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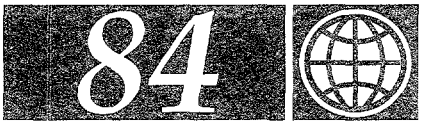

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The set of studies on implementation of African educational policies was edited by Mr. George Psacharopoulos. Mr. Psacharopoulos wishes to acknowledge the help of Professor G. Eshiwani, who beyond being the author of the case study on Kenya (see No. 85) has coordinated the production of the other case studies in the region.

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Fassil R. Kiros

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FOREWORD

The decades of the 1960s and 1970s witnessed dramatic quantitative growth in African education systems. Beyond expanding educational places, many African countries pronounced intentions to "reform" their educational systems, by adjusting the length of education cycles, altering the terms of access to educational opportunity, changing the curriculum content, or otherwise attempting to link the provision of education and training more closely to perceived requirements for national socio-economic development. Strong economic growth performances of most African economies encouraged optimistic perceptions of the ability of governments to fulfill educational aspirations which were set forth in educational policy pronouncements.

Sadly, the adverse economic conditions of the 1980s, combined with population growth rates which are among the highest in the world meant that by the early 1980s, education enrollment growth stalled and the quality of education at all levels was widely regarded as having deteriorated. In recognition of the emerging crisis in African education, the World Bank undertook a major review to diagnose the problems of erosion of quality and stagnation of enrollments. Emerging from that work was a policy study, Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion, which was issued in 1988. That study does not prescribe one set of education policies for all of Sub-Saharan Africa. Rather, it presents a framework within which countries may formulate strategies tailored to their own needs and circumstances. In fact, a central point which is stressed in the study is the need for each country to develop its own country-specific education strategy and policies, taking into account the country's unique circumstances, resource endowment and national cultural heritage.

The crucial role of national strategies and policies cannot be over-emphasized. In recognition of the centrality of sound policies as a basis for progress, in 1987 the Bank's Education and Training Department (the relevant unit responsible for the policy, planning and research function at that time) commissioned a set of papers by African analysts on the comparative experiences of eight Anglophone Eastern and Southern African countries, each of which had developed and issued major education policy reforms or pronouncements. The papers give special attention to deficiencies in the design and/or implementation processes that account for the often-yawning gaps between policy intentions and outcomes. The lessons afforded by the eight African case studies, along with a broader- perspective assessment of educational policy implementation, are presented in the papers by George Psacharopoulos (the overall manager of the set of studies) and John Craig. The eight country case studies are presented in companion reports.

By disseminating this set of studies on the implementation of African educational policies, it is hoped that the lessons of experience will be incorporated into the current efforts by African countries to design and implement national policies and programs to adjust, revitalize and selectively expand the education and training systems which prepare Africa's human resources, the true cornerstone of African development.

Hans Wyss
Director
Technical Department
Africa Region

ABSTRACT

This paper describes in detail the historical roots of the modern Ethiopian educational system. Ethiopia began a program of modernization and development upon liberation in 1941. Even so, in 1961 the country's educational accomplishments were found to be quite low when compared with other African countries, most of whom were not yet or just barely independent. Some gains were made in the education sector through the implementation of a series of five-year development plans, and a major achievement was the opening of Haile Sellassie I University in 1961. Since 1974, Ethiopia has been undergoing a process of revolutionary change, one of the most important instruments of which has been a quantitative and qualitative expansion of education at all levels, including basic literacy. However, the education system has expanded faster than the rest of the economy, creating problems of educational quality, wastage and inefficiency, working conditions of teachers, educated unemployment, and the need for continuing reorganization. The report describes the role of education as envisioned in the government's Ten-Year Perspective Plan (1984/5-1994/5) and argues that problems remain today not because education has been neglected, but because much greater emphasis than previously has been placed on its expansion.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to provide an historical account and a critical appraisal of educational policies in Ethiopia since 1941. The study, if lacking in as much detail as might have been desired, has placed in perspective the educational performance of Ethiopia during a period of nearly one-half of a century.

It is often the case that policymakers and development practitioners are so preoccupied with the tasks of solving urgent problems and of dealing with ever-increasing educational pressures, that they find themselves unable to assess the impact of past policies or even to appreciate the likely consequences of current decisions. Under these circumstances, it is quite possible that the same mistakes are made more than once, or difficult problems of development rendered even more intractable. It is, therefore, believed that studies such as this one can play a valuable role in providing much-needed background for future policymaking and planning.

As indicated above, the review covers the period since 1941. The year 1941 marks the dawn of a new era of modernization in Ethiopia following the expulsion of the Italian Fascist invaders from the country. The policy of silitanie, or modernization, had however been initiated earlier, toward the end of the nineteenth century. The beginnings of modern education, as indeed of modernization in general, are credited to the Emperor Menelik II. One could however hardly speak of an educational "system" in Ethiopia until after the 1940s.

There had, of course, been the well-known traditional system of church education in Ethiopia, whose origins are traced to the ancient Aksumite period. That system, along with the Koranic schools which were introduced much later, had produced the only literate persons in the society until the emergence of the modern schools.

By the beginning of the decade of the 1950s, a nascent educational system had come into being in Ethiopia. This was followed by a period of a decade of educational expansion which appeared quite impressive when considered in relative terms. The Government was, however, to discover in the early 1960s that the country's educational system was still among the most backward to be

found in Africa. That was the finding of the UNESCO Conference of African States on the Development of Education, which was held in Addis Ababa in 1961.

The decade of the 1960s, therefore, became a decade of new challenges of educational development. During this period, the educational sector again witnessed remarkable growth. It seemed, however, as if the pressures of educational expansion were ever increasing, even as higher levels of development were being attained. Thus, the Educational Sector Review which took place only a decade after the 1961 Conference, found the Ethiopian educational system still lacking in too many respects, and therefore came forward with far-reaching proposals for educational reform and expansion. The recommendations of the Education Sector Review were, however, overtaken by the events leading to the 1974 Ethiopian revolution.

Since 1974, the educational sector has been placed on a new and radical course of development. As we shall see, however, many development challenges remain, calling for policies relating not only to the educational system proper, but also to the manner in which education fits within the overall scheme of national policy-making and socioeconomic change.

In looking back to the process of review and appraisal that has been attempted, the following observation made in the Education Sector Review report comes to mind: "In Ethiopia, development of the educational system [was] marked by a spirit of constructive dissatisfaction and quest for further improvement, rather than contentment with the progress being made." This observation appears to be more valid today than in 1972. However, one would be remiss not to point out that part of the dissatisfaction with the performance of the educational sector stems from the fact that educational ideals and objectives so often eloquently expressed are rarely translated into action.

It is often found that educational policies are not elaborated in operational terms; it is in fact sometimes difficult to ascertain which policies are in force at a particular point in time. The policies are, moreover, rarely well documented, so that they sometimes have to be inferred post facto, based on the patterns of change observed within the educational system. Where policies and plans may have been documented, they are not always systematically followed or implemented, so that it becomes difficult to

associate particular educational outcomes with specific policies. It is also found that the detailed appraisal of the outcomes of particular policies or plans is not undertaken as part of the regular process of policymaking and planning, but only when dictated by particular circumstances such as, for example, the need to justify external assistance. Furthermore, the educational data available being incomplete or inconsistent, do not always make it possible to undertaken such detailed evaluations as might from time to time be required.

These are all circumstances too well known to require much more comment. It must, however, be pointed out that they continue to prevail partly because there seems to be a proneness to regard them as secondary considerations or as minor errors of omission or of procedure. In fact, they constitute the symptoms of serious weaknesses in the system of policy-making and planning. They reflect the fact that a disciplined approach for performing these basic functions has yet to be instituted in many developing countries.

Fortunately, in the case of Ethiopia, one can observe a recent trend for the better. Greater attention is being given in the educational sector to the tasks of policy design, planning, and implementation. This is a welcome trend, which one hopes will be sustained, not merely for the sake of creating better conditions for the policy analyst or planner, but more fundamentally in the interest of a fuller realization of cherished educational aspirations.

2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION AND THE FORMATION OF AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM (1941-1951)

An Historical Account

The Problems of Postwar Reconstruction

The Ethiopian policy of *silitanie* or modernization entered a new and heightened phase following the expulsion of the Italians from the country in 1941. During the five years of occupation of the country, all schools for Ethiopians were closed by the Fascists, and virtually all of those Ethiopians who had been exposed to some form of modern education were ruthlessly eliminated. As a reprisal to the 1937 attempt on the life of the local overlord, Graziani, no less than 3,000 educated Ethiopians were brutally murdered. At the time of the restoration of independence, therefore, the need for the reconstruction and expansion of education was keenly felt by the Government. This was indeed a major challenge that had to be faced urgently, because the success of modernization policy in all aspects of national life depended so critically on the expansion of education.

The priority assigned to educational development was not new, however. As early as 1935, Regent Tafari Makonnen (later Emperor Haile Sellassie) had spoken the following words at the inauguration of the first school established in his name:

> Everyone who loves Ethiopia should concern himself with founding schools, to help scholars who are not his own children and to ensure that his own children receive education ... Everyone who says he is a friend of his country, Ethiopia, has the duty to show the token of his love by helping schools--by getting schools built so far as lies in his power, and by having his own children educated ... To be able to say we have 100,000 scholars, we must start with one; to say we have 20,000 schools, we must start with one ...[1]

---

[1] Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia," *Ethiopia Observer*, 6, No. 3, 1962, pp. 266-67.

It was, however, after 1941 that a series of concrete educational policies were introduced for the promotion of education in the country. The initial task was one of reconstruction of the very few schools that had existed in the prewar period. This was no small task for a war-ravaged and backward country.

> The difficulties here were perhaps far greater than in other branches of administration. To start with, teachers had to be found; the original foreign staff had, of course, mostly been dispersed, while the few educated Ethiopians who had survived were urgently required to fill the executive posts vacant in every department. School buildings and furniture had to be retrieved or improvised and somewhat adapted to meet essential immediate needs. Textbooks in Amharic and in English were practically nonexistent; other equipment was scarce; it had to be husbanded and strictly rationed. At the same time, many hundreds of boys, girls and young men, eager to make up for the five years gap in their education were besieging the few schools that managed to open their doors.[2]

The expansion and diversification of education and the provision of the institutional and financial structures were pursued almost simultaneously with the efforts being made at reconstruction. Highlights of these developments which are summarized in Table 1 are provided in the following paragraphs.

Diversification and Development

Among the initial tasks was to put in place the administrative structure for the educational sector. The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts was established soon after the restoration of independence. Later in 1947, a Board of Education was created which was assigned responsibility for the overall future development of education in the country. The establishment of this Board which is unique in the structure of government administration underscored the importance attached to the educational sector. Indeed, as stated in the Proclamation which created the Board, education in essence was rendered the direct responsibility of the Emperor.

---

[2] Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Education in Ethiopia, A Survey, Addis Ababa, 1961, p. 9.

Table 1

Landmarks in Educational Policy-making: 1941-1951

Year	Event	Remarks
1941	Establishment of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts	The first Minister appointed
1943	Haile Sellassie I Secondary School established	Marks the beginning of secondary education in the country
1943	Order No. 1 of 1943 issued	Defined the powers of the Ministers, including those of the Minister of Education and Fine Arts
1944	Establishment of: - Teacher Training School (TTS) - Commercial School of Addis Ababa - Technical School of Addis Ababa	Manifest efforts to meet manpower needs
1947	Order No. 3 of 1947 issued establishing Board of Education	Manifests the importance attached to the educational sector
1947	Legal Notice No. 103 of 1947 issued	Provided for an ad valorem tax on imports for the promotion of education and public health
1947	Educational Tax Proclamation No. 94 of 1947 issued	Proclaimed taxes to be levied on land in support of primary education

Year	Event	Remarks
1947	Education Expenditure Proclamation No. 95 of 1947	Proclaimed the establishment of Local Education Board to oversee provincial educational development and to ensure that Educational Tax Proclamation is correctly implemented
1948	Birhanih Zarie Naw Institute created	Marks an initial step in the development of adult education
1950	University College of Addis Ababa started classes	Marks the beginning of higher education in the country

Source: Author's research

> WHEREAS it is Our desire that Education shall grow in Our Empire and that Our People shall progress through Education and Arts and reach a high standard of knowledge, and
>
> WHEREAS to this end, it has seemed fitting to Us to establish a Board of Education and Fine Arts which shall function in direct contact with Us and shall be under Our own direction.
>
> NOW, THEREFORE, ... We hereby order and appoint as follows:
>
> The direction, administration, supervision and guidance of all functions and controls of Our Imperial Government, relating to education, fine arts and religious and cultural instruction, within Our Empire, shall come under Our exclusive control. [3] (Underlining added).

The new organizational arrangement, though limited in its capacity, made it possible to establish new primary schools in Addis Ababa as well as in some of the main provincial centers. Indeed, the country soon appeared to be on the road of educational progress. There were obvious problems of resource

[3] Refer to Annex III.

scarcity, but these did not restrain the initial drive toward the horizontal and vertical expansion of education.

Hence, in July 1943, the Government established the Haile Sellassie I Secondary School in Addis Ababa with some assistance from the British Council. The establishment of this school marks the beginning of secondary education in Ethiopia. The initial enrollment of the school was quite modest, consisting of forty-three students, all boys. The school nonetheless symbolized an important stage in the advancement of modern education in the country.

A year later, a beginning was made in the training of primary school teachers as a response to a critical need that resulted from the relatively rapid expansion of education. The Teacher Training School (TTS), which started its activities with two classes within the compound of the Menelik II School, soon began to award diplomas after relatively short periods of training. At about the same time, an in-service teacher training program was initiated in which provincial teachers were required to participate during the kiremt season (rainy period), when the schools were in recess.

The diversification of education was pushed in other areas as well. In an effort to meet the manpower needs of the emerging commercial and industrial sectors, the Ministry of Education established the Commercial School and the Technical School, both within Addis Ababa. Vocational training was also supplemented by the activities of some of the new government departments, which initiated training programs to meet their own urgent manpower needs.

In the day when formal education was just being reborn in Ethiopia, it is remarkable that adult education was also made part of the overall development agenda. The following description implies a rather progressive early attempt in this area:

> The question of community education also received early attention. It was considered desirable to achieve not only general literacy but also an improvement in standards of health and social welfare especially in rural areas. An experimental station was established at Tabasse, near Debre Berhan. Activities included a clinic, instruction in care of children, Amharic lessons, and agricultural demonstrations. A second center was opened at Shano, some thirty miles away. Adult education was available in the Capital and some other towns through evening classes, notably at the

British Council and Barhanih Zarie Naw Institute which was opened in Addis Ababa in 1948.[4]

By 1947, it appeared that the Government had already felt the need for opening a wider avenue for the expansion of education in the country. In that year, the Educational Tax Proclamation was promulgated. The intention of the Government in issuing that Proclamation was to enable each province to promote educational development on a self-supporting basis. Simultaneously with this measure, another proclamation, the Educational Expenditures Proclamation No. 95 was issued, providing for the creation of the Local Education Board not only to ensure the implementation of Proclamation No. 94, but also to oversee educational development in the provinces. This latter proclamation clearly foresaw the need for a broadly based and decentralized system of education to accommodate the needs of a potentially highly dynamic sector.

A nascent "system" of education took shape when on December 11, 1950, the first institution of higher learning in the country opened its doors. The official public opening of the new College, the University College of Addis Ababa, was, however, held on February 27, 1951. And its Charter was issued much later in 1954.

With the first step taken to initiate higher education in the country, the foundation was laid for educational development during the 1950s. Before undertaking the discussion of the development during the latter period, it would be appropriate to reconsider the outcomes of the progress made during the 1940s. What was the educational picture like after the relatively rapid progress in reconstruction, expansion, and diversification during the period since 1941? And what was the impact of the educational development during this early period? A number of observations can be made in response to these questions. One must, however, consciously guard against taking too critical a position against a system which, after all, was only in the stage of its infancy. There is, in any case, little detailed information available that would permit a close evaluation of the system and its impact.

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[4] Education in Ethiopia, op. cit., p. 11

A Critical Appraisal

Enrollment and Internal Efficiency

Table 2 shows the relatively rapid rate of growth of the number of schools between 1941/42 and 1951/52. Where there were no government schools i operation at the beginning of this period, their number had already exceeded 400 by 1951/52. There were slightly over 60,000 students enrolled on all levels in the formal sector (Table 3). This is a remarkable number considering that development started almost from scratch only a decade before. THe number of students enrolled in schools was nonetheless extremely small when compared with the educational needs of a country with a population of nearly 20 million.

The schools were, however, found to be highly inefficient assessed on the basis of the number of dropouts.

> Fifty percent of the grade one students had dropped out by the end of the second year of schooling! Grade five, or the beginning of the middle school, had less than 10% of the students of grade one, which meant that 90% of those entering grade one had dropped out by the time they reached grade five. Strong consolidation was urgently needed. It was nearly useless to continue expanding this way; there was much too much waste. What was the use of educating a child for one year or two years?[5]

This interpretation of the situation may, however, need to be somewhat moderated. The fact that enrollment in Grade 5 constituted only 10 percent of the total in Grade 1 may not be explained in terms of attrition alone. A more correct interpretation should take into account the fact that there were in the beginning few middle schools, so that enrollment on this level could not increase as fast as in the later stage, when more schools were being opened. Hence the appearance of a very high attrition.

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[5] E. Trudeau, Higher Education in Ethiopia, Montreal, 1964, p. 8.

Table 2

The Number of Government Schools, 1943/44-1951/52

Year	Number of Schools
1943/44	80
1944/45	175
1945/46	260
1946/47	380
1947/48	390
1948/49	500
1949/50	540
1950/51	530
1951/52	415

Source: Ethiopia, Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Yearbook 1942-43 E.C., p. 12

Table 3

Total Enrollment in Government Schools in the Fall of 1952
(Eritrea Not Included)

		Percent of Total Enrollment
Prmimary Schools grades 1 to 4 incl.		
Male:	45,397	75.49
Female:	6,699	11.59
		87.08
Middle Schools grades 5 to 8 incl.		
Male:	5,416	9.00
Female:	637	1.06
		10.06
Secondary Schools academic and special		
Male:	1,471	2.45
Female:	141	0.23
		2.68
Higher Education		
Male:	100	
Female:	1	0.16

Source: Trudeau, op. cit., p. 9

A Note on the Quality of Education

A few words might be said about the "quality" of education provided to those who managed to stay in the educational system. It must be noted that neither the old, nor the new educational establishments were well endowed. It would, therefore, have been unrealistic to expect the attainment of excellence in the quality of education in the very beginning.

The educational standards showed much variation. There was disparity in the ages as well as levels of education of students within the same classes. For example, one would commonly find in Grade 1 some highly literate youths, who had acquired their education from the traditional Church "schools", as well as many youths who would at best be classified as semi-literate. As might be expected, double promotions were quite common among those with the older and more literate pupils.

The school curricula contained little more than academic subjects. There were few skills that the pupils could acquire and learn to apply.

> The elementary school programs were almost entirely academic ... The secondary schools were [also] almost entirely academic. Everyone directed his attention to the High School Certificate (either the London General Certificate of Education or the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate), which was the 'entrance ticket' to one of the colleges. Commercial, technical, and agricultural education were regarded as second class education, reserved for those who could not make the grade in academic secondary schools, or who had to go to work immediately after finishing their secondary education.[6]

External Efficiency

Overall Impact. In the context of the educational needs of the country, the quantitative result of the education of the 1940s was far too small to deserve detailed analysis. Probably much less than one-half of 1 percent of the total population was touched by modern education by the beginning of the decade of the 1950s. The symbolic importance of the tiny educational system far surpassed its numerical impact, however.

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[6] Ibid.

As already stated, the educational sector, much more than any other branch of activity, reflected the modernization policy of the Government. Education represented the symbol and spearhead of modernization. The relatively small number of youths who were fortunate enough to have access to education were regarded as the tangible evidence of the dawn of a new era. Hence, the Emperor was wont to remind the pupils of their future role by statements such as the following:

> Do you know why We have opened schools for you? Do you recognize why We have hired teachers for you? Do you understand that We have done this so that you might blossom and bear the fruit of service to your country?[7]

Employment of the "Educated." The question of whether the outputs of the schools would meet the requirements of the market in quantitative and qualitative terms could hardly occur to the policy-makers. The supply was so small that the possibility of unemployment was unthinkable. Indeed, the rare individuals who possessed primary education had unlocked the door of instant induction in the fledgling bureaucracy. Those with secondary education would quality for high-level government positions. And those with some level of higher education unquestionably became members of the educated elite. Education, in other words, had become the avenue for social mobility par excellence.

> ... The goal was reached; many of the ... vice-ministers, assistant ministers, directors-general of departments, and others in office [were] products of this post-war education drive.[8]

There was also little concern about the quality or relevance of the education provided to the youths in the early period. The acquisition of modern education of any kind ascribed much prestige to the "educated." There appeared to be almost blind faith in education and there was much expectation from the "educated."

Unfortunately, the educational system which was being introduced in the country was almost entirely the replica of the European system. In 1949/50 close to 90 percent of the teachers were expatriates who came from various

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[7] From memory.
[8] Trudeau, op. cit., p. 7.

countries, including Britain, Canada, Egypt, France, India, Sweden, etc. The curriculum, the teachers, and the teaching materials were generally imported. In reality, therefore, modern education implied a process of alienation of the youths from their own society.

Furthermore, the high esteem ascribed to the educated set them apart from the traditional society. There was indeed a tendency among many of the educated to regard what was traditional as less than worthy of preservation. This state of affairs was not unanticipated. Hence, s early as the 1920s, the Regent to the Throne would counsel students with the following words:

> ... One who proposes to devote himself to foreign learning when he has not properly mastered the language and literature of his own country is like a boat without a rower. Be diligent in your study of our country's knowledge and learning.[9]

However, even within the country, modern education almost came to be regarded as being synonymous with the learning of foreign languages such as French and English. After 1941, the English language succeeded French as a teaching medium. However, the knowledge of these languages was too often taken as the evidence of the level of one's education. This state of affairs tended to aggravate the problem of alienation. And to this day, the issue of the quality and relevance of education occupies a central position in educational policy-making in Ethiopia.

Distribution of Educational Opportunity. The question of equity in the distribution of schools was also not a question that preoccupied policy-makers. It must have appeared to many as only natural, that education in the beginning was an urban male-dominated phenomenon. Then again as early as 1927, the Regent Tafari Makonnen had said to pupils in Addis Ababa:

> There are many who come hither, alike from rural areas and from towns, with the idea of getting education; if in the future they can receive education in their own districts through an increase in the number of schools, it will be an advantage for them ...[10]

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[9] Education in Ethiopia, op. cit., p. 7.
[10] Ibid., p. 8.

The Educational Tax Proclamation has stimulated a wider distribution of schools than would otherwise have been possible. Substantial amounts of the tax funds were already being applied toward the setting up of schools in the various provincial towns (Table 4). Indeed, the surplus of educational tax funds which was being reported might have permitted the more rapid increase in the number of schools. However, as will be discussed at a later stage, increasing amounts of these funds were being used for educational expansion in the urban centers at the expense of the rural area.

Of course, a significant portion of educational funds allotted to urban schools and to higher education came from the Central Treasury. Overall, the expenditure on education rose rapidly. From an estimated 4 percent of the total national expenditures in 1944/45, the share of education had reached 13.6 percent by the end of the decade. [11]

Table 4

Provincial Education Tax Revenues and Expenditures, 1948-49
('000)

Province	Tax Revenues	Expenditures	Surplus (Deficit)
Arsi	360	314	46
Begemidir	326	251	75
Gamo Gofa	145	52	93
Gojam	201	94	107
Harerghe	455	404	51
Illubabor	149	177	(28)
Kefa	287	141	146
Shewa	1,027	767	260
Sidamo	319	196	123
Tigray	175	188	(13)
Wellega	211	224	(13)
Wello	670	269	401
TOTAL	4,325	3,077	1,248

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, A Ten-Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education, June 1955, Table II

[11] Trudeau, op. cit., p. 7.

Concluding Remarks

It must be noted in conclusion that the educational growth of the 1940s was not guided by systematic policy-making and planning.

> There were no definite expressed policies, except for one of 'free' education ... Education was considered a necessary investment and one that would soon pay returns ...[12] There seemed to be a rush to expand modern education without much advance planning. This was true even when taking such a major step as the creation of the University College. Thus, only a few months before the start of classes, none of the basic facilities required for the College were available in the country. Dr. Lucien Matte, the first President Designate, was still on a visit to Britain and North America, in April and May of 1950, looking for materials and staff for the new College. The letter which he wrote to the Emperor on April 30, 1950 while in Britain reflects the conditions and circumstances under which educational development was taking place.
>
> ... Here in London, things went much better than I had hoped ... All the materials for Biology have been ordered ... I am also ordering in London all the materials for Chemistry; so also all that has to be ordered for pre-medical, pre-engineering, pre-science, etc. ... Office equipments and student desks have been purchased ... I expect to complete my purchases here in a week and then I shall be on my way to America.
>
> I beg your Majesty to excuse the tone of this letter; I thought that Your Majesty might be interested in these details ...[13]

However, as we shall see below, the need for planned change came to be felt as education entered the second phase of expansion in the 1950s.

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[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., p. 33. (Translated by this writer from French).

3. TOWARD THE PLANNED DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION 1951-1961[14]

An Historical Account

The Call for Planning

It was emphasized above that the educational sector was still extremely small by the beginning of the decade of the 1950s. Yet, the limited resources and management capacity of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts were already beginning to be strained as a result of the growth during the 1940s. Perhaps more significantly, the pressure for further educational expansion soon came to be recognized by the Government. The nascent school system furthermore suffered from difficulties of various sorts. According to one report:

> The Ministry of Education is faced with many very difficult problems. The present status of the Ethiopian school system can be illustrated with the following facts: 20 percent of the entire budget of the Ministry of Education has gone into the employment of foreign teachers. There are 2,013 Ethiopian teachers, most of whom are ill-prepared for teaching. Approximately 60,000 children are enrolled in the schools. Only 35 elementary schools include all eight grades. Only one secondary school exists outside of Addis Ababa. Beginning classes often numbering as many as one hundred children are carried on with a third or half of them crowded into a classroom, and the others sitting outside the building in the sun. Learning materials are extremely scarce, and a school library of as many as ten books would be among the best in the smaller provincial schools. Equipment even of the most elementary nature is not available. Although English is the language of instruction beginning with the fifth grade, there are no English language newspapers so commonly used in schools of other countries for the study of world affairs and for recreational reading; equipment for crafts activities and science education is found only in some of the larger schools. Viewed from a negative point of view, the situation seems to be extremely discouraging. Viewed positively in terms of the relatively few years during which the Imperial Ethiopian Government had to build an educational system, amazing progress has been made. [15]

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[14] See Table 5 for "Landmarks in Educational Policymaking: 1951 - 1961.

[15] U.S. Operations Mission to Ethiopia, Progress Report, 1952, pp. 5-7.

Table 5

Landmarks in Educational Policy-making: 1951-1961

Year	Event	Comments
1953	General Education:	
	Long-Term Planning Committee for Ethiopian Education established	Charged to undertake comprehensive review and make recommendations for development
1951	Higher Education:	
	Committee on Haile Selassie University established	Report led to establishment of other committees
1952-54	Colleges Established	Each independently constituted
	- College of Engineering	
	- Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts	
	- Ethio-Swedish Institute of Building Technology	
	- Public Health College	Established under Ministry of Public Health
1957	First Five-Year Plan Adopted	Comprehensive plan incorporating recommendations of Long-term Planning Committee

Source: Author's research

Indeed, the time had approached for a change of policy in favor of the planned expansion of education. The latter approach was recommended by a U.S. Advisory Group which came to Ethiopia in 1953, following the signing of an Educational and Technical Assistance Agreement between the two countries.

In October 1953, therefore, the Vice-Minister of Education and Fine Arts established a Long-term Planning Committee, charging it with the responsibility to undertake a comprehensive review of the educational system, and to make recommendations for the reorganization and future development of education in the country. The Committee, which consisted of officials of the Ministry of Education as well as some members of the Point IV Advisory Group, prepared and submitted three reports between 1953 and 1955. Its first report,

entitled "Basic Recommendations for the Reorganization and Development of Education in Ethiopia" was presented in 1954. The second report, "Suggested Content of the Basic Education Program," was soon to follow. The final report, entitled "A Ten-Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education" was submitted in 1955. The latter report, which synthesized the main recommendations of the earlier reports, is considered in the following paragraphs.

The Recommendations of the Long-Term Planning Committee

Primary Education. The main recommendations of the Long-Term Plan regarding primary education were two fold. The first of these pertained to the quaLitative upgrading of the schools through the reduction of the class size, the creation of separate classes for "overage" pupils, the completion of those schools with less than four grades, and the strengthening of teacher training. The Committee, however, went much farther than the recommendation to upgrade the primary schools. In its second recommendation, it called for the gradual transformation of the primary schools into "community schools." This recommendation was made in order to attain a better fit of primary education with the needs of the Ethiopian society. The Committee stated:

> To consolidate the social and political unity of the Empire, and to develop its economic resources, it is essential that as soon as possible, every man, woman and child in every province should have a minimum of basic education, including the ability to speak, read and write Amharic effectively.
>
> The chief vehicles of mass educational expansion in the future should be community schools for basic education, teaching normally a four-year program, and designed to give every individual in the Empire a sufficient command of Amharic and other basic abilities to enable him to cope more effectively with the problems of every day living, and to make larger contributions to the advancement of the community and the country.[16]

The following principles of community education were further proposed:

1. The community school must serve the entire community in which it is located, adults as well as children and youths.

2. The purpose of the community school is to improve the life of the community in which it serves.

3. The curriculum of the community school must grow out of the problems and the needs of the community and the country.

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[16] Quoted by Trudau, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

4. The community school should be the center through which the various efforts of the government to improve the life of the community should be channelled.[17]

A highly progressive recommendation indeed! It puts to shame even the educational systems of the 1980s in most African countries.

Middle Schools. The Committee's main recommendation regarding the middle schools was concerned with quantitative expansion. More specifically, the Committee proposed the completion of those schools offering less than four years of teaching, the creation of additional schools, and an increase in the number of teachers. It was projected that at the end of the ten-year period of planning, there would be 141 complete middle schools within a maximum output of 3,500 pupils.

Academic Secondary Schools. Here again, the main recommendations related to the expansion of enrollment. It was estimated that the total intake of higher education institutions might exceed 1,300 students over a period of four years, but that the existing secondary schools could be expected to produce less than 600 candidates during this same period. Hence, the need for expansion of the secondary schools.

Commercial and Technical Education. The expansion of the program of the Commercial School was recommended so that the output of 100 boys and 75 girls would be reached during the plan period.

With regard to technical education, the basic recommendations were: (a) to establish a four-year post-elementary program referred to as the Technical Institute with an eventual annual output of 125 graduates; and (b) to set up "trade schools" for the purpose of developing specific skills based on a one-year post-elementary program. It was projected that these schools would eventually produce 400 graduates each year.

The Committee also recommended the upgrading of the newly created College of Engineering to the level of a four-year program offering degrees in civil, industrial, and electrical engineering.

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[17] Ibid.

Anticipated Impact of the Plan. The Committee regarded its recommendations as being designed essentially to provide the foundations for future expansion. In its concluding remarks, it stated:

> The immediate effects of implementing the Committee's proposals may appear to be modest in their impact upon Ethiopian education. But, by broadening the base of the present structure and adjusting existing inequalities in development, they are intended to provide a firm foundation for future expansion, to meet as far as possible the growing demand for educational opportunity, and to ensure a really adequate supply of qualified candidates for the higher institutions and programs. The Committee believes that the accomplishment of these immediate aims is necessary in order that the way may be open for an increasing expansion of educational opportunity in this land, and for the ultimate achievement of universal schooling which will secure the well-being of both the individual and the society of which he is a member. That goal may yet be distant, but it is with the hope of contributing in some measures towards its eventual attainment that the present report is now submitted to the Board of Education.

Two years after the submission of the final report of the Committee, the Government adopted the First Five-Year Development Plan (1957-1961). The Chapter of this Plan pertaining to education is generally regarded as the summary of the Ten-Year Plan of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. It is not, however, clear how the goals of ten years of development could have been telescoped into those of only five years. The First Five-Year Plan was in any case never widely distributed. Many people in fact came to know about its existence only when the Second Five-Year Plan was issued. These circumstances did not augur well for the full realization of the Ten-Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education. Still, an assessment will be attempted below of the actual performance of the educational sector, following a brief discussion of the developments in higher education during the 1950s.

Developments in Higher Education

Soon after the University College opened its doors, the Ministry of Education created a committee on the proposed Haile Selassie I University. This committee was charged with the task to:

> ... advise the Board of Education in regard to the following points:

a) Some general principles involved in the development of University education in Ethiopia;
b) The course which it is considered desirable to include when planning the first stage of construction of the Haile Selassie I University in Addis Ababa;
c) Questions of accommodation arising from the above.[18]

Following a general report submitted by the Committee, the Ministry set up two other committees to make detailed recommendations for the development of higher education in the technical and agricultural fields. As a result of the recommendations of these committees, the College of Engineering came into being in September 1952, and the Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts a year later, in September 1953. These two colleges were established as independent institutions of higher learning, and formed the foundations of higher education in the respective fields.

The College of Engineering was started with modest resources and facilities, but was much later greatly expanded with substantial assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany.

The College of Agriculture began its program at Jimma, within the premises of a post-elementary Agricultural School which had come into being only a year earlier. Subsequently, a completely new campus was built at Alemaya, where the program was developed under the technical and administrative guidance of the Oklahoma State University. The College was fashioned after the Land Grant Colleges in the U.S. with the objectives of teaching, research and extension.

A Critical Appraisal

Enrollment and Internal Efficiency

Enrollment. The pattern of growth of enrollment on the various levels of education during the period under construction is shown in Table 6. Total enrollment on the level of primary education (Grades 1-4) had increased 2.4 times between 1952/53 and 1961/62, exceeding 125,000 during the latter year. The total enrollment in the middle schools grew by 5.5 times during the period

[18] Trudeau, op. cit., p. 42.

of a decade. Enrollment on the secondary and higher-education levels grew even more rapidly, 5.9 and 9.7 times respectively during the same period.

Although on the whole, the Long-Term Planning Committee had emphasized the upgrading of the primary schools and on their eventual conversion into community schools, the number of pupils also continued to grow rapidly. This was unavoidable, given the pressure for expansion that had been building up since the early 1940s. Still, the total number of primary schools actually declined in number, a fact which may in part be attributed to the controls on the opening of new schools.

The objective to convert the primary schools into community schools, attractive as it seemed, was not carried out as planned. The following explanation was given by Trudeau:

> ... Community schools were organized in rural areas, but the actual goals of the community schools were not achieved. They became very similar to the primary schools that they were supposed to replace, except that they were all-Amharic schools, without any foreign language. They did introduce a national language among people of many different languages and dialects, and in this sense helped national unity. But as far as community education, and community improvement through community education are concerned, little was done. Either because the teachers were trained in a milieu and in methods too different from the reality of a community school or because the people of the community did not understand the purpose of these schools, or for other reasons, the fact is that little community development has been brought about by the community schools. The peasants and the poor wanted their children to get the same education the urban children were getting; they wanted them to get the same opportunities for continuing at higher levels in the middle and secondary schools. The lack of teaching material adapted for rural community training also contributed to the failure of these schools. And there were changes of policy at the Ministry, or lack of policy implementation. It is known that many community school teachers, trained either at Debre Berhan Community School Teacher Training Center or at Majete Community School Training Center (the first one organized by Point IV, the second by UNESCO) were sent to regular elementary schools and absorbed into the primary schools.[19]

As the figures above show, the higher the educational level, the faster was the rate of growth of enrollment. The academic secondary schools in particular have tended to expand relatively rapidly.

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[19] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

Table 6

Enrollment in Government Educational Establishments
1952/53-1961/62

Year	Primary Schools (Grades 1-4)		Middle Schools (Grades 1-4)		Academic Secondary and Special Schools		Institutes of Higher Learning	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1952-53	45,397	6,969	5,416	637	1,471	141	100	0
1953-54	52,744	8,505	6,610	829	1,923	202	142	0
1954-55	58,846	10,587	7,556	842	2,353	240	199	2
1955-56	66,089	14,397	9,886	1,269	2,820	381	335	10
1956-57	80,261	18,446	12,758	1,760	3,802	483	450	16
1957-58	88,584	21,524	16,414	2,452	4,892	472	578	27
1958-59	88,307	22,953	20,274	3,453	6,036	1,201	716	44
1959-60	89,896	26,301	23,307	4,669	6,771	871	778	49
1960-61	96,271	28,757	24,855	5,426	7,136	1,142	883	56
1961-62	95,644	30,092	26,133	6,809	8,037	1,385	919	49

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, School Census for Ethiopia, 1961-62, p. 20

Comparing the growth of the academic and special secondary schools, Trudeau has this to say:

> Many more students went to academic secondary schools, many more opportunities were offered in academic secondary schools than in vocational ones; few vocational secondary schools were opened, and the standards were lowered instead of being raised.[20]

In relative terms, however, the fastest rate of growth was recorded on the level of higher education. Still, the total number of students in the various colleges remained less than 1,000 in 1961-62.

Internal Efficiency

How efficient was the educational system of the 1950s? Assessed on the basis of the retention of students enrolled, the educational system was not as a whole efficient. Indeed, the rate of dropout (broadly defined) was extremely high on all levels. As implied in Table 7, less than 55% of the pupils enrolled in Grade 1 in 1958/59, for example, continued their schooling in Grade 2. Considering the losses in Grades 2-4, it should be concluded that the system on the primary-school level was wasteful indeed.

Of those students who were able to complete middle school, a relatively large proportion could not make the "passing mark" set for admission to secondary school. Hence, in 1960, only about 40% of those examined were selected for admission to secondary schools (Table 8).

On the secondary level, of those who entered Grade 9 in 1958/59, only slightly over one-third made it to Grade 12 (Table 9). And of the total number who sat for the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination (ESLCE) in 1961/62, only about 23% passed (Table 10).

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[20] Ibid., p. 15.

Table 7

Percentage of Loss (Dropouts) in Primary Schools*

Years	After Grade 1	After Grade 2	After Grade 3
1952/53	56.2	39.5	36.1
1953/54	58.9	31.7	26.5
1954/55	55.1	26.9	23.8
1955/56	47.1	23.9	21.4
1956/57	49.1	24.5	19.8
1957/58	51.9	27.3	27.2
1958/59	45.7	19.2	24.1

* Indicates the percent of students who after the year indicated they did not continue to the next grade upwards.

Source: Trudeau, op. cit., p. 12

Table 8

Results of the Eight Grade General Examination 1953-1960

	Total Pupils Who Sat for the Exam	Number Selected	Percentage
1953	800	333	41.6
1954	1,000	800	80.0
1955	1,250	950	76.0
1956	1,900	1,433	75.4
1957	2,350	1,900	80.9
1958	3,891	2,520	64.8
1959	5,369	1,834	34.2
1960	6,884	2,749	39.9

Source: Education in Ethiopia, op. cit., p. 21

Table 9

Attrition in Academic Secondary Schools 1955/56-1959/60

Year in Grade 9	Grade 9	Grade 10 1 year later	Grade 11 2 years later	Grade 12 3 years later
1955-56	100	80.9	50.0	34.2
1956-57	100	72.7	55.9	35.9
1957-58	100	75.8	54.5	26.2
1958-59	100	88.9	61.9	35.5
1959-60	100	72.3	53.4	

Source: Trudeau, op. cit, p. 16

Table 10

Results of the Ethiopian School-Leaving Certification Examination 1951/52-1961/62

Year	Number of Students Registered	Number Passed ESLCE	Percentage Passed of Registered Students
1951-52	83	63	75.9
1952-53	86	64	75.8
1953-54	105	73	70.0
1954-55	159	88	55.5
1955-56	163	103	63.2
1956-57	153	111	72.5
1957-58	317	197	62.2
1958-59	441	180	40.8
1959-60	412	168	40.7
1960-61	532	192	36.0
1961-62	718	167	23.2

Source: Teshome G. Wagaw, Education in Ethiopia, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1979, p. 137

The degree of "wastage" was also very high on the level of higher education. For example, only about 53.5% of those who had entered college as freshmen could reach the fourth year in 1961/62 (Table 11).

The conclusion is therefore justified, that in spite of the growth in the absolute size of the school population relative to the earlier period, the Ethiopian school system remained small and inefficient in the decade ending in the early 1960s.

A Note on the Quality of Education

The assessment of the performance of the school system based on the rate of attrition alone does not tell the whole story. A word must therefore be said about the quality of education.

Those individuals who have witnessed the deterioration of the "quality" of education in recent years, may tend to argue that the standards of the schools were much higher in yesteryear. There is truth to this argument if we equate the quality of education with "academic" content. The situation is however quite different when assessed on the basis of other criteria.

The qualification of Ethiopian teachers was very low in the 1950s. There was, moreover, no question about the fact that the curricula and the teaching materials reflected little the conditions and needs of the country. This was true on all levels of education. On the whole, therefore, the educational system had grown only in its relative size during the decade of the 1950s.

External Efficiency

Manpower Demand and Supply, Employment. It is always problematic in the developing countries, and for that matter in the more developed countries as well, to determine precisely the levels of manpower demand and supply during a given period. In the case of Ethiopia, some rough estimates had been made in certain categories in relation to the preparation of the First Five-Year Plan.

Table 11

Attrition Rate in Colleges--1954/55-1961/62

Year	Cumulative Percent Dropouts After Four Years
1954-55	71.8
1955-56	64.7
1956-57	46.1
1957-58	46.9
1958-59	32.1
1959-60	35.8
1960-61	46.1
1961-62	46.5

Source: Trudeau, op. cit., p. 22

For the plan period, the figures supplied indicate that the outputs of specialized secondary school had fallen short of the estimated requirements.

This was shown to be especially true in the case of skilled manpower in the technical and vocational fields (Table 12).

The rough estimates available of the levels of demand in relation to domestic supply of high-level manpower also indicate an overall deficit (Table 13).

Table 12

Estimated Demand and Supply for Some Categories of Skilled Manpower on the Post-Elementary Level 1957-61

Fields of Specialization	Average of Estimated Requirements	Actual Supply	Surplus (Deficit)
Commerce, Administration	750	701	(49)
Vocational, Technical	1,375	988	(387)
Agriculture, Forestry	450	389	(61)
Health	350	420	70
Others		290	

Source: Based on data in First and Second Five-Year Plans

Table 13

Estimated High-level Manpower Demand and Supply 1957-1961

Fields of Specialization	Average of Estimated Requirements	Actual Supply	Surplus (Deficit)
Commerce, Administration	235	161	(84)
Technical, Scientific	180	100	(80)
Agriculture, Forestry	90	124	34
Health	90	18	(72)

Source: Based on data in First and Second Five-Year Plans

One can hardly vouch for the accuracy of these estimates. Furthermore, in assessing the figures, one should bear in mind that during the period under consideration, an estimated 1,100 graduates had returned to the country after completing their education abroad.[21] On the level of higher education, there had also already come into being an extension program whose total enrollment was of the same magnitude as that of the regular program.[22] Obviously, therefore, the national deficit was not as high as would appear although shortages in particular fields may have been acute.

The question of unemployment of graduates of the school system could hardly have been a central one during the period under review. Nearly all of those with elementary education and beyond could find employment without much effort. This however did not imply that they were all necessarily "productively" employed. Many of those, even with specialized technical education, gravitated toward bureaucratic occupations. There seemed to be a general preference for such positions during the early period of educational development in Ethiopia.

Overall Numerical Impact. What had been the numerical impact of educational growth in the period under consideration? If we could assume that in the 1950s the age range of the pupils attending Grades 1-4 was between 9 and 12 years, the total population in this range would be around 2.7 million based on an estimated total population of 24 million in 1960/61.[23] Hence, the rate of participation in Grades 1-4 might have been in the neighborhood of 10% of the relevant age-group. This figure is low even allowing for a sizeable margin of error.

As indicated above, the plan had anticipated a relatively rapid growth of enrollment in the middle schools, but no so rapid as the actual results showed. Indeed, the ten-year targets were said to have been reached within

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21 Imperial Ethiopian Government, Second Five-Year Plan, 1963-67, 1962, p. 261.

22 Trudeau, op. cit., p. 66.

23 Based on adjusted population figures in Central Statistical Office, Population Situation in Ethiopia, 1900-1984, Addis Ababa, 1985, p. 23.

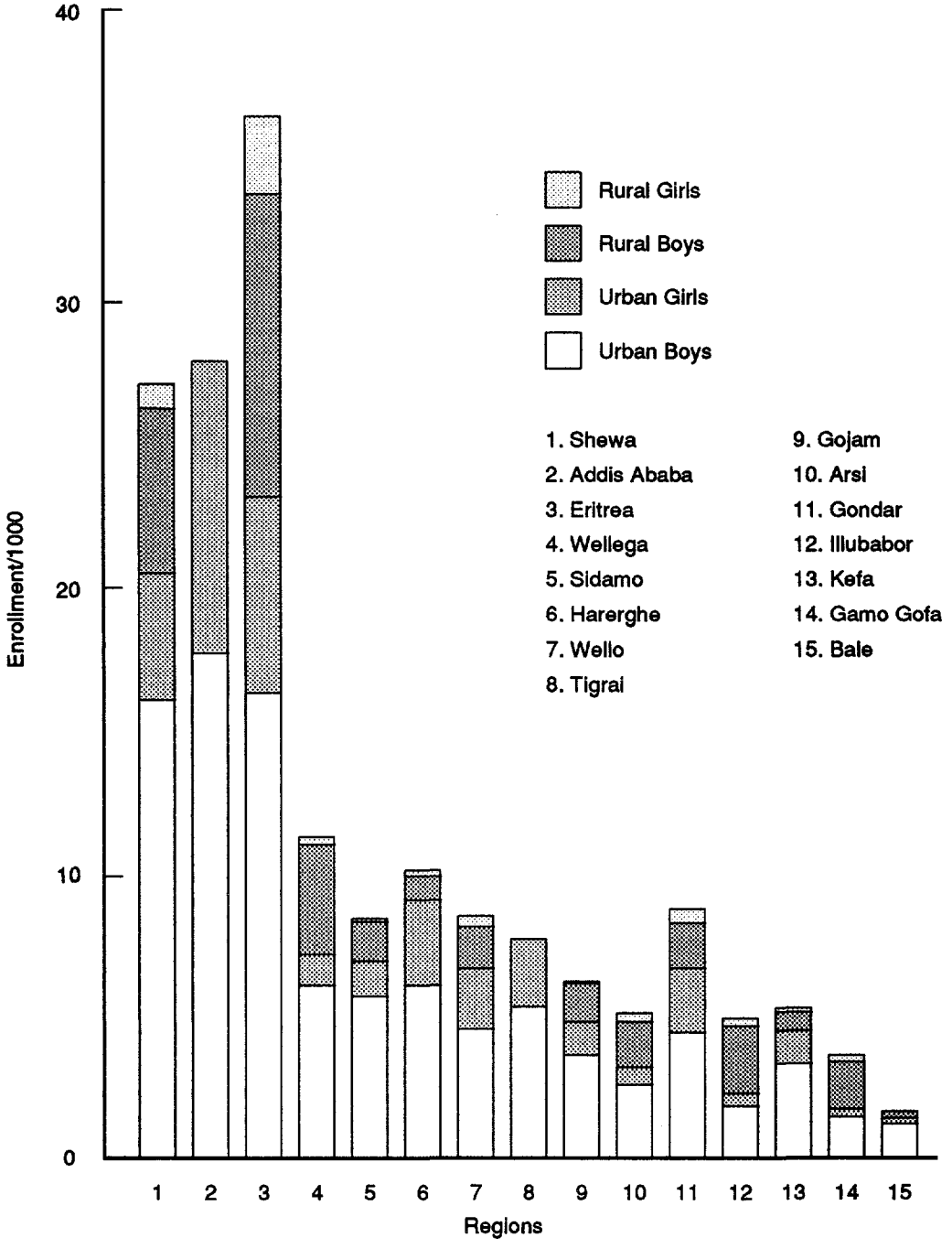
five years. The numerical impact of this growth was, however, again relatively small, when assessed on the basis of the size of the total population. Let us assume the ages of the pupils in Grades 5-8 to be in the range of 13 to 16 in the year 1960/61. Based on the estimated total population in this age range, the rate of participation in the middle schools might therefore have been less than 1.5%.

If we assumed the total number of students on all levels and in all Government and non-Government programs of all types, including military academies to be about 300,000, the rate of educational participation would be less than 4% in the early 1960s. Hence, even by the most generous estimates, only a tiny proportion of the population had access to modern education during that period.

Distribution of Educational Opportunity. The distribution of enrollment furthermore continued to favor the urban sector. As shown in Figure 1, of the total enrollment in Grades 1-8 of Government schools in 1961/62, about 75% were in urban areas and only about 25% in rural areas. Taken on the basis of gender, about 38% of the number of those enrolled in urban areas and nearly 18% of those enrolled in rural areas consisted of girls. In assessing these figures, it must be recognized however that a good number of students attending the "urban" schools were migrants or "commuters" from the rural areas. This is due to the fact that the schools for the most part were concentrated in Addis Ababa, and in the provincial towns, and were rarely to be found in the small rural villages.

The distribution of financial resources also reflected the pattern of distribution of the schools. Thus, the financial share of the schools in Addis Ababa, for example, continued for long to absorb a large part of the total educational expenditure. It was also generally believed that revenues from the educational taxes collected from the rural areas were in some part at least allocated to the schools i the urban areas. Hence, the urban schools quite literally were growing at the expense of the rural sector.

Figure 1
Rural and Urban Enrollment in Grades 1-8 of Government Schools, 1961/62



Source: Based on Ministry of Education, Sector Study of Ethiopian Education, 1983, vol.3, p.75

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Concluding Remarks

What might then be concluded from the review of the educational policy of the period from 1951 to 1961?

It may be said that the attempt made to introduce long-term planning was a progressive step in that it helped to focus attention on basic issues of educational policy in the context of the overall national development goals. Indeed, Ethiopia was probably the first independent African country south of the Sahara to introduce comprehensive development planning. That, however, is all the credit that could be claimed. For, as the evidence has shown, there was little systematic effort made to translate plans into action. Educational development was not only poorly coordinated, but the system was also extremely inefficient, and left much to be desired in qualitative terms.

4. A NEW CHALLENGE OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT 1961-1973[24]

An Historical Account

"Comparaison n'est pas raison," goes the French maxim. With regard to Ethiopian education in the early 1960s, the opposite of this saying happened to hold true. In May 1961, Ethiopia became the host country of the Conference of African States on the Development of Education, commonly referred to as the Addis Ababa Conference. The findings and recommendations of that Conference posed a much greater challenge to Ethiopia than to any other African country. In spite of the efforts that had been made over a period of two decades since 1941, the educational accomplishments of Ethiopia were found to be embarrassingly low when compared with the performance of the other African countries which were just emerging as independent nations after several generations of colonial domination. The educational policies of Ethiopia during the period since 1961 may be characterized in part at least as being a response to this challenge. In this chapter, we shall undertake the review of these policies and the results achieved up until the eve of the 1974 revolution.

Recommendations of the Conference of African States on the Development of Education

The decision to hold the Conference of African States was made by the General Conference of UNESCO at its eleventh session, with the aim of "establishing an inventory of educational needs and a program to meet those needs in the coming years." Nearly forty countries were represented in the Conference including delegations from four European nations.

The Conference produced a rather lengthy report. Only highlights of the recommendations of the Conference are outlined below.

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[24] See Table 14 for "Landmarks in Educational Policymaking: 1961 - 1973.

Table 14

Landmarks in Educational Policy-making: 1961-1973

Year	Event/Policy Reforms	Remarks
1961	Conference of African States on the development of education in Africa	Commonly known as the Addis Ababa Conference
1961	Charter of H.S.I.U. issued	All colleges created so far placed under the umbrella of one University
1962	UNESCO mission to Ethiopia (Van Lier Mission)	UNESCO supported technical study on investment needs especially during the Second Five-Year Plan
1963	Second Five-Year Development Plan issued	Covered the period 1963-1967
1968	Third Five-Year Development Plan issued	Covered the period 1968-1973
1972	Education Sector Review	A comprehensive and critical review of the educational system supported by the World Bank

Source: Author's research

Among the most important findings of the Conference was the extremely low level of educational participation in Ethiopia. Enrollment in first-level education was found to be 3.8 percent of the population in the 5-14 age range, higher only than the figure for Niger which had a 3.3 percent participation. This finding embarrassed the officials when compared, for example, with the figures for Mauritius and Western Nigeria, each of which reported 100 percent participation in first-level education.

The situation was somewhat better with regard to second-level education. On this level, Ethiopia had a participation of 0.5 percent of the population in the 15-19 age group as compared with the highest ratio of 29.4 percent for Ghana. Six other countries had participation ratios equal to or less than that of Ethiopia in second-level education.

The Conference recommended two types of plans for the overall development of education in Africa--the long-term and the short-term plans.

1. ... the targets for the long-term plan (1961-1980) shall be:

a) primary education shall be universal, compulsory and free;

b) education at the second level shall be provided to 30% of the children who complete primary school;

c) higher education shall be provided, mostly in Africa itself, to 20% of those who complete secondary education;

d) the improvement of the quality of African schools and universities shall be a constant aim.

2. ... the targets of the short-term plan (1961-1966) shall be:

a) an annual increase at the primary level of an additional 5 percent of the beginning school-age group, which will increase enrollment from the present 40 percent to 51 percent;

b) second level education shall increase from the present 3 percent of the age group to 9 percent;

c) special attention will be paid to the training of teachers at all levels and to adult education programs.

The targets expressed as percentages of the appropriate age groups may be expressed thus:

	1960-61	1965-66	1970-71	1980-81
Primary level	40	51	71	100
Secondary level	3	9	15	23
Higher level	0.2	0.2	0.4	2

Recommendations were also made regarding the need to assign priority to the development of second-level education, curricular reform, and teacher

training. Suggestions were made as well regarding the means for implementation of the proposed plans.

The Ethiopian officials were compelled to accept the new challenge of educational development, formidable as it was for a country with a backward economy and limited financial resources. The Ministry of Education set out almost immediately to prepare a twenty-year plan for the development of education, aiming toward the fulfillment of the goals adopted by the Conference. According to the officials, the initial targets prepared were found to be too ambitious. Following the planning exercise, the Government requested UNESCO to dispatch an expert group to undertake a study and report on the needs for investment in education. The main focus of the Mission which visited Ethiopia was on the investment requirements to meet the skilled manpower needs indicated in the Second Five-Year Plan which had already been issued before its arrival. A look at the goals of that Plan is therefore in order before considering the report of the UNESCO Mission.

The Second Five-Year Plan (1963-1967)

Chapter 18 of the Second Five-Year Plan, entitled "Education and Culture," began by making two general propositions. The Plan stated, first of all, that:

> ... education in Ethiopia cannot be considered as an end set apart from the general requirements of socio-economic development. It has virtually to constitute an integral part of overall planning. This dictates the objectives and scope of education in Ethiopia. It has primarily to serve the needs of the country's development and thus make its fullest contribution to the achievement of national goals.[25]

The Plan also emphasized the need to set priorities. It stated:

> ... emphasis should be laid on the forms and types of education and training which will open the most efficient means for achieving the development targets set forth in the Second Plan. Moreover, it will have to lay down the foundations for an educational pattern that will contribute to maximizing the speed at which Ethiopian society can move towards advanced levels of an economic and social life and living conditions.[26]

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[25] Second Five-Year Plan, op. cit., pp. 257-8.
[26] Ibid.

Particular emphasis was to be made on technical education. The overall targets set in the various levels of education are summarized in Tables 15 and 16.

The Second Five-Year Plan inter alia also outlined guidelines regarding the strategies and means for attaining the educational goals which were adopted.

UNESCO Mission Assessment of Manpower Supply and Investment Needs During Second Five-Year Plan

The UNESCO Mission study referred to above was based on the analysis of the manpower requirements stipulated in the Second Five-Year Plan. The main findings of the Mission were that the capacity of the educational system was too limited to meet the estimated demand, and that the level of investment required was beyond the means of the country.

With regard to the capacity of the educational system, the report stated:

> The first point is that ... the present educational system in Ethiopia is inadequate ... It is too small at all three levels, higher, secondary and primary. At the higher level, deficiencies may be made good by sending students for studies abroad, but this solution is partial, inadequate, and uneconomic ...
>
> In secondary education, the numbers are so small that nearly half of those completing 12th grade go on to higher studies--a situation which seriously imperils University standards and which fails to provide anything like the requisite number of persons with middle-level education who are needed for various sectors of the national economy ...
>
> In the primary schools, the lower grades are grossly overcrowded, and it is no surprise that nearly half the pupils fail to stay the courses beyond the first year. Nearly half of the teachers are untrained, and there is a very high wastage of those who are. Only a tiny percentage of children go to school at all, and the majority of those who do so appear to be some two or three years behind the standards to be expected of their age ...[27]

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[27] Needs for Investment in Education in Ethiopia, Report of the UNESCO Mission to Ethiopia, 23 September to 2 November 1962, pp. 35-36.

Regarding financial resources, the Mission estimated that the total amount of domestic funds that could be mobilized to meet the needs of expanding the educational system fell far short of the total requirements. Indeed, according to the Mission's estimates, about US$20 million, or 75 percent of the total educational expenditures, would have to be obtained from external sources during the five-year period.[28]

The Mission's findings were, therefore, not very encouraging. It amounted to saying that the educational system was too small and could, moreover, not be made much larger, during the plan period. And since the Second Five-Year Plan period roughly coincided with the short-term plan period proposed by the Addis Ababa Conference, the Mission's findings implied little reason for optimism in realizing the objectives of the latter. Surprisingly, however, the planners were to report five years later that the achievements far surpassed the targets of the educational sector! The reported plan results will be considered in the second part of the Chapter.

Table 15

Educational Targets of the Second Five-Year Plan

Level	1967 Targets
Government primary school enrollment	275,900
Number of primary school classrooms	6,304
Enrollment in secondary schools	40,450
(of which academic secondary schools)	(29,450)
Number of classrooms	1,435
Enrollment in Higher Education	1,560
Arts	500
Sciences	200
Engineering	230
Building Technology	160
Agriculture	300
Public Health	150
Theology	20

Source: Imperial Ethiopian Government, Second Five-Year Development Plan, Addis Ababa, pp. 264-267

28 Ibid.

Table 16

Estimated High and Middle-Level Manpower Needs of the Second Five-Year Plan

Fields of Specialization	1967 Targets
High Level	1,831
Mechanical Engineers	160
Electrical Engineers	107
Chemical Engineers	127
Civil Engineers	156
Economists	470
Veterinarians	35
Agricultural Engineers	175
Mining Engineers	20
Forestry Engineers	8
Physicians	100
Others	473
Specialized Secondary Level	11,699
Technicians	1,550
Agriculture and Forestry Technicians	927
Veterinary Technicians	402
School Teachers	2,500
Commercial Graduates	1,340
Others (clerks, etc.)	4,980

Source: Second Five-Year Plan, op. cit., pp. 265-267

The Third Five-Year Plan (1968-1973)

When Ethiopia issued its Third Five-Year Plan in 1968, it appeared as though development planning was being institutionalized in the country. However, as we shall see, planning in Ethiopia amounted to little more than the preparation of plan documents. At any rate, this last plan stated the following educational goals:

a) to provide educational opportunity for an increasing number of people, and particularly for the rural population, in part through the provision of more adequate networks of modest rural roads and bus services;

b) to provide an educational system within which a more modern scientific outlook on life can be created, which will at the same time be in harmony with Ethiopia's ancient cultural traditions;

c) to provide an educational system within which children and youth will come to know more about their country and the opportunities that exist for individual and group participation in its development; in particular, to develop positive attitudes towards manual work and practical skills;

d) to provide a system within which a more efficient national medium of communication through the Amharic language can be realized;

e) to provide a system with maximum upward mobility, to the end that an ever larger proportion of youth are offered opportunities for higher education and higher level training; and

f) to place appropriate emphasis on the quality of education so that youth may better appreciate and more properly fulfill the task of nation-building.[31]

The specific targets of enrollment on the various levels of the educational system are provided in Table 17. Broadly, the plan anticipated that 18 percent of the primary school-age children would be enrolled in schools by the end of the planning period. Sixth-grade enrollment was expected to double during the five-year period; and of those enrolled in Grade 6, 60 percent would enter the junior secondary schools. Enrollment in the latter schools was projected to reach 68,000 by 1973, and of those who would complete Grade 8, 60 percent were expected to continue in senior secondary schools.

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[31] Imperial Ethiopian Government, Third Five-Year Development Plan (1968-1973), Addis Ababa, pp. 295-96.

Table 17

Education Targets of the Third Five-Year Plan--1968-1973

Enrollment	1969	1973
Government		
Primary	392,000	616,000
General Secondary	60,810	102,920
Tech/Vocational	2,253	5,245
Teacher Training	2,150	5,950
HSI University	3,488	5,033
Non-Government		
Primary	127,000	186,000
General Secondary	10,500	15,310
Classroom Units		
Government		
Primary	7,840	12,320
General Secondary	1,604	2,698
Non-Government		
Primary	3,260	4,650
General Secondary	440	500
Teachers		
Government		
Primary	8,960	14,000
General Secondary	2,246	3,777
Tech/Vocational	217	292
Teacher Training	127	350
Non-Government		
Primary	3,390	4,960
General Secondary	800	1,170

Source: Third Five-Year Development Plan

Enrollment at Haile Sellassie I University was projected to reach 5,000, of which 50 percent would be in the fields of science and technology, 30 percent in education (teacher training), and 20 percent in the other faculties. It was also again expected that about 1,100 students would return from study abroad by the end of the plan period.

The plan estimated that about 5,000 students would graduate from technical and vocational schools.

It was furthermore projected, that about 3 million people would become literate during the five years of the plan. In addition, 128,000 adults would receive work-oriented literary education through a special program to be implemented on an experimental basis.

Objectives were also adopted for improving the efficiency as well as the quality of education. As stated in the Plan:

> The major strategy of the educational plan is to increase the efficiency of its educational system by stabilizing its structure; by retaining a far higher percentage of the students who enter its various levels ...
>
> Emphasis is to be placed upon the content of educational programs so that curricula can be brought more closely into relationship with the realities of daily life, particularly in the rural areas.[32]

An assessment will be made below of the performance of the educational system during the plan period. This is preceded by a brief statement regarding the establishment of the Haile Sellassie I University.

The Establishment of the Haile Sellassie I University (HSIU)

The major landmark of the 1960s in the development of higher education in Ethiopia was the establishment of the HSIU. The University was created by the 1961 Charter granted by the Imperial Ethiopian Government. The contents of the Charter were quite similar to those of the Charter of the University College. As in the latter, the preamble went as follows:

> WHEREAS, IT IS Our desire to establish a University in which Our students and students from other countries may acquire all forms of higher

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[32] Ibid.

education, including post graduate studies, of a standard equivalent to that of other Universities elsewhere in the world; and

WHEREAS, it seems fitting to Us that said University should be incorporated by Our Imperial Charter;

NOW, THEREFORE, We of Our special grace and certain knowledge and Our own motion do by this Our Imperial Charter for Us and Ourself and Our Imperial Successors grant and ordain that said University shall be one body politic and corporate in name and deed by the name of the Haile Sellassie I University of Ethiopia, and shall have perpetual existence with a common seal which may be adopted, changed, or varied at the pleasure of the Haile Sellassie University, and with further powers and authorities but subject to the conditions and declarations in this Our Imperial Charter contained.

By this Charter, the University came into being with seven colleges and faculties and a total enrollment of 948 regular students. Additional faculties were established in rapid succession after 1961: the Faculty of Education in 1961, the College of Business Administration and the Faculty of Law in 1963, and the Faculties of Medicine and Social Work in 1966. Other auxiliary units were also created following the establishment of the University.

By the mid-1960s, therefore, the University had become a highly promising center of higher learning. However, it soon began to encounter serious problems which tended to hamper its progress, not the least of its difficulties being those which were brought about by frequent student political protests.

A Critical Appraisal of Educational Development--1961-1973

Enrollment and Internal Efficiency

Enrollment. As mentioned above, it was reported by the Government officials that the targets of the Second Five-Year Plan were substantially exceeded (Table 18). The fastest rates of growth of enrollment were reported to have taken place in the non-Government schools. In the Government schools, the number of classrooms had grown by less than the plan target, and the growth of the number of teachers was barely on target.

Though enrollment in technical and vocational schools was estimated at nearly 5,000 in 1967, the progress made was regarded as being unsatisfactory by the planners.

Table 18

Realization of Educational Targets in the Second Five-Year Plan, 1963-67

Legend	SFYP Target 1963	Enrollments 1963	Enrollments 1967	Percent of Target Realization
Enrollments				
Primary	331,000	268,351	409,710	123.7
Government	275,900	204,410	312,207	113.2
Non-government	55,200	63,941	97,503	176.6
Secondary	40,380	34,746	66,986	164.1
Government	35,880	28,909	56,581	157.1
Non-government	4,950	5,837	10,605	214.2
HSIU	1,560	1,041	3,368	215.9
Technical-Vocational			4,961	
Teacher Training Institutes			1,713	
Classrooms				
Primary	8,330	7,056	8,699	104.4
Government	6,669	5,010	6,144	92.2
Non-government	1,665	2,046	2,555	153.5
Secondary	1,502	1,209	2,014	134.1
Government	1,280	1,014	1,593	124.5
Non-government	222	276	421	189.6
Teachers	10,505	8,974	11,988	114.1
Government	8,420	6,479	8,567	101.7
Non-government	2,085	2,494	3,421	164.0

Source: Third Five-Year Development Plan, 1968-1973, Imperial Ethiopian Government

The total enrollment of HSIU had reached 3,370 by 1967. This figure implied an increase of 215.9 percent during the plan period as compared with 164.1 percent and 123.7 percent in the case of secondary and primary schools, respectively. The order of magnitudes in the growth rates on the various levels was therefore similar to the results of the reported performance during the First Five-Year Plan period.

The rates of growth of enrollment during the Third Five-Year Plan as compared with the targets set were not as high as during the second plan. Total enrollment in primary schools was nearly 860,000 by the end of the plan period, and in general, secondary schools about 183,000. Enrollment at HSIU had reached 5,900 by the end of the plan period. Taken of the targets set, therefore, these figures implied total increases of 107.2 percent, 154.6 percent and 117.4 percent, respectively. Again during this period, enrollment on the secondary level grew much more rapidly than on the primary level. Also, in overall terms, enrollment increases in the non-Government schools were higher than in the Government schools (Table 19).

Internal Efficiency. The efficiency of the school system in terms of students retained was generally not high between 1962/3 and 1972/3. The rough estimates made, show that retention on the primary level had averaged about 31.5 percent during the Second Plan Period, but had almost doubled during the Third Plan period. Retention in the junior secondary schools exceeded 97 percent during both periods, but was less than 50 percent on the level of senior secondary schools (Tables 20 and 21).

Compared with the plan targets, the overall performance of students in the national examinations was quite unsatisfactory during the period under consideration. In 1972/73, for example, only 54 percent of those who sat for the Sixth Grade National Examination could pass. The percentage of passes in the Eight Grade National Examination and the Ethiopian School Leaving Certification Examinations were 51 percent and 26 percent respectively.[33]

On the University level, attrition was quite high, especially during the first two years. The seriousness of the problem can be assessed from the

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[33] Desta Asayehegn, Socio-economic and Educational Reforms in Ethiopia (1942-1974): Correspondence and Contradiction, UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning, Occasional Paper 50, pp. 65-67.

Table 19

Enrollment Increases During the Third Five-Year Plan Period

	Target Increases (%)	Actual Increases As % of Target
Government Schools		
Primary	82	104.7
General Secondary	67	154.7
HSIU	59	117.4
Non-Government Schools		
Primary	61	115.5
General Secondary	58	153.6
Total primary enrollment	54.5	107.2
Total secondary enrollment	65.8	154.6
Teachers		
Government		
Primary	116	0.93
General Secondary	61	132.1
Non-Government		
Primary	61	112.9
General Secondary	60	101.4

Source: Targets obtained from Imperial Ethiopian Government, Third Five-Year Development Plan, Addis Ababa, p. 300; actual increases computed on the basis of data from Ministry of Education, Educational Statistics, 1967/68-1982/83, June 1984

Table 20

Retention of Students in Government and Non-Government Schools During the Second Five-Year Plan Period

Grades	Year	Enrollment
Grade 1	1962/63	110,596
Grade 6	1967/68	34,793
Retention (%)		31.5
Grade 7	1966/67	21,089
Grade 8	1967/68	20,479
Retention (%)		97.1
Grade 9	1964/65	7,538
Grade 12	1967/68	3,223
Retention (%)		42.8

Source: Computed on the basis of data from "Education Sector Evaluation," USAID-Ethiopia, May 29, 1969, Appendix 5

Table 21

Retention of Students in Government Schools During the Third Five-Year Plan Period

Grades	Year	Enrollment
Grade 1	1968/69	110,539
Grade 6	1973/74	72,960
Retention 1-6(%)		66.0
Grade 7	1972/73	40,182
Grade 8	1973/74	39,125
Retention 1-6(%)		97.4
Grade 9	1970/71	23,435
Grade 12	1973/74	11,394
Retention 1-6(%)		48.6

Source: Computed on the basis of data obtained from Central Statistical Office, Statistical Abstract, 1977, p. 255

pattern of enrollment in the various classes as shown in Table 22/23, although the figures do not always reflect continuous and consistent year-to-year promotions.

A Note on the Quality of Education

The number of students who fail or drop out from the educational system can serve as an index of the quality of education, broadly interpreted. It can be assumed that a significant number of such students could have been retained if teachers with better qualifications were provided, better facilities were made available, etc. The situation in these respects left much to be desired in Ethiopia during the period under review.

Taking the qualifications of teachers as an indicator, we find that the proportion of teachers with specialized training in their professions remained quite small, especially outside Shewa and Eritrea Regions. Similarly, the proportion of teachers with training on the level of higher education was unsatisfactory even on the secondary level (Table 24).

It is also to be noted that the rates of growth in the number of teachers were lower than the rates of growth of enrollment in primary and secondary schools during the two plan periods, implying a deterioration in the pupil-teacher ratios (refers to Tables 18 and 19). In 1972/73, the estimated pupil-teacher ratio in primary schools was 46.1, and in junior and senior secondary schools, 31.5 and 27.5, respectively.[34] However, these figures conceal highly significant variations among the various regions of the country.

There was also still heavy reliance on foreign teachers at secondary and tertiary education levels. Indeed, it could be reasonably assumed that a sizeable proportion of those teachers with the higher levels of educational qualifications were accounted for by foreign teachers. The situation was aggravated by the fact that many of the best Ethiopian teachers were leaving the profession. This "brain drain," as it was described by Dr. Aklilu Habte, was the result of many factors, among the most important of which were economic hardship and generally poor working conditions.[35]

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[34] Computed on the basis of data from Ministry of Education, Educational Statistics 1967/68-1982/83, June, 1984.

[35] Aklilu Habte, "Brain Drain in the Elementary School: Why Teachers Leave the Profession," Ethiopian Journal of Education, No. 1, 1967.

Tables 22/23

Enrollment of Addis Ababa University, 1967/68--1973/74

Year	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year
1967/68	1,273	775	493	321
1968/69	1,507	817	677	457
1969/70	2,266	830	367	632
1970/71	1,507	1,038	823	699
1971/72	2,025	1,446	877	625
1972/73	1,864	534	424	638
1973/74	2,475	1,847	903	480

Source: Central Statistical Office, Statistical Abstract 1977, p. 255

Table 24

Educational Qualifications of Foreign and Ethiopian Teachers in Government Schools--1971/72

	Province	School	1st, 2nd Levels and Voc-Tech. Education (%)	Teacher Trg. Graduates (%)	Higher Educ. (%)	Total (%)
1.	Addis Ababa	Primary	14.2	9.9	14.7	11.1
		Junior Sec.	19.4	17.7	19.6	18.7
		Senior Sec.	30.5	18.4	31.3	30.4
2.	Arushi	Primary	2.9	4.8	5.0	4.4
		Junior Sec.	4.9	3.8	4.1	4.1
		Senior Sec.	2.7	4.2	3.2	3.2
3.	Bale	Primary	1.6	3.1	5.4	2.9
		Junior Sec.	2.0	0.0	3.3	1.6
		Senior Sec.	-	-	0.9	0.7
4.	Begemdir	Primary	5.0	6.6	6.8	6.3
		Junior Sec.	4.6	2.9	5.4	4.1
		Senior Sec.	-	10.9	3.5	3.5
5.	Eritrea	Primary	16.4	7.5	13.8	9.8
		Junior Sec.	20.6	16.9	9.4	14.7
		Senior Sec.	26.4	20.1	11.2	13.6
6.	Gemu Gofa	Primary	1.9	3.9	3.3	3.4
		Junior Sec.	0.8	1.9	3.2	2.2
		Senior Sec.	3.1	-	1.5	1.6
7.	Gojjam	Primary	5.0	7.1	8.7	6.7
		Junior Sec.	3.7	3.5	6.6	4.7
		Senior Sec.	4.5	1.6	6.0	4.4
8.	Hararge	Primary	6.2	8.0	4.6	7.4
		Junior Sec.	6.9	4.5	6.4	5.6
		Senior Sec.	5.0	0.8	7.5	6.7

Source: Socio-economic and Educational Reforms in Ethiopia, op. cit., p. 62

Some Educational Innovations

Mention must be made of some educational innovations which were introduced during the period covered by the two five-year plans.

Primary and Secondary Education

The Shift System. A significant proportion of the increased enrollment in the primary schools is accounted for by the introduction of the shift system in urban centers. Parallel classes were introduced in the different grades which were held in morning and afternoon sessions. This system enabled the schools to cope with the pressures of increasing enrollment in urban areas. The shift system is still fully operational today. Its impact on the quality of education continues to be a widely debated national issue, however.

Comprehensive Secondary Schools. A system of comprehensive secondary education was introduced in 1962 with assistance from the United States. According to this system, students could be placed in either academic or vocational education streams. The latter stream was designed to meet the potential middle-level manpower demand in technical and commercial fields.

Although a larger number of secondary schools were converted into comprehensive schools, the new system was found to be defective from the very beginning. A 1969 report reached the following conclusions:

> ... Visitations to a limited number of these schools revealed some formidable problems, all of which have been confirmed by personnel who have worked with the schools over a period of time:
>
> 1. Educational objectives are not clearly defined. 'Education for what?' is largely an unanswered question, unless the goal is the passage of the ESLC examination.
>
> 2. Normally students may pursue one of four streams. But when the objectives are not clearly defined and are not directly related to the problems and issues of the community, the curriculum in each stream lacks the necessary realism which students need for motivations and ultimate improvement of community life. Streaming *per se* is also subject to serious criticism.
>
> 3. Major needs as identified by the directors of the several schools, and confirmed by observations of the writer, included:

a) repair parts and maintenance of tools and equipment;
b) textbooks;
c) textbooks adapted to Ethiopian customs, traDitions and needs;
d) equipment appropriate to business and industrial employment opportunities in the area;
e) supplies for use with the vocational tools and equipment;
f) instructional supplies and equipment;
g) space to house the number of pupils wanting to attend the school;
h) teachers to relieve overcrowded classrooms.

... the name of the United States is directly related to the inception and development of the comprehensive secondary schools ... When tools stand idle for two to six years or more ... the image of this country becomes somewhat tarnished ...[36]

University Education

The Ethiopian University Service. The HSIU introduced the Ethiopian University Service (EUS) in 1963, a program which was acclaimed as "an inspiration of genius" by the Chancellor's Advisory Committee. The University, after much debate among the staff and students, decided that all full-time students should render national service for the duration of one academic year. The EUS was legislated as an academic requirement to enable the students to acquire a better appreciation of the problems and development needs of their own society. At the same time, they would provide much needed service to the country.

The greatest impact of EUS was in the educational field itself. The great majority of the students were assigned as teachers, especially in the provinces. They were able to fill teaching posts for which foreign teachers would otherwise have had to be employed. The EUS has not been in operation since 1974/75, the year when the Development Through Cooperation Campaign was launched.

The Freshman Program. Beginning in 1969, the University introduced a separate academic unit to which all first-year students were admitted. The Program had three streams, namely arts, life sciences, and physical sciences in which students were enrolled. It was designed to serve as a kind of

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[36] Education Sector Evaluation, US/AID-Ethiopia, May 29, 1969, pp. 56-60.

remedial and preparatory program aiming to better orient students toward higher education in the various fields, thereby upgrading their performance and improving retention.

Adult Education. Adult education programs continued to increase in number and in enrollment in the 1960s and the early 1970s. By 1968, enrollment in literacy programs had exceeded 173,000 and on the primary and secondary levels had surpassed 11,000 and 5,300 respectively. On the University level, enrollment had exceeded 2,500 by 1968 (Table 25).

The literacy programs were being operated by numerous voluntary organizations. In 1967, the Ministry of Education created the Division of Adult Education and Literacy. And in 1968, the National Advisory Council for Literacy was created, in order to provide general policies and guidance to the nationwide operation. The Council was also authorized to set up an Executive Committee which would be responsible for the Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Program. The latter was to be an innovative experimental program of functional literacy supported by UNESCO/UNDP.

The Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Program. The specific objectives of this program were the following:

1. to teach basic reading, writing and arithmetic, emphasizing the current vocabularies of agricultural and industrial practices;

2. to plan and carry out experiments bearing on curricula, teaching methods, and materials, forms of organization, supervision, administration and coordination;

3. to integrate educational, social, and economic activities so as to achieve the overall development through coordination of work with various public and private bodies;

4. to evaluate the various aspects of the project and its effect on economic and social development so that it may serve as an example for other parts of the country and for other nations.[37]

The Program was implemented in four selected areas of the country, but it never passed the experimental stage.

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[37] Ethiopian Government/UNDP/UNESCO, Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Project, Functional Literacy in Ethiopia, undated, pp. 6-7.

Table 25

Participation in National Literacy and Adult Education Programs
1957/58-1967/68

Year	Literacy			Primary			Secondary			University		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1957/58	158,770	35,172	193,950	5,027	1,418	6,445	180	86	266	1,917	286	2,185
1964/65	107,660	14,747	122,407	5,561	1,635	7,196	350	163	513	1,950	276	2,226
1965/66	126,057	19,817	145,874	6,761	2,013	8,774	706	212	918	2,297	274	2,571
1966/67	129,527	23,630	153,157	8,207	2,769	10,976	717	337	1,054	2,693	15	2,708
1967/68	130,753	42,703	173,456	8,613	2,532	11,145	4,007	1,347	5,354	2,495	16	2,511

Source: Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, That All Will Learn, 1986, Table II

External Efficiency

Employment. The lack of reliable data has made it difficult to make a satisfactory assessment of the impact of education in meeting the manpower needs of the country. However, toward the end of the Third Five-Year Plan period, the following situation was reported:

> Although the exact demand/supply situation regarding manpower cannot be assessed in quantitative terms owning to lack of data, there is some material available, which gives an indication of the prevailing situation. In aggregative terms, Ethiopia clearly faces a growing labor surplus. But, at the same time, there is little doubt that manpower shortages exist in Ethiopia for certain specialized occupations. Both job vacancies and shortages of suitable personnel were reported in the surveys undertaken during the last few years. Employment offices report shortages in some occupations and surpluses in others. Shortages are mainly reported in the professional group, including such occupations as engineers, technicians, doctors and other medical personnel, statisticians, economists, etc. Shortages of experienced personnel are mentioned in respect of the following groups: Secretaries, mechanics, electricians, plumbers, carpenters, and other production workers. In the latter category, the skill levels of the persons who are available are not adequate and they lack the necessary experience. This is according to the reports from employers. It is not possible to say how big the shortages are because precise data are lacking both in quantitative and qualitative terms.[38]

An indirect assessment of the extent of the shortages has also been attempted. One approach is based on the number of expatriates being employed in the country during the period under review. Hence, according to one estimate, a total of 10,507 work permits were issued between 1969/70 and 1970/71 by the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs. Over 60 percent of the permits issued were for professional, technical, administrative, and managerial positions. It is noteworthy that 15 percent of the work permits were issued to persons with only primary-level education and about 35 percent to those with secondary-level education (Tables 26 and 27).

A general idea of the overall employment impact of education can also be obtained by comparing the enrollments on various levels with the size of the potentially economically active population. Thus, by the end of the Third

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[38] Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Education: Challenge to the Nation, Report of the Education Sector Review, Part C, Technical Papers, 1973, pp. 267-68.

Table 26

Expatriates Given Work Permits Classified by Occupational Category

Occupational Category	1969/70 No.	1969/70 Percent	1970/71 No.	1970/71 Percent
Professional & Technical	2,292	43	2,363	46
Administrative & Managerial	991	17	954	19
Clerical	599	11	398	8
Sales	182	3	159	3
Agricultural	94	2	64	1
Services	240	4	114	2
Production	1,095	20	1,062	21
TOTAL	5,393	100	5,114	100

Source: Education: Challenge to the Nation, op. cit., p. 268

Table 27

Expatriates Given Work Permits Classified by Educational Level

Education	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Illiterate	93	2	111	2
Primary	830	15	743	15
Secondary	1,981	37	1,747	34
Technical	438	8	532	10
University	2,051	38	1,981	39
TOTAL	5,393	100	5,114	100

Source: Education: Challenge to the Nation, op. cit., p. 268

Year Plan period, the total enrollment in primary schools was estimated to beabout 4.7 percent of the potentially economically active population. Enrollments in junior secondary, senior secondary, and higher education levels were 0.6 percent, 0.5 percent, and 0.03 percent of the economically active population (Table 28). Clearly, therefore, the educational growth of the 1960s and early 1970s could not have had much impact on the economy as a whole, considering that only a much smaller number of the student population actually successfully completed the programs at the various levels of education.

Paradoxically, however, some unemployment was already being reported in the early 1970s. Hence, according to one report:

> The problem of finding jobs in the case of graduates from technical and vocational institutions was minimal up to now. In fact, some of the senior students in such institutions were reported to have secured jobs even before they graduated. The rest also get employed within a reasonably short time.
>
> The situation is gradually changing and employment is becoming harder to get, specially in the case of middle level personnel. There are various reasons, social, economic and technical, for this unsatisfactory trend. If there is one single factor which operates more than another, it is that there is little liaison between vocational training and the needs of various industries and services both in respect of quality as well as quantity. Trainers do not mostly have living contacts with the felt needs of industrial employers. Other factors also no doubt operate, for example, the discrepancy between expectation and reality in regard to salaries in the private sector, the unwillingness of private employers to recruit graduates of technical schools for various reasons, the limited number of openings in the government sector in comparison with the outturn of graduates from vocational institutions, and so on. The growth in employment has also not probably been in accordance with expectations.[39]

Distribution of Educational Opportunity

By 1974, primary school participation stood at 18 percent, precisely the target set by the Third Five-Year Plan! The estimated figures for junior secondary schools, senior secondary schools, and the University were 7 percent, 3 percent, and 0.2 percent respectively (Table 29).

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[39] Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs, The Training of Manpower in Ethiopia 1969-70, 1972, p. 31.

Table 28

Estimated Potentially Economically Active Population 1973/74

Educational Level	Enrollment	Percent of Population in 15-64 Age Range
Primary	859,831	4.7
Junior Secondary	101,486	0.6
Senior Secondary	81,296	0.5
University	5,910	0.03
Total	1,048,523	5.7

Source: Computed on the basis of data in Educational Statistics 1967/68-1982/83, op. cit., and Population Situation in Ethiopia, op. cit.

Table 29

Educational Participation in 1974

Level	Percent of Relevant Age-Group
Primary	18
Junior Secondary	7
Senior Secondary	3
University	0.2

Source: Ministry of Education, Some Explanatory Notes on Educational Development in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, 1981, p. 16

The distribution of education in terms of gender is shown in Table 30. The data indicate that the educational system was still dominated by male participants even following the period of the Third Five-Year Plan.

The rural-urban distribution of enrollment can be assessed from the data in Figure 2. It can be observed that in 1973/74 over 25 percent of the primary school enrollment was concentrated in Addis Ababa and in Eritrea, in the latter case, largely accounted for by the city of Asmara. These areas also accounted for nearly 36 percent and 44 percent of junior and senior secondary school enrollment, respectively. The actual proportions of enrollment in the rural areas would, of course, be less than implied by these figures, since the schools were generally concentrated in the towns in all regions.

The distribution of the educational budget did not indicate an equitable pattern. In 1970/71, for example, Addis Ababa received over 20 percent of the budget of the Ministry of Education, even though the city accounted for less than 4 percent of the total population (Figure 3). In general, the allocation of financial resources did not reflect the pattern of population distribution in the country.

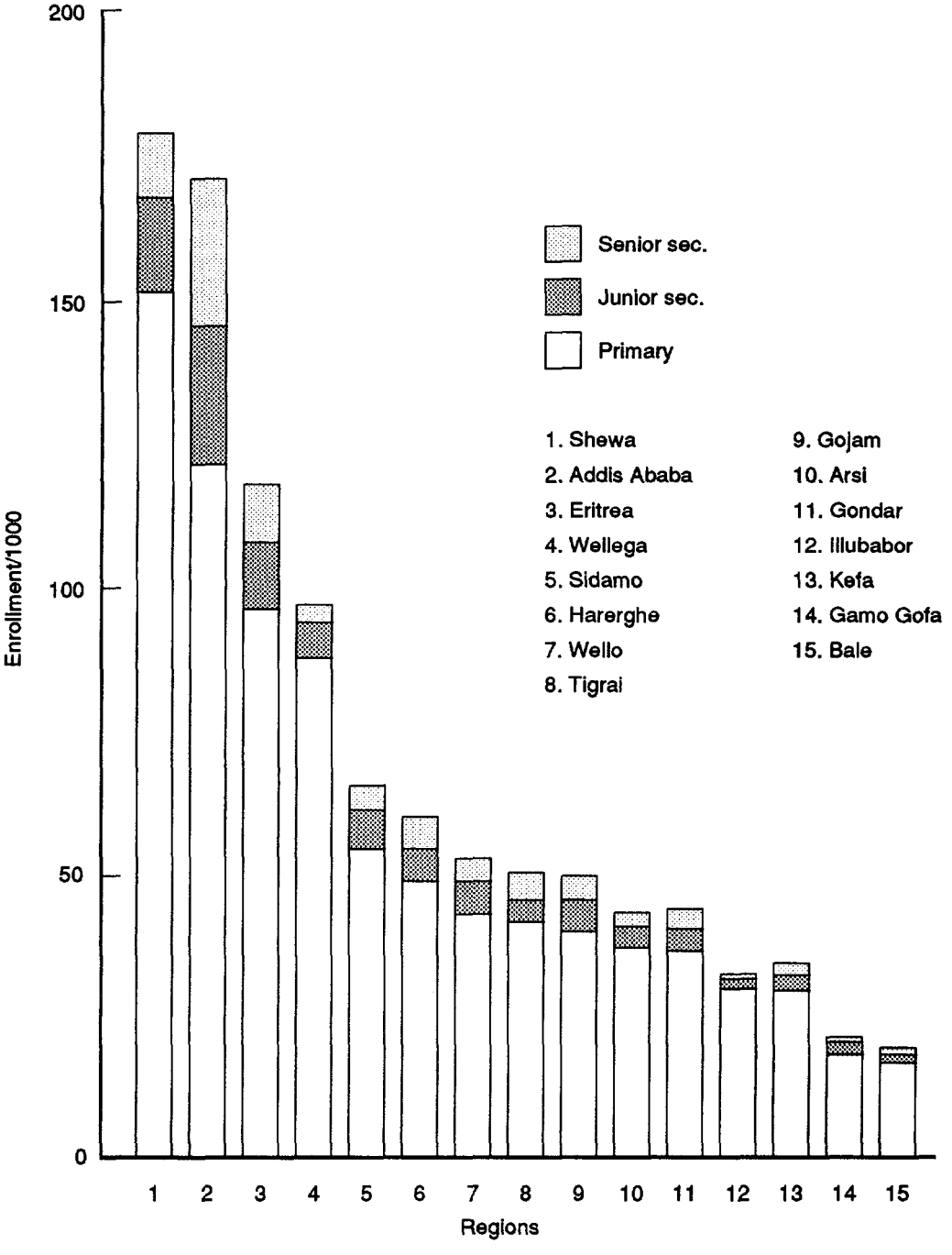
The Costs and Benefits of Education

An exercise was made in the early 1970s to make an assessment of the costs and benefits of education. Although the findings could not be considered as being conclusive, certain indications of the magnitudes of the costs and benefits were obtained (Tables 31 and 32). Among the tentative conclusions that could be drawn were the following:

1. The social costs of education were much higher than the private costs, especially on the University level; the social costs of four years of University education were over 33 times those of six years of primary education.

2. The private costs of education were much higher at the University level, but not as high as the social costs; the private costs of four years of University education were 16 times those of six years of elementary education.

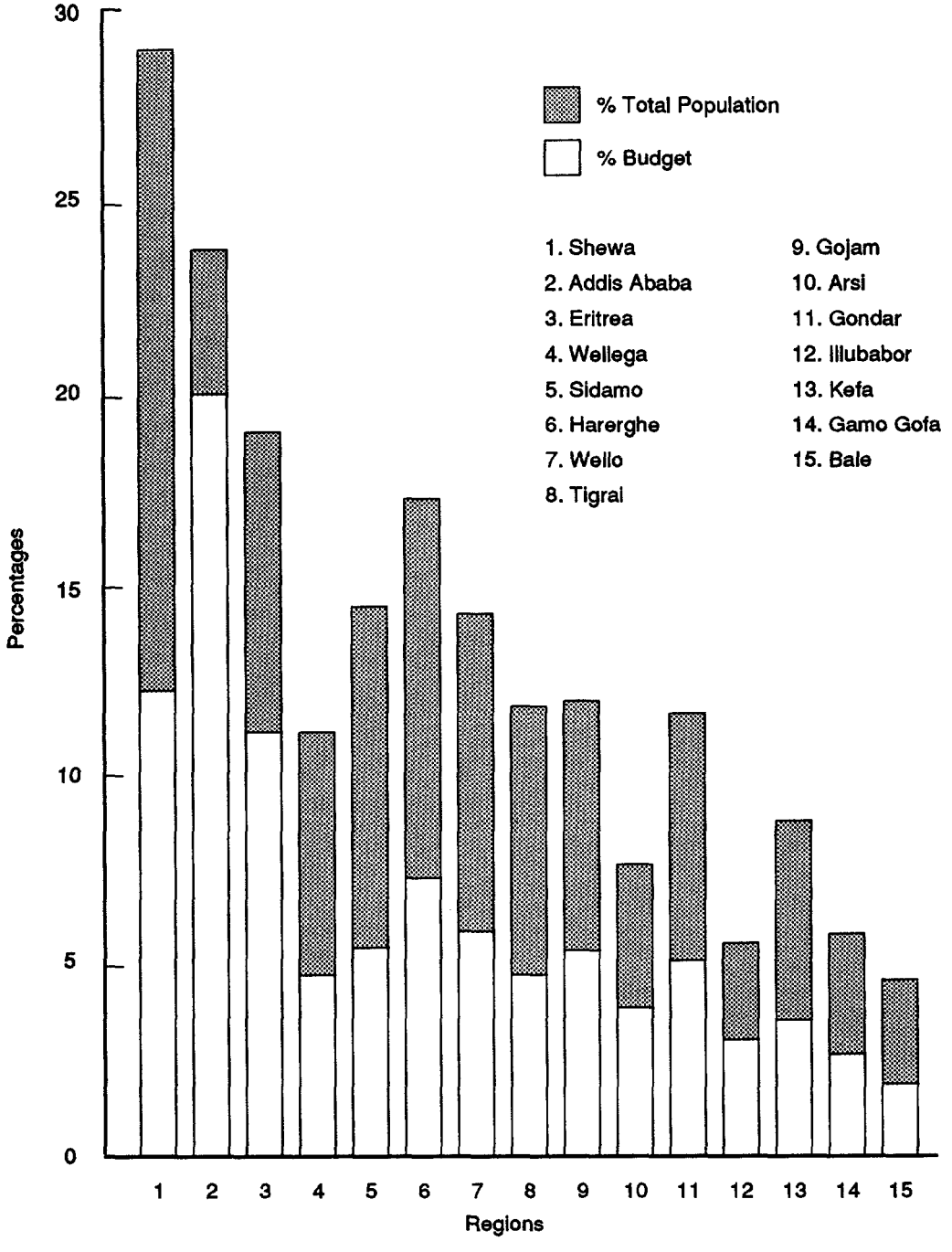
Figure 2
Student Enrollment by Region, 1973/74



Source: Educational Statistics - 1967/68 - 1982/83, op. cit.

pk/w45724b

Figure 3
Ministry of Education Budget Allocation, 1970/71



Source: Education: Challenge to the Nation, op. cit., p. 164.

Note: Total Budget 1978 was 50.8 million Birr.

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Table 30

Distribution of Enrollment by Gender 1974/75

Level	Percentages M	F
Primary	68	32
Junior Secondary	70	30
Senior Secondary	76	24
University	91.8	8.2

Source: Computed from data from Educational Statistics 1967/68-1982/83, op. cit.

Table 31

Total Costs Per Student by Educational Level in Ethiopia (Birr)

	Direct Costs	Wastage	Income Foregone	Total Cost Social	Private
Primary (6 years)	468	132	309	909	417
Junior secondary (2 years)	288	-	675	963	693
Senior secondary (4 years)	1,060	324	2,677	4,061	2,787
Tertiary non-degree (2 years)	5,400	810	3,181	9,391	3,075
University (4 years)	17,408	6,093	6,826	30,327	6,641

Source: Fassil G. Kiros, et al., Educational, Outcome Measurements in Developing Countries, Institute of Development Research and Georgetown University, 1975, p. 123

Table 32

Median Income Estimates (age 38), Ethiopia, 1971-72 (Birr)

	Gross Income	Gross Increment	Net Income	Net Increment
Unschooled	499	-	247	-
Primary	1,510	1,011	746	499
Junior Secondary	2,185	675	1,295	549
Senior Secondary	4,575	2,390	2,712	1,417
Tertiary non-degree	6,620	2,045	4,577	1,865
University degree	9,579	5,004	6,626	3,914

Source: Fassil G. Kiros, et al., op. cit., p. 128

3. The net income accruing to primary education was estimated at about three times the income level of those unschooled.

4. The net income accruing to those with a University degree was about nine times the income of those with primary education.

These rough estimates do reflect the impact of the overall national policies of education. The society had to bear the high cost of advanced education, only in the end to reward those who had been able to take advantage of it. This, in spite of the fact that the social returns from higher education were never shown to be any higher than from education on other levels.

The Political Impact of Education

Toward the end of the 1960s, the Haile Sellassie I University had entered a new phase of development based on long-term planning. And by the early 1970s, the University was already being steered toward new heights of development.[40]

[40] Refer for example to Aklilu Habte, A Forward Look: A Special Report from the President, 1969; and A Blueprint for Development, Haile Sellassie I University, 1970.

However, as indicated above, the University also faced serious problems. Among these problems was the difficulty of dealing with student political activity.

Beginning in the early 1960s, University students increasingly came to be preoccupied with political activity. They would frequently boycott classes to conduct mass demonstrations raising various national issues. The most important slogan that they carried was, however, the slogan "Land to the tiller!"

It appeared at the time, that the students were sacrificing precious educational opportunity by their continued involvement in political protests, causing disruption of the regular program of the University. In retrospect, however, it must be granted that some of the revolutionary gains that have accrued since 1974, such as the 1975 agrarian reform, were in fact largely the results of those sacrifices.

It may, therefore, be concluded that one of the most important outcomes of education in Ethiopia was to raise the level of consciousness of the youths, resulting in political protests in a country wherein there hardly existed any other source of political opposition to the regime. Hence, when in 1974, the old regime was challenged by mass demonstrations involving various segments of the population, it was as if the student protests which had been taking place over a period of a decade had ignited a revolutionary outburst in the country. The glaring contradictions between the aspirations of the youths nurtured by modern education and the interests of the highly traditional ruling oligarchy were resolved by the 1974 revolution.

Educational Development in Perspective: From the Addis Ababa Conference to the Education Sector Review

If the challenge of educational development in the 1960s came from the Conference of African States, the challenge of the 1970s was to come from the Education Sector Review. It would, therefore, be appropriate to ask at this stage whether the developments of the 1960s and early 1970s were equal to the challenge that had been posed and what new goals were put forward by the Education Sector Review.

It must be remembered that the recommendations of the 1961 Conference were advanced only as overall guidelines for the African continent as a whole, and not as a blueprint for development for each country. It would, therefore, be appropriate to compare only some of the general indicators of educational performance with the Conference targets.

Thus, the comparison of the growth of enrollment with the overall targets set for Africa, shows that Ethiopia had yet a long way to go by the early 1970s. Whereas the Conference had proposed the achievement of 71 percent participation in primary education by 1970/71, Ethiopia had only achieved 18 percent participation, even as late as 1974 (Table 33).

Table 33

Educational Growth in Ethiopia as Compared with Targets of the Addis Ababa Conference

	Participation Targets 1970/71	Participation in Ethiopia 1974	Percent 2 of 1
Primary	71	18	25.4
Junior Secondary	15	7)	
		) 4.5	30
Senior Secondary		3)	
University	0.4	0.2	50

Source: Computed on the basis of data in Table 29, and Population Situation in Ethiopia, op. cit.

Participation ratios in junior and senior secondary schools were 7 percent and 3 percent respectively as compared with the overall target of 15 percent set on this level. The participation ratio achieved on the level of higher education was 0.2 percent as compared with the target of 0.4 percent for 1970/71. Hence, the achievements on the three levels were 25.4 percent, 30 percent, and 50 percent, respectively, of the targets that had been set by the Addis Ababa Conference.

The actual level of educational achievement notwithstanding, the Addis Ababa Conference has probably had an influence on the overall tempo of educational development in Ethiopia. The frequent reference made to it, even today, may be an indication of its influence. Much of the external assistance obtained in the 1960s was justified because of the evidence of an extremely backward educational system, which was brought to international attention by the Conference report.

At any rate, by the beginning of the 1970s, the need for a new and comprehensive evaluation of the educational system was strongly felt in order to put in perspective the many issues that were encountered, and to chart out a new direction of long-term development. Hence, in 1971, the Education Sector Review was launched.

The Education Sector Review

The Review Objectives. The Education Sector Review is regarded even today as the most comprehensive and critical review of Ethiopian education in the pre-revolution period. The review was undertaken by 14 task forces with a total number of 81 members, 51 of whom were Ethiopians drawn mainly from the University. The objectives of the review were the following:

1. To analyze the education and training system of Ethiopia, and its capability for promoting economic, social, and cultural development.

2. To suggest, wherever necessary, ways to improve and expand the education and training system, in order that it might achieve aims relevant both to the society and the overall development of the country.

3. To suggest ways in which education could best be utilized to promote national integration.

4. To identify priority studies and investments in education and training.[41]

The most basic issues identified by the participants of the Education Sector Review were the following:

1. The problem of alienation of the Ethiopian youths by reason of an imported educational system.

2. The elitist and rigid character of the educational system, in spite of the diversity of the conditions that prevailed in the country.

3. The problem of wastage on all levels of education.

4. The inequitable distribution of educational opportunity.

5. The overcentralization of educational administration.[42]

Based on these and other considerations, it was concluded as follows:

> education must aid in the transformation of the Ethiopian society, by playing a vital role in the lives of all citizens. To do this, the present educational system must be restructured and changed. Education must be conceived in its broadest connotation to include all non-formal and formal learning experience. It must take advantage of new technology, and of social and religious institutions, so that education can be delivered to the Ethiopian population as a whole.[43]

Main Recommendations. The central pillar of the recommendations of the Education Sector Review was the proposed new educational structure for the country. The main element of the structure was to be what was referred to as Minimum Formation Education (MFE) which would be terminal for the vast majority of the students. The MFE was to consist of four years of education, designed to equip the child for life in his or her community and to provide a sound foundation for those who would continue their education on higher levels (Figure 4). The enrollments on the various levels which were projected to the year 2000 are shown in Table 34.

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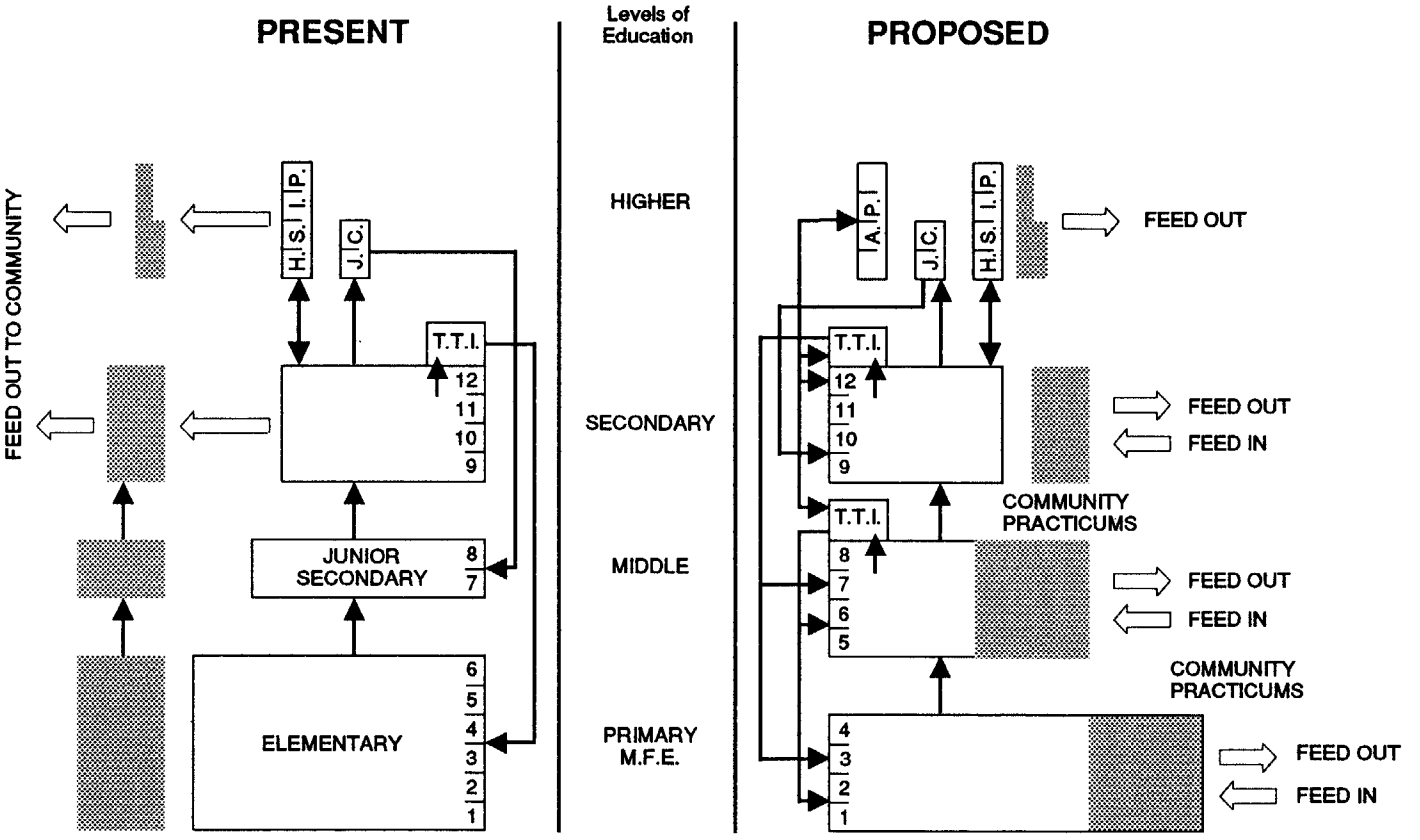
[41] Ministry of Education, Education Sector Review, Draft Report, Addis Ababa, June 18, 1972, p. I-3.

[42] Ibid., pp. I-5-I-7.

[43] Ibid.

Figure 4
Diagram Showing Present and Proposed School Organization



Upward pointing arrows represent promotion channels
Downward pointing arrows represent teaching opportunities other than feed out to other sectors
Presents only 1 downward pointing arrow to primary level, 1 to middle and 1 to higher
(excluding ex-patriates, volunteers and Haile Selassie I University student

3 feed in points to primary level
3 to middle school
4 to secondary school

Source: Sector Study of Ethiopian Education, 1983. op. cit.

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Table 34

Enrollment Targets Recommended by the Education Sector Review
Number of Participants (thousands)

	First Level	Second Level	Third Level	Non-formal
1979/80	1,988	220	10	838
1989/90	3,071	301	17	1,517
1999/2000	5,273	416	28	2,223

Source: Report of the Education Sector Review, op. cit., Exhibit V-F-1

Education on all levels would be tied to out-of-school or "community practicum" programs, designed to develop the skills of the pupils through productive community service.

> There are many extension schemes and cottage industries already in existence run by different government ministries, international agencies and private industry.
>
> It is generally recognized that these schemes are developmental in character, but it is not always recognized that they are all, or potentially all, educational in character. When a group of people have been gathered to learn or practice a certain skill, they are already in a sense 'recruited' and a situation exists in which, if the opportunity for additional education should be offered, wider learning could take place.
>
> When an out-of-school situation such as that described can make use of certain of the school facilities and materials, and vice versa, a Community Practicum is born. A Community Practicum is, therefore, an interrelated in-school and out-of-school practical educational experience of a semi-institutionalized nature ...
>
> The duration of training in Community Practicums will vary according to the kind of training received in such centers. A minimum of one year might be required, for example, for a pupil who gets his training on the farm; but other periods of time may be required for different types of training ...[44]

The sweeping educational reforms proposed by the Education Sector Review were seen as necessitating fundamental changes in the overall social, political, and economic spheres. Such changes were to come only two years

[44] Education: Challenge to the Nation, op. cit., pp. 422-24.

after the Conference, not by reason of acceptance of the proposed objectives, but paradoxically by their rejection. The recommendations of the Education Sector Review were used by the teachers in the public school system to discredit the regime by which it was sponsored. A report was spread among the people alleging that the proposed policies were designed to deny education beyond the primary-school level to the children of the poor majority of the population. The work of the Education Sector Review, therefore, soon lost its appeal, tarnished as it became by the charge that it was designed to serve as an instrument of oppression. Indeed, the proposed educational policies of the Sector Review have come to be cited as being among the immediate causes of the 1974 revolution.

5. TOWARDS A SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

An Historical Account

It is common knowledge that Ethiopia has been undergoing a process of revolutionary change since 1974. One of the most potent instruments of this process of change has been education itself. We noted in the last chapter the role that had been played by students in bringing about such radical national reforms as the 1975 Proclamation to Provide for the Public Ownership of Rural L ands. That Proclamation responded to the cry "Land to the tiller!" A few months before the issue of the Proclamation, all students and their teachers, from grade 10 to the University, were deployed to nearly all parts of rural Ethiopia to carry out, as it were, what they had preached for over a decade. It would, therefore, be appropriate to begin this Chapter with a brief look at the objectives of this campaign.

The National Revolutionary Development Campaign

This Campaign was a massive undertaking involving some 60,000 participants, including members of the military. It was the first of a number of mass-based national campaigns launched with highly spirited revolutionary zeal. It was as if the youths were to carry the torch of progress to the rural society of Ethiopia. The objectives stated were, however, for the most part educational in nature.

The campaign was a costly undertaking and was affected by many problems. There was a little doubt, however, that it achieved it basic purpose of agitating the people. As for the participants, their most widely recognized concrete contribution was in the implementation of the agrarian reform proclamation. The latter proclamation was issued while the participants were already in the field. It therefore became their role to enable the peasantry to translate the proclamation into action. The participants explained the objectives of the proclamation to the peasants, helped create the peasant associations, and in many areas even engaged themselves in direct confrontation with former landowners, when the latter attempted resistance to the reform.

The participants had also, of course, attempted to carry out some of the other objectives of the campaign. The overall achievements were, however, uneven, and tended to reflect the quality of leadership and the composition of the participants in particular localities. The results of the literacy program of the campaign were notable, however.

> During this period, among many other tasks undertaken, the Zemecha Brigades registered over three-quarters of a million people of whom 160,000 eventually finished the Literacy Course.... Literacy teaching materials were developed and tried out, and proved to be of great value in the following National Literacy Campaign.[45]

These achievement, though significant, are, however, hardly comparable to the results of the National Literacy Campaign launched in 1979. Following the Development Through Cooperation Campaign, the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) issued a number of policies aiming at once to reform the educational system in line with the "socialist" philosophy adopted, and to expand the system on various levels (Table 35). We shall consider the most important of these policies in the following pages.

The Nationalization of Private Schools

One important phenomenon in the educational sphere in the pre-revolution period was the rapid expansion of private schools, especially on the primary level. This expansion took place mainly in the urban areas as a result of private initiative. The private schools, unlike the government schools, charged fees and were generally motivated by financial gain. The PMAC therefore saw it as a matter of priority to issue the 1975 Proclamation to Provide for the Public Ownership of Private Schools.

The responsibility to determine the curriculum, and the working conditions of the teachers, as well as the overall supervision of the schools was left to the Ministry of Education. The day-to-day management of the schools was made the responsibility of School Committees, consisting of elected parents, and representatives of the urban dwellers' associations. The Committees were

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[45]National Literacy Campaign Coordinating Committee, Every Ethiopian Will be Literate and Will Remain Literate, 1984, p. 13

Table 35

Landmarks in Educational Policy Making 1974-1986

Year	Event/Policy Reforms	Remarks
1974	Proclamation No. 11 of 1974-- Development through Cooperation, Enlightenment and Work Campaign Proclamation issued.	Students and teachers of Grade 10 and above deployed to the rural areas among other activities to agitate and educate the peasantry
1975	Proclamation No. 54 of 1975-- Public Ownership of Private Schools Proclamation issues	Exempts foreign community and mission schools
1976	Program of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia issued (NDR)	Defined goals of overall national development policy
1976	Proclamation No. 103 of 1976-- Administration and Control of Schools by the People Proclamation issued.	
1977	Proclamation No. 127 of 1977-- Definition of Powers and Responsibilities of Ministers Proclamation	
1977	Proclamation No. 109 of 1977-- Higher Education Institutions Administration Proclamation	Created the Commission for Higher Education
1978	Proclamation No. 156 of 1978-- A Proclamation to Provide for the Establishment of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning	
1979	National Literary Campaign launched.	
1984	Proclamation No. 260 of 1984-- Strengthening of the Management and Administration of Schools	Replaced Proclamation 103 of 1976

Year	Event/Policy Reforms	Remarks
1985	Program of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia	Follow up of NDR and Commission for the Establishment of the Workers Party directives
1975	Program of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia	Follow up of NDR and commission for the Establishment of the Workers Party directives
1975-	"Yetimihirt Atacha" or New Directions of Education	On-going reform groups formed to evaluate the "quality" of education and to recommend changes
1984/85	Ten Year Perspective Plan launched	Comprehensive national plan including education

Source: Author's research

given wide powers and a legal personality to enable them to exercise these powers.

The nationalization of private schools did not result in the total public control of education in Ethiopia. The Proclamation specifically excluded foreign community and mission schools, which continued to enroll a sizeable number of Ethiopian students. Nevertheless, the education sector has been effectively closed to private entrepreneurial activity by the new Proclamation.

Program of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR)

In the initial phase of the revolution, the official national development philosophy was stated as being "Ethiopia Tikdem" or "Ethiopia first." Then the ideology of Hebrettesebawinet or Socialism was proclaimed. It was, however,

the NDR Program which came to be the most important guide for policymaking in all spheres of economic, social, and political life. The NDR Program was a program of transition from the old society to the future socialist society. The aim of the transitional program was said to be:

> to completely abolish feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism from Ethiopia and with the united effort of all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces build a new Ethiopia and lay a strong foundation for the transition to socialism.[46]

The Program did not include an elaborate policy of education. The following is the most often quoted statement of the Program:

> 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 effort will be made to free the diversified cultures of imperialist cultural domination from their own reactionary forces.[47]

This statement was invoked by the Ministry of Education in elaborating new policies, and in undertaking educational reforms. However, the policies and reforms also reflected socialist "theory," and its practice especially in Eastern Europe.

Proclamation for the Strengthening of the Management and Administration of Schools

As indicated in Table 35, a proclamation providing for the administration and control of schools was issued in 1976. That proclamation was repealed in 1984, and was replaced by the Proclamation for Strengthening of the Management and Administration of Schools. The two proclamations do not differ in their basic aims, which are to "integrate education with the lives of the broad masses" and to enhance popular participation in the management of the schools. It will therefore suffice to consider only the contents of the 1984 Proclamation.

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[46] PMAC, Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia, 1976.

[47] Ibid.

According to that Proclamation, the management of government schools is made the responsibility of Government School Committees; in the case of "public schools" (or schools principally supported by the people themselves), the management is made the responsibility of Public School Management and Administration Committees. The membership of the two Committees differ mainly because in the case of the latter, the majority consists of the representatives of parents.

The Ministry of Education retains responsibility for academic matters and for approval of plans of expansion of schools. The responsibilities of the Ministry of Education were more fully explained in he Definition of Powers and Responsibilities of Ministers. Among the functions of the Ministry, the central ones are to:

1. Study and prepare educational policy geared to the national political, economic and social needs; prepare a national educational programme and implement the approved policy.

2. Ensure that the educational curriculum is prepared on the basis of Hebrettesebawinet, and embodies the principle that education given at every level aids to improve the standard of living of the broad masses and emphasize the development of science and technology...

4. Ensure that education is given to all on the basis of equality and that it serves as a medium to strengthen unity and freedom and for the interaction of the important cultures of the country...

11. Issue and supervise the enforcement of directives relating to the participation of the broad masses in the administration of education at Kebele, Woreda, Awraja and provincial levels.

Higher Education Institutions Administration Proclamation

In the pre-revolution period, higher education was not solely the responsibility of the Haile Sellassie I University. There were post-secondary programs being conducted by the Ministry of Education and others. There was, moreover, the private University of Asmara which for some time had been endeavoring to develop an acceptable level of higher education. Furthermore, there were long-term plans to create centers of higher education in several regions. Thus, consideration had been given in the past to the idea of establishing a Commission for Higher Education, in order to better coordinate the various institutions in this sector. It was, however, in 1977, that this idea came to materialize with the issue of Proclamation 109.

The Proclamation defined the objectives of higher education, the first of these stated being the following:

1. To teach, expound and publicize socialism and formulate methods to carry out these functions...

Wide powers were conferred upon the Commission. The autonomy which had been enjoyed by the Addis Ababa University, for example, was substantially curtailed by the Proclamation. It may also be noted that the Addis Ababa University has recently been made smaller by the designation of one of its constituent colleges as a separate institution. That College, which has recently been elevated to become the Alemaya University of Agriculture, is the former College of Agriculture.

Central Planning

In accordance with its socialist philosophy, Ethiopia has adopted central planning as the instrument for realizing the national development goals. In 1978, the PMAC issued the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council (NRDC-CPSC) mainly to deal with some of the pressing economic and social problems faced by the country following the eruption of the revolution.

The Proclamation contained a detailed description of the all-embracing planning structure. Almost every government institution, including the Military and the Police, as well as mass organizations, were to be represented. At the head of the Council was the Head of State, and at the lowest levels of the hierarchy were the peasant associations.

A series of annual plans were implemented under the direction of the NRDC-CPSC, in which the Ministry of Education had participated fully.

It must be noted that one of the functions of the NRDC-CPSC was to initiate long-term planning. Hence, a Ten-Year Perspective Plan was prepared under it auspices.

The NRDC-CPSC Proclamation was repealed in 1984 by the Proclamation to Provide for the Establishment of the Office of the National Committee for Central Planning. The central authority for planning is assigned to the

National Committee, which is to have wide membership and is to be chaired by chairman of PMAC. The new Proclamation appears to be designed to deal with more "normal" conditions of planning that the NRDC-CDSC Proclamation, which was principally concerned with applying national resources and capacities to overcome urgent economic and social problems.

A new element in the new Proclamation is also the creation of regional centers of planning. Seven Regional Planning Offices were created to which many planning functions were delegated. The authority to approve regional plans is vested in the Regional Planning Councils, in which the representatives of Governments agencies and mass organizations are members.

The foregoing description of the new planning system has become necessary in order to help better appreciate the manner in which educational planning is conducted in Ethiopia today. The new planning system is comprehensive, directive, and participative in nature. This means that the education sector, as all other sectors, is to be integrated into the overall national scheme of development planning. This approach stands in sharp contrast to planning in the pre-revolution period, when plans were only indicative, segmented, and rarely called for accountability.

"Yetimihirt Aktacha" or New Direction of Education

The Ministry of Education has been active in endeavoring to introduce new educational reforms and policies based on the evolving national political and development goals. Among these goals were those enunciated by the following:

1. The policy of Ethiopia First.
2. The policy of Hebrettesebawinet.
3. The directives of the National Democratic Revolution Programme.
4. The guidelines of the Commission for the Establishment of the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE).
5. The Programme of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia.

The national political goals which had been proclaimed over a period of ten years since 1974, finally crystallized in the Programme of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia. It would, therefore, be essential to consider aspects of the Programme which have a bearing on the development of education. According to

the new Programme, there are two basic types of tasks to be accomplished in the spheres of ideology, education, science, technology, and culture, these being:

1. The dissemination of ideology; and

2. The qualitative expansion of education at all levels.

The first task is to consist of the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism, ultimately to prepare for the creation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. With regard to the second task, the Programme has the following to say:

> Even though great efforts have been made to change the old curriculum and to expand educational opportunities, it has not been easy to raise the quality of education in a significant manner...
>
> The relationship between different levels of education, from literacy to higher education, has not yet assumed the proper framework...
>
> Since the qualitative expansion of education is a vital factor in the task of building a new culture and creating the new man, the shortcomings that exist in this regard must be urgently overcome.

Similar ideas had been enunciated from time to time in the past. As indicated above, the Ministry of Education has been making continued efforts to translate the national goals through educational reforms. The objectives and contents of education were first elaborated in what came to be known as the Yetimhirt Aktacha. The objectives of education according to this policy are to prepare the participants for production, and to develop scientific as well as socialist consciousness.

> ... The culture of a socialist mode of production will emerge through the unity of theoretical learning with productive and practical education, producing a range of skills and expertise required for national development...
>
> ... The development of student abilities in analysis and synthesis, and in the evaluation and application of knowledge will be given importance, and scientific method will be fully applied in all educational activity...
>
> ... Education for socialist consciousness... embraces the development of political consciousness, and understanding of the nature of the class

struggle, and an approach to aesthetics based on the principle of Marxism-Leninism.[48]

The contents of the educational program are to be based on the pursuit of specific behavioral objectives which include attitudinal, cognitive, and psychomotor aspects. These objectives are to be attained through a system of "polytechnic education" which embraces the following dimensions:

1. Intellectual;
2. Ideological;
3. Vocational and technical;
4. Aesthetic;
5. Physical; and
6. Labor education

The structure of polytechnic education envisioned is depicted in Figure 5. Polytechnic education is aimed at three target groups: the school age population, part-time students, and special groups. The system encompasses four levels of polytechnic, and extended technical and vocational education. The goal is to provide general polytechnic education to all citizens who are able to participate as soon as feasible. Participation in the higher levels of education is to be highly restricted, much as in the proposal of the Education Sector Review.

The system of polytechnic has been under experimentation and has also been incorporated in the Ten-Year Perspective Plan considered below.

The National Literacy Campaign

The National Literacy Campaign which was launched in July 1979, is one of the most massive educational operations that has been in progress. The Campaign was started with the idea of achieving universal literacy by 1987. Although it is spearheaded by the National Literacy Committee established under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, implementation has been mainly the responsibility of peasant and urban dweller associations.

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[48]Ministry of Education, New Educational Objectives and Directions for Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, March, 1980, pp.10-11

The Campaign has been sustained to a large extent by the material and financial support of the people themselves, and by the sacrifices of the youths who participate as leaders and teachers.

The program is directed by means of a monolithic and hierarchical committee structure, the functions of which are copied from the National Literacy Campaign Committee to the committee on the level of the grassroots mass organizations. The committees established on the various levels do not have offices of their own and are, therefore, usually attached to an existing governmental office from which they obtain some administrative assistance.

There are two main phases of the program--these being the basic literacy and the post-literacy aspects. In addition to the acquisition of numeracy and literacy, participants in the basic program also acquire functional knowledge through the use of reading materials prepared for the purpose. Examples of the subjects covered are: clean water and its benefits, soil and its protection, care during pregnancy and childbirth, political education, etc. Following certification for basic literacy, participants may continue to acquire functional knowledge and skills through the post literacy program. The coverage of such programs may differ depending upon the needs of the participants, and the materials used in specific subject areas can be quite detailed.

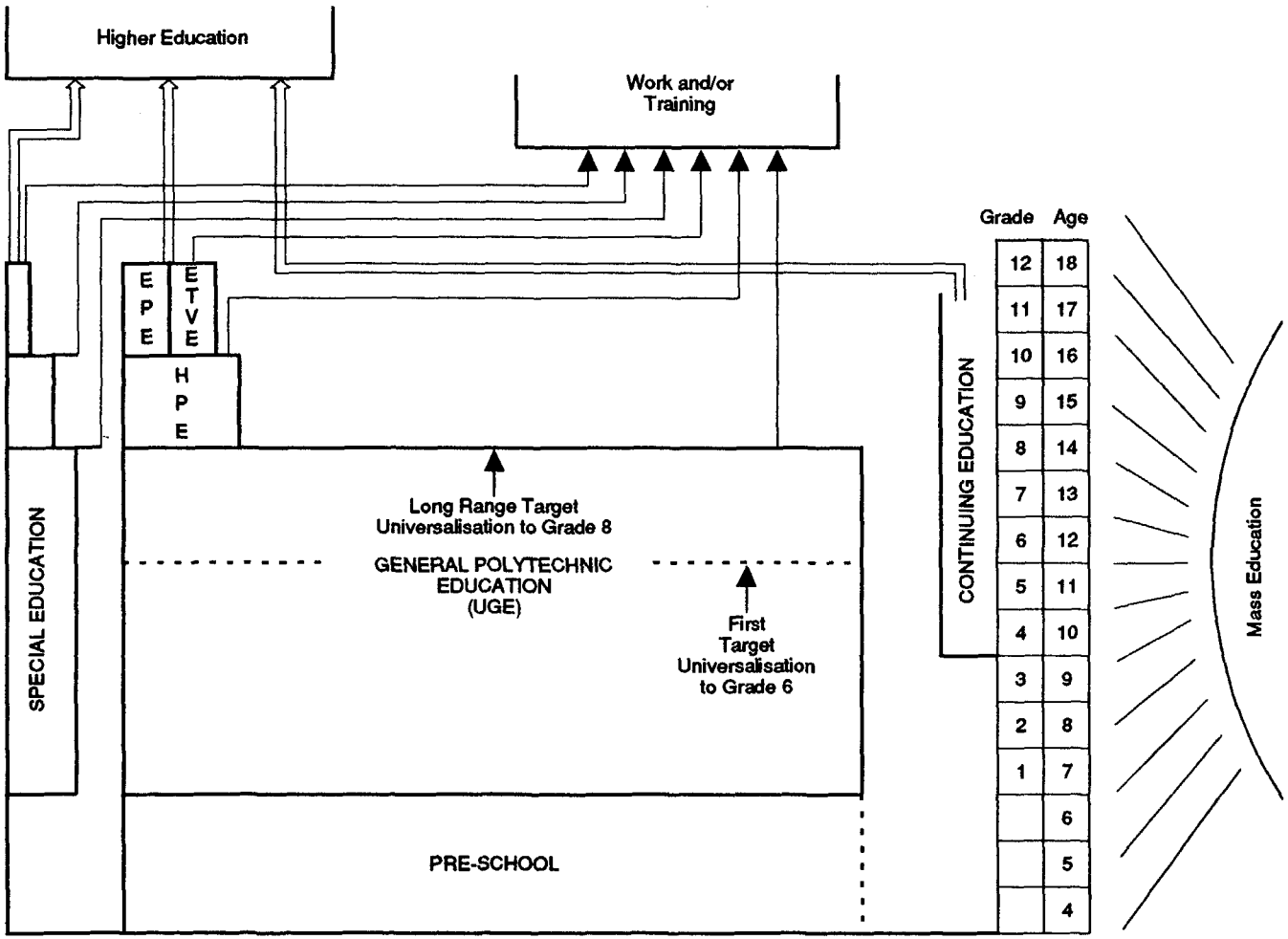
Those young persons who complete the literacy program can continue their education in the regular schools and are generally admitted on the third-grade level.

The Ten-Year Perspective Plan

A Ten-Year Perspective Plan has been adopted by the Ethiopian Government covering the period 1984/85-1994/95. The educational sector occupies a central part of this plan. The plan for this sector and for all other sectors was prepared through the participation of scores of persons representing various agencies. The following are the goals of the ten-year development plan in the educational sector:

1. To provide education which will meet the basic needs of the people as well as serve as an instrument in the struggle against feudalism, imperialism, and bureaucratic capitalism.

Figure 5
Ethiopian Educational Structure
(Planned)



Legend:
- UGE Universal General Polytechnic Education
- HPE Higher Polytechnic Education
- EPE Extended Polytechnic Education
- ETVE Extended Technical and Vocational Education

Source: Sector Study of Ethiopian Education, 1983, op. cit.

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2. To give priority to providing general polytechnic education to all those children within appropriate age bracket, but only as resources permit on the higher levels.

3. To produce skilled manpower in such numbers, proportions, and quality as needed.

4. To promote continuing education as needed.

5. To endeavor to unify intellectual and practical educational experiences.

6. To promote polytechnic education.

7. To eradicate illiteracy.

8. To promote pre-school education.

9. To promote educational research.[49]

The numerical targets of the plan are to achieve participation rates of 66.5 percent in the first level of education, 35.6 percent in Grades 7 and 8, 11.5 percent in grades 9 and 10 and 7.9 percent in Grades 11 and 12. The plan also projects the attainment of over 90 percent literacy by 1993/94.

The total cost of expanding the educational system during the plan period is estimated at nearly U.S. $340 million, of which about half is to be obtained from foreign grants and loans.[50]

Needless to say, the plan implies the design and implementation of various programs necessitated by the far-reaching goals of Yetimihirt Aktacha.

On the level of higher education, total enrollment is expected to reach 28,740 by the end of the plan period. This implies an average 5 percent annual increase over this period. (Table 36). Based on this rate of growth of enrollment, it is estimated that the higher education institutions will produce over 74,300 graduated by 1994/95. (Table 37). Also during the period of the plan, a total of about 8,000 graduates are expected to return after completing their training abroad. (Table 38). Hence, it is assumed that the economy will have the capacity to absorb over 8,200 graduates a year during the plan period.

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[49]Ministry of Education, Ten-Year Perspective Plan of General Education (1984/85--1993/03), Addis Ababa, March, 1980, pp.10-11

[50]Ibid., pp. 45, 48-49, 62

Table 36

Projected Enrollment in Higher Education Institutions
1994/95

Field	Number	Annual Rate of Growth 1984/85-1994/95
Agriculture	4,960	6.4
Science	3,045	3.0
Technology	6,765	10.4
Teacher Education	3,180	3.5
Social Science	5,830	1.3
Health	4,960	5.6
Total	28,740	5.0

Source: PMAC, Ten-Year Perspective Plan-- 1984/85-1994/95, Table 19.4

Table 37

Projected Graduates from Higher Education Institutions
1984/85-1994/95

Field	Diploma Level	B.A. Degree Level	Post Graduate Level	Total
Agriculture	9,416	4,015	383	13,814
Science	885	5,971	575	7,431
Technology	8,428	3,148	392	11,968
Teacher Training	11,000	869	--	11,869
Social Sciences	6,405	9,112	587	16,104
Health	10,215	544	2,374	13,133
Total	46,349	23,569	4,311	74,319

Source: PMAC, Ten-Year Perspective Plan--1984/85-1994/95, Table 19.3

Table 38

Projected Number of Students Expected to Return After Training Abroad 1984/85-1994-95

Field	Number		
	Undergraduate	Post-Graduate	Total
Agriculture	1,358	140	1,498
Science	840	118	958
Technology	1,926	162	2,088
Technology Education	500	140	640
Social Sciences	1,153	118	1,271
Health	1,090	83	1,173
Others	307	39	346
Total	7,174	800	7,974

Source: Ten-Year Perspective Plan, Tables 19.6 and 19.7

A Critical Appraisal

The period since 1974 can be described as a period of reform, institutional change and planning in all aspects of economic, social, and political life. This is apparent from the foregoing historical review of the educational sector. However, this period has also witnessed educational expansion which is being reflected in the changing profile of Ethiopian education and in the life of the population at large. An attempt is made in this section to appraise the outcomes of education in the post-revolution period, both in terms of its internal operations and its external impact.

Enrollment and Internal Efficiency

Enrollment. As shown in Table 39, the educational sector has expanded greatly since 1974. Enrollment in primary schools has tripled between 1974/75 and 1983/84 and has grown by 2.4 times in junior secondary schools. On the senior secondary level, the growth rate was much higher, enrollment in 1983/84 being nearly 4.5 times that of 1974/75.

Table 39

Summary of Educational Data
1974/75-1983/84

Level	1974/75 No. of Schools	1974/75 Enrollment	1974/75 No. of Teachers	1983/84 No. of Schools	1983/84 Enrollment	1983/84 No. of Teachers
Primary	3,166	959,000	21,000	7,215	2,795,000	48,000
Junior Secondary	507	124,000	3,800	829	295,000	6,000
Senior Secondary	125	65,000	2,500	201	286,000	7,300

Source: Ministry of Education, Education in Socialist Ethiopia, 1984, pp. 54-55

Enrollment on the level of higher education reached close to 18,000 by 1985/86. Over 63 percent of the total enrollment was in Addis Ababa University. (Tables 40 and 41). It should be noted that the enrollment on the graduate level, though modest at present, covers a number of disciplines.

Participation in the National Literacy Campaign has, of course, been enormous. It has been reported that nearly 20 million persons have "attended" the program up to 1986, a significant proportion having had to attend more than once. (Table 42). During the same period, about 9.4 million persons were reported to have "attended" the post-literacy program, again a sizable proportion having had to attend remedial sections. (Table 43).

Attendance in evening or extension classes has also grown quite rapidly since 1974. In 1985/86, around 300,000 persons were reported as enrolled on the primary and secondary levels.[51] In addition, over 11,000 were reported as enrolled in the extension programs of the various institutions of higher learning. (Table 44).

[51]Estimate supplied by officials, April, 1986

Table 40

Students Enrolled in Regular Diploma and Undergraduate Degree Programs by Institution 1985/86

Institution	Diploma	Degree	Total
Addis Ababa University	2,153	9,162	11,315
Alemaya University of Agriculture	221	1,138	1,359
Asmara University	81	1,480	1,561
Ambo Junior College of Agriculture	221	---	221
Debreaeit School of Animal Health	178	---	178
Jimma Junior College of Agriculture	391	---	391
Junior College of Commerce	1,148	---	1,148
Kotebe College of Teacher Education	967	---	967
Bahirdar Polytechnic Institute	506	---	506
Total	5,742	11,780	17,636
Jimma Institute of Health Science	--	207	297
Grand Total	5,866	11,9871	17,853

Source: Higher Education Commission, 1986

Table 41

Enrollment in Graduate Programs of Addis Ababa University 1983/84

Field	Enrollment
Agriculture	35
Social Sciences	35
Language Studies	38
Sciences	63
Medicine	62
Total	223

Source: Commission for Higher Education, Statistics on Higher Education 1983/84, May 1985, pp. 33-34

Table 42

Participation in the National Literacy Campaign 1979-1986

Regions	Number (millions)
Arsi	0.70
Bale	0.51
Eritrea	0.33
Gamo Gofa	0.51
Gojam	1.89
Gondar	1.21
Harerghe	1.80
Illubabor	0.39
Kefa	1.03
Shewa	3.68
Sidamo	1.72
Tigrai	0.34
Wellega	1.34
Wello	1.61
Aseb	0.03
Addis Ababa	0.60
Total	19.45

Source: National Literacy Campaign, Program of the Fifteenth Round, April-July, 1986.

Table 43

Participants in the Post-Literacy Program
1979-1986

Region	Number (millions)
Arsi	0.36
Bale	0.32
Eritrea	0.18
Gamo Gofa	0.09
Gojam	1.30
Gondar	0.91
Harerghe	1.25
Illubabor	0.28
Kefa	0.34
Shewa	1.88
Sidamo	0.52
Tigrai	0.11
Wellega	0.58
Wello	0.89
Aseb	0.01
Addis Ababa	0.37
Total	9.39

Source: Program of the Fifteenth Round, op. cit.

Table 44

Enrollment in Higher Education Extension Programs 1983/84

Institution	Number
Addis Ababa University	6,178
Asmara	1,984
Jimma Junior College of Agriculture	246
Junior College of Commerce	2,253
Kotebie College of Teacher Education	356
Total	11,017

Source: Statistics on Higher Education, op. cit. pp. 35-37

Internal Efficiency. What has been the level of efficiency in the various levels of education since 1974? Some estimates have been made of the rates of retention and attrition. Based on the figures obtained, it is found that over 40 percent of the pupils enrolled in grade 1 in 1974/75 had dropped out by 1975/76, and of those who made it to Grade 2, over 17 percent had dropped out before reaching Grade 3. (Table 45). In 1980/81, total enrollment in Grade 6 was 132,575, which implies a loss of over 60 percent from the intake in Grade 1 in 1975/75.

On the level of junior secondary schools, the promotion rate between Grades 7 and 8 appears to be quite high. Hence, in 1981/82 and in 1982/83, about 7.5 percent and 12.5 percent, respectively, had dropped out before reaching Grade 8. (Table 46).

Table 45

Pupil Attrition in All Primary Schools
1974/75-82/83

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6
1974/75	327,602					
1975/76	(59.4)	196,150				
1976/77		(82.7)	162.223			
1977/78			(75.3)	122.129		
1978/79				(104.3)	127,326	
1980/81					(104.1)	132,575

Note: Figures in parentheses represent percentages.

Source: Educational Statistics--1967/68-1982/83, op. cit.

Table 46

Attrition in All Junior Secondary Schools
1980/81-1982/83

Year	Enrollments Grade 7	Enrollments Grade 8	Attrition (%)
1980/81	115,881	93,520	
1981/82	141,576	107,178	7.5
1982/83	154,177	123,880	12.5

Source: Educational Statistics--1967/68-1982/83, op. cit.

The attrition rate in senior secondary schools is higher than in junior secondary schools. Enrollment in the twelve-grade class of 1982/83 was about 38,000, declining from the 1979/80 grade-nine intake of over 70,000. This yields a total dropout of about 46 percent between grades 9 and 12 during this period. (Table 47).

On the level higher education, the available data tend to indicate that the overall rate of attrition has not shown much improvement in recent years. As in the past, attrition is higher in the fits and second years than in the subsequent levels The failure rate has become of such concern in recent years, that the Addis Ababa University in 1984/85 introduced a policy which permits failing students to sit for final examinations more than once. This policy has resulted in the increase of the load of work of the teachers, due to the necessity to prepare and mark more than one examination in the various courses they normally teach.

The results of the Sixth Grade National Examination worsened during the period following the eruption of the revolution in 1974. They have, however, steadily improved thereafter, reaching a level of 92.3 percent passes by 1981/82. (Table 48). A similar pattern of change is also observed in the case of the Eighth Grade National Examination, the proportion of passes having reached 88.2 percent in 1981/82. (Table 49).

The results of the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examinations have shown a worsening trend during the range of 2.0-4.0 GPA has declined from 17.1 percent in 1978/79 to 12.3 percent in 1980/81. The number of those with less than 1.4 GPA has increased from 63.2 percent to 80.1 percent during the same period. (Table 50). These figures would need to be assessed on the basis of the admissions policy to higher education institutions. In general, students must earn a GPA of 2.6 to be admitted to degree programs of the Addis Ababa University, but a limited number of students from each school with a GPA of 2.4 are also admitted on a quota basis. Admission to diploma programs is open to those with GPA of 2.4, and to a limited number of those with a GPA of 2.2, who are admitted on a quota basis. The current policy of admissions is, therefore, much different from the earlier policy, which permitted all students with a minimum GPA of 2.0 to enroll in the University.

As might be expected, the National Literacy Program has necessitated repeated enrollment on the part of large numbers of participants. In the early rounds of the Campaign, in particular, the proportions of those who successfully completed the program were quite small. During the first round, for instance, only 24 percent of the participants were awarded certificates. The situation seems to have significantly improved thereafter. (Table 51).

A very difficult problem is also one of enabling those already certified to remain literate. Generally speaking, the newly literate population in the rural areas continue to live under conditions which do not permit ready access to reading materials, so that the relapse to illiteracy is an ever-present possibility. The officials have come to be aware of this problem, and are endeavoring to sustain literacy, mainly through the promotion of reading centers.

Table 47

Attrition in Senior Schools 1979/80-1982/83

Year	Enrollment by Grades 9	10	11	12
1979/80	70,388			
1980/81		57,856 (82.2)		
1981/82			50,775 (87.8)	
1982/83				38,004 (74.8)

Note: Figures in parentheses represent percentages.

Source: Educational Statistics--1967/68-1982/83, op. cit.

Table 48

Results of the Sixth Grade National Examinations 1973/74-1981/82

Year	Percent of Grade 6 Enrollment Passing
1973/74	71.8
1974/75	65.7
1975/76	61.5
1976/77	67.6
1977/78	72.0
1978/79	73.9
1979/80	76.5
1980/81	89.6
1981/82	92.3

Source: Ministry of Education, Sector Study of Ethiopian Education, 1983, p. 105

Table 49

Results of the Eighth Grade National Examinations 1973/74-1981/82

Year	Percent of Grade 8 Enrollment Passing
1973/74	82.3
1974/75	73.1
1975/76	61.1
1976/77	72.7
1977/78	73.9
1978/79	80.7
1979/80	82.5
1980/81	84.4
1981/82	88.2

Source: Sector of Ethiopian Education, Ibid.

Table 50

Results of the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination 1978/79-1980/81 (Regular Students Only)

G.P.A.	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81
2.0-4.0	3,654 (17.1)	4,100 (16.9)	3,527 (12.3)
1.4-1-8	4,192 (19.7)	5,419 (22.3)	5,063 (17.6)
Under 1.4	13,479 (63.2)	14,810 (69.9)	20,139 (70.1)
Total Examined	21,325	24,329	28,729

Note: Figures in parentheses represent percentages.

Source: Office of the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination, Addis Ababa University, 1986

Table 51

Results of National Literacy Campaign 1979-1983

Rounds	Participants Enrolled	Examined	Certified	Percent of Participants Successful
1	6.2	3.7	1.5	24
2	0.5	0.3	0.7	--
3	2.5	1.6	1.0	40
4	0.8	0.5	0.8	--
5	1.5	2.2	1.4	64
6	0.7	1.3	0.8	--
7	1.3	1.8	1.2	67
8	0.7	1.4	0.9	--
9	1.2	1.8	1.2	67

Source: National Literacy Campaign: Every Ethiopian Will Be Literate and Will Remain Literate, 1984, p.42

The Problem of Quality in Education

In 1984, the Ministry of Education embarked on a major evaluative study with particular attention to the quality of education. This project is reminiscent of the Education Sector Review in terms of the participants of the study, which include many of the staff of the Addis Ababa University, as well as in the nature of the discussion that were held. The study was designed as a response to the widespread concern about the deterioration of the quality of education in the country. As already indicated above, this concern was expressed at the highest political level. The findings and recommendations of the evaluation are therefore expected to form the basis for further reforms of the educational system, specifically aimed at improving academic standards.

The study, however, has taken much longer than expected. Some of the committees have already submitted their reports. Indeed, the Committee on Education Organization, Administration and Planning, of which this writer was a member, submitted its report in 1985. However, no consolidated report had been produced as of April, 1986.

It is quite evident, however, that the basic explanations for the poor quality of education on the primary and secondary school levels are no different from those that prevailed in the past, except that the situation has been aggravated by the continued expansion of enrollment. Among the findings of a sample survey undertaken in various regions in connection with the ongoing evaluation are the following:

1. The increase of pupil-teacher ratios to 65 in primary schools, 47 in junior secondary schools, and 41 in senior secondary schools.
2. The fact that over 36 percent of the primary-school teachers had no specialized training and over 19 percent had only short-term preparation; the fact also that over 42 percent of the teachers in junior secondary schools had no specialized training and over 43 percent of the senior secondary teachers had only one or two years of attendance in post-secondary programs.
3. The overcrowding of schools.
4. The shortage of educational materials.
5. Poor management.[52]

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[52]Ministry of Education, Evaluation of Ethiopian Education--Administration, Organization and Planning, 1985, pp. 372-86 (in Amharic).

External Efficiency

An attempt is made in the following pages to assess the impact of education on the pattern of employment, productivity, and sociopolitical change during the period since 1974. It should be stated, however, that the data available permit little more than a general appreciation of the overall situation.

Manpower and Employment. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs has, in recent years, been able to produce some data regarding employment conditions in the main urban centers of the country. These data have begun to appear in annual publications of the Central Statistical Office.

The information available does not, however, provide the "balance sheet" of national manpower demand and supply, but only the number of job-seekers in relation to vacancies. Thus, in 1979/80, the number of job-seekers registered in the main urban centers was reported to be 230,601, dropping to 61,609 in 1980/81. The numbers of vacancies reported during these years were 26,643 and 22,102 or 11.6 percent and 35.9 percent of the number of registered persons, respectively. And the proportions of those actually placed were 9.6 percent and 23.1 percent of those registered. (Tables 52 and 53). These figures are indicative of the likely magnitudes of the numbers of unemployed persons in urban areas. Since the figures do not cover all urban areas, and it is very likely that a significant number of persons have not registered for political or other reasons, the figures may have substantially understated the number of job-seekers.

From our point of view, of more interest is the composition of job-seekers in terms of educational qualification. It is found that the proportions of the "educated" in search of jobs is increasing. In 1980/81, 31.3 percent of the job-seekers had completed a sixth-grade level of education, proportionately almost twice the level of 1979/80. (Figure 6). About the same proportion of job-seekers had completed secondary education, mostly on the twelve-grade level, and nearly 5 percent had technical training. The proportion of job-seekers with some University education was about 2 percent in 1980/81, increasing from 0.4 percent in 1979/80.

Table 52

Registered and Placed Job-Seekers
1978/79

Occupational Qualification	Vacancies Number	Vacancies % of Registered	Registered M	Registered F	Placed T	Placed % of Number	Placed % of Registered
Professional, Technical	644	34.8	1,051	801	1,852 (0.8)	131	7.1
Administrative, Managerial	651	757.0	78	8	86 (0.04)	64	74.4
Clerical	3,253	9.8	17,518	15,763	33,281 (14.4)	1,708	5.1
Sales	119	108.2	91	19	110 (0.05)	39	35.5
Service	1,176	57.1	1,036	1,023	2,059 (0.9)	547	26.6
Farm	57	7.0	771	43	814 (0.3)	107	13.1
Skilled, Industrial	5,226	26.2	18,293	1,693	19,986 (8.7)	2,522	12.6
Laborers, Industrial	9,279	5.4	58,079	113,572	171,651 (74.4)	7,178	4.2
Other	6,238	818.6	270	492	762 (0.3)	9,811	1287.5
Total	26,643	11.6	97,187	133,414	230,601 (100)	22,107	9.6
Percent			42.1	57.8	100		

Note: Figures in parentheses represent percentage.

Source: Based on Central Statistical Office, Labor Statistics Bulletin, 1980

Table 53

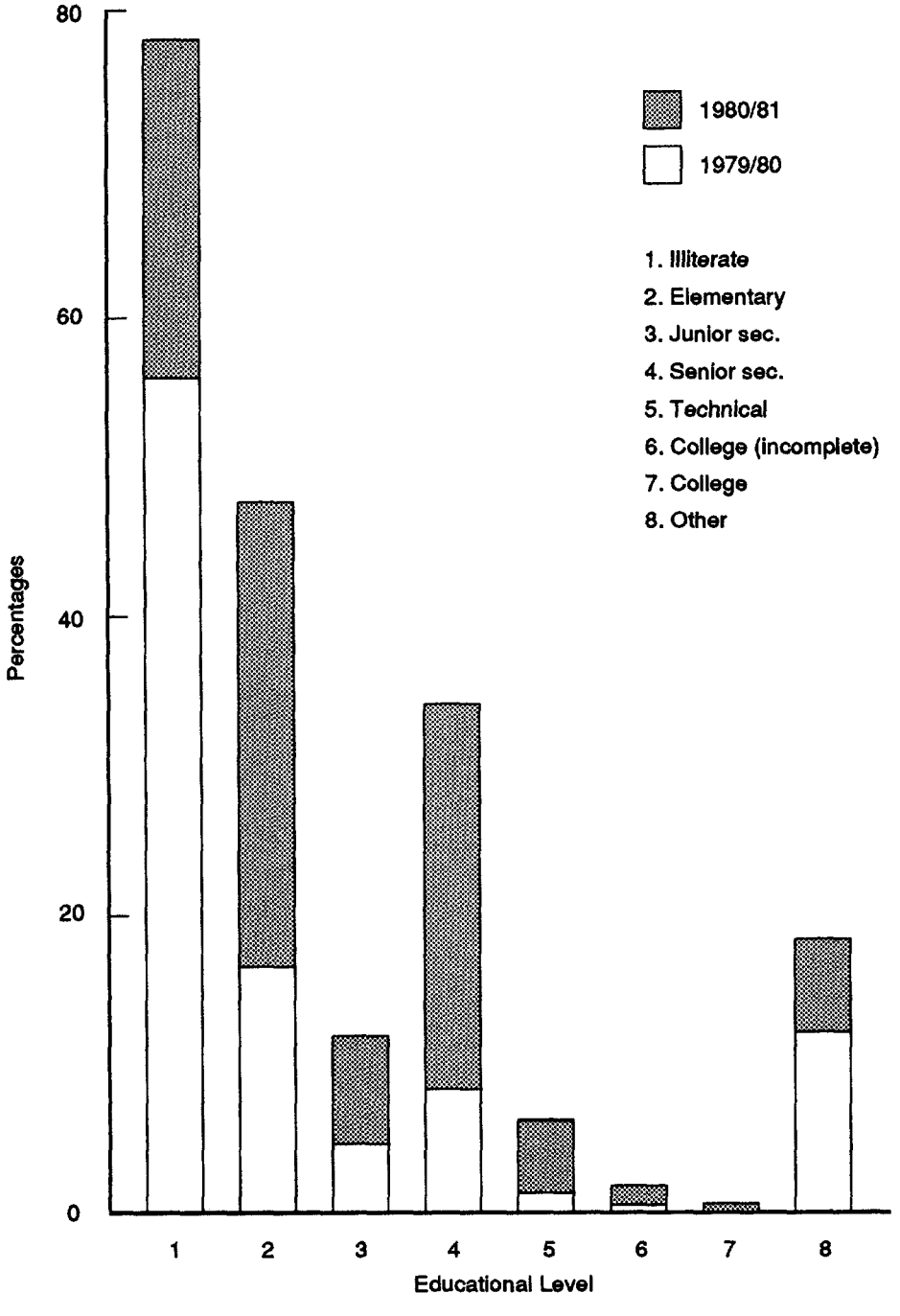
Registered and Placed Job-Seekers
1980/81

Occupational Qualification	Vacancies Number	Vacancies % of Registered	Registered M	Registered F	Registered T	Placed Number	Placed % of Registered
Professional, Technical	726	72.3	522	482	1,004 (1.6)	248	24.7
Administrative, Managerial	292	1216.7	23	1	24 (0.4)	56	233.3
Clerical	3,203	14.5	12,509	9,568	22,077 (35.8)	2,238	10.1
Sales	118	268.2	34	10	44 (0.1)	61	138.6
Service	1,501	90.9	448	1,204	1,652 (2.7)	1,019	61.7
Farm	1,121	79.8	1,295	109	1,404 (2.3)	743	52.9
Skilled, Industrial	4,999	83.2	5,826	184	6,010 (9.8)	2,312	38.5
Laborers, Industrial	8,967	35.2	15,041	10,438	25,480 (41.4)	6,548	25.7
Other	1,176	30.1	2,573	1,341	3,914 (6.3)	988	25.2
Total	22,102	35.9	38,271	23,338	61,609 (100)	14,213	23.1
Percent			62.1	37.8	100		

Note: Figures in parentheses represent percentage.

Source: Based on Central Statistical Office, Labor Statistics Bulletin, 1981

Figure 6
Registered Job-Seekers by Educational Level
1979/80 and 1980/81



Source: Based on Labor Statistics Bulletins, op. cit.

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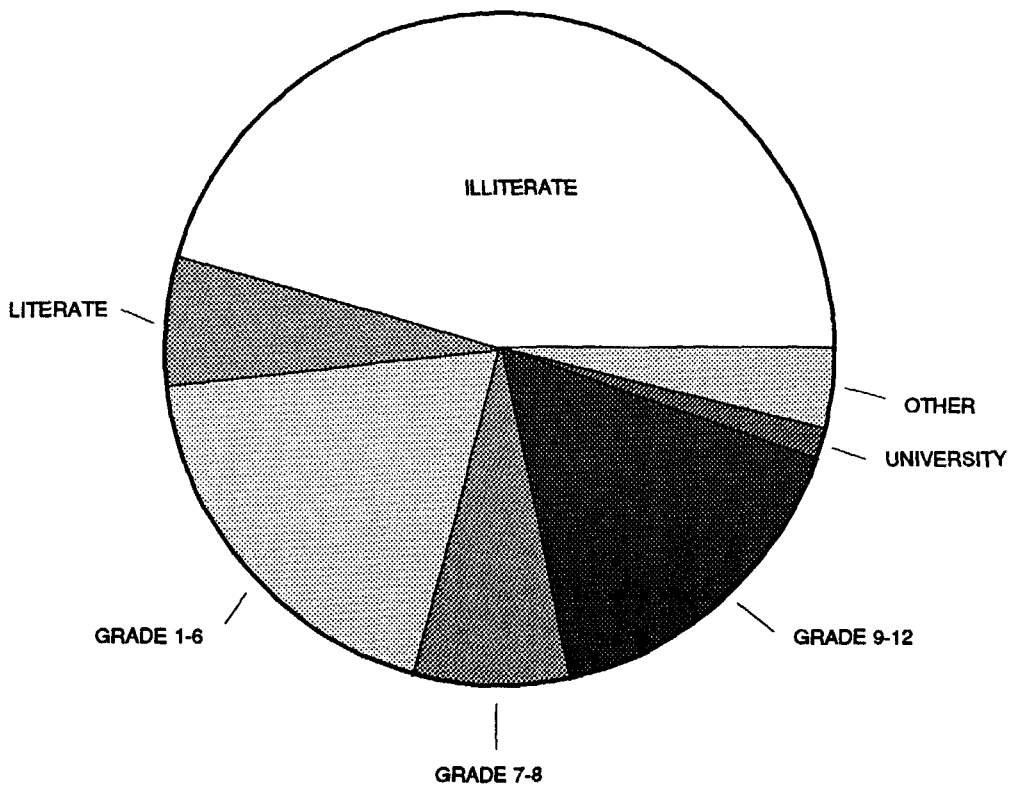
Figure 7
Educational Qualifications of Unemployed Persons in Addis Ababa, 1978



Source: Based on Central Statistical Office, Report on the Analysis of the Addis Ababa Demographic Survey, 1978, Statistical Bulletin 22, 1979.

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There seems to be little doubt, therefore, that the phenomenon of the "educated unemployed" is becoming a matter of concern in Ethiopia today. It is well known that there exists a backlog of unemployed graduates from vocational schools awaiting their turns for employment.

It is not certain for how long in the future University graduates will be guaranteed ready employment. As of today, the problem in part is a result of the employment policy followed. Students who graduate with bachelor's degrees in the sciences are assigned as teachers of secondary schools, mainly in the provinces. Some do not report to their assigned positions, and others return to their homes after a short period of teaching. The reasons are simply that good number do not desire to become teachers, or do not find the conditions of work to be satisfactory. Hence, some of the young biologists, chemists, physicists, and mathematicians find their place in the statistics of job-seekers, which underestimate their numbers in view of the fact that many of them do not register as job-seekers.

Overall Numerical Impact of Educational Expansion

The participation rates in the formal educational sector have risen substantially since 1974. Primary school participation exceeded 42 percent of the relevant age-group in 1983/84 and was 16.4 percent in junior secondary schools. Participation in grades 9-10 and 11-12 reached 11 percent and 7 percent, respectively. The estimated participation in higher education was about 0.4 percent in 1984/84. It will be recalled that the Addis Ababa Conference of 1961 set targets of 100 percent participation by 1980/81 in primary schools, and of 23 percent and 2 percent participation in secondary schools in higher education, respectively. (Table 54).

As explained above, participation in the National Literacy Campaign has been extremely high. The literacy rate in the country is said to have exceeded 60 percent in 1986. This is a remarkable achievement even though the original aim of attaining universal literacy by 1987 is unlikely to be fulfilled as projected.

A more general appreciation of the overall impact of education may be obtained by considering the prevailing employment patterns in urban and rural areas. A survey, taken in Addis Ababa in 1978, has shown that a large

proportion of professional, technical, administrative, and managerial posts were still filled by persons with low levels of education. (Indeed, 5 percent of such employees were designated as illiterates!). About 17 percent were reported as holding certificates, diplomas, and degrees on the University level. (Table 55).

The educational profile of the rural work force has also not changed much according to a survey by the Central Statistical Office. Thus, in 1981/82, 83 percent of the total labor force was classified as illiterate, although as indicated above, this figure has since declined substantially. The important fact, however, is that only about 8 percent of the rural work force had education on the primary level and only 1 percent on the level of grade 7 and above. (Table 56). This fact has not changed much since 1981/82.

Table 54

Education Participation Rates of 1983/84 Compared with Targets Set by The Addis Ababa Conference of 1961

Level	Actual 1983/84	Addis Ababa Conference Targets
Primary	42.2	100
Junior Secondary	16.4	
Senior Secondary		23
Grades 9-10	11.0	
Grades 11-12	7.0	
Higher Education	0.4	2

Sources: Ministry of Education, Educational Statistics for School Year 1983/84; Ten-Year Perspective Plan of General Education; op. cit., 1983,/84 participation estimate based on Tables 39 and 40, and population in the 19-23 age-range.

Table 55

Educational Qualifications of Persons in Professional, Technical, Administrative and Managerial Positions in Addis Ababa--1978

Level	Number	Percent of Total
Illiterate	1,307	5.0
Literate	2,913	11.2
Grade 1-6	2,059	7.9
Grade 7-8	2,055	7.9
Grade 9-12	8,086	31.2
Completed Commercial School	1,802	6.9
Attending Post-Secondary Training	273	1.1
Completed Post-Secondary Training	1,236	4.8
Attending University	701	2.7
Attended University (incomplete)	639	2.5
University Certificate or Diploma	980	3.8
Undergraduate and graduate degrees	3,462	13.3
Not stated	436	1.7
Total	25,948	100.0

Source: Central Statistical Office, Report on the Analysis of the Addis Ababa Demographic Survey, Statistical Bulletin 22, 1978

Table 56

Educational Level of Rural Labor Force 1981/82

Level	Number	Percent of Total
Illiterate	13,359,027	83.0
Literate (non-formal)	1,110,570	6.9
Grade 1-6	1,271,522	7.9
Grade 7	160,952	1.0
Unstated	193,143	1.2
Total	16,095,214	100.0

Source: Central Statistical Office, Rural Labor Force Survey April 1981-April 1982, 1985

Distribution of Educational Opportunity

The regional pattern of educational distribution is changing in Ethiopia. In 1983-84, the share of Addis Ababa in total primary, junior secondary and senior secondary enrollment was 8.6 percent, 18.6 percent, and 25.7 percent respectively. This indicates a significant change in the distribution of enrollment on all levels in favor of the rest of the country. (Table 57).

The participation in higher education institutions remains low. Furthermore, the percentages of female enrollment show a somewhat worsening trend during the past few years. (Table 58). Female enrollment was about 38 percent in 1983/84 on the primary level, and about 36 percent on the secondary level.[53]

Female registration has been greatest in the National Literacy Campaign. However, the number of those completing the program is lower than the number of males. Still, the level of literacy attained by females is almost at par with males because of the lower numbers of the latter registered. (Table 59).

Education and Production

Nearly all of the output of the educational system is being absorbed in the modern sector of the economy. One might, therefore, expect some gains in productivity in this sector as a result of the employment of increased numbers of better educated and skilled workers. Such an impact is, however, difficult to measure, even in situations where data of much better quality and consistency are to be found. The increases in productivity can be attributed to other factors such as increased capital stock per worker or better management. However, to the extent that the use of capital equipment requires some level of education and skill, and the improvement of management calls for trained personnel, some quantum of the the productivity gains can be attributed to education.

That such gains may accrue is indicated by the data in Table 60. It is generally assumed that increases in production in the industrial sector are

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[53]Based on data in Statistics for School Year 1983/84, op.cit.

Table 57

Regional Distribution of Enrollment
1983/84
(Percent)

Educational Level	Addis Ababa	Rest of the Country
Primary	8.6	91.4
Junior Secondary	18.6	81.4
Senior Secondary	25.7	74.3

Source: Based on data in Ministry of Education, Educational Statistics for School Year 1983/84, op. cit., and Population and Housing Census Preliminary Report, V. 1, No. 1, 1984

Table 58

Female Students in Undergraduate Degree Programs
1983/84

Year	Percent of Total
1	8.7
2	7.6
3	9.6
4	9.8
5	9.6

Source: Statistics on Higher Education--1983/84, op.cit.

Table 59

Female Participation in the National Literacy Campaign--Rounds 1-13

	Female	Male
Registered of Total	52.2	47.8
Share of Total Passes	49.6	50.4
Passed of Numbers Registered Each Gender	65.0	72.0

Source: Based on data in National Literacy Campaign, Program of the 13th Round, April-July 1985

Table 60

Change in Value Added Per Employee in Manufacturing Industries 1978/79-1982/83

	Value of Fixed Assets Per Employee		Value Added Per Employee (at factor cost)	
Year	Birr	Percent Change	Birr	Percent Change
1976/77	5,937	--	5,433	--
1977/78	5,387	-10	5,884	8.3
1978/79	4,702	-12.7	6,223	5.8
1979/80	4,876	3.7	8,851	42.2
1980/81	5,295	8.6	7,880	-11.0
1981/82	5,223	-2.4	7,353	7.7
1982783	5,403	3.5	7,388	0.5

Source: Based on data from Central Statistical Office, Results of the Survey of Manufacturing Industries 1980/81 and 1982/83

mainly due to increases in the amount of capital per employee. The data available for 1976/77-1982/83 indicated, however, that the value added per employee has been rising much more rapidly than the value of fixed assets per employee. This tends to suggest that increased productivity accrues to factors other than capital as well. It is reasonable to assume that one such factor is the improved "quality" of labor. This assumption is justified when it is recognized that some level education is being required for increasing numbers of positions in both the private and the government sectors. Thus, where in the past, positions of messengers and custodians necessitated no "education" whatsoever, today many such posts are occupied by workers with secondary level education.

We must hasten to add, however, that a higher level of education does not necessarily result in higher "productivity" in situations where a minimum level of education has not been established as an "essential" requirement. Indeed, it is not inconceivable that the opposite could occur, where, for example, a worker, once "educated," may find the work which he or she performed in the past without any "education" to be boring. It must, however, be reiterated that the question of the measurement of the economic outcomes of education is not one that can easily be tackled. Many studies have shown the difficulties encountered in attempting to measure the economic impact of education.[54]

The Socio-Political Impact of Education

It is clear from the discussions in the first part of this chapter that the functions of education in Ethiopia today are radically different from those of the pre-revolution period. Education is regarded today as an instrument of the pre-revolution period. Education is regarded today as an instrument for spreading the ideology of socialism and by which social equity is progressively to be attained.

The ideology of socialism is covered in the curriculum on all levels including the University. And, as students progress in the educational hierarchy, deeper study of this ideology is expected of them. It is too early

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[54]Refer for instance to Fassil G. Kiros, et. al., Educational Outcome Measurement in Developing Countries, Institute of Development Research and Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 1975

to make an assessment of the impact of this process of instruction on the society as a whole. It is, however, not difficult to judge its likely influence on the minds of the very young.

With regard to the social impact of education, it would be appropriate to mention the great efforts that have been made of reach those segments of the population in the most remote parts of the country. It is reported that increasing proportions of the populations of the various regions of the country receive literacy instruction in their own local languages. Indeed, instruction today is given in fifteen languages which are said to cover about 90 percent of the population. The languages used are the following:

1. Amharic
2. Ormogna
3. Tigrigna
4. Welaitigna
5. Somaligna
6. Hadyigna
7. Kembatigna
8. Gediogna
9. Tigre
10. Kunamigna
11. Sidamigna
12. Siltigna
13. Afarigna
14. Kefa-Mochigna
15. Sahogna

It is not difficult of judge that the tasks of preparing the teaching materials and of the training of the teachers in all of these languages are herculean. These are tasks being performed by the unsung heroes of Ethiopia.

Education, furthermore, is being spread today in new ways, and not by the Ministry of Education alone. There are, for instance, the farm and peasant training centers which are being operated by the Ministry of Agriculture. There are also the community skill training centers, which have been planned as integrated rural training centers, involving the Ministry of Education and other Ministries.

The social impact of all these educational efforts has yet to be assessed. There is little doubt however that great efforts have been made to redress, through education, the wide social disparity that had prevailed in the country.

Concluding Remarks

It may be justified to state, in concluding, that the revolution underway in Ethiopia is reflected in the educational sector more than in any other sphere. The slogan "participate in teaching and in learning" is being translated into action. However, fundamental policy issues remain, even in this positive climate of teaching and learning.

The first major issue pertains to the way in which education fits in the overall scheme of national development. It appears that the tempo of educational progress is much faster than the rate of growth of the national economy. Indeed, as indicated above, Ethiopia has already entered the uncoveted phase in which the number of the "educated-unemployed" is increasing. This phenomenon indicates the imbalance between educational expansion and economic development.

The second concern has to do with the fact that education continues to be faced with many problems and uncertainties. To begin with, even the planned system of "polytechnic education" is still only under experimentation in a few localities. As of the writing of this paper, there is no final approval to carry on with the plan nationwide as proposed. There are also basic unanswered questions relating, for example, to the age-old question of the working conditions of teachers, the reorganization of the education sector to meet the new demands place upon it, the question of the quality of education, the problem of "wastage," etc. Ethiopia, today, therefore, faces many difficult problems of educational development, perhaps more difficult than in the past, not because education is neglected, but because much greater emphasis has been placed on its expansion.

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