is accounted for in the

following way by one respondent.

> "Some families want their children to get married. They tell them you do not need to learn more than this. After now you have to marry and build your home and own property. This reason makes the students quit school." (4001, PM, male, age 38).

Sickness. Sickness on the part of students.

Misbehaviour ties in with what respondents classify as bad manners both in and out of school. Examples are indiscipline in the classroom situation and unwanted pregnancies.

> "Some students scold teachers, quarrel with their fellow students, become thieves, never obey school regulations, even though they are bright they repeat. Paying no attention to the teaching in the class and advice of teachers. Some children are engaged in petty activities with their nearby friends while the teacher is teaching. Usually teachers give advice and home work, they don't bother for that and at last they fail and repeat." (205, DO, female, age 17).

In spite of the fact that many of the students have a long way to school Distance plays only the marginal role that it performs in Scholarization - Reasons for not sending children to school (see p 80). Other parallels with Reasons for not sending children to school are Marriage, Economy and Labour.

Alternatives to schooling mentioned by respondents as a cause for wastage are for example:

- trading
- farming
- owning property
- joining the military

It is somewhat surprising in the light of the information gathered about occupancy preferences (see p 85) to discern that farming actually

competes with schooling. A reason given, however, is that since there is no secondary school, completing primary education is of limited value and hence one could just as well become a farmer.

School designates factors such as

- poor quality of teaching
- type of examinations, especially, multiple choice questions which encourages pupils to guess

With regard to other studies on Ethiopian school wastage, drop-out causes mentioned in a report from 1969 (Ministry of Education, 1969) are as follows:

- long distances from home to school
- lack of trained teachers and high turnover of teachers
- inadequate knowledge of the language of instruction
- overcrowded classrooms
- curricula with little relevance to the student's environment

The distance variable shows up, as we have just noticed, also in our data but receives relatively little support. The teacher/teaching factor figures in a few instances under our sub-category of School. Language of instruction is hardly a worry in our research area since the predominant tongue is Amharic. Even if not visible in our interview data, overcrowded classrooms might contribute to wastage also in Saya Debir where during the current school-year 378 students share six classrooms. As revealed in our material about educational content there is a manifest need for content with practical day-to-day relevance.

People with Position - data on the whole reiterate content of the base material. One interesting remark is made by an informant in the PP - category who perceives a difference between countryside and town.

"In town lack of support. In the countryside the main reason is parents want their children for work. They forced them to work rather than go to school." (512).

It might be true that demand on children for labour is much heavier in rural than in urban environments.

Another plausible proposition articulated in the PP - material is that absenteeism may lead to repetition which in its turn causes drop-out.

5.2.1.12 Suggested School Improvements

The interview audience was invited to take a critical look at their school and then come up with ideas for improvements.

Table 16. Responses Related to Suggested School Improvements

Sub-category	Schoolers PS+DO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Expansion	25 (56)	26 (60)	51 (58)
Facilities	6 (13)	8 (19)	14 (16)
Teaching methods and materials	7 (16)	1 (2)	8 (9)
Subject matter	6 (13)	2 (5)	8 (9)
Income	0 (0)	5 (12)	5 (6)
Miscellaneous	1 (2)	1 (2)	2 (2)
Total	45(100)	43(100)	88(100)

The dominant advice regards Expansion of the School, generally adding grades 7-12 and engaging more teachers.

"The school should be extended up to 12th grade. This will minimize the number of people who go to other town to seek for higher education." (101, PS, female, age 16).

> "We want an elementary school erected near our Peasant Association. Now it is very far away to send small children." (411, PM, male, age 32).

The first of the above quotations illustrates what could be termed vertical expansion and the second relates to horizontal expansion. Necessity for horizontal expansion is evidenced by the fact that Saya Debir School serves no less than 16 Peasants Associations with a combined population of more than 14000.

Facilities denotes general conveniences such as water, electricity, teachers cafeteria, clinic.

> "Also there should be a clinic dispensary attached to the school. No one is there to give or sell us Aspro even." (402, PM, male, age 49).

Teaching methods and materials

Suggested improvements are in terms of e.g. qualifications of teachers and teaching equipment.

> "School should be equipped with necessary teaching learning materials." (202, DO, male, age 30).

> "Parents and teachers in collaboration should be able to control pupils so that they study hard in their studies." (202, DO, male, age 30).

> "School pedagogical centre - where models are prepared and shown to the people and students." (1005, PS, male, age 27).

Subject matter

There is a noticeable demand for subject matter with a practical orientation.

> "The school should include practical work like improved farming technique and has to give demonstrations also." (204, DO, male, age 20).

"Theoretical and practical education should be given. Relevant content should be selected." (103, PS, male, age 22).

Income relates to activities to strengthen economy of the school e.g. growing vegetables for sale, or involving all P.A.s concerned to contribute money.

"If students participate in agricultural activities such as working in garden of the school. So that the income of the school can be raised." (3002, NP, male, age 20).

Comparing Schoolers with Non-Schoolers there is a tendency in the limited material for Schoolers to be more concerned with pedagogy and content which probably is explained by school-experience. Non-Schoolers are more concerned with income than are Schoolers. A reason for such an attitude may be that Non-Schoolers, who on the average are older are more conscious of the responsibility for maintaining and providing for the school.

5.3 EFFECTS

5.3.1 Expected Benefits of Schooling

Benefits of schooling in the present context denotes effects which relate to individuals rather than to the community.

Table 17. Responses Related to Expected Benefits of Schooling

Sub-category	Schoolers PS+DO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers	Total (n=100)
Literacy	25 (37)	39 (39)	64 (38)
Career	16 (24)	15 (15)	31 (19)
Health & Hygiene	8 (12)	20 (20)	28 (17)
Occupation	4 (6)	14 (14)	18 (11)
Consciousness	7 (10)	6 (6)	13 (8)
Assist family	7 (10)	0 (0)	7 (4)
Mass-organizations	1 (1)	5 (5)	6 (4)
Total	68(100)	99 (99)	167(101)

Literacy is the most frequently mentioned single aspect of expected benefits of schooling. One can hypothesize that this at least partially may be ascribed to influences of the National Literacy Campaign which has been active in our research community.

> "By learning one can read and write and wouldn't want any one to read or write one's letters." (416, PM, male, age 38).

> "I can say illiteracy is just like walking in darkness. A person walking in darkness will not know what he will meet next on his way." (404, PM, male, age 39).

Information displayed in Table 17 also tells us that benefits linked with Career in terms of Occupation (mostly farming) are relatively frequent.

On Career

> "By education" ... "one can get job and good salary because of the education gained from school." (214, DO, female, age 18).

Schoolers are more interested in Career effects than are others because education has probably inculcated certain hopes and aspirations. Also, the Non- Schoolers' group contains many older individuals who are already established in their ways of earning a living.

On Occupation

> "If a farmer is educated he can be more able to improve the way and method of farming than the uneducated farmer." (101, PS, female, age 16).

> "He (the uneducated person) does not use proper fertilizer for his land." (402, PM, male, age 39).

Another alleged practical application of education is Health and Hygiene, drawing 28 responses.

> "Can keep his personal hygiene that is he drinks boiled water, keeps the body, clothes and house clean." (313, NP, female, age 16).

An interesting sub-category with regard to the role of schooling in Socialist Ethiopia is Consciousness (social and political consciousness). It deserves to be noticed that interview material pertaining to consciousness is reflected in reactions to broadly framed questions about Benefits of Schooling.

> "Education is advantageous for political consciousness..." (101, PS, female, age 16).

> (Someone who does not go to school can) "Never differentiate between friends and enemies of the masses." (305, NP, male, age 24).

Related to the sub-category of Consciousness is that of Mass-Organizations since they both reflect the new political order and its proclaimed mobilization for rural development. Says one respondent about a person without schooling:

> "He can't be an active member of cooperatives because he is illiterate, never reads notices, bylaws, regulations, work assignments." (204, PM, male, age 47).

On the other hand:

> "Those people who have gone to school give services in popular mass-organizations such as in P.A., REYA and REWA."

Parallel examination of the most frequent response types between those who went to school and those who did not, indicate among other things that Literacy has drawn about equal proportions of support. There are more Career-oriented replies from Schoolers whereas Non-Schoolers are more concerned with Health-correlated benefits of schooling.

Comparison of responses from those who live near the school with those living far, discloses a much higher frequency of Literacy among the distant respondents.

5.3.2 Experienced Benefits of Schooling

Primary school completers and drop-outs were asked to discuss benefits they had actually experienced from education. The distribution of returns appears in Table 18.

Table 18. Responses on Primary Schoolers Experienced Benefits of Schooling

Sub-category	Schoolers PS (n=18)	Non-Schoolers DO (n=22)	Total (n=40)
Literacy	10 (29)	12 (39)	22 (33)
Mass-organizations	10 (29)	6 (19)	16 (25)
Occupation	8 (23)	7 (23)	15 (23)
Health & hygiene	1 (3)	5 (16)	6 (9)
Consciousness	3 (9)	1 (3)	4 (6)
Miscellaneous	2 (6)	0 (0)	2 (3)
Total	34 (99)	31(100)	65 (99)

Having acquired and spreading Literacy is one of the most frequently experienced benefits of schooling in our interview material.

> "Helps to read letters as well as label of buses that go to different places without asking anyone." (212, DO, male, age 17).

> "I am teaching Amharic alphabet to my sister." (1004, PS, female, age 14).

On Mass-organizations

> "My knowledge of mathematics has helped me in auditing work of the REYA balance sheet." (1011, PS, male, age 22).

> "As a secretary of the Kebele Peasants Associations I have been able to put into practice my reading and writing skills." (211, DO, male, age 20).

On Occupation

> "Helped me to read books and pamphlets about rural development and improve my job - e.g. good techniques of plowing, harvesting, soil conservation" ... (2101, DO, male, age 24).

> "Helped me in food preparation. I prepare teff in three different forms. I make injera, I make porridge and also make bread." (205, DO, female, age 17).

We asked the reference audience of People with Positions (PP) whether those who have gone to school farm differently from those who have not. Responses do not permit any conclusions and opinions are divided.

> "There is no change of farming and doing things between schoolers and non-schoolers." (505).

> "Yes there is much difference. For instance in Kebele we are oriented how to practice horticulture and the learned ones have shown much difference in application. The same is true of applications of fertilizer. The ones that go to school are less reluctant to use it." (515).

On Consciousness

> "I became aware of the ongoing situation (i.e. political) and other information in my field." (2005, DO, male, age 32).

On Health

> "Helped me to take care of my new baby, every 3 days I wash her body. Every morning I wash her face and in the evening I wash her feet." (205, DO, female, age 17).

Inspection of the data demonstrates that benefit testimonies, from Drop-outs are about as frequent as from Primary School completers and cover all sub-categories.

People with Positions (PP) were asked whether they could give any examples of how schooling had helped primary school completers in their daily life. Information from the reference group of PP on the whole support testimonies from Primary Schoolers. But some of the responses reflect an ambivalent view about effects on the schoolers' daily life.

> "Reading and writing - understands more government directives than illiterates." (509).

> "Yes, they contribute more in producers cooperatives and Peasants Associations. The chairpersons and secretaries are Primary School Completers. They also teach in the literacy campaign." (501).

> "Of course with respect to their general understanding and politicizing the non primary schoolers, in agitating the others to practice new ways of farm activities or other the schooling has shown effect. However, with respect to their personal life, there is no contribution or change." (515).

5.3.3 Transfer of Skills and Knowledge

Primary School Completers and Drop-outs were asked whether they had taught someone any of the skills and knowledge acquired at school. Seventeen of the 19 individuals so asked replied in the affirmative. Literacy was the most commonly taught subject (13 responses). The other types of skills and knowledge mentioned are Agriculture and Horticulture, Health and Hygiene, Sports, Craft and Handicraft, Bee-keeping.

> "I have taught in the literacy class." (1001, PS, female, age 16).

> "I am teaching literacy classes. I am teaching my brothers and sisters." (2101, DO, male, age 20).

All Primary School Completers and six of the eight Drop-outs declared that they had engaged in teaching someone else.

5.3.4 Changes in the Community

We now depart from effects of schooling which are in a sense related to individuals and approach effects viewed at the level of our sample community of Saya Debir.

Information was solicited about changes to which the school was regarded to have contributed. A few (five) responses, however, reflect desired and expected changes rather than actual experiences.

Table 19. Responses with Regard to Changes in the Community due to Schooling

Sub-category	Schoolers PS+DO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Literacy	17 (45)	16 (32)	33 (37)
Mass-organizations	7 (18)	6 (12)	13 (15)
Consciousness	6 (16)	6 (12)	12 (14)
Occupation	5 (13)	6 (12)	11 (13)
Career	1 (3)	5 (10)	6 (7)
Health and hygiene	1 (3)	2 (4)	3 (3)
No perceived change	0 (0)	4 (8)	4 (5)
Miscellaneous	1 (3)	5 (10)	6 (7)
Total	38(101)	50(100)	88(101)

It is not surprising that Literacy is frequently mentioned as positive school-induced change in the community. The school is also reported to have made a difference in the field of Mass-organizations.

> "There is a change in this community after the establishment of the school. The teachers have been active in the organization of REWA, the Peasant Associations, the Producers Cooperatives and the conduct of the literacy campaign." (206, DO, male, age 33).

Effects of the mobilization of the countryside are referred to in the following quotes under the sub-category Consciousness.

> ..."brought revolution in our country as a result of this, the oppressed classes have got their liberation of economy and equality." (103, PS, male, age 22).

> "They also enlighten us on Marxism and the objective reality the country is in." (206, DO, male, age 33).

We also encounter respondents who say that they fail to perceive any school-propelled changes in their environment. Among the four respondents who articulate this opinion three live far from school that is to say in the Peasant Association which is on the periphery of Saya Debir School's catchment area, a circumstance which probably to a considerable degree explains the unawareness of school effects on the community.

> "He says that very few, five children in the area to his knowledge, are attending the Saya Debir School, and couldn't tell any changes that is brought about by education. " (312, NP, male, age 15).

Observing the distance variable the sub-category of Consciousness makes a stronger appearance in school-close Saya Debir Peasant Association whereas No change is voiced more often in distant Aleyo P.A. It is worth noticing that there was no Producers Cooperative in far from school situated Aleyo P.A.

5.3.5 The School as Such

This category is also associated with the community rather than the individual level. The focus of the inquiry is here whether the school in Saya Debir is perceived to have functions other than as a place of learning.

Distribution of responses is accounted for in Table 20.

Table 20. Responses Related to Effects to the School as Such

Sub-category	Schoolers PS+DO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers PM+NP (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Occupation	23 (32)	31 (42)	54 (37)
Mass-organizations	13 (18)	9 (12)	22 (15)
Literacy	14 (19)	6 (8)	20 (14)
Place of learning only	6 (8)	14 (19)	20 (14)
Cultural activities	11 (15)	2 (3)	13 (9)
Health and hygiene	2 (3)	3 (4)	5 (3)
Miscellaneous	3 (4)	9 (12)	12 (8)
Total	72 (99)	74(100)	146(100

Responses touching on Occupation (farming and related) dominate.

> "Acts as a model for the community by means of cultivating, gardening, poultry." (2003, DO, male, age 23).

Another declared important function of the school besides as a place for learning is to serve Mass-organizations generally as a meeting place.

> "Acts as a meeting place for REYA." (3001, NP, male, age 23).

The School facilities are also used for Literacy instruction. Again a non-academic use of the school is as a place for Cultural activities.

> "For demonstrating music and dance." (1006, PS, male, age 22).

> "Students show drama for community people in order to make them refrain from bad habits such as not to believe in wizards, not to spend their time in vain due to holiday." (103, PS, male, age 22).

Responses related to A place of learning only in some cases can be interpreted to have a normative implication, namely the school should have no mandate outside its academic functions.

> "The school must serve as a place of learning only." (4003, PM, male, age 37).

In other instances responses are expressed in the following manner.

> "I am not aware of any other functions." (4108, PM, female, age 26).

Most of those who express unawareness of non-academic school functions live far from the school. It therefore seems logical that testimonies about effects of School as such are four times more frequent among respondents living near the school than among those who reside far from school.

With regard to the reference group of People with Positions (PP) answers are mainly concerned with such functions as Literacy and Mass-organizations. Two respondents were not aware of any activities outside the school curriculum. An interesting recommendation - rather than a testimony of experience - suggests that the school should provide continuing education for drop-outs.

5.3.6 Scholarization

Scholarization in the present context deals with attitudes and inferred behaviour related to utilization of the school as an institution of learning. Focus on the information getting procedure has been reasons for sending or not sending children to school. It appears reasonable to assume that scholarization is related to expected benefits of education. Three different facets are considered:

- Scholarization - Sending children to school
- Scholarization - Not sending children to school
- Scholarization - Not sending girls to school

5.3.6.1 Scholarization - Sending Children to School

Table 21. Distribution of Responses on Reasons for Sending Children to School

Sub-category	Schoolers PS+DO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Assist family	32 (35)	34 (26)	66 (29)
Career	18 (20)	37 (28)	55 (25)
Literacy	9 (10)	19 (14)	28 (13)
Skills and knowledge	10 (11)	15 (11)	25 (11)
Assist community	9 (10)	13 (10)	22 (10)
Consciousness	4 (4)	4 (3)	8 (4)
Better life than parents	4 (4)	3 (2)	7 (3)
Health and hygiene	1 (1)	6 (5)	7 (3)
Miscellaneous	5 (5)	1 (1)	6 (2)
Total	92(100)	132(100)	224(100)

Responses are distributed across all aspects with contributions from all respondent groups. Two aspects, however, dominate namely Assist family and Career. If one combines Literacy with Skills and Knowledge the cognitive aspects however move to the forefront.

It thus appears that the Schoolers are well aware of expectations parents have on future support. Probably the Career preference among Non-Schoolers, especially People in the Milieu (PM), is related to Assist family in the respect that salaried employment enhances the supporting capacity of their children.

As an illustration to the data summarized in Table 21 let us listen to a few actual responses.

On Assist family

> "They want their children to be educated and self supporting and help them later on." (206, NP, male, age 33).

> "They also want their help (financial assistance) during old age. It is a kind of security for the parents." (110, PS female, age 20).

In the following excerpt a type of non-economical assistance is indicated.

> "They send because educated children keep secrets for their parents, keep records with letters. They send because educated children will tell parents current events" ... (305, NP, male, age 24).

On Career

> "Most parents send their children to school because they want their children to get a job in government or in any other organization." (207, NP, female, age 25).

"Parents know that through education one is able to be a driver, agriculturist, a nurse, a doctor, a teacher. So they wish all these for their children by sending them to school." (414, PM, male, age 38).

"To make their children have a better life - serve in churches, work in government offices - administrators - to get high salary - (up to 500 Birr)." (3105, NP, male, age 22).

On Literacy

"Parents wanted to make them literate. Parents want their children to learn how to read and write letters, private or official." (210, DO, female, age 20).

On Skills and knowledge

"To be wise and become knowledgeable person." (105, PS, male, age 24).

"Education is useful. Any educated person can do any job." (4001, PM, male, age 38).

On Assist community

"Parents send children to school. They want them to learn something, improve themselves and help the community as a whole." (102, DO, female, age 26).

On Consciousness

"Helps females to express themselves better since they cannot do it at present because of the influence of the old age culture. Therefore females need to be given more education." (301, NP, female, age 20).

"However, at present I can say all people are aware of the value of education and started to send their children to school. This is because of the agitation made by the revolutionary government."

In data emanating from People with Positions (PP) the role of mass-organizations in motivating parents to send children to school is highlighted. Yet another cause put forward by some PPs is the example of educated children.

> "Such parents have understood the benefits of education. This kind of parents usually learn by looking to other children who had become useful to themselves, their parents and community." (506).

5.3.6.2 Scholarization - Not Sending Children To School

The second aspect of scholarization deals with reasons for not sending children to school. Distribution of interview responses is displayed in Table 22.

Table 22. Distribution of Responses on Reasons for not Sending Children to School

Sub-category	Schoolers PS+DO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Labour	31 (44)	47 (45)	78 (44)
Non-awareness of value of education	25 (35)	25 (24)	50 (28)
Economy	11 (15)	22 (21)	33 (19)
Other*	4 (6)	11 (10)	15 (9)
Total	71(100)	105(100)	176(100)

*Includes Distance to School and Miscellaneous.

The most frequently declared cause for refraining from sending children to school is need for the work capacity of the youngsters, (Labour). Economy comes third in the contest of reasons for non-enrolment. It is

interesting to discover that Non-awareness of value of schooling is voiced in about one-fourth of all responses. Distance to school plays a marginal role as a determinant for not letting children join school. Most of the responses given on this aspect emanate from respondents who live far from the school.

Comparing Schoolers and Non-Schoolers responses on Labour have equal strength. There is a slight overweight for Non-Schoolers on Economy and for Schoolers and Non-value of Schooling.

Both Labour and Economy are likely to reflect a common underlying reaction of people living close to the margin of survival as is transparent in the following quotations.

> "Some parents want the labour of their children at home or in farms such as fetching water from river, collecting firewoods, looking after cattle, to watch monkeys from destroying crops etc." (201, NP, male, age 17).

> "There is a problem of living, they do not have money to buy exercisebooks, clothes to their children. The main problem of not sending is that the standard of living is very low." (4001, PM, male, age 38).

Non-awareness of value of education is in most cases stated plainly as ignorance on the part of non-sending parents of the merits of schooling. This ignorance is in many instances ascribed to lack of education.

> "As they are illiterate and don't know the use of education." (1004, PS, female, age 14).

> "The parents are not aware of the value of education since they were not educated themselves." (4008, PM, male, age 29).

Sometimes perceptions are qualified by what might be termed as non-fulfilled expectations of the benefits of schooling.

> "Seeing jobless those pupils who have finished elementary and secondary schools so parents lose hope, lack courage to send their children to school." (401, PM, male, age 34).

It may be argued, however, that what is reflected in the above quotation is the problem of unemployment rather than a negative attitude towards education.

One of the notions that are reiterated by People with Positions is the perceived risk for unemployment of the educated. According to one PP respondent the habit of educated persons to move to towns and cities is keeping parents from sending children to school.

> "But if they send the children to school they move to big cities and may not come again to live with them." (502).

In the interview reply which follows another social phenomenon is reflected, namely that of out-migration of the educated. (1002, PS, male, age 22).

> "Some people want their children to be farmers. If their children get educated, they will get jobs and go out (of) the area where they were born. And parents do not like their children to be far away from them."

5.3.6.3 Scholarization - Not Sending Girls to School

Reasons given for not sending girls to school are centred on what might be perceived as main characteristics of a women's role in rural Ethiopia; early marriage and heavy demands on her work capacity. In Table 23 the relative strength of opinions is accounted for.

Table 23. Reasons for Not Sending Girls to School

Sub-category	Schoolers PS+DO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Early marriage	24 (44)	26 (34)	50 (39)
Misconduct	12 (22)	21 (28)	33 (25)
Labour	8 (15)	17 (22)	25 (19)
Alleged weakness	10 (19)	10 (13)	20 (15)
Miscellaneous	0 (0)	2 (3)	2 (2)
Total	54 (100)	76 (100)	130 (100)

A parallel scrutiny of responses given by Schoolers (PS, DO) and Non-Schoolers (NP, PM) does not reveal any striking differences.

Tuning in the voices of respondents, we listen to statements about the role of Early marriage with regard to keeping girls out of school.

> "Most of the people think education is (more) important for men than women in this area. This is because they want their daughters to get married at early age. It is socially (more) acceptable than sending their daughters to school." (203, DO, female, age 23).

> "They don't think they will go far and be useful and so should marry very young." (211, DO, male, age 20).

> "They don't believe in the education of girls. They marry them early in life." (102, PS, male, age 26).

A close link between Misconduct and Alleged weakness is revealed in utterances like the following.

> "In their puberty is the problem that they may be spoiled, get pregnant and come with a child which is a disgrace to a family. So in the higher grades, the girls will be forced to quit and marry." (404, PM, male, age 39).

> "Girls are trapped by young men and marry without completing schooling, so the parents lost money they invested for schooling that girl. The other reason is some girls get pregnant illegally." (402, PM, male, age 47).

> "They go to school for a period of time and sooner or later they become mothers of illegitimate children. They spoil high prestige of their family by becoming pregnant in a way not accepted by community." (205, DO, female, age 17).

One also registers candid manifestations of the Alleged weakness of women. Partly at least as a consequence of the indirect interview technique, responses are phrased in third person. Thus female respondents not seldom in an indirect way convey negative opinions about their own sex.

> "They think women are weaker both physically and mentally." (214, DO, female, age 18).

> "Education is more important to women than men because women are shy and are dependent upon their fellow-men." (406, PM, male, age 48).

Confronting the reference interview audience of People with Positions (PP) with the equality problem they generally reiterate views expressed by the principal respondents thereby frequently denouncing reluctance to educate women as belonging to pre-revolutionary days.

> "The main reason for this is the life long reactionary idea that if women go out of kitchen to attend school, raise their eyes to some other handsome man and start to look down to their husbands. Finally get divorced. Men or husbands try to keep women in kitchen as their utensils like plate or a glass that serves his own purpose only." (513).

Examination of enrolment figures for Saya Debir School 1984/85 shows that girls form a one-third minority of the student population. There is nevertheless a palpable trend for expanding female participation in grades 1 and 2 (cf p 53 above). Statistics for primary schools in Deneba Woreda (Tegulet and Bulga Education Office, 1985) exhibit total enrolment data comparable to those of Saya Debir.

When we asked for reasons for not allowing girls to join school a category of answers emerged which advocated equality of women and men, implying that women should not be discriminated against vis à vis access to education.

There were 47 responses contingent on this issue, distributed evenly between Schoolers and Non-Schoolers. Below are quoted a few relevant excerpts from the interview material.

> "In olden times education was more important for men than women. But now no one says because education of both men and women is equally important. The time needs it." (405, PM, female, age 40).

> "They say teaching a women is of no use. I strongly oppose these backward ideas and we have succeeded in changing things in recent years." (102, PS, male, age 26).

> "He thinks that both sexes are equal since the revolution and have to have the same education." (416, PM, male, age 38).

5.3.7 Schooling and Job Preference

Just as in the case of Scholarization there appears to exist an indirect link between job preference and expected benefits of schooling.

Table 24. Occupations Preferred for Educated People

Sub-category	Schoolers PS+SS (n=40)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Teaching	22 (39)	17 (22)	39 (29)
Other government employment	10 (18)	22 (29)	32 (24)
Technical	8 (14)	17 (22)	25 (19)
Secretarial	4 (7)	6 (8)	10 (8)
Agricultural expert	6 (10)	5 (7)	11 (8)
Mass-organizations	2 (4)	3 (4)	5 (4)
Medical	3 (5)	2 (3)	5 (4)
Craftsman, trader	2 (4)	1 (1)	3 (2)
Farming	0 (0)	2 (3)	2 (2)
Miscellaneous	0 (0)	1 (1)	1 (1)
Total	57 (101)	76 (100)	133 (101)

Almost all of the respondents choose occupations other than Farming. Actually not one single Schooler has suggested Farming as preferred occupation. Teaching and other government employment by contrast are highly valued types of occupation. A conclusion which seems reasonable from these data is that preferred jobs are found outside the local community. A future in the rural tract of origin apparently has low appeal. It is moreover evident that manual labour enjoys only marginal attraction.

Teaching is more popular with Schoolers than with Non-Schoolers. On the other hand, those who did not go to school are more positive towards government employment than are the Primary-School educated.

The only two responses in preference for Farming emanate from the locality furthest from the school. There is also more sympathy for Technical occupation such as pilot, engineer, driver among

those who dwell far from school. Teaching however has more advocates in school-close Saya Debir. The total number of responses is about equal from the two localities.

5.3.7.1 Proposed Career for Someone who Completed Grade 6

One item in the structured interview (SI 9) depicts the following projected situation (Appendix B).

"Let us say that Abebe has just completed grade six and has learnt to read and write well. As you see it he should:

a) stay where he is and try to improve his environment
b) go to a town and join some other school
c) move to a town or city and try to find a job"

The distribution of answers is as follows.

Table 25. Proposed Career for Someone who has Completed Grade 6

Sub-category	Schoolers PS+DO (n=19)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=36)	Total (n=55)
Move, study	14 (73)	26 (72)	40 (73)
Stay, improve environment	3 (16)	7 (19)	10 (18)
Move, find job	2 (11)	3 (8)	5 (9)
Total	19(100)	36 (99)	55(100)

The favourite prospective is to leave the rural surroundings and join a school in a town. There are no substantial differences in standpoints between schoolers and non-schoolers.

The reference group of People with Positions was approached for opinions about the most common career for school completers. Judging from the evidence in these answers, farming is a more widespread career-preference than further education. Such a perception is in contradiction with the message voiced by the core interview audience which depicts farming as the least appealing career prospect.

> (The most common career for primary school completers in this area is) "Farming, because in this area the dominant activity is agriculture." (501).

The PP material implies that primary school completers remain in their villages. Our impression from Saya Debir, however, is that the majority have left, considering the difficulty to find school-completers for interviewing. However, it is problematic to determine to what extent those who left went for studies or for jobs.

5.3.8 Skills and Knowledge in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic

In the following pages presentation of effect data is concluded with an account of information of a factual character. The material was collected with the aid of Data Form for Open and Structured Interviews (DF).

5.3.8.1 Mini-test

Skills and knowledge in reading, writing and arithmetic were assessed by way of the Mini-test.

Only respondents who met achievement criteria for all three sub-tests were regarded as having passed the Mini-test.

Table 26. Performance in Mini-test

Performance	Schoolers		Non-schoolers		Total
	PS (n=18)	DO (n=22)	NP (n=22)	PM (n=38)	(n=100)
Passed	18(100)	16 (73)	7 (32)	14 (37)	55 (55)
Not passed		4 (18)	9 (41)	9 (24)	22 (22)
Not participated		2 (9)	6 (27)	15 (39)	23 (23)
Total	18(100)	22(100)	22(100)	38(100)	100(100)

As could be reasonably expected results in the Mini-test are better for Schoolers than for Non-Schoolers. Sixteen of the twenty-two drop-outs passed the Mini-test which gives an encouraging impression of their level of retention of educational skills.

Examination of data reveals that among those who failed in the Mini-test as a whole, 15 respondents passed the reading sub-test. Taking into account the whole sample, 93 per cent of the Schoolers, including drop-outs, and 55 per cent of the Non-Schoolers passed the reading sub-test.

The fact that more than every other Non-Schooler is able to read can obviously be ascribed to effects of Non-formal and Informal education, (Non-formal education in the present context denotes the National Literacy Campaign and Informal education stands for Church schools).

With regard to performance in the arithmetic sub-test on the part of failers in the total test only one - a Drop-out succeeded.

5.3.8.2 Letter writing

A large proportion of the interview audience apply their educational skills in writing letters.

Table 27. Whether Respondents Wrote Letters Last Year

Letter Writing	Schoolers		Non-Schoolers		Total
	PS (n=18)	DO (n=22)	NP (n=22)	PM (n=38)	(n=100)
Yes	13 (72)	14 (64)	2 (9)	13 (34)	42 (42)
No	5 (28)	8 (36)	20 (91)	25 (66)	58 (58)
Total	18(100)	22(100)	22(100)	38(100)	100(100)

There are clearly more Schoolers than Non-Schoolers who engage in correspondence. It can be derived from the data in Table 27 that 68 per cent of the Schoolers are letter writers as compared to 25 per cent for Non-Schoolers. Drop-outs again show a comparatively high level of performance. We can also count a considerable number of letter writers among Non-Schoolers, especially among People in the Milieu, exercising skills acquired in Non-formal and Informal education.

Information was also solicited about frequency of letter writing. Responses were occasionally given as estimations especially among highly active correspondents.

Thus, 42 respondents together drafted around 800 letters. Of these letters about 650 or 81 per cent were composed by Schoolers. Most letters were of an official nature and written by 24 individuals holding different offices and responsibilities in mass-organizations.

5.3.9 Reading and Radio-listening

5.3.9.1 Reading

Respondents were asked a straightforward question whether they did any reading. Answers offered are displayed in Table 28.

Table 28. Whether Respondents do any Reading

Reading	Schoolers		Non-Schoolers		Total
	PS (n=18)	DO (n=22)	NP (n=22)	PM (n=38)	(n=100)
Yes	18(100)	18 (82)	14 (64)	23 (61)	73 (73)
No		4 (18)	8 (36)	15 (39)	27 (27)
Total	18(100)	22(100)	22(100)	38(100)	100(100)

Every Primary-Schooler in the sample and almost all Drop-Outs declare that they engage in reading. The high incidence of reading among Non-Schoolers rhymes with their performance on the Mini-test. Data not shown in table 28 also indicate that reading is more frequent among those who live near school than is the case with those who live in the periphery. Percentages involved are 83 and 56 respectively.

5.3.9.2 Preferred types of Literature

The respondents were asked what kind of texts they preferred. The total number of responses given was 107, distributed as shown in the table below.

Table 29. Types of Literature Preferred by Readers

Types of Literature	Schoolers PS+DO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Political	24 (44)	16 (31)	40 (37)
Agricultural	13 (24)	7 (14)	20 (19)
Health	9 (16)	11 (21)	20 (19)
Religious	2 (4)	5 (10)	7 (6)
Other	7 (13)	13 (25)	20 (19)
Total	55(101)	52(101)	107(100)

Political texts are the ones most preferred. The table suggests that Schoolers favour political and agricultural texts more than Non-Schoolers do. It seems reasonable to assume that preference for political content is related to social and political consciousness.

Table 30. How Readers Obtain Reading Materials

Ways of Obtaining Materials	Schoolers Ps+DO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Borrowed from literacy reading room	9 (29)	11 (24)	20 (26)
Borrowed from friends	6 (19)	12 (26)	18 (23)
Borrowed from school children	5 (16)	11 (24)	16 (21)
Bought	7 (23)	5 (11)	12 (16)
Borrowed from office of Popular mass organizations	4 (13)	7 (15)	11 (14)
Total	31(100)	46(100)	77(100)

The three most common ways of obtaining reading materials are by borrowing from the literacy reading room, from friends and from school children.

5.3.9.3 Radio-listening

Respondents were asked about their utilization of the radio media. Information obtained concerns incidence and frequency of listening, where listening takes place, and programme preferences.

Table 31. Whether Respondents Listen to the Radio

Radio listening	Schoolers PS+DO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Yes	21 (53)	21 (35)	42 (42)
No	19 (48)	39 (65)	58 (58)
Total	40(101)	60(100)	100(100)

Radio-listening is more common among Schoolers than among Non-Schoolers. Break-down of data for Schoolers indicates that 61 per cent of Primary schoolers and 45 per cent of Drop-Outs are listeners.

Table 32. Frequency of Radio-listening

Radio-listening	Schoolers PS+DO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Daily	14 (35)	10 (17)	24 (24)
Occasionally	7 (18)	11 (18)	18 (18)
Not listening	19 (47)	39 (65)	58 (58)
Total	40(100)	60(100)	100(100)

The term 'occasionally' implies a frequency that varies from twice in a week to once every two months.

Schoolers tend to listen more often to the radio than is the case with Non-Schoolers. And more "non-listeners" are found among Non-Schoolers than among Schoolers.

Table 33. Where Radio is Listened to

Place for radio-listening	No [1]	%
At home	26	(58)
At friends' relatives'	9	(20)
In the neighbourhood	6	(13)
Other	4	(9)
	45	(100)

1) Occasionally more than one place is stated.

The most common listening place is the listener's home; this is, however, not quite what could have been expected from the limited number of radio receivers indicated in our data about 55 respondents household possessions. There are different possible explanations for this seeming discrepancy. As already mentioned data about household possession cover only 55 of the total sample of 100. Moreover, the account of possessions might occasionally have overlooked radio receivers. It is also possible that the incidence of radio-listening is overstated.

The circumstance that one listens in the houses of friends and relatives suggests, besides the lack of a receiver of one's own, that radio-listening is a social activity. It is conceivable that "In the neighbourhood" also, to some extent at least, includes friends and relatives. "Other" includes "Where it is available"(2). "In town and "At the Office of the Farmers (Producers) Cooperative."

Table 34. Types of Programmes Listened to

Type of Programme	Schoolers PS+OO (n=40)	Non-Schoolers NP+PM (n=60)	Total (n=100)
Agricultural	5 (14)	6 (20)	11 (17)
News	7 (20)	4 (13)	11 (17)
Health	5 (14)	4 (13)	8 (12)
Political	4 (11)	1 (3)	6 (9)
Whatever is transmitted	6 (17)	9 (30)	15 (23)
Other	8 (23)	6 (20)	14 (22)
Total	35 (99)	30 (99)	65(100)

There is an emphasis on programmes with functional content. News and political programmes also show a comparatively high rating. The category "Other" includes inter alia sports, music and fiction. Types of Programmes that respondents listen to on their radios vary little between Schoolers and Non-Schoolers. However, listening to whatever is transmitted occurs more frequently among Non-Schoolers.

5.3.10 Social and Political Participation

Under this heading are treated Participation in Education Activities and Participation in Mass-organizations.

5.3.10.1 Participation in education activities

A seizable portion of the respondents have been involved in Non-formal and Informal education activities i.e. the National Literacy Campaign and Church Schools. The category Literacy Campaign in Table 35 below covers different levels of achievement i.e. participated only, awarded certificate, post-literacy as well as combinations of the three levels. The data concerns only Non-Schoolers (NP and PM).

Table 35. Non-Schoolers' Participation in Education Activities by Distance to School

Education Activity	Near School (n=28)	Far from School (n=32)	Total (n=60)
Literacy Campaign	15 (54)	31 (97)	46 (77)
Literacy Campaign and Church School	3 (11)	1 (3)	4 (7)
Church School	7 (25)		7 (12)
No education activity	3 (11)		3 (5)
Total	28(101)	32(100)	60(101)

All respondents, save three, have participated in Non-formal and/or Informal education activities. Altogether 50 individuals or 84 per cent have participated in the National Literacy Campaign.

Respondents who live far from school tend to participate to a higher degree in the Literacy Campaign than those living near the school do. A possible explanation is that difficult access to formal education service make people more motivated to make use of non-formal facilities.

5.3.10.2 Participation in Mass and Social organizations

The following mass and social organizations figure in our data:

- Peasants Associations
- Producers Cooperatives
- Service Cooperatives
- REWA
- REYA

Ninety-six respondents are members in one mass-organization or more. In addition information was received about membership in other bodies such as WPE and Edir (Edir is a voluntary organization in a community where members assist each other in various needs).

5.3.10.3 Attending meetings

Table 36. Number of Meetings Attended During Last Month

Number of Meetings	Schoolers		Non-Schoolers		Total
	PS (n=18)	DO (n=22)	NP (n=22)	PM (n=38)	(n=100)
None, no information	4 (22)	8 (36)	10 (45)	7 (18)	29 (29)
1-5	8 (44)	10 (45)	11 (50)	30 (79)	59 (59)
6-10	6 (33)	3 (14)	1 (5)	1 (3)	11 (11)
11-15		1 (5)			1 (1)
Total	18 (99)	22(100)	22(100)	38(100)	100(100)

There is a much larger proportion of Schoolers than Non-Schoolers among those who attend more than 5 meetings. Drop-Outs tend to be somewhat less active than Primary School Completers, but they again show a strong performance.

5.3.10.4 Participation in activities

Mass-organization activities in which respondents participate feature among other things

- collective work in cultivation
- construction of office quarters for the Producers Cooperatives
- cleaning of spring
- dam construction
- tree planting

These types of activities are obviously in keeping with the significant role given to mass-organizations with regard to rural development in Ethiopia.

Table 37. Activities Participated in During Last Year

No. of activities	Schoolers		Non-Schoolers		Total
	PS (n=18)	DO (n=22)	NP (n=22)	PM (n=38)	(n=100)
None, no information	4 (22)	5 (23)	6 (27)	2 (5)	17 (17)
1-5	12 (67)	16 (73)	14 (64)	30 (79)	72 (72)
6-10			1 (5)	3 (8)	4 (4)
11-15		1 (5)	1 (5)	1 (3)	3 (3)
more than 15	2 (11)*			2 (5)**	4 (4)
Total	18(100)	22(101)	22(101)	38(100)	100(100)

* 104 and 152 activities respectively

** 16 and 102 activities respectively

Frequency of participation is quite evenly distributed among Schoolers and Non-Schoolers. Drop-outs are roughly speaking as active as Primary School Completers.

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5.3.10.5 Office holding

Types of offices or positions in mass-organizations held by respondents are e.g. Chairperson, Secretary, Accountant, Committee member, Group leader in Producers Cooperative.

Table 38. Distribution of Number of Offices held in Mass-organizations

No. of Offices held	Schoolers		Non-Schoolers		
	PS (n=18)	DO (n=22)	NP (n=22)	PM (n=38	Total (n=100)
1	4 (22)	5 (23)	0 (0)	14 (37)	23 (23)
2	5 (28)	5 (23)	1 (5)	3 (8)	14 (14)
3	3 (17)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (3)
none, no information	6 (33)	12 (55)	21 (95)	21 (55)	60 (60)
Total	18(100)	22(101)	22(100)	38(100)	100(100)

More offices are held by Schoolers than by Non-Schoolers.

People in the Milieu (PM) are more active than Non-Primary Schoolers (NP). But PM are also older than NP which probably makes them stronger candidates for responsible positions in mass-organizations. On the other hand Primary Schoolers and Drop-outs are younger than PM but still hold more offices. A plausible explanation is that Schoolers compensate for their relative youth by being better educated.

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The EPS-study is conceived as a pilot exercise exploring and experimenting with methodological approaches. We shall therefore briefly discuss some of the experiences and lessons gained during various phases of the study.

6.1 SAMPLE

The selection procedure with a stepwise gathering of information starting in Addis Ababa and then making reconnaisance trips to pre-selected areas can be said to have worked well. One complication we faced, however, was that the seasonal rains had not yet ceased when we carried out our two trips of reconnaisance, in late August. Thus, there were potential research sites which could not be reached. For that reason it would have been better to start the project one month later. But on the other hand, we were now able to carry out data-collection before the harvesting season started in our research community.

The respondent groups Non-primary schoolers (NP) and People in the Milieu (PM) could have been combined to make one single group, because as it turned out the only actual difference was that NP were somewhat younger than PM.

6.2 INSTRUMENTS

The main instruments for data collection were in line with the qualitative approach, Open Interviews and Structured Interviews. Reasons for using two different but related types of interviews are to be sought in the pilot character of the study.

Future, non-pilot studies, should concentrate on one of the two interview techniques. In my opinion it would be interesting to apply in the first place Open interviews, possibly with a more limited audience trying to gain in depth and also to some extent disregard the quantitative aspect of answers registered.

Comparing data from the two types of instruments, statements from the Open interviews are often better substantiated and more rich in detail than is the case with Structured interviews.

One common feature of both instruments is that themes and questions as well as recorded responses are in English. This technique was applied in a study ressembling EPS (Sjöström & Sjöström 1982, 1983) and was found to produce reasonably reliable and valid data.

It is worth noticing, in the present context however, that the language dilemma has always to be confronted, for instance whenever reporting is to be done in English and if non-Amharic speaking personnel is involved in the research process.

A measure that could be taken in order to reduce distortions due to translation is to translate the English text into Amharic and then back to English again. In this process discrepancies should be observed and dealt with.

What we did in the EPS-study was to give interviewers opportunity to discuss how interview topics could best be rendered into Amharic. Moreover, when the data were processed it was possible to consult the actual interviewer about the interpretation of a certain response.

6.2.1 Data treatment

Categorizing, coding and compiling data with the aid of a set of categories and sub-categories was a work - structure which functioned quite satisfactorily. The crucial aspect in this process, however, seemed to be one of economy, of arriving at a minimal amount of coding categories. Ideally, each and every interview statement should be taken care of by one of the categories, yet any single statement should match one, and only one, coding category.

If a re-analysis of the data were to be carried out a conceivable innovation would be a reduction of the number of coding categories. Thus for instance, it might be possible, without serious loss of information, to combine Skills and knowledge with Literacy and perhaps also do the same with for example Consciousness and Mass-organizations. It is also advisable with respect to any future similar study to provide a sufficiently wide time frame for the vital and challenging task of processing and analyzing interview data.

6.2.2 Quality of the data

The issue of the quality of EPS-data has already been touched upon in the previous comments on instruments. A few reflections of a more comprehensive character will, nevertheless, be added under the above heading.

A methodological principle of the EPS-study it may be recalled, is to look for perspectives, of reality i.e. how respondents interpret and experience their world rather than to assess objective facts. Consequently one may posit that our data are valid to the extent that they succeed in capturing respondents' perspectives.

To bring us as close as possible to that difficult and elusive research target we applied a qualitative method.

Features designed to facilitate access to respondents perspectives were among others:

- Instruments with Open-ended and non-threatening themes and questions

- Trying in several ways to establish a good rapport with respondents by for instance

  . engaging female interviewers to facilitate rapport with female respondents
  . introducing interviews in an informal manner through for instance small talk on netural matters of day-to-day interest.

Moreover, interviews carried out with the reference audience People with Positions can also be seen as having a validating function with regard to the core interviews. Quite often PP-information corroborated that of the main respondents.

A device - which might improve the relevance of interview - themes and questions, and consequently one might assume, improve quality of data is to carry out explanatory interviews prior to the study proper.

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TABLES OF VARIABLES

CONDITIONS

- Societal goals
- Educational objectives
- Organization of education
- Economy of education
- Location of school
- Background (demographic)
  - age
  - sex
  - language
  - religion
  - occupation
- Conditions of living
- Migration
- Informal education
  - National Literacy Campaign
- Non-formal education
  - Church schools

PROCESS

- Teachers:
  - age
  - sex
  - professional qualifications
  - experience
- Studies:
  - age
  - sex
  - enrolment
- Physical facilities
- - buildings and equipment
- Linkage with NLC
  - recruitment from NLC
- Wastage
- Content
- Suggested improvements

EFFECTS

- Expected benefits
- Experienced benefits of education
- Occupational preferences
- Changes in the community
  - The school as such
- Scholarization of children
- Retention of skills in reading, writing and arithmetic
- Use of educational skills and knowledge
- Adoption of innovations
  - use of fertilizers and improved seeds etc.
- Social and political consciousness
- Social and political participation
  - membership, attendance, activities and office holding in mass-organizations
- Reading and radio listening

EFFECTS OF PRIMARY SCHOOLING PILOT STUDY (EPS)

GUIDE FOR OPEN INTERVIEWS

1. Benefits of schooling

- benefits experienced in daily life
- what someone may lose by not going to school
- to non-schoolers: imagined benefits of education
- jobs preferred by and for educated people
- changes in the community (positive and negative)

2. Scholarisation

- reasons for sending/not sending children to school
- education more important for men than for women?

3. Wastage

- reasons for drop-out, repetition and absenteeism

4. Content of education

- most important content for boys and for girls

5. Critical views

- suggestions for improvement of education given in the primary school

6. The school as such

- non-academic functions of the school

EFFECTS OF PRIMARY SCHOOLING PILOT STUDY (EPS)

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

PS,	101-199	Primary School Graduates
DO,	201-299	Drop-Outs
NP,	301-399	Non-Primary Schoolers
PM,	401-499	People in the Milieu
GROUP,	601-699	Group of Respondents

ALL RESP 1. Some parents are quite eager to send their children to school. Why do you think they are so keen on getting education for their children?

PS DO 2. What benefits did you expect from education when you were in school? PROBE FOR SPECIFIC ANSWERS. DON'T ACCEPT ANSWERS LIKE "TO GET KNOWLEDGE".

NP PM 3. What do you think that someone may lose by not going to school?

ALL RESP GROUP

4. Some parents may not send all of their children to school, or maybe even none at all, in spite of there being a school in the neighbourhood. What would you say that their reasons were for not sending their children to school?

ALL RESP (PARENTS)

5. What type of job would you like for your children to have after they have finished their education?

ALL RESP (PARENTS)

6. And what would be the most unacceptable job for your children?

DO NP PM

7. Suppose you had completed primary school. In that case what would you have liked to be doing now (e.g. occupation, studies etc.)

DO NP PM

8. And why would you have chosen this occupation etc.?

ALL RESP 9. Let us say that Abebe has just completed grade six and has learnt to read and write well. As you see it should he:

a) stay where he is and try to improve his environment

b) go to a town and join some other school

c) move to a town or a city and try to find a job

ALL RESP 10. Some people say that education is not as important for women as for men. Would you have any suggestion as to why they think so?

ALL RESP 11. Beyene can only send one of his four children to school. Which one do you think he will chose?

ALL RESP 12. Some people say that an educated child should try to find a different type of work than his/her parents have. Others say that a child should usually continue the same work as his/her parent/parents. What is your opinion?

MP 13. Did you ask you parents to let you go to school when you were a child?

MP 14. Why/why not?

ALL RESP GROUP 15. A farmer has a young son and greatly needs his sons fulltime help in cultivation. But the son wishes to continue to attend school rather than working fulltime. What should the father decide on this question?

ALL RESP 16. Sometimes students are absent from classes. In your opinion what are the main reasons for this?

ALL RESP 17. It is not unusual that students repeat classes. What would you say is the reason for this?

PS DO 18. It is now some time since you left school. I shall ask you to think of any practical uses and applications you have made so far of your schooling?

PS DO GROUP

19. At school children are taught reading, science, home-economics etc. Are there any of these and any other subjects that you think should have been taught more in school?

PS DO GROUP

20. And why do you think these subjects should have been taught more in school?

ALL RESP

21. There seem to be many more boys then girls in our schools. What would you say is the main reason for this?

ALL RESP

22. Some students go to school for some time but later quit altogether before completing grade six. Why do you think this happens?

ALL RESP GROUP

23. It is generally believed that a key role of the school is to serve as a place of learning. However, a school can also have other functions. Are you aware of any other functions?

PS DO 24. Have you taught someone any of the skills and knowledge you have acquired in school? PROBE FOR SPECIFIC ANSWERS.

PS DO 25. IF YES ON 24: Who and where?

ALL RESP 26. Looking at the school in _____, did you take part in any activities arranged by the school such as tree-planting etc.?

DO 27. Could you tell me something about your reasons for quitting school?

ALL RESP GROUP

28. I understand that the school here is working quite well. Nevertheless, I think it might be possible for it to function even better. Do you have any suggestions about possible improvements?

ALL RESP GROUP

29. It is quite some time since the school here in _____ was started. If you think back at those days when there was no school, do you perceive any changes to which the school might have contributed?

NP

30. Can you tell me something about why you did not join the school?

EFFECTS OF PRIMARY SCHOOLING PILOT STUDY (EPS)

DATA-FORM FOR OPEN AND STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

PS, 101-199 Primary School Graduates
DO, 201-299 Drop-Outs
NP, 301-399 Non-Primary Schoolers
PM, 401-499 People in the Milieu

Identifications:

a) interviewer _____

b) date _____ from _____ hours to _____ hours

c) site for the interview _____

d) school serving resp's Peasant-Association _____

e) resp's Peasant-Association _____

f) distance from home to school _____

g) code number _____

---

1. Age _____

2. Sex: a) male ☐ b) female ☐

3. Marital status: a) unmarried ☐ b) married ☐
c) divorced ☐ d) widow/er ☐

4. Family size: a) how many children in the family
boys _____ girls _____

b) how many are living at home
boys _____ girls _____

c) how many of the children are above school-age (age 7)
boys _____ girls _____

d) how many of them went/are going to school
boys _____ girls _____

e) how many have completed grade six
boys _____ girls _____

f) what are they doing now?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5. Language: a) first _____

b) second _____

c) third _____

d) bilingual _____

6. Religion _____

7. Formal education: a) started school year (EC) _____

b) left school year (EC) _____

c) graduated year (EC) _____

d) no formal education _____

N.B. WHENEVER APPLICABLE PUT A TICK (✓) FOR YES AND A DASH (—) FOR NO.

8. Non-Formal education: a) Literacy Campaign, participated ☐
certificat ☐
post-literacy ☐

b) other _____

9. Participated in mini-test: a) yes ☐ b) no ☐
c) passed ☐ d) not passed ☐

10. Occupation _____

11. Has anyone of your family moved to another place during the last five years?

_____

_____

12 . IF YES ON 11: a) who moved (age and sex) _____

b) where did he/she/they move _____

c) why did he/she/they move _____

d) what is he/she/they doing now _____

e) has he/she/they gone to school _____

f) highest grade completed _____

g) does he/she/they assist the family economically

13. Do you listen to the radio? _____ _____

14, IF NO ON 13: Why not? _____

15. IF YES ON 13: Where do you listen to the radio? _____

16. IF YES ON 13: How often do you listen to the radio? _____

17. IF YES ON 13: When do you listen to the radio? _____

18. IF YES ON 13: What kind of programmes do you listen to?
PROBE FOR CONTENT

19. Do you do any reading (newspapers, books, pamphlets, letters etc.)?

_____

20. IF NO ON 19: Why not? _____

_____

21. IF YES ON 19: What kind of texts do you like best (political, farming, religion, health, fiction etc.)?

_____

_____

22. IF YES ON 19: How did you get the reading material?

a) bought ☐
b) borrowed from friends ☐
c) borrowed from school-children ☐
d) borrowed from literacy reading room ☐
e) other _____

23. IF YES ON 19: Where do you read? a) at home ☐
b) at litcracy class ☐
c) at literacy reading room ☐
d) at church ☐
e) other _____

_____

24. IF YES ON 19: If you could get any books etc. you would like, what would you like to read about?

_____

_____

25. Did you write any letter during the last year? _____

26. IF YES ON 25: a) how many letters did you write _____

b) what kind of letters: private ☐
official ☐

27. Which of the following organisations are you a member of:

a) Peasants-Association ☐
b) REWA ☐
c) REYA ☐
d) Farmers Service Coop. ☐
e) Production Coop. ☐
f) School Management Committee ☐
g) Edir ☐
h) Other _____

28. During the last month how many meetings did you participate in?

_____

29. During the last year how many other activities did you participate in? SPECIFY WHAT KIND OF ACTIVITIES

_____

_____

30. Specify any office you may hold in popular organisations (no 27)

_____

_____

31. Household possessions

32. Type of bed

Appendix C:6

33. Latrine

34. Where cattle is kept during the night

35. Cooking place

36. Boiling of drinking water

37. Garden plot

38. IF APPLICABLE Vegetables grown in the garden plot

LIST OF SUB-CATEGORIES WITH CORRESPONDING CATEGORIES

Sub-category	Definition	Category
Agriculture and horticulture		Transfer of skills and knowledge
Agricultural expert		Occupation preferred for educated people
Alleged weakness	Women regarded as inferior to men, sometimes in general terms, sometimes specified e.g. women are physically weaker than men	Scholarization - not sending girls
Alternatives to schooling	Preferring some kind of occupation to schooling	Wastage
Assist community	Assist immediate community as well as country a whole by e.g. getting qualified education to serve as teachers, technicians etc.	Scholarization - sending children to school
Assist family	Mostly economic support in parents' old age	Expected benefits Scholarization - sending children to school
Bee-keeping		Transfer of skills and knowledge
Better life than parents		Scholarization - sending children to school
Career	Aspirations, choice and performance related to occupation and education but without the aspect of service to the community	Expected benefits, changes in community, Scholarization - sending children to school

Appendix D:2

Sub-category	Definition	Category
Consciousness	Social and Political consciousness	Expected benefits, Experienced benefits, Changes in community, Scholarization - sending children
Craft and handicraft		Transfer of skills and knowledge
Craftsman, trader		Occupation preferred for educated people
Cultural activities		The school as such
Distance to school		Wastage
Early marriage	Marrying at an early age prevents girls from going to school	Scholarization - not sending girls, Wastage
Economy	Not being able to afford the cost of e.g. exercisebooks, stationery clothes etc	Scholarization - not sending children Wastage
Expansion		Suggested school improvements
Facilities	General facilities such as water, electricity, teachers quarters, clinic	Suggested school improvements
Family	Factors related to the student's family besides economy e.g. no facilities to study at night time, weddings, funerals	Wastage
Farming		Occupation preferred for educated people
Government employment		Occupation preferred for educated people

Appendix D:3

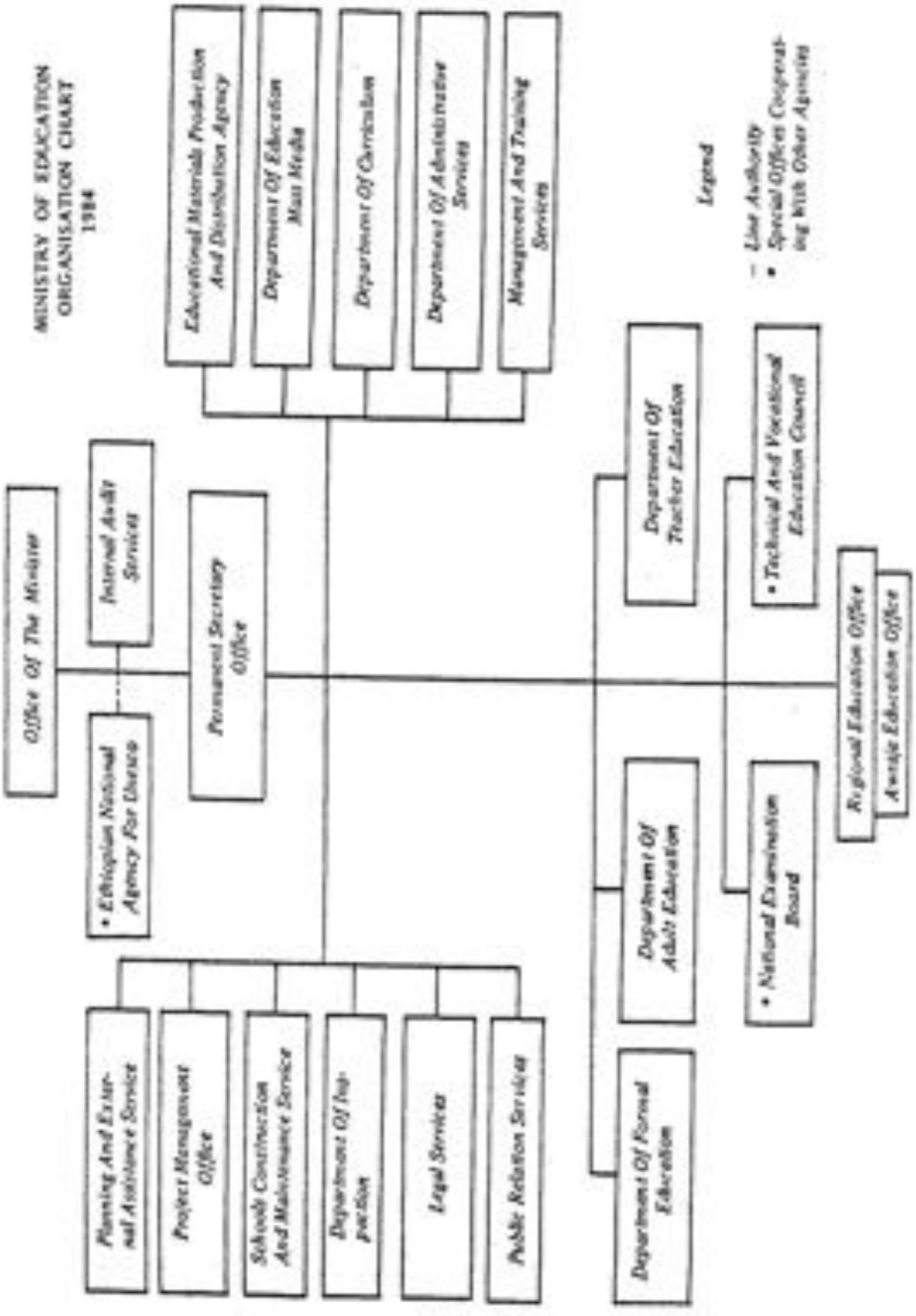
Sub-category	Definition	Category
Health and hygiene	Related to health, hygiene, nutrition at individual, home and environment levels	Expected benefits Experienced benefits Transfer of skills The school as such Changes in community Scholarization - sending children
Income	Activities to strengthen economy of the school e.g. growing vegetables for sale or involving all PA:s concerned to contribute money	Suggested school improvements
Individual characteristics	Factors related to the students themselves such as classroom behaviour, interest and aptitude for studies	Wastage
Labour	Children are needed in the daily work at home	Scholarization - not sending girls Wastage
Literacy	Acquiring and spreading literacy	Expected benefits, Experienced benefits, Transfer of skills, The school as such, changes in community, Scholarization - sending children
Mass-organizations	Being able to hold office in popular and mass-oreanizations such as P.A:s Cooperatives REYA and REWA	Expected benefits, Experienced benefits, The school as such, Changes in community, Occupation preferred for educated people
Medical		Occupation preferred for educated people
Misbehaviour	Bad manners in and out of school e.g. indiscipline in the classroom situation or unwanted pregnancies	Wastage
Misconduct	If girls go to school they may become involved sexually with boys and give birth to unwanted children	Scholarization - not sending girls

Appendix D:4

Sub-category	Definition	Category
Move, find job		Proposed career for someone who has completed grade six
Move, study		Proposed career for someone who has completed grade six
No perceived change		Changes in community
Non-awareness of value of eduation		Scholarization - not sending children
Occupation	In most cases relates to farming	Expected benefits, Experienced benefits, The school as such, Changes in community
Other government employment		Occupations preferred for educated people
Place of learning only		The school as such
School	Reasons for wastage connected with the school e.g. teachers' performance, no secondary school	Wastage
Secretarial		Occupation preferred for educated people
Sickness	Sickness on the part of the students	Wastage
Skills and knowledge	To gain school-transmitted skills and knowledge interpreted in general terms e.g. 'to learn something', 'to be wise', to introduce children to basic science and technology	Scholarization - sending children to school
Sports		Transfer of skills and knowledge

Sub-category	Definition	Category
Stay, improve environment		Proposed career for someone who has completed grade six
Subject matter		Suggested school improvements
Teaching		Occupations preferred by educated people
Teaching methods and materials		Suggested school improvements
Technical		Occupations preferred by educated people

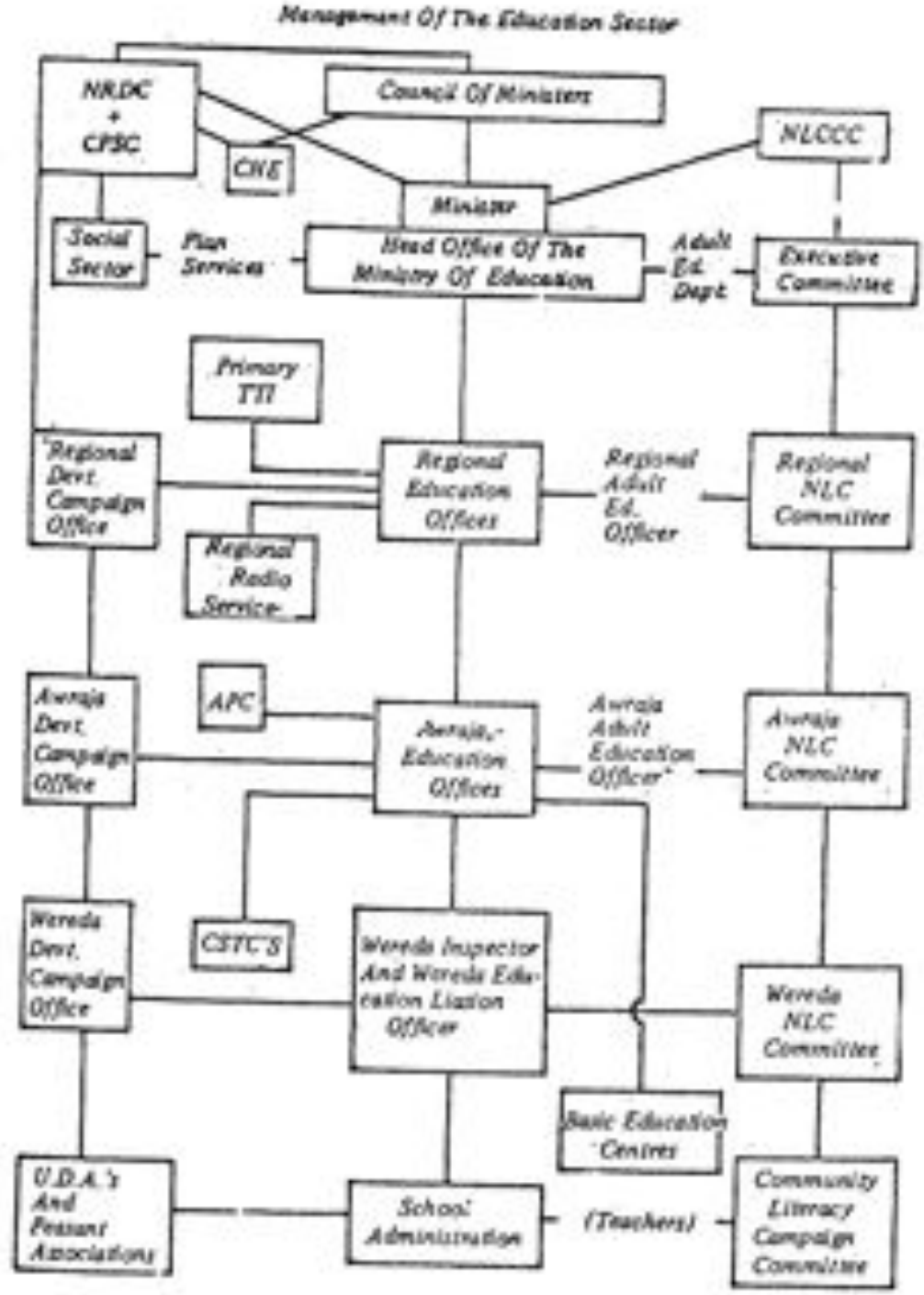
Ministry of Education Organisation Chart 1984 Appendix E:1



Source: Ministry of Education (1984,e)

Management of the Education Sector

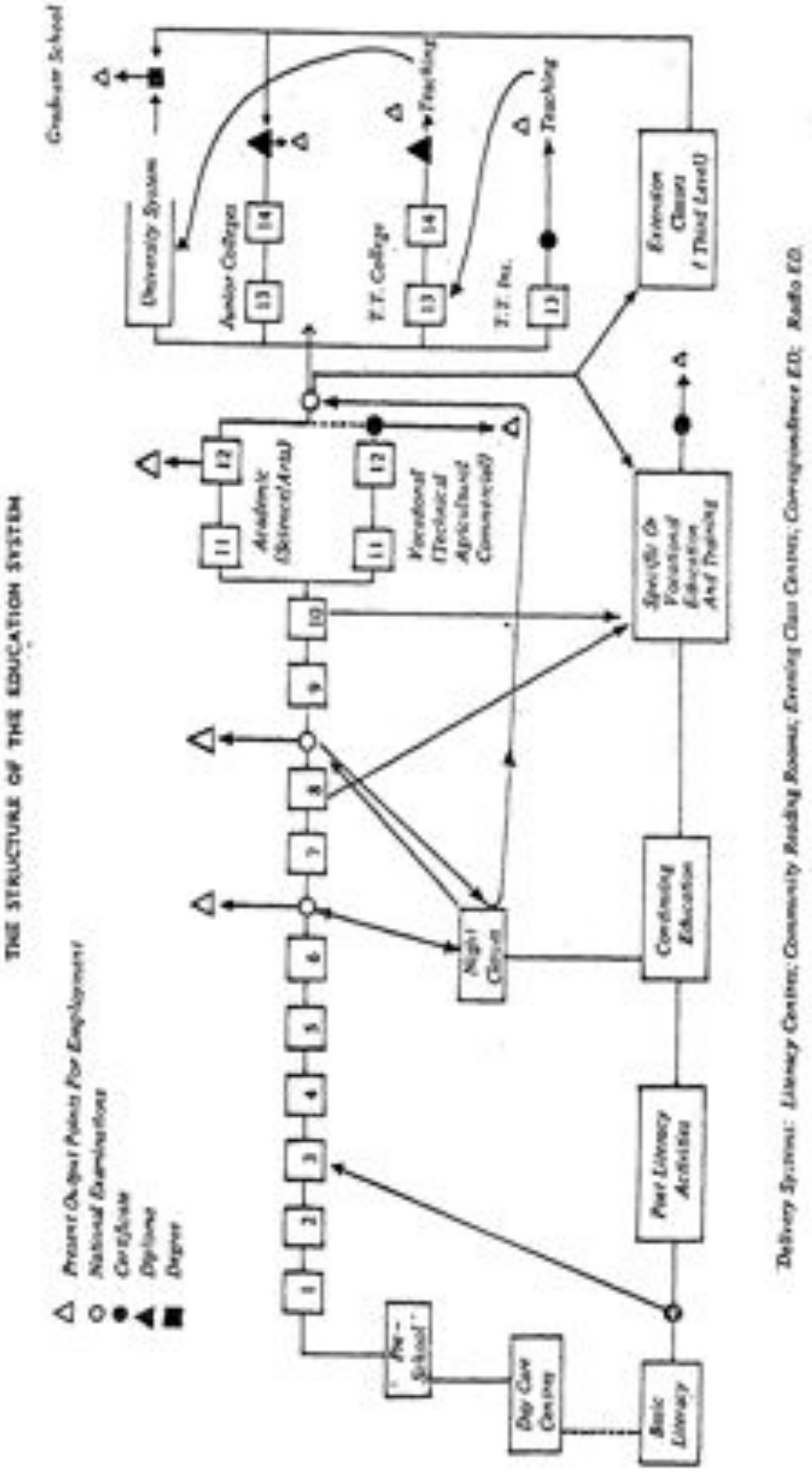
Appendix E:2



Source: Ministry of Education (1984,a)

The Structure of the Education System

Appendix E:3



Sources: Ministry of Education (1984,c)

Household Possessions
(in alphabetical order)

Akembalo	Lid for Mitad (Mitad, see below)
Axe	
Bag	(locally made)
Basin	
Bed of wood and leather	
Bottle	(modern)
Bowl	
Boxes	(wooden and metal)
Can	(drinking and washing)
Cereal containers	
Chairs	
China, glass	
Cloth box	
Container for storing grains	
Container for Tella	(locally brewed beer)
Cups	
Dipper	
Dish	
Glass	
Grinding stone	
Jar (clay)	
Kerosene lamp	
Kettle (clay	
Kettle (iron)	
Mesob - and other containers for keeping injera	
Mirror	
Mitad and akembalo for baking injera (clay)	
Mortar (wood)	
Pot (clay)	
Pot (metal)	

Radio (5 in all)
Seat (made of mud)
Shelves (made of wood and mud)
Sickle
Table
Trap for rats
Tray
Water jug
Weaving materials
Umbrella

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