Within the context of the total educational system of Ethiopia, nonformal educational activities are described. These activities, undertaken by several government ministries and quasi-governmental and private organizations, are being conducted for the purpose of maintaining governmental services, improving living standards, and providing the educational/communication method for achieving developmental goals in agriculture and rural life. Conducted essentially for out-of-school youth and adults, these varied activities have no coordinated policy or direction. These nonformal programs are, however, looked to as a major means for reaching developmental goals of critical importance to the Empire. The first chapter of this report provides observations on nonformal education derived from the country study, or sector review, and presents major generalizations that would be of use in securing the participation of rural masses, rural workers, policy makers, and others in the development of a nonformal educational program. Chapter 2 describes the history of the Ethiopian Education Sector Review, which is the basis for the report. Chapters 3-6 describe ongoing or proposed forms of nonformal education in Ethiopia, including the modern sector and vocational schools, the rural sector, and literacy programs. Appendixes contain case studies of various programs and reports related to the sector review. This report is one in the series described in SO 008 058. (JH)
Program of Studies in Non-formal Education

Team Reports

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN ETHIOPIA

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The Michigan State University Program of Studies in Non-formal Education, made possible by the Agency for International Development, has two primary objectives: to build a systematic knowledge base about non-formal education, and to apply knowledge through consultation, technical assistance, workshops, and the distribution of useful materials in developing areas of the world.

This series of Team Reports is directed at the first objective, knowledge building. The series consists of the final statements of nine teams of faculty members and research fellows, each working on a separate aspect of non-formal education for a sustained period of time. The reports range widely over non-formal education. They deal with its history, its categories and strategies, economics, and learning. Other reports made comparisons among country programs, survey case studies, examine the feasibility of designing non-formal education models, look at administrative alternatives and draw plans for participant training in non-formal education.

The teams were cross-disciplinary in composition, representing such areas as economics, labor and industrial relations, political science, public administration, agricultural economics, sociology and education. Together, members of the teams produced nearly one hundred working papers, many of which were shared and debated in three series of semi-weekly seminars for all project participants. The working papers, copies of which are available upon request, provide the basic ideas for the reports in this series.

In the interest of the freest possible exploratation each team was encouraged to range widely over its domain and to develop its own set of conclusions and recommendations. Coordination was achieved through the common seminars and the exchange of data and experience. A summary volume, pulling together and synthesizing the main thrusts of all the team reports in this series, is being prepared under the editorship of Marvin Grandstaff. Like the working papers, the summary volume will be available for distribution.
In line with our first objective (knowledge building) the papers in this series are conceptual in nature. In the pursuit of knowledge, however, we have tried to keep one question steadily before us: what assistance does this knowledge provide to those whose primary concern is with action--the planning and implementing of non-formal education at the level of practice? That question isn't easily answered. At best our knowledge is partial and it needs the experience dimension to make it more complete. For thought and action are not antithetical; they are necessary complements. One of our hopes is that this series of team reports may help to stimulate further dialogue between those who approach the subject of non-formal education from a conceptual point of view and those whose questions and problems arise in the exigencies of practice.

What is the role of non-formal education in future development planning? As these reports suggest, it is probably great, and will be even greater through future time. The limitations of formal schooling are coming to be better understood. As the Faure report concludes, the schools "will be less and less in a position to claim the education functions in society as its special perogative. All sectors--public administration, industry, communications, transportation must take part in promoting education. Local and national communities are in themselves eminently education institutions".

The non-formal education component of most societies is strong, indeed frequently vigorous, and fully capable of further development and use. It is estimated that roughly half of the present educational effort in the developing countries is in the non-formal sector. Collectively, these programs exhibit characteristics indispensible to development. For example, they tend to arise in response to immediate needs; they are usually related to action and use; they tend to be short term rather than long; they have a variety of sponsors, both public and private; and they tend to be responsive to local community requirements. More importantly non-formal education shows strong
potential for getting at the human condition of those most likely to be excluded from the formal schools, the poor, the isolated, the rural, the illiterate, the unemployed and the under-employed, for being carried on in the context of limited resources, and for being efficient in terms of time and cost.

Clearly, attention given to designing new strategies for the development of this old and promising resource is worthwhile. Through this series we seek join hands with others who are attending to the development of non-formal education.

Cole S. Brembeck, Director
Institute for International Studies
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March, 1974
INTRODUCTION

The account which follows describes and puts into the context of the total educational system of Ethiopia, the principal educational activities which are presently underway or projected outside of the formal school system. The term "non-formal" is currently being used to describe educational activities of this type. The activities which came under our review are being undertaken by several governmental ministries, quasi-governmental or, as they are called in Ethiopia, parastatal organizations, and private organizations. Most of the activities being conducted are for the purpose of maintaining governmental services, the improvement of living standards, or as the educational/communication method for helping to achieve developmental goals in agriculture and rural life. The activities vary widely in their structure, sponsorship, duration, history, leadership, educational methods, cost, and quality. By no stretch of the imagination could they be called a "system." They are rather a heterogeneous group of activities conducted essentially for out-of-school youth and adults--many of whom are illiterate--without coordinated policy or direction. They, or newly projected activities of broadly similar characteristics, are, however, looked to by educational and developmental planners to be the principal means of reaching the rural masses, improving living standards, and achieving developmental goals of critical importance to the Empire. It is highly possible that too much is being expected of non-formal education as the method of achieving heretofore unrealized goals on too small an experiential base and with all too few knowledgeable or trained persons. But, as will be developed in this monograph, there is little likelihood that Ethiopia will turn away from the conclusions and recommendations made by the Sector Review to give greater importance and to allocate greater resources to educational activities outside of the formal
school system--some of which will, however, involve the use of school facilities and personnel.

The authors chose Ethiopia for a country-wide study of non-formal education because it appeared to be small enough for a relatively brief--six weeks--study but large and representative enough of developing countries to be significant. Fortunately for us not only were our initially projected plans for an essentially academic study of non-formal education acceptable to the Government, but we were readily made a part of one of fourteen task forces on the subject which collectively studied all major aspects of education in the Empire. The comprehensive review of the educational sector by the task forces and the Directorate required a year of work punctuated by a mid-year symposium, several seminars, and a final conference in July, 1972, which produced a series of significant recommendations to the Government. The authors examined the major non-formal educational activities underway at the time, provided leadership for one of the seminars, prepared several special papers requested by the Director of the Sector Review, and participated as consultants in the final conference. The intervening period has been used to analyze and describe the information collected and the observations made and to reflect on policies, procedures, and principles of operation which would, hopefully, make maximum use of non-formal educational methods for the achievement of developmental and personal enrichment goals.

The authors were greatly aided in their efforts by a number of Ethiopian colleagues--the principal ones include Dr. Abebe Ambatchew, the perceptive and dynamic Director of the Sector Review who encouraged us in our research, made our principal appointments, gave us interesting "assignments," and otherwise counseled and befriended us throughout our stay in Ethiopia; the Minister of Education, H.E. Seifu Mahteme Selassie, and the Minister of State for Education, H.E. Ato Million Negniq, who also encouraged us in our work and provided counsel on several occasions; Dr. Solomon Inquai, Chairman, and members of Task Force 14; Atogizatchew Hunegnaw, who helped us with our logistical problems, accompanied us on trips to the field
and otherwise facilitated our work; Wolizcro Fantaye Gebre, who also helped with our logistics; and finally, and very importantly, the large number of Ethiopian officials who gave generously of their time to describe the non-formal educational activities under their direction, who showed us activities underway, and who supplied us with voluminous reports and other data about these activities.

Expatriate officials in Ethiopia who were most helpful included: Dr. Clifford Liddle, Chief of Education and Human Resources Division of the United States Agency for International Development; and Alex ter Weele, a member of the Harvard University Development Advisory Service who was assigned to the Sector Review.

Colleagues at Michigan State University who have accepted philosophically our enthusiasm for the exciting developments in Ethiopia and who helped in various ways to foster our work include Dr. Ralph Smuckler, Dean of International Studies and Programs; Dr. Cole Brembeck, Director—and David Heenan, Associate Director—for the International Institute of Education; Dr. Marvin Grandstaff and Mrs. Lu Bruch who helped put the manuscript into acceptable form for printing; and to Mrs. Catherine Burt, Mrs. Judy DeJaegher, and Mrs. Susan Ward who did most of the typing of the drafts and redrafts (sometimes ad nauseum) of the manuscript.

But for all the counsel and assistance from these many sources, the authors take full responsibility for the views expressed and the errors of omission and commission which may certainly be present in this monograph.

R. O. Niehoff
Bernard Wilder
CHAPTER I

OBSERVATIONS, LEARNINGS, AND REFLECTIONS ON NON-FORMAL EDUCATION
DERIVED FROM
THE ETHIOPIAN COUNTRY STUDY OF EDUCATION

Introduction

The following observations, learnings, and reflections on present and projected non-formal educational (NFE) activities in Ethiopia are based on participation by the authors in the comprehensive Sector Review of Education in Ethiopia which was actively undertaken between October, 1971, and July, 1972. Specific participation of the authors in the Sector Review involved: (1) the study, during a six-week period in March-April, 1972, of approximately thirty-five governmental, parastatal, and private organizations which conduct various types of educational programs outside of the formal school system; (2) the preparation, at the request of the Director of the Sector Review, of several reports and memoranda on our research and observations; (3) serving as consultants to the Sector Review and attendance at the plenary and commission sections of the concluding conference of the Sector Review held in July, 1972.

Inasmuch as the observations, learnings, and reflections are derived from the intensive involvement described above, the authors are cognizant of the complexity of the problems dealt with in the Sector Review and, with particular reference to the non-formal aspects of the comprehensive review of education in Ethiopia, are accordingly aware of the possibility of some error in the findings and interpretations. Nevertheless our efforts to compress our major observations and conclusions into a relatively few pages will, hopefully, serve a useful purpose to scholars and administrators interested in the unique effort of the Imperial Ethiopian Government, realistically and
comprehensively, to deal with the NFE component of its total learning system.

The Sector Review: Framework

The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts was contemplating a review of the entire education sector, prior to the agreement into which the government of Ethiopia entered in May, 1971, with the International Development Association (IDA), an affiliate of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Under the agreement IDA provided financial assistance to carry out a comprehensive analysis of educational needs. In October, 1971, the Education Sector Review was launched under the direction of Dr. Abebe Ambatchew, with the following responsibilities:

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.

Non-Formal Education in the Context of the Sector Review

The Sector Review was undertaken by fourteen task forces and five small working groups concerned with all aspects of education. The task forces and working groups were manned largely by Ethiopians with the help of relatively few foreign personnel. Only one of the task forces, as initially set up, was specifically and exclusively concerned with "out-of-school education." This term, however, began to be used interchangeably with "non-formal education" shortly after the Sector Review got underway. Many, if not most, of the task forces also began to deal with aspects of non-formal education.
Accordingly, the thrust of the total review, in fact, focused in many respects on non-formal education.

The initial activity of the task forces, which began in the fall of 1971, focused largely on the assembly of data and evaluative material relevant to the Sector Review. A stock-taking symposium was held in January, 1972, to consider the interim reports prepared by the task forces and working committees. The discussions at the January symposium were open-ended in scope and wide ranging in terms of the recommendations which were projected for more intensive study and consideration. Furthermore, the deliberations were unusually candid in tone and constructively imaginative in content. For example, the rapporteur of one of the Commissions which considered the interim task force reports on Vocational-Technical Education, Teacher Education, Manpower and Education for Development, reported in his summary as follows:

If I were to choose a single, striking idea which comes through all of the foregoing, it would be this: in a large body of knowledgeable people, not notable for its radicalism—indeed we have present virtually the entirety of the so-called establishment figures in Ethiopian education—there has been a constant refrain to the discussions, and that is: If we take seriously the goal of equalizing educational opportunity in the foreseeable future, the resource constraints of the country are such that we cannot possibly provide this equality of opportunity by extending the conventional schooling system in existence at present. We must instead restructure the system in the direction of non-formal, out-of-school education which is relevant to the social and economic needs of a largely rural/agricultural society. This has, on some few occasions, been accomplished in other countries, but never on any scale outside the context of violent upheaval. We are talking, therefore, of a peaceful revolution, but, to borrow a phrase—no less a revolution for being peaceful.

A partial list of 118 suggestions and recommendations on strategies, policies, possible projects and programs advanced implicitly or explicitly by members of the task forces and other participants was assembled by a member of the Director's staff for further analysis and consideration in preparation for the July, 1972, conference which concluded the Review. A partial grouping of the several suggestions
and recommendations with particular reference to non-formal education was expressed as follows:

- Relative priorities between formal education and non-formal education be in favor of non-formal education.
- The following non-formal education schemes be considered:
  - Mass media including radio, TV, newspapers, pamphlets, books or mobile film teams and village libraries.
  - Adult literacy.
  - Agricultural extension.
  - Rural development centers or integrated development centers for young and old, health, hygiene, family planning, child care, agriculture, etc.
  - Institutions other than the Ministry of Education should be used as delivery systems for education such as the church, the military, university students, and other organizations.
- A program for "minimum formation" be instituted.
- An interministerial task force be established to study rural development programs, to prepare a plan for rural development and to administer such a plan.
- Cooperation between the Ministry of Education and development agencies be fostered at both the ministerial and field levels.
- Expenditures of government ministries for education be identified as well as expenditures by the Ministry of Education.
- A school structure other than the 6 + 2 + 4 + 4 be considered.
- Various levels of education should become terminal programs.
- Ongoing non-formal educational projects in Ethiopia should be used as models for future programs.
- Consideration be given to the creation of a mechanism for coordinating the variety of non-formal educational programs.
- The curriculum should become less academic and formal and be more oriented to agriculture and other development needs.
- Formal and non-formal programs be integrated.
- Public works cum education projects should be devised.
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

- New or expanding industries should be required by law to provide certain types of training programs for their employees.

- A new concept of the teacher be evolved in which the teacher would be a community development worker whose responsibilities would include teaching in adult literacy, health and agricultural extension, and other community development programs.

- Education and development activities should be considered together as a "package."

- Consideration should be given to utilizing local craftsmen as teachers.

In general terms, the symposium resolved that:

The present educational system is not meeting the needs or aspirations of the vast majority of the people, nor the needs of the development programs of the nation. Improvement in quality or expansion of the present system was not generally seen as a satisfactory course of action. It was generally accepted that drastic restructuring was called for. Furthermore, "non-formal" education should be looked to for solutions of some of the educational and development problems that the formal system has not been able to solve.

The January symposium was followed by a series of lectures sponsored by the Directorate of the Sector Review. At the first lecture on February 18, 1972, approximately a month after the symposium, a paper was presented by H.E. Ato Million Neqniq, Minister of State of the Ministry of Education. His lecture was highly supportive of the thoughts expressed in the January symposium as indicated by the following excerpts from the lecture:

The recent symposium conducted by the Education Sector Review brought into sharper focus two fundamental educational questions which critics of the present system have been raising with increasing insistence. Namely: is it relevant to the social and economic needs of a largely rural/agricultural society and does it provide reasonable equality of educational opportunity to all groups of society? Unfortunately, the short answer to both these questions appears to be no. We must recognize that up to now education has: (a) provided for a very restrictive group, (b) prepared people for a narrow range of occupation—overwhelmingly white collar jobs, (c) been very expensive, and (d) not always been relevant...

He went on to indicate that:
With all these ideas on the table, a number of broad questions are emerging. Can the government resources--capital, recurrent and human--be organized more effectively and efficiently to prevent overlapping of activities and to produce the most effective results? How can we move from the coordination of activities toward a fuller integration of government programs . . .

He ended his lecture with the statement that:

This leads inevitably to a restructuring of the present system with a much greater emphasis on non-formal education, with a simultaneous effort to make this restructured system more relevant to Ethiopia as it is, and will be in the foreseeable future.

Following these remarks, and after the draft papers prepared by the several task forces were reviewed by the international symposium held in January, the Director of the Sector Review issued, on March 7, 1972, a memorandum to all task force members which instructed them to take a number of "themes" into consideration in the further analytical and creative work which they would be undertaking in preparation for the concluding conference to be held in July, 1972. More specifically, the Director requested the task forces to: (1) study critically the merit and implications of the themes; (2) make specific recommendations within the framework and formulate strategies/projects/proposals; (3) formulate alternative frameworks, projects, or proposals where task forces find the suggested themes unacceptable.

Major Themes Addressed by the Sector Review

The major themes, with appropriate background and provocative material included in the Director's memorandum, covered the following major requirements:

- The need for an educational system "to ensure that education reaches the mass of population on whose shoulders development depends and flourishes."

- Objectives of education are to:

  (a) contribute effectively in bringing about economic betterment of the individual and society; (b) help in the promotion of national integration; (c) bring about attitudinal changes essential to attune the society to development needs and orientations; (d) cultivate values that are cognizant of religious and cultural diversity, and to enable the individual to participate in a world growing closer.
- The need for restructuring the present educational system around a program of "minimum formation" to meet the needs and wants of a largely rural and agricultural society.
- Interpretation of formal and non-formal education to make "available to a much wider clientele, diverse types of educational programmes."
- Prominence to be given to agricultural education in consideration of the fact that 90% of the population is engaged in agriculture.
- Design of educational programs into units which will be valuable in themselves without primary consideration of their relation to higher units.
- Spread of educational opportunity to a wider "variety of localities, tribes, towns and socio-economic groups."
- Extension of Amharic as the "medium of instruction to the junior and secondary schools and possibly to the University."
- Restructure the educational system taking into account "the brutal fact that the financial resources available are relatively known and do not allow much latitude."

The Director also indicated that consideration be given to the better coordination and integration of the educational programs of the different government ministries and agencies--Education, Agriculture, Interior, and other governmental organizations concerned with development.

- Better use of the existing institutions--particularly the churches, mosques, and other institutions as delivery systems.
- Decentralization of the educational system--financially and administratively--to the different provinces of the Empire.

The reality framework articulated by the Minister of State (based on the thinking of the Sector Review and the Symposium) and the guidelines laid down by the Director of the Sector Review were very widely accepted in spirit and in substance. There were no serious arguments related about the desirability or feasibility of incorporating, integrating, and financing a non-formal component in a comprehensive educational system for Ethiopia. Furthermore, there were no serious disagreements over definitions of formal or non-formal education or of their relationship to the attainment of educational/developmental goals. The authors of this paper, too, found it comfortable and convenient to accept this framework. Accordingly, the
observations and reflections which follow are focused on major generalizations which we derived from our experience as members of the task force which involved the study of all major governmental, para-statal, and private non-formal educational activities plus several proposed programs; the preparation of several memoranda for the Director which he requested on special problems and concerns; and in participation as consultants for the July symposium. Subsequent chapters will deal more analytically with specific major topics which were developed or alluded to in the Sector Review, including the recommendations made at the conclusion of the Review in July, 1972, to the Government of Ethiopia. The recommendations made to the Government were subsequently approved by the Council of Ministers and are now actively being programmed for implementation.

Major Generalizations From the Ethiopian Country Study

A. The importance, role, and scope of non-formal education (NFE) has now been established through the Sector Review as an integral part of the total educational program recommended for Ethiopia and appears to be solidly built into the thinking of educational and developmental leaders.

- Although there are numerous unresolved problems which will require much ingenuity and creative thinking for their solution, there appears to be no serious objection to the concept or importance given to non-formal education or the objectives to be realized through its use.

- References to NFE in the "Summary Report of the Education Sector Review--Education: Challenge to the Nation" are numerous and positive. By actual count the term non-formal education appears on eighteen pages of the fifty-four page Summary Report. More specifically, the July symposium, after intensive consideration of three alternative strategies which attempted to consolidate and integrate the thinking of members of the fourteen task forces, recommended the following major policies and strategy:

- Four years of minimum formation (MFE) to be made available to all children as rapidly as permitted by financial constraints.
- Two years of basic formation for youths who have been unable to attend NFE programs.
- A four-year middle school and four-year senior secondary school program for a limited number of graduates of NFE and basic formation programs.
- An extensive system of non-formal educational programs for youths and adults, which would be closely related to the formal system.

With particular references to non-formal education the Summary Report included the following major references:

- The recommended strategy would provide for an extensive array of non-formal education programs to serve youth and adults, which would be closely related to the formal system and also to overall programs of community development.
- Community practicums [italics added] closely related to the formal school system would serve leaders of the NFE and basic formation programs, as well as others.
- A major element in the recommended strategy would be the expansion of community development centers [italics added] various of which would provide for:
  - Training farmers in improved agricultural methods, establishing model farms, serving as distribution centers for fertilizers, seeds and other farm supplies, aiding in establishing farm cooperatives.
  - Training housewives in home economics, child care, sanitation, nutrition and the like.
  - Providing adult literacy courses.
  - Conducting skill centers for training in practical crafts, as under the community practicums concept.
  - Serving as the base for operations for public works programs.

- The Sector Review recommended substantial allotments of funds for education to the NFE component.
- The role of education generally and NFE specifically in economic development, nation building, and national integration is widely if not universally accepted.
- The term "non-formal education," although not used in the Third Five Year Plan will, we predict, be extensively referred to in the Fourth Five Year Plan.

Other recommendations supporting the above highly abbreviated summary were made under sections relating to objectives, teacher qualifications, instructional methods, educational facilities, allocation of financial and other resources, inter-ministerial relationships and responsibilities, organization and management, and related topics.
B. The authors' survey of NFE activities indicated that most of those which are governmentally sponsored are conducted by ministries (Agriculture, Health, etc.) or parastatal organizations (Ethiopian Airlines, Ethiopian Power and Light, etc.) other than the Ministry of Education. The NFE activities of the Ministry of Education are largely confined to literacy training and evening schools.

- The experiences of these organizations, although varied in terms of objectives, methods of operation, costs, and other important variables, could supply important elements of guidance for the projected expansion of NFE activities in the Empire.

- Although there is some evidence of effective inter-ministerial coordinating machinery focused on the integration of governmental programs at the field level, additional attention will need to be given to this problem if the best use of limited resources is to be achieved. The inter-ministerial collaboration involved in the creation of the proposed Awraja (governmental unit) developmental program has doubtless provided useful experience in dealing with the new problems of planning, organization, funding, and staffing which are implicit in the implementation of the recommendations of the Sector Review for NFE.

- New demands will be placed on the Ministry of Education to provide leadership, collaboratively with other governmental organizations, in creating effective supplementary training programs for teachers and field officers of other ministries who will be expected to provide instructional services to community practicums, village development centers, and other projected NFE activities.

C. The extensive experience of missionary and other private organizations (which have been permitted wide freedom to experiment with various approaches to NFE) and the more recent experience of the agricultural minimum package and other developmental programs, which rely on voluntary participation as the critical component of the educational strategy and method, need to be analyzed and documented for guidance of the expanded NFE program—particularly in rural areas.

- The experience of these organizations, although uneven in quality and results, is particularly relevant in
providing guidance with reference to: (1) methods of motivating adults and youths to engage in educational/developmental activities; (2) use of volunteer teachers and local leaders; (3) involvement of development officers as "teachers" in educational activities; and (4) the production and use of teaching materials. The experiences of these organizations are particularly relevant for the projected community practicums and village developmental centers.

- The leaders of these organizations could usefully serve in advisory capacities to the Ministry of Education or Inter-Ministerial Committees created to establish policy and operational guidelines for the expanded program of NFE activities.

D. Our examination of the programs of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit (CADU), Wolamo Agricultural Development Unit (WADU), various programs for women, the Ethiopia Nutrition Institute, Malaria Eradication, and other programs designed to promote development in the rural sector have demonstrated very significant generalizations, as follows:

- That illiterate persons can learn and adopt innovative practices, if the ideas and skills to be learned are closely related to their immediate problems, welfare or survival, and if they achieve better production or some other concrete benefits as a result of adopting the improved practices. Inasmuch as most NFE programs in Ethiopia for some time to come will need to be fostered in a context of illiteracy, the successful experiences of agricultural programs, women's programs, etc., conducted chiefly with illiterates, are of critical importance in supporting the projected programs.

- That some of the theories regarding restrictions imposed on acceptance of innovations by rural people in terms of individual "traditionalism" or "modernism" need to be questioned. The constraints to rural development formulated by Galjart in terms of "ignorance, inability and unwillingness" appear to be more relevant to the rural developmental planner.

- Rural leaders, literate and illiterate, help bridge the gap between their neighbors and "change agents" by serving as demonstrators, model farmers, credit committee members, and in other ways. The successful use of rural leaders demonstrated in the agricultural programs can be applied to other programs projected for
the "village development centers" which involve rural public works, health and other programs and to the projected "community practicums."

- The relative simplicity of the recently established mini-agricultural and other developmental programs can be promoted within the limits of illiteracy and other limitations noted above. As the programs reach second and succeedingly higher levels of complexity (adoption of new and improved crops and rotations, irrigation, marketing, cooperatives, etc.), it is anticipated that illiteracy will become an increasingly burdensome handicap. These new and higher demands on the individuals and groups participating in the programs may be expected to serve as additional motivations for these persons to become literate. Furthermore, as development proceeds, presently unemployed or underemployed literates may be absorbed in marketing, servicing, and other operations or combinations of both and thus increase opportunities for rural employment.

- The newer developments (package programs, CADU, WADU, etc.), chiefly focused on agriculture and the rural sector, support the general belief that NFE methods are effective in helping to achieve developmental goals and contribute to the momentum for giving more attention and support for expanded programs of non-formal education to further these goals.

E. The investigation of NFE programs serving the modern sector indicates that the need for trained technicians and other levels of manpower at the present or currently projected level of expansion and particularly the need for a trained staff for parastatal organizations (Ethiopian Airlines, Ethiopian Power and Light, etc.) is being met by the vestibule and in-service training programs of these organizations and by the United Nations Development Programme-supported training programs for private industry.

- The trainees for most of these programs are school leavers "tapped off" from the formal school system at varying levels below the twelfth grade. Unlike the NFE programs projected for the rural masses, most of the programs in the modern sector require literacy, numeracy, and some general academic training.

- The programs are generally more expensive than other NFE programs as measured on a per participant basis.
- The curricula, instructional materials, and methods are geared to universal technology and not subject to local formulations as are anticipated in the projected programs for the rural masses.

- Foreign personnel are used extensively but in diminishing numbers in these programs. More external financial assistance from more varied sources is also used in support of these programs than for most other programs which use NFE methods.

- Many of these training programs, although classified as NFE, are formally structured, taught, and evaluated. Furthermore, the techniques used in training for jobs in the modern sector do not seem to be generally applicable to projected mass programs in the rural sector. Nevertheless, certain features of these programs—such as the clarity of objectives, well designed curricula, and instructional methods—should be examined particularly for their application to projected programs such as public works, machine maintenance shops, and related activities.

- Greatly expanded educational/developmental programs proposed for involvement of the rural masses (public works, mini-midi and maximum agricultural programs and others), however, will require the training of very large numbers of para-engineering, para-medical, para-agricultural, and "para-teachers" (for literacy and developmental programs), and other technicians to guide and administer the programs, all of which utilize NFE methods. Special types of training programs will need to be established by the technical ministries for this purpose with emphasis given both to technical content and non-formal teaching methods. More specifically, emphasis will need to be placed on the teaching functions of these technicians to participate in community practicums, village development centers, and similar organizations. In all likelihood, the curricula will have to be built around a few elementary skills, which are to be taught to the rural people, with relatively frequent upgrading of the skills of the teachers, as villagers adopt more complex innovations. Also, considerable emphasis will need to be given to effective methods of teaching/persuading illiterate rural people to participate in these projected programs.

- Furthermore, this greatly expanded program can only go forward with the production of massive amounts of "teacher-proof" materials, which initially may consume much of the increased budget allocated for NFE.

F. It appears that the linkages between formal and non-formal education are currently very limited and will need to be
greatly strengthened to meet the objectives enunciated by the Sector Review.

- The formal school system now produces personnel who are tapped off at varying levels for other training programs and for high level technical and professional positions such as teachers, doctors, engineers, and other high level personnel. The projected emphasis on NFE in programs for the rural and urban masses, however, will require:
  - Comprehensive planning and a different allocation of resources for a total education program.
  - Better methods of integrating and administering the programs of the several ministries and other organizations which use NFE activities to achieve their purposes. The ad hoc inter-ministerial committee which developed the Awraja program may serve as a pattern for other aspects of the expanded NFE program.
  - Consideration of ways in which educational materials and mass media can be used somewhat interchangeably for all programs.
  - Clarification of the role of central ministries—Education, Agriculture, Health, etc.—in the production of policies, educational materials, guidelines, etc., for decentralized administration by awraja and woreda employees and local leaders.
  - The planning and administration of more varied pre-service and in-service training programs for the needed technicians for agriculture, public works, and other developmental programs and somewhat less structured training programs than those indicated above for community leaders.
  - More imaginative uses of the results of CADU, WADU, ADA, and other present and projected experimental/demonstrational areas for guidance of projected rural developmental programs involving both formal and NFE methods.

G. The varied approaches to programs of literacy training need a thorough evaluation before additional resources are allocated to this critically important sector.3

- The relative effectiveness of the varied methods and materials which are being used under the dissimilar conditions existing in Ethiopia is not now sufficiently analyzed.
- The relationships between the various literacy programs and other developmental efforts need to be tested.
H. Operational research needs to be built into the planning and coordinating machinery and into the individual NFE activities for the expanded program in order to provide data for the decision makers responsible for policies and operations. Illustrative types of operational research are:

- Cost effectiveness studies of the various programs—particularly those where two or more organizations are involved in the same or similar programs, e.g., literacy.

- Documentation, interpretation, analysis, and dissemination of the results of various experimental/demonstrational programs (CADU, WADU, etc.), and private organizations on such topics as (1) methods of motivation; (2) use of local leaders; (3) training methods and materials used in the introduction of new methodologies; (4) evaluation techniques; (5) costs. Exploration of new and increased use of present sources of financial support for expanded rural development and social welfare programs (which use NFE methods for the achievement of their goals) particularly in developmental areas where the government of Ethiopia and outside organizations are investing substantial resources.

- Assemblage, analysis; and codification for use in training programs of the relevant documents on the experience of other developing countries with reference to the use of NFE methods in programs of agricultural development, trades training, public works, literacy training, community development centers, and other related programs.

I. The Sector Review approach and method of analyzing and projecting a more comprehensive and integrated educational policy and program, including the NFE component, were impressively successful, in part because:

- The review was conducted in a context of realism and candor with a minimum of defensiveness of the present educational leaders.

- The main burden of the leadership and work of the review was assumed by Ethiopians with a minimum of foreign involvement. More specifically the Minister of Education, the principal personnel of the Ministry of Education, a large number of University professors, and other educational leaders were actively involved in the review.

- The review was sufficiently comprehensive in scope to take account of the most important and relevant factors having a bearing on an expanded program designed to reach the masses.
- The task force reports were of high quality and were focused on the critical problems raised in the review.

The relatively small number of persons with practical experience in developmental/educational projects who participated in the review was, perhaps, its only significant fault.

J. The study of NFE in the context of the total sector review of education proved to be a valuable experience and probably offers the best framework for securing a balanced understanding of the strengths and limitations of both formal and non-formal educational structures and of methods for the attainment of broad educational and developmental goals.

The opportunity to review a representative sample of major NFE activities in a single country provided insights of a different order than those provided by research on specific subjects, such as agricultural extension, vocational training, economics or any other single aspect of NFE. Additional country studies will provide a basis for country comparisons plus depth studies of other aspects of NFE such as categories, alternative strategies, and other significant topics and thus round out the total research effort on this complex subject. In addition, the Ethiopian country study provided information and insights on:

- The similarities and dissimilarities of different approaches to and types of NFE under governmental, parastatal, and private auspices.
- Some of the characteristics of successful NFE activities.
- The potential uses of the varied NFE activities currently underway to guide and strengthen massive developmental/educational programs being projected.
- The present and potential interrelationship of formal and NFE activities designed to serve various clienteles including the identification of possible cross-over points between the two "systems" under a comprehensive national educational policy.
- The problems of planning, organizing, coordinating, staffing, and funding an integrated national educational program.
The interrelationships between the uses of education to
aid in the achievement of developmental goals and educa-
tion for personal growth which we regard as intersupportive.

- The need for more operational studies and experimentation
  on such problems as motivation of participants in NFE
  activities, the preparation of teachers to participate in
  developmental programs involving youths and adults (prac-
ticums, community development centers, and other such
  organizations), and for the training of developmental
  officers (agriculture, health, and others) to function as
  teachers in the same programs.

Reflections on Securing Participation of the Rural Masses
(Principally Adults and Out-of-School Youths), Rural
Workers, Policy Makers, and Others in Programs
Designed to Achieve Developmental/Welfare Goals
Through Non-Formal Educational Methods

Introduction

Because of the special emphasis which was given to the need
for creating programs which will involve the rural masses in
developmental/educational programs in Ethiopia, we were encouraged to
reflect on the components of a policy framework to secure such par-
ticipation over the next decade or longer. The material which
follows will, hopefully, be useful in giving direction to the thinking
of Ethiopian leaders who are especially concerned with formulating
major policies and programs which will be necessary to give effect to
these aspirations. The specific nature of the projected research,
comprehensive rural development, and experimental decentralized
developmental programs are described in Chapter IV.

General Considerations

The goals and hopes for increased agricultural production
and other measures of economic development and for increased welfare
of the rural masses will require the active participation of large
numbers of adults and out-of-school youth, civil servants, policy
makers, entrepreneurs, and others in developmental/educational
processes. Securing the active, sustained, and voluntary participa-
tion of these critically important persons will require a number of
interrelated ingredients or components of the educational/developmental process, such as: (1) a high level of motivation of all key participants; (2) a stock or flow of relevant ideas and techniques for improving agricultural production and the welfare of rural people; (3) adequate supplies of improved seeds, fertilizers, credit, and related resources to give effect to the adoption of more productive practices; (4) effective communication and teaching methods; (5) coordinated involvement of all levels of participation; (6) realistic documentation, methods of securing feedback, and research which records and guides recommended changes; and (7) governmental policies, rural developmental organizations, trained personnel, and administrative procedures which support the recommended changes. These essential ingredients are more fully described in the material which follows.

Motivation

Basic in understanding the educational processes involved in NFE are the motivations of the learners and teachers—who are, in fact, also learners. In brief, learners must believe or be led to believe that the ideas which they are encouraged to absorb, the skills which they are encouraged to acquire, and the changed practices which they are encouraged to adopt will help them solve their problems of survival; will improve their living conditions; will increase their production of agricultural products for consumption or for sale; and will be in accord with their systems of belief. Furthermore, the changes which are suggested in their traditional production methods or life styles must be within their competence and make use of available resources. In the beginning of the educational/developmental process there will need to be an element of faith in the ideas offered for consideration and in the persons who advocate the changes which the learners are encouraged to make. At later stages, after satisfactory results have been experienced, a more positive attitude toward change is created which makes possible larger or more complex changes.
Those who are employed, or otherwise involved, to teach, encourage, and demonstrate changes and those who have commercial interests related to development are, understandably, motivated to achieve rewards in the form of salary increases, promotions, profits, and other forms of material and status recognition. But more basic and enduring motivation must be found in achieving the goals which are projected in the programs, in learning more effective methods of accomplishing changes which are regarded by the rural people to be useful, and in experiencing the appreciation of those who benefit from the changes. The motivations and subsequent rewards are thus both tangible and intangible. But job satisfaction, recognition of leadership, and a sense of professional accomplishment are basic.

The motivations of policy makers and administrators (including religious leaders) are also important and necessary to round out the several levels of participation in the educational/developmental process. Policy makers and administrators, it is reasonable to assume, would like to believe that the policies which they formulate and the administrative and organizational measures which they promulgate are sound and realistic. Accordingly, if villagers make changes which are satisfying and productive--aided and abetted by developmental change agents--the policies and procedures which the policy makers have formulated are validated. Thus, the groundwork is laid for securing and sustaining positive motivation of all principal participants which is the sine qua non of successful educational/developmental programs. Furthermore, it is understood in projecting the above framework that there are degrees and shades of motivation and rewards for all the participants. In sum the principal actors in the educational/developmental process must believe in what they are doing and find satisfaction in undertaking their part of the process.

**Ideas and Techniques**

A second requirement for development is a stock or flow of ideas and techniques regarding alternative methods of production and
behavior patterns which are presumed to be better than presently employed practices or behavior patterns to solve production problems and achieve welfare goals. Initially these new ideas and changes in behavior should be relatively simple for most participants. They should not deviate too much from current practices but enough to make some significant difference in production, discernible improvements in levels of health, or other intended results. More complex ideas and proposals which require more radical changes or which require more education or resources to adopt can be introduced after simpler ideas are acted upon with success.

It appears that there is currently available in Ethiopia an adequate initial stock of ideas and techniques partially tested and found to be effective and acceptable. The wider application of these ideas and techniques will, however, depend on the availability of additional credit, improved marketing facilities, improved landlord-tenant relations, more viable local governmental/educational/developmental institutions, and several other important changes to be fully effective. Furthermore, the "idea producing centers" such as the College of Agriculture of Haile Selassie I University, research stations, CADU, WADU, ADA, and other organizations concerned with pure and adaptive research will, presumably, be producing additional ideas and techniques for review and wider application. In addition, Ethiopia is finding ideas and techniques used elsewhere in the world of some benefit and applicability. These ideas and techniques may be further adapted to Ethiopian conditions by Ethiopian scholars and experimenters as well as through suggestions of foreign advisors.

**Resources--Developmental Inputs**

The ideas and techniques which are proposed by change agents must be backed up with the supplies of improved seeds, fertilizers, credit, and related resources which are required once the ideas and techniques are accepted and acted upon. There is no use creating an appetite for changes which involves the use of these inputs and then not having them available; only frustration and loss of momentum
will ensue. Some of these resources may be created by the cultivators or groups of cultivators themselves. Other supplies or services which are beyond their ability to create must be made available from governmental or other sources under conditions which can be sustained by the cultivators after initial adoption. Furthermore, other key variables which are wholly or partially outside of the cultivators' immediate control, such as prices, marketing arrangements, and related variables having important influences on development must be anticipated as production increases. Still other components in the developmental process such as irrigation facilities, rural roads, and other infrastructural inputs which are necessary for sustained growth and development, must also be programmed in terms of need and capacity of cultivators and groups of cultivators (cooperatives or other rural organizations) to make efficient use of such facilities.

**Coordinated Effort**

Having identified the several groups or levels of participants and the motivational factors which are common to all principal participants in the developmental process, it is necessary to delineate elements which are somewhat peculiar to each of the levels of participation. For the policy maker, the goal must be to create a framework of policies and allocations of resources which are designed to secure the maximum benefits for the masses of rural participants, consistent with their interest and with national goals and objectives. Developmental policies must take account of the traditional practices and methods of rural people. They must reflect sensitivity to the reactions of the masses of participants who are encouraged to make innovative changes. They must also be regarded by the masses of participants and change agents to be feasible, realistic, and adaptable to change as needed to achieve satisfying results. A sense of common purpose must be created and sustained.

These are not easy requirements, but neither are the changes easy to make.
For the intermediate level of participants—the civil servants in the fields of agriculture, education, health, community development, irrigation and all other fields which are concerned with rural development, and the bankers and others from private or semi-private enterprise—the critical element is effective professional performance. As organizers, teachers, and motivators of mass educational efforts, the goal must be the formulation and communication of ideas and techniques which are realistic, useful, and persuasive to masses of rural participants and which are in accord with governmental policies and procedures. There inevitably will be many disappointments and failures in the process, and there will be many negative factors and problems which, at the time, may seem almost impossible of solution. But the effort must be flexible, experimental, and sustained if satisfactory results are to be achieved.

For the masses of participants, the cultivators and their families, there must be a fundamental belief in the efficacy of the suggestions which are being offered which precedes actual adoption. The suggestions, as indicated above, must be realistic and within the range of their understanding and resources. Their problems of agricultural production and personal well-being must be central in planning educational programs and their motivation and response to recommended changes sensitively understood in teaching methods. Furthermore, since individuals live in a context of social institutions and values, the changes must be in a framework of acceptability in the social context. This requirement calls for a maximum use and adaptation of indigenous social institutions and traditions such as IDIR (self-help) and others.

Communication

The achievement of developmental goals through NFE methods is highly dependent on successful communication (transmission) of ideas and suggestions which precede action on the ideas and suggestions. In the remarks which follow "communication" is used interchangeably with non-formal education. In Ethiopia, as in many other developing nations, the communication of ideas must be done
within the framework of massive illiteracy. This condition imposes handicaps and restrictions but is not fatal to development. Communicators (sometimes referred to as "change agents") are governmental development officers in agriculture and other fields, teachers, local leaders, priests, and others who have immediate contact with cultivators and their families. Because of the limitations of communicating with illiterates oral methods will largely be used but slides, films, radio, or other media may be combined with oral methods for more effective results. Even more important, particularly in the early stages of effecting change in practices or behavior, is the communication of cultivators-to-cultivators (model farmers/test demonstration farmers) about their experience in adopting the recommended changes. There appears to be no more persuasive testimony to the positive or negative value of change than that which is actively experienced by neighbors or other persons who are perceived to be living under similar conditions and handicaps. A viable strategy of communication must take this fundamental fact into consideration.

Reflections on this fundamental strategy lead to a number of related observations and comments as follows:

a. Communicators must have something useful and practical to communicate which is within the comprehension, resources, and desire of the cultivators to adopt. They must be trusted by the cultivators, initially, to start the process of change and willing at all subsequent stages to consider other changes which may require more difficult adjustments on their part. The requirements of practicality and sensitivity to cultivator reactions applies to all stages of development and to the use of all media and methods of communication--discussions, films, radio broadcasts, printed materials, demonstrations, etc. The message must fall on receptive ears and be evaluated in terms of its effect and influence on changed behavior.

b. For practical reasons of cost and availability and for other substantive reasons, it is quite apparent that there is a severe limit on the number of professional communicators (change or extension agents) as related to the numbers of cultivators to be influenced. Thus the professional communicators (particularly civil servants in rural areas who are responsible for advocating change and administering resources) must find ways of creating and utilizing non-professionals--model farmers,
demonstrators, rural leaders, and local organized groups--to assist in the process of "extension" of improved practices. Furthermore, village artisans and other locally skilled personnel must be used in various training programs.

c. Civil servants responsible for rural development (in agriculture, health, etc.) must basically be teachers/communicators, in addition to possessing technical skills. By the same token, teachers and priests (who presumably know something about instructional methods) must know something about the substance of development in order to participate effectively in the development process.

d. The communication/educational process is continuous. Although there may be levels of achievement which may properly be recognized by certificates, awards, diplomas or equivalents, no one in the developmental process, at whatever level, really ever "graduates."

Documentation-Feedback-Research

Throughout the whole process of development, appropriate consideration must be given to records, documentation, methods of securing feedback from participants, program analysis and research in order to know what is going on and for formulating changes in policies and procedures. Care must be taken in designing documentation of results to avoid inflation of data or other distortions of the results. Failures should be expected and reporting of failures and problems should not be a basis for sanctions or reprimands. Furthermore, record keeping and reporting should be kept to the essentials, leaving research organizations within the ministries, the university, or other special organizations to make such depth surveys or to use other research methods as may be necessary to test and report on what is happening. Furthermore, the experimental demonstration projects such as CADU, WADU, and ADA may be expected to provide special reports which will be particularly useful for policy guidance and dissemination.
Administrative Factors

Administrative factors (organization, staffing, budgeting, financing, and related activities) may neither be ignored nor taken for granted in discussions of developmental programs and the methods of achieving developmental goals. Reference has already been made to the importance of policies which are the particular domain of legislators and top administrative officials. But organization, staffing, and related administrative matters have equally important effects on the developmental/educational process. For even with the emphasis already given to the critical importance of local leaders, model farmers, and local organizations in the adoption of progressive practices, much of the burden of organizing and catalyzing the developmental process will fall on the shoulders of civil servants. The motivation of these workers will depend on such factors as: (a) their careful selection, placement, and training; (b) the clarity of their assigned responsibilities; (c) the organizational and supervisory framework in which they work; (d) equity and other factors related to their compensation, promotion, and related material benefits. In other words, poorly selected, inappropriately placed, poorly supervised and inadequately compensated civil servants will not produce well motivated communicators/educators, however well the other conditions and prerequisites for development are met.

In summary, there are no simple shortcuts to rural development. Many factors are involved and are interrelated—motivation, adequate resources, effective communication/education, coordinated effort of all levels of key participants, useful research and documentation, and effective administrative procedures and responsive local government.

There are myriads of unsolved problems in the implementation of the spirit and specific recommendations of the Sector Review with reference to the incorporation of the NFE component in a comprehensive national program of education. The Imperial Government of Ethiopia has made a bold start and charted a general path from which it will probably never retreat. The full implementation of
the recommendations can only be accomplished in the context of a decade or two, but a first major policy and contextual breakthrough has been accomplished.

The ensuing chapters will provide more detailed analyses, case studies, and observations of the incorporation of the non-formal educational component in a comprehensive educational plan and program for Ethiopia.

Summary and Recapitulation With Possible Implications for Application to Other Developing Countries

Although it is not entirely possible, nor indeed safe, to generalize about non-formal education in a country as complex as Ethiopia and even less so to try to apply these generalizations to other developing countries, nevertheless, we are bold enough or foolhardy enough to try. Other students, observers, or practitioners of education and development are free to make up their own list of generalizations or to criticize ours. Non-formal education--defined simply as educational activity which takes place outside of the formal school system--is sufficiently diverse, unorganized, and unresearched to invite a comparable diversity of opinions as to what it is and how it might be related to current interests in educational reform and/or developmental programs which require some form of education-communication-persuasion of masses of people for the accomplishment of educational/developmental goals.

Several considerations have recently converged in the thinking of educators and developmentally oriented scholars and practitioners to turn to non-formal education as a possible solution to problems which require new approaches. For educators in Ethiopia and elsewhere there is an acute recognition of: (1) the high costs, excessive attrition rates, dysfunctional curricula and other defects of the formal school system to reach the rural masses, and (2) the undesirability, if not the impossibility, of reorienting, staffing, and funding an expansion of the present educational system to reach the masses of the people--particularly the rural masses, in a reasonable period of time.
For developmentally oriented scholars and practitioners there is a new awareness of the need for: (1) more inclusive criteria of development than that which is symbolized by the GNP; for example, programs which will foster better distribution of the benefits of development--sometimes referred to as "distributive justice"; (2) programs which will foster wider participation of small farmers in agricultural production and related rural development; (3) labor intensive programs which will provide more jobs in rural and urban settings; (4) projects which will improve rural infrastructure (rural roads, water systems, etc.) through public works and other programs; (5) more extensive participation of rural people in programs of family planning, improved health, nutrition, and related programs. The interests of educators and developmentally oriented persons alike lead naturally to a search for some new forms of education which will involve larger numbers of persons in voluntary modernizing and personally enriching activities. Non-formal education is looked to as the new hoped-for solution--or partial solution--to educational and developmental problems. We believe that there is some validity in this hope and that a more extensive and wise use of NFE techniques and processes will help solve some educational and developmental problems, but it is not a panacea nor does it provide a simple solution to complex educational/developmental problems.

Ethiopia is typical of developing countries in some respects and atypical in others, but we believe that it serves as a satisfactory base for the generalizations which follow.

The tentative generalizations which follow are derived from our observations of non-formal education in Ethiopia and earlier in Pakistan, Egypt, and Laos.

A. Scholars who analyze and educators and developmental personnel who strategize and devise programs of non-formal education, designed to achieve broadly defined developmental or personal enrichment objectives, need to keep in mind the characteristics of the potential participants and the nature of the environment in which these programs are presently undertaken or projected.
1. Many, if not most, of the potential participants will be illiterate, undernourished, and economically poor with all of the psychological, educational, and economic limitations associated therewith. Closely associated with these limitations will be overpopulation—overcrowding and minimal amenities for health and well-being.

2. Many, if not most, will be living in rural settings and employing relatively primitive methods of agriculture.

3. Many, if not most, of the potential participants will be primarily concerned with survival or with minimal initial objectives such as increased agricultural production, better health, better wages, or moderately better living standards, which can be fostered by programs which rely on NFE techniques for their accomplishment.

4. Cognizance will also need to be taken of different languages, customs, religions, regional loyalties, and degrees of national integration which will require different approaches and programs to take account of these variations.

5. Governmentally sponsored educational and social institutions and programs will likely be urban oriented, inadequately financed, poorly staffed, and in many respects unrelated to the urgent needs and interests of rural people. There will be relatively few participants in these programs.

6. The central importance of improved and modernized agricultural production for increased consumption, reduction of imports, the generation of foreign exchange as a base for the purchase of modern sector production, and as an improved economic base for increased taxation to provide increased social and educational services, particularly for rural people, has belatedly been recognized by many governments.

The list could be extended and related to environmental and other conditions of the masses of urban poor, but emphasis is given to agriculture and the characteristics of rural masses because most of the world's population resides in rural areas, and the problems and potentials of rural people have been given relatively less attention than have the problems and needs of residents of urban areas.

B. Developmental programs in agriculture, health, family planning, and related programs which use NFE methods for their accomplishment can be carried on in the context of illiteracy and should not be delayed until functional levels of literacy are...
Illiteracy is not to be construed as an indication of a lack of intelligence.

1. This is not an argument for ignoring the need for sustained and effective programs of literacy training but to note that widespread illiteracy is not fatal to developmental efforts. The pace of development may be slower and more imaginative uses of non-formal educational methods may be required to offset the limitations of illiteracy, but developmental goals can be and are being reached in spite of the limitations of widespread illiteracy.

2. Strategically, programs of non-formal education related to development can best be planned around the maximum use of literate rural leaders who can be utilized to inform their less advanced neighbors, in addition to a maximum use of graphic materials, demonstrations, and other devices which require a minimum use of written symbols for communicating new ideas.

3. Most campaigns designed to increase literacy on a crash basis in developing countries have failed miserably to attain and sustain literacy at functionally satisfactory levels. Work-related functional literacy may achieve better results.

4. More complex developmental programs such as the creation of viable cooperatives, more advanced marketing schemes, and related higher levels of development will require more widespread literacy to be most effective.

C. Involving most of the rural masses in developmental programs can only be accomplished, in the foreseeable future, through non-formal educational methods and activities.

1. Out-of-school youths and adults are now carrying the load of developmental efforts and are the key segments of the population who can, if persuaded to adopt more progressive methods of agricultural production, health care, and related programs make the most difference in the accomplishment of personal and national goals in the shortest possible time.

2. It is not feasible to defer conducting activities designed to modernize the rural sector until programs of formal education are revamped to focus more realistically on the current programs of development and higher levels of production and living.

D. Non-formal education is not an alternative system of education—indeed, it is not a system at all; neither is it a panacea, nor a short-cut method of achieving developmental goals and higher
standards of living. It is essentially a process or method of communicating (teaching and learning) useful ideas and skills for voluntary adoption principally by out-of-school youths and adults.

1. It is basically not competitive with the clientele of the formal school system5 as presently constituted but rather serves individuals and groups who have never participated in the formal school system or who are drop-outs from the system. Because the clientele of NFE activities is composed of older out-of-school youths or adults, there is a higher degree of voluntary participation involved which requires different methods of motivation, teaching, and other aspects of the teaching-learning process.

2. At the present time it is largely unsystematized with varied objectives, instructional methods, standards, methods of evaluation, and other variable characteristics.

3. The formal school system may be expected to continue to produce literates and qualified personnel for all types of occupations which require high levels of skills best developed through systematic programs of formal instruction. Furthermore some of the participants in these formal programs are being tapped off at different levels (eighth, ninth, tenth grade) for specialized instruction by industry and government for specific jobs. The facilities, teachers, instructional materials, and other components of the formal school system may also be used for NFE programs. Some instructional programs developed for community centers, community practicums, and related activities may combine students in the formal school system and participants in non-formal programs. Furthermore, some of the more creative and functional methods of non-formal education may indeed influence instructional methods of the formal schools.

In this connection perhaps a note of caution is called for. In the process of interrelating formal and non-formal programs it is hoped that non-formal approaches will not be put too quickly into formal molds and thus be prematurely structured and administered. There is room for a considerable amount of experimentation and careful analysis of results before making it a part of a general "system."

E. Most non-formal educational activities are being conducted by the technical or developmental ministries (agriculture, health, etc.) not by the Ministry of Education.
1. Until recently the Ethiopian Ministry of Education's non-formal activities were almost wholly confined to literacy training. The recommendation of the Sector Review regarding the development of community practicums and community development centers plus other recommendations regarding a reallocation of resources between formal and non-formal education will bring the Ministry of Education into closer association with the work of the ministries more directly and immediately concerned with programs designed to attack specific developmental problems.

2. Inter-ministerial devices for planning and coordinating the NFE activities of the several ministries will be required for the most effective use of the increased resources projected for allocation to non-formal education. The inter-ministerial committee which planned the decentralized awraja (political and administrative subdivision) developmental plan indicates a recognition of this point.

3. Inasmuch as financial records do not reflect expenditures for the NFE component of developmental programs, the total costs of non-formal education are not now known. Whether it would be desirable, useful or even possible to segregate the costs of implementing developmental programs (costs related to informing and persuading citizens through NFE methods to participate in various developmental programs) from costs for technical personnel, materials, supplies, equipment, and other such costs of developmental projects has been insufficiently considered and the implications of such an exercise insufficiently explored.

F. Parastatal (quasi-governmental) and private organizations which use non-formal educational methods to accomplish their goals provide potential models or prototypes for expanded developmental programs which are being projected by the government. 6

1. Private (missionary and other non-governmental organizations) and parastatal organizations in Ethiopia and other countries have long been free to experiment and create viable programs which use NFE methods to accomplish their goals.

The insight gained into aspects of non-formal education such as motivation of adults and out-of-school youth in less structured educational environments, selection and training of leaders, formulation of instructional programs, and related subjects will be potentially useful in guiding the massive NFE programs being projected by the government in agriculture, health, rural public works, and other fields.
2. Key personnel associated with these programs could be named to advisory committees on non-formal education, and the experience of these organizations could be utilized in other ways for guidance of more massive programs.

3. The projection of adoption of massive developmental programs which will depend on NFE techniques for their accomplishment should not be construed as a basis for eliminating these private programs. They can continue to be mini-laboratories for experimental programs which may provide continual guidance for larger programs of the same or similar nature.

G. Effective motivation of all principal participants in designing and administering programs of non-formal education is of central importance in the success of such programs.

1. Cultivators, housewives, and others for whom NFE programs are being designed must believe, or be led to believe, that the ideas or changed practices which they are encouraged to adopt and the skills which they are encouraged to acquire will help them solve their problems of survival, improve their living conditions, increase the production of foodstuffs for consumption or sale, and will be in accord with their systems of belief.

2. Those who are employed to teach, encourage, and demonstrate changes (government officials and others) must believe in the ideas which they are propagating and be motivated to find effective methods of teaching in non-formal settings. Although the usual motivation for higher salaries, positions, and other tangible benefits are important, effective workmanship in NFE will require motivation of a higher order to achieve the desired results.

3. The motivation of policy makers who are responsible for the policy framework, major operating policies, allocation of resources, and related matters is of equal importance -- even though more removed from daily operations. The extent to which the policies, organizational arrangements, and allocation of resources open new sources of energy and a desire to learn and adopt new ideas and practices on the part of the masses will constitute either a validation or rejection of those strategies for policy makers.

H. Non-formal education requires a stock or flow of viable ideas, essential supplies, and a generally favorable environment for development to be effective.

1. Because of the ease with which out-of-school youths and adults can reject what they regard as questionable or
dysfunctional ideas or practices, it is of extraordinary importance that change agents have a stock of ideas and techniques regarding alternative methods of production and behavior patterns (to a maximum possible extent pre-tested for their usefulness) to assure a reasonably high degree of success if adopted. Experimental/demonstration centers to test various ideas and practices before being recommended for more widespread adoption are critical.

2. If the ideas and practices being recommended to participants in non-formal activities require the ready availability of supplies (seeds, fertilizers, contraceptives, machinery, credit, etc.) which are not within the means of the participants to create or acquire, it would be better to postpone such educational activities until the needed supplies or facilities are available.

3. Those who adopt new ideas and changed practices should be assured of receiving at least some of the benefits accrued from such changes. This principle is particularly relevant in programs of agricultural production which involve landlord-tenant agreements.

I. Because of the fact that the greater emphasis given to rural development through non-formal educational methods will be undertaken under the leadership of public servants, consideration must be given to improved methods of public administration to assure that the programs are staffed with competent personnel.

1. The higher priorities given to rural development, as expressed in the agricultural package programs, the projected awraja developmental plan, the projected community developmental centers, and community practicums recommended by the Sector Review, all have important implications for public administrative policies and procedures. More specifically, new and probably higher job classifications and corresponding salary grades will need to be created for key positions. These will reflect the increased status of positions oriented to rural development and particularly of positions which carry increased responsibility for decentralized field operations.

2. In addition to creating a more attractive personnel framework (job classifications and salaries) additional attention will need to be given to non-monetary rewards to make working in rural areas more attractive. Decentralized responsibility will be an inducement for some. Better housing and other facilities for officers associated with developmental centers will be attractive to
others. (No one, incidentally, has related the cost of investment in attractive facilities for officers in rural areas to recruitment and retention of able personnel. Nor has this been related to added productivity, increased tax income, and other off-setting economic benefits which more able officers will help produce.)

3. Significant organizational questions arising from the necessity for interministerial coordination of comprehensive rural developmental programs at the top policy levels and integrated administration at the field level will require imaginative thinking on the part of organization analysts and policy makers.

4. Imaginative selection procedures and pre-service and in-service training programs will need to be devised to recruit and train employees who can be developed into persons with dedicated and sustained interest in (and talent for) helping solve rural developmental problems. Careful screening of university students who participated in the Ethiopian University Service in rural areas with extraordinary success may be one fresh source of potential public servants.

5. Budget and finance officers are needed to cost out various non-formal programs which, together with program evaluations, may serve to give direction to the vastly increased programs which are projected.

6. The large number of illiterates and semi-illiterates who will constitute the major clientele for non-formal educational/developmental programs will require that extraordinary attention be given to devising effective communication/educational techniques and materials.

1. Close working relationships will need to be created between developmental officers and teachers involved in developmental activities and media experts who can jointly devise technically accurate and programmatically useful educational materials to reach various target groups. The instructional materials should be developed with consideration to gradations of complexity of ideas presented in accordance with the progress being made in specific areas of development.

2. Graded printed materials on topics of critical importance to rural development could be produced for use in schools, literacy classes (and for sustaining literacy levels), community practicums, and rural developmental centers if carefully planned and coordinated to reflect regional, cultural, and other variations.
3. Because of the large number of developmental councils, committees, indigenous social organizations, and other groups which are currently involved or projected in expanded developmental programs, greater attention needs to be given to ways in which these voluntary committees and groups can operate effectively. There is literature on this topic which is geared to industrial, urban, and more sophisticated organizations which, presumably, can be reoriented to simpler and predominantly rural situations.

4. Labor-intensive public works programs (roads, water supply, etc.) will require the production of simple, well illustrated manuals, and other instructional material which can be used by illiterate or semi-literate supervisors and others. An instructional media group—closely allied with engineers and other substantive personnel—could produce usable manuals and other instructional materials necessary for the conduct of these programs.

K. Non-formal education—particularly in rural areas—calls for a new "pedagogy" and terminology.

1. The connotations of formal educational pedagogy and terminology (curriculum, teachers, classrooms, examinations, etc.) are in some respects inappropriate or dysfunctional for non-formal education. The use of the conventional terms has a limiting effect on new concepts and new philosophies appropriate for the challenges of developing effective educational programs for the rural masses.

2. The following redefinitions of conventional terminology are illustrative of what might be more appropriate:

- "curriculum" might be redefined as the subject matter involved in helping rural people solve problems related to increased agricultural production and improved standards of health and welfare.

- "classrooms" could be the fields and rural environments instead of the conventional school buildings subdivided into rooms with fixed desks, a blackboard, and a teacher at the front of the room.

- "examinations" could be measures of increased production aided by better seeds, increased use of fertilizers and insecticides, or stronger and healthier bodies.

- "graduation" could be construed as having been selected as a "model" farmer or important committee member to monitor a credit system.
"teachers" could be any person—including village leaders, craftsmen, health agents, and others—in addition to professional teachers who may also be involved in community practicums or other non-formal educational activities.

"teaching materials" may be improved seeds, blueprints for the construction of rural roads, improved diets, or similar material.

L. Expanded programs of non-formal education for the rural masses will be aided by greatly increased expenditures for rural infrastructures and rural institutions.

1. Accelerated agricultural production, health education, and welfare programs will lead to the need for rural roads to aid marketing of increased production; for irrigation and water supply to increase production of more varied crops as well as to reduce human drudgery; for rural clinics for health programs; and for developmental centers which may be combined with a new type of rural school to better serve the needs for formal and non-formal educational activities.

2. Some of these facilities may be built or otherwise created by well designed public works' programs which combine the objectives of fostering rural employment and skill development under arrangements which alternate periods of planned and organized instruction with periods of work.

3. Increased agricultural production, which has been demonstrated to be possible in Ethiopia and elsewhere, may serve as the base for funding rural public works and improved rural institutions.

All of the above may also have the desirable effect of stemming the tide of excessive migration to urban centers.

M. Special training and retraining programs will need to be designed and conducted for the various types of developmental officers, community leaders, teachers, and others who will be involved in an expanded educational/developmental program.

1. All that has been noted above with reference to the context for and environmental conditions of non-formal education, the importance of new forms of motivation and communication, the new methods and outlook connoted in a new pedagogy for non-formal education and related points are topics which need to be considered in training and retraining programs for the various types of personnel involved in an expanded developmental/non-formal educational program.
2. Programs for teachers from the formal school system who may participate in community practicums and other nonformal education will need to emphasize reorientation to a teaching environment that is less structured, with participants who are not "captive," and which makes new demands for flexibility and practicality. In addition, these teachers will need some instruction in the subject matter of development.

3. Programs for developmental officers in agriculture, health, nutrition, and related fields will need assistance to better understand the use of indigenous social institutions for participation in the developmental process; the improved methods of communication and motivation; a better use of local leaders, model farmers, and other demonstrators; a more effective use of committees, councils, and other local groups, and related topics.

4. Local leaders, craftsmen, model farmers, members of councils, credit committees, and other persons who would not ordinarily think of themselves as "teachers" must be given some guidance in the methods of communication, instruction, and leadership.

5. Much of the training should focus on the full utilization of local resources and field work. The research results and ideas generated by experimental demonstrational projects such as CADU, WADU, ADA, and other agricultural and and rural developmental projects and experiments should be fully reflected in the instructional programs for the groups noted above. The experience of private organizations should also be utilized.

6. Internships which emphasize work experience in the organizations noted above may be provided for selected personnel.

7. The limited but usable case studies of rural developmental projects in other countries may also be of some value, particularly for developmental officers. A few highly selected officers may be sent abroad for internships in the limited number of successful rural developmental projects. An even smaller number of highly selected officers may be sent to educational institutions abroad which have special programs of instruction in rural development and non-formal education.

In regard to the above, it should be restated that the emphasis in training programs should reflect the vastly different educational environment in which non-formal education takes place, the need for
effective communication, and above all, the need to relate education realistically to the needs and motivations of the clientele who are to be served.

N. Program documentation and operational research should be incorporated into present and projected developmental programs in order to build indigenous research capability.

1. Simple base line data relevant to the program being initiated should be compiled before starting the program. For example, the inauguration of agricultural programs should be preceded by data collection on land holdings, conventional agricultural methods, indigenous methods of accumulating capital and providing credit, and related information. Data collection of greater depth could be left to the experimental/demonstrational centers such as CADU, WADU, ADA, and any other such intensive experimental areas.

2. Simple record keeping of essential facts concerning activities such as attendance, response of participants to programs, production results (where pertinent), incomes and disbursements, and similar program notes is an elementary requirement for systematic analysis of results.

3. The base line data and program records noted above plus continuous notes on responses of participants at various stages of the activity and related information can constitute—in various degrees of sophistication—the basic training materials for governmental officers and others.

4. University research centers should be encouraged to engage in depth studies of such complex phenomena as (1) motivation of all types of participants; (2) evaluation of results; (3) instructional methods appropriate for non-formal education; and (4) numerous related subjects.

O. Although host countries must provide leadership, supporting policies, and most of the financial resources for expanded developmental programs which use NPE methods and procedures for their accomplishment, external agencies could usefully support such policies and programs in the following ways:

1. By providing partial support for and "low-key" participation in comprehensive sector reviews of formal and non-formal education in a manner comparable to the Ethiopian Star Review.
Sector reviews can contribute insights (a) into the whole of a country's educational program; (b) into interrelationships between formal and non-formal educational activities; (c) into the need for interministerial coordination of the two types of activities; (d) into planning and implementing program priorities and related values.

2. By encouraging and providing financial support for experimental demonstrations of comprehensive rural developmental projects over long periods of time. These experimental/demonstrational projects such as CADU, WADU, and ADA (and earlier projects in other countries such as Comilla in Bangladesh) should have the following major attributes:

a. Intensive experimental/demonstrational work on critical program areas appropriate to the specific conditions of each country, but always including emphasis on such problems as the creation of viable rural, social, and economic organizations for capital formation, supervised credit, marketing—preferably under the auspices of cooperatives; improvement of rural infrastructures through labor intensive public works such as rural roads, water supply for domestic consumption and irrigation; experimental work on crops, crop rotation, use of improved seeds and fertilizers in a farm-management scheme; experimental work on mechanization appropriate to the needs and capabilities of individual cultivators and organizations of cultivators.

b. Experimental work related to the improvement and utilization of local governmental services in an area coinciding with a normal governmental unit in order to combine and coordinate the services normally available from local governmental units with services generated by cooperatives and other private organizations of cultivators.

c. Documentation of adaptive research and demonstration activities which can be used for policy guidance of country-wide governmental programs and for instruction of rural developmental workers.

d. Organization of each experimental/demonstrational project as a semi-autonomous organization under an inter-ministerial policy board which has some latitude to deviate from normal governmental procedures. This requirement is necessary in order to allow sufficient flexibility for experimental work but not so much latitude to deviate from normal governmental procedures as to invalidate the possibility of replication in other areas or to invalidate guidance of such governmental policies.
Financial support should be in the form of long-term commitments with variable allocations which are sensitively geared to the progress being made and the specific contributions which can be made by external funding without diminishing the efforts of cultivators or host governments to support the experimental demonstrations.

3. By providing financial support for the creation of rural developmental training centers which are designed to provide facilities for:
   a. Local governmental offices in one central location for the convenience of citizens and to encourage coordination of governmental services.
   b. Multi-purpose facilities for formal and non-formal educational activities including experimental plots, shops, health centers, and other facilities for "community practicums" and similar educational activities.
   c. Housing and community facilities for rural governmental workers in order to attract and retain a highly competent staff in the rural areas.

4. By providing financial support for the production of instructional materials of all kinds for use in formal and non-formal educational activities. The instructional materials should be designed for use with illiterates, for literacy training, and for graded use in formal schools, community practicums, and related activities.

5. By providing financial support for university research centers or institutes for depth research on critical problems of comprehensive rural development including the use and extrapolation of data from experimental/demonstrational projects for general policy guidance. These centers or institutes should provide ample opportunities for faculty and graduate students to do field work; to examine the experience of other countries which have significant projects in rural development; and to collaborate with rural developmental officers in experimental/demonstrational projects and in policy positions in joint research activities.

The background data for the above generalizations and reflections will be found in the ensuing chapters.
NOTES: CHAPTER I


3. See Chapter V for the background considerations supporting this generalization.

4. The repeated reference to the context of illiteracy is deliberate because of its seminal importance in planning for and implementing programs of rural development through the use of non-formal educational methods and techniques.

5. It is competitive, however, with the formal school system for allocation of resources.

6. This generalization is less true of organizations such as the Ethiopian Airlines and other organizations in the modern sector which use western technology and formally structured training programs.
CHAPTER II

THE ETHIOPIAN EDUCATION SECTOR REVIEW

Introduction

A review of some of the major sectors of a society such as education or agriculture can be a very useful tool in the search for more effective ways of planning developmental efforts. The sector plans which usually emerge from these reviews are valuable "building blocks" in the formulation of national plans. The sector plans also provide the relevant context within which to identify and plan individual projects.

The Ethiopian Education Sector Review (EESR) was a comprehensive evaluation of all aspects of the educational system including its role in national development and the political integration of the nation; it was an examination of national and educational objectives, and a formulation of recommendations for a reformation of the educational system. The comprehensiveness of the review, which overlapped the concerns of several other ministries, was probably not unique. What was unique for a sector review in a developing country was that it was administered, supervised, and primarily staffed by a broad range of people from the developing country itself. The Director of the review was an Ethiopian. Further, he did not hold a position in the Ministry of Education. He was the Director of the National Commission for Education, an independent advisory body, as well as the secretary General of the Ethiopian National Commission for UNESCO. The work of the review was accomplished by fourteen task forces, each directed by a chairman. Nine of these chairmen were on the faculty of Haile Selassie I University. Only two were from the Ministry of Education. The task force members were drawn from several ministries and private businesses, as well as from organizations directly concerned with education.

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Another important and unique feature of the EESR is the length of time allocated for research and for the formulation of recommendations. The time span for the conduct of a review is usually measured in terms of weeks; this study, however, took approximately one year.

In any assessment of the review it would be a mistake to consider solely the actual recommendations made, the degree to which they were accepted, and the possibility of their implementation. Of major importance was the process itself and the affect it had upon the more than 150 people who took part.

Background

The present formal educational system in Ethiopia is based generally on the Western model. Its origin is very recent when compared to the long and proud historical tradition of the culture on which it has been superimposed. Since Ethiopia has never been a colony for an extended period of time (the country has been under foreign domination for only one short four year period in its almost 2,000 year history), the model is one that was imported by the rulers of the nation themselves. The initial purpose of the Educational System was to train the high level personnel necessary to allow Ethiopia to interact effectively in the international community and to man the machinery of government at home. It was the judgment of the EESR participants that the present formal system had been successful in filling the need for high and middle level manpower to staff the civil service and the diverse developmental programs of the nation.

In recent years educators and other leaders have become increasingly aware that the system was less appropriate for meeting the broader needs of education in Ethiopia. Early steps toward correcting this situation were taken. Amharic, the national language, replaced English as the language of instruction at the elementary school level and in vocational education programs. In 1955 a committee of experts was
asked to study the educational system and submit recommendations. Their report was entitled "A Ten-Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education." In 1966 another study group, appointed by the Council of Ministers, submitted a report which recommended the establishment of a national commission for education. These reports and the reports of other more specialized groups contributed to the awareness of the need for major rethinking of the educational system. However, no fundamental alterations were made.

The dissatisfaction with the educational system took a more public turn in the late sixties. Widespread expressions of dissatisfaction were expressed by students, parents, and teachers alike. Calls for basic changes and reforms were heard. In 1969 the National Commission for Education was established based on recommendations in a report submitted three years earlier. The Commission members were drawn from all walks of life; educators, engineers, a doctor, a lawyer, an agriculturalist, an economist, a social worker, and representatives of the clergy.

The commission became a public forum that identified and then focused on four major areas of concern for Ethiopian education. These were: (1) the objectives of Ethiopian Education, (2) the expansion of educational opportunities, (3) the coordination of efforts, (4) and the role of education in facilitating national development. Representatives of many groups were heard by the commission which "laid the ground work for the practice of dialogue which was later to characterize the EESR." The Commission also appointed four specialized teams to investigate the topics to be given major attention. These teams were exclusively Ethiopian in composition.

It was during the third year of the existence of the commission that the Education Sector Review began to take shape. It was officially launched in October of 1971 when the Secretary General of the National
Commission for Education was appointed Director of the Education Sector Review. The major external financial support came from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).

**Planning the Review**

A basic decision in planning an activity as ambitious as the EESR centers on who or what group should be given the responsibility for conducting the review. The decision in the past has all too often been that an expert group from outside the particular country was necessary. The Ethiopian Ministry of Education and the IBRD decided that it was more appropriate in this case that Ethiopians assumed the responsibility for administering and conducting their own review. Though the review was a joint Ministry of Education and IBRD sponsored activity, the person chosen to be director of the review was not attached to the Ministry of Education. The review staff was not even housed in the ministry building, and the other personnel who made up the central staff were not drawn primarily from the Ministry of Education.

**Organization of the Review Staff**

The Director, and the most influential person in the EESR, was Dr. Abebe Ambatchew. His Directorate staff was composed of a senior consultant who was a professor at Haile Selassie I University, an executive assistant assigned from the Harvard Advisory Group, a Senior Secretary, and an Economic Affairs Officer from the Economic Commission for Africa.

The Directorate was served by two consultative committees. The one composed wholly of Ethiopians consisted of the Minister of State of the Ministry of Education, the Minister of State for the Planning Commission, the Vice-Minister of the Ministry of the National Community Development of Social Affairs, and the Academic Vice-President of Haile Selassie I University. The second committee consisted of a panel of international consultants. The members of this panel were: Dr. Malcolm Adiseshia, Director of the (Indian) Madrass Institute of Development Studies, Lord Fulton, Chairman of the UK Trust for the
Development of Education, Dr. Edward Weidner of the University of Wisconsin at Green Bay, Dr. Aklilu Habte, President of Haile Selassie I University, and Ato Taffara, General Manager of the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia. The International Panel of Consultants was not resident in Addis Ababa during the sector review but only participated in the initial planning and attended the two symposiums held in connection with the EESR.

Consultants were utilized at various points in the review to provide certain specific services. The most heavily drawn upon were a team of four from the consulting firm of Cresap, McCormick and Pages, Inc. This group assisted the Directorate of the Review in the task of integrating and synthesizing the recommendations and conclusions of the various task forces. The group also gave technical advice to the teams working on the finance and management of education. Other consultants from three American Universities and UNESCO provided more specific and limited services. The Economic Commission for Africa, UNESCO, and IBRD were also represented at the July conference and at other meetings throughout the review.

The directorate organized fourteen task forces, plus four small work groups which were responsible for conducting studies and formulating recommendations. These task forces dealt with:

1. Educational objectives
2. Educational opportunities
3. Coordination of education
4. Education for development
5. Financing of education
6. Organization and management
7. Manpower
8. Vocational-technical education
9. Curriculum and methodology;
10. Educational technology;
11. Teacher education
12. Educational research
13. Aspects of higher education
14. Out-of-school education

Ethiopians formed the vast majority of the task force members with the addition of a few resident expatriates. Non-resident
expatriates were brought in for only very limited tasks. The authors, for example, were specifically associated with Task Force number fourteen and also served as consultants to the Sector Review for the final conference.

Another important decision taken early in planning the Review concerned the selection of Ethiopian participants. The 14 Task Forces were composed of from 4 to 7 members each. Nine were chaired by HSIU staff members and only two by Ministry of Education personnel. Personnel from several other ministries and from private organizations were assigned to Task Forces and to other study groups. It is safe to say that the personnel of no one Ministry dominated. The sole criterion for selection of members of Task Forces was the degree to which they could contribute to the work of the Review.5

The aggregate number of persons who made up the membership of the 14 Task Forces, 4 study groups, and 2 consultative panels, was quite large, especially when compared to the size of the expatriate missions which normally conduct such Reviews.

For a variety of reasons the involvement of expatriates was minimized. The most important consideration was that Ethiopia had a competent group of professionals willing if not eager to not only participate in the Review discussions but actively to work on the many studies and reports that contributed to the final report.

Therefore, the basic criteria for the selection and use of expatriates was the same as that for Ethiopian participants: their ability to contribute to a particular task or objective with which the Sector Review staff needed assistance. Using this criteria, specific expatriates were brought in for a limited time to perform specific tasks. The continuity of the review process was accomplished by the Ethiopian participants.

The Charge to the Review

The EESR was conducted in the context of "Guidelines for Sector Reviews and Pre-Investment Study Programs," a document prepared by the
Education Projects Department of the IBRD. The guidelines set forth the objectives of a sector review as follows:

(a) Analyze the education system of a country and its capacity to promote economic and social development efficiency;

(b) Suggest whatever necessary ways to improve, expand or reduce the education and training system so that it will achieve aims which are relevant both to the society and to overall development of the country;

(c) Identify priority investments in education, and

(d) Prepare programs of pre-investment studies necessary for the development of the education sector.

The objectives adopted by the EESR, as stated in the final report of the Review, deviate very little from the World Bank objectives. The specific EESR objectives were stated as follows:

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

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

To suggest ways in which education could best be utilized to promote national integration, and

To identify priority studies and investments in education and training.

The EESR objectives deviated from the World Bank objectives in that they contained no mention of any possible "reduction" in the "educational training system," nor did they include the World Bank objective of preparing programs and pre-investment studies necessary for development of the education sector. The EESR added to the IBRD objectives that of seeking ways to promote "national integration."
In many respects the breadth of participation in the EESR and what it actually accomplished went far beyond either of these sets of objectives. The Review not only concerned itself with the search for alternative means to meet educational objectives, it asked questions concerning national objectives and goals. It questioned not only what educational objectives should be sought but for whom they should be sought; it asked questions of alternatives. Further, not only was formal education as sponsored and conducted by the Ministry of Education reviewed, but private schools and all forms of education that take place outside the formal school system (out-of-school or non-formal education) were included in the Review.

**Key Stages in the Review**

The IBRD guidelines outline a very careful series of stages or steps for the conduct of a sector review. The document suggests that a sector review should start with an examination of the existing aims and objectives of the educational system and with its external graduates, types, productivity and related questions. The review should then move to an in-depth analysis of the content and structure of both the formal and non-formal educational system. The third step is an analysis of the technology of the educational system. The fourth step is an analysis of the cost and methods of financing the educational system and a consideration of its internal efficiency. The four stages of the review mentioned thus far are designed to lead to a fifth and final stage which is the formulation of proposals for an action program. More specifically, the World Bank expects that a review should identify priority projects which might be financed by the World Bank or by any other agencies as the final stage. The key stages in the EESR did not deviate markedly from these.

The task forces were established in November of 1971. Initially each was given the task of reviewing the past performance of the educational sector from the point of view of their particular assignment. Preliminary reports were submitted to the directorate and a symposium was held from January 16-19, 1972; the reports were
discussed and an assessment made of the total educational sector. The discussions also dealt with future directions, shortcomings, needs and other questions raised concerning education in Ethiopia.

The January symposium drew attention to the characteristics of the educational system and to many of its shortcomings. The symposium was followed by a series of seminars sponsored by the Directorate of the EESR. The task forces then proceeded to formulate recommendations and proposals for the consideration of the total Sector Review participants. A final conference conducted in July, 1972, deliberated on these proposals and recommendations and integrated them into a "preferred alternative" proposal that was submitted to the Imperial Ethiopian Government (IEG). Each of the stages will be treated in more detail later in this chapter.

The Initial Assessment

When the task forces were established in November of 1971 they were, as indicated above, given the task of reviewing the past performance of the educational sector from the point of view of their particular assignment. The task forces prepared a set of interim reports which examined the past and present state of the educational sector. The reports as a whole contained few recommendations. These "interim" reports were submitted to the Directorate of the EESR in January of 1972 and became the subjects discussed in the January symposium. It was in these discussions that the EESR began to go beyond the original objectives. The symposium became a wide-ranging discussion of the very basic foundations of education in Ethiopia. As an example of the scope of the item discussed, the following points were taken from the minutes of the various preliminary sessions and commission meetings held during the January symposium. It was pointed out and/or suggested that:

- Education is distributed unequally throughout the Empire, and it was suggested that conscious efforts be made to distribute education more equally throughout the various provinces.
- Relative priorities between formal education and non-formal education should be weighted in favor of non-formal education.

- The following non-formal educational schemes should be considered: mass media including radio, TV, newspapers, etc.; adult literacy; agricultural extension; rural development centers, or integrated developmental centers including education for out-of-school youths and adults; health, hygiene and family planning; child care, and community development.

- The curriculum should be less academic, formal and non-formal education should be integrated, and the government should finance more non-formal educational activities.

- Various levels of education should become terminal or modular, in contrast to the present educational program which is designed so that each level prepares the student primarily to enter the next level.

- Institutions other than the Ministry of Education should be used as delivery systems for education. Specific institutions mentioned were the church, the military, the police, university students, and private schools.

- Public works cum educational projects should be devised.

- A new or an expanding industry should be required by law to institute training programs to provide the personnel they would need, thus relieving the vocational schools of the necessity of training workers with specific skills.

- Education and development should be conceived of in a "package" form, and the total "package" should include such aspects as a minimum education for children, adult education and literacy, agricultural extension, health and hygiene, nutrition, family planning, child care and community development. The package concept is a familiar one in Ethiopia, as it is being extensively used in agricultural developmental programs. Its carry-over into "packaging" educational inputs is understandable.

- A new concept of the teacher as a community development worker whose responsibilities would include not only primary school education but adult literacy, community development, health extension, and agricultural extension should be developed.

- Consideration should be given to utilizing local craftsmen as teachers.
A school structure other than the 6-2-4-4 should be considered.

A committee responsible for rural development should be established to study on-going developmental programs, to advance a rural developmental program and thereafter to implement such a program.

During these discussions, the participants resolved three important issues and began work on the formulation of recommendations. These resolutions were: (1) agreement that the present educational system is not meeting the needs or aspirations of the vast majority of the people nor the needs of the developmental programs of the nation; (2) agreement that improvement in quality or expansion of the present system was a satisfactory course of action; and (3) agreement that "non-formal" education should be looked to for solutions of the educational problems that the formal system had not been able to solve.

It should be observed that the individuals participating in the symposium were faculty members of the University, personnel from the Ministry of Education and other government ministries and influential private citizens and clergy. Some observers were concerned that more conservatism would be found at the level of the parent, the student, and the teacher groups not well represented at the conference.

The Formulation of Alternatives

The first symposium of the sector review drew attention to the characteristics of the educational system and to many of its shortcomings. The symposium was followed by a series of seminars sponsored by the Directorate of the EESR. On February 18, approximately a month after the first symposium, a paper was presented by His Excellency Ato Million Neqniq, Minister of State, Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. His presentation was a clear expression of the support of the Ministry of Education concerning the desirability of considering educational alternatives to the present system in Ethiopia in general, and for endorsement of the line of discussion pursued by the symposium.
His presentation, remarkable for its frank and blunt appraisal of the Ethiopian formal educational system, dealt with the merging of formal and non-formal education. He began by asserting:

*The recent symposium conducted by the Education Sector Review brought into sharper focus two fundamental educational questions which critics of the present system have been raising with increasing insistence. Namely, is it relevant to the social and economic needs of a largely rural/agricultural society and does it provide reasonable equality of educational opportunity to all groups of society? Unfortunately, as the implications may seem, the short answer to both these questions appears to be no. We must recognize that up to now education has (a) provided for a very restrictive group, (b) prepared people for a narrow range of occupations, overwhelmingly white collar jobs, (c) been very expensive, and (d) not always been relevant.*

Ato Million pointed out that the present conventional system had provided almost every type and level of modern sector skill needed but that there is an increasing imbalance between the types of school leavers available and the demand for skills in the country. Further, he pointed out that if the resources given to education double in terms of the share of the GNP allocated, the present system would approach universal elementary education sometime in the second decade of the 21st century. Specifically he asked:

- Can we afford to work only 180 days a year in our schools?
- Can we afford to wait 12 years to produce a secondary school graduate?
- Can we afford to have 6 years of formal primary education?
- Can we afford not to involve our schools in productive work?

The EESR had been invited to question the whole system of education and in this questioning, Ato Million pointed out that one must consider what is to take the place of the present system. In this connection questions were raised as to the possibility and desirability in Ethiopia of transferring resources from the formal system to the non-formal system; of whether the two systems could flourish together; whether or not they could be merged, and if so under what circumstances.

Ato Million made note of the fact that the discussion in the symposium ranged over many diverse ideas and proposals, then he asked:
With all these ideas on the table, a number of broad questions are emerging. Can the government resources--capital, recurrent and human--be organized more effectively and efficiently to prevent overlapping of activities and to produce the most effective result? How can we move from the coordination of activities toward a fuller integration of government programs?

The desirability of the non-formal education concept in the Ethiopian context... seems to be its flexibility, its ability to adjust to changing needs, and its ability to be relevant to the needs of the people being served... This leads inevitably to a restructuring of the present system with a much greater emphasis on non-formal education, with a simultaneous effort to make this restructured system more relevant to Ethiopia as it is, and will be in the foreseeable future.

On March 7, 1972, the Director of the Education Sector Review issued a memorandum on "Themes for Consideration by Task Forces." This memorandum took into account the interim reports submitted by the task forces, the discussions that took place in the January symposium and the remarks made by Ato Million in his January 18 lecture at the Education Sector Review lecture series, which reflected the support of the Ministry of Education for the direction the EESR seemed to be taking. More specifically, the memorandum charged the task forces with studying the merits and implications of the themes to their respective areas of study; with making specific recommendations within the framework; with formulating strategies, projects and proposals; and with formulating alternative frameworks, projects, and proposals where the task forces found the suggested themes acceptable. The memorandum actually set the tone for the final task force reports and for the debate in the final conference.

Dr. Abebe's memorandum made the assumption that initially Ethiopia needed a cadre of highly educated and skilled individuals who would fill the demand for high level manpower, intellectuals and professionals, and that the education sector must at all times produce this cadre. In other words the memorandum accepted some amount of formal education of the present type to continue to provide this cadre of highly educated people. The "themes" memorandum, however, also pointed out that the main thrust of education in developing countries should be to insure that education reaches the mass of the population who form the base of the developmental efforts. Since the present system
in Ethiopia does not accomplish this, the urgent need is to reorient the educational system toward providing education for the masses. Taking these points into account, it was requested that the draft papers of the fourteen task forces provide ideas, themes, and proposals which would merit consideration by the July 1973 Conference.

The broad framework of objectives within which the proposals were to be made was derived from the discussions and papers up to that point. In the "themes" memorandum four objectives were envisioned for education:

- that education should contribute effectively toward economic betterment of the individual and of the society;
- that education should help to promote national integration;
- that education should bring about attitudes and changes essential to attune society to developmental needs;
- that education should accommodate those values that are cognizant of the religious and cultural diversity of the nation and which enable the individual to participate also in a world which is growing closer.

The "themes" paper recognized that the dominant idea of the discussions thus far was the call to make education for all the national commitment and to realize that this aspiration would not be achieved unless some form of education which took into account the vast rural majority were formulated.

Ten points derived from the sector review to that point were elaborated as general themes or directions which have program implications. The task forces were asked to keep these in mind when formulating their recommendations for the future course of Ethiopian education. These ten points follow:

1. The crystallizations and elaboration of national goals. The goals were not specified but the necessity of having goals was accepted. The themes document called for national and educational goals to be more clearly articulated, and cautioned against the danger of
confusing national goals and a national ideology with programs, such as specified in five year plans.

2. Education for minimum formation. "A national commitment for universal education entails a restructuring of the present educational system which has a formal orientation and gearing it to the needs and wants of a largely rural and agricultural society." It was accepted that every citizen was entitled to some form of education which was adequate to meet his minimum needs in a society. What kind of education constitutes this "minimum formation" was left as a question to be articulated and debated by the task forces.

3. The integration of formal and non-formal education. It was thought that if educational opportunity is to be made available to a wider clientele, then more types of educational programs must be given. The form of a merger between the two systems was an important question that the task forces were asked to consider. The guidance given was that merging/integration essentially implied primarily the abolition of the separation of formal and non-formal education and restructuring the educational system to make possible mobility and transfer of experiences between the two systems as well as to insure that education and training and in-service skills acquisition form a single coherent system.

4. The prominence of agricultural education. Since 90% of the population of Ethiopia engages in agriculture, the educational system must take this into account and reflect this emphasis in its offerings and programs.

5. Terminal levels of education. It was pointed out that under a system of universal education, all people in the country would not graduate from a university. In fact, the vast majority would not be able to continue their education beyond four or five years. Therefore, this abbreviated educational career must be a useful entity in itself and not just a preparation for the next level.
6. **Equality of distribution of education.** At present, the formal schools are concentrated in a few provinces along the all-weather highways. To meet the objective of equality of distribution and at the same time to achieve national integration, the nation's leaders must be drawn from a variety of locations and ethnic groups. Therefore, education must also be equitably distributed throughout the country.

7. **Amharic as a medium of instruction.** One of the principal means of achieving national integration is through the spread of the official language. For this reason Amharic is to be promoted as a language of instruction not only in the elementary schools but also in subsequent stages of education.

8. **Financing of education.** It was stated that there is a relatively known amount of financial resources available for financing education and that this amount of resources must be used wisely. Duplication must be avoided by coordinating and integrating the educational programs and activities of the various governmental agencies.

9. **Utilization of existing institutions.** It was noted that institutions such as the Church, the Mosque and other community institutions need to be utilized as means of delivering educational services. These are being utilized only to a limited extent. The future potential is very great.

10. **Decentralization of the education system.** The symposium participants emphasized that the responsibility for supervision and finance of lower levels of education should be delegated to the various provinces of the Empire.

    When formulating projects and recommendations, the 14 task forces were asked to consider the above "themes" in relation to the responsibilities of their task forces in terms of two time perspectives. These were the period of the fourth five-year plan and the period to the turn of the century. Task forces were requested to formulate specific recommendations and proposals for inclusion in the fourth five-year plan and proposals and directions with long range implications that could be outlined for the coming 20 to 25 years.
Formulation of Alternative Strategies

The Directorate staff, aided at this point by a small group of consultants provided by the IBRD, began the task of formulating of proposals and alternative strategies to be discussed at the final conference. The alternative strategies were derived from the various task force deliberations and resulting reports that occurred during the period between the January and July symposiums.

Three alternative strategies were synthesized by the Sector Review Directorate and included in the Draft Report of the Education Sector Review which became the major document discussed at the concluding July conference. Although this report is primarily concerned with non-formal education, the formal educational aspects of the three alternatives must be discussed to understand the role of the non-formal aspects. A brief description of the three alternatives proposed in the draft report follows:

Common Features of the Three Alternatives

Each alternative provided for or was composed of certain common features. Each provided for the usual three levels of education plus related non-formal educational programs. In each of the three alternatives the proposed programs for higher education and for mass media were similar. Second level education in each was limited to an expansion rate of 2.6% per annum, the approximate rate of population increase. The rate of expansion of third level education in each alternative was limited to 5.5%. First level education in each instance was to be conducted on a shift basis.

The resources that would in all probability be available for education up to the year 2,000 were estimated. Each alternative had been "priced out." Its expansion was projected into the future according to the projected resources available to education. The same level of resources was used in projecting each proposal.

The estimate of the enrollments that could be achieved with each alternative was made by subtracting from the total available resources for education the costs for the similar aspects of the programs
(higher education, mass media, administration, and non-recurrent capital costs), then deducting the costs of the second level education (which was different for each strategy). The balance of the funds after subtracting those known quantities was allocated to first level and non-formal education—proportions allocated to each varying between the three alternatives.

A major criteria for the evaluation of these three alternatives was the rapidity with which each could achieve the goal of Minimum Formation Education for all (MFE).

The present system was "priced out" and its expansion projected. It was found that 90% participation of the relevant age group in first level education would be achieved about midway through the third decade of the 21st century.

*Alternative Strategy I*

Alternative Strategy I provided for a continuation of the existing 6-2-4 school system with certain significant changes and improvements. The curricula would be made more practical by the inclusion of additional work-oriented and environmental studies. Certain economies would be achieved by operating the schools on a two-shift basis. The number of hours per day that a student attended classes would be reduced to three and one-half. By extending the school year to 220 days, the total number of hours per year remained approximately the same. The junior and senior secondary schools would continue to function essentially as they were with a more relevant curricula. Expanded mass media programs were to serve both formal and non-formal educational systems. The major component of the government-sponsored non-formal educational program would continue to be literacy training of the traditional variety with an increased emphasis on work-oriented functional literacy programs.

The projected enrollment for the first alternative strategy indicated that the primary schools would be enrolling approximately 66% of the relevant school population by 1999-2000. This alternative was immediately rejected as being too similar to the system presently
in operation. The proposal was also amazingly similar to one proposed in 1958 as a result of a UNESCO-conducted sector review and proposed ten-year expansion program for the Ethiopian educational system. The general consensus of the discussion was that this alternative was not a new one. It was felt that because the alternative had not worked in the past, it should not be expected to work in the future. The alternative was rejected and received no further consideration.

Alternative Strategy II

Under Alternative Strategy II, the formal school system would be restructured on a 4-4-4 basis. There would be major changes in curriculum and instructional methods in both first and second level schools. Instruction would be based throughout on inquiry rather than rote methods of learning. The course material would be integrated into cohesive areas of study instead of being presented as separate subjects. A rather detailed plan for this new instructional method was presented by the task force on curriculum and methodology.

The first level would consist of a program called minimum formation education (MFE). This is the minimum education that all in the Empire would be entitled to.

MFE will employ a revised curriculum, arranged in cohesive areas of study, which would include:

- Communication and computational skills;
- Physical culture and self expression;
- Practical arts;
- Environmental studies. 12

MFE was to be made available to all children throughout the Empire as soon as possible. The entry age was held flexible. It was assumed that most students would require four years to complete the MFE program. However, it was emphasized that the length of time
required to complete the program by individual students should determine how many years they invested in the MFE program and not the organizational criteria imposed by a 4-4-4 structure. It was hypothesized that if students took two or three years to complete the MFE program, this should be the length of time required for them to stay in the program. If it took five or six years, then they should stay that long. The time schedule for the MFE program in Alternative II was essentially the same as that for Alternative I—two shifts per day, three and a half hours per shift, 220 days per year.

All three of the four-year blocks in Alternative Strategy II were planned as "terminal" programs. The first block did not have as its primary objective the preparation for the next four years but was a valid and useful unit of instruction in itself. Similarly, the second and third four-year blocks were not merely preparations for additional scheduling.

It was proposed in Alternative II that extensive use be made of teachers who had a lower level of prior formal education and of "community assistants" who could be used to teach practical subjects.

On completion of the MFE program, most students would enter the work force or non-formal educational programs. A very small minority would enter the secondary schools. The second four years of Alternative Strategy II, consisting of grades 5 through 8, would be offered in so-called "middle schools" which were considered in the review as second level schools. Here, as in minimum formation, subjects would be integrated into study areas. There would be slightly more differentiation into courses such as language, composition, and mathematics than in the first cycle. The content and skills taught would continue to be more applied than academic. The same would be true of the third four-year block, which is the second half of "second level" education.

It was acknowledged that changes would have to be made in the testing, examination, and admittance procedures. Since the first four years of MFE would vary according to local needs, the use of a uniform national examination at this level would be precluded. It was suggested that promotion to higher levels of education be decided by
teachers and directors of schools, following the administration of aptitude tests and studies of the pupils' report cards. Admission to the third-level institutions would be based on competitive examinations.

The most interesting aspects of Alternative II were its provisions for non-formal education. In this strategy non-formal education would be institutionalized, programmed, and in their terms "semi-formalized" under a program which was given the name of "community practicums." The community practicum concept attempts to relate more closely the formal schools to the community. It is an attempt to provide a mechanism whereby non-formal education and other community resources can be made relevant to the formal schools. At the initial stages of the expansion of the education system under Alternative II, community practicums would serve all students: those who had not entered MFE, those who were in MFE, and those who had completed it. After Alternative II had been implemented and all students had passed through MFE, the community practicum (CP) would serve those students who had completed MFE but did not go on to the middle school.

It was anticipated that a variety of CPs would be offered to meet local and individual needs. They would be in the area of specific skills, such as crafts or blacksmith shops, cement factories, repair shops, and related activities. Participants would spend most of their time in practical on-the-job training and a lesser number of hours in related classroom instruction. Community practicums would contain other practical skills and knowledge useful in the community, particularly agricultural skills and family life skills.

Directors of the practicums would be skilled technicians, craftsmen or extension agents who would provide on-the-job instruction. Classroom instruction in the CPs would be given by teachers specially recruited and trained for the purpose or by formal school teachers. The community practicum is not conceived as being a part of the formal school system but closely related to it. There could be a joint use of facilities and a joint use of staff. It was anticipated that students would typically enter the practicums after completing their formal
schooling, whether it be MFE or second level education. The system would also provide for reverse flow. Not only could students leave the formal schools and enter the practicums, but provision would be made for people to enter the formal school system after participating in a CP. Community practicums would also encompass such programs as women's extension, public works, and community developmental centers. Programs would vary in length; they would enroll young adults as well as recent school leavers.

The concept of the community practicum was not adequately developed. The characteristics of the staff required for a community practicum were not specified. The controlling mechanism of the community practicum was not identified. The method which would be used to coordinate the inputs from various other agencies was not considered. The mechanisms or the procedures by which students would float back and forth from the formal system to the community practicums and back to the formal system were not specified.

Under Alternative Strategy II, 80% of the funds for first-level education would be allocated for formal education and the remainder for non-formal education. This would permit an increase of the MFE program under Alternative Strategy II so that in the year 2000, 90% of the relevant school age population would be enrolled in MFE programs. This is in contrast to the 66% under Strategy I that would be enrolled in first-level education. A preliminary and approximate estimate was that the number of participants in community practicums would increase from about 1,000,000 in the year 1984-1985 to 2,000,000 in the year 1999-2000. Over the last decade of the 20th century, it was anticipated that one-half to three-quarters of the total population aged 13 to 34 would have some involvement in community practicums.

Alternative Strategy III

Alternative Strategy III, the most radical of the three proposals, called for a two track system. One was a 4-2-4 system to replace the present formal system. The first four years were identical to MFE in Alternative II. For a select number of students, two years
of junior secondary school and an additional four years of senior secondary school followed MFE. All blocks were terminal in nature, as in Alternative II. The entry age for MFE in Alternative III was a minimum of nine years. This was prescribed for two reasons: (1) it was thought that the older age of entry would allow for the acceleration of presentation of material in the program, and (2) by entering at age nine, the student would complete the program at age thirteen. This is closer to the age when a student would enter the labor market as an independent individual.

The second track was composed of a two-year block called "basic formation education," followed by a three-year block called "secondary formation education." This track was designed for older students who had not had a prior opportunity to attend formal schools. The minimum entry age into this program was 13 and a youth could enter up to age 16. The two year program of basic formation education consisted essentially of the same material as the MFE program--however, it would be accelerated, somewhat abbreviated, and adapted to older students' needs and interests. The program would be taught in the late afternoons or early evenings for the convenience of students who had to work during the day. Provision was made for a certain number of students to cross over from the basic formation and secondary formation program into the regular formal school system, thus allowing the more gifted students to continue their formal education. An interesting feature of the basic formation program was that, although it would enroll students from age 13 to 16, the initial preference in admittance to this program would be given to the older students. After the older students had been accommodated, the preferred age of admittance would be lowered. When all students had entered MFE programs, the basic formation program could be eliminated.

Following the basic formation program a three-year program of secondary formation was anticipated. The secondary formation program was to be predominantly practical and vocational. Program content would be flexible and locally determined. Students in secondary formation would work part time. The secondary formation programs would be
predominantly rural and hence would be closely related to rural development, public works, and agricultural developmental programs. It was anticipated that students who leave the MFE program could enter the secondary formation program to obtain practical non-formal education.

The basic formation program is essentially an accelerated basic education program containing literacy, numeracy, health, hygiene, civics, etc. Both this and the three-year secondary formation program following the basic formation program would be non-formal educational programs.

In Alternative Strategy III other non-formal educational programs would be offered under the umbrella of an institution to be called a Village Developmental Center (VDC). These centers would include programs for training farmers, educating adult women, providing skill training for youths and adults in practical trades, arts, crafts, and agriculture, for conducting adult literacy programs, and related programs. The establishment of non-formal educational programs would be related to the speed with which VDCs would be established and expanded. Some school buildings could be used after school hours for adult education. It was not anticipated that the presence of a formal school be a prerequisite for the establishment of a VDC. Non-formal programs could and should start in the community before formal programs.

Alternative Strategy III provides the most rapid route to the attainment of universal mass education. The two-track system of Alternative III provides for the attainment of 90% enrollment in elementary education 16 years before Alternative II. By 1983-84 approximately 90% of the 1970-71 birth age would have entered either non-government schools, the minimum formation program, or the basic formation program. By the end of this century it would be possible to phase out the basic formation program. The secondary formation program, however, would continue to expand to accommodate the growing number of graduates of MFE programs who did not gain admittance to the slowly expanding junior secondary schools.
Alternative Strategy III also provided for a significantly larger program of non-formal education than either of the other two strategies. Over the decade of the 80's it was anticipated that half of the age group from 19-34 would participate in NFE programs. The proportion would climb to more than three-fourths of the 19-34 year age group by 1990 to 2000.

The July 1972 Final Conference

The final conference to consider the above recommendations and proposals met in early July, 1972. The Emperor, in his opening address, made several points that were held as significant by the members of the Sector Review. He indicated that:

1. Education must prepare a society that is alert and responsive to developmental measures.
2. Education should not only emphasize academic education but should prepare youth to earn a livelihood.
3. It is "essential that effective ways be found to improve through education the competence and efficiency of the adults since education is not only for children and youth."
4. And probably most important, "It is furthermore necessary that the recommendations you will submit to the government for action be feasible and serve the long-term interest of the country."

The initial plenary sessions of the conference established several policy directions that were to guide the recommendations made by the symposium. These were:

- Every Ethiopian is entitled to at least the minimum education necessary to participate in the developmental efforts of the nation.
- The recommendations should be adapted that move the quickest and surest toward the universal provision of this minimum education.
- The movement toward mass provision of minimum formation, by virtue of the fact that 90% of the population is rural, necessitates primary emphasis and priority on rural, agriculturally oriented education.
- Major emphasis should be given to non-formal education for adults and for youth who have missed prior opportunities for education and for the implementation of developmental programs.
- All education should be designed to serve the developmental goals of the Empire.
The conference was divided into three commissions that met separately to discuss the proposals and recommendations of the individual task forces. The commissions quickly came to the realization that specific recommendations could not be considered until the general form of the educational programs to be recommended was discussed and some general agreement on direction established. To this end, the three alternative strategies for the development of education were presented to a plenary session.

The "Preferred Alternative"

From the discussions of the three alternatives presented to the conference, a fourth alternative began to emerge. This alternative was eventually to become the preferred strategy of the EESR.

This strategy recommended by the conference was a modification of Alternative Strategy II and it incorporated certain key features of Alternative Strategy III. The recommended strategy retained the 4-4-4 sequence of Alternative Strategy II. It incorporated the basic formation program and secondary formation program of Alternative Strategy III that provided schooling for those youths who had already missed prior formal training opportunities. The non-formal educational program of Alternative Strategy III embodied in the VDC's was included in this strategy for recommendation to the government.

By rejecting the entry age into MFE of nine years recommended in Alternative III in favor of the seven year old entry age in Alternative Strategy II, the percentage of the elementary school aged children who would be in school increased.

The NFE program as recommended in the preferred strategy provided for a rather extensive array of programs to serve both youth and adults. The program would be closely related to the formal system and also to other developmental programs. The community practicums, which were very closely related to the formal school system, were retained to serve leavers of the MFE program as well as others. The purpose of most of the NFE programs would be to develop productive skills for employed youth and those seeking employment. An additional major NFE
element of the recommended strategy was the village developmental centers. These centers would provide an umbrella under which all sorts of non-formal programs could be conducted. The organization of the community-controlled centers could include programs for training farmers in improved agricultural methods, programs for housewives, literacy classes, skill centers for job training, as well as providing a base of operation for public works programs.

Projections of expenditures and enrollments for Alternative Strategies I, II and III and the recommended strategy prepared by the Review Directorate show the dramatic increase in funds to be allocated to non-formal education. During 1971-72 the total expenditure on non-formal education by the Ministry of Education was $500,000 Ethiopian. This was expended almost entirely on literacy programs. This amounted to less than 1% of the Ministry of Education budget. The amount to be expended on non-formal education for the recommended strategy was to increase steadily until in the year 2000 approximately 12% of all funds expended by the Ministry of Education would be devoted to NFE programs.

At the time it was considering the alternative strategies and making the preferred recommendations, the Sector Review assumed that a very important piece of legislation had been promulgated and its enactment is now being considered. This piece of legislation provides for the decentralization of government through the so-called Awraja plan. It places much of the power and authority for the functions of government in the hands of the Awraja governors of which there are 102 in Ethiopia. The Awraja plan affects education because the responsibility for primary education would be shifted completely from the central government to the Awraja government. Responsibility for elementary education and non-formal education would also be assumed by the Awraja and this includes responsibility not only for supervision and administration but also for financing. The central ministry, through the 14 provincial offices, would retain responsibility for secondary and higher education.

Other ministries of the government, such as the ministries of agriculture, national community development, health and interior would
lose much of their direct control over their technical personnel to the Awraja government. The decentralization plan places much of the control of developmental personnel in the hands of people much closer to the areas in which the workers perform their services. When passed and implemented, this act will reverse the trend toward centralization of authority that began long before the advent of the present Emperor. The implementation of the village developmental center concept as proposed in Alternative III will place much of the services of the developmental workers and the extension representatives from the various technical ministries in the village developmental center which will further decentralize the control of services.

Summary of Main Features

To reiterate, the main features of the recommendations were:

1. The decentralization of authority for elementary and non-formal education to the Awraja (provincial) level including the responsibilities for much of the finance, curriculum determination, supervision, and examinations.

2. More emphasis on non-formal education and other significant shifts in enrollment growth patterns.

3. The first level or elementary education is to become a four year instead of six year program. Junior secondary education is also to become a four year program, as is senior secondary education. All three of these four year blocks are to be terminal in nature.

A large factor in whether this will indeed come about in practice is the degree to which the objective of the fourth feature can be reached.

4. The reliance on examinations based upon the content of the curriculum is no longer to be used as the sole criteria for selecting those who will go on to the next level. Success is to be determined on the basis of classroom performance and teacher evaluation based on a locally determined curriculum, and not on national examinations.

5. A complementary program for the development of more detailed instructional materials for use by the students and a reduction in the amount of training a teacher receives is to be formulated. It is a move in the direction of para-professional teachers within the context of the Ethiopian situation.
6. A program is to be developed whereby non-formal education would be institutionalized, programmed, or— in the terms of the EESR—"semi-formalized," under a program which will be called community practicums.

The non-formal educational aspects of the recommended alternative of the Sector Review are composed essentially of three elements. At the first level is the program called the community practicum. This program of non-formal education is closely connected with the formal schools, although not specifically a part of the schools. Although the program can provide practical education for students who have not had the opportunity for formal schooling, its primary function is to serve students who leave the formal schools and do not have the necessary skills to make a living. This program is to utilize not only the services of the formal school in terms of facilities and teachers but also the resources of the various NFE activities in the community such as agricultural extension, health centers, and programs for women.

The second level is a program of basic and work-oriented non-formal education which is called basic formation and secondary formation. This program is designed for students from 13 to 18 years of age. It is essentially a part-time program and is designed for youth who have missed prior opportunities for formal education. The program provides basic education, practical training, and a base for coordinating NFE activities.

The third level of the non-formal program is that of the village developmental center. This center is a coordinating mechanism for NFE programs and other activities in the community. It is the organization which will bring together for the services of the community those non-formal educational programs that are available, whether they be agricultural extension, health and community development, literacy, or skill training in crafts and trades. This program can serve the older youth and the upper teens but is designed especially for adults.
Essentially what the Sector Review proposed was a framework within which non-formal educational activities could be conducted for three groups. What is not contained in the Sector Review documents are the answers to the questions as to how these proposals for the application of non-formal education can be implemented and what those non-formal education activities are to be. Exactly what should this basic education include? What are the appropriate methods to be utilized? What instructional materials are appropriate? What sorts of teachers will be needed? What motivations are necessary for the students? What work content is appropriate?

The community practicum proposal poses even more questions. How is such a program to be administered? Who should control it? How is the determination made as to the types of programs that should be offered? How are the students to be allowed to go back and forth from the community practicum to the formal system and back to the community practicum? How does one obtain cooperation of the various non-formal educational programs operating in an area? Who will teach? What preparation is needed?

For the village developmental center, similar questions can be asked. How is it to be administered? Upon what local organization will it be built? How will the various program inputs--agricultural extension, health, literacy, etc.--be coordinated? What types of people are needed locally to direct such centers? Some of these concerns were stated in the final Sector Review document as tasks which remain.

As seen by the Ethiopians, some of these necessary tasks are:

1. costing out the various proposed NFE programs;
2. the determination of the relative responsibilities of various ministries for the planning, development, and funding of village developmental centers;
3. working out of a program for public works which could be included as part of a secondary formation or community practicum program including the costs, schedules, and responsibilities;
4. planning and providing for an evaluation program for the various adult literacy
programs; (5) the establishment of general curriculum guides, instructional methods, and staffing needs for the non-formal educational programs.

**Implications of the Review Process**

The findings and recommendations of the EESR have far-reaching implications for Ethiopia and other developing nations facing similar educational and developmental problems. Besides the implications of the findings, the review process itself—the manner in which the review was conducted—has significance for nations interested in embarking on similar reviews of significant sectors of their society. The Ethiopian Education Sector Review was a bold and courageous endeavor that required much faith on the part of the Ethiopians and the World Bank alike. The significance of the findings and the results of the review process have proved that the faith was well placed.

One group of implications resulting from the process has to do with the people involved in the review:

- The review demonstrated that an indigenous group of professionals could be gathered to perform the organizational and inquiry tasks necessary to conduct a review of a major segment of society. Furthermore, it was demonstrated that this could be done with only limited inputs from expatriate personnel.

- The review demonstrated that a wide range of indigenous people could be brought together to participate as a group in the review process: people from the government ministries, from the university and teacher training colleges, and from private business and industry.

The participants were selected on the basis of their ability to contribute to the work of the review. They consisted primarily of those who would be charged, in one way or another, with implementing or facilitating the implementation of the recommendations of the review. The participants truly had a "stake"—a personal commitment—in the recommendations. Other implications related to personnel involved the results from:
- The indigenous nature of the personnel making the investigation. This will help to provide a greater measure of assurance that the findings and the recommendations will be relevant to the social, cultural, and economic context of the situation to which they are to be applied.

- The method of utilization of expatriates. This provides a more appropriate model of international interaction than was previously available.

- The learning experience provided by the review for the 150-odd participants, both Ethiopian and foreign. The learnings embodied in the review process, the investigations carried out, and the recommendations made to the Imperial Ethiopian Government have great significance for Ethiopia and reviews in other countries.

The factor of time in the EESR was important. The review was allowed almost a full year to complete its assignment. The extended period allowed adequate time for the conduct of the many investigations and the gathering of data. It allowed time for an extended debate to take place. The debate was conducted in the task forces, in the seminars, in the January symposium, and in the July final conference. Indeed the debate that was started has continued. The time allowed an ample gestation period for ideas and recommendations to surface and take shape. Perhaps most important of all, the length of time allowed made it possible for many who were busy with other matters to participate in the review process.

The time and the people thus involved allowed an effective forum to develop, a forum in which:

- People could fully express their ideas, hopes and reservations concerning education in Ethiopia. The forum in some cases was limited in scope, as in the discussions of the individual task forces. In other cases, the forum was national in scope, as in the case of the January symposium and the final conference in July.

- An atmosphere prevailed that proved to be open, frank, and conducive to questioning the role and performance of education in Ethiopia. The frank and open exchanges were a feature of the relationship not only among the Ethiopians but also among the Ethiopians and the foreign participants.
- Other issues were allowed to surface and be examined in light of their implications for development in general and of the role of education in facilitating development in particular. Some of the complex and sensitive issues that emerged had to do with language policy, land tenure and landlord-tenant relationships, decentralization of government authority, and the problems of the unequal distribution of the fruits of development.

- A debate on the national level began but soon went beyond the sector review participants. The debate continues.

A study such as the Ethiopian Education Sector Review necessitates many things besides reviewing.

- The review forced a basic re-evaluation of the overall goals of the educational enterprise in Ethiopia, both formal and non-formal. This evaluation led to the more basic question of the articulation of national goals. The broad range of people involved in the review ensured a consideration of national and educational goals from many perspectives.

- The review provided a national framework within which many individual and small group studies could be related. These studies include those initiated specifically for and by the review and others that were being conducted outside the review machinery but became part of the review because of the relevant national framework it provided.

- As in most developing countries, the data base from which one must work is limited. The sector review had no alternative but to start with the available information and data. To the extent possible within time and resource limitations, it then proceeded to generate the additional data needed. (An alternative plan would have been to generate the data first and then begin the review.) It is problematic if the data would have been generated if the review had not been conducted. In any event, the review generated the best data currently available--certainly more than was available before.

- The method of evaluation of the proposed alternative plans for education in Ethiopia has implications for other reviewers because it demonstrated a realistic approach to making decisions in a context of limited resources. The three alternatives were compared and evaluated--not only by an examination of the types of programs, the individuals served, and their probable results, but by projecting the rate of implementation of each, using a common resource base. Educational targets were not established and then the resource needs determined. The probable resources available were determined and the targets each alternative could reach were then estimated.
Finally, the recommendations and alternatives proposed by the EESR were considered to be subject to reappraisal and re-evaluation. It was generally thought that the recommendations should be tried, experimented with, variations developed, and further testing done. The Review recommended that there should be recurrent evaluations and adjustments in the specific recommendations as more was learned and the needs of Ethiopia change. This concept of the Sector Review as the first step in a recurrent series of reviews is worthy of serious consideration by others.

This successful demonstration by the Ethiopians will be considered by many to be accidental. We have been told by skeptics that it worked in Ethiopia because of the special circumstances present there, but that a similar sector review would not work or would be extremely difficult to duplicate elsewhere. There is no question that this would be difficult—it was a difficult task in Ethiopia. But, the benefits of the process and the types of recommendations likely to be generated make the difficulty of the task a secondary consideration. We are confident that the process and the success of the Ethiopians will be duplicated and that this general model will become more nearly the rule and not an isolated exception.
NOTES: CHAPTER II

1. See Education: Challenge to the Nation, Report of the EESR.

2. Interview with Dr. Abebe Ambatchew, Secretary General of the National Commission for Education and Director of the EESR.


4. Columbia University, University of Michigan, and Michigan State University.

5. Unpublished draft paper by Dr. Abebe Ambatchew, Director of EESR.


7. The word "technology" as it is used here is to be taken in its widest sense which includes teaching methods, management, and staffing.

8. The highest civil service position within the Ministry of Education.


10. Ibid., p. 4.

11. Ibid., p. 5.

CHAPTER III

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN THE COUNTRY CONTEXT

Introduction

The underlying reasons for conducting studies of individual non-formal educational activities are:

1. To gain a better understanding of the nature of NFE programs;
2. To identify factors that lead to success and/or failure of the activities;
3. To identify areas of fruitful study for other investigators of non-formal education.

In general, the case study provides insights into specific non-formal educational activities. The range of information that is necessary to fully understand the individual instance of non-formal education is contained in the case study outline in Appendix I.

The purposes behind a country study are essentially analogous to those for conducting case studies of individual NFE activities. The individual case study answers questions concerning the application of non-formal education in specific developmental activities. The country study seeks to answer questions concerning the application of a system of non-formal educational activities toward meeting the overall developmental goals of a country, especially those goals stated in terms of the provision of human resources. The specific objectives of the country study of Ethiopia were to catalogue and describe as many non-formal educational activities as possible, the minimum being a representative sample of the various types of NFE activities in the country. The study sought to assess the human, physical, and financial resources being allocated to NFE activities. An attempt was made to assess the impact of the activities in terms of: the number and distribution of participants, the sectors in which they were involved, the economic impact of the activities,
and the social impact. The study also sought to determine and describe interrelationships and boundaries between formal and non-formal education and any patterns, linkages, and relationships that might exist between formal and non-formal education and within the several NFE programs. It was hoped that certain educational gaps and overlaps might be identified and also areas where further study by other members of the MSU study groups would be fruitful. Other specific objectives were to determine whether or not there was a leadership pattern or administrative structure that was associated with successful programs; to explore the nature of the linkages between NFE programs and employment; and to identify points where external assistance could be most productive and regenerative. These specific objectives were differentially achieved.

The Director of the A.I.D. Human Resources Group in Ethiopia, Dr. Clifford Liddle, arranged for the MSU team to work with the Director of the Ethiopian Education Sector Review. Upon our arrival the Director of the EESR arranged a meeting with Dr. Solomon Inquila, the Chairman of Task Force 14, concerned with out-of-school education. The concerns of this task force and the sector review in general vis-a-vis non-formal education were outlined to the MSU group. It was fortuitous that the information and descriptions coincided exactly with the programs and concerns which the MSU group had identified as their main interest. Therefore, with no change in emphasis, the group was able to work as an integral part of Task Force 14 within the Education Sector Review.

The closest and most continuous contact, however, was with Dr. Abebe Ambatchew, Director of the Review. It was he who arranged for transportation, made appointments and arrangements for travel and field trips, arranged for guides when needed, and provided secretarial and translation assistance. It was through his help that the efficiency of the group was multiplied many fold. Without the advantage of being able to work within the Sector Review and under the Director's sponsorship, it would have taken several times longer to
visit and interview the same number of people and to collect the same amount of material—if it could have been accomplished at all.

The logical sequence utilized was to conduct a series of investigations into individual activities and then combine these into a country study. In the case of Ethiopia, it seems that there were already several descriptions of NFE activities that could be utilized. For example, the International Council for Educational Development had conducted studies in Ethiopia for the IBRD; the African American Institute conference report was then available and included descriptions of four non-formal educational activities in Ethiopia; the Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit had been quite comprehensively described in a publication of the Swedish International Development Agency.

By the time the team left for Ethiopia it had a list of the present and past NFE activities that had been reported in the literature, many before the term non-formal education was being applied to that type of activity. This list was checked on site for accuracy and additions were made through the assistance of the Chairman of Task Force 14. Another list formulated before departure contained all the activities it was possible to identify that might contain a non-formal educational element meriting further investigation. In addition the team had tried to gain as much knowledge as possible concerning the country's geography, social structure, culture, economy, educational system, and other aspects of Ethiopia which related to the study of non-formal education.

In the initial planning of an investigation of non-formal education one would normally attempt to formulate classifications or characteristics which would guide the investigator in his task. There are a number of possibilities for such schemes. Archibald Calloway suggests that there should be two main classifications of non-formal education: programs for youth and programs for adults. Frederich Harbison suggests three: pre-service (education in preparation for employment), in-service/mid career advancement (education received while employed), and non-service (basic education/literacy
education and other general or cultural education that is not directed toward employment skills). James Sheffield suggests that NFE could be viewed as being:

- An alternative to formal schooling,
- An extension of formal education,
- As in-service training for those already employed.

In his report to the African American Institute Conference on non-formal education, he utilized the three classifications of:

- Agricultural and rural community development,
- Industrial and vocational training,
- Multi-purpose programs.

Many other bases for classification could be suggested:

- By the content of the program,
- Occupational grouping of the participants,
- Sponsors of the program,
- Length of the programs,
- Objectives of the program, social, economic, political,
- Educational techniques utilized.

By proposing a set of characteristics that would determine the classifications into which the programs of non-formal education would be organized, one is possibly determining in advance what will be considered the most important characteristic of the programs. If age of the clientele is taken as the most important characteristic, this is then utilized as the main classifying factor. If the three characteristics proposed by Harbison are utilized, one is prejudging that these are the most important of the programs. In our investigations, we did not begin with a system of classification but tried to remain open to all possible schemes. We felt that we did not know enough about NFE in Ethiopia at that point to make such a determination, but assumed that only after on-the-spot consultation, reconnaissance, and more intensive investigation was there a possibility that some significant scheme for classification and characterization would emerge relevant to the particular situation in Ethiopia.
The early decision to concentrate on non-formal educational activities related to developmental problems probably was central to determining the type of classifications used. Also important was the fact that it proved to be of little use to try to describe and interpret the total non-formal educational effort in Ethiopia. The programs dealt with very different groups of people, in different locations, for different reasons, and with varying results. Because of our emphasis on programs dealing with developmental problems, the nature of the sector in which the developmental problem occurred became the main headings under which we have treated the NFE programs investigated. Hence, we have treated those non-formal educational programs dealing with human resource developmental problems in the modern sector as a group. Another natural group of programs dealt with are those occurring in and directed toward the problems of the rural sector. A third section deals with literacy programs. These occur in both the rural and modern/urban sectors but because of their large number and similarity of problems and objectives they are treated as a group. A fourth section deals with programs that are either in the planning stage, planned and waiting to be implemented, or programs in the very early stages of implementation. Several that were in planning stages at the time of our visit to Ethiopia have since progressed to implementation stages. A short section dealing with those programs that do not neatly fall into any of the above classifications is also included; in this brief section are programs sponsored by social service organizations, women's programs, mass media, and certain programs sponsored by formal institutions of education.

It is hoped that this chapter illustrates the necessity for a context for a study of non-formal education. It is of little use in Ethiopia to talk of non-formal education unless one defines where and for what purposes the NFE is being conducted. The more specific one can be when talking of non-formal education, the more useful the conversation can be.
Non-Formal Education and the Modern Sector in Ethiopia

Introduction

The "Modern Sector" as used here is defined as those activities concerned with the manufacture of goods, extraction of raw materials, the processing of raw materials, the provision of services, and the creation and maintenance of certain types of infrastructure, such as communications, roads, railroads, air transportation, telephone, telecommunication, and so forth.

The modern sector can be contrasted with the rural traditional sector which, by our definition, is concerned with agricultural activities, support for traditional agriculture and traditional non-farm activities such as rural handicraft skills and small scale manufacturing using traditional technology. The rural traditional sector and modern sector can also be contrasted by their different geographic locations—the organizations and activities of the modern sector are located in urban areas whereas the organizations and activities of the traditional sector are usually located in rural areas. The two sectors also define two different groups of people, not only by geographic residence but also, as in the case of Ethiopia, by a difference in the level of schooling, literacy rates, and all other indicators of human resource development with residents of the modern sector generally rating higher than the traditional sector.

The rural traditional sector and the modern urban sector in terms of non-formal education can also be contrasted by the types of NFE programs one finds. The traditional sector serviced by NFE programs are generally large when measured by the criteria of the numbers of people influenced. The amount of training each individual person receives, however, is generally small.

NFE activities in the modern sector are considered as a group because of the similarities in the types of programs conducted within the sector. There is also a similarity in the types of sources of technology applied within the sector. These activities as indicated above are mainly in the urban areas, and the entrance requirements...
for non-formal education programs connected with them are generally similar. There is also justification for considering the programs as a group because the objectives of the programs fall within central concerns of those considering the problem of "manpower planning." Finally, when we refer to the modern sector we are referring to a classification which is generally understood and accepted by economists, educational and manpower planners, and others.

It would be useful to differentiate between types of NFE programs within the modern sector before beginning our discussion. There are a number of ways in which a classification could be accomplished. One would be to classify the training programs by the relationship to specific economic activities within the modern sector; that is, classification according to whether the training programs are designed to provide infrastructure, manufacturing, transportation, communications, and so forth. This classification was rejected because of the similarities between these non-formal training programs. Instead, the NFE programs will be considered not by the type of economic activity for which persons are being trained but by characteristics of the training programs themselves. We will use the classifications of pre-service training programs, vestibule training programs, and in-service training of three sub-classifications: apprenticeship (formal and informal), refresher or skill maintenance programs, and programs designed to facilitate the upgrading of the worker to a higher level position.

The Characteristics and Magnitude of the Modern Sector in Ethiopia

By any measure of importance, the size of the modern sector in Ethiopia is small. In terms of the size of the work force, for example, the modern sector accounts for somewhat less than 10% of the total. In terms of share of gross domestic product, the modern sector in 1969 accounted for only 16% of the gross domestic product. In terms of exports, the modern sector accounts for less than one percent of the total value. The one aspect in which the modern sector
overshadows the traditional sector is in its absorption of relatively highly trained manpower.

A Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs study of the training of manpower in Ethiopia, published in 1970, states that 33% of all the entrants to vocational-technical training programs had completed a 10th grade general education, 41% completed grade 11, and 26% had completed grade 12. To put this in its proper perspective, the modern sector utilizes a large percentage of the Ethiopians with formal education, since, for the country as a whole, the literacy rate is only approximately 10%. It can be seen from the above that the entrants into vocational and technical training programs of the formal and non-formal variety, who represent less than 10% of the population, do not constitute a cross-section of the population as a whole, but represent those persons who have already had the opportunity for secondary schooling.

Recent Manpower Studies in Ethiopia

The manpower needs in the modern sector have been described by at least three different organizations in Ethiopia. The Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs (MNDC&SA), within which the Department of Labor resides, has, as indicated above, published such a description in 1970. Other analyses have been made more recently by the Education Sector Review Task Force on Manpower and by the Central Planning Office of the Imperial Ethiopian Government. All three groups come to the same general conclusion: namely, that in certain job classifications there are shortages of trained manpower in Ethiopia. The three organizations also conclude that there is a surplus of certain other types of manpower, including a large percentage of graduates from the academic and comprehensive high schools and some graduates from the vocational schools. This situation--of simultaneous shortage and surplus--is not dissimilar from that of other developing countries. The skills and attitudes of those in the surplus categories do not match the requirements of the job openings. Whether there would be a net surplus or a net
shortage if the skills of the surplus matched the skills of the openings is disputed. Two of the three surveys mentioned above indicate no shortages if such "matching" were a fact. The third survey indicates a projected shortage of 22,000 second and third level personnel over the next ten year period.

Separate analyses of students enrolled in all types of Ethiopian training programs were done by the staff of the Education Sector Review and the Ministry of National Community Development. The first reported a total of 7,028 students enrolled in vocational training courses both formal and non-formal. The second reported a total of 7,453. The breakdown in the figures supplied by the Education Sector Review indicates that of the 7,028 in their analysis, 6,616 were enrolled in programs of a structured nature; that is, there was intentionality connected with the training. Approximately 50% were enrolled in programs which could be considered to be non-formal in nature--in-service and plant training programs. The remainder were enrolled in formal vocational schools.

Of the three manpower studies, the levels of requirements were highest in those projections of the MNCD&SA Labor Office. A middle ground projection came from the Education Sector Review staff. The Central Planning Office projected requirements which were less than half of those proposed by the MNCD&SA Labor Office.

Representatives of these three groups who have conducted manpower assessments for Ethiopia in the last few years had an opportunity to interact through the recent Education Sector Review. The only real area of agreement between the three was that, in any case, a better assessment was needed. That there is indeed a shortage of certain types of trained manpower is evident from the fact that private industries and government agencies in Ethiopia, as in other countries, are willing to, or find it necessary to, expend their own funds to train their employees. That there is a surplus of trained manpower on the other hand is evidenced by the fact that the graduates of vocational schools, as well as other formal schools, cannot find jobs and are presently unemployed.
Formal Vocational Schools

There are four large technical, vocational, or commercial schools in Ethiopia. The oldest is the technical school located in Addis Ababa. This school, established in 1941, offers a number of four-year courses in industrial-vocational subjects. To date the school has trained approximately 2,880 students. The present enrollment is approximately 695. The school has programs in arts and crafts, auto mechanics, carpentry, building trades, electrical trades, radio electronics, general mechanics, machine shop, surveying, and drafting. Of the school's fifty teachers, 66% are Ethiopians. Half of the 29 Ethiopian teachers of vocational education have had at least a grade 12 education. Most, however, have had no occupational experience and are graduates of the school in which they are teaching. In July of 1972 the school expected to graduate 141 students. These students, and other recent graduates, have found it necessary to form a self-help organization, which is working in conjunction with the Center for Entrepreneurship and Management, to try to find jobs or create employment for themselves.

The next oldest school is the Commercial School of Addis Ababa, founded in 1942. This school offers three types of vocational business courses. The first, which was phased out after the 1971-72 school year, was a four year program for students who have successfully completed the 8th grade. The second is a two year course for students who have successfully completed grade 10. The third is a one year experimental course for grade 12 graduates. The fields of specialization are accounting, administration, and secretarial. To date the program has trained approximately 2,500 persons in these fields. Current (1972) enrollment in the Commercial School is 747 full-time day students.

The third technical school, located in Asmara in the province of Eritrea, was founded in 1953 and offers four year industrial-vocational courses. The students enter the school after completing the 8th grade. To date this school has trained approximately 900 persons in auto mechanics, building trades, electrical trades,
general mechanics, machine shop, drafting, and surveying. The current enrollment is 302 students, of whom 63 graduated in July of 1972.

The fourth and newest school is a Polytechnic Institute located at Bahr Dar in Gojam province. This school was built by the government of USSR and is presently staffed by Russian teachers. The school, though built to accommodate 1,000 students, had an enrollment in 1972 of approximately 250. The four main programs offered at this school are farm mechanics, weaving and textiles, woodworking, and metal fabrication. A program in chemical technology has also been recently added. The school was originally a four year school taking students at the end of the 8th grade. It then dropped the first two years of its program, added two more years at the end and became a four year school, accepting students at the end of 10th grade, taking them through the first two years of third level education, and granting the graduates a "diploma." The first two years of this latter plan have been phased out, and the school is presently accepting students who have finished grade 12 and providing them with a two year program.

The Education Sector Review (ESR) Task Force No. 8 on Vocational-Technical Education pointed out in their final report some reasons why vocational and technical school graduates have difficulty finding jobs. The most important of the reasons given was that the students had been inadequately prepared for their chosen occupational field. Further, it was felt that the graduates leave these training institutions with mainly theoretical knowledge, without adequate skills and practical experiences. It was also stated that many of these students "lack the proper attitude and occupational ethics on the part of a graduate and lack orientation to business and industrial requirements." Three other reasons given as to why the vocational-technical students have difficulty getting jobs revolved around a lag in industrial growth, the static situation in industrial establishments, and the lack of a national policy on employment. The report did not state that a major reason for vocational technical school graduates remaining unemployed was the modern sector establishment's
preference for training their own new employees, thus depriving vocational school graduates of access to these positions although some possible reasons why they might prefer to do so are stated in the report.

The above four major government-supported vocational schools graduated a total of 503 students in 1969. The number would have increased only slightly for 1971 and 1972. The 1970-71 annual report of the Ministry of Education indicates that the output of vocational-technical graduates is 50% behind the projected figures of the Third Five Year Plan. Despite these very low output figures, it was reported that some graduates could not find jobs.

Comprehensive Secondary Schools

A relatively recent innovation in education in Ethiopia has been the introduction of comprehensive secondary schools. The introduction of these schools was expedited by a loan from the International Development Association (IDA) to the Imperial Ethiopian government. The recent emphasis on "practical" streams in the comprehensive secondary schools was prompted by the realization that most students who finish secondary schools will not enter the University.

The first secondary school to be named a comprehensive secondary school was Woizero Siheen School in 1961. Since then 43 other comprehensive secondary schools have been established or converted from academic secondary schools. Some of these schools are at the junior secondary level (7th and 8th grade), and some are at the senior secondary level (9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th grade).

There seems to be some confusion in Ethiopia, as there is in many countries that have adopted the comprehensive school concept, as to just what is meant by a "practical stream." In Ethiopia the various "practical" streams of the schools carry the labels: industrial arts, home economics, commercial, and agriculture. Sometimes these are referred to as a group as "vocational streams." Sometimes they are referred to as "vocational programs." The confusion seems to lie in whether or not these streams actually prepare secondary school
students to directly enter occupations with the prerequisite skills. The usual concept as developed in western countries accepts "practical streams" at the secondary level as being pre-vocational and not designed to prepare a student to enter a specific vocation with the prerequisite skills.

The practical streams of the 7th and 8th grade comprehensive schools in Ethiopia are general and exploratory in nature, definitely pre-vocational. The specificity of the programs in senior secondary schools is directly related to the grade level in which the programs are employed; that is, the higher the grade level, the more specialized the job preparation. The original concept as exported, however, intends that students not be given specific occupationally oriented skills. It is necessary according to this concept for students to enter either a vocational program that teaches job specific skills after comprehensive secondary school or to receive further training on the job to obtain the necessary skills.

There seems to be some discrepancy in Ethiopia between the expectations held for the comprehensive school practical streams and what the streams are actually producing. There is evidence that the practical streams in the comprehensive secondary school have had relatively little impact at the upper secondary grade level. For instance, the practical streams enrolled a total of 31,334 students in the grades 7 through 12 in 1971-72. However, 52% of these were in the 7th and 8th grade, 24% were in the 9th grade, and 14% were in the 10th grade. Thus, only 8.6% of all students enrolled in the practical stream in the comprehensive secondary school were in grades 11 and 12, the terminal years.

It is probable that the concept of the comprehensive school as introduced and implemented in Ethiopia has not appreciably changed the expectations of the students who make up the enrollment in the later years of the comprehensive secondary schools. It has not dampened their enthusiasm for taking courses that will help them pass the Ethiopian School Leaving Examination which is necessary for entrance into the university. The small enrollment in the practical subjects at the upper levels indicates a greater desire on the part
of the students to study for the leaving examination than to study subjects which have a "practical" orientation.

The contribution of the comprehensive secondary school is probably greater in the area of providing a practical orientation to those students who are "tapped-off" into non-formal training programs before finishing secondary school. This is a hypothesis which has not been proven. Many of the training programs in vocational technical institutes, health related institutes, and other agencies that train development personnel accept students who have only finished part of their secondary education. For instance, in the fields of agricultural education, medicine and health, industry, commerce, and social services, students are tapped-off to enter the training programs of governmental, parastatal, and private organizations at the end of the 6th, 8th, 10th, and 12th grades. The largest number of students are tapped-off at the end of grade 10. During 1968, 1,058 students entered such training programs after completing grade 6; 1,328 after completing grade 8; 1,925 after completing grade 10; and 1,556 after completing grade 12. It is not known what percentage of those tapped-off are leavers of comprehensive secondary schools and what percentage are leavers from the regular academic secondary schools.

The formal, comprehensive, academic, and vocational secondary schools definitely contribute students to the labor market who lack salable skills. They also contribute students to the labor market who are trainable for specific occupations. If the formal schools did not provide trainable prospective employees, the organizations, industries, and parastatal bodies which presently conduct NFE training programs for specific skills would also have to conduct general education programs. Indeed, some of the organizations visited have only recently been able to eliminate general education from their regular training programs because the output of generally educated persons from the formal schools has increased enough so that their training can be limited to specific vocational skills. It might be that the formal school makes its greatest contribution to the supply
of trained manpower for the modern sector by giving emphasis to general training rather than vocationally specific training.

Non-Formal Educational Training Programs for the Modern Sector

The analysis of NFE programs in the modern sector will be divided into three main classifications. The first to be described will be Pre-Service Training Programs. This classification contains those programs that train persons for a specific position before he has actually been hired. The formal vocational schools, previously discussed, can be considered under this classification.

The second classification, Vestibule Training Programs, is actually a subset of pre-service training programs. The trainees in these programs are also trained prior to the time that they commence actual work on the job. The distinguishing feature of vestibule training is that the trainees have been hired prior to the time they are given training and are usually paid some wages while in training.

The third classification focuses on In-Service Training Programs. In this classification trainees are already employed and performing jobs but are receiving training at the same time or during interruptions in their work schedule. The training could be provided during the working day if the person were released from his job in order to attend some instructional procedure, or the training might include close supervision on the job or instruction after working hours. In-service training programs can be thought of as having three distinct types of objectives. The first type has the objective of initial skill acquisition and is exemplified by apprenticeship programs. The second has the objective of skill maintenance. This takes the form of programs intended to be refresher courses or programs designed for the acquisition of additional knowledge and skills which might be needed for the trainee to adjust to the changed requirements of his present job. The third type has the objective of upgrading. The positions being held may be upgraded and modified.
with the persons filling them, or the trainees may be receiving preparation for entirely new positions.

In a very over-simplified fashion, one might say that the three main classifications of training programs—pre-service, vestibule, and in-service—are in the first case given before the trainees are hired; in the second case, after the trainees are hired but before they are working at specific jobs; and in the third case, after the trainees have begun working on the job.

Pre-Service Training Programs

Pre-service training for persons who have not yet been hired is provided by the formal schools and other organizations, such as missionary groups, YMCA, YWCA, Mekene Yesus through its various churches and synods, the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions, and Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association, or by profit oriented organizations. An example of a pre-service program conducted by a service organization is the secretarial school conducted by the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). The YWCA through its training committee had made a preliminary survey which indicated there was a need in Addis Ababa for highly skilled bilingual secretaries. The YWCA set up a program specifically to train such secretaries. The students, recruited from among secondary school leavers, were given a two-year course supervised by a professional business educator on loan from the Canadian YWCA. The program was successful in producing secretaries who were skilled and fluent in both Amharic and English. However, upon graduation it was found that many of the institutions who said there was a need for such secretaries did not hire them. The first class that graduated waited an average of two to three months before obtaining jobs. The second class waited even longer. At the time of our visit to Ethiopia in April 1972, the YWCA had temporarily discontinued the program and was re-evaluating the need for skilled secretaries as well as the program. The YWCA indicated they would continue the program if there were any indications that a future expressed need would be followed by actually hiring the graduates.
The Philadelphia Trade Training Center in Awassa provides pre-service training programs in the field of metal fabrication, carpentry, cabinet making, and auto mechanics. The programs are two to three years in length and accept students with as little as four years of formal schooling. Up to the present, all graduates have been assured of jobs with various Swedish developmental activities in Ethiopia.

Another type of program providing training in skills used in the modern sector for individuals not committed to specific positions are those conducted by commercial concerns who use the training as a means to sell products, to insure that the products already sold are properly used, or to make a profit from an instructional fee itself. For example, there are at least two programs in Ethiopia directed toward the training of tractor drivers. The programs include instruction in the operation and maintenance of tractors and are directed toward those who might want to purchase a tractor as well as toward those who already own one. The Singer and Saba sewing machine companies also conduct instructions directed toward those who have purchased sewing machines and toward those who may want to purchase one at a later date.

Some programs for which fees are charged involve the training of secretaries and typists. Secretarial programs are probably the most numerous of the fee-charging program in the urban areas. These programs vary from schools, who rent typewriters, to schools, who graduate skilled secretaries.

Another type of profit-making non-formal educational activity is conducted by organizations who operate correspondence courses. A number of such courses are available and are reported to be in use throughout the country, but there are no available statistics covering this activity.

In the classification of pre-service training for persons not yet employed, the programs which have the greatest impact in numbers on the labor supply are those conducted by the formal vocational-technical and commercial schools. As has been pointed out earlier,
however, these schools sometimes tend to be a little remote from the realities of the labor market itself.

Pre-service NFE training programs in the modern sector can be characterized by a number of features which are also valid for similar programs throughout Ethiopia:

- The sponsors of these programs are frequently concerned with making a profit. Whether the profit is derived directly from enrollment fees (as in the case of the large number of typing schools one finds in the cities) or whether it is from the sale of a product after one has been taught to use it, the underlying motivation for giving the training is profit-making.

- A second characteristic is that some care is taken to identify the specific needs to be filled by the training. In the case of the YWCA Secretarial School, a survey was conducted to assess the need for well-trained bilingual secretaries. Another program sponsored by the YWCA identified a need for seamstresses, which formed the basis for the design of a specific program to fill that need. The Philadelphia Mission in Awassa had identified a need for woodworkers, cabinet makers, carpenters, metal workers, and auto mechanics. The Mission then designed a program specifically to train people for these skills.

- In general, the program planners make conscious decisions rather early in their plans as to the type of trainee the programs will enroll. Sometimes the decisions are dictated by the content of the programs, but more often than not they are dictated by the motivation of the groups sponsoring the programs. For example, the YWCA has a stated commitment to help female school leavers. The Philadelphia Mission and Wonda Genet programs have a commitment to rural unemployed youth. Therefore, although the programs fill needs in the modern sector, the basic factors determining the characteristics of the programs are the enrollees and their needs, not the needs of the modern sector.

- Given a type of clientele, the programs are directed toward training the enrollees for specific jobs. The programs are not directed, for example, toward the secretarial or commercial field in general, but in the case of YWCA, toward training school leavers to be a specific type of secretary. The YWCA applies the same type of planning to programs such as those broadly classified as "home economics" courses. These programs are not directed toward general skills in these areas. The YWCA sewing program, for example, is directed specifically toward entrepreneurial minded seamstresses who sell their products. The Philadelphia Mission
program is not directed toward metal working and mechanics in general; it is directed specifically toward automobile mechanics, metal fabrication, welding, or sheet metal fabrication. Some programs at later stages in the conduct of the training have introduced more general content. This broadening of the program often comes about because the people conducting the program find that the students they have admitted are lacking in skills other than the specific skills and knowledge necessary to perform the jobs for which they are being trained. Therefore some programs which originally were very specific later find themselves, for example, teaching elementary cleanliness and grooming, and some find it necessary to include basic language and number skills.

- Although the programs described above do not have a direct connection with a job, they react very quickly to the realities of the job market. Hence the cancellation of the YWCA secretarial program when there was difficulty in placing the graduates. It is also true that programs are modified frequently to meet changing demands.

**Vestibule Pre-Service Training Programs**

Pre-service training is seldom given by private or parastatal organizations to an individual not already employed. If, for instance, the Ethiopian Airlines wishes to train a mechanic, it will hire the person first, commit him to a contract, then give him the training for a specific job which he is to undertake.

Vestibule training programs for employees already hired but not yet "on-the-job" are more prevalent in the modern sector in Ethiopia than pre-service training programs. Vestibule programs are conducted by organizations such as the Ethiopian Airlines, Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority, the Telecommunications Authority, Imperial Highway Authority, the Wonji Shoa Sugar Estate, the Ethiopian Metal Tools Company, Bahr Dar Textile Mills, the Franco-Ethiopian Railway, the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, the Tourist and Hotel Association, and many others. Some of these organizations are parastatal, that is, they are semi-autonomous agencies of the Imperial Ethiopian Government with varying degrees of control by the government. Parastatal organizations are generally responsible for most aspects of their operations. However, most parastatal organizations
receive some sort of preferential treatment either through direct governmental support, monopoly protection, import protection, foreign assistance, or in other ways.

These organizations are economically rational and do not expend funds for training programs which are not absolutely necessary for their operations. Training programs are essentially conducted for only one reason: the organization cannot hire the people they need who already having the training at a price that they can afford to pay. By way of illustration, one organization operated without training programs in the initial stages of its development by relying on outside training institutions. At later stages, this organization found it necessary to conduct its own training programs when the outside institution closed. Other organizations visited have had their own training programs since their founding, such as the Telecommunication Institute that began its training program in the late 40s.

When a training need is recognized by these organizations, it is first described in terms of very specific types of tasks that must be performed by the trainee. A very specific job description is usually formulated together with a very specific set of personnel requirements. The careful identification of the positions, the skill requirements, and the personal characteristics of the individuals needed to fill the positions are used to formulate the content of the training program. This analyzed content dictates the nature of the prior training which an individual must have before he can enter the program. If entrants with these prerequisites are not available, then the organization must start its training at a lower level, in order to bring the available trainees up to the necessary level. As an example of this, the Telecommunication Institute used to have a technician's course which required thirty months for completion. Twelve months of the program were devoted to training in general electricity and electronics because enrollees were not available who had had prior training in these areas. It is now possible to hire graduates from the technical schools who have had basic electricity and electronics. Therefore, the Telecommunication Institute has
recently been able to eliminate the twelve months of general electricity and electronical instruction from its thirty month training program.

Organizations conducting vestibule training programs frequently advertise vacancies for the positions in terms of the entrance requirements, specifying the training that will be given the applicants. There are usually more applicants than there are jobs. Selection is, accordingly, based upon performance in school, measured either by the number of years completed or by the number of subjects in which "passes" have been obtained in the Ethiopian School Leaving Examination. Many organizations also administer a separate examination, usually covering three basic skills: English, science, and mathematics. Only as many trainees are hired as will ultimately be needed to fill the available positions for which they are being trained. The training programs typically do not assume a drop-out rate. For example, if twenty-five people are needed by Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority as linemen, twenty-five will be hired and trained. This is possible because selection procedures are careful, and the trainees are put under contracts which obligate them to work for the company for a certain number of years after their training. In exchange for this commitment they are paid while in training and in some cases they are also provided room and board. The drop-out rate from the training program is low because of the careful selection procedures and the large number of people available from whom to choose. The default rate on contracts after training is completed is also very low because salaries are high in relation to the other jobs available. Most companies also have good employee personnel policies with established procedures for promotion and upgrading. Accordingly, the turnover is quite low. Some companies which were doing a considerable amount of pre-service vestibule training five to seven years ago, have now almost phased out this type of training, and are now concentrating on either in-service upgrading or refresher type programs. Employment opportunities for new employees are, consequently, very small.
In-Service Training Programs

Initial Skill Acquisition

Apprenticeship training is generally classified as in-service training directed toward initial skill acquisition. Training is sometimes organized, sequential, structured in nature and sometimes very informal, almost unintentional. Apprenticeship training often follows and supplements pre-service or vestibule training, and in several programs visited, the trainees went directly from vestibule training to in-service apprenticeship or other on-the-job training programs. The length of these apprenticeships and on-the-job training programs varied considerably, and they varied directly with the degree of technical sophistication of the job being filled. In some cases the vestibule training, followed by a period of on-the-job training, was followed again by a second period of full-time training. This schema of training is sometimes referred to as a "sandwich" training program.

The impact of apprenticeship training in Ethiopia is difficult to quantify. It is a type of program that the Labor Department Office of the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs is pressing to "formalize" by establishing training standards coupled with universal job descriptions and skill classifications. One advantage of having apprenticeship training programs carefully regulated, administered, and controlled is that specific levels of skills and wages can be established. Too tight governmental control would have obvious disadvantages. The organizations presently training workers through apprenticeship training programs may find the attempt to formalize so successful that it will be necessary to look for other means to provide the needed flexibility for their training needs.

A recent survey by the Labor Office of the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs received information regarding "on-the-job" training from 161 establishments, all within the private sector (not including parastatal and governmental
organizations). These establishments were primarily located in the two main industrial centers of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa and Asmara, and were medium or large establishments. The survey report indicates that there is doubtless a considerable amount of on-the-job training in establishments smaller than the ones surveyed, but as it was very difficult to obtain information from smaller establishments and cottage-type industries, they were not included within their study.5

The 161 establishments responding had an average of 7 on-the-job trainees with a total of 1,176 trainees reported. Of these trainees, 5 were in agriculture, 10 were in mining and quarrying, 911 in manufacturing, 15 in construction, 95 in commerce, 21 in transport, storage and communication, and 119 in services. A further breakdown of this same group of 1,176 by skills indicated only two large concentrations. In the textile trades 399 were being trained as spinners, winders, weavers, or other related skills, and 223 were in motor vehicle mechanic training programs of one sort or another.

**Skill Maintenance Programs**

Refresher programs have been conducted by organizations whose personnel are required to perform very technical operations. An example is the Ethiopian Airlines program for mechanics. Every year the mechanics are required to attend a refresher program where they review procedures for maintenance of aircraft and are briefed on modifications and procedures that have been recently issued by the aircraft manufacturers. The distinction between an upgrading program and a refresher program becomes very indistinct when the individual is learning new skills but will remain in the same position. The expectation of the employee often is that any time he receives further training, he will be promoted. The failure to establish the distinction between upgrading the individual's capacity within the same position and upgrading the person to a new position causes some confusion and disappointment for the trainee.
Upgrading Programs

Many organizations in Ethiopia conduct programs that are designed for individuals presently filling a position within the organization to be trained to fill another position at a higher level of technical competence or responsibility. The programs in this classification have many of the characteristics of vestibule training programs. In fact, in some cases the difference between an upgrading program and a vestibule training program is only that in the former the individual who enters the program was previously employed by the same company in another position, in the latter he is a new employee.

Some upgrading programs are run by organizations other than the employer. The Ethiopian Confederation of Labor Unions (CELU) is an example of such an organization. In Addis Ababa, CELU upgrading programs are being conducted in building trades and in auto mechanics. The participants in the program must be members of the labor unions and must presently be employed in jobs that utilize the skills they are going to study. The program is funded and organized by the CELU but is actually conducted by personnel from the government vocational schools on a contract basis in the evening. The objective of the program is to broaden the skills of the construction workers and mechanics, making them eligible for promotions, improving their job mobility possibilities, and providing them with certification at a certain level of training. The Director of Education for the CELU stated that the employers do not always appreciate this effort by the union to upgrade their workers, as employees usually expect an increase in wages as they increase their skills. The employers do not always feel this is warranted or necessary.

The Telecommunication Institute is presently enrolling workers in their lower level technician courses who were originally hired as illiterate day laborers. At one time these workers attended literacy classes conducted by the same Institute. This is an example of illiterate labor being elevated to the level of literate labor, making them eligible to participate in skill-upgrading courses. This practice will make it more difficult for formal vocational
schools to place their graduates in training programs since organizations following this practice will select trainees internally rather than hiring vocational school graduates as trainees. More day laborers will then be hired to replace those entering the training programs.

Other Training Activities

There are two other organizations within the Ethiopian government, funded by the United Nations Development Program and aided by the International Labor Organization, that address themselves to the training needs of the modern sector. These are the Center for Entrepreneurship and Management and the National Industrial Vocational Training Scheme, and both can be characterized as "extension efforts" within the modern sector. The Center for Entrepreneurship and Management (CEM) is directed toward the promotion and improvement of entrepreneurial and managerial skills. It is primarily concerned with the management and sales aspects of the modern sector and provides training programs on request. CEM also offers a series of training programs that are advertised and are open to anyone who can pay the fees. Programs have been conducted dealing with quality control, advertising, marketing, sales management, and selection and interviewing, among others.

The National Industrial Vocational Training Scheme (NIVTS) directs its efforts primarily toward semi-skilled and skilled workers and other personnel below the supervisory and managerial level. The NIVTS does not usually set up or conduct programs itself. Its primary focus is on aiding establishments to organize and conduct their own in-service training programs. Toward this end NIVTS helps firms to analyze their training needs, to identify the skills and knowledge necessary, to set up the training programs, to aid with the preparation of instructional materials, and to train instructors selected from within their own organizations for the programs. At this point, the NIVTS's role is completed except to serve as consultants if invited.
At the time of this study a third organization, Opportunities Industrialization Center, with support from the United States Agency for International Development, was in the process of establishing a program. Their general method of operation will be to identify specific job openings or training needs and then to design equally specific training programs to prepare people to fill those openings. Although initial financial support comes from outside sources, it is the intention of the OIC to shift the burden of support to those organizations utilizing the trainees. This might turn out to be economical for the firm only when it needs so few trained employees that it cannot justify conducting its own training.

Comments and Conclusions

In general it can be said that the private, public, and parastatal organizations within the modern sector effectively use non-formal educational techniques to meet their manpower need. Other organizations such as the CEM, the CELU, and the NIVT also provide assistance in meeting manpower training needs. Several private profit-making organizations train people for the public sector; however, it was generally agreed by those participating in the Ethiopian Education Sector Review that the ultimate benefit to the student enrolling in this latter group of programs is not commensurate with the cost or time required.

The programs within the modern sector, whether they be pre-service, vestibule, in-service apprenticeship, skill maintenance, or refresher programs, all tend to have some general characteristics. These include:

- The educational and training goals are well defined and specific. The organizations conducting the training know specifically the type of persons they need and in what number they are needed. Programs are seldom confused by peripheral goals. The programs seldom enroll more trainees than are needed as workers.

- Training programs that are designed to meet these goals are equally specific. They place heavy emphasis upon practical application of skills. Theory is included only insofar as it is necessary to understand the particular skills being taught or the context within which the person is working.
There is no attempt to produce a well rounded, generally educated individual. Mathematics, for instance, is taught only if a job requires a knowledge of math.

- Many of the pre-service training programs, and particularly the vestibule training programs, are full time and of a relatively long duration, some continuing for thirty months.

- Vestibule training programs are often highly structured and as "formal" as any to be found in the "formal schools." The training program for the Ethiopian Airlines uses the exact same curriculum and materials used by the Northrup Institute of Technology in the United States. The program for the Telecommunications Institute follows closely the program requirements for the London City and Guilds Examinations. Many of the students take and pass this examination upon finishing the Telecommunication Institute programs.

- In line with the above, the training staffs are usually technical-professional people and sometimes even professional educators. Many of the programs utilize foreign personnel. The quality of the instructional staff is generally high, very skilled, and experienced in the work for which they are training people.

- The requirements for entrance into most programs include the completion of a particular level of schooling and an aptitude examination given by the organization. Programs do not typically serve those who have had no opportunity for formal schooling. In fact, the higher the technical skills involved and the longer the training program is, the more formal schooling that is required for entrance. This bears out T. W. Schultz's thesis that the more formal education one has had, the more non-formal education one can command. This is part of the appropriative value of formal education. Often the admittance requirements for these programs reflect a level of schooling and not a specific curriculum or type of schooling. In some cases the officials interviewed stated they would rather not have students that come from vocational schools. Some stated a preference for 8th or 10th grade leavers rather than 12th grade leavers.

- The cost of conducting these training programs is relatively high per capita as compared to other NFE programs. The comparative per capita cost between NFE programs and formal vocational schools, considering the number of people entering the specific occupation being trained for, is not known. It is possible that employers can afford to pay twice as much to train a mechanic if they are twice as certain the trainee is actually going to be employed as a mechanic than when thirty are trained and only ten go into the work force as mechanics. There is another factor to
consider in terms of costs when an NFE program is conducted and paid for by the organization utilizing the trainees. The ultimate cost in this case is borne by those who use the goods and services or the organization. In the case of the formal schools, the cost of the training is distributed throughout the population, *whether or not those people make use of the services.* In the specific case of the Ethiopian Airlines, it would make little sense to require the total population to contribute to the cost of training the personnel for the organization when only a very small percentage of the population has an opportunity to utilize the services of the organization. The present situation with Ethiopian Airlines is that the cost of training the personnel is passed directly on to those people who have the benefit of the services.

- The teaching materials and methods for training seem to be basically universal, as are the technologies being taught, with little apparent need for indigenous materials. As was stated earlier, the materials used by the Ethiopian Airlines are those that are used by the Northrup Technical Institute in the United States. The material used in the Telecommunications Institute, the Imperial Highway Authority, Center for Entrepreneurship and Management, Wanji-Shoa Sugar Estate are universal to those used in similar technologies in other parts of the world.

- Most of the organizations conducting training had regulated increments in salary, fringe benefits, and regular patterns of promotion through participation in educational programs. These features minimize the "drop-out" rate from the training program and the industry itself. There is little personnel turnover and a decreasing need for replacement personnel. The present primary need arises from the expansion of a particular organization. This has been reflected in the increase of some agencies' concentration on in-service, upgrading, and refresher programs rather than pre-service training programs for new employees.

- It is evident that programs are designed primarily to serve the interests of the organization that is sponsoring the program and only secondarily to serve the interest, *per se,* of the student. The programs are not planned with the needs of the worker as the primary concern but with the needs of the organization for which he is being trained.

In summary, reviewing the non-formal educational programs conducted by and for the modern sector, it is safe to assume that these organizations have developed methods of supplementing formal schooling through non-formal methods to meet their own manpower needs. Usually these methods have little relevance to mass programs of non-formal education.
The techniques lend themselves to meeting the specific problems and to executing the specific programs that have been identified. They do not lend themselves directly to programs that might be designed to meet the problems of the mass of the population of Ethiopia.

John Hanson, a long time student of African education, in his monograph "Imagination and Hallucination in African Education," outlines five points which we generally agree can be used to explain the lack of or the success of vocational educational programs. It is revealing to review these five points and to consider the NFE programs just described in light of them.

Hanson's first point is that students must perceive that the vocational education will have a payoff. In the programs just described, with the possible exception of some pre-service programs, it is very evident to the student that the programs will result in a job. More pointedly, in all but one classification of programs, the student is already employed, is already being paid, and has assurance that further training will lead to further compensation.

For the vocational program to be a success, Hanson, in his second point, states that "the programs must develop good work habits." Most of the programs described above are conducted very close to the point of application. Many actually include on-the-job training and practical shop experience where the students are required to develop work habits appropriate to the training that they are currently receiving.

The third point brought out by Hanson is that the training programs must be relevant to the conditions, the jobs available, and the type of work to be done. By virtue of what has just been indicated about the development of work habits, the programs described in the modern sector using NFE techniques have relevance as they are being conducted within the industries and often directly related to specific jobs being or to be performed.

Fourthly, according to Hanson, there must be a bridge between training received in schools and earning power. Again, when the training is being conducted by the industry which directly relates
training to compensation, there is no necessity for a bridge. They are already both on the same sides of the river.

The last point is that there must be reinforcement through continued help and follow-up cooperation between the training organization and the employer. Here again, because the programs are being conducted by the organizations which utilize the trainees, there is continuous and immediate feedback to those programs. It is evident that the non-formal programs described meet all five criteria proposed by Hanson for success in vocational education programs.

It is extremely hazardous to compare NFE programs serving the modern sector with those serving other sectors by using a limited number of descriptors. Variables related to the number of students, the cost per student, the length of the program and the level of the knowledge of skills that make up the content of the program are so great as to defy close comparison. The training programs of the Ethiopian Airlines, for example, have a high per pupil cost and enroll comparatively few individuals. The programs, however, are very intense, relatively long and the content is highly technical and critical. One cannot compare this non-formal educational program with the non-formal educational activities of the Ministry of Agriculture's Minimum Package Program, for example, which affect relatively large numbers of people at a per trainee cost that is low in comparison with the EAL, but for much shorter periods of time and with content that is at a relatively low level of technical complexity.

In conclusion, it might be stated that there are probably only two basic reasons that the private or parastatal organizations train their own personnel:

1. The persons needed are not available from other sources. If the needs of their organization are to be met, they must be accomplished through programs conducted by the organization itself. (The deficiency in people available refers to value and attitudinal requirements as well as skill and knowledge requirements.)

2. The organizations (private or parastatal) do not choose to hire the trained people that are available. This policy might be due to economic factors. Wage scales
in Ethiopia are generally established by rates paid in the civil service which are geared to levels of academic attainment. For example, the usual starting salary for a college graduate is 450 Ethiopian dollars a month. If an organization can save $100 a month over a ten year period by employing a person of lesser academic qualifications, it can afford to spend somewhere around $10,000 E. to train a worker and come out even or better at the end of ten years. This is an extreme example in terms of the cost of the training program, but typical of the amount of savings. Over a ten year period, a company would stand to realize savings of around 400% on its original investment in a training program for thirty people costing $3,000/person if it can save $100 a month per person in salary.

Whatever the basic reasons, it is evident that the organizations making up the modern sector can and do meet their own manpower needs. It is problematic, then, to ascertain the amount of public funds that should be spent to try to meet the same needs in whole or in part.
NOTES: CHAPTER III


3. MNCD&SA report on training programs.

4. Ethiopian Airlines is an example of this. When the EAL began operations, its personnel were trained in the aeronautic training centers operated by ICAO. When this center closed, EAL founded its own school.

5. What constitutes a "small establishment" was not explained. Conversation in Ethiopia indicated that establishments with "10-15 or fewer employees" are considered as small.
CHAPTER IV

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN THE RURAL SECTOR

Introduction

It is in the context of the rural sector that the concept of non-formal education has its richest potential. In the developing world in general and in Ethiopia in particular, it is in the rural sector that the bulk of the people live. It is also in the rural sector that formal schools have had the least effect on the solution of developmental problems and hence the need is greatest here for NFE programs. The immediacy of the problem in the rural sector demands a form of education with a more direct payoff than the formal school can usually deliver.

The Nature of the Rural Sector

The rural area comprises more than ninety percent, about 22 million people, of the population of Ethiopia. The same approximate percentage of the population is estimated to be involved in agricultural pursuits. Agriculture, here equated with the rural sector, accounts for 58% of the total GNP of Ethiopia and practically all of the exports. Sixty percent of export income comes from one crop, coffee. It was estimated that from 1961 to 1969 agricultural production increased an average of 2% per annum. During the same period, the total GNP increased at about 3% per annum, and the population at about 4.5% per annum.

The density of livestock in Ethiopia is one of the highest in the world. It is estimated that there are 26 million cattle and 22 million sheep, goats, and other livestock. These are often kept primarily for prestige and the offtake percentage is low.

Infrastructure in the rural areas is limited. It is reported that 80% to 85% of the population lives more than ten kilometers
from an all-weather road. There are few schools, and health services are limited. By any standard of development (infrastructure, education, social services, income, and related indications), it is safe to say that the rural sector of Ethiopia is underdeveloped, undersupplied, and less modern than the urban areas of the country.

When one examines a map of the distribution of the government schools in Ethiopia, it is hard to distinguish from a map of the all-weather roads. Since 80% to 85% of the population lives more than ten kilometers from an all-weather road, the conclusion can be drawn that almost 80% to 85% of the population must live more than ten kilometers from the nearest school. The distribution of formal schools is even more distorted when one considers solely the secondary schools. These are mostly limited to the provincial and sub-provincial capitals and are consequently inaccessible to the vast majority of the population.

The land tenure and landlord-tenant relationships are extremely complicated and vary from region to region. It is generally accepted that these relationships are a hindrance to agricultural development through the small farmer. The settlement pattern in the rural areas, especially in the plateau areas, is not conducive to convenient provision of developmental services. The people in the plateau do not typically settle in villages but live on the plot of land that they work. Therefore, there are a few concentrations of population, as in the case of Asian villages, where services may be delivered to relatively large numbers of people in a single location. Because of these factors, a problem arises when one tries to determine optimum locations for schools, health centers, cooperatives, demonstration sites, or other service centers.

**Role of the Rural Sector in the Development of Ethiopia**

An examination of the five year plans for Ethiopia and a determination of their major emphasis are ways to assess the importance given the rural agricultural sector in that country's development. The First Five Year Plan of Ethiopia, 1958-62, placed primary emphasis
emphasis on the development of infrastructure such as roads and communications. The Second Five Year Plan placed primary emphasis on productive undertakings in the manufacturing and processing sector. The Third Five Year Plan (TFYP) gave primary emphasis to commercial agriculture. It was the government's policy to "put major stress on more rapid development of large-scale commercial agriculture, with major reliance upon private enterprise supported by government policy and action."

The Third Five Year Plan states that:

Because there is no quick solution to the peasant problem, and because only a modest growth of output from peasant agriculture can be expected in the years ahead, there is a simultaneous need to develop modern commercial agriculture.

The rapid development of commercial agriculture is the only way to get the relatively quick increase needed in agriculture exports.

The second line of attack will concentrate on the opening up for settlement and cultivation of the new lands in various parts of Ethiopia.

The traditional area of peasant subsistence farming concentrated on the relatively densely populated plateau, will yield only slowly to efforts made to modernize it.

The plan did, however, make provisions for a start toward the modernization of peasant subsistence agriculture in a few strategic areas in the form of "package" programs, primarily concerned with seeds and fertilizers.

At the time of the writing of this report the groundwork is being laid for the formulation of the Fourth Five Year Plan. The Education Sector Review will contribute to this plan, as will a World Bank study which has been termed the most comprehensive study of the rural sector ever undertaken. One of the main thrusts of the Education Sector Review was to provide education for the rural masses. If the agricultural sector review takes a similar line for emphasis, one can predict that the fourth five year plan will place major emphasis on the rural sector with the objective of improving the lives of the majority of Ethiopia's population. This will require an emphasis on peasant agriculture.
The descriptions of the NFE projects that follow and those contained in the appendix give an indication of the types and magnitude of rural sector developmental programs. The summary to this section also will give some indication of the overall emphasis, in terms of developmental programs, that has been given to the rural sector.

Types of Non-Formal Educational Programs in the Rural Sector and Their Characteristics

Descriptions of NFE activities in the rural sector might have been based on the type of non-formal educational techniques being utilized, as was the basis for descriptions of NFE in the modern sector. However, it was felt that classification by the objectives of the programs in the rural sector provides the more meaningful basis for taxonomy. Accordingly, the programs that were investigated in the rural sector of Ethiopia are classified by the type of program and the objectives of the organization conducting the NFE activity. The first group of non-formal programs described are "Agricultural Development and Agricultural-Based Multipurpose Programs." It is understood that there is more than one non-formal educational technique employed in this classification. The second group is concerned with public health. Here also more than one technique or method of non-formal education is utilized, and some duplicate those used in the programs with an agricultural development orientation. The third group concerns programs engaged in training personnel to conduct rural development programs.

Agricultural Development Programs and Agricultural-Development-Based Multipurpose Programs

These programs rely to a large extent on NFE techniques to achieve their objectives and have as a common characteristic an emphasis on increasing the agricultural production of rural peasants. The programs are sponsored by a variety of organizations: private, governmental, parastatal, service/voluntary, and even one that is profit oriented. The programs vary in size from 40 participants per year to one that purports to have contacted 40,000 farmers in
its first year of operation. The objectives of the programs vary from limited and specific goals to comprehensive sets of objectives for all members of the rural family. The programs considered to be "package" programs are being treated separately.

Package Programs

In Ethiopia, the "package program" concept refers to developmental programs that are based on the introduction of a related group or "package" of inputs or innovations. In the rural areas, the package is based on the agricultural inputs necessary for the farmer to increase his production. The number of inputs included varies from program to program, and the inputs may also contain other components, such as women's programs, literacy training, etc. One program is referred to as the "minimum package program" and development personnel often talk of "midi," "maxi," and "mini" package programs though only the term "minimum package" is in actual formal use.

The Director of the Ethiopian Institute of Agricultural Research stated in an interview that part of the initial impetus for the initiation of the agricultural package programs in Ethiopia was provided by the FAO Freedom from Hunger fertilizer demonstration program. This program, conducted through the Ministry of Agriculture Extension Division, consisted of a large number of demonstration plots in the areas of the country where agricultural extension agents were working. Local farmers were induced to use fertilizer on a plot of land planted in grain. No other inputs were contributed, and little additional inducement provided to tempt the other farmers into adopting the use of fertilizer except the observation of the demonstration plots. It was fortunate that with a minimum of trial and demonstration, the proper fertilizer strengths and compositions were determined in the areas in which the program was conducted.

We were told by expatriates and Ethiopians alike of their surprise at the speed with which the peasants adopted the use of fertilizer. The Director of the Institute of Agricultural Research
stated that the action of the peasants in adopting the use of fertilizer was nothing short of "phenomenal." The action of the peasants and the demonstrated benefit from the use of fertilizer encouraged others to initiate programs designed to promote agricultural development. It was found that the peasant would readily adopt certain innovations; that he was not recalcitrant; that innovations related to his well-being would be rapidly disseminated without complicated programs of education, merely by showing him the advantages of their use.

Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit (CADU)

The first large scale package program in Ethiopia was the Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit (CADU), a joint project of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Swedish International Development Agency. The CADU was initiated in 1967 and the present agreement runs until 1975.

The objectives of the CADU project are to:

1. Bring about economic and social development in the Chilalo Awraja with particular emphasis on farmers in low income brackets.

2. Evolve methodology of development with a view to laying a firm basis for replication elsewhere in Ethiopia.

3. Create possibilities for such replication which implies the training of Ethiopian staff and the creation of financial resources through increasing the tax-paying capacity of the target population.

4. Elicit participation of the target population with the aim of laying the foundation of a sound base for sustained growth and ensuring the possibilities of handing over the responsibility for some of the major activities to them.

The educational/development program of CADU is composed of four principal elements: (1) the model farmer, (2) agricultural extension and marketing agents, (3) experimentation and research to feed tested ideas into the educational processes, and (4) agricultural services such as credit, marketing, and other services to provide essential substantive ingredients to the educational processes.
Model Farmers

Farmers in an 800 hectare area (about 100 farms) with an elected leader nominate five of their number as "model farmers." The farmers are provided with the following criteria for selection of a "model" farmer: (1) he should be a full-time farmer; (2) he should have resided in the area for over three years; (3) the area he cultivates should be as near as possible to the average in the area; (4) he should have a good moral reputation; and (5) he should be receptive to new ideas.

CADU selects one of the five nominees as being most representative of the area. The model farmers are then provided with free seeds and fertilizers for demonstration areas, and all other extension activities such as improved implements are demonstrated first on his farm. The model farmers are "coached" by agricultural extension agents in improved methods of production by use of better seeds, fertilizers, better cultivation practices such as sowing, weeding, use of improved plows and other agricultural implements especially designed for farming conditions in CADU. The model farmer keeps appropriate records which are available for inspection by his neighbors. His demonstration fields are also regularly available for inspection by his neighbors and on special field days.

Model farmers are also organized into "Model Farms Area Development Committees" which consist of seven members living in the area of each model farmer. The members of the Committee are the model farmer--who serves as chairman, the "golmassa" (an elected representative from an area of about 20 gashes, who is the last link between the local administration and the farmers and who assists in tax collection, security, collection of data on births, deaths, etc.), an elected landowner, three elected tenants, and the extension agent who acts as secretary. The Committee is of central importance in reviewing all applications for credit in the area and in collecting loans which are not available to the area if 90% of the loans are not repaid within two months of the time they are due. The committee is particularly expected to check credit applicants.
on the following factors: (1) that the size of cultivated land indicated in the credit application is correct; (2) that the applicant is credit-worthy; (3) that his guarantors are acceptable; and (4) that they and the farmers in the model farmer area accept collective responsibility for the timely settlement of the loan. Loans are made on the basis of 12% interest for nine months--8% of which is paid to the Development Bank.

Model farmers are thus the central figures in the communication/educational processes involved in adopting and spreading progressive agricultural practices among their peers, and in vitally participating in the all-important credit procedures. Many if not most of them are illiterate--which sets some limits on the methods and speed of communications, but these handicaps are not of sufficient importance to stop the processes of modernization until all are literate. The prospect of developing a much larger number of cooperatives which can take over many of the managerial functions of CADU will undoubtedly require a larger number of literate and more highly trained personnel.

Agricultural Extension Agents

Agricultural extension agents who are responsible for 15-20 model farmers are now trained at CADU for fourteen months which includes half-time in practical training on a 20 hectare demonstration farm. They typically have 9-10 years of formal school before being admitted to the special course for extension agents. Extension agents employed by other training institutions before CADU began its own program were found to be better qualified in theory than in practical performance. Accordingly, they were given training on the job to supplement their theoretical training. In addition to the pre-service (vestibule) training, agricultural extension agents as well as other types of employees are given short courses from time to time.

Other courses given at CADU include a six-month's course for women extension agents and a five-month theoretical course for
marketing foremen and cooperative managers, followed by practical training in the field of nine months. CADU also provides fellowships and scholarships for instruction abroad to competent staff who require additional training.

Research and Experimentation

Considerable adaptive, if not fundamental, research is needed to provide extension agents with tested practices for the use of CADU model and ordinary farmers. Accordingly, research and experimentation is going forward on crops, fertilization practices, pasture improvement, improved farm implements such as plows and harrows, and simple transportation devices. Research is also being undertaken on improved methods of milk production, cross breeding of high yielding breeds with native breeds, artificial insemination, and related fields. CADU is also concerned with research in improved forestry practices, soil erosion control, and numerous other subjects involving technical and economic matters. Research and operational reports now number over a hundred titles which are widely available for scholars of rural development and practitioners alike.

Conclusions

The CADU "package" is the most comprehensive in Ethiopia. The program's major emphasis is on increasing agricultural production; however, it also contains extensive women's programs, including home skills, kitchen gardening, and literacy programs.

The value and contribution of the CADU project goes far beyond the objectives of increasing agricultural production. CADU should also be evaluated, possibly primarily, on the basis of its experimental/demonstrational techniques which are considered highly successful.

It has demonstrated the value of a package approach to agricultural improvement and the participants have greatly increased their agricultural yields (including the production of milk) and their incomes. The principal practices espoused, including the use of better seeds, increased use of fertilizers and other improved
practices, have been widely replicated. Innovations have been created in agricultural machinery. Improved methods of providing credit and securing repayment of loans have been demonstrated. More equitable contracts between landowners and tenants have been devised, even though there are still serious problems. More effective and responsible relationships between a donor government and a host government have been forged over the years. A plan for initial and continued research has been included in the program's strategies and operations. Effective NFE methods have been devised to strengthen the participation of men and women, largely illiterate, in the developmental process, thus improving their own welfare and increasing their contribution to national goals.

But one hears many comments about and criticisms of CADU's costs and possible non-replicability in Ethiopia. Although the costs to the Ethiopian and Swedish governments are indeed high, the tangible and intangible benefits appear to more than offset the costs. Of major importance in any overall appraisal of CADU is the enormously important demonstration that Ethiopian farmers can and will modernize their agricultural practices when: (a) the means of modernization (including credit) are readily available; (b) the motivation to do so is present; and (c) effective organization and use of NFE methods are used to foster and utilize local leadership in the process of communicating about and demonstrating the validity and feasibility of the improved practices. Sustained support for the CADU demonstration during the thirteen years of contractual relations should provide Ethiopia with a constant source of new and validated ideas which will continue to be useful in the modernization of agricultural practices in Ethiopia. Complete replication is probably not feasible or desirable, but continued widespread adoption of the tested ideas and methods of CADU is becoming a reality.

Wollamo Agricultural Development Unit (WADU)

WADU, initiated two years after CADU, is the second major agricultural package program to be initiated in Ethiopia and is
funded by a loan from the International Development Agency (IDA). The project is funded to operate for a six-year period with the objectives of the program stated in terms of a nine-year frame of reference.

WADU is built on the direct experience of CADU but does not include as full a range of inputs. CADU is a comprehensive package program which includes the full range of inputs needed for agricultural development: extension, cultivation techniques, seeds, fertilizer, credit, marketing, women's programs, roads, water supplies, research, crop trials, and so forth. WADU has no research program, no farm implement development and manufacturing component, no women's program (although there is a small program connected with the UNESCO WOALP in the area), and no water development program.

Generally stated, the overall objective of the program is to increase agricultural production, both in terms of quantity and quality of the crops and animals raised. The work plan of the project carefully prescribes the specified grain crops, produce, and animals that will be included and the geographic area in which the program will be concentrated. NFE techniques are used in the program to facilitate the adoption of new agricultural practices and inputs, in this case principally improved seeds and fertilizers.

Within the WADU organization the "Development Division" is charged with the task of reaching the farmer. The highland zone of the WADU project has been divided into three areas. These contain farmers who have been settled for some time as opposed to those in the lowland regions who are in the process of resettlement. Each of the three highland areas contains approximately 2,000 farmers, and one senior field agent is responsible for each area. Each area is then divided into two "groups" (a term used in the work plan) in each of which there are stationed four field agents. Each field agent is responsible for the supervision of six demonstrators, each one of whom works with forty to fifty farmers. WADU differs from CADU in that the farm demonstrator in WADU is a paid employee of the project. In CADU he is a member of the community who is elected by his peers.
In the resettlement areas, the same general plan is followed except that the ratio of development workers to farmers is lower. In the resettlement areas one senior field agent supervises three (instead of four) field agents; each agent works with ten demonstrators who work with ninety farmers. Within each group, highland and resettlement, there is also a veterinary agent and an assistant veterinary agent.

Three agricultural extension agents had been working in the area for seven years prior to the beginning of the WADU program and had made a start in promoting the use of fertilizer and some new farming techniques. A total of fifteen demonstration plots were in operation. The WADU organization immediately increased the number of demonstration plots to one hundred through the use of demonstrators hired from among the local pool of unemployed ninth, tenth, or eleventh grade school leavers. Because of their local residence, they spoke Wallominya, the language of the area, and because they had attended school at least until the ninth grade, they spoke some English. This facilitated communication throughout the pyramidal structure of the organization.

Demonstrators are trained, after hiring, for a short period in the central training facilities of the WADU organization. Here they learn the improved agricultural techniques to be fostered by the program. Because of the pyramidal nature of the Development Division, each field agent has to supervise only six demonstrators, allowing him ample time to work quite closely with them, teaching the techniques that they are to demonstrate.

The demonstrator must live in the village where his demonstration plot is located which is close to where the farmers he works with are living. The main instructional device used is the demonstration plot itself. The instructional techniques used are simple observation and oral description. When a farmer becomes interested and decides to try a selected input or the whole "package" of inputs, the demonstrator and/or the field agent works directly with him on his own land on a one-to-one basis.
Other informational techniques used to reach the rural population in the WADU program areas are:

1. Radio--the WADU organization broadcasts a 20-minute program once a week from a local station. At the time of this study, this station was the only small, locally operated, one in the country.

2. Developmental Centers--as of April 1972, thirteen developmental centers had been established in the project areas. These centers serve as a point of contact with the surrounding community. A demonstrator lives in the centers and has his demonstration plot nearby. Periodic farmers' "field days" are held when the farmers are invited to come to the center. On a small scale there also has been initiated a series of training sessions for the farmers of the area. It is estimated that by the end of the project period of 1976, 20% of all farmers in the area will have attended at least one of these 10 day training sessions.

The developmental centers also serve as the nucleus in the villages around which cooperative societies will be established when sufficient skills are developed in the community and in local cooperative managers. One such center developed into a registered cooperative during the first year of the WADU program.

Whether or not a cooperative exists, each developmental center forms a "Credit Committee" of the influential farmers in the area. This committee is charged with the responsibility of recommending who should or should not receive loans for agricultural inputs from the WADU organization. The committee, in effect, stands behind the credit worthiness of its neighbors. Only those who are recommended can receive loans. The committee is also responsible for the collection of loans when they are due. If the loan repayment rate of a particular center does not reach 98%, then no one in that developmental center is given another loan. This puts strong peer pressure on the farmer to repay his loan. To the present, there has been no problem with loan repayment.

One indication of the effectiveness of the developmental centers, the demonstration farmers, and the credit committees is the
continued demand for loans to be granted in the form of fertilizer and other agricultural inputs. If one accepts the assumption that the peasant farmer of Ethiopia is a highly rational individual who would discontinue participation in a program not to his advantage, then the increased demand for credit and assistance is a valid indication of success. The amount of fertilizer the farmers in the area have borrowed money for has been limited by the capacity of the WADU organization to supply the commodities and not by the demand from the farmers. It has been reported also that there is a limited amount of savings beginning to occur.

The WADU program does not have a research component. It relies upon much of the technology and extension techniques developed by CADU and the earlier FAO fertilizer program. The Director of WADU also believes that there is sufficient research in crops and animals in other East African countries that such research need not be repeated in the locality served by WADU. He feels, however, that field trials need to be conducted to see what particular technologies and varieties are suitable for that area.

Two very interesting NFE activities that are being conducted in the same area as the WADU project are the UNESCO Work Oriented Adult Literacy Program (WOALP) and the Agri-Service Ethiopia program. The work aspect of the UNESCO literacy program is centered on agriculture, women's programs and handicrafts, mainly weaving. The Agri-Service Ethiopia program is an adaptation of the FAO correspondence programs in agriculture being conducted in rural Senegal. The Agri-Service Ethiopia program at present involves only about five hundred people and therefore probably has little relative effect upon the overall success of WADU.

The UNESCO/WOALP program is fairly extensive, with enrollment in the WADU area in the first few months of 1972 being reported as approximately 6,800 students. This figure is large in comparison to the total number of farmers in the area. All the enrollees are not active farmers, however. Many are women, older men who are not necessarily heads of households, and many children who have not been able to enter the regular school system.
Although there is a person within the WADU organization who is responsible for the liaison between the WADU and the UNESCO projects, his function is strictly one of liaison and not one of active coordination. There seems to be no active attempt to coordinate the activities of the two programs. This leaves unsaid, but implied, the importance given to the UNESCO program by the WADU organization.

In summary, it can be said that:

1. The WADU program is an example of a developmental project that has identified a limited objective and then designed its programs toward the attainment of that objective.

2. The structure is tightly organized so that highly trained and skilled personnel are in the upper positions and personnel with adequate training and a high degree of homophily with the clientele are in positions where contact with the farmer takes place.

3. The NFE techniques utilized are focused largely on demonstrations and are based on techniques proven by other developmental projects in Ethiopia.

4. Success does not depend upon the presence of literacy skills.

Minimum Package Programs

The newest of the package programs is one being conducted by the Extension and Project Implementation Division of the Ministry of Agriculture. This division—a direct outgrowth of a review of the organization of the Ministry of Agriculture supported by the Rockefeller Foundation—is conducting what is known as the "Minimum Package Program." The term minimum is used because the program purposefully contains only those inputs (the "minimum" number) that are absolutely necessary to bring about a significant increase in agricultural production. In this case, that minimum input consists of improved seeds, fertilizer, credit to buy the inputs, and simple technology such as row planting and weeding.

The effort at present is concentrated solely on grain crops which not only limits the kinds of assistance but also the crops toward which this assistance is directed. Briefly, the sequence of
operation followed is: (1) a specific area in which the program will be conducted is selected; (2) observations are made within that area to identify the minimum inputs which will be necessary to increase agricultural production; (3) the inputs are demonstrated on selected plots close to market places and villages; and finally, (4) model (demonstration) farmers are selected to whom seeds and fertilizer are distributed. From this point, distribution to other farmers on a credit basis commences. This fourth stage is called the "participation" stage. It is intended, but no present plans are in existence, that after this last phase of the program has been successfully launched, other inputs will be provided. Therefore, in time, the mini-package program would grow into a midi-package program, and possibly at an even later date into a complete comprehensive package program on a more self supporting basis than the CADU program.

The mini-package program of the Extension and Project Implementation Division is essentially very similar to the older FAO Freedom from Hunger fertilizer demonstration program. What has been added is supervision, better trained extension agents, and more enthusiasm for the project.

The mini-package program is initially emphasizing demonstrations and innovations in the area of cereal production. The scope of the activities is narrow in an effort to utilize limited resources to insure a maximum increase in production. Although the assistance varies slightly from area to area, it is all directed toward the objective of raising the level of cereal production. Stated generally, the mini-package program intends to: (1) demonstrate to the farmers the advantages of the new inputs: seeds, fertilizers, and techniques; (2) make available to the farmers the recommended inputs that have been demonstrated; and (3) make loans available to the farmers so that they can acquire these inputs. The loans are given at a reasonable rate of interest, compared to prevailing interest rates, and are given in kind, not in cash. In later stages the objective of establishing cooperative organizations to handle the supply of inputs and credit requirements will be pursued. The companion functions of developing credit cooperatives and marketing
are seen as long-range objectives which are not being actively pursued by the minimum package program at this time. At a later date the program will also be expanded to include animals, home management, youth activities, and possibly literacy programs.

When the program was first initiated, nine areas were accepted at the full participation stage on the basis of previous extension efforts. Extension agents had been active in the areas, and it was felt that the first two stages could be omitted. Initially, ten other areas were accepted in the demonstration stage. About a year later, as of April 1972, eighteen areas were in the participation phase, twelve areas were in the demonstration phase (ten of these will go into the participation phase during the next year), and thirty-five areas were in the observation stage.

There are three basic criteria for the selection of an area to be included in the mini-package program. The first is accessibility by road; the second is that the population density must be sufficient so that one demonstration farmer can effectively influence approximately one hundred other farmers; the third is that the necessary inputs to increase production in that area must have been identified.

Program planners propose that ten new areas should enter the participation stage each year. As each area is intended to provide services for 10,000 farmers, it is estimated that the mini-package program would reach approximately 10% of the farmers in the country in the first ten-year period. It is assumed that during this period fertilizer consumption will increase to 130,000 tons a year and credit requirements will rise to approximately fifty million Ethiopian dollars per year. Cereal production is projected to outgrow domestic demand within five years, resulting in decreasing price levels and export potential.

When the mini-package program is viewed as an NFE program, it has limited educational objectives. The educational content of the mini-package program is directed toward teaching the farmers some agricultural technology, including the benefits of weeding, planting
in rows, and the use of improved seeds and fertilizers. As a "curriculum" this content is very limited.

The instructional procedures used to transmit the "curricular" or program content to the farmers make use of the pyramidal structure of the EPID organization. Instruction starts with the agricultural extension agent who works with twenty demonstration farmers, teaching them the use of the seeds, the fertilizer, and the limited agricultural technology. He supervises and helps the demonstrators to work their demonstration plots. The other farmers in the area observe the demonstration farmer's plot. When the plot gives higher yields so that there is a return above the investment in fertilizer and seeds, the farmers are induced to try the seeds and the fertilizers themselves. The farmers learn from the model farmer, by word of mouth, by observing him, and by asking for help from him or the extension agent. Once the new practices begin to spread throughout the area each new adopter then becomes a demonstrator for his neighbors.

After the new techniques and inputs have been adopted it will become necessary to consider other components for inclusion in the mini-package program. It would seem apparent that the next most needed input will be an improved marketing system. If the increase in production is followed by a decrease in the price of the commodity, then the farmer—even though he uses the new technology, the new inputs, and invests the additional labor necessary to gain the maximum from these inputs—still might find that he has gained little. The development of the rural area will require more than merely increasing production. In order for the rural area to develop, the farmer must reap some of the benefits of the increased production.

The mini-package program can be considered as the start of a program of mass rural education based upon agricultural extension. If the mini-package program is successful, then farmers in the rural areas will have learned not only new techniques but also that if they innovate and try carefully selected new inputs, they will benefit. If this in fact happens, it can be anticipated that the farmers will ask for more inputs and more innovations. Their appetites will have
been whetted for further "education." If, however, the farmer does not reap the benefits of his increased production, it could be a negative experience which might make it increasingly difficult for the next set of innovations to gain acceptance.

Summary

The combined effects of the three package programs, CADU, WADU, and the Minimum Package Program, can be measured in many ways. CADU and WADU in particular have helped to develop the material inputs and technology for the agricultural aspects of a developmental program. Furthermore, through working with the farmers, CADU and WADU have developed and proven instructional techniques which are necessary to the effective utilization of the innovations.

The relative merits of CADU should not be judged in terms of the number of people reached nor its replicability. The WADU program is less expensive than CADU but in some respects, replicates the experiences in a different agricultural and social milieu within Ethiopia. Though less expensive, WADU is also too expensive to consider for replication on a large scale throughout the country.

The Minimum Package Program will be expanded as fast as physical, monetary, and human resources will permit. At the present projected rate of expansion, MPP, however, will reach less than 10% of the rural population by 1980.

Together, the above programs demonstrate what is possible and what must be done if significant changes are to be wrought in the lives of the rural masses of the population of Ethiopia.

Other Agriculturally Centered NFE Programs

A limited number of other agriculturally centered programs are operating in Ethiopia. These specific programs are being presented because of their innovativeness or because of the nature of the sponsoring organization.
YMCA Program

The YMCA is conducting a conventional community development program in two locations in the southwest region of the country. Although described by the YMCA personnel as an agricultural extension program, the method of operation is similar to that of the "community development" village level worker. The program is an example of a voluntary organization with very limited resources conducting a limited but presumably effective program. The agents make use of what inputs they can obtain from the government programs. Few material inputs are made by the YMCA. The program relies mainly on the self help concept. The workers try to initiate the same types of programs the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs (MNCD&SA) emphasizes in their Community Development centers. Central to the YMCA program, however, is an increase of agricultural production, and other aspects of the program are secondary to this objective. The MNCD&SA programs, however, are based primarily on theories of community organization; their assumption is that such a structure will be capable of identifying and then responding to the needs of the community.

Wondo Genet School

Two very innovative programs, run by Scandinavian Missionaries, require the farmer to leave his land for a period of ten months to attend a residential school. These programs train the farmer and his wife and provide schooling for his children. The program of the Wondo Genet school is typical of this type of plan. The enrollment includes sixteen single men and twenty married men and their families. Each student is given a plot of land to work. Lessons and demonstrations are given in the morning, and in the afternoon the men work on their assigned plots of land. The student can use only hand tools and bullock-pulled implements. The academic, or classroom, instruction is limited to the content and level needed to understand practical aspects of the field work. One of the major points of emphasis is the introduction of new crop varieties. Most
of the participants are from the inset (false Banana) growing areas of the country. Typically, this is the major crop and the staple food. The program teaches how to grow new varieties. This is a more difficult task than that of improving present methods since the introduction of entirely new crops also requires instruction in new techniques.

The participant is not given seed and fertilizer. He must purchase them from the school. At the same time, he may sell his produce or eat it himself. In the classroom, he is taught to keep farm records and is assisted in discovering the profit-making potential of the new crops and techniques. Most of the participants manage to save money while at the school. The climate and irrigation facilities allow the participants to raise three crops in their ten-month stay at the school.

Eight years ago no vegetables were available in the valley. Now, because of the school and its past graduates, vegetables are plentiful. Teaching the men to grow the new crops, however, does not guarantee the ultimate acceptance of the crop into the diet. There is also the task of teaching the women to cook the new foods and getting the whole family to eat them.

Each family must do its own cooking. Every afternoon, the women receive instruction in hygiene, child care, sewing, nutrition, and cooking. They are taught how to prepare the new foods, and the families have a chance to get used to the new foods while at the school.

The single men are not taught cooking, but they also live in groups and prepare their own food and are helped to cook the new crops.

The school also conducts limited agricultural trial programs. Dairy cattle are being crossbred with the local breed to try to develop a cattle resistant to the local diseases and climatic conditions. Trench silos are being tried experimentally. In the near future a course in livestock will be started at the school where these techniques will be taught. Various crop varieties are
also being tried to assess their suitability for local soils and climate.

Because the farm families return to the areas they came from, and the mission station in that area visits them, it is known that the graduates adopt the new procedures on their own farms when they return home. The new crops are appearing on the market and the farmers' production has increased. This sometimes causes a problem. When some of the landlords see the high production that is possible, they raise rents to try to induce the other tenants to increase their own output. If the increased production possibilities had not been demonstrated this probably would not have occurred. The other tenants realize this and become angry, to say the least, with the Wondo Genet graduates.

The Wondo Genet program is effective partly because it is comprehensive. Husband, wife, and children are taught all aspects of the new practices and crops, from simple plant science, soils and biology, to the preparation and eating of the food.

The school hopes to double its enrollment in the near future. Next year the school will admit some illiterates to see if they can succeed in the program. Instruction will then be given in the student's first language.

The program can benefit the participant only if he can return to the land. This is at times difficult. To ensure the success of this project it should be coupled with a resettlement scheme, some guarantee of land or rent, or be directed toward those who own land to which they can return.

Another innovative activity directed toward aiding farmers and their wives is being conducted by Agri-Service Ethiopia. This program is based on the series of booklets on agriculture produced by FAO. This series has been used in other African countries with considerable success. The Agri-Service Ethiopia is translating the booklets into simple Amharic and making them available to farmers in a small area of the country through a correspondence program coupled with limited visitations. The program has a small staff.
of eight. The method of operation is to establish groups of about twenty farmers in villages who wish to follow the correspondence course. Books are distributed to them and the group is visited at least once a month. At this time they can ask questions and receive guidance. Slightly over two hundred farmers were enrolled for the course in 1972. A nominal fee is paid by each. In addition, another one hundred illiterate farmers are meeting in seven groups under the guidance of literate farmers.

A feature of the program is the distribution of a newspaper published nine times a year. The paper provides a two-way means of communication through a question answering service. Farmers can submit any question to the paper and it will be answered, often privately. The questions most relevant to general problems, however, are published in the paper.

The program has not been in operation long enough to assess its effectiveness. The costs of the initial years of such an effort are high and a meaningful evaluation cannot be made. The program intends to expand as it gains experience and as more materials are translated. (At the time of our visit, the complete set of FAO booklets had not been translated.) The program bears watching as a possible post literacy program to service the new literate and, in the case of illiterate farmers being led by a literate farmer, an effective way to circumvent the lack of widespread literacy skills.

**Ethiopian Spice Extraction Company**

The final agricultural development effort to be briefly considered in this section is that of the Ethiopian Spice Extraction Company. One familiar with the mode of operation of a modern American food processing and packaging industry would immediately recognize the mode of operation of the company. The differences are ones of degree, of the amount of credit it has to extend, and the amount of extension services necessary to ensure a suitable crop.

The crop is pepper. The company operates a plant that processes the crop to obtain an extract that is imported to the
United States. It has been estimated that some 3,000 people are employed on the contract farms that supply the pepper. The farmers are advanced money, supplied with seed, and are visited regularly by the company's "field men" who guide the farmers in the raising of their crops. The operation could serve as a "model" for the development of production capacity of other export or commercial crops.

In summary it can be said that several NFE aspects of the programs whose base, or main thrust, is increasing agricultural production, have amply demonstrated the methods and the material inputs necessary to achieve that goal. There are also suggestions of several other methods and practices not yet fully proven but that show promise of contributing to the goal of increased agricultural production. It would seem that what is necessary now is the organization, commitment, discipline, administrative capabilities, and resources necessary to expand the aspects of the programs that have been proven to be effective.

The important question of resources makes it imperative that some means be found to tap some of the increased production to finance other programs. The benefits of the increases in production should not be allowed to go into the hands of the few but must be funneled back into the areas and the people who generated the increase.

Non-Agriculturally Based Rural Development Programs

The following programs operate primarily in the rural areas though the main emphasis is not agricultural development. This is not to say that they don't contribute to agricultural development nor that there may be some content specifically relative to agriculture. The central thrust, however, is health, community development, co-operatives, or social welfare.
Ministry of Public Health

Health Services

The task of delivering health services and health education in Ethiopia, as with the delivery of other services, is hindered by the lack of roads and mass communication facilities, low levels of education and literacy, an insufficient supply of trained manpower, and generally low levels of other resources. Notwithstanding these hindrances, Ethiopia has one of the best developed and most extensive systems of rural health care in Africa. This system has developed since the establishment of the Ministry of Public Health (MOPH) in 1948.

Prior to the establishment of the MOPH, health services in Ethiopia were the responsibility of a health office in the Ministry of Interior. The expansion of health services under this arrangement was slow. In 1935, there were only twelve hospitals and thirty-five health stations throughout the Empire. It is probable, though no reference can be cited, that most of these were run and staffed by expatriate missionary groups. As late as 1945 there were only 380 hospital beds in all of the Empire. Seven years later, due in large part to infusions of aid from WHO and USAID and other agencies, there were 2,315 hospital beds in thirty-eight hospitals. Throughout the early development of health care, the emphasis was placed on curative-clinical health services.

An earlier proclamation in 1947 provided for the establishment of a Provincial Health Department (PHD) headed by a Provincial Medical Officer of Health (an M.D.) in each of the fourteen provinces. The activities of the provincial PHDs developed slowly. All PHDs did not have full-time medical officers and until recently most were foreigners. The provincial PHD was and still is the only direct representative of the MOPH in the province and is responsible for the coordination and supervision of all health activities in the province, such as hospitals, health centers, health stations, mission clinics, and private pharmacies.
Gondar Public Health College.--In 1952 the MOPH adopted the strategy of establishing Health Centers to serve as the key units for delivering health services. In 1954 the Haile Selassie I Public Health College and Training Center was established in Gondar to train staff for these centers.

The Gondar training facility trains three basic types of health personnel. The emphasis is on the importance of preventive medicine and the use of the team approach to which each of the three types of personnel contribute their special skills. The three types of personnel trained are:

1. Health officers: The health officers receive four years of academic and practical education after finishing the twelfth grade. Their training at Gondar includes preventive medicine, basic clinical medicine, health administration, health aspects of community development, and communication techniques for disseminating health information. The health officer directs the health teams and is responsible for all activities carried on by the health center to which he is assigned.

2. Community nurses: The community nurses receive three years of advanced training after finishing at least eighth grade. Their training includes special skills in maternal and child health and generalized public health nursing skills. Their specific responsibility is to give preventive and clinical service to families and to serve as rural midwives.

3. Sanitarians: Sanitarians are required to have eight to ten years of secondary schooling, after which they receive three additional years of training at Gondar. They specialize in environmental sanitation. Their training includes surveying community needs, working with people to improve water supplies, disposing of wastes safely, controlling insects, and carrying out routine sanitary inspections.

Each of the three programs generally consists of approximately 45% classroom teaching and 55% practical training. The practical training includes one year of supervised training in an operating field health station.

Due to the special circumstances of rural Ethiopia, it is necessary for the health officers and community nurses to provide
both a curative and preventive service. Their training accordingly contains considerable professional medical service training, more than that received by the usual paraprofessionals. Although preventive medicine is seen as the primary service to be delivered, the centers at times are so overloaded with cases requiring curative services that little time is left for preventive activities. As the centers become established and make inroads on the curative cases, their activities shift to the preventive functions. The extent to which this has occurred varies throughout the Empire.

In 1962 the Gondar program became part of Haile Selassie I University. The training for health officers became a degree program with a B.S. in Public Health being awarded. The program became more academic and the prestige of the B.S. caused a gap to form between the health officer and the rest of the staff. (The programs are presently being examined and modifications considered in light of this and other criticisms of the graduates of the three types of training.)

The Health Center.--The first twenty-five Health Centers were opened in 1959. Seventeen were founded in the following year and at this writing, fourteen years later, there are eighty-one located in seventy-one of the total of 102 awrajis (sub-provinces) in the Empire.

The Health Centers are designed to serve 50,000 people. This goal is not always achieved due to a shortage of personnel, the settlement patterns in rural Ethiopia which result in a scattered population, and the lack of surface communication facilities. Chang notes that in practice each center can serve from 20,000 to 30,000 people, depending on the above factors. The Health Centers offer the following basic services:

1. Basic maternal and child health services,
2. Control of communicable diseases,
3. Environmental sanitation,
4. Health education,
5. Medical care, and

In addition to the Health Center team consisting of the three types of paraprofessionals described above, the center staff also contains varying numbers of "dressers" who man health stations. The multiplier effect of the dressers in the health stations allows the center to serve a fairly wide area, often a whole Woreda and, in some emergency cases such as an epidemic, an entire Awraja.

In addition to providing services, the health center supervises the health stations and other auxiliary personnel working in far-away villages. For curative services, the people, both from the town and its surrounding villages, usually come to the health centers (some even come from a distance of more than 40 kms. on mules or on foot). About 50% of the health center activities, including school health services, home visits to pregnant mothers and young infants, follow-up of chronic communicable disease patients, providing home deliveries, doing vaccinations, improving sanitation, health teaching, holding special clinics and MCH services in far villages, etc., are carried on outside of the health center.

The "Dresser" Programs.--One of the first health programs in Ethiopia and still the most extensive is the training of dressers and the programs they operate. Originally dressers were trained to assist nurses in hospitals and clinics. They served as medical aids but later their functions expanded considerably. They became aids to clinical physicians and health officers and assisted in dispensing preventive services. As hospital workers, the dressers serve as nursing assistants who work under constant supervision in a particular section of a hospital or Health Center. As field workers, they often diagnose and provide treatment for common diseases. They travel from the health station to the villages, taking care of the basic health needs of the communities. Chang reports on dresser training as follows:

Although the dresser training was done mostly on-the-job in earlier times, the actual training of dressers under a governmental effort and through organized courses started in 1946 as the result of technical assistance from the UNRRA Medical Mission. Since then dresser training has developed rapidly, and government and missionary hospitals have
started dresser training courses in different parts of the country. As an illustration, there were only three dresser schools and 97 dressers in the whole country in 1947. Within ten years' time, there were 385 dressers registered with the Ministry of Public Health, and more than ten dresser schools were in operation. By 1966, there were twenty-four dresser schools and about 3,000 dressers working in different health institutions throughout the whole country.

Summary.--The decentralized health system of the MOPH is represented in each province by the Provincial Health Department (PHD). The PHD relies upon the Health Center in each sub-province as the primary delivery point for health services. The Health Stations manned by dressers are the final link in the delivery system. An organized referral system exists between the Health Station and the Health Center. The Health Center in turn refers serious cases to the PHD and the Provincial hospital.

The health system is supported in part by a "health land tax" on "privately accrued property." It is said that this tax not only supplies needed resources but stimulates local interest in the program.

The health program is unique among non-formal programs in Ethiopia because adequate provision has been made for the evaluation of the program and of the personnel staffing the program. Feedback to the Gondar training program is an integral part of this evaluation.

Malaria Eradication Service

A very effective rural health program functioning as a semi-autonomous agency under the MOPH is the Malaria Eradication Service (MES). The ultimate objective of the MES is to eradicate malaria in Ethiopia. The specific objective of the NFE activities within the MES is to facilitate the work of MES personnel. The program includes activities designed to make the population aware of the causes of malaria, of how its spread can be interrupted, of the use of drugs as preventatives, and of treatment of the disease itself.

The priority given to the overall effort is evidenced by the fact that the program is the largest governmental health program in Ethiopia and the largest antimalaria project on the continent of
Africa. It is presently serving approximately 6,000,000 people, or about half the population living in malaria areas. In 1971, the MES sprayed about 2,000,000 homes and other structures.

The basic assumptions in the program strategy are:

1. Malaria can be controlled.
2. The general population can be taught the causes, prevention, and cure of malaria.
3. Once people are aware of the above, they will cooperate with the MES teams.

The incentive to participate is based on the villagers' desire for good health, specifically, freedom from the disease of malaria. No monetary or other incentives are present.

The target population is all people living in the malaria zones of Ethiopia. This is roughly half the population and is assumed to be everyone living at an altitude of less than 2,000 meters.

The present content of the NFE aspect of the program was determined over time, through trial and error methods. The basic content was predetermined but the approach and materials which were then developed were modified as additional information and experience dictated.

The basic steps or stages for achieving the program goals are:

1. Education of the public,
2. Geographic and demographic survey of the area,
3. Parasitological study of the area,
4. Entomological study of the area, and
5. Spraying—twice a year after the initial program.

The Minister of Public Health heads the organization. The senior operational head is the General Manager. The field operations are conducted through seven zone and four sub-zone offices which are subdivided into forty sectors. The zone and sub-zone officers are located on the map at the end of this section. It can be seen that no attempt is being made at the present time to cover the entire country.

The MES is a semi-autonomous organization. As such it has the freedom to operate somewhat more flexibly than regular government programs. It can establish its own pay scales and can increase its
staff for spraying operations very rapidly. During the spraying season the staff expands from its normal size of 2,000 to 7,000. After malaria has been eradicated or reduced to a point where it can be easily controlled, the MES turns the task over to the Public Health Service and disbands.

The Malaria Eradication Training Center at Nazareth has been in operation since 1959. The Center has trained all the technicians and supervisors for the program. From June, 1959, to December, 1970, the Center conducted a total of 73 two- and three-month courses with a total enrollment of 867. Of this number, 811 were graduated. The present staff of five is composed of three Ethiopians and two WHO personnel. There have been as many as four WHO experts assigned to the center.

The content of the training program is very specific concerning the duties the trainees are to perform. The instructors use detailed lecture and lab notes and the students are provided with a detailed operation manual for each type of activity, whether it be surveying, specimen collection, spraying, or other operations.

The "retraining" program is also operational, and its curriculum is being broadened to include general health information and specific information on other communicable diseases in Ethiopia, particularly smallpox. In 1971, a total of 109 employees were retrained. A similar number is projected for 1972.

Program methods.—The first step in the sequence of overall operation of MES is the education of the public. The main technique used is to contact the people directly using one or a combination of a number of devices. One of the techniques is to have the priest of the local Coptic Church or the local "Shiek" introduce the MES team to the people. They are assured that the MES team will not try to convert them to another religion or harm them in any way. They are informed that the team is there to help them and that they should cooperate. The activity is given the blessing of the church by stressing that God is not only interested in their souls but also
in their having healthy bodies. The priest then turns the meeting over to the MES supervisor or technician to more fully explain the purpose of the program.

The importance of the priest giving his blessing to the endeavor can not be overemphasized. Without it, cooperation would be difficult to achieve. A negative attitude from the priest in the area would make the work next to impossible. The effects of the meeting are enhanced in isolated, unsophisticated places when the seemingly magical device of a portable public address system is utilized.

In one area, an inadvertent association was made between the MES team and a local missionary group. As a result the people could not be convinced that the MES team was not trying to convert them. This was finally overcome by having a message printed from the Abuna, the head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which explained the benefits of the MES activities. Other explanatory materials on the MES program have been printed with the Emperor's picture on the cover. Even many who could not read were convinced by this as evidence that the program should be accepted.

Another technique is to set up a public address system in the market places to play a tape explaining the program. The narrative, in the five major languages in use in Ethiopia, is interspersed with music.

During the day the public address system is also used to announce the showing of a film that night. Many people stay overnight at the marketplace to see these films, one of which tells the story of malaria.

Publications in English and Amharic are distributed in areas where some of the population is literate. The team also visits any schools located in the area where they either teach lessons on malaria eradication or induce the local teacher to do so. In either event, the students are urged to relay the information to their parents and neighbors.
The MES also has developed a series of radio programs. The programs, which require three months to broadcast, are usually transmitted at the beginning of a spraying operation. Newspaper articles are also used, but the coverage is probably quite limited.

In one Muslim area where cooperation was not forthcoming, the team recorded the voice of the local Muslim chief. This was played in the streets from a mobile public address system. The voice was recognized, and this was enough to encourage the people to cooperate.

During some periods of the year in the Muslim areas (particularly during periods of fasting) it was necessary to work only at night. Religious practices prevented taking blood samples from the people or conducting operations during the day.

The influence of Awraja governors has also been utilized. This can be in the form of assurance and requests for cooperation, and it can also take the form of a decree.

During the survey period other objections are often encountered. Mapping is feared because it is usually a prelude to higher taxes. Blood sampling is opposed because of the fear that it will be sold. In some areas the collecting of mosquitoes is opposed as the people think they do no harm and in some cases are considered good luck. The belief that malaria is a dietary disease or is caused by the morning mist must in some cases be overcome before the MES team can be effective.

The locally hired sprayer is limited in what he can do and the questions he can answer. If the people ask questions outside of his limited training, he is specifically instructed to refer the questions to his supervisor. Especially prepared plastic-coated instructional cards are provided which describe the programs and also provide answers to commonly asked questions.

The combination of the two large health programs, the MOPH general health program and the MES, make up the largest and most widespread NFE delivery system in Ethiopia. (The EOC, Ethiopian Orthodox Church, is larger but concentrated on the high plateau. The public schools are also larger with over 8,000 elementary teachers,
but they are concentrated on the main roads and in the cities.) There is consideration being given to the advisability and means of merging these two operations. It would also seem logical to consider the diversification of the staffing and function of the Health Center team to include other types of developmental agents.

Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs

The Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs (MNCD&SA) is one of the younger ministries. It was founded in 1957 and became operational in 1960. The MNCD&SA has four broad areas of responsibility. The largest is that of community development. The Second Five Year Plan charges the MNCD&SA in this area with the responsibility to:

... unite the efforts of the people in the communities with those of the governmental authorities, to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of the communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.

A National Board of Community Development was established to execute this program. At the end of the plan period, 1968, the program was evaluated as unsuccessful due primarily to a lack of cooperation between the National Board and the technical ministries.

The second major charge of the MNCD&SA is that of establishing cooperatives, both in the modern and traditional sectors, and in facilitating the developmental process by proving itself as a means for utilizing the organizational and financial potential of the rural population and the artisan groups. The objective was to establish 300 cooperatives during the plan period. During the first three years of the Third Five Year Plan, 135 such cooperatives were established; however, only fifty-five met the requirements necessary for registration.

The objectives of the social aspect of the ministry are directed toward programs for families, women, orphans, and for the support of various organizations that conduct social service programs.
The activities of the labour office of the MNCD&SA were not investigated, but from written reports of the office it can be stated that their main activities center around gathering statistics, monitoring the labour supply/market picture, operating an employment office, and coordinating the activities of the UNDP funded Center for Entrepreneurship and Management (CEM) and National Industrial Vocational Training Scheme (NIVTS), which are attached to the MNCD&SA.

Community Development

The Department of Community Development has a headquarters staff of only 26 people. Another 750 operate in the "field." The highest level Field person is called a Regional Development Officer (RDO). There were five such positions listed in the last annual report (1971), some of whom have responsibility for the CD activities in more than one province. Under the RDOs are fifty-four District Development Officers (DDO). (There are a total of 550 districts in Ethiopia.) The DDO receives one year of training at Haile Selassie University in a special program conducted by the School of Social Work. Each one of the DDOs directs a District Development Center out of which approximately five to seven "Village Level Workers" operate. Of these five to seven workers, one or two will usually be women.

The theory behind the CD operations of the ministry, according to the head of the training school for Village Level Workers (VLWs) in Awassa, is that the people of the communities, both urban and rural, can tackle their own problems, except for those in the technical areas. They can do this through the organization of community councils and the application of the self help technique. In essence, the director of the Awassa school holds that the problem is one of "stimulating the people of the community to decide exactly what it is they want and then helping them to get it."

The operational plan of the village level worker is quite simple. His first task is to conduct a socio-economic survey of the
community. At the same time, he must break down the suspicion and hostility of the community. Often he must also learn the local language as the VLW is often not from the area to which he is assigned. After he has gained the confidence of the people, he helps them organize themselves through the institution of a community committee or community council. Once the people are organized they are urged to examine their community and to decide what it is that they need and/or want to improve their lives. They are then motivated to do something about these "felt needs."

This phase of the operation is often a lengthy process. The VLW covers an area approximately equal in size to that which he can walk to in one day and still have time to work in a community. In theory, this is approximately 500 families. It was stated, however, that because of the requests of the communities adjacent to those in which he is assigned, he often works a much larger area.

The CD process breaks down when the VLW needs assistance from outside sources to enable the communities to reach the goal they have set for themselves.

The MNCD&SA does not have the capability, nor was it designed to have the capability, to provide the highly technical services often required to carry through all self help programs. The VLW can only go so far before he must have the assistance of an agricultural extension agent, an animal health assistant, a health station sanitarian, a public works engineer, or a cooperative organizer. The CD program is based on the assumption that team work amongst the various development workers will be possible. It is the CD worker who organizes and motivates the people and the technical ministries who are called upon to provide the specialized knowhow and material support. However, the two types of workers are not always present in the same areas. When they are, the priorities of one ministry may dictate that he cannot participate in the programs of the other. For various reasons, the cooperation and aid that the VLW needs is often not given.

This situation admittedly limits the effectiveness of the efforts of the VLW. However, there are two conditions that have
been present in the past in isolated cases that have ensured the success of the VLW programs by obtaining the necessary cooperation. The first condition exists when the VLWs or the DDOs have personal friends among the technical ministry among field personnel. Cooperation in this case becomes a personal matter among the various types of field workers. The second is when the District Development Officer and the District Governor are one and the same person. Cooperation in this case is demanded by a person of high authority.

Women's Programs

The women's programs of the MNCD&SA are called either the "Children and Family Welfare Program" or "Family Development and Welfare Program." The women conducting these programs are trained at the same facility and with the same curriculum as the men at the Awasa training center. Their assignments, however, are more specific and the women are more apt to be assigned to work directly from the District Development Center than to be stationed in the village itself. Accordingly, they usually serve a larger area than the men.

The women CD workers deal with the problems of the family by educating the wives. The education services provided are in the areas of health education, nutrition and foods, home management, child care, handicrafts of several types, and literacy. The women CD workers also endeavor to create clubs and organizations among the women. The clubs are usually centered around a common interest, and programs are also conducted for young girls.

The woman CD worker tries to get the women to come to the CD center to participate in these programs. It has been found that the mothers usually could not do this as they had no one to care for their children while they were away from home. It was, therefore, necessary to provide a program that would care for the children so that mothers could participate. In short, in order to reach the mother, the overall program had to also provide child care service.
Pre-School Program

Hence, the pre-school program was born. Originally, the program was staffed in a few locations by Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) volunteers. More recently, support in terms of personnel has also come from German sources.

It was discovered early in the effort that the women CD workers had too many other pressing duties to accept the responsibility of running the pre-school programs themselves. Although preschool programs were necessary to reach the mothers, after they were established, the woman CE worker had no time to help the mothers. Therefore a training program was set up to train other women who could staff the "day care centers," freeing the women CD workers. The first training program for pre-school workers was six months in length but has since been increased to one year. The present training school is staffed by one Ethiopian and two German volunteers although other part-time volunteers are utilized to teach the specialized sections of the curriculum. The training school receives little support from the MNCD&SA.

There are presently twenty students in training. Twelve of these are sponsored by the MNCD&SA and eight are sponsored by private organizations. The twelve will work in the MNCD&SA programs, and the others will work in programs sponsored by other organizations. Trainees must have completed grade 10 and be at least eighteen years of age.

There are presently thirty-one pre-school centers serving approximately 1,000 children. The future of these schools and the establishment of others is uncertain. Presently they receive considerable support from UNICEF but the degree to which they can be expanded is uncertain. There have been questions raised as to the priority that should be given to pre-school education in a country where the regular education system does not reach 85% of the population.
Women Leaders Program

The women CD workers also operate a program the objective of which is to identify local leaders among the women in a community and then to train them in family development programs. Emphasis is placed on securing participation of those women who are traditional leaders but who may not have been distinguishable as early adoptors of more progressive practices. The training program is designed to change their attitudes and to persuade them to adopt some innovations.

The criteria for selecting these women is that they must be influential in their communities. Given the choice between two influential women in the same community, the one who seems to be the least receptive to innovations will be selected since the objective is to change the attitude toward innovations. The leaders should also be young, have potential, be married, and be willing to go back to their home villages as volunteers to help facilitate the work of the women VLWs.

The participants need not be literate. In actual fact, it was reported that those admitted who were illiterate seemed to do as well in the training program as those who are literate.

The woman VLW is involved in the program from the beginning. She must sell the course to the participants, and must be sure that the content of the course fills the needs of the community. She participates in the training program and works with the women in their communities after they return.

The programs are only one month in length during which the women live at or near the development center. Herein lies one of the main problems faced by the program. It is difficult to convince the husband that he should let his wife leave home for a month to attend the training program. It is equally hard to convince the wife that she should leave. Though difficult, this has been possible to do and the first course was conducted recently at Debre Zeit for thirty women. The program included information on the objectives of CD in trying to prepare the women to be "resident facilitators" of programs for the rest of the women in the community. Substantive
content in the general area of home economics includes health, nutrition, handicrafts, and child care.

The program has been evaluated at three levels, that of the DDO, that of the VLW, and at the level of the trainees themselves. The results were promising. The women are using the new techniques they have been taught, and there is some spin-off in terms of being able to influence other women in the community. The only negative aspect is that some of the women thought that after they had received this training they should go to an urban area and get salaried jobs.

Thus far, 375 women have attended such training programs and the results are such that the program is scheduled to continue and expand.

Welfare Services

Welfare services make up a minor aspect of the activities of the MNCD&SA, and there is a limited number of people engaged in welfare activities in the Western sense of the term. In some cases the welfare worker operates on a "case basis," in the tradition of the Western social worker. In these instances, they give assistance in finding jobs, obtaining medical services, referring homeless children to orphanages, and related services.

A very large problem is created by people coming into the city to find work. They often end up on the street. The department sometimes provides transportation for these people to go back to their home villages if they can be convinced to do so.

The guiding philosophy behind the operation of the welfare section of the MNCD&SA is to avoid charity wherever possible and to rely instead on training the individual and helping him to help himself.

Cooperative Development

The MNCD&SA was given the responsibility for registering, supervising, and helping in the establishment of cooperatives by the Co-op Law of 1966. This law abolished the Co-op Act within the
Ministry of Agriculture but did not, nor did it intend to, stop their activity in the area of formation of co-ops. The function of the MNCD&SA co-op workers does not begin until a body of people have been brought together who agree that they should establish a co-op. The co-op worker is not charged with the initial drawing together of these people. This can and is done by a wide variety of agencies, agriculture extension agents, VLWs, labour union officers, missionary groups, or others. After the group has been formed, the co-op worker is to establish officially, fund, and register the co-op. The MNCD&SA co-op worker is charged with making it work after the initial drawing together has taken place.

The size of the staff within the MNCD&SA headquarters is extremely small. Three registrars and three assistants make up the total staff. At the next level are ten co-op supervisors in the fourteen provinces, with a total of only thirty co-op organizers working under them in the whole country. (There were thirty more in training at the Awasa Center during the 1971-72 school year.)

The method of operation is as follows:

1. A co-op organizer is assigned to a co-operative society at their request. A feasibility study is first conducted to determine the potential for a co-operative.

2. The co-op worker serves as the manager of the society while it is being established.

3. While serving as manager, the co-op organizer trains the members of the society and the officers so they can participate effectively and can manage the society themselves.

4. The operating regulations of the society are drawn up and approved by the membership following certain guidelines contained in the Co-op Law.

5. The co-op is registered with the MNCD&SA when it is strong enough. This gives the society certain privileges, the most important of which is the availability of credit from outside sources, such as the Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank in Addis Ababa. When the co-op members are capable and when the society is financially solvent, the co-op organization turns the complete operation over to the members. In the past, the MNCD&SA co-op organizers have often been asked by the co-op to remain as their employee to manage the co-op.
Some Generalizations Concerning Training Programs for Rural Development Workers

Six programs were visited whose main function was to train personnel for the various developmental activities throughout the country. Three other organizations visited conducted training programs for their own developmental workers as a regular part of their activities. Five of the total of nine could be considered to be extensions of the formal education system. They required successful completion of eleven or twelve years of schooling for admittance; the programs were conducted in "schools"; students received grades and were awarded certificates on successful completion. In three cases the certificate was the regular "diploma" awarded after two years of higher education and in another, the B.S. degree from HSIU.

All the programs for training developmental workers referred to as extensions of "formal" education contain portions that are definitely non-formal in nature. For example, as a regular part of their program, the Awassa Center requires trainees to spend several months in the villages near the center in field work, under actual field working conditions. Both agricultural schools, Ambo and Jimma, require field work in the villages around the schools where students conduct extension-type programs. The same type of practical field experiences are required of the students that attend the Gondar Public Health College and the Debre Zeit Animal Health Assistance Schools.

The remaining four programs could be considered to be "vestibule" programs in that the trainees were already employed by developmental organizations, CADU, WADU, EPID, and the EOC, before their training started. These programs were more "non-formal" in nature. The entrance requirements were more flexible and they were not an extension of the age graded schools.

The technical content of all the programs is specific to the jobs the trainee will have to perform. The programs are not characterized by large amounts of general education content (with the exception of the Gondar program for training health workers).
The programs are not inexpensive.
The technical knowledge and skills are given emphasis. The "educational" or extension methods needed to effectively disseminate this material to the population do not seem to be emphasized in the classroom but are taught mainly through field experiences given as part of the regular training program. The exceptions seem to be the Gondar Health College and the Awassa Community Development Training Center. It is possible that the lack of emphasis on the pedagogical aspect of the program does not cause problems. This, however, cannot be substantiated.

There has been insufficient emphasis on the evaluation of the performance of the developmental workers in the field. There are few exceptions. One organization that had operated for ten years and had not conducted previous research was in the process of a comprehensive evaluation of the programs being conducted by their graduates and their performance.

All programs made efforts to recruit trainees from throughout the Empire or specifically from the areas in which the trainees would be working on completion of their courses.

All but two programs, the Ambo and Jimma schools training agricultural workers, have definite openings for their graduates. In some cases, the trainees were already hired and were being paid. In the case of the Awassa center for training community development workers, the trainees were under contract, and their expenses were paid. The trainees in the Animal Health school in Debre Zeit, and the Public Health College in Gondar, by prior understanding, will be hired by the respective ministries. The exceptions to this close connection between the training program and the agency that hires the graduates are the two agricultural schools in Ambo and Jimma. These schools started as secondary schools feeding agriculturally oriented students into the Agricultural College at Alemaya. When it was deemed unnecessary for this function to be performed any longer the schools became post-high school programs and began training agriculturalists. Most graduates in the past went to work
for the Ministry of Agriculture (MOA). At the present time, the Extension and Project Implementation Division of the MOA is administering tests to the graduates and intends to hire only those graduates who satisfactorily pass the required examination. (At the time of our visit, what constituted satisfactorily passing the exam had not yet been determined.)

It is probable that the need for rural development workers, field agents, etc., is the greatest unfilled need for trained manpower in Ethiopia. This is true for several reasons.

The present programs are small with a combined total of graduates per year that does not exceed 400. By comparison, the total number of teachers graduated per year totals about 2,000.

The need is relatively great for this type of worker. The rate at which programs in the rural areas are being instituted is accelerating.

The turnover is large. The rural jobs available are not attractive to all the applicants. Jobs are often taken because of signed obligations, or because there is nothing else available. Thus, when more attractive jobs are open, the discontented will leave the field worker ranks.

**General Conclusions**

The conclusions that follow are based on an admittedly limited study of the rural programs in Ethiopia. They should, therefore, be considered as hypotheses for which further research is required. They can, however, be considered as working hypotheses, ones worthy of further testing and modification. In general, then, we conclude that:

- The goals and objectives of the programs in the rural sector are well defined and specific. The objectives of the NFE aspects of the programs are more apt to serve other larger goals rather than serving as limited program goals in themselves. For example, goals will be stated in terms of raising rural income by a specific amount, as in the case of the Wallomo Soddo Agricultural Development Unit, instead of in terms of teaching so
much agricultural content. These goals are usually stated in terms of the needs of the participants themselves. That is, the NFE objective would be to improve the agricultural skills of the farmer so that he could increase his own production as compared with training a mechanic to fill a need for trained manpower in a particular company.

- Rural programs tend to reach large numbers of people. One agricultural extension program, the Minimum Package Program, reached 40,000 farmers in one year. A malaria education program is estimated to reach 6,000,000 rural dwellers. The length and intensity of the contact that each individual has with the educational program, however, is limited when compared to programs in the modern sector. The malaria eradication program, for example, makes contact with the average household in the areas served only twice a year.

- The distribution of rural programs throughout the country is directed toward those areas that are already somewhat developed. It is estimated that 80% to 85% of the population lives more than ten kilometers from an all-weather road, yet all major agricultural development schemes presently lie around all-weather roads. A pre-condition for the selection of areas for the establishment of new agricultural extension programs by the Ministry of Agriculture is that the area have access to adequate transportation. Further, the Work Oriented Adult Literacy Programs are seen by UNESCO to be practical only where there is already an active extension service. These factors and others tend to concentrate developmental programs and other educational efforts.

- The content of the programs in the rural areas is limited to the problems of the specific geographic area of the project. There is little evidence of effective, imported, "universal" technologies or methods in use in rural programs. The initial content for the programs needed to get the rural areas moving toward increased production and improved living conditions is known. The techniques effective in diffusing this content to the masses of the rural population have been demonstrated. Both the content and techniques have been developed largely within Ethiopia by pilot and demonstration NFE activities. Work still needs to be done to determine the materials, content, and methods needed to sustain the momentum of development.

- The nature of the content of rural programs, the educational techniques utilized, and the characteristics of the participants necessitate the utilization of a different type of change agent/teacher. He stands in
contrast to the highly technically skilled and sometimes expatriate teachers in the modern sector. To reach maximum effectiveness in rural areas, it is necessary to recruit the change agents from among the people toward whom the programs are directed. This enhances the degree of homophily between the change agent and the participant but necessitates major efforts in training field level personnel.

- The NFE programs of the modern sector tend to be self-contained, and it is useful to use such terms as teacher, curriculum, and class in their description. The "curriculum" of learning for the farmer and his wife, however, is intrinsic in what they do and the problems they attempt to solve.

The fields, crops, animals and domestic environments are their "classrooms." Their experiences in dealing with survival problems are the substance of their "education."

NFE efforts in the rural areas of Ethiopia must proceed differently from those in the modern sector. The key starting point in the education of rural people is to guarantee that they will experience the fruits of adopting a new practice which increases crop production, improves nutrition or which lessens the burden of their work. If the initial instruction in "scientific agriculture" is adequately rewarded, it may be possible for the farmers to participate in a series of "lessons" which will constitute "lifelong learning." These initial lessons must necessarily be very simple and subject to verification and validation by the farmer himself and/or his wife. But these lessons can, with the farmer's full participation, become increasingly complex as the learning process continues. The central idea here is that education is a continuous learning process which cannot be symbolized by certificates, grades, and other educational paraphernalia. Increased production and other improvements in the rural community are their own rewards.

- It has been pointed out that 80% of the rural population lives ten kilometers or more from an all-weather road and that the distribution of enrollments in formal schools is in favor of the urban population and those living along all-weather roads. When one takes the criterion of relevance to the environment in which a school exists as a measure of impact, then the formal schools have an even smaller impact on the rural areas than the number and distribution of students would indicate. Although there are a few comprehensive secondary schools located in rural population centers, their impact is not known. That
they teach agriculture is accepted. What kind of agriculture they teach has not been well established. The age distribution of students in these programs is an open question. The available enrollment figures, however, indicate that the vast majority of students enrolled in the practical streams of these schools are in the seventh and eighth grades.

- The relative emphasis given agricultural extension services for the rural areas of Ethiopia as compared to formal elementary education can be illustrated by comparing the number of elementary school teachers to the number of agricultural extension agents. As of 1971 there were approximately 8,000 elementary school teachers in rural Ethiopia. At that time there were only about 230 agricultural extension agents, a ratio of thirty-five to one.

- There is considerable duplication of objectives between various rural developmental programs in Ethiopia. There seems to be little duplication of effort, however, as the various agencies involved usually operate in different localities. For example, the rural developmental efforts of the YMCA do not duplicate the efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture because the programs are located in different areas. It is possible that further duplication of objectives should be considered. The health units, for example, might profitably serve as delivery points for agricultural inputs. Conversely, agricultural extension centers might profitably add health service personnel. This joint use of delivery points eliminates duplication of delivery systems, a duplication no developing country can afford.
NOTES: CHAPTER IV


2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 35.
CHAPTER V

LITERACY PROGRAM

Introduction

Broadly speaking, literacy is considered essential to any country, regardless of the degree of development. It has gained most attention in those countries where the literacy rates are low and efforts to increase literacy rates are justified in terms of the developmental needs of the country. The necessity for widespread literacy skills among any population has often been grouped under four main headings:

1. Literacy skills are necessary in the political sense to facilitate the integration of the population into a viable nation state where the government can carry out its program.

2. Economically, literacy skills are necessary to improve the quality of the human resources of the nation.

3. Socially, literacy skills are necessary to build a just, integrated social order.

4. Literacy skills are a necessary part of the guarantees to ensure human dignity. Literacy skills are a human right and literacy itself is a necessary condition for basic dignity.

The Adult Education News Letter, a publication of University Extension, Haile Selassie I University, summed up the status of the literacy efforts in Ethiopia, and indeed the world, in an opening editorial in the January, 1972 issue:

Illiteracy as a human ill has long been recognized. Many agencies in Ethiopia have felt that they ought to participate in the campaign, no the war against illiteracy, and many have done so. Yet the fervour and the desire to wage war is never constant, it seems to ebb and flow with the times. Ethiopia and Ethiopian agencies that have anything to do with the campaign, like their counterparts the world over, seem to realize the fact that their effort is getting very little positive result.
In spite of or possibly because of the above, the most universal NFE activity in Ethiopia is the teaching of literacy skills. Literacy programs can be found in every geographical sector of the Empire. They are conducted by virtually every type of organization: religious, governmental, private, and commercial. Literacy programs probably involve the largest total number of participants of any of the NFE activities, except in the Malaria Eradication Service and Ministry of Health programs and mass media programs. The combined cost of all literacy programs is difficult to determine, because of the many diverse sponsoring organizations and because so much of the activity is carried out through voluntary efforts where realistic opportunity costs are unavailable. The total costs of literacy education in the Empire, however, are probably second only to the costs of formal education.

**Early Development of Literacy Programs**

The earliest efforts toward the spread of literacy skills in Ethiopia were made by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The first phase of church education, literally translated, means House of Reading. Originally the language taught was Ge'ez, the ancient liturgical language. In later years, further instruction has also been given in Amharic. It is safe to say that until the coming of foreign missionaries in the late 19th century and the founding of secular schools in the early 20th century, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was virtually the only institution teaching literacy skills. Until recent times, the reading materials available were limited—consisting chiefly of the Bible and other religious works. The situation still has not changed in the isolated villages.

There have never been any reliable figures as to the number of students who have learned to read and write through the church schools. This is not surprising, as there is even doubt as to the exact number of churches and clergy in the country.

The rebuilding of the school system after the Italian occupation began in 1942. However, there seemed to be no special emphasis
given to literacy education outside the formal schools until November 1955 when the Emperor issued a proclamation, which states in part:

*We charge every illiterate Ethiopian between the ages eighteen and fifty to learn in the time left over from his daily tasks, such Fundamental Education as will enable him to know Amharic reading, writing, either at government schools or private, existing in the neighborhood, or by employing a private teacher in his respective village or district.*

Shortly after the issuance of this proclamation negotiations were entered into with UNESCO for the establishment of a center to train "fundamental educators" to work in rural villages. A major part of the responsibility of the fundamental educators was to be the teaching of literacy skills.

The training center for fundamental educators in Debra Berhan actually got underway in 1958. The program was designed for the entire family of prospective fundamental educators. The husbands were taught courses in methodology, agriculture, community development principles, health, etc. The wives studied home economics, and the children were given ordinary elementary schooling. A total of 179 fundamental educators and their families were trained before the program was discontinued in 1960. It is unclear as to why the program was discontinued. Further, it seems that all the community fundamental education centers that were originally set up and staffed have since evolved, quite easily it seems, into ordinary elementary schools serving only children. It was reported that these centers evolved into regular formal schools within three to five years after their original establishment as fundamental education centers, illustrating perhaps the priorities of the parents in the area.

The next major development in the literacy effort came in July, 1962, when the National Literacy Campaign Organization (NLCO) was formed as a private, non-profit, voluntary organization. The NLCO was organized around a group of public minded citizens who drew their financial support from donations and international development organizations. The NLCO program was based on the voluntary efforts of students and their teachers during the summer vacations. The NLCO provided instructional materials and training programs for the
volunteer teachers. During the first summer of its operation, in 1963, the organization claims to have enrolled 14,800 students in literacy classes. By the summer of 1965 this number had grown to approximately 20,000.

The NLCO succeeded in bringing attention to the vastness of the problem and demonstrated that people would volunteer their time to teach others. There was some criticism of the program because of the limited training given to the instructors, their lack of commitment to their students, and because the students seemed to register readily for the classes but then, in many cases, failed to attend; nevertheless, they still received a literacy certificate. It is not uncommon for a man to have three or four literacy certificates and still be illiterate. One Ethiopian contracted during the study claims to know a man in his village who has eighteen certificates and still cannot read. It is, of course, possible that the same meaningless certification is occurring under the present programs.

No government agency had the responsibility for coordinating literacy activities in the Empire until 1967 when the Directorate of Adult Education and Literacy was established within the Ministry of Education. The Directorate was small and from the beginning was designed to serve a guidance function. The Directorate was charged with coordinating literacy efforts, collecting statistics, and establishing standards. The Directorate also prepares instructional materials, instructors' manuals, follow-up readers, posters, and flip charts, and publishes a monthly newspaper for new literates. In the initial years of its existence, a syllabus was formulated which covered not only literacy skills but numeracy, health, civics, and other basic information.

A standard literacy exam was formulated based on the contents of this syllabus and thereafter successful completion of this exam was the prerequisite to being literate. The same exam is applied regardless of whose literacy program one completes.

The Ministry of Education also began to provide support for literacy programs in the form of a small salary for many of the
teachers. The acting director of the NLCO, which is presently not operating, claims that this practice of paying teachers killed the NLCO program. After the MOE began to pay teachers, the NLCO found it very difficult to obtain volunteer teachers.

The Ministry of Education program under the Directorate of Adult Education and Literacy operates through Provincial Literacy Officers (PLO). The PLOs have the responsibility of organizing programs in their provinces. They promote participation, hire teachers upon the recommendations of the local school principals, conduct training sessions for the teachers, handle the finances, etc. The Addis Ababa staff has remained relatively small, consistent with its limited responsibilities of coordination and support.

Early in 1968, the UNESCO proposed a Work Oriented Adult Literacy Project for Ethiopia. The plan became operational in October of the same year. It appears that no new major initiative in the field of literacy programs will be taken by the Ministry of Education until the completion of the experimental UNESCO program which is responsible for developing new techniques, materials, and programs for Ethiopia.

Scope of the Present Literacy Programs

Today it seems that literacy is everybody's business in Ethiopia. Following is a list of the most prominent organizations that are conducting literacy courses of varying size, length, and quality.

1. Ministry of Education
   a. The program under the direction of the MOE
   b. The UNESCO Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Program (directed by UNESCO personnel)

2. Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs

3. Ethiopian Orthodox Church

4. Foreign missionary groups (including such large and well organized operations as the Mekane Yesus and some by individual missions)
5. Territorial Army
6. Police
7. National Literacy Campaign Organization (NLCO)—not presently active
8. Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions—Literacy programs not presently active
9. YMCA and YWCA
10. Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association
11. Wonji-Shoa Sugar Estate
12. Ethiopian University Service and Ethiopian Students Association
13. High school literacy clubs
14. Student Organizations of Teacher Training Institutes
15. Boy and Girl Scouts
16. Ethiopian Youth Service
17. Night school classes taught in the regular elementary schools, and following the elementary school curriculum, usually for a fee which the teacher can keep.
18. Imperial Highway Authority, Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority, Telecommunications, and most other parastatal organizations.

The primary objective of most of the above organizations in conducting literacy courses is the propagation of literacy skills themselves. In some cases, however, the skills are being taught as tools to meet other objectives. This is definitely the case for organizations such as the Army and parastatal and commercial organizations. These organizations see the skills of literacy as contributing to the productivity of the individual and, hence, the organizations for which they work.

One method of classifying the objectives of literacy programs is by the scope of the content of the program. In many cases, the content encompasses no more than basic literacy skills. This is definitely the case for the programs operated by many social organizations. Here the skills of literacy are seen as enhancing the growth of the individual without reference to any specific or applied use.
In some cases, the scope of the content includes numeracy and other basic information such as health, civics, etc. The Ministry of Education programs are examples of this type. The Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs and the night classes taught in many of the public schools are other examples.

The third general level of objectives found in the many and varied programs are those that include some practical work and/or environmentally oriented content that in itself makes a direct contribution to the welfare of the student. The UNESCO Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Program (WOALP) is the major example of this type of program.

The Instructional materials used by the various organizations are usually one of three types. The first materials, other than religious materials, to gain widespread usage were those of the National Literacy Campaign Organization. These materials are still being used in a few programs. They are traditional in nature, using the alphabetical approach where the complete alphabet is memorized before the student begins to assemble the syllables into words and phrases.

The materials produced by both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs use a modified Laubach approach. Both take advantage of the phonetic nature of the Amharic alphabet and its logical structure and the Laubach type representations to teach the alphabet and words at the same time. Then the student progresses rapidly into phrases and sentences.

The third set of materials does not make use of the logic and structure of the Amharic phonetic alphabet to the extent the MOE materials do. This approach, called the Global Approach by UNESCO, is used in the WOALP. The WOALP has had little effect thus far upon the method, materials, and programs of the Ministry of Education. There is reason to predict that it will ultimately have little effect other than to solidify opinions and sentiments in favor of the Laubach materials and methods previously in use since 1967. The concept of the introduction of work education into the literacy program
curriculum could, we believe, have been accomplished without alienating the MOE literacy staff had more flexibility been shown on the part of the UNESCO approach in Ethiopia.

One function of the Directorate of Adult Education and Literacy is to collect enrollment statistics to judge the progress of the total literacy effort. These figures are reported yearly. Submission of the statistics is voluntary, and the MOE acknowledges that the figures it receives and hence publishes are often incomplete.

As has been stated previously, the Ministry of Education will not count anyone as having become literate who has not passed the MOE exam. One of the largest programs in the country, the Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign of the Mekane Yesus Church does not use this examination. Their enrollment figures, however, are included in the MOE figures, but it is not clear how graduates are certified. It is probable that the MOE figures reflect the numbers who have successfully completed their programs, but for other organizations the reported statistics may only reflect enrollment in the program and not the number that have successfully completed the program to any particular level or successfully passed the literacy test.

Confusion is caused by the fact that more than one organization may claim the same students. For example, the Wonji-Shoa Sugar Estate programs are listed separately in the reports. These students are also included in the WOALP figures. In previous years, the NLCO included in its figures all the courses that used their materials or were helped in other ways. Some of these same organizations (student associations, YMCA, YWCA, EWNW, etc.) also probably reported statistics directly to the MOE.

The adult population over 15 can be estimated at about 12,000,000. Literacy rate estimates do not exceed 19% and most are under 10%. Therefore, there are at least 10,000,000 illiterate adults in Ethiopia. The last year for which there is a composite figure for literacy students available is 1970. It is estimated that in that year the total of all programs enrolled less than 300,000 students, many of whom were children and youth who could not get into a formal
government school. The number of those who actually became literate during the year is much smaller. Using minimum population and maximum enrollment figures, it would take thirty years to eradicate adult illiteracy. It is probable that the relatively small size of the effort, compared to the size of the problem to be solved, makes errors of 20% to 30% in enrollment statistics unimportant.

Another perspective that can be taken concerning the statistics is to compare the number of new literates produced by the combined literacy programs, accepting the MOE figures as indicating the number of people who passed the literacy exam in any one year with the number of new literates produced by the public schools. The latter is roughly equivalent to the enrollment of the fourth grade—if one accepts the thesis that it requires four years of schooling to produce a permanently literate individual. The MOE reports that 297,079 people finished literacy courses in 1970. During the same year the fourth grade enrollment in all schools, public and private, was only 87,407. If these figures are accepted, which is risky indeed, then the combined total of all the literacy programs in 1970 produced three to four times as many literates as the combined total of all the formal schools in the Empire.

Organizations Conducting Literacy Programs

It is appropriate that more be said of some of the organizations presently conducting literacy programs and about the programs they are operating. Following are brief descriptions of the programs of a select number of these organizations.

Formal Elementary Schools

There is no country in the world with a literacy rate approaching 100% that does not have an elementary school attendance rate that also approaches 100%. It is appropriate, therefore, to consider the impact of the elementary schools on the literacy rate of the Empire.

In this consideration we accept the premise of UNESCO that four years of elementary schooling is necessary to produce a permanently
literate individual. Therefore one can take the total enrollment of the fourth grade in any particular year and assume that this number approximates the number of literates produced by the formal schools in the country in that year. This is a rather imprecise way of estimating the contribution of the schools to literacy efforts but it is probably the most accurate available. The enrollment in the fourth grade and therefore the assumed number of new literates produced by the formal schools during the last five years was:

- 1966-67: 41,607
- 1967-68: 47,559
- 1968-69: 54,692
- 1969-70: 60,837

Accepting another set of assumptions, that the population of the Empire is 25,000,000, that the age distribution estimates of the Central Statistical Offices are correct, and that the growth rate of the population is 2.5% per year, it appears that the schools are managing to make literate only about one in ten of the relevant school-age group. The rate of increase in the number of students made literate through the formal schools varies slightly from year to year. From 1967 to 1968, the number increased by 14%. From 1968 to 1969, the number increased by 15%, from 1969 to 1970 by 11%, and from 1970 to 1971 by 10%. These rates of increase are still considerably higher than the rate of population increase which is presently estimated to be about 2.5%. However, as the population is estimated to increase at 2.5% per year, there are approximately 625,000 additional people per year. The population, then, is increasing annually by a number almost ten times larger than the number of literates being produced. Even when one adds the total maximum number of literates produced by all other literacy programs, the actual number of illiterates in the country is still increasing year by year almost twice as fast as the number of literates.

If we assume that the major accomplishment of the elementary schools is to teach literacy and numeracy plus some basic knowledge (not essentially different from the MOE syllabus for the literacy
program), then the cost of producing a literate through the schools approaches the cost of his four years of elementary schooling, plus the cost of wastage (those pupils who go to school for less than the length of time required to become permanently literate). Based on MOE figures for the costs of schooling for the first four years and considering wastage, the cost of producing one literate is approximately Eth. $400. This figure assumes a fairly constant cost per pupil year over the four-year period and a fairly constant relationship between the enrollments of the first four years of school. The probable benefits obtained from this four years of formal elementary schooling, other than simple literacy and numeracy skills, are preparation for the next stage of schooling, changes in attitudes and values derived from association with a formal institution, and some basic knowledge.

Ministry of Education Adult Literacy Program

As has been stated above, the present role of the Directorate of Adult Education and Literacy in the Ministry of Education in the literacy efforts of the Empire are in the nature of guidance, coordination, and standardization. The operating programs are planned, organized, and supervised at the provincial level by the Provincial Literacy Officer (PLO). Virtually all of the literacy programs conducted by the Provincial Literacy Officers are conducted in the local schools. The principals of the schools often act as the agents of the Provincial Literacy Officer and are often charged with the task of recruiting teachers for the classes. The PLO also distributes supplies and materials, pays the teachers, and administers other logistic requirements. He also must either arrange for training sessions for teachers of literacy programs or, as is often the case, conduct them himself. Thus, a map of the country showing the major adult literacy centers is hardly distinguishable from a map showing the locations of the formal schools.

The overall numerical effect of the MOE effort in literacy programs is considerable. In fact, it alone produces a number of
literals that slightly exceeds the number produced by the formal schools. This is assuming, of course, that the figures reported by the MOE, if not the other organizations, reflect the number that have passed the MOE-approved literacy examinations, and not just the number enrolled. During 1969, 74,813 of the total of 228,877 literacy "graduates" reported were listed under the MOE programs. Of this 74,813, more than half, 44,076, were from three of the fourteen provinces. These were the provinces of Tigre, with 26,564; Gojam, with 10,353; and Wallo, with 7,106. The reason for this bunching of the enrollment is not known, especially as it does not correspond to formal school enrollment variations.

Table I illustrates the increase in enrollment in the literacy campaign in Ethiopia over the past ten years.

Early in its existence the Directorate for Adult Education and Literacy was criticized by other organizations conducting literacy programs because they considered the MOE literacy exam too rigorous. The Ministry of Education, therefore, tested the exam on elementary school students. The exam was administered to a number of second,

Table I
Enrollment of Literacy Program, 1964-1971*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>158,778</td>
<td>35,172</td>
<td>193,950</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>107,660</td>
<td>14,747</td>
<td>122,407</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>126,057</td>
<td>19,817</td>
<td>145,874</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>129,527</td>
<td>23,630</td>
<td>153,157</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>130,753</td>
<td>42,703</td>
<td>173,456</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>183,535</td>
<td>45,332</td>
<td>228,867</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>238,000</td>
<td>59,079</td>
<td>297,079</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>119,292</td>
<td>38,071</td>
<td>157,363</td>
<td>Data reported as of September 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,193,602</td>
<td>278,551</td>
<td>1,472,153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Directorate of Adult Education and Literacy, MOE/IEG.
third, and fourth graders in Addis Ababa schools. The fourth graders required one hour to finish the exam and 100% of them passed. The third graders required an average of thirty minutes longer to finish the exam and 90% of the students passed. The second graders were given as long as they needed to complete the exam and 66% passed. This indicates that as a measure of fourth grade level skills, the literacy exam is not too rigorous. By comparison, after finishing the prescribed MOE syllabus for literacy programs, the adult passing rate varies from 50% to 96%.

The numeracy, health, civics, and general information content of the MOE literacy course syllabus upon which the exam is based makes it probable that students who have completed a program not using the MOE materials would have difficulty passing the exam, even if they were literate. The question can still be asked whether the fourth grade standard is appropriate for adult literacy standards. If this standard is accepted, then one must ask which fourth grade. Inasmuch as the testing was conducted in Addis Ababa, it is certain that different standards of passing and failing would have been obtained in the provinces.

In 1970-71 there were 901 MOE centers at which literacy courses were being given. At these centers a total of 2,140 classes were being taught by 2,192 teachers. The MOE states that many of their teachers were volunteers.

The procedure of operating adult literacy programs through the Provincial Literacy Officer (PLO) is rather simple. The PLO usually promotes classes through the medium of the schools. The principals of the schools help recruit teachers. Some literacy teachers are regular school teachers and some are senior secondary school students. At times students from the junior secondary schools are accepted as literacy teachers if the school principal recommends them. A short training program is given to the prospective teachers by the PLO or one of his designates.

The first stage of the literacy course itself requires from four to six months. The shorter time is required by speakers of
Amharic as a first language. The longer time is that required by those who are not native Amharic speakers and in many cases do not speak Amharic at all. The same materials are used for both. The classes meet four to five times a week for from one and a half to two hours per night. The teachers receive Eth. $40 for teaching eighty hours a month. (Eth. $40 equals approximately $17 U.S.)

After completion of the basic literacy course "... all new literates are advised and encouraged to pursue their (formal) education through evening classes at nearby schools." It is probable that many of the youths who take literacy courses do so as a preparation for formal schooling. Many Ethiopians send their children to church schools before enrolling them in the government schools for the same reason. That is, prior literacy skills in Amharic help to insure success in the regular government schools. This is especially true for those who do not have Amharic as a first language.

The Ministry of Education Literacy Unit has written and published two primers with accompanying wall charts and flip charts. A handbook for the Provincial Literacy Officers has also been produced which outlines the duties and responsibilities of the position.

UNESCO Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Program

Negotiations with the Imperial Ethiopian Government concerning an adult literacy program under the UNESCO experimental program began in early 1968. The project officially got underway in October of the same year and is scheduled to run for five years. During this time various methods and materials are to be tested on an experimental basis, and a total of 128,000 people are scheduled to participate.

The experimental approach was rejected very early in the program as UNESCO did not feel it appropriate to "experiment" with people. Instead an approach referred to by UNESCO personnel in Ethiopia as "Action Research" was adopted. Under this program a particular method is decided upon and tried. It is then modified and tried again and again, as often as necessary to obtain the best form and combination.
The underlying philosophy of the UNESCO Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Program is that literacy training programs should incorporate substantive content that relates to the day-to-day work activities of the students. Further, this content should contribute to the improvement of their lives and/or the enhancement of their work. Baseline surveys were conducted during the initial phases of the program to determine the appropriate work-oriented content for the literacy materials for use in the various project areas. Literacy primers and other materials based on this research were then written and printed.

The actual literacy classes are supervised in the field by UNESCO expatriate experts who have responsibility for the program in a sub-province area. In the two sub-provinces in which UNESCO is conducting classes, 93 and 110 classes have been conducted. In addition, 33 classes are being conducted in one type of industrial setting or another by UNESCO in cooperation with a UNDP/ILO funded vocational training scheme.

The literacy teachers are trained in the geographical areas in which they will work by the central staff of the UNESCO project. The teachers are drawn from among local extension agents, teachers, and school leavers. Each teacher receives fifteen days training in the methods of teaching Amharic employed by the program which is called the "global method." The actual work-oriented aspects of the program are presented by local extension agents who work for various development programs, agricultural personnel, women's workers in the case of the CADU program, or personnel especially trained in the subject area. The UNESCO project director is of the opinion that the program will not work in an area where there is no strong extension program already in operation. These people are needed to provide the technical skills that make up the work aspect of the program. One can assume from this that it is easier, in the view of UNESCO, to train a language teacher than it is to train an extension agent.

Classes are held in schools, homes, and factories. In some cases the villagers have constructed small buildings especially for the classes. Agriculturally oriented programs make use of demonstration
plots in conjunction with the classes. This is often not satisfactory, as the agricultural cycle does not often coincide with the literacy course content sequence of presentation. Women's programs do not have this problem since the work content can be demonstrated without dependence upon temporal events. The same is true of the industrial courses.

The UNESCO program is divided into three sequential stages. The first presents the skills of basic literacy and numeracy. The second stage is called a "language program" which is primarily based upon reading books designed to increase the students' vocabulary and reading skills. The third stage is called "follow-up" and essentially is to consist of a traveling "suitcase" library that will be transported from village to village with the students being visited by a teacher about once a month.

The initial classes in the Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Program in the Wallama Saddo area were ending the first stage of the program in early 1972. Some classes had taken as long as 19 months to finish the first stage. (Later revisions of the materials have reduced this to 10 or 12 months in the Wallama Saddo area.) Of 3,845 enrolled in the first group, 2,295 took the exam at the end of the course. The 1,685 students who passed the examination do not reflect true achievement as it was stated by UNESCO personnel that standards were made very flexible in order to encourage the students to continue on to the second stage of the course. In this area about 50% of those who passed the first stage are continuing with stage two. The first group in stage two were to finish sometime in April of 1972. No one, as of April 1972, had finished the complete program.

The section of the interim report in Task Force 14 of the Sector Review written by the evaluation officer of the UNESCO project indicates that 9,215 students were enrolled in all the UNESCO WOALP classes late in 1971. The enrollments for January-March, 1972, reported in a UNESCO chart showed 20,160 enrolled during that period.

According to the Task Force 14 Report, the number of literates to be produced under the contract has been reduced from 128,000 to
78,000 to allow concentration on a quality product. At a briefing session by the head of the project it was stated that the number was reduced because a survey showed that there were only 78,000 illiterates in the proposed project areas.

Considering that as of the first part of 1972 only 1,685 had successfully finished the first phase and only 50% of these had enrolled for the second phase, the pace of the project will have to be accelerated tremendously to reach either the goal of 78,000 literates or the more important goal of adequately testing and improving new materials and methods by the project termination date of October, 1973.

The attendance rate in classes is reported to have varied from 60% to 80%. The lower figure is not dissimilar from that of conventional literacy programs. The upper figure is considerably better. However, accurate attendance data were not available at the time of our investigation. The only figures available that reflect a dropout rate were those of the first stage: as of April, 1972, these figures indicate that in CADU, 60% of those who were enrolled in the first phase took the final examination. In the WADU area, 59% of those who were enrolled took the examination, and in the Jimma area 51% took the final examination. In the WADU area about 50% of the persons who passed the first stage entered the second stage. If 50% passed the second stage, as the UNESCO expert in the area predicted, then only 1/8 of those who initially entered the first stage will successfully enter the third or "follow-up" stage.

The ILO/UNDP sponsored National Industrial and Vocational Training Schema (NIVTS) is participating in the UNESCO Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Program being conducted in the "industrial belt." This program is the first stage of a long-range plan to upgrade the general vocational skills of the workers. This program consists of five stages. The first is an organizational phase conducted in the industrial plant itself. Here also the cooperation of management and unions is sought. A training committee is formed with joint membership and physical arrangements are made. This phase takes approximately one week.
During the second stage, two types of instructors are trained. The instructors for the language aspects of the program receive two weeks' training conducted by personnel from the Addis Ababa office of the Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Program. Instructors for the work-oriented aspect of the program also receive two weeks' training, from personnel of the NIVTS.

The third stage consists of functional literacy classes. The materials are designed to be covered in 26 weeks and consist of basic literacy and numeracy lessons. The vocabulary is based on developing knowledge about tools and simple mechanical processes. These lessons are based on a specific topic or item of equipment, such as: frames, knife, hinge, box, vise, wheelbarrow, ladder, tin snips, electric wire, insulator, nuts, bolts, and file.

The most successful industrial training program, in the view of the UNESCO personnel themselves, is that being conducted in a textile mill located in Bahr Dar. Of the 2,300 employees at the plant, 800 are enrolled in literacy classes. Approximately 80% of those enrolled are women. The classes meet for two hours, three times a week. Classes are held just prior to the start of the shift the students are working. At the time the classes were visited by the authors, the program had been in session only one and one-half months. Accordingly, few conclusions could be drawn. A visit to the plant, however, revealed that none of the women were performing jobs using skills remotely related to the work content of the course material. The manager of the plant cited as the main benefit to the plant the ability of the women to use numbers to keep records of their own production. The dropout rate in the Bahr Dar program was described as relatively low. According to the plant manager, attendance had lagged during a holiday season but was recently picking up. The day the classes were visited approximately 50% to 60% of the students were in attendance, mostly women.

The program in Bahr Dar was initiated by UNESCO; however, it has developed into one that is truly a cooperative undertaking. Management furnishes facilities for the classes plus blackboard, chalk,
benches, and other physical necessities. The plant also paid the full salary of fifteen employees, mostly clerical and supervisory, during the time they were receiving their two-week training to become literacy teachers. The employees' union has formed the base of the training committee. UNESCO and ILO have provided instructional materials and training. When the management was asked what they hope to gain from their participation and contribution to the literacy program, they stated "Good will."

The cost of the UNESCO project is considerable. The U.S. Special Funds has or will have contributed $1,357,957 (U.S.). The Imperial Ethiopian will contribute $149,200 (U.S.) plus another $2,058,800 (U.S.) in kind. Justification for the expenditure of this amount of money is difficult to make in terms of the projected number of literates when one compares it with the cost of other literacy programs in Ethiopia. The justification must be in terms of the development of materials, methods, and as a demonstration.

**Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC)**

The EOC is the oldest and probably the largest and farthest reaching organization in Ethiopia. There are an estimated 15,000 churches and 200,000 priests throughout Ethiopia, the greatest percentage of which are located in the Highlands. Each church is a potential school. It is claimed by the Church that each church does in fact conduct classes either at the church or in the community.

The name of the first level of church education, literally translated, means "house of reading." It is difficult to estimate the impact of these reading schools in terms of the size of enrollment. In 1967, the Church reported an enrollment of 57,635 in schools directly under church supervision. In 1969 the Ministry of Education reported that the Church had an estimated enrollment in literacy classes of 64,041. In a recent publication, "The Church of Ethiopia," a publication of EOC, it was stated that it was difficult to estimate the number of such schools and to evaluate the enrollment. The publication, however, had hypothesized that it is
probable that each church has at least one teacher conducting a "house of reading" school, "each Nebadbet (House of Reading) may have an average of 20 pupils. We may be justified, with some reservation, in saying that at present the total Nebadbet enrollment might well be 300,000." This does not take into consideration classes that are often given in private compounds by priests or monks of the church.

Children normally enter a "house of reading" between the ages of five and seven. Although theoretically both boys and girls and all ethnic groups are allowed to enroll, girls are generally discouraged by their parents. Ethnic groups whose religion is other than the Ethiopian Orthodox Church often hesitate to attend because of a fear of being converted to the Ethiopian Orthodox faith.

The primary function of the "house of reading" is to enable students to read religious books. Thus most of the emphasis is on reading and traditionally writing was not taught at all. Emphasis in recent years is shifting. In the areas where government schools are in existence, the church schools are serving as a preparation for modern government schools as many parents send their students to obtain basic literacy skills before entering the government schools.

The instruction in the reading school proceeds through three stages. First the alphabet is taught. The student learns to recognize all 231 characters of the alphabet and the sound that each represents. During the second stage the student learns to read the First Epistle of St. John. Initially the student pronounces each letter of every word. He then puts them together to learn to pronounce each word. He then learns to pronounce phrases and finally to read sentences. The student proceeds to read a number of other religious texts.

The First Epistle of St. John and the subsequent religious works during the initial stages of the program are written using the present alphabet but in the ancient language called Ge'ez, now the liturgical language used only in the church. One need not understand Ge'ez to successfully complete the reading school. He needs only to be able to read the various religious works out loud. Hence, a
student often learns a system of reading and writing, but not the language of Ge'ez. Most church schools now also place some emphasis on literacy skills in Amharic. This, however, is done after accomplishing the initial task of learning to read and pronounce Ge'ez without understanding the meaning.

**National Literacy Campaign Organization (NLCO)**

The National Literacy Campaign Organization is a private non-profit voluntary organization. At one time the NLCO was responsible for much of the literacy work being conducted in Ethiopia. It organized campaigns, produced instructional materials, and distributed supplies. His Imperial Majesty is the honorary head of the organization, and the Crown Prince is Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors. The organization presently has a Board of Directors which is assisted by a steering committee, a publicity committee, a planning committee, and a fund raising committee.

The effectiveness of NLCO in organizing and conducting campaigns began to fail at about the time the Ministry of Education began to pay literacy teachers. It then became difficult for the NLCO to recruit teachers on a voluntary basis. Although the NLCO is presently not active, there are some programs that continue to use the materials they prepared. Examples are the YMCA and the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association.

The assumption of the NLCO was that literacy campaigns could be run by using teachers who work as volunteers. The position of the Ministry of Education, Department of Adult and Literacy Education, is that you get what you pay for.

The last year for which a complete breakdown of literacy enrollment figures is available is 1968-69. The MOE reported that in 1968-69 NLCO was responsible for producing 22,157 new literates.

An interview with the acting head of the organization in April, 1972, indicated that at present the NLCO is a paper organization that has formulated plans for the future but presently has no operating programs. The current full-time staff consists of a
secretary to the Executive Committee, two typists, and one office guard.

The future plans the organization has formulated will require Eth. $7,000,000 for the initial implementation. The organization is trying to raise this by donations, giving $100 a plate dinners, and soliciting support from international organizations. If the plans were to be implemented, a whole new organization would have to be assembled. At this time the NLCO seems to have a distinguished history, no present status as an operating organization, and an uncertain future.

Various Voluntary Organizations

Considerable literacy is conducted by various voluntary organizations. Among these are the YMCA, YWCA, EWWA, various students' associations, Boy and Girl Scouts, missionary groups, etc. The teachers in many cases are volunteers. Some, as in the case of the UWCA, are full- or part-time employees of the organization. The instructional materials used are either the old National Literacy Campaign Organization materials or the newer MOE materials. Facilities are often marginal, and the instructional techniques are often closely akin to traditional processes relying on rote memorization. In some cases the enthusiasm and dedication of the teachers and students compensates for the lack of sophistication in facilities and methodology. This group of voluntary organizations reports producing not more than 6,000-7,000 new literates per year.

Foreign Missionary Groups

Almost all foreign Protestant missionary groups have joined a country-wide organization of Lutheran Churches called the Evangelical Church, Mekane Yesus. This body collectively supports a program called Yemissrach Dimits (YD). There are four aspects to this countrywide program:

1. The Radio Voice of the Gospel, a full-time radio station carrying a variety of programs: religious, educational, and entertaining.
2. A Literature Program which publishes books in Amharic containing both religious and developmental material.

3. An Audio-Visual Service, the newest aspect of the program that produces films, radio programs, and posters.

4. The Literacy Campaign which, since 1962, has been active in conducting literacy campaigns in the areas where its churches and missions are located.

The literacy campaign of the YD got underway in 1962 and has since spread to twelve of the fourteen provinces. Until 1970, the program was entirely run from the central office in Addis Ababa. The line of communication went out through the various levels of church administration to the local literacy programs. The administrative structure has been recently decentralized. The highest authority for the literacy program in any particular area is now the synod or church office for the area. (The Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus is divided into seven geographical units: five synods and two churches that cover the entire country. The head office of each of these is responsible for the literacy campaigns of the area.)

The central office of the campaign located in Addis Ababa performs a number of support functions. It generally assists in the administration of the program. After decentralization it was found that the synod offices did not have the personnel or expertise to collect, tabulate, and report statistics on the program. The central office has, therefore, aided these offices in establishing adequate procedures and in training personnel for their staffs. (Because of this problem, the latest complete enrollment data for the program was for the year 1970.) The central office also prepares instructional materials and follow-up reading materials which are printed and distributed from Addis Ababa through the seven synods and churches. The central office is also responsible for the formulation of the curriculum for the programs.

The YD director from the central office of the campaign spends considerable time in the field supervising and visiting programs of the seven synods and churches to ascertain problems and needs. These
visits in each case take place through supervisors and other personnel from the various synod and church offices, and the central office aids in the training of these supervisors.

Each synod office has a person responsible for the literacy campaign in its area. The synod office administers the individual literacy schools through a series of Literacy Centers. Each of these centers is responsible for from twenty to thirty literacy schools. A supervisor is housed in each of the centers and is responsible for the professional aspects of the literacy classes in the literacy schools in his area. He is not only the supervisory link between the synod office and the individual school, but he is also responsible for helping the teachers and for back-stopping the professional aspects of the program. Each literacy center is governed by a committee that is responsible for its maintenance and operation.

At the community level it is the congregation around whom the program is built. A local committee is set up in the community to administer the program, usually through the initiative of the congregation. The committee is primarily composed of members of the congregation, although some effort is made to involve the community at large. The central office of the campaign contributes about £175 per year to each literacy school. This amount meets about half of their expenses. The local community must raise the remainder. The local committee is also responsible for the hiring, and firing when necessary, of the literacy teacher. The committee administers the funds and instructional materials and provides the general supervision for the school. Finally, the community committee is responsible for the recruitment of students and the general promotion of the literacy program in the area. The supervisor from the Literacy Center provides only the needed professional supervision and guidance.

In short, if the local committee does not function, the literacy program cannot function. The YD program places the most responsibility on the local community of any literacy program that is in operation in Ethiopia.
The teachers for the YD programs are hired and trained locally. The teachers are often sixth or seventh grade graduates who have remained in the village. The YD personnel in Addis Ababa claim, however, that the most effective teachers are those who have just recently completed the literacy courses.

The wage rate for the literacy teachers is similar to that of the MOE, that is, a full-time teacher receives Eth. $80 per month. Most teachers do not teach full time, and the average wage for a teacher is reported to be around Eth. $50. The annual expenditure of the central office for literacy programs varies from Eth. $200,000 to $240,000. This is matched by another Eth. $200,000 by the local literacy committees. The program estimates that the direct dollar cost is about Eth. $6 per literate.

The foreign missionary groups have traditionally been encouraged to work in areas of the country that are not served by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. These areas are usually populated by non-Amhara peoples. Therefore, approximately 98% of all students in the YD programs are native speakers of some other language than Amharic. There is a problem, therefore, in the YD literacy program in that the students do not understand the language in which the literacy skills are being taught. They must be taught the language as well as how to read and write it.

The materials used are fashioned in the pattern of the Laubach technique. The course runs for four months during which the student goes to classes daily. Of the 80% who finish the course and become literate at the "fourth grade level," it is estimated that 80% know the Amharic language "fair to poor," according to a preliminary YD evaluation. The follow-up materials must therefore be in very simple Amharic.

It is in the follow-up phase that most of the functional aspects of this program are contained. Follow-up materials are available on a variety of topics, including religion, health, agriculture, nutrition, and personal finances. During the school year ending in June, 1970, there were twice as many children enrolled in
the literacy classes as adults. Because of this, an effort must be made to prevent the program from becoming just another formal elementary school program. The program has to consciously try to keep the emphasis on literacy and basic education for adults.

In the year ending in June, 1970, there were a total of 54,358 students enrolled in the YD literacy classes. Of this number, adults made up almost 17,000 and children comprised the remaining 37,380. An even greater difference exists when the figures are presented in terms of the sex of the student. Of the total, 43,000 were male and only about 10,000 were female. In the last nine years, a total of 215,103 students have been enrolled in YD literacy classes. Of these, 163,758 have successfully completed the course to achieve literacy skills at the grade four level. However, it was reported that during the year ending June, 1970, only 46 adults and 1,806 children completed the course to the grade four literacy level.

A full-time evaluation officer was added to the central staff in 1970. Some preliminary studies have been completed. In certain areas where the literacy rate has risen from almost zero to over 25%, it is evident that the program has had a large effect.

The director of the program hopes that during the 1971-72 year, the statistics, when finally collected, will show an increase in the number of literacy classes from the 972 of the previous year to about 1,175.

Two problems have remained with this program that are common to other literacy programs--that is, motivating adults to participate and then holding them in the classes once they enroll. There is a lesser problem in motivating children to enroll. Although the retention of children in the program is reported to be a problem in some areas, generally it is a lesser problem than with adults.

Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs (MNCD)

The village level workers of the community development program conduct literacy programs as a regular part of their endeavors. The Ministry has produced and printed its own instructional materials. A
thorough investigation of these literacy programs was not conducted. However, from MNCD reports it would seem that the overall impact of this Ministry's literacy efforts is small. In 1969, there were 21 literacy centers being conducted by MNCD personnel. These centers had an enrollment of 2,195. In the 1970 report of the Ministry, it was stated that reports had been received from only 5 of the 14 provinces so that the statistics were not complete. The report estimated, however, that a total of 4,000 persons had received literacy training during the year.

There are slightly over 300 village workers under the MNCD, all of whom are said to conduct literacy classes as a regular part of their programs. These workers are scattered throughout the country and an evaluation of their impact was not undertaken.

Military

The Territorial Army and other military organizations conduct literacy programs for their own personnel. These programs were not investigated and the size of this operation is not known. It is understood, however, that all illiterate soldiers are given at least the opportunity to become literate. The impact on the civilian work force is probably slight as the military in Ethiopia is a long-term occupation and indications are that few of the trained personnel are funneled back into the civilian work force.

Private and Parastatal Organizations

Many private and parastatal organizations conduct literacy classes for their workers. Examples of these are the Imperial Highway Authority, the Wonji-Shoa Sugar Estate, the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority, Telecommunications, etc. These organizations conduct classes to upgrade the overall performance of their employees. Programs are usually conducted at the expense of the organization itself. The motivation of the workers is usually high, as promotions and wage increases are often tied to becoming literate.

The impact of these programs on the overall problem of illiteracy in Ethiopia is small. The impact within their own
organization, however, is often significant. It has been suggested in Ethiopia that the employers in the modern sector should be required to conduct literacy programs for their employees. This if implemented would affect less than 10% of the work force. Further, it is probable that this work force is the most literate group in Ethiopia to begin with.

Conclusions

Most literacy programs cite a lack of follow-up material as a major problem. If no follow-up materials are being effectively utilized, then the effects of the literacy program are most embodied in the program itself. This is especially true in the rural areas, where if the program itself does not provide reading materials, there will be none at all.

One can always point to a lack of follow-up materials as a problem and one should never be satisfied with the number or the quality of such materials. However, the problem is relative in the case of Ethiopia. Such materials do exist.

Among the considerable number of materials in Amharic presently available or which could easily be adapted for use as follow-up materials for literacy programs are:

1. Yemissrach Dmts has thirty titles that are secular in nature.
2. Agri-Service Ethiopia has a series, which it is expanding, dealing with agriculture and home economics.
3. A series of readers was printed in conjunction with the Fundamental Education Program in the late 50s, some of which deal with health, agriculture, etc.
4. Basic readers from other countries could also be translated and adapted for the Amharic language.

The above does not minimize the need for more materials in Amharic. It does indicate, however, that no new literate lapses into illiteracy because follow-up materials have not been written but because the materials have not been put into his hands. The major problem seems to be one of an effective distribution system. There seems to be in operation at present only one organization which has an effective
distribution system. There seems to be in operation at present only one organization which has an effective system for distributing books. This is the YD program that utilizes the various synods and churches as a distribution system.

The MOE and the YD literacy programs print periodic newspapers for neo-literates. Both cite the problem of new literates being very reluctant to purchase these papers. If they are distributed free, people read them. If they must purchase the papers, the distribution is small. The MOE printed 25,000 copies of each issue of their paper when it was first initiated. The run on each issue has now been reduced to 6,000.

A recent survey by the YD organization showed that the rate of ownership of books was extremely low among literates—in some areas, less than one per person. The rate of readership, however, was considerably higher. This indicates that there is a considerable amount of lending and borrowing of books. The books that are in the hands of new literates seem to be well read.

The UNESCO/WAOLP has produced some follow-up materials that have been distributed through their field operations. However, their students are just getting to the stage where they can make use of these materials, and it is too early to assess their impact. In terms of the total problem, the coverage of the UNESCO program is very small.

There are a number of common problems and concerns faced by the combined and individual literacy programs in Ethiopia. Some of these are:

A. The language of instruction in all literacy programs is Amharic. This language often is not the first language of the students. Therefore the program must teach the language as well as literacy skills in that language. There has been some discussion of methods and measures to promote oracy in Amharic before literacy training is attempted. Research needs to be conducted to ascertain factors involved in this problem and how they can be handled.

There seems to be no program in the country that treats the non-speakers of Amharic any differently than the native speakers. The general reaction is that there are no problems that necessitate a different approach or
different materials. The only difference stated is that it took longer for non-speakers to become literate. The experience of programs in other parts of the globe would call this assumption into question.

B. There are concerns related to the distribution of the age and sex of the participants of the various programs. Two to three times as many men are being enrolled in literacy programs as women. In at least one case, children are being enrolled in an adult literacy program in a much greater proportion than adults. Adult literacy programs are based partly on the premise that there is an immediate impact to be derived from educating adults. If the programs enroll children in disproportionate amounts, this premise is being undermined.

There is a great deal to be said for the education of women in terms of both their immediate and long-range effects on development. In the long run, it is usually the women who have the most intimate effect upon the attitudes and values of children, for whom they have primary responsibility. The mother has the first and probably the best opportunity to exert influence. If the mother holds traditional values, she will affect her children thusly. It will fall to other influences at a later time to exert modernizing influences. If the mother passes on modern attitudes and values, other developmental programs can start from there.

**Needed Research**

Illiteracy rate estimates are usually based on data that are estimates in themselves. The exception is the YD, which has fairly good data but only in a few isolated areas. It is possible to take the position that the literacy rate is so low that money spent to try to establish the rate with any degree of accuracy would be wasted. If, however, one is ever to establish the comparative benefits of various types of literacy campaigns, good base line data from the project areas are essential.

The effects of the literacy efforts in Ethiopia on developmental programs have not been demonstrated. There is a need for a comparative evaluation of the many programs, methods, and materials that are being used in the Empire. There are many variables that should be considered for inclusion in any such comparative evaluation. Among some of these are:
A. Objectives of the program. There seem to be three levels of objectives in the various literacy programs:

1. The objective of the attainment of basic literacy skills—reading and writing. This seems to have been the objective of the National Literacy Campaign Organization and the present objective of the YMCA, EWWA, and other socially oriented organizations.

2. The objective of "Minimum Formation" or reading and writing plus the "basic education" skills of arithmetic, civics, health, and other general information.

3. The objective of agricultural, industrial, home economics, or other "work oriented" content. These programs include reading, writing, basic education, plus substantive content in some area related to the practical needs of the students, such as agriculture, industry, or home economics, etc.

The above three objectives, along with the materials and procedures used by the programs pursuing those objectives, should be evaluated to determine (a) the optimum balance between various sequences of introduction of literacy skills and substantive content, (b) time required to achieve results in terms of both, and (c) costs in terms of physical and human resources. This evaluation is important for Ethiopia in light of the desire to move toward a system of mass non-formal education, of the basic nature of the skills of literacy, and of the urgency of need for work-oriented skills and knowledge.

B. Organizational Patterns

1. Some groups operate programs not closely connected with a larger effort. The classes of the YMCA, EWWA, YWCA, the private and parastatal firms, etc., are conducted by the individual organizations without impetus or large amounts of participation from a larger organization.

2. Some programs are more tightly controlled from a central office. Although the UNESCO/WOALP relies on a local representative and some participation by the local community, it is typified by the amount of control the Addis Ababa office exercises over the program.

3. Both the MOE and the YD programs are typified by a central organization that only coordinates, provides instructional materials, etc., but the actual operation of the program takes place at a lower level. In the case of the MOE, it is through the Provincial Literacy Officer. In the case of the YD it is through the seven synods or church offices.
The Yemissrach Oimts places on the local community the responsibility to establish a "literacy committee." This committee provides facilities, hires and pays the literacy teachers, and otherwise administers the program. The central office pays a flat sum per year per center and provides professional supervision. This model should be examined closely for its potential to facilitate the ultimate objective of providing mass education.

C. Teaching Methods

The two most widely used methods of teaching Amharic to adults in Ethiopia are the "global" approach and a modified "Laubach" method. The "work oriented" content can be incorporated into either method. It did not seem at the time of our visit that the experimental literacy program would establish which of the two basic methods is most effective and most efficient in teaching literacy skills to either Amharic or non-Amharic speakers. This is a crucial question for the future of the literacy effort in Ethiopia and needs to be resolved.

D. Materials

There seem to be four basic sets of materials in use: those prepared by Yenissrach Dimts, the National Literacy Campaign Organizations, the UNESCO Work Oriented Adult Literacy Project, and the Adult Education and Literacy Directorate of the Ministry of Education.

There is evidently great variability between these materials and the programs in which they are being used. The materials and the programs using them should be evaluated comparatively in terms of:

1. The cost of producing a literate adult.
2. The length of time required to reach the accepted level of competence in Amharic necessary to be considered literate in Ethiopia.
3. The drop-out rates.
4. The cost of producing materials.
5. The follow-up materials available.
6. The amount of auxiliary services required to conduct the program.
7. The competence required of the teacher.
8. The actual nature of the teacher—a school teacher, a student, a drop-out, etc.
E. Functional and Work-Oriented Programs

Several of the literacy programs in Ethiopia are "functional" or "work-oriented" programs. These programs could well be evaluated in terms of their effect on the adoption of innovations and/or the new practices taught as part of the work content. Are these programs more effective in fostering change than extension programs by themselves? Is the combined effect of having both the literacy programs and the extension programs in the same area worth the compounding of costs?

To use a specific program as an example, the UNESCO program in the Wallomo Soddo area could be evaluated by looking at four groups of people in that area:

1. Those who have received literacy training of the traditional variety.
2. Those who have participated in the UNESCO program but have not had the benefit of other extension services.
3. Those who have participated in the UNESCO program and have also had the benefit of participating in an extension program, such as the WADU.
4. Those who have participated in a program such as WADU and have not participated in the UNESCO/WOALP program.

A comparison of these four groups in terms of a range of socio-economic variables could reveal the effects of the UNESCO program as separate from those of the extension programs.

General Comments

As the illiteracy rates of the world decrease, the absolute number of illiterates is increasing. This is due to the fact that the population is growing at a faster rate than illiteracy is being decreased. The largest percentage and the largest absolute number of illiterates are in the older age groups. These groups are in the most urgent need of the knowledge and skills necessary to improve their productivity and the quality of their lives.

Throughout the years, one scheme after another designed to eradicate world illiteracy has failed. No real inroads have been made into the absolute number of illiterates in the world. The most recent efforts in Work-Oriented Adult Literacy programs are presently being evaluated. Our observations in Ethiopia indicate that they, too, will be less than successful. Selective literacy programs
generally have not been successful and even given relative success, they are much too expensive for mass implementation.

Short of massive programs of universal formal elementary education, which the countries where the problem is most crucial cannot afford, there seems to be no indication that a solution to the problem of illiteracy is in sight.

Can adult and/or continuing education be made contingent on prior acquisition of literacy skills? If the answer were yes, an increasing number of adults throughout the world would be denied any form of education. In Ethiopia, upwards of 10,000,000 adults would be denied education or would have to acquire literacy skills before being able to obtain education. The present UNESCO answer is to provide Work-Oriented Adult Literacy that combines literacy and work education. The fallacy here is that to conduct such a program, as it is conceived in Ethiopia, there must be a literacy staff plus extension personnel. Extension personnel are more limited in number than teachers. Ethiopia cannot afford mass programs of either, let alone both. Further, drop-out rates in these programs seem to be no lower than in conventional programs.

The answer to the question most assuredly must be that prior literacy skills must not be made a precondition to further education or to participation in other developmental programs. Means must be found to provide education for the illiterate. His education and participation in developmental programs must begin and proceed for some time, possibly indefinitely, without the benefit of the skills of reading and writing.

It should be pointed out that much developmental work can be accomplished with an illiterate group. Although the work of CADU, WADU, Mini-Package, and Community Development is made easier when literacy skills are present, the absence of these skills does not prevent the programs from functioning. The absence of literacy skills, however, does put a ceiling on the level of development. This level, however, is far from being reached in rural Ethiopia. The decision to proceed with literacy programs must be made in light of the possible benefits of alternate developmental investments.
NOTES: CHAPTER V


2. No realistic comparison can be made with other programs, however, because of the lack of comparable information.
CHAPTER VI

PROPOSALS UNDER CONSIDERATION OR IN EARLY STAGES OF IMPLEMENTATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN ETHIOPIA

Introduction

The generally positive response of the rural sector in Ethiopia to the various forms of assistance efforts previously described in this report and to the improved production and other positive results which have been achieved thus far has encouraged government officials and outside organizations, approved by the Government of Ethiopia, to extend these programs to other participants and to broaden the programs' designs to improve educational, health and welfare services for the rural masses. Stated another way, the Government has extended its official interest and involvement in these programs and has concurrently encouraged outside organizations to make proposals and to offer their assistance in programs designed to achieve the same ends.

This chapter attempts to describe several of the major proposals currently in various stages of formulation, review, or early stages of implementation, and to comment on the NFE methods necessary to achieve the objectives and goals of these proposals.

All of the efforts to achieve positive results—governmental, semi-governmental (e.g., Ethiopian Orthodox Church), and private—have one important fact in common. It is a reliance on NFE methods to inform and persuade rural people to modify their living and production practices. NFE methods are also needed to inform, train, and persuade large numbers of farm leaders, government officials, priests, bankers, and others to develop insights, methods of motivation, rural skills, and idea and resource delivery systems which will be helpful in guiding and training rural people in making these modifications. Furthermore, it will be necessary to inform and persuade leaders
generally to create and develop a framework of policies, practices, social institutions, and relationships which will make it possible for rural people to become more nearly full partners in the personal and national welfare of Ethiopia.

The proposals under consideration or in early stages of implementation will be described in the beginning sections, and comments on NFE as a principal method of implementing the proposals will be found in the latter part of this chapter.

The scope, supporting background research, sponsorship, cost, and other factors of proposals under consideration or in early stages of implementation vary greatly. Brief descriptions of the principal elements of the proposals follow. All of the descriptions are based on government documents or other materials made available to the authors in April and July, 1972, when we served as participants in the Education Sector Review.

Awraja Development Program

Introduction and Context

A broad and imaginative plan for the organization and administration of an integrated development and human resource program which we have chosen to call the "Awraja Development Program" is set forth in the documentation prepared by an inter-ministerial steering committee for consideration by the World Bank for a third IDA educational loan.

The above document was prepared during the period when the Sector Review was underway and was coordinated, to some degree, with the comprehensive Sector Review of Education. Both reviews took account of the shortcomings of the formal school system to meet the needs of the majority of the population; the high costs and dysfunctional character of much of the educational content; the need for a greater degree of integration between the formal school system and the varied types of NFE activities which were presently underway or which could be developed to foster developmental activities, particularly in rural areas; and related considerations.
Although the proposal is focused on a "four-year pilot programme for human resource development" it forms part of a new strategy for development which includes, among other elements, the agricultural package programmes, the proposals for a new approach to awraja (sub-province) administration and the possibility of a large scale public works programme. The Human Resource component of this strategy is complimentary to other aspects of development and the project is designed to promote the integration and coordination of all services for rural development. Moreover, it is geared to a timetable calculated to ensure that the vast majority of the population is brought within the framework of development within less than twenty years.²

The total cost of all components of the four year development plan was projected at a level of 40 million Ethiopian dollars, of which approximately 16 million was estimated for the Awraja Development Program to cover "Development Centers," village level facilities, health stations, and skill training centers.

Additional developments in Ethiopia which form important elements of background for the Awraja Development Program were cited as follows: (1) proposals for the reform of local government which had reached an advanced stage; (2) early favorable results from the maximum and minimum agricultural package programs and usable research results of these programs which provide policy guidance for utilization in other areas; (3) the likely expansion of a public works program to deal with problems of unemployment--along with monetary, fiscal, and land reforms; and (4) the atmosphere created by the Education Sector Review which is supportive of new approaches to education "embodying significant departures from present patterns and practices."

Significant Elements of the Awraja Development Program

Principles and Framework for Action

The new framework for action emphasizes the following principles:

1. The establishment of the Awraja (sub-province) as the main delivery point as well as the frame for the administration of the integrated programme.
2. The maximum utilization of all existing points of delivery (schools, churches, community development centres, agricultural package programmes, health centres and stations, etc.) within the awraja for the human resource development system.

3. Future multiplication of the delivery points based on local planning and financing through an Awraja Administrator, his Development Council and his team of technical personnel.

4. The forging of a strong link between the development of economic resources and the development of human resources so that the patterns of general education and specific skills reflect actual needs.

5. The creation of a development team at awraja level and the use of multipurpose agents at village level to achieve the necessary integration of programmes.

6. Within the total framework for action, high priority and significant resources will be devoted to the 10-44 age group, which comprises most of the economically active population in rural areas.

**Overall Objectives**

Three overall objectives have been emphasized in this suggested strategy. The first is to establish an approach to education and training which would not only offer a basic education package to the largest number of people in the shortest possible time, but would also lead to a structure of services which will make a reality of the concept of "lifelong education" rather than perpetuate a narrowly based system for the few. The second is to blur the distinctions between what have been known as "formal" and "non-formal" education through a new approach to the use of facilities; through the production of new types of personnel who will have general functions in providing community leadership and through change in the selection processes for those who will use the system. The third is to place the total structure of human resource development (including the elements described above, for which the Ministry of Education is primarily responsible, as well as the important elements contributed by other Ministries and Agencies), firmly within an integrated package of services and programmes for rural development.

**Administration of the Awrajas**

The following major elements of administration of the Awraja Development Program have been delineated:

1. Each of the 14 awrajas (out of 102) selected for the initial program will be administered by an "Awraja Administrator."
2. The administrator will be advised by an elected Awraja Council.

3. Inter-ministerial consultation will be secured by a proposed "Board of Coordination" within the central government. Local initiative is to be encouraged within the general framework of national plans.

4. Minimum educational standards (B.A. or equivalent) have been established for awraja administrators. Initial training will be provided in development procedures.

5. Awraja development personnel will be on the payroll and under the authority of the awraja administrator, with offices for education, agriculture, health, community development, civil engineering, and church organization. Although under the administrative authority of the awraja administrator, the key officials will "also serve as channels for technical reporting to the Central Government." Students from the Ethiopian University Service, school teachers, trained priests, community development workers, trained artisans, and others are expected to make their contributions to the integrated program.

6. "Direct control over the expenditure of revenue generated from land, health and education tax within the awraja."

Criteria for Selection of First Sixteen Awrajas

1. At least one awraja per province to "ensure that a good model develops in each province at an early stage of operation."

2. Assessment of existing infrastructure and the availability of personnel from the various agencies. Emphasis is to be given to the likelihood of achieving a "rapid transformation toward the new programme and whether as fast growing systems, they will serve as effective points of dissemination for the new approach."

3. Availability of the agricultural package programs and the "possibility of developing other essential components of rural regeneration such as farm roads and water supply."

4. Other criteria which were given priority included: (a) volume of local financial resources which could be generated; (b) degree to which self-help schemes had already been initiated, and (c) "the extent to which the pattern of settlement lends itself to rapid development."

Excluded from consideration for selection were awrajas bordering neighboring countries--"Many of these are sparsely populated lowland
areas where there is an overriding social and political justification for special government emphasis on development."

Structure of Awraja Development Program:
Primary Delivery Points for Integrated
Rural Development Programs

Awraja Development Centers

The minimum essential components of a development center are to consist of (a) a multi-purpose hall which would include storage and office facilities for various types of educational groups, reading room and other facilities for delivery of educational supplies; (b) school facilities for primary and adult education including skill development center and a health center. The content of the educational programs—formal and non-formal—and other educational reforms would, by implication, be influenced, if not established, by actions taken on the recommendations of the Education Center Review.

Village Development Centers

Essential features of the 25 village development centers which are proposed for each awraja are summarized in the following:

1. They will be located in the village school or church where they will be able to serve a population of 500 farm families residing not more than a half-day's journey from the center;

2. They will provide services for the "basic education packages" for adults between the ages of 10 and 44 years and for children from 7 years;

3. Programs will include: (a) development of improved farm management practices, (b) stimulation of local crops and marketing arrangements, (c) community preventive health education, (d) distribution of basic tools and supplies.

4. All development agents—including teachers—are to be given training in the various facets of rural village development, including practical agriculture, first aid, and community health education. The training center for priests at Mangasha will have similar courses. Trained priests are also expected to be model farmers and school teachers and will be expected to develop school compounds as demonstration plots to reinforce the work of agricultural extension agents.
5. Essential personnel for the village development centers will include: (a) a local leader working with the local elected council; (b) school teachers who will be expected to "deliver the basic education package and to integrate the work of the school in village improvement activities"; (c) trained priests who will be expected to "deliver basic education to children and adults," and to "act as model farmers and health aides to the community," and (d) mobile village community development workers, assistant agricultural extension agents and health workers "all of whom will use the village development centre as a permanent point of contact."

6. Initially the village development centers will be organized around existing schools, churches, or other community facilities but ultimately the "standard village centre would consist of a village hall, a primary school, a church or mosque, and a health post together with some simple tools and supplies."

Geographically Intermediate Services

Geographically intermediate services are those "needed in the awrajas which cannot now be duplicated in each village or which have a valid place intermediate between the awraja level service and the village level delivery points." They are:

1. Minimum or maximum agricultural package programs.
2. Skill development centers which are "designed as minimum cost vocational training programmes to meet the needs of low-level rural skills of the artisan type." Practicing artisans are expected to participate in the program. The production of farm implements (following CADU designs where appropriate) and other employment generating activities are anticipated.
3. Health stations staffed with an Advanced and Elementary Dresser are designed to facilitate preventive health measures, environmental sanitation, improved nutrition, and other basic minimum health care facilities.

Benefits and Justification

Among the many positive aspects of this new approach to human resource development within the framework of an integrated rural development program, the following can be highlighted. It is foreseen that this project will:

1. Facilitate the emergence of initiative and a wider participation at the local level by providing a framework
for the mobilization of local resources, human, financial, and material, and encouraging the development of local plans, programs, and projects within the framework of national plans.

2. Enhance the human development aspects of agricultural programs, particularly the package programs.

3. Provide for those people between the ages of 10 and 44 a minimum basic education, including the minimum knowledge required to increase productivity, within the next 15 to 20 years.

4. Develop rural level skills which would widen self-employment possibilities and generate a local supply of improved agricultural tools and implements.

5. Provide further training for the selected few who will be required to pursue higher levels of training in accordance with manpower needs.

6. Lead groups of farmers, as they become enlightened, to create multi-purpose cooperatives for the storage, sale, and distribution of their goods as well as catering to the consumption needs of the local community.

7. Provide a framework within which a rural works program can be developed for water control and supply and for the construction of rural roads (feeder, penetration, and farm).

8. Put health programs into a context which will enable them to implement the preventive aspects of health care, particularly mother and child health, and including immunization and nutrition as well as general environmental health.

In general terms, by linking the development of material resources to the development of human resources, this integrated program is expected to raise the general quality of life.

Training Programs

The program anticipates special "practically oriented" training for teachers; training for priests at a special facility at Managasha; for rural agricultural workers at three special centers near Dessie, Bahr Dar and in Kefa Province; and a special program for teachers of courses in junior and senior secondary schools related to the employment needs of the locality. Training programs for dressers at the Gondar Health College and other stations were considered adequate.
Related National Services

Supporting the Awraja Development Program at the Center will be such services as provided by: (1) Educational Materials Production Center; (2) Science Teaching Centers; (3) Educational Mass Media; and (4) improved facilities at and services from Haile Selassie I University.

A Pilot Scheme for an Interdisciplinary Action Program for Rural Development to Be Sponsored and Operated by Staff and Students of H.S.I. University With the Involvement and Participation of Governmental and Non-Governmental Agencies Concerned With Rural Development

Background

The proposal outlined below was derived from the experience and achievements of the Ethiopian University Service (EUS) which was conceived as an extension of the educational program that will give University students an ample opportunity to get familiar with the realities of the Ethiopian society. As a corollary to this is also the hope that students will get some practical experience about the problems involved in development and see first hand the intimate nature of the relationship between social and economic factors.

In this context a five year pilot development area in an awraja (or part of an awraja) selected for University experimentation is projected.

Objectives

1. To enable the University to test, so to speak, the hypothesis that the problems of society, especially of a developing one, are multifaceted; and as such there is a need for tackling them in a concerted fashion. In other words the University will attempt to show that development could be made faster if the combined efforts of the physical and social sciences are brought to bear on the human and environmental problems.

2. To enable the University, as the highest institution of learning in the country, to reach further into the heart of the community and make concrete contributions to national development in ways other than only manpower training.

3. To make university education development-oriented by giving students an early opportunity to participate in development programs during the EUS year.
4. To provide the university with a field set up that can be used as a focus of attention on interdisciplinary developmental oriented research.

5. To enable the university to influence thinking of governmental and non-governmental agencies about strategies of accelerating the tempo of development.

6. To enable the university to accumulate knowledge about developmental problems of the country so as to make it possible for university education to be responsive to the needs of the country.

Plan of Operation

The problems of national development in Ethiopia are chiefly the problems of rural development. They manifest themselves in the form of inadequate transportation systems, marketing outlets, an extremely slow rate of capital formation and investment, obsolete agricultural practices and inadequate social organizations to cope with the requirements of development. This indicates an immense opportunity for a team of engineers, economists, agricultrists, social scientists, educators, as well as people from other disciplines to declare war on the problems in an integrated manner. The Pilot Scheme for an interdisciplinary action program for rural development is being planned in the hope that cooperative effort between the university and other governmental technical agencies will result in a greater appreciation among policy makers of the "holistic" nature of developmental problems in a country like Ethiopia. It is also hoped that this greater appreciation of the nature of the problems will result in interagency concerted action in terms of tackling them. The Pilot Scheme, therefore, will have to be planned carefully with the involvement of relevant units of government.

The project area will be selected and the program planned by a team of faculty members from relevant units of the University, including economics, sociology, social work, education, agriculture, engineering, business, public administration, medicine, law, etc. This team will work in cooperation with representatives of governmental organizations interested in rural development and will, after the selection of an awraja is made, serve as an advisory committee to the project. The interuniversity-governmental team is to choose an area in accordance with the guidelines set forth in the Third Five Year Plan regarding the development of rural growth areas with "package" agricultural programs. In addition to selecting an area, the
terms of reference of the Advisory Committee are to: (1) explore possible areas for inter-agency cooperation in rural development; (2) define the role of participating agencies and develop clear cut procedures of operation in the field; and (3) undertake regular evaluations of the program.

Program Content

The process of establishing a pilot area is visualized as creating a laboratory situation where data from the field will be utilized in determining the extent and scope of existing problems and working alternative courses of action at solving the problems through a sustained long range effort. Haile Selassie I University's primary aim will, therefore, be to engage through faculty-student cooperative effort with the involvement of governmental agencies in applied research. While this will hopefully stimulate in government greater interest in such research, it will at the same time provide the University with a wealth of knowledge to be used in classroom instruction.

More specifically, programs are projected in the following areas:

Formal and Informal Community Leadership

This area would include: (1) understanding community leadership patterns; (2) organization and modernization of community councils and interest groups based on understandings reached; (3) organization of community youth groups for productivity, health education, civic responsibility, etc.; and (4) women's programs with emphasis to be placed on a "healthy home environment for personality development of children."

Programs to Enhance Productivity

This area would draw upon the experience of agricultural experiment stations in developing programs which would include: (1) multi-crop demonstration plots for fertilizers, insecticides, etc.; (2) development of improved farm implements in sufficient quantity and at a cost within reach of the farmer; (3) improvements
in farm housing, storage facilities, etc.; (4) experimentation with animal feeds and nutrition.

**Improvement of Social-Economic Institutions**

This area of effort would include: (1) analysis of traditional socio-economic institutions such as Idir, Debo, etc., "with the view of identifying any positive contribution they can make to the development of the community"; (2) organization of production, marketing, credit, and other cooperative societies; (3) development of rural infrastructure including rural feeder roads, water resources, and rural electrification; (5) educational and social services to include "vocationalization" of primary school curriculum, establishment of village nursery schools, and improved health and nutritional services.

**Administration**

**Assignment of Responsibility Within the University**

The scheme, insofar as it is sponsored and to a large measure financed by the University, shall be administered by such a University unit as may be appointed by the President and the Faculty Council. However, because of the nature of the scheme, it would seem appropriate for this responsibility to be given to the School of Social Work.

**Project Coordinator**

The functions of the full-time Project Coordinator to be selected from the College of Social Work and located in Addis Ababa will be:

1. To maintain contact with governmental and non-governmental agencies that have programs going on in the particular Awraja selected for University attention.

2. To serve as an executive officer and as such implement decisions reached by the team.

3. To work closely with deans and department heads and the Director of RUS about assigning students from different units in the project area.

4. To arrange for regular visitations by staff members from the faculties and/or departments involved in the project.
4. To be the Executive Secretary of the Advisory Committee.

Project Administrator

At the project level there will be a project administrator who will be appointed by the President upon recommendation of the Dean of the School of Social Work and the Director of EUS. This person will be attached with the office of the Awraja governor to facilitate mutual consultation. The project administrator will be responsible only to the University and to no other authority outside the University.

His terms of reference will be as follows:

1. To coordinate the activities of the students engaged in the various aspects of the project.
2. To facilitate the work of students by giving them the necessary logistical support such as transportation, necessary equipment and materials.
3. To help the group evaluate its work at regular intervals.
4. To serve as a link between the Awraja administration and the University.
5. To seek the involvement and participation of staff of different governmental and non-governmental agencies operating in the area.
6. To seek the involvement and participation of citizens of the area in all aspects of the program.

The Project Administrator would have as members of his staff a graduate assistant, office personnel, and projected groups of 20 EUS students each year who would serve for twelve months.

Budget

(Figures are in Ethiopian dollars. One Ethiopian dollar = 40¢ U.S.)

The costs of the project covering the salary and housing allowance of the Project Administrator and staff plus living allowances of the EUS involved, office rent, fuel, stationery, travel allowances, and miscellaneous expenses are estimated to be approximately Eth. $150,000 per year. Capital expenses include two Land Rovers at Eth. $15,000 each. (No attempt was made to verify the above figures.)

It is anticipated that at the end of the second year, ministries of government will "start phasing in gradually so that by the end of
Proposal for a Community Development Program
by the Mekane Yesus Church

The following is a resume of the principal elements of a five year plan for the development of fifteen community development centers proposed by the Mekane Yesus Church. The proposal was prepared by Mr. John Eriksson in April, 1971. Quotations in the following are from Mr. Eriksson's brief paper. The proposal is presumably under review by the Government of Ethiopia.

Purpose

The purpose as stated in the proposal is "to help the agricultural population in the densely populated highland areas of Ethiopia to start developing themselves and their very often poor economical situation."

Need

The growing population combined with a gradual decrease of yields from the farmed areas has caused a situation of standstill or even lower per capita production rather than a developing situation with growing production.

Factors cited as contributing to the situation described above are: (1) the low literacy rate ranging from 2.7% to 7.2%; (2) poor nutritional and health situation of humans and animals in the area; (3) complete lack of commercial fertilizers and use of cow dung for fuel which cause "decreasing harvests and extensive use of existing land"; (4) uncontrolled cultivation of slopes with highly erodible soils; (5) a combination of lack of capital, credit, and marketing systems for many farmers which results in low profits for them and big profits for the merchants.

Existing Programs

The current governmental and church programs in literacy training, agricultural extension, and community development are
briefly noted. The conclusion is reached, however, that concentrated approaches with "all necessary innovations within limited areas (as proposed) not to be reached by other similar programmes, would therefore be of highest value."

**Proposed Areas**

The specific area proposed for experimental development as a model is located in the Wollega Province. Five or more other areas are believed to have similar characteristics.

The criteria proposed for the areas to be developed are:
1. 7,000-10,000 small farmers located within a radius of 20 kilometers from a project center;
2. at least one all-weather road leading into the area;
3. good agricultural potential with at least one cash crop;
4. availability of land for a project center where central stores can be located and test cultivations and demonstrations be conducted;
5. availability to other activities of the church such as literacy training, public health, and women's programs.

**Program Projections**

The proposed program would start with a "thorough survey of the project area followed by an information period and election of model farmers." Approximately three village centers would be started each year over a five year period. The target for each center would be to "reach at least 25 farmers the first year and 25-50 new farmers per year followed."

These projections would reach an aggregate of approximately 4,850 farmers which would constitute 20%-25% of the entire population of the area in five years.

Each village center would be staffed by an assistant agent having 8-10 years of formal schooling plus a one-year extension course at the church training center at Bako. These agents would be backed up by a supervising center consisting of a supervisor (foreign agriculturists or Ethiopian graduates of Alemaya Agricultural College),
cooperative organizer and community development worker, agricultural extension agent, accountant, and two laborer/guards.

Services supplied by the project to the participating farmers would include agricultural extension services, supplies of seeds and fertilizers, credit, marketing services, "idea support" for initiating cooperatives and for making improvements in housing, water supply, and other community services. The cooperatives would be expected gradually to "take over the responsibilities for running and expanding the village centers and later also the supervising center."

Facilities needed at the supervising center would include: (1) office and living quarters for the supervisor; (2) store rooms; (3) stables for production of crossbreeds to improve existing livestock; (4) dip-tank for tick control on cattle; and (5) Land Rover for the team. Each village center would be provided with: (1) living quarters for the agent; (2) small storeroom for supplies; (3) multi-purpose community hall; (4) mule for the agent; (5) credit fund available to each center but administered by the supervising center.

Finance

(Expressed in Ethiopian dollars. One Ethiopian dollar = 40¢ U.S.)

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<th>Annually</th>
<th>Five Year Totals</th>
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<td>Capital investment for the supervising center</td>
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<td>Operating costs (each center, Eth. $2,000 x 15 centers)</td>
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<td>Capital investment and credit fund (each center, 13,200 x 15 centers)</td>
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<td><strong>Eth. $48,300</strong></td>
<td><strong>Eth. $521,000</strong></td>
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*Operating costs for the village centers were projected for only two years. Projections for charging 10% over the costs for seeds and fertilizers sold at each center and 3% for the entire project would make the "project self-supporting within a period of 6 years."
The project would be supervised directly from the Development Offices of the Mekane Yesus Church.

Present Status of the Proposal

Although the Mekane Yesus Church has had a long experience of work in Ethiopia with village people in various aspects of rural development, this proposal represents the first of its kind for intensive and comprehensive developmental work in a specific area. There is some ambiguity as to relationships which are to be had with the Government of Ethiopia or one of its subdivisions and for costs which are to be borne by the Church and by the Government.

Proposed Centers of Rural Development of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church

Background and Program Projections

During the past few years the Abuna and other leaders of the Ethiopian Church, collaborating with the Emperor and other government leaders, have been seeking ways to get the church more actively involved in the developmental aspirations and plans of the Government of Ethiopia. The vast geographical outreach of the church, its long history as the primary religious/educational institution of the Empire, the extensive organizational resources in the form of the priesthood and physical facilities—including land, and the traditions of the church which have well served the needs of Ethiopia in the past but which now must be changed to satisfy the more modern needs of parishioners and the Empire—all have been taken into account in the creation of the Ethiopian Orthodox Development Commission. The setting up of the Commission was officially "gazetted" in January, 1972, which means that its establishment has been officially recognized by the Ethiopian Government. The purposes of the Commission as stated in the official order are to:

1. encourage and aid young people to get training in vocational education;
2. help the poor;
3. generally participate and aid in the national endeavour for educational, economic and cultural development.
The Commission secures policy guidance from the Ecclesiastical Council and a Church Development Committee which includes the General Manager of the Church and the Executive Officer of the Development Commission. The Commission has a small staff which creates and supervises the training and other programs of the Commission and maintains a liaison with the government and other organizations.

Although the objectives of the Commission are lofty and extensive—potentially involving as many as 15,000 churches and more than 200,000 clergy—the staff of the Commission is aware of the fact that the projected plans will require, as a first step, the creation of imaginative and varied training and retraining programs to develop the necessary leadership. Accordingly, plans have been made for:

1. a six-month pilot training program for 150 priests who will be taught the "basic skills" needed to improve the church schools and to help convert the schools into community centers which can be used by development workers of the technical ministries;
2. the creation by 1974 of new facilities at the church farm at Managesha, near Addis Ababa, so that it can be used as an instructional as well as a production facility. These facilities, when completed, will have room for about 500 trainees. Six nine-month training courses are also being planned for clergy under 40 years of age. The curriculum will be drawn up by the education department of the Patriarchate in close consultation with the ministries of Agriculture, Health, Community Development, and Education. The new facilities are estimated to cost about 2,000,000 Ethiopian dollars and recurrent costs for operation of the facilities is estimated to be about 273,000 Ethiopian dollars annually.

Contents of Rural Development

An immeasurably bolder and less well thought out plan envisions the creation of 1,000 "Centers of Rural Development" at the rate of 300 centers every two years, with all of the centers coming into operation by 1980. One special training institute (presumably different from those described above) would be established at the
beginning of the program and two additional institutes before 1980. The staff for each center, a leader and three assistants, would be given a two-year intensive course at the Institute which would include academic training in the mornings permitting the more "mature" participants to complete the sixth, seventh, or eighth grade. Afternoons would be devoted to practical subjects in agriculture, elementary medicine (dressers), and community development. The graduates of the training institutes would be expected to "modernize, systematize and improve the early primary education" of the Center schools, up to the fourth grade in the beginning and up to the sixth grade as more funds became available. In addition to the primary school/schools in the area, the centers "should serve as a place of communal gatherings and community activities of a developmental nature." The present stage of thinking about the development programs to be fostered by the Centers is well summarized in the following quotation:

The formation of such things as farmers cooperatives, cooperative shops, grain storage and marketing facilities, functional literacy programs and a host of other similar self-help programmes should be a prime concern of the Center. Gatherings to discuss such vital matters could be arranged by the Center on many holidays and weekends when people do not normally go to work. "Mahbers" and "Senbettes" also provide an excellent opportunity for the clergymen to fruitfully discuss such worthwhile projects. Wherever possible the clergymen should invite agricultural extension agents, community development workers, school teachers, nurses, etc., to come and address such gatherings and the concerned ministries could send out travelling agents to show educational films and address the community about the specializations. The fact that the clergymen are automatically recognized as community fathers and spiritual leaders enables them to arrange all this with the utmost ease, while a young agricultural extension agent wearing a necktie would forever be suspected, looked upon as an outsider and even an intruder and would never be able to help the community, however well he may be educated as he will not be accepted by the community as "their man."

The costs for physical facilities for each center is estimated to be Eth. $10,000 and the operating costs Eth. $3,600 per year per center. A Board consisting of all concerned ministries and the church could be charged with the responsibility of running and supervising these centers.
It is not clear what the relationship of the Development Commission would be to this proposed program but is presumed to be an aspect of the total program being projected.

Ada District Area Development Project

Brief Description of the Project

The Ada District Area Development Project being developed by the Imperial Ethiopian Government with the assistance of the United States Agency for International Development, is of extraordinary potential importance for rural development in Ethiopia. The project will depend for its implementation on the extensive use of both conventional and creative innovations in non-formal communication and on educational methods involving a wide variety of participants, including government officials, landlords, tenants, community and religious leaders, and others. New rural developmental institutions are projected and innovative changes in conventional practices and indigenous social institutions are anticipated. Many persons will need to be informed of new possibilities and persuaded to make changes in their conventional practices and relationships.

The capital and operating costs for the projected period would be approximately Eth. $11,000,000. Funds are to be supplied by the Imperial Ethiopian Government augmented by grants and loan funds from the U.S. Agency for International Development. Grant funds, including funds for staff development, will be supplied for the educational aspects of the program. Loan funds will be supplied for other types of expenditures.

The project is expected to achieve tangible results in the form of substantial increased yields of selected crops based on varying estimates of participation by villagers. Cost-benefit analyses and projections are believed to be decidedly favorable, better than a 1:1 ratio. More specifically, an internal rate of 32% on the investment is expected, based on a 100% increase in yields by 80% of the farmers, or 17% if yield increases of 50% are realized by 50% of the farmers. Other tangible results are expected in the creation and
establishment of new or revamped rural developmental organizations, improvements in rural infrastructure of roads, water supply, etc., modification of conventional landlord-tenant relations, upgrading of technical competence of rural developmental officers, increase in tax revenues, and other related tangible results. An all-embracing expectation is a discernible improvement in the productivity and welfare of the essentially rural population. Inasmuch as the project work is to be concentrated in a defined geographical area of limited size, it is anticipated that some knowledge and insights will be gained which will have wider applicability throughout the Empire.

The broad policy framework for the project is consistent with the goals and aspirations for development set forth in the Third Five Year Plan of the Government of Ethiopia. More specifically, the activities of the project will be concentrated in an area of approximately 500 square miles (58,000 hectares) populated by about 100,000 people, 20,000 of whom reside in the principal town of Debra Zeit, which is 45 km. from Addis Ababa. The Ada district (or worada) is a subdivision of the Yerer and Koregu awrajas in the Shoa Province. The area is classified as one of six with the highest agricultural potential. Over 12,000 farms are located in the area, averaging about 3.4 hectares in size but badly fragmented and operated mostly by tenant farmers (approximately 70%). Located in the area is the Central Research Station of the Agricultural College of Haile Selassie I University. The area is blessed with reasonably good soils, a good climate for agricultural production, a main road and railroad, but it has limited water resources and feeder roads. The principal crops include teff, wheat, barley, sorghum, chick peas, lentils, and broad beans, and these crops produce an average income of Eth. $348 per year. Potential crops and agricultural products include vegetables and forage crops, broiler and egg production, grapes and tree fruits.

Constraints to modernization include traditional landlord-tenant agreements with inadequate rewards and incentives for the tenants; extremely high illiteracy rates; lack of effective institutions for credit and for supplies of improved seeds, fertilizers, and
insecticides; lack of facilities for transportation, marketing and storage of agricultural products; and virtually no extension service. There are few government schools and only 20% of the school-age children are actually in school.

The broad objectives of the project designed to offset some of the constraints noted above include the introduction of a complete agricultural package program (improved seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, appropriate mechanization, etc.); improvement of the economic position of the tenants through better contract terms; development of a dependable water supply for domestic and agricultural uses; development of a system of rural feeder roads; development of rural service institutions for credit; agricultural extension and community development and education; and related services—all within the framework of improved operations of governmental agencies responsible for rural development.

The principal organizational and program innovations which are proposed for achieving the objectives set forth above are:

1. the creation of an autonomous development agency—the "Ada District Development Authority,"
2. the establishment of ten multi-purpose community service centers, and
3. the creation of a Research, Training, and Development Center in Debre Zeit which is to be responsible for research and training functions, provision of supplies and related services. The Center is to be staffed with development officers who now operate in the Ada District and other officers to provide the designated services. The development authority is to be headed by a Board of Directors chaired by the Minister of Agriculture with members from the Planning Commission, the Ministries of Finance, Education, Community Development, Public Health, Interior, and other relevant ministries. The operations under policies created by the Board are to be administered by a Project Manager-Executive Secretary of the Board, assisted by a staff of Ethiopians, expatriates, technical and administrative personnel including, for a limited period, an expatriate co-manager.

The ten multi-purpose community service centers, to be created over a five-year period, would serve as sub-headquarters for a wide
variety of extension services, including supervised credit, farm supplies, construction of feeder roads, local water facilities, machinery pools, and other necessary services. The faculties and services of the Ethiopian Development Bank, Debre Zeit Research Station, Ethiopian Grain Corporation, Imperial Highway Authority, and the ordinarily available services of government agencies, such as Agriculture and Community Development, augmented to some degree for intensive development work in the District, will also be available to the project.

**Background Studies of the Ada District**

The various aspects of the Ada District which have an important bearing on planning a development project--those related to agricultural production *per se*, and those related to human and social organization--have been well studied and documented as background for launching a development program. The principal source of the documentation of relevant considerations is found in the survey made by the Stanford Research Institute already referred to. The survey relied heavily on interviews with a wide variety of persons--farmers, officials, community leaders, et al. The unavailability of critically important large landlords, however, is considered to be an important omission in the data.

The program elements and goals projected for the project reflect a large but not exclusive reliance on the findings of this report. It is not the purpose of this section, however, to provide a summary of this 192 page report, but rather to cull from it those facts and ideas which have an important bearing on the context in which NFE activities could be devised to achieve the goals which are projected. It is clear that unless a variety of persons--farmers, landlords, government officials, and many others--are informed, taught, and persuaded to adopt new attitudes and modernizing practices, the projected agricultural production and other goals will not be realized. The organizational framework, technical inputs, manning tables, and resource allocations appear to be well ordered.
and capable of assisting in the implementation of the program through education, communication, and persuasion. Inasmuch as the persons principally involved in this process are adults and out-of-school youths, the term applied to the varied approaches leading to the ultimate persuasion of these persons is called non-formal education.

We have chosen, in this summary, to organize the material around potentially negative factors which will need to be offset and potentially positive factors which will need to be reinforced through educational processes in order to achieve the modernizing goals projected.

**Negative Factors**

**Attitudes Toward Government**

Basic to governmentally sponsored programs of development is, of course, a positive response from the people who are to be benefited by such programs. In situations where rural people have for long periods devised systems of self-help and social controls and where government activities are often basically limited measures which are usually considered oppressive unless they are balanced by other activities designed to produce social benefits, the climate for launching new developmental schemes is essentially negative. This situation seems to be present in the Ada district as indicated by the following observations made by the Stanford researchers. Having noted the village self-help customs, involving a minimum contact with government officials, which have developed a "feeling of self confidence and spirit of cooperative self help which could be put to good advantage for development purposes," the authors continue their comments:

*But there is also a negative aspect to consider: farmers may be developing a negative attitude to all government activities; if so, it may become more and more difficult to get their cooperation for government sponsored schemes.*

This situation appears to be ameliorated somewhat by the good work of the Community Development agents who "appear to have won the respect and confidence of those they promised to serve--the peasants." It is
eminently clear, however, that this small base of confidence and trust will need to be greatly expanded and the performance of civil servants improved in order to get the widespread participation which is projected.

Landlord-Tenant Relations

The relatively small and often fragmented land holdings, plus traditional contractual relations between landlords (largely absentee) and tenants which are generally regarded as disadvantageous to tenants, pose an extremely difficult combination of negative factors which developmental efforts must overcome. Reflecting on these factors (plus other interrelated factors such as inadequate credit), the authors report:

Most tenant farmers and some owners of small holdings are the very people who are least able to make use of even the few technological improvements that are available. Paradoxically, the technology-development and the technology-spreading agencies shy away from such problem areas; furthermore, the frustration and inadequacy of the system tend to lead the peasant farmers into an attitude of resignation.15

On the same point, the authors state: "The hope for immediate increases in production will rest on successfully involving both the landlord and the tenant into proposed productive increase programs."

Leaders of government and legislators appear to be cognizant of these seminally important factors and are struggling to find more effective and equitable formulae for their solution. The education and persuasion of key persons to make adjustments is a sine qua non for successful development.

Lack of Effective Farmer Education and Other Governmental Programs

Knowledge of modern agricultural technology and sporadic and minimal applications of such technology is not unknown in Ethiopia. In terms of the numbers of farmers and hectares of farm land involved (which must be vastly increased in order to achieve the production goals projected), the situation is presently highly negative. The
authors of the Stanford report summarize the present situation as follows:

Most tenant farmers of Ada are aware that benefits can be derived from modern technology and that technology is close at hand. Beyond that awareness, however, it is noticeable that very little has been achieved that is beneficial to the great majority of tenant farmers. The chief problem would seem to be the inability of such technological institutions to transmit their know-how and materials to the farmers. This is basically the work of the extension service, which faces such problems as lack of finances, the land tenure system and lack of credit sources for peasant farmers.

In the same context the survey group, after noting the excellent work of the Agricultural Research Station, concluded that “It would not be unreasonable to state that the Agricultural Research Station, which has distributed limited quantities of improved seed, could aid farmers to a far greater extent that it is doing at present.” Furthermore, the commercial and other banks, which apparently operate effectively for large landowners who can put up adequate collateral but which are clearly “not for the poor,” will need to be persuaded to develop innovative procedures to make credit available in relatively small quantities, directly or through cooperative or other organizations, to large numbers of participating farmers.

Thus it must be eminently clear that the key officials involved in the developmental process (along with the large numbers of rural people already referred to) must be persuaded to be more concerned with the problems of the vast majority of farmers and more innovative in finding workable solutions for these problems. Modern technology is apparently available; the missing ingredients are informed and motivated human beings who are capable of change through non-formal education.

Other Negative Factors

Closely related, but possibly less critical, is a whole complex of traditional attitudes and practices and conditions which have a bearing on the achievement of the projected developmental goals. Among these are: (1) the large amount of resources and time which are
consumed in various family, community, and religious celebrations, which may be modified to some degree and/or utilized for developmental purposes; (2) the limited recreational facilities which tend to center around the excessive drinking of alcoholic beverages and exposure to communicable diseases; (3) widespread illiteracy (and language problems) which are not as limiting as believed to be, particularly if innovative methods of communication and education are devised; (4) lack of control of economic factors such as price supports, marketing, export policies, and other economic factors; (5) low levels of nutrition and other health problems; and (6) other attitudes and practices which are susceptible to change through sustained educational programs.

**Positive Factors**

A thoughtful review of the imposing interrelated negative factors could easily lead one to an attitude of depression and resignation. Such a conclusion is not a humane or viable alternative to finding solutions to the problems of development on which the welfare of many thousands of Ethiopians depends.

**Capability of Farmers and Others to Change**

First and foremost is the demonstrated capacity and willingness of simple villagers to change. The initial fertilizer trials of the "Freedom from Hunger" campaign show clearly that the land is capable of greater productivity and that farmers are willing to adopt the more progressive practices necessary to attain greater productivity. Furthermore, the evidence from the mini-package programs and the intensive work in comprehensive rural development in another area of Ethiopia, the Chilalo Project (CADU), clearly show that Ethiopian farmers are willing and able to adopt entirely new practices along with some modifications of older practices which they have found to be useful over long periods of time.
Supporting Social Organizations

The varied social organizations of farmers which have been created to ameliorate social problems closely related to survival and to foster stability and well-being in the rural areas are susceptible to change and reorientation. Among these is the organization of "Ekub" which could provide a basis for savings and capital formation. Similarly the traditional organization of "Idir"--about which it is said that "people cannot live without belonging to an Idir"--could presumably be reoriented to the larger and more complex problems of establishing a modern "security" system. Likewise the social institutions of "Mahaber" and "Senbete" which are largely related to church activities might be reoriented to developmental problems. In a similar manner, the institutions of "Wonfel," "Jigi," and "Ras Simosh," which are cooperative work organizations comparable to "barn raising" and other neighborhood organizations in the early American tradition, are capable of possible reorientation. In a more sweeping observation, the authors of the Stanford study state: "The religious, social and financial organizations already present among the people of Ada are a good foundation for any type of organized group effort for development."21

The above comments all add up to a positive potential involvement of these indigenous social organizations and a possible change in their orientation and traditions to fit into and support modernizing practices if sensitively approached. It is possibly redundant to suggest that NFE methods could be devised to use some of these indigenous social organizations as a base for more modern financial transactions or as delivery systems for modernizing ideas and practices.

Community Development Activities

Although limited in numbers and supporting resources, the work of community development officers in the Ada District clearly shows that changes are possible through sensitive involvement of rural people in certain kinds of "self help" activity. The work of these forerunners of development in economic, health, sanitation, and educational...
fields have shown glimpses of what can be done if more concentrated effort, with more adequate supportive resources, is applied to the problems of sustained development in the district. More specifically, these workers have demonstrated that progressive practices in agriculture, health, and education are being adopted by farmers; that funds can be generated for education (schools and literacy programs); and that the work of "Development Committees" can be focused on critical problems. The accomplishments are doubtless small in comparison with the needs, but some evidence is available to show the way to larger, more complete, and more sustained efforts.

**Government Officials**

Although it is difficult to determine whether the structure of local government should be classified as "positive" or "negative" in this discussion, it is very clear that local officials, who at some levels are unpaid local leaders, must be tuned into and ultimately supportive of developmental efforts. Thus the woreda governor, the "chica shums," "atbia doynos," "sheuneches," "metchilebashas," "wanna tsehafis," and "mikitl tsehafis" who are responsible for the administration of local government, treasure, and law and order functions must be motivated to participate in and support the developmental process. Doubtless educational and persuasive processes are called for in the creation of an atmosphere and in providing motivation for the application of procedures which will aid the developmental efforts.

**Private Entrepreneurs**

Not perhaps surprising was the identification by the survey group of several private entrepreneurs who have demonstrated the possibility and profitability of concentrated effort and application of resources to a few developmental problems. Thus the experience of one entrepreneur in the feeding of cattle, of another in hybrid maize, a third in the creation of a nursery, and a fourth in the use of farm machinery might possibly point the way to at least a partial
solution of some of the developmental problems of this area. Furthermore, within limits, the experiences of these entrepreneurs and others--such as those associated with the "Kalamazoo Spice Program"--along with government officials connected with the Experiment Station, the Veterinary Center, Community Development, and others, might be used in an educational program which is addressed to developmental problems of the area.

By way of a summary, the surveyors concluded:

*Increased participation by the local people in such a program will contribute to modernization of the country and to the development of a governmental administration that is increasingly responsive to the needs of local citizens. As contact with the outside world is increased, and as education is broadened to include more of the rural people, the citizens of Ada District will contribute to this progressive tendency and will provide an outlet for the initiative of the younger people.*

As of September, 1973, the General Manager of the project in a seminar at Michigan State University reported that:

- The organizations of the project had been established with the following major visits: crops and soils, engineering, finance, legal, planning and evaluation, marketing and supply, information, administration, extension and credit, and public relations.
- Fifteen Ethiopians have been employed and the foreign advisor under contract with Clapp and Main had arrived.
- Research and planning assistance is being provided by the Institute of Development Research of Haile Selassie I University with assistance from Michigan State University.
- Land has been acquired for the headquarters of the project.
- Some new formulas were being created for improvement in return to tenants.
- Approximately 400 farmers with less than 10 acres each have been involved in program developments which included improved seeds, fertilizers, and credit.

**Observations, Comments, and Reflections on the Above Proposals**

We recognize that the above descriptions of proposed projects are probably incomplete and to a degree replete with minor or even major errors regarding the detailed provisions of the proposals.
Furthermore, we do not know the exact current status of the review or reaction by officials of the Planning Commission and other relevant government officials to all of the proposals. Nevertheless, they do collectively represent considerable concern, initiative, and thought regarding agricultural productivity and the welfare of the rural masses of Ethiopia. The following observations, comments, and reflections upon these varied proposals are addressed to the major elements common to the proposals and to some of the distinctive features of each of the proposals.

Common Elements

1. The overriding common element of the proposals is the fact that they are all addressed to the rural sector which has come to be widely recognized as needing a great deal more attention, greater allocation of resources, and more imaginative treatment than has been characteristic in the past. Most of the proposals are of a relatively recent origin although the ingredients of thought and experiential support for the proposals varies somewhat. Implicit in the greater concern for the rural masses is the belief that changes are possible with people who are largely illiterate, impoverished, and in need of health care. Furthermore, there is a universal belief that rural social, religious, and economic institutions and local government can in some way be modified, reformed, recast, and remotivated to be more responsive to the needs and hopes of the rural masses.

2. All of the proposals are based at least in part on relatively recent but concrete evidence that Ethiopian peasants and other rural people have in fact demonstrated the capacity to increase their productivity and to make use of modernizing ingredients. Increased yields from the application of fertilizers, insecticides, agricultural mechanization, and other practices commonly lumped together under the rubric of the "Green Revolution" have been demonstrated through the application of the so-called "package programs." The efforts of community developmental workers and others have also demonstrated some willingness of rural people to express their common interests in some newer forms of social organization, to engage in "self-help" projects, to build common facilities such as schools, and to stimulate rural leadership. Integrated projects such as CADU have demonstrated how a variety of modernizing practices are interrelated and have identified some of the anticipated and unanticipated problems which are associated with intensive and comprehensive rural developmental efforts. Some of the most complex rural developmental problems associated with traditional landlord-tenant relationships,
inequitable distribution of benefits from the applications of modernizing practices, and other complex and highly charged political-economic problems have been highlighted and placed before governmental and other leaders for consideration and hopefully for satisfactory resolution.

3. The Abuna and other leaders and priests of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church have shown a freshingly new or expanded interest in utilizing their historic and prestigious position and their extensive rural organization and resources to effect improvement in the lives of ordinary rural people.

4. All of the proposals anticipate some new or expanded rural social organizations such as the creation of "Development Centers" which will provide new foci for rural peoples and their leaders to discuss their common problems and coordinate their efforts; assemble and distribute needed supplies; make better use of governmental personnel (e.g., agricultural, health, and other extension agents) and facilities (schools and churches); provide needed storage and marketing facilities; create rural training centers geared to rural needs, and provide a base for new systems of credit and other essential services. The role of "Councils" and other policy forums and advisory bodies for guidance of the centers is alluded to but not well formulated.

5. The proposals universally make some reference to the need for the formation of cooperatives, which are expected to evolve from less complex social-economic organizations. Insufficient cognizance, in our view, however, is given to the complexity of creating viable cooperatives as instrumentalities for such functions as capital formation and supervised credit, use of common facilities and procedures for such central services for marketing and storage of surplus production, machinery pools, and related services. Furthermore, insufficient reference is made to the potential role of cooperatives in cultivating rural leadership among small farmers and in the rigorous discipline which is essential to making cooperatives work.

6. All of the proposals anticipate some new "mix" and integration of governmental and private efforts and resources to achieve developmental goals. Thus it is anticipated that regularly available and trained civil servants will be involved in extension activities in agriculture, health, education, community development, and other services—although greater use is anticipated in relating the efforts of "official personnel" to those of local leaders, village artisans, model farmers, and others. The relatively small numbers of trained personnel presently available and the constraints of budget and training facilities to expand this number, combined with a realization that the use of local (unpaid) leaders may be in some instances more acceptable and effective in promoting change, are some of the factors under consideration.
7. All of the proposals assert or imply a fantastically large need for evolving and administering a variety of non-formal (or an integration of formal and non-formal) training efforts with varied types of participants—principally cultivators, extension agents, school teachers, priests, and other personnel who will be working at the local level. Some references are made to levels which could generally be characterized as "supervisory," but almost no mention is made of the need for special training programs, however called, of officials at the policy level, which is probably as essential although more difficult to define and to execute, than the training of "field-type" personnel. Nevertheless, there is an apparent need to understand the complexities of rural development at all levels in order to accomplish a common approach to and an identification with the hopes, the problems, the high prospects, and the values which permeate the whole effort. Implicit in the training projections is the need for relevant and effective training materials, formats, delivery systems, procedures, and instructors or leaders at all levels—undergirded by the motivation to learn!

Special Features and Strengths of the Proposals

**Ethiopian Orthodox Church**

The principal aspects of the proposal by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church are: (a) the vastness of the outreach of the church and the number of potential "change agents" to be involved; (b) the relative recency of the policies and motivations which underlie the expressed desire to add a developmental, secular dimension to the traditional religious role of the church; and (c) the relative inexperience in developmental enterprises (except as may be related to rural elementary schools) deriving from the recency of the new commitment. In addition to the vastness of the potential there is, fortunately, a recognition of the need for taking some important but modest steps in experimental training efforts of priests and leaders, under the general aegis and guidance of the Development Commission.

**Mekane Yesus Church Proposal**

Although the Mekane Yesus church in its present or earlier organizational forms has been involved in small-scale developmental efforts for many years, the proposal to work intensively in one or a few developmental areas represents a relatively new interest. Even
though these past efforts have been on a small scale, the leaders of the church and their constituents have learned much that is valuable in the guidance of their own proposed expanded efforts and more generally for the other more extensive efforts.

Haile Selassie I University

The proposal prepared by HSIU—the exact status of which is unknown—is an outgrowth, in part, of the large and novel experience of the Ethiopian University Service which has heightened the interest in and experience of students and faculty in the problems and prospects of the rural sector. The inter-disciplinary features of the proposal, the integration of physical and social sciences, and the large emphasis given to research are novel and potentially useful features.

ADA

The ADA proposal—now in its early stages of implementation—represents a large, well financed, researched, and professionally guided comprehensive and integrated rural development project having many features of CADU which preceded it by several years. The combined resources of the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Government of Ethiopia, if prudently used, should produce highly useful results for rural people in the area of concentrated application and for the policy and operational guidance of other developmental efforts underway or projected.

Awraja Proposal

The awraja proposal is distinguished for its scope and more importantly, perhaps, for its focus on decentralized governmental efforts, which have long been under consideration and review. Thus it is, in addition to all other developmental objectives, a daring experimental thrust in the area of local government and public administration. The references to an increased program of public
works and to efforts which are designed to "blur the distinctions between formal and non-formal education" are significant additions.

Although the combined administrations of all the proposals plus "package programs" currently underway will not effectively reach all of the rural people in Ethiopia for a long time to come, they collectively represent probably as vast and bold a beginning of rural reconstruction as has been attempted by any government in the present era.
NOTES: CHAPTER VI


Appendixes and annexes of the 116 page report provide supporting details, financial estimates and projections, and relative materials.


3. Ibid.


5. This and subsequent quotations are from op. cit., pp. 8 and 9.

6. This and subsequent quotations are from op. cit., p. 12.


8. The above quotation and other quotations and references are taken from a twelve-page mimeographed statement provided by the Acting Dean of the College of Social Work at Haile Selassie I University. See also the case study of the Ethiopian University Service for a detailed account of the origins and development of the EUS in Chapter.

9. The Mekane Yesus Church is a consolidation of Protestant Missionary Churches in Ethiopia. The Mekane Yesus Church or its constituent members has been operating in Ethiopia since early in the 19th century.

10. A more complete case study of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is available and can be obtained from M.S.U. The materials which follow are primarily focused on the proposed Development Centers of the Church which are also described in the case study.

11. Quoted from a project proposal formulated by the Development Commission of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

12. In preparing the description which follows, the authors drew heavily on various background materials provided by the Addis Ababa staff of the U.S. Agency for International Development,
including Report No. 14 prepared for the Technical Agency of the Imperial Ethiopian Government by the Stanford Research Institute under title of "A Development Program for the Ada District Based on a Social Economic Survey."

13. At later stages the results of base line and other socio-economic surveys and operational research programs which are underway or projected will be available for scholarly review.


20. Present possible use or modifications thereof will be further developed later in this chapter.

21. Stanford Research Institute, op. cit., p. 36.

EPilogue

- The conception, organization, and conduct of the Sector Review was highly useful in fostering fundamental thinking about all aspects of education in Ethiopia.

- In the process of candid, sustained, and creative thinking about the educational needs of all Ethiopians—particularly the rural masses—the possibility of making greater use of non-formal educational methods and devices emerged as a significant, or rediscovered, component of a total educational system.

- Because of the urgent needs of Ethiopia to modernize its methods of agriculture and to improve living standards and social institutions in the rural areas, much of the discussion of non-formal education focused on these problems.

- The developmental/educational goals of the several devices and projects under way or projected can only be achieved, in our opinion, through a vast, sensitively designed and sustained strategy and program of education and the persuasion of key actors in the educational/developmental process—the farmers and their wives and children, landlords, village leaders, priests, government officials, bankers, and others—to contribute to these goals.

- The process of education and persuasion is quite obviously a long and complex one—calling for patience, ingenuity, good will, faith, leadership, and sustained dedication. Key leaders and officials, who will be followed by other members of the community, will need to be educated and persuaded early in the process.

- Educational methods and activities which are not combined with substantive aspects of the program—modern agricultural technology, seeds, fertilizers, credit, farm management, health and other programs—will lack a mooring in reality. They will be too theoretically and unrealistically oriented, giving them the appearance of a "schoolish" (intellectual) exercise rather than a method of problem solving. In other words, non-formal educational methods are most effective when related to a specific program content and context.

- Because of widespread illiteracy, even of key officials and target groups, much of the education will have to be couched in terms that intelligent, but illiterate, persons can comprehend and act upon.

- Indigenous social organizations, leaders, and "survival" procedures and methods must be understood, conformed to but modified and built upon—as more useful and socially and personally beneficial results are demonstrated through modernizing changes. The "educational message" must be relevant and practical to be understood and acted upon.
Basic to an effort of such tremendous national, social-personal consequences is the belief and faith that the lives and fortunes of more people will be improved and that personal and governmental efforts combined will add up to more production, better government, and happier lives for the present and future generations of Ethiopians.
APPENDIX 1

CASE STUDIES
CASE STUDY:
CENTRE FOR ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND MANAGEMENT® (CEM)

Objectives of the Program

Like many developing countries, Ethiopia found in the past and still finds today many positions in industry and business occupied by expatriates. A need was felt to take specific action to raise the level of participation of Ethiopians in business and industry. Toward this end, the above named center was established in Addis Ababa. The objectives of the Centre for Entrepreneurship and Management are to:

- foster and facilitate, through the direct assistance and extension services, increasingly effective participation by indigenous Ethiopians in the industrial and economic development of their country, with particular emphasis on providing:
  - Practical training, consulting and advisory services for existing and prospective Ethiopian entrepreneurs in small-scale undertakings;
  - Advisory services in management and entrepreneurship to institutions by providing extension services and other forms of assistance to entrepreneurs;
  - Management training for Ethiopian managerial staff working in larger enterprises, both public and private, including public services and utilities.

The development of the center was aided by financial support from the United Nations Development Program who provided funds for a five year period. The purpose of this initial five year funding of the project is to:

- assist the Government of Ethiopia in establishing a Management and Entrepreneurship Training and Advisory Centre in Addis Ababa (hereinafter referred to as the Centre) which will work toward its objectives as defined below. Within this, high priority will be given to:

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"We would like to thank Ato Seifu Demissie, General Manager of the CEM, for reviewing this piece and for his suggestions."
a. The development of national professional staff so that they may continue to increase the capacity and ability of the Centre to achieve these objectives after the project personnel have been withdrawn;

b. The development and promotion of small enterprises and indigenous Ethiopian entrepreneurs.

There are two levels of objectives, then, and two levels of non-formal educational activities in conjunction with the Centre.

The first and primary objective of the UNDP-assisted project is the establishment of the center itself and the training of the Ethiopian staff. The UNDP selected the ILO as the executing agency for this task. The ILO is at the same time to initiate the program of services to be provided by the center which form the second level of objectives the center is to provide, initially with ILO staff and eventually with Ethiopian staff. Both sets of objectives utilized non-formal educational techniques. The first, primarily on-the-job training utilizing the expert/counterpart relationship and participant training in a third country, and the second set of objectives using a variety of non-formal educational techniques in the provision of services.

The original plan of operation was quite clear concerning the area of emphasis or priority to be met:

The Centre will concentrate its main efforts of achieving these objectives in manufacturing, processing and service industries. Initially, the Centre's services will be made available only in the Addis Ababa area.

The original plan also specified that in the pursuit of the objectives, the center was to provide certain services:

a. Training and development services.
b. Advisory and consulting services.
c. Development workshop services.
d. Promotional services.
e. Research and evaluation services.
f. Administrative services.

The above services were to be made available to organizations and their personnel, either individually or in groups, whichever was appropriate in each case. The services were to be made available to:
a. Existing and prospective Ethiopian entrepreneurs, to enable them to achieve greater viability, success, and growth in their enterprises.

b. Extension, advisory and technical personnel and, where appropriate, their managers, in Government departments, private and public institutions, and enterprises which provide (or are planning to provide) credit or extension services for developing, assisting, or promoting smaller industries and indigenous entrepreneurship.

c. Managerial personnel, especially in the larger public and private enterprises and institutions, to prepare them for higher management positions, and/or to become entrepreneurs in their own rights, as appropriate.

Strategy and Planning

The target population is adequately identified in the section concerning objectives. Social and cultural factors specific to Ethiopia are largely ignored in the program planning and strategy determination in favor of the response of "Homo Economus." It is assumed that managers and supervisors in the modern sector, to which the initial efforts were directed, would react to the incentive of increased production and increased efficiency of the operations of their industries and businesses.

The original agreement called for the establishment of a National Council. The responsibilities of this council are to determine overall policy, statutes and programs, including priorities. The council consists of representatives from the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, the Chamber of Commerce, Haile Selassie I University, UNDP, ILO, Federation of Employers of Ethiopia, and the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions. The council is chaired by the Minister of National Community Development and Social Affairs, which includes the Department of Labor. There is also an executive board that is charged with the implementation of the policies of the council. This board is restricted in size and is composed of representatives from the Ministries of Planning Development, National Community Development and Social Affairs, Commerce and Industry, and the Chamber of Commerce and Haile Selassie I University.
The project was executed in two stages. The first which lasted two years carried out pilot activities and experimental projects. After this initial stage, an evaluation was to be carried out after which the activities for the remaining two years of the UNDP contract would be determined.

Characteristics of the Participants

The participants in practically all of the CEM programs have been from middle and upper management or have been entrepreneurs. In the early years, and still to a large extent, all participants have been from already established businesses. The training has been in-service in nature, either upgrading of skills for currently held positions or for promotion to other positions.

With the exception of the small business and entrepreneurial programs, which have been a minor portion of the activities to 1972, all participants have had at least 12 years of previous schooling.

Nature of the Sponsoring Organization

The existence of the National Council and the Executive Board has been described. The staffing for the positions in the office of the CEM itself are still on an ILO expert/Ethiopian counterpart basis. The general manager is an Ethiopian. His counterpart is the ILO "project manager." There are eight divisions under the general manager, five of these still having ILO experts serving as counterparts. These divisions are:

- Management Accounting
- General Management
- Small Enterprise Development
- Economic Evaluation Research
- Marketing and Sales
- Personnel Management
- Tannery Development
- Public Relations Research

The organization (CEM), by virtue of the fact that it is supported by the UNDP and has the ILO as a technical backstop, has affiliation with a governmental organization—in this case the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs. The Minister of
National Community Development and Social Affairs serves as chairman of the National Council. Other than this, the plan of operation states that the organization is "... an autonomous financial, institutional and administrative agency." This gives it freedom of operation at the present time, but at such time that the IEG takes over complete financing of the operation, autonomy may be more difficult to maintain. The nature of the representation of the National Council and the Executive Board should go a long way toward coordinating the activities of CEM and building a broad base of support. It was pointed out in the annual report for the 1970-71 period that the organization had built a good reputation and is increasingly accepted as a "... neutral and professional organ dedicated to disseminating management concepts, techniques, research and innovations to government, labor and management."

Characteristics of Organizational Personnel

The personnel serving on the National Council and Executive Board are mostly Ministers and Vice Ministers. The organizations from outside the government are represented by the Presidents and Directors of their respective organizations.

The personnel staffing the CEM are all college graduates. Included in the agreement with the UNDP is a period of further participant training in a foreign country for each. Some staff were educated in Ethiopia at the undergraduate level and some in various other western countries. At least one member of the staff had been educated in Russia.

There is a regular training program for the organizational personnel in addition to any training they might receive abroad. This takes the form of regular training sessions conducted for the staff by ILO and senior Ethiopian experts.

The ILO staff are expatriates, all experts in the area of their assignment.
Content of the Programs

During the 1970-71 year a number of courses were conducted. The 194 participants came from 94 different agencies and industries. The titles of some of the courses were:

- Marketing Management and Methods
- Selection and Interviewing
- Production Planning and Control
- Introduction to Material Control Methods
- Maintenance Management
- Field Salesmanship and Supervision

Most of the courses were three weeks in length. They included practical experience, on-the-job observation and, after the courses were completed, the CEM staff followed up with in-plant visits to observe the effect of the course and to help the participants when they had specific problems in the application of the course content. In the appendix are copies of two representative descriptions of the courses. The pieces reproduced there are those used by the CEM to promote participation in the courses.

The second form of non-formal education that the CEM conducts utilizes the medium of on-site consultations. These serve two purposes: one, the aiding of the particular industry or governmental agency that requests the services, and two, the emphasizing that the consultation activity is a particularly good medium through which to train the CEM Ethiopian staff. During the 1970-71 year, seventeen organizations received consultative services. These ranged from private breweries to the Ministry of National Community Development itself.

Two other activities falling into the realm of non-formal education are: (1) a series of evening seminar sessions, open to the public, that deal with management problems, and (2) an advisory service that is run jointly by the CEM and the Chamber of Commerce. The latter will, on appointment, advise people who are contemplating going into business on management, marketing, investment, etc.

An activity that is receiving increasing emphasis in the CEM is that of small entrepreneurial promotion and small industry development. The manager of the CEM said that during the 1972-73 year,
this area will make up about 70% of the activities of the CEM. Here, the emphasis shifts from working with organizations and people who are already in business to helping those who want to get into business.

An initial activity has been the effort to determine exactly what is required in Ethiopia to be successful in different types of enterprises. This was done by drawing together people who had recently gone into business and trying to learn from them. This led to two courses entitled "Starting and Expanding a Business" and a "Basic Business Course."

Another activity in the area of new business promotion is directed toward the leather industry. Ethiopia exports raw hides to Italy and other countries. As raw hides, the export value is low. The CEM is trying to promote the semi-processing of hides and skins. If this were to be accomplished for only 50% of the hides exported, the yearly increase in value of the hides exported would be at least $5,000,000 Ethiopian dollars.

CEM is building a demonstration plant that has held courses in business opportunities and technical requirements in semi-processing hides and skins. They hope to promote about 20 plants around the country, each one of which would require an investment of $150,000 Ethiopian dollars.

The CEM has also designed a scheme for training ex-students as entrepreneurs. This scheme is in the discussion stage prior to implementation as far as could be determined at the time of this study. The objective is to try to relieve some of the pressure created by relatively large numbers of unemployed and/or unemployable school leavers. There also has been recently formed an informal association of technical school leavers. The purpose of the organization is self-help in nature. The CEM stated that they were planning to try to work with this student organization.

Program Methods

The CEM programs have been conducted in the urban modern setting. Courses have been conducted mainly in the capitol of
Addis Ababa. Small numbers of courses have been conducted in Dire Dawa and Asmara. The group seminars and courses are usually held at the CEM headquarters. Follow-up and consultation activities have, of course, been conducted in the plants and agencies of the institution involved.

The courses in management supervision, etc., utilize the case study approach almost exclusively with the problem solving technique utilized throughout. The cases are of the "Harvard Business School" type. No attempt is made to impart what one of the staff referred to as "academic" knowledge. The cases studied were carefully selected for their applicability to Ethiopia. Where no case study existed that could be utilized, local cases were drawn up. The formulation of instructional material is continuing with emphasis being put on cases drawn from the Ethiopian experience.

One instructor, an Ethiopian, states that he systematically builds the confidence of the participants and their skill in the problem solving technique. He emphasized that initially it is very important for him to convince the seminar or course members that it was they who had solved the problem, even if this was not actually the case. One was left with the impression that he had talked to a very sophisticated teacher, applying very sophisticated techniques in a very difficult situation. The programs, which were seemingly very successful, attest to the success of the techniques and the individual teachers.

The problem solving technique is carried over into the on-the-job aspect of the programs and the follow-up visits to the plant. The participants are encouraged to bring real situations for treatment in the seminars.

The lecture and discussion method is utilized in the evening sessions. These utilize staff of the CEM and staff from Haile Selassie I University. These sessions are geared to the high level management of the larger firms.

Some techniques of "business extension" are utilized. Visits are made to locales with special problems. An example is the central
market area of Addis Ababa where the CEM has taken films and instructional sessions on bookkeeping and records, set up a tent and held sessions for those who wanted to attend. These activities are in the experimental stage but because they seem to be successful, will receive increasing emphasis in the future.

Evaluation is held to a minimum. The participant must be literate and, in most cases, have at least 12 years of schooling to participate in the management and supervision seminars. As there is usually a fee charged for these sessions, the firm that sponsors the individual plays the key role in the selection of the participants.

Initially there were no "rewards" for participation. Later, the CEM has begun giving three types of certificates. Two are for the participant himself, one for "participation" and one for "achievement." A third "General Certificate" is awarded to the participating organizations. This practice reflects the general inordinate emphasis placed on "pieces of paper" in Ethiopia, as elsewhere in the developing world.

There is a general attitude in the CEM that programs must be founded on the realities of the Ethiopian situation. It is also recognized that these realities are not always known. Studies are therefore an integral part of the program. An example is the effort in the promotion of small businesses where the initial CEM activity was to determine what is required to start a small business by studying the small businesses themselves. The CEM also usually starts "pilot" projects in the areas it intends to initiate activities. The Third Five Year Plan charges the CEM with the establishment of an "Industrial Services Project." The plan of action contains as a first step "... to prepare studies that can help determine whether their developments are likely to be profitable and feasible."

Program Efficiency Considerations

A cost benefit analysis of the project is beyond the scope of this review. In any event, such an analysis would be premature and at any time such a study would be complicated. One would have
to assess the contribution of the individual participants in the training to their respective industries and businesses and then the contribution of those firms to the national economy.

At some point, it would be possible to determine the approximate cost of training per individual. During the initial phases of the program, the costs of institution building for the CEM itself would have to be separated from cost of the training provided to business and industry. In any event, the total cost of the five year development period, from 1967 to 1972, both UNDP and IEG contribution amounts to almost $1.5 million U.S.

Comments and Conclusions

1. Archibald Calloway, in his investigation of apprenticeship training in Nigeria recommends that the best way to improve the quality of apprenticeship training is to improve the quality of the people providing the apprenticeship or on-the-job training. This can be done through the type of "Industrial Extension" services that the CEM is providing to Ethiopia. The multiplier effects of such programs are obvious.

2. The programs contribute toward moving Ethiopians up the management ladder to where they can begin to replace expatriate management personnel.

3. Several non-formal educational techniques are being utilized that bear closer study for possible application elsewhere.
CASE STUDY: CHILALO AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT UNIT* (CADU)

Introduction: The Context of the Case Study

A case study of CADU is necessarily a multi-faceted, complex account in which the use of non-formal (out-of-school) educational methods to achieve the development goals of the project is one of the critical ingredients in the study. It is naturally complex because the development problems with which CADU deals are enormously complex and the educational methods and procedures used to effect changes in agriculture and rural living naturally reflect these complexities.

Inasmuch as participation in the program is strictly voluntary, self-directing motivation of the participants is of central importance. The beginning of the educational sequence for the participants was doubtless an act of faith in the suggestions offered by the change agents—Ethiopian leaders and the expatriate Swedes. Continued use of the newly recommended practices, however, is dependent upon the validation of positive results by the participants for each step of the developmental process.

In other words, learning by doing—the second stage of the development process—involves step-by-step continuous achievement of the better results which were predicted in the beginning of the developmental sequence. Once the fruits of improved methods are experienced by participants on a sufficient scale and over a reasonable period of time (more than one season at least), it is believed that an appetite for more education and more involvement is created.

*The authors are indebted to Bengt Nekby, author of CADU—An Ethiopian Experiment in Developing Peasant Farming, Prisma Publishers, Stockholm Sweden; to Ato Paulos Abraham, Executive Director of CADU and members of his staff for other materials and ideas on CADU which are liberally used in the preparation of this case study.
which leads to a chain reaction of modernization basic to improvement in living standards of individual participants and the achievement of national goals. This sequence of development, using NFE methods as the key factor in communicating modernizing ideas, is basically what is being demonstrated by CADU.

More specifically, the principal elements of the CADU demonstration which make it of extraordinary importance for Ethiopia and as a case study of universal importance are:

1. It is concerned principally with improving the conditions of the small farmers and tenants—the poorest segments of the rural community.

2. The participants are largely illiterate (but intelligent) who have, up to the time of the start of the project, employed primitive methods of agriculture with consequent low standards of productivity and standards of living.

3. The project is conducted as an experimental demonstration in a limited geographical area within the bounds of a regular governmental jurisdiction—the Chilalo Awraja of the Arussi Province, with a large component of documentation and research as a basis for evaluation and possible replication of the improved practices in whole or in part in other areas of Ethiopia and elsewhere.

4. Sufficient resources of a critical character to agricultural modernization—principally seeds, fertilizers, credit, and to a lesser extent improved breeding stocks, machinery, and related facilities—are available for the experimental demonstrations. In other words, once the initial motivation is apparent, something "concrete" is offered to the cultivator to fortify his "resolve" to modernize.

5. The project enjoys some autonomy from regular governmental procedures and controls, although it is officially responsible to the Minister of Agriculture for results. Advisory assistance from an inter-ministerial committee provides involvement of other ministries concerned with rural development.

6. The project is jointly undertaken by the Government of Ethiopia and the Swedish Government with resources and personnel drawn from both sources, under agreements which have been entered into for the periods of 1967-70 and from 1970-75, and subject to further extension.

A succinct summary of the objectives of CADU and Development Strategy which was prepared for the Council of Ministers and which reflects
the agreements reached by the Ethiopian and Swedish governments for the second period of collaboration which began on December 1, 1970, follows:

**CADU Objectives**

1. To bring about economic and social development in the Chilalo Awraja with particular emphasis on "farmers in low income brackets."

2. To evolve methodology of development with a view to laying a firm basis for replication elsewhere in Ethiopia.

3. To create possibilities for such replication which implies the training of Ethiopian staff and the creation of financial resources through increasing the tax-paying capacity of the target population.

4. To elicit participation of the target population with the aim of laying the foundation of a sound base for sustained growth and ensuring the possibilities of handing over the responsibility for some of the major activities to them.

**Development Strategy of CADU**

1. Operationally oriented research programs aimed at producing a reasonable number of innovations easily adoptable by the farmers. (So far CADU has concentrated on crops, livestock, forestry, animal-drawn implements, water, labour-intensive ventures, etc.)

2. An extension network designed to transmit the results of the research program to farmers.

3. A distribution system to make the required supplies available to farmers in the project area through strategically placed trade centers (improved seed, fertilizer, pesticides, implements, up-graded cows, etc.)

4. A credit program to enable farmers to acquire the supplies beyond their immediate cash-paying capacity.

5. A marketing program designed to encourage the use of recommended inputs by ensuring market outlets for the output and to ensure favourable prices to farmers by competing with the local grain merchants.

6. A series of programs aimed at eliciting the participation of farmers in the various aspects of development with a view to handing over to them some of the CADU activities (grain purchasing, milk collection, credit, etc.).
7. The establishment of infrastructure (roads and irrigation water) in order to build the basis for sustained growth.

8. Continuous assessment and evaluation of the CADU development strategy with a view to improving its effectiveness and efficiency and with the aim of establishing the basis for replication of regional development schemes elsewhere in Ethiopia.

9. A training program to ensure Ethiopianization of CADU and to have adequate number of theoretically and practically trained young Ethiopians able to launch and man other development projects.

The origins of the project and the principal program highlights which constitute its history to date are described in the following sections.

**Background and Evaluation of the Project**

The background and evaluation of the CADU project have to be approached from both the point of view and interests of the governments of Ethiopia and of Sweden. From the Ethiopian side there was a strong interest in trying to find a solution to the low productivity of agriculture. From the Swedish side there was a long-time interest, if not fascination, with helping Ethiopia achieve a higher level of capacity to solve her problems of development.

The initial step in the collaborative effort was taken as recently as 1964 when the Swedish government, concerned with helping Ethiopia and with finding more effective means to improve its technical assistance programs in agriculture, appointed a highly competent working party to investigate the possibilities and best methods of increased Swedish aid in agriculture. Cognizance was taken of their own agricultural methods, particularly as they might be applicable to developing countries (and to Ethiopia specifically) as well as to the experience of successful approaches in then East Pakistan (Comilla), India, and Israel. The working party concluded that a program which included improved seeds, fertilizers, credit and better extension methods, combined as a "package approach," offered the best possibilities. Concurrently other assistance agencies, including the World Bank, United States A.I.D., and Food and Agricultural
Organization of the United Nations, were also recommending a package approach.

In July, 1965, the Ethiopian Government requested the assistance of the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) to draw up an outline for the "establishment of a regional agricultural-development project." In March, 1966, an agreement was reached to carry on the investigation with the proviso that the agreement did not obligate the Swedish government to take responsibility for implementation of the recommendations. In the process of making the investigation the Swedish experts noted, among other general observations such as the level of the GNP per capita being one of the lowest in the world, the following critical facts about Ethiopian agriculture: (a) 60% of the national product comes from agriculture; (b) exports are almost exclusively agricultural products; (c) agriculture was allocated about 5% of the national budget in contrast to allocations to police and defense establishments of 25% of the national budget; (d) the relative recency of the establishment of an agricultural college (1950 at Alemaya) and the insufficient character of agricultural research on Ethiopian agricultural conditions; (e) the availability of only 100 agricultural extension agents who operated from a deficient experimental basis for making their recommendations; (f) insignificant amounts of fertilizer being used; (g) the availability of only 40 veterinarians for 25,000,000 cattle, not including sheep, goats, camels, and other livestock; (h) the production of new seeds was not yet organized; (i) marketing of agricultural products was primitive; (j) cooperatives were in their infancy, and similar characteristics and deficiencies.

The working party also were cognizant of the fact that special ministries for planning and land reform were established in 1966 but that the high priority given to the agricultural sector and to institutional reforms with respect to ownership and tenancy in the third five year plan (1962-67) was not combined with the "organizational and administrative preconditions" necessary for the implementation of the plan.
After examining five alternative areas offered by the Ethiopian Government for establishing a possible experimental-demonstration area, the Chilalo District (awraJa) was recommended for serious consideration. The principal facts about the people and agricultural conditions of Chilalo noted by the investigating committee were:

- It is an area of approximately 10,000 square kilometers (20% of which is cultivated); populated by 350,000 persons; 70,000 farm families -- 95% of which derive their main income from agriculture.

- The people are a mixture of Arussi Gallas, Shoah Gallas, and Amharas -- including both Christians and Moslems.

- Land ownership of an average of 14 hectares is legally somewhat uncertain.

- Approximately one-half of the farmers are tenants who cultivate an average of 3-4 hectares. They are economically insecure with small compensation for their efforts. The formula for sharing gains between the owner and the tenant were not conducive to investment in improved agriculture. Accordingly, the formulation and implementation of a new type of agreement between landowners and tenants more favorable to the tenant became an integral part of the "development plan."

- The agricultural land is comparatively rich in organic matter with some deficiencies in phosphorus but basically suitable for intensive agriculture.

- Returns from farming operations, however, were very low with yields of only 50% of Swedish standards for similar crops and similarly low production of milk. Agricultural methods were basically primitive with little use made of fertilizers, improved seeds, and implements. An average of Eth. $800 per family was earned each year. The crops were plagued with many plant diseases.

- Living standards were correspondingly low with 13% of the school-age children actually in school and large drop-outs occurring after the first grade. Infant mortality was very high (22%), and the general level of health care very low with one hospital, two doctors, and a few health centers and stations available for the total population.

In October, 1966, the outline of a formal plan was presented to the relevant Ethiopian agricultural officials who referred the proposal to a ministerial committee which debated the matter a long time because of the requirements of the proposal to concentrate
resources in a relatively small area and to adopt the "package" scheme proposed as the main method for the development of peasant farming throughout Ethiopia, with all the bureaucratic and political complications which such a crisp choice would precipitate. During the same period the Swedish government was considering the financial implications of the plan and policy questions with reference to the focusing so much of Swedish aid on Ethiopia. By the end of February, 1967, the ministerial committee of the Ethiopian Government accepted the proposal in principle which led to the preparation of a more detailed plan covering the work program, staff requirements, buildings and equipment needed, operating budget for a three year period, and other relevant implementing considerations.

On September 8, 1967, an agreement was signed for the period of September, 1967, to July, 1970, later extended to December, 1970, establishing CADU as an independent unit within the Ministry of Agriculture. The Swedish investigating group was transferred to CADU and subject to a once-a-year review by SIDA. The costs of the project were split with the Swedish government covering the cost of their technical staff participating in the work, the costs of research investigations and scholarships, and 67% of other investment and operating costs. The Ethiopian Government supplied the land, salaries of Ethiopian staff, and 33% of other investment and operating costs. The total costs of the project for the period September, 1967, to July, 1970, amounted to Eth. $13,852,000. Investments in buildings (administration, workshops, cafeteria, guest houses, staff houses), laboratory and health facilities, roads, reservoirs, water and sewage system, etc., totaled almost Eth. $5,000,000. The costs of providing the Swedish staff totaled over Eth. $3,000,000, while the costs of the Ethiopian high and middle level staff amounted to Eth. $668,000. The project is clearly expensive, but can only be evaluated in terms of measurable cost-benefits ratio and intangibles in terms of ideas and standards which have been replicated throughout Ethiopia. For example, CADU has greatly influenced the adoption of the package approach now widely applied and specific limited area
projects such as WADU and other areas. Improved machinery and credit practices are also traceable to CADU experimentation. On the basis of hard data currently available covering such critical items as increased number of participating farmers (850 in 1968 and 4,467 in 1970), use of improved seeds (141 tons in 1968 and 824 tons in 1970), use of fertilizer (4 tons in 1968; 1,650 tons in 1970), increased marketing of milk in the Addis Ababa area (from zero deliveries before the project began to 1,400 litres daily by August, 1969), and correspondingly higher incomes (net return of $125 per hectare after deducting the cost of fertilizer and improved seeds), the project is considered "very successful" although not replicable on the same scale in other areas.

One of the unsolved and perhaps unanticipated problems arising out of the new lease agreements between landowners and tenants is the fact that a number of landowners have put more of their land into cultivation and have evicted a number of tenants, forcing these evicted tenants to seek a lease agreement in a new area or become farm laborers. The alternatives faced by the leadership of the project were to stop economic development, confiscate large farms, or restrict the right of the owner to farm his own land. More politically and economically feasible solutions are being sought in the resettlement of evicted tenants on government land, placing of an import restriction on tractors, and in developing other employment opportunities for displaced tenants.

A new project agreement was entered into, after the special appraisal was undertaken in 1969, covering the period of 1 January, 1971, to 7 July, 1975. Under the new agreement costing Eth. $30,000,000, Sweden will provide two-thirds of the total.

Before turning to the programs undertaken by CADU which involve NFE methods for the most part, it is relevant to note that educational considerations cannot be divorced from substantive program considerations in rural or other developmental fields. Thus no apology is offered for dwelling on the substantive background considerations.
before focusing more sharply on educational aspects of a case study in non-formal education.

The Educational Component of CADU

CADU clearly depends on NFE methods to achieve its developmental objectives. Undergirding the educational methods and procedures, however, is a fundamental observation that the start of the educational process is the desire—motivation—of the participants in the process to change their conventional practices and confidence by the "change agents" in the recommended practices and in the ability of the participants to adopt the improved practices once a desire to change has been established. In Nekby's words,

The point of departure for all development work must, of course, be the assumption that the population wishes to improve its own position and/or society it lives in; in other words, that it has unsatisfied needs.

He then adds that

In order to encourage farmers to assume increasing responsibilities, one has to gain the confidence of the people and that is best accomplished by showing the intentions behind the project in the daily activities. It is just as important to be able to show the contents and advantages of cooperation as to demonstrate the possibilities of improved crop yields.

With reference to timing, Nekby continues,

not until the farmer realizes the need of new means of production and the possibilities of improved marketing is the time ripe for cooperative development. To discuss the emphasis of the development work before the farmer has realized the possibilities of development is equally meaningless.

The educational/developmental program is composed of four principal elements: (1) the model farmer, (2) agricultural extension and marketing agents, (3) experimentation and research to feed tested ideas into the educational processes, and (4) agricultural services such as credit, marketing, and other services to provide essential substantive ingredients to the educational processes. A discussion of these elements may be found in Chapter III under the heading of Non-Formal Education in the Rural Sector.
The educational program for farm women in CADU, which was started in 1970, is an integral part of the whole thrust to improve agricultural productivity and living conditions in this laboratory area of Ethiopia. Based somewhat on survey research on the role of women in agricultural production and marketing, housing, food preparation, child care, and home life, courses have been developed in child care (18 lessons), food preparation (10 lessons), poultry (12 lessons) and related subjects. The staff for the program includes three Ethiopian graduates of the Tafari Makonnen Comprehensive High School, a Swedish home demonstration agent, a United Nations (FAO) advisor and thirty-four home economics extension agents, who have been recruited from the Chilalo awraja. The home economics extension agents are typically eighth-eleventh grade graduates who are given a six and one-half months' intensive course which includes "theoretical lessons" of varying lengths in such subjects as gardening, poultry, child care, nutrition, English, and literacy training; "practical lessons" of longer duration in the core subjects indicated above; "practical training" in teaching methods, horseback and bicycle riding, milking, animal husbandry, and cleaning-washing of clothes, plus demonstrations in such subjects as food preparation, nutrition, etc. In addition, three-week refresher courses are held for the agents each year. Equipment to carry out the work, such as water pitchers, charcoal stoves, soap, gardening tools, food preparation utensils, and other similar items are provided to each of the extension agents for the training and demonstrations which they provide for village women. While in training, the extension agents are provided with room and board, medical care, educational materials, and pocket money. After completion of the course they are paid salaries of Eth. $150 which is somewhat less than the salaries of elementary school teachers.

Upon completion of the training program, two agents are assigned to each of six villages, with each agent taking responsibility for starting four groups of 15-20 women each. CADU model farmers are
typically used as "legitimizers" and the homes of the model farmers as headquarters for each group.3 (Some of the wives of model farmers, however, have not been found to be model homemakers.) Two lessons and demonstrations are provided each week to the four groups during a four-day period with the fifth day used for home visitations and individual follow-ups. As of February, 1972, 130-140 groups have been organized which have involved approximately 2,000 women in the program. Some problems have been experienced in keeping groups together. The work load of the women is one factor which makes for difficulties. The scattered location of the villages imposes hardships which test the stamina of the instructors and participants alike. The number of languages and dialects spoken adds to the practical complexities involved in the program. Nevertheless, evaluation of results thus far suggests that the women participants have shown considerably greater interest in child care, in the education of their children, and in the adoption of improved agricultural and health practices such as the making of vegetable gardens, garbage pits, latrines, etc.

An important aspect, and fully integrated part of the women's program, is an experimental program in "work oriented literacy" which is part of a UNESCO-Ethiopian Government national effort of training in functional literacy, which was started in 1968 as part of a global effort being undertaken in several countries. Extensive research was undertaken for the preparation of a literacy primer, supplementary reading material, and instructional materials in arithmetic, built around the following five areas of special significance to women: (1) cleanliness in the compound; (2) cleanliness in the home; (3) care of food; (4) personal hygiene; and (5) basic nutrition and feeding of young children. Lessons have been developed which include: (1) the reading of key sentences and words; (2) the analysis of letters extracted from words learned; (3) synthesis--combining pre-learned letters to make new words; (4) derived letters--new letters taught on the basis of analogy from pre-learned letters; and (5) revision--which includes writing of key words and letters
and dictation of learned letters and words. Posters, flannel boards, and demonstrations of new or improved practices on subjects such as soap making, care of clothing, how to boil, cook and store milk and water, food preparation, and related subjects are used. The program is planned and phased for a five-year program after which participating women would be expected to read and study on their own. The principal elements of the program consist of two phases. Phase I emphasizes the primer and follow-up courses of two-three months plus demonstration; it would take approximately one year. The initial program involved 100 class sessions of approximately 1 1/2 hours each, three times each week. Phase II is to focus on a language book and follow-up booklets for approximately one year, and Phase III would emphasize continued study of booklets and demonstrations.

In addition to the work oriented literacy efforts which are part of the CADU extension program for women, there is another fully integrated program of work oriented literacy training which is conducted for the most part in communities other than those in which the regular CADU extension program for women operates. Instructors for this literacy program are also recruited from the CADU area. They must have completed a minimum of fifth grade schooling (seventh grade graduates or higher were found to be better instructors); be 16 years of age or older; have competency in reading and writing Amharic; a good understanding of a local language; be respected in the community; have other attributes such as an interest in learning and teaching and in community affairs. The training program for instructors includes 175 hours of training in related family living subject matters (child care, foods, etc.), demonstrations, how to work with adults, and other subjects prescribed in a well developed outline; 95 hours of training in the use of the functional literacy primer and new approaches to teaching literacy; special instruction in the feeding of young children and basic nutrition given by the staff members of the Nutrition Institute. Bi-monthly meetings are held with the home economics team to integrate literacy training with the total
Although discernible progress has been made in combining work oriented literacy training with other aspects of the extension training program for women, the program has not been underway long enough for definitive testing and no completely literate graduates (Phase III) have been produced. Some of the critical questions constantly being asked by the leaders of the program relate to the timing of literacy efforts under present living conditions, the relationship of literacy to economic development, the effect on children of the program, the relationship of the women's program to the programs for men in the total modernizing effort and related questions. The problems of developing effective training programs--including literacy--for women are enormously difficult and it is a credit to the staff that continuous efforts to find better solutions to the problems are being made.

Comments and Observations on the CADU

Experimental Demonstration

CADU is regarded as a highly successful experimental-demonstrational project. More detailed comments and observations may be found in Chapter III. Here we will quote directly from a communication received in November, 1972, from Ato Paulos Abraham, Director of the CADU project, who was asked to review a draft of the case study. The comments are directed particularly to the section "The Context of the Case Study." Minor corrections of the draft are also reflected in the present text. The authors of the case study are deeply indebted to Ato Paulos for his thoughtful reading of the draft and are pleased to include the additional material which he supplied.

I fully agree with you when you state "Of major importance in any overall appraisal of CADU is the enormously important demonstration that Ethiopian farmers can and will modernize their agricultural practices" given an intelligent and meaningful approach.

We are also aware that a total replication of the level of ambition of CADU to cover the whole country or even major
parts of it is impractical from the point of view of trained personnel and funds. We shall, in future, shift our emphasis from the almost exclusive preoccupation with "directly productive activities" to the investigation of possibilities of replicability of CADU-type approach with some modification. This entails essentially four tasks:

1. Can the same results obtained by CADU be achieved with less resources? In some instances, the answer is definitely yes. One obvious area is reduction of reliance on expatriate staff. During the first agreement period, for instance, almost 25% of the total CADU cost was absorbed by salaries for expatriate staff. They absorbed over 65% of the entire CADU payroll but accounted for only 4% of the entire staff as you can see below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% in number</th>
<th>% of payroll</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign staff</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>65.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopian high and middle level staff</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locally employed staff</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary workers</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A second area that needs close scrutiny is possibilities of substitution of so-called high and middle level Ethiopian staff by locally employed staff. The difference in cost between the expatriate staff and the Ethiopian staff on one hand and that between the Ethiopian high level and middle level staff and the locally employed is one of degree. Both tell the same story.

My attempt to work a phasing-out strategy and our decision to expand the CADU Training Centre are both moves meant to correct the "high cost of development."

2. Can the extension network be made more thinly spread so as to cover a wider area and reach more farmers with the same staff? I believe so myself but this would require a special study.

3. To what extent can the cost of development be shifted to the beneficiaries, i.e., the farmers? The possibilities are great by the government has not so far attempted to siphon off part of the increased income from the target population.

4. To what extent can the local administration be made to take part in meaningful development work? Again I think possibilities exist.
All of these have great cost-reducing effect to the government and hence enhance the possibilities of replication.

The message from the farmer is clear and cannot be any clearer. He is receptive to new ideas. This is the message from WADU (Wollamo Agricultural Development Unit), from the Minimum Package Programme and other similar projects. The task is for the government to launch programmes designed to "exploit" the experiences collected by CADU, WADU, MPP, etc.

NOTES


2. The program as described was current as of February, 1972. A decision was made after this date to make a thorough appraisal of the program with the expectation that the program will be reinstated with modifications based on the appraisal.

3. Men also participate in the literacy program but detailed information on the program was not available.
CASE STUDY:

ETHIOPIAN NUTRITION INSTITUTE--TRAINING
AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

The Ethiopian Nutrition Institute (ENI) has been working on the nutrition problems of Ethiopia since 1962. It was formerly called the Children's Nutrition Unit. The former, and the present organization, are joint Ethiopian-Swedish projects. The research aspects of the program are staffed and essentially operated by Swedish scientists. The application and field aspects of the operation are chiefly staffed by Ethiopians.

The Institute has been concerned since its inception with field surveys, research, and development of instructional materials to combat malnutrition and undernourishment. The education and training aspects of the program, however, were not started until 1967. This report is primarily concerned with the educational function of the program, but it is important to point out that one of the strong features of the program is its underpinning of research and scientifically developed materials. The program does not have to rely on theories and principles developed outside its own organization. The ENI is thus responsible for the development of the theory and practice that it disseminates.

Objectives of the Training and Information Department

The department, composed of six Ethiopians and one Swedish professional, separates its activities into two types, determined by the characteristics of the client group. One is termed "Professional Nutrition Training." This training is directed at groups such as physicians, medical students, nurses, teachers, home economists, and persons in similar occupations who are capable of training...
others in their groups. The training of these participants is provided directly by the personnel of the Institute.

The second category is information and training aimed at the public. In a publication describing its activities, the ENI perceives its responsibility for education as follows:

The responsibility of carrying information and education down to the "grass roots" level on a large scale cannot be the responsibility of the Institute alone but has to be integrated into the activities carried out by others, e.g., the Ministries of Public Health, Education and Community Development. The efforts of the Institute are focused on providing facts and material for these channels and to test and experiment with methods and approaches in order to recommend suitable programs.

Through these two categories of education, the Education and Training Department of the ENI hopes to create an awareness of nutrition problems in Ethiopia and to help people overcome some of these problems.

Professional Training

The overall philosophy of the education department is to utilize existing infrastructure for the accomplishment of their educational task instead of going to the expense of creating their own. More specifically, the Institute provides a team of three people to give one-week training sessions at each teacher training institute once a year. The purpose is to acquaint the prospective teacher with the large nutritional problems in Ethiopia. The topics discussed are:

1. Physical and mental development
2. National development
3. Nutritional diseases in Ethiopia
4. Malnutrition and infections
5. Malnutrition and resistance to infections and disease
6. Factors predisposing to malnutrition
   A. Economic factors
   B. Educational and cultural factors
7. Food resources in Ethiopia
8. Demonstrations of weaning food and family food
9. Combating malnutrition
   A. The ENI and its food supplements
   B. The ENI and its nutrition educational materials

The Institute also sends teams to participate in the training of dressers; community development workers, both to pre-service and in-service training sessions (students, we were told, are more receptive at the in-service training programs, after they have had a chance to become acquainted with the problems in the "field"); programs for doctors, sanitarians and public health nurses at the Public Health College at Gondar; in-service training sessions with the summer in-service programs for teachers.

The Institute at one time operated a mobile unit that went to the schools and worked with teachers. The unit worked primarily with the science teachers as their contacts with students were more extensive. This unit has been discontinued because of the high cost of the program.

"Grass Roots" Training

As has been mentioned earlier, the grass roots training function of the ENI is carried out indirectly. The Institute staff trains the staff of other organizations and provides materials. Beyond this, their involvement is confined to newspaper articles and features, radio programs, both of their own and by helping the MOE with their programs, and with the production of materials for new literates. One such work on nutrition is presently in press.

The Institute also provides materials to the Community Development Workers, literacy workers, the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association, the YMCA and the YWCA, schools, drug shop keepers (who have minimal training but are often the only medically trained person in an area), the 83 Ministry of Health centers located in 72 of the 102 awrajas, and any other organization that asks for the materials and assistance. Even in working with all these organizations, the
ENI states that its biggest constraint is the inaccessibility of many areas and groups of people.

Some of the programs of the Institute deserve special mention. Particularly noteworthy is a radio forum that was conducted in three urban and three rural locations. The leaders of the forums were women CD workers assigned to the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs. The leaders were brought into Addis Ababa and given a training program on both the material to be covered and the techniques of conducting a radio forum. The program was experimental, which accounts for the small number of groups that were organized. The general procedure was to have six center groups, with about thirty in each group, listen to the program which was followed by a discussion period and a demonstration. Provisions for feedback were provided via the forum leader.

The series was organized into twelve lessons presented over a three month period, each program being repeated twice. The staff of the ENI tested the participants after each four lessons. Testing was done verbally so the illiterate members of the group were not placed at a disadvantage in the evaluation. In general, the program was successful in four of the six centers. The two unsuccessful centers were headed by leaders who lost their enthusiasm for the program, hence the preliminary evaluation that the most important variable is the forum leader.

Of the 180 participants, 125 were considered to be "successful" and were given a certificate. Surprisingly, the illiterates in the group seemed to remember more of the material than the literates. The participants involved in the forums did not want to stop at the end of the series of programs and urged the ENI to continue.

The content of the radio forums did not offer "radical" suggestions for the improvement of nutrition but emphasized, instead, small steps which could more easily be understood and acted upon. The exception was the material presented on weaning which was more complete. The reason for giving a more complete treatment to weaning...
derives from the fact that Ethiopian women usually tend to nurse children until they can walk. They claim that food before this age gives the children worms, other diseases, and smelly stools. The ENI tried to teach that it isn't the food itself that causes the problems but the way it is prepared. They also offered some new weaning recipes utilizing foods readily available in the local markets or on the farms.

A companion problem that the ENI is tackling is that of the tendency, especially in the cities, to use bottle feeding instead of breast feeding. The women have adopted the innovation of bottle feeding very rapidly where bottles are available. However, they have not adopted the innovation of sterilization and hygienic food preparation techniques. The result is an increased sickness and death rate among infants. Therefore, the ENI is trying to get the mothers to discontinue the use of bottle feeding. Furthermore, the women in some areas boil fenugreek (a vegetable of the pea family), throw the seed away, and give the liquid to the children. The liquid is .5% protein and the seed they throw away is 25% protein. The ENI is trying to change this practice.

Observations and Comments

The ENI education program is distinguished for its utilization of the existing educational delivery systems of other agencies. The ENI seemed to be the only institution visited that followed this operating procedure. It is run as a scientifically based organization with responsibility confined to generating and disseminating knowledge and NFE procedures that can be utilized by others, without charge. The experimental radio forum is an example of the work of the ENI in disseminating the knowledge it generates.
CASE STUDY:

CONFEDERATION OF ETHIOPIAN LABOUR UNIONS (CELU)

Development of the Organization and Its Objectives

Ethiopia became a member of the International Labour Organization in 1923 after the abolition of slave trade. It was not until July of 1946, however, that the first labor union received de facto recognition. This was the Franco-Ethiopian Railway Workers Union. This union is referred to as the "Mother" of the Ethiopian labor movement.

The union was founded by a group of people, some of whom had been sent to France for training and hence had exposure to the French labor union movement. The objective of the first union was to equalize the wage rate between the Somali workers on the portion of the line that was in that country and the portion of the line that utilized Ethiopian workers. Other issues focused on the difference in wage increases given to the expatriate staff and the power the railroad had to even imprison employees.

The workers called a strike but could not get effective recognition of the group. His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I, intervened in the dispute. At one point he gave the workers Eth. $80,000 for their cause. The issue was settled when HIM established a commission of inquiry, chaired by the Prime Minister.

The union of railway employees was the only "labor union" in the country until after a 1962 law was promulgated that allowed the formation of labor unions. However,

It is important to realize that the concept of organizing workers for some defined objective is not new to the Ethiopian workers. Among the pioneering organized institutions is the Eder. In an Eder, people organize themselves for funerals, agricultural services, construction work and other functions. Institutions like the Eder and Ekub are the root of the
Ethiopian labour movement. In fact present day unions are transplants of these traditional institutions broadened to accommodate new problems of industrial workers.

Inspired by some of the successes of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway Union, many employee associations were formed as Eders in the different plants. A general assembly of these associations was called on Megabit 3, 1954, E.C. under the chairmanship of the Fibre Company Employees' Association. Two critical decisions were made at that meeting:

1. That a permanent body to federate Ethiopian workers be created with headquarters in Addis Ababa, to be called the Ethiopian Labour Union.

2. That the aim of the said union would be to establish industrial enterprises and agriculture cooperatives to help raise the standard of living of the Ethiopian workers in general, and to help the old aged, sick workers and the unemployed in particular.

The second objective noted above is consistent with the objectives of the Eder and Ekub associations from which the Unions originally sprang.

Later in the same year, E.C. 1954 (G.C. 1961), another general assembly was held in which the goals were modified. The group resolved to:

... transform themselves into a labour union geared to handle employees' grievances and improvement of the workers' economic and working conditions through collective bargaining.

In September, 1962, the enabling legislation was passed. The Ethiopian Labour Union was formally transformed in April, 1963, into the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions (CELU). The original CELU was composed of 29 unions with a total membership of 15,000 workers. These workers were drawn from only 3 of the 14 provinces. There are presently 132 affiliated unions with a total membership of 71,000 workers. The present goal is 300,000 members.

The objectives of the CELU are set out in article II of the constitution:

1. To unionize all workers in Ethiopia;

2. To maintain and improve the social and economic position of its members as well as to fight for the retention and enhancement of the living and working conditions of workers organized and unorganized;
3. To promote establishment of strong self-supporting general labour unions;

4. To encourage the creation of a sound industrial relations system and to help its affiliates during labour disputes;

5. To participate in national schemes that aim in improving the social, economic and cultural aspiration of workers and to encourage active support of such by workers;

6. To encourage the setting up of and the development of institutions like coops that will be run by CELU, its affiliates or workers;

7. To foster general as well as vocational education by establishing education centres or by setting up, or helping in setting up educational programs;

8. To act as spokesman of the workers in bodies like the Labour Relations Board established by law or special agreement and to adequately voice the workers' point of view in such bodies;

9. To have democracy and freedom respected in unions;

10. To foster relations between CELU and international labour organizations and as far as possible to participate in activities of these organizations and if necessary to affiliate with them;

11. In pursuance of such objectives, CELU may do or authorise to be done all such lawful acts and things as it considers necessary for the furtherance of these objectives and the establishment of and respect for the dignity of labour and human rights.

This report is directly concerned with the educational activities of the Union. Therefore, item 7 above is of particular importance in a review of non-formal studies in Ethiopia. Before going to the specific educational activities, it is necessary to say that other objectives listed above also have educational implications. The desire to have a democratically operated union, as stated in Item 9, which is carried out in practice, means that the workers have an opportunity to participate in a democratic organization with all the responsibilities entailed therein. They participate in meetings, hold elections, join in the decision making process of the union, etc. The educational benefits of this participation cannot be overemphasized. The effect of the workers being able to exert influence, through collective bargaining or strikes, on the decisions made by
the managers and supervisors must open whole new concepts in human relations to the workers.

The CELU is the only independently organized nationwide association outside of the government. Both the president and vice president were elected from the rank and file membership.

**Strategy and Planning**

The affiliate unions are based on the Eder organizations. These were born of the necessity for financial and social security for the workers and the unions exist in businesses and professions, in the rural areas as well as the industrial concerns. The union movement added to these major objectives that of being able to deal effectively with employers and/or management. This objective is perfectly consistent with the first two; in fact, in the context of the industrial concern, the three are inseparable.

Participation in the CELU and its affiliate unions is based on participation in one of the work units that have been unionized. At present this includes not only industrial concerns but several large agricultural estates such as the Wonji and Shoa Sugar Estates and a number of government owned plantations. There is no closed shop legislation in Ethiopia but once a concern has been organized, membership in the union is virtually 100%. However, not all members pay their dues regularly.

Clientele participation in the planning of programs occurs through the delegates' conferences. There are two levels of these, the highest of which is held every three years. This conference elects officers, amends the constitution, and makes policy. It is the supreme authority. A second conference is held every year which is "supreme between triannual conferences and elects auditors, accepts reports and makes policy." The affairs of the CELU are conducted by a General Council of 25 members that meets every two months. The member's participation in these is through a form of representative democracy.
There is a central staff composed of professionally trained personnel. They are hired by the General Council and carry on the day-to-day business and functions of the central office of the CELU. Many of these are college educated, often in a foreign country. The director of the Educational Department, for example, was educated at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan.

Characteristics of the Participants

All participants in the educational activities of the union must be members. There are no programs conducted for those who might at a future date enter an activity over which the union presently has jurisdiction. The exception to this is the educational activity that is conducted in order to organize a group of workers and establish a new union.

Most of the workers are laborers—the most completely organized sector of the labor force being textile workers. Textiles is also the largest industry in the country. Some skilled trades, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, etc., are also organized.

It seems quite natural for the worker to join the union. By virtue of his past experience with the Eder and Ekub, he understands the benefits of belonging to such an organization.

Nature of the Organization

The CELU is an autonomous organization vis-a-vis the government of Ethiopia. As has been stated, it is the only nationwide organization outside the government. The following chart explains the organization of the CELU and the functions of some of the groups. There is one department that is responsible for education. There are two others, however, that have educational functions to perform. These are the Information Department and the Organizing Department. The general practice has been for the Educational Department to help the other two when their activities entail some educational function.

The CELU receives financial and advisory support for the Africa American Labour Center (AALC), which in turn receives support from the American labor movement.
THE STRUCTURE OF CELU

**Annual Delegates' Conference**
- AFFILIATES REPRESENTED ON THE FOLLOWING BASIS:
  - One delegate for every 750 members
  - Four delegates for every 3000 members

**Triennial Delegates' Conference**
- AFFILIATES REPRESENTED ON THE FOLLOWING BASIS:
  - One delegate for every 100 members
  - Six delegates for every 4000 members

**General Council**
- 25 members

**Executive Officers**
- Conducts affairs of CELU; approves budget; meets every two months
Characteristics of Organizational Personnel

The delegates to the two conferences are elected by the general membership of the various affiliated unions and come from the ranks of the workers. The membership of the General Council is likewise from the membership. The central office staff, however, are professionally trained Union workers, organizers, and educators. In at least one case, a man who is on the professional staff is also one of the elected members of the General Council.

Description of Programs and Content

The Educational Department of the CELU sees itself as fulfilling four educational functions:

Trade Unionism Education

A major problem in the union movement in Ethiopia is that even after the workers in a particular plant have been organized, they tend to see the union in the same terms with the same functions as that of the Eder. The concept of collective bargaining and negotiation and/or strikes must be taught through trade unionism education. The skills and attitudes necessary for the operation of the union must be taught. The leaders of the union, once they have been elected, must be taught to successfully carry out their responsibilities.

There were no figures available as to the extent of the general trade unionism education given to the rank and file members. It is evident, however, that each and every one of them probably receives some education. They all (or most) participate in the meetings and elections, hence learning by participation in a democratic institution.

There were some records as to the extent of the training given union leaders at various levels. In the first seven years of the CELU, about 1,355 people participated in training programs. Some of these were night courses, some weekend, and some full-time seminars held in central locations. Advanced training has been given to 135 leaders.
Vocational Training

The CELU, with AALC funding, sponsors but does not directly conduct vocational training. This is done by contracting with local vocational schools to actually conduct the programs. The CELU looks upon this activity as "pilot/demonstration" in nature and not a permanent function of the CELU. It is hoped that after the employees, employers, and government see the value of this type of training that all of the parties will sponsor continuing programs separately or in concert.

The CELU sets the standards for the course and asks the local vocational schools to conduct the course with their facilities and staff. The CELU encourages the schools to exceed the standards they set whenever possible and also to give a certificate at the end of the program.

Two centers are offering such courses. In Asmara, courses are offered in electronics and welding and in Addis Ababa courses in building trades and auto mechanics are offered. The total enrollment in the Asmara courses is 120. In Addis there are 98 building trades students and 35 auto mechanic students. The courses are approximately one year in length, are offered in the evenings and entail a total of 500 clock hours of instruction, including classroom and shopwork sessions. The classes generally consist of about three-fifths practical work and two-fifths classroom work which indicates a balance not consistent with the statement that the workers have the skills but need the theoretical knowledge.

The students must be employed in the trades in which they are to receive training and must be union members and literate. It is assumed that they have the skills of their trade. The training is to upgrade their theoretical knowledge and their status. Certificates granted for completion of the courses are small in number. The employers are not always happy with the training as the workers expect more money after they have finished. They generally get more pay which tends to overcome the early reticence of the workers to participate in such programs.
The building trades group is presently building a facility for the teaching of auto mechanics. This is being done as part of their practical work. The facility is being given to the vocational school with the understanding that the CELU sponsored auto mechanics classes will have full free use of the building.

**Literacy Program**

The CELU at one time conducted a program to spread literacy skills among the union members. The CELU hired university students to conduct classes during the summer months. A total of 5,025 workers are alleged to have become literate. The materials utilized were the standard government literacy materials.

The program was stopped two years ago for a variety of reasons:

a. It was difficult to get the workers to enroll.

b. It was difficult to get them to stay in the classes once enrolled.

c. There were no follow-up materials.

d. After passing through the course, workers couldn't read.

The effort was judged to be a failure and dropped. The CELU is willing to assist in the preparation of materials and has offered to do so. They claim they will be among the first to try again when and if adequate materials are developed.

**Training Abroad**

Little information was obtained concerning the training of union personnel in other countries except that as of 1970, 52 people had obtained such training. In most, if not all cases, the cost of this training was met by outside sources.

**Program Efficiency Considerations**

The only cost data obtained were for the vocational education programs. These programs, where the local schools are hired to provide the training, cost an average of Eth. $53.00 per student per month.
Observations and Comments

1. The net effects of the activities of the CELU and its affiliate members are to raise the skill level of its participants by its educational programs and to bring about a more equitable distribution of the fruits of the workers' labor. Both are among the objectives of many developmental programs.

2. The CELU theoretically serves both the modern and the agricultural sector. It does not, however, anticipate educational activity in the area of agriculture.

3. The union members are mostly unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The higher levels of skilled workers enjoy a relatively good salary and feel little need to unionize.

4. In the training programs, the vocational education people have trouble using the materials that have been translated into Amharic. The language is usually at too high a level for the students to understand.

5. Employers were asked in a survey what kind of people they would like to hire. They stated the qualifications in terms of the end products of their own training. When asked what kind of person they would like to hire to train they asked for people with general educational qualifications, not the qualifications of vocational school graduates. Other investigations seemed to indicate that many employers who had to train their own people were taking them in at a lower educational level than had previously been the case. One reason stated is that those with higher levels of education have aspirations to acquire desk jobs rather than perform manual labor. An unstated reason might be that they do not have to pay the lower educated people as high a wage. But even here, industry is rational and if the higher educated people were proportionately more productive for their cost, they would hire them.

6. In light of the above, formal vocational schools might find it wise to consider making their curriculum more general, graduating a person to whom the specific industry can give the specialized skills. They seem to have to do this anyway.

NOTES


3. Ibid., p. 15.
CASE STUDY:

ETHIOPIAN UNIVERSITY SERVICE*

The Ethiopian University Service (EUS) is a unique cross between formal and non-formal educational activity. The Service is an integral part of the University academic program but administered in the context of non-formal education without regard for academic credit—except for minimum credit given for participation in the orientation program. It is a compulsory service experience for almost all students between their third and fourth years of formal education. The program is designed to broaden and deepen students' exposure to the problems of living and development, principally in rural areas. The Service thus combines teaching values to the students while contributing to the alleviation of manpower shortages, particularly for teachers in rural areas, and to the developmental aims of the Imperial Ethiopian Government.

Origins and Evolution of the Service

The basic ideas of the Service—related in part to the nearly universal concern of youth for more relevant education and for participation in developmental activity—were initiated by students of Haile Selassie I University. At a meeting of the National Union of Ethiopian Students, in 1961, the students posed the question of what they could do for their country. The alert University officials and

*The authors are indebted to conversations with Ato Seyoum G. Selassie, Dean of the School of Social Work and Director of the EUS, and for his report on "The Contribution of the Ethiopian University Service to National Development." This report was prepared, in 1971, for the United Nations "International Survey on the Participation of National Youth Service Programmes in National Development." The authors have also drawn upon the articles produced by David C. and Frances F. Kortem acknowledged elsewhere in this case study.
faculty capitalized on this show of interest and began, with the participation of students, to evolve the EUS as a major educational and service program fully integrated into the University structure and academic program. Following a resolution by the Executive Committee in 1963, the Faculty Council established the EUS and by 1964 the Service was compulsory. The Service is now fully supported in University legislation expressed in part by the following quotation:

Our University is Ethiopia's national institution of higher learning; it has a challenging mission to provide liberal education to young men and women in various fields of learning and thus to serve the nation by producing indispensable human resources who will aid Ethiopia's development and progress.

This forthright statement of policy was evolved out of the earlier discussions of the pioneers who said:

A program where University students spend one academic year using their University training to provide services to local communities will be beneficial not only to the national welfare but to the students in an educational sense; the problems and the needs of the country, particularly its less developed areas.

Other more detailed values which were envisaged for the Service included:

- The concept of repaying the country for the free education which students had received.
- Feedback to the University to make it more responsive to the urgent needs of its citizens.
- Relevancy testing of the educational program of the University.
- Contributions to helping solve critical manpower shortages—particularly for teachers in rural areas—and related values.

To telescope the origins and evolution of the major ideas supporting the program and the institutionalization of the Service as an integral part of the University academic and service program is not meant to gloss over the vigorous debate between students, faculty, and administrators over such issues as (1) whether the program should be voluntary or compulsory, (2) whether the program should come after or before graduation and other such issues. But the facts are that...
the Service was firmly established as an integral and compulsory requirement for graduation which most students have come to accept and support as periodic evaluations of the Service have confirmed.

Organization of the EUS

As indicated above, the EUS is an integral and legislatively supported part of the academic/service program of HSIU. The ultimate administrative and policy authority rests with the Faculty Council. Initially, a standing committee of the Council, consisting of the President, Vice Presidents, Academic Deans, Dean of Students, a member of the curriculum and academic standards committee, and the Director of the EUS were empowered to carry out the policies established by University legislation.3 The standing committee is empowered to promulgate general regulations, interpret University statutes, delegate administrative duties to the EUS Director, hear disciplinary cases, consult with students, and report annually to the Faculty Council. The Director of the EUS is appointed by the President of the University and has overall responsibility for administering the Service and for coordinating the program with participating governmental and non-governmental agencies.

Several of the Colleges appointed an assistant dean to work with each of the faculties and students on such matters as assignment of students, supervision of students to assure academic relevance, continuous evaluation of the program, and related operational matters. Evaluation of students is also provided by the heads of agencies employing the students. Students are also obliged to report quarterly on working conditions and other aspects of the program as they affect their employment.

Financial Aspects of the Program

Students are paid $70 (U.S.) per month (in some cases 30% additional for hardship posts). The stipend and round trip transportation are paid by the employing agencies. In addition, married students are paid $10 additional for their wives and $5 for each child. The
University also supplies a table, chair, folding cot, kitchen equipment, lamp, first aid equipment, and coverage by comprehensive health insurance. The government finances the costs of administering the program (not the time of faculty members who participate) at an annual rate of approximately $40,000 (U.S.). The minimum cost per student is approximately $900.

Student Participation in the EUS

The EUS program is compulsory for all students except:

(1) those in the military service, and other government employees who are on leave and studying at the University; (2) students who have been in rural areas for at least six years prior to their admission to the University; and (3) medical and public health students. The year's service is scheduled after their third year except for:

(1) students in the Colleges of Law and Technology, who are scheduled between the fourth and fifth year of their programs; and (2) diploma course students who serve at the end of their two year program.

The number of participants over the seven years since the program was inaugurated is summarized in the table which follows.

As will be observed in the table, most students are assigned to teaching positions in the junior and senior secondary schools. An increasing number, however, are being assigned to non-teaching assignments in other governmental, parastatal, and private organizations as these organizations have increased their interest in the Service. Students are expected to work a normal (or above) schedule of hours on the assignments.

A study of the students who finished their period of service in 1971 indicated that:

(1) they were in the 19-25 year age range;
(2) about 40% of them considered themselves to be of middle-class economic status—the rest being of a lower status; (3) about 85% were single. Unless this group could be considered a distorted sample, these characteristics probably apply to most of the participants.
### EUS Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic Year</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
<th>Assignments</th>
<th>Illustrative Non-Teaching Assignments*&lt;sup&gt;**&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>Non-Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>19 Debre Zeit Farm; Ministry of Education; Community Development; building construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>46 Community Development; Wonji Labor Union; Public Health; school building program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>75 Water Resources; Community Development; Ministry of Justice; school building project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>88 Wild life conservation; Ministry of Public Health; cement factory; prison farm; water resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>138 Awash Valley Authority; Election Board; Telecommunications; oil refinery; Prime Minister's office; etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>84 Addis Ababa Bank; Ministry of Mines; Haile Selassie Foundation; Coffee Board; Wild Life Conservation; etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>131 CADU; Institute of Agricultural Research; Livestock and Meat Board; Development Bank; etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,315</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,734</strong></td>
<td><strong>581</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Mainly in junior and senior secondary schools.

**By 1971, forty-two agencies (public and private) were involved.
A semester orientation program for participants has been provided since the beginning of the program with faculty members and representatives of employing agencies serving as instructors. Extending orientation over a period of two semesters was a hope which never materialized because of scheduling difficulties. The orientation program is designed to:

*give the students an opportunity to examine the social, economic, legal, cultural, and political factors which must be taken into consideration when efforts are made to introduce planned change.* It also seeks to give the student the opportunity to identify those positive elements in customary practices in rural communities which may be used as points of departure when introducing innovations."

Some attention is also paid to teaching methods for students from colleges other than the College of Education.

**Evaluations of the EUS**

The first systematic evaluation of the Service was made in 1966 by David C. and Frances F. Korten who made a study of 134 participants, 73 of whom completed a questionnaire. Sixty-three of the respondents had held teaching positions (19 of whom had taught before and 44 had not) and 10 were on non-teaching assignments. The study involved before and after reactions to the experience. The initial reactions indicated that the Service was surrounded by controversy among the students, principally over the compulsory nature of the program—with much debate, poll-taking, and threatened strikes. The students objected to the degree requirement, to the interruption of their studies, to what was regarded as poor planning, and to the compulsory character of the Service since this was not a requirement when they entered the University. Nevertheless, they thought that the program would be beneficial. After a year of participation in the Service, there was a considerable shift in their attitudes. More specifically, they: (1) began to see their participation as useful; (2) were less concerned with the compulsory nature of the program; (3) supported the continuation of the Service (87%); (4) expressed the opinion that the program would not be as successful if participation...
was voluntary (63%); (5) regarded the timing of their service—
between their third and fourth years—as correct (about 50%). Most
of them expressed the view that: (1) they were not involved enough
in planning the service—although they accepted the view that their
opinions would be advisory in character; (2) non-teaching positions
should be made a part of the Service; (3) most participants made every
effort to perform to the best of their capability. This overall
positive appraisal doubtless reinforced the convictions of University
officials and others to continue the Service.

A second appraisal by the same scholars was focused on teachers
of seventh and eighth grades in the 1964-65 program. The highlights
of this evaluation indicated that: (1) 70% of the students thought
of the experience as being beneficial; (2) 51% thought that practical
experience in teaching helped balance their theoretical training;
(3) 50% expressed the view that they were more interested in their
studies as a result of the experience; (4) 56% believed that they
helped people in the communities develop more positive attitudes
toward change and modernization; (5) 86% felt that they helped inter-
est the students whom they had taught in seeking additional education.

By way of summary, the Kortens reported that:

Participants generally felt they better understood the problems
of their country and had earned the satisfaction that comes in
helping others. Many also felt they would be more interested
in their studies as a result of their service and would be
more willing than before the service to accept employment in a
remote area of Ethiopia; many changed their career plans as a
result of the service. The vast majority considered the
service experience intrinsically rewarding, feeling both that
they had benefited from it and had contributed to the welfare
of their countrymen.5

A third evaluation by Seyoum G. Selassie, Director of the EUS,
of a sample of 50 students who finished their period of service in
July, 1971, adds further insight into participants' reactions and
conceptions. Some of the teachers expressed the feeling that "people
who are responsible for directing the program were unable to take the
EUS participants seriously." Others felt that they did not have "a
meaningful involvement in the outer community." Still others
expressed the self-deprecating view that they did "not know enough about the realities of rural life in Ethiopia for them to make a contribution to its development at this stage." Although they were still somewhat divided as to whether the program should be obligatory or not, there was evidence that resistance to this feature had diminished from the start of the program.

Other elements in the Seyoum evaluation brought out a variety of negative impressions of participants such as: (1) a belief that some professional workers construe the participants as "rivals"; (2) that there is too much administrative inefficiency in the government; (3) that the EUS should be considered as filling a temporary manpower gap but was not a permanent solution. On the other side of the coin, some supervisors expressed the opinion that participants were sometimes "too quick to condemn and too slow in making constructive suggestions"—even that some participants were "arrogant." Some expressed a warning against "unwarranted interference in the administration of the program" and that some participants were too "politicized" in their activity.7

The above partial summaries of various evaluations clearly reveal that even after seven years of the EUS there are significant and critical problems yet to be solved. Nevertheless the program is still going and growing in numbers and in significance as a major program which combines a dynamic interface between the formal program of teaching in the University and the use of this "non-formal" device to enrich learning by the students and much needed service, particularly in the rural areas in Ethiopia.

NOTES
1. From HSIU Consolidated Legislation of the Faculty Council (1967), page 54.
2. Ibid.
3. The nature of the EUS Standing Committee has changed recently although appropriate amendments have not been made in the Faculty Council legislation. Now the Standing Committee consists of representatives of each faculty plus the Director of EUS. The Committee chooses its own chairman.


7. Seyoum Selassie, op. cit.
CASE STUDY:
ETHIOPIAN WOMEN'S WELFARE ASSOCIATION (EWWA)

The EWWA was founded in 1931 by a group of Ethiopian women under the patronage of Empress Menen with the aim of aiding destitute women and children. Later, during the war with Italy, the association became concerned with the refugees and other war victims.

The organization was chartered in 1942 after the liberation from Italy. Princess Tshai Haile Selassie was named the President. The present President is Princess Tenague Worq Haile Selassie.

Since that time, the Association with its Headquarters in Addis Ababa, has tried to implement some of the challenging objectives and aims as set out in the Charter and has greatly expanded its services and programs. There are now over 24 Branches established throughout the Empire.

The Branches of the Association plan and conduct their own programs based on local needs. They organize their own fund raising activities but in their overall program there is cooperation and general direction from the Head Office, where there is also the possibility of financial aid.

The EWWA encourages the active contribution and participation of the local community; that is to say many of its projects are "self-help projects." Whether in the fields of social services, adult vocational education, elementary education, medical care, mother and child health, or community activities, the Association works together with the local leaders and traditional members of society as well as other private organizations and government agencies.

Naturally most of the programs are related to women, but the Association does not limit itself if the need arises and a community approaches them for support in other community development projects.
The emphasis of the organization is on voluntary work, although due to the extensive expansion of projects during the past years, there is a nucleus of permanent staff who coordinate the many programs.

The Association works closely with the different ministries relating to their work and receives assistance in the form of personnel and technical assistance. Also UN agencies such as UNESCO and UNICEF and Swedish aid through the Ministry of Education offer their help to the Association. Assistance of great value has also been given by other international donor agencies.

But in spite of this kind of assistance most of the funds still have to be raised locally by donations and contributions, tombolas, bazaars, and other fund raising activities.

Programs of the EWWA

1. **Formal Education**--The EWWA sponsors four formal elementary schools in Addis Ababa. These were built as self-help projects in areas of high population density that were not being serviced by the MOE. Teachers, however, are provided by the MOE. The four schools enroll a total of 2,625 students. These schools seem to be indistinguishable from the other MOE elementary schools, the unique feature being they were built by local community resources rather than MOE resources.

2. **Orphanage**--The Addis Ababa branch runs an orphanage for 110 boys and girls. The orphanage also has a school that is staffed by the MOE. Some of the other centers have homes but are not classified as orphanages by the EWWA.

3. **Adult Education**--Adult education programs are conducted in literacy training, home and child care, crafts and sewing, nursery care, cooking, and general subjects of the standard MOE elementary curriculum. The Princess Tenague Worq School in Addis Ababa has a yearly enrollment of about 500 women. The courses are one and two years in length. Enrollment in other schools in the Addis Ababa area numbers 150 adult women. Each branch conducts classes for adult women, but the total number enrolled was not available. Classes in the two year program are held all day. Classes in the one year programs are held mainly in the afternoon and evenings. Many of the teachers have been with the program since the school opened in 1957; others are more recent graduates of the school.

4. **Community Center Schools for Women**--There are four such schools in Addis Ababa that were built mainly through local self-help
The programs are not as rigorous as those in the Princess Tenague Worq School in terms of content and are conducted on a more informal basis. The subjects covered in these schools include home care, sanitation, personal hygiene, child care, and elementary sewing. The teachers are mostly from the Princess Tenague Worq School.

5. Clinics--The EWWA operates five medical clinics in the Addis Ababa areas and one mobile unit that travels to neighboring centers. Last year the clinics, mainly for women and children, treated a total of 97,336 patients. The staff (nurses and a part-time doctor) is employed by the EWWA. The clinics conduct short courses in child care and nutrition for some 300 women a week. These clinics also serve as distribution points for free milk provided by UNICEF and cereal and food supplements provided by the Catholic Relief Service.

6. Midwives Course--The EWWA took a unique approach to the training of midwives. It is actually a retraining program. Through local EDER groups, ten in all, the EWWA recruited 20 practicing traditional midwives. This group was brought to the EWWA facilities and given six weeks training to improve their methods and knowledge. This program is operating on a trial basis and will be expanded.

7. Handicraft Marketing--The association has established a marketing center in the Headquarters to serve artisans from all of the branches, as well as to sell crafts made by the graduates of Princess Tenague Worq School. The center is staffed by volunteers and one administrator.

8. Seminars--Periodic seminars and training sessions are held in the central office for the organizers at all the branch centers.

Miscellaneous Information

Like most organizations, the EWWA has money problems, and like many organizations in Ethiopia, it is trying to solve them by becoming involved in some money-making enterprise. The EWWA is presently raising money to build a multi-storied office and apartment building. The apartments and offices will yield revenue that will support the EWWA's activities. The building will also house the offices and some of the programs of the EWWA. The proposed building will contain 28 apartments, two floors of offices, a restaurant, and 14 shops.

The building is also to house a Women's Affairs Center where national and international meetings of women and women's organizations can be held.
Observations and Comments

The association provides social and educational services for women in the older age groups and those with little previous education as opposed to the young women toward whom the YWCA directs most of its activities. As most programs are directed toward women who have had little or no previous formal education, the programs are designed to accommodate this lack of background.

There seems to be no overlap between the efforts of the EWWA and the YWCA. One is directed toward high quality programs, primarily for school dropouts, and the other is directed toward older women with little or no education and toward general family life improvement.

The EWWA is expanding as its resources permit. It is meeting a need, mainly through voluntary means, that it might be very difficult if not impossible to meet through government or commercial means. It is not meeting the complete need of adult women for training or education and could expand its activities with additional support. This support could probably best come in a form that would not destroy the voluntary and self-help aspects of the present program.
CASE STUDY:

SCHOOL FOR ANIMAL HEALTH ASSISTANTS--DEBRE ZEIT

Introduction

This program was established to meet a particular need for development workers in the area of animal health care that was not being filled through existing institutions. The students in this school, which is funded and administered outside the Ministry of Education, are being prepared to provide services and conduct programs which can be classified as non-formal education.

The school was established with assistance from the United Nations Development Program. The backstopping agency is the FAO who provides experts, in this case, principally from Great Britain. The school became operational in 1963 and graduated its first students in 1965. The total cost of the program, actual expenditures and projected, for the period of 1963 to 1973, is approximately U.S. $2.8 million (including government contribution in cash and in kind). During this period, the school--with a capacity of 60 students in a two year course--will have built the necessary physical facilities, provided appropriate equipment and trained the Ethiopian staff to fully operate the school.

Nature of the School

The requirements for entry into the school are a minimum age of 17 years and completion of high school. The student must possess the Ethiopian Secondary School Leaving Certificate. In the past the school has accepted students from two agricultural high schools, since discontinued, and from the public health college at Gondar. The Animal Health School accepts students who have the "bare" ESLC, and student selection is made before the results of the examinations are known. Some of the students who apply and are selected subsequently
find that they did well enough on the ESLC to be accepted into the university, and hence opted for the latter in preference to the Animal Health School. These students often just do not report when the Animal Health School opens, causing uncertainty as to actual entering enrollment.

The two year course is divided into three terms each year. The length of each term is flexible to allow a certain amount of accommodation to field work requirements. The syllabus is composed of 520 hours of lectures and 480 hours of "practical instruction." The subjects studied in the first year are animal husbandry, animal management, marketing, livestock products, botany, zoology, chemistry, anatomy, and physiology. Thirty-five percent of the time in the first year is spent on anatomy and physiology, twenty percent on animal management, and sixteen percent on animal husbandry. The second year courses are pathology, bacteriology, infectious diseases, first aid, obstetrics, medicine, clinical instruction, parasitology, microscopy and histology, meat inspection and zoonosis.

Most of the students, because of the ESLC entrance requirement, are from urban areas. They are not familiar with animals, therefore, the basic objective of the first year must be to get them used to handling animals and in many cases to overcome a fear of working with animals. The emphasis in the first year is on general animal husbandry and basic science. Emphasis in the second year is placed on professional training, minor surgery, giving shots, and restraining animals.

The school has been allocated an area of the province near the school in which it is responsible for carrying out the normal work of the Animal Health program. The area is used as a demonstration area and a laboratory where the students are given practice training in running animal health campaigns. Every Saturday morning, clinics are held where the area farmers are encouraged to bring in their animals for vaccinations; spraying for ticks, lice, fleas, and mange is provided Thursday mornings and treatment for diseases and injuries can be obtained all day Monday through Saturday. The students are required to participate in the work sessions. There are also several
large commercial farms in the area that students are taken to on field trips.

Utilization of the Graduates

All the graduates of this school have been employed by the Ministry of Agriculture. As a temporary practice and on an unofficial basis the graduates are paid by the school and kept at the school until they receive notice to proceed to an assignment. (The school later recovers the money from the MOA.) This measure is taken to provide continuity between the school and the job. There otherwise might be a period of time in which the student is left dangling and it might take him a longer time to be registered with the Ministry of Agriculture. The initial assignment to the work area is made by the school through a lottery. After each student has "drawn" his assignment, the graduates are allowed to trade among themselves. The graduates are paid at the regular diploma level, which is Eth. $350 a month.

A publication of a report for the Ethiopian government by FAO indicates that there was a need for 200 animal health assistants. The school has graduated about 225 students thus far. There are a number of factors that reduce the number of animal health assistants in actual service. Of course, each graduate would like to go on to a veterinary school and each year a number of the best students are indeed sent to HSIU to take pre-vet, after which they are sent to Nairobi to a veterinary school. Other graduates obtain scholarships to attend schools in other countries after they have worked in the field for a few years. The director of the school, and the school itself, have no responsibilities for the graduates once they have been assigned, but from the number of recommendations that the director writes for students who are leaving the service to go for further education, he estimated that approximately five to ten a year go to obtain further education. If two or three each year go on to HSIU and ten more get scholarships to other countries, approximately 30% to 40% of the number of yearly graduates leave and must be
replaced. Therefore, although it would seem from the number of graduates that the school has just about filled the early projected government's needs, this is far from the case.

The school is also expanding the scope of its training program. It is now also training students to supervise abattoirs (slaughterhouses), and students who can help to promote hides and skins improvement. It is evident that the government's needs for the graduates will expand with the increased level and scope of training they receive.

The field procedures utilized by the animal health assistant are deceptively simple. His first task is to recruit and train local people to serve as vaccinators. These people are required to have at least an eighth grade education. Their training is limited to the procedures utilized in conducting immunization campaigns. Inoculators are paid Eth. $90 a month, which is a very good wage in the rural areas--especially when compared with the wages for a laborer in some areas.

The inoculation campaigns are conducted by personally contacting the farmer. This is done by the inoculators and the animal health assistant. The farmers are asked to bring their cattle to a central location where a "crush" has been constructed. This procedure was the only one that could be articulated by the personnel at the school--that of persuading the farmer by talking with him of the benefits of the program and then getting him to bring his cattle in to be treated. After the initial contact, it was reported that the farmer then seems to accept the help and will seek it out when he has problems with his cattle. For diagnosis and treatment of certain diseases, the animal health assistant must call on a veterinarian.

The problems of the animal health assistant in the field are of several types:

1. He usually finds himself working under the Provincial Agricultural Officer (PAO) and not a veterinarian. All activities must be approved by the veterinarian in advance. One FAO report states that the PAO often has little interest in veterinary matters and the animal health assistant cannot get the support he needs. The
PAO also has the responsibility of allocating the transportation facilities in his area. Without transportation, the animal health assistant cannot function effectively.

2. In most of the provinces the amount of money available for veterinary work is seldom known in advance, making it difficult to plan activities.

3. There is a severe lack of equipment and supplies for the animal health assistant to work with. This is so acute that the school itself, through a donor agency, supplies the graduate with a basic kit of veterinary tools. The division of the Veterinary Service supplies selected drugs and vaccines to the provinces. Without these, he would often have nothing to work with.

It has been pointed out that the Ministry of Agriculture is in the process of correcting these problems and is using the animal health assistant more effectively than in the past.

Miscellaneous

The school has other activities that are significant to the investigator of non-formal education. It conducts yearly seminars for the animal health assistants. Problems are discussed, procedures reviewed, and some upgrading of skills is accomplished. The school also publishes a monthly newsletter and a yearly magazine called the "Pioneer" that is distributed to all animal health assistants. They are invited to write articles for the publication concerning their work. The response is such that a selection must be made of many that are submitted. The school has also sponsored an Animal Health Assistant's Association.

Comments and Observations

1. As was stated in the introduction, the school was founded to meet a need not being met by existing institutions. The content of the program reflects that need. The program of the school is specific to the positions that the graduates must fill.

2. The improvement of the administration of the program with particular reference to the availability of supplies is necessary to improve the efficiency of the operation and to meet the service opportunities to cattle owners of the country.

3. There appears to be a greater need for educating the relevant public of the functions and services the program performs.
4. If all the graduates for the next ten years stay with the service, there would still be approximately 80,000 people per animal health assistant. For each person in Ethiopia there is estimated to be approximately one head of cattle. The sheep and goat population would total another 25 plus million. This would make the ratio of animal health assistants to farm animals no less than one to 160,000. This does not take into account horses and donkeys. The need for the multiplier effect obtained when the animal health assistant trains several inoculators is evident. In fact, it would seem apparent that the need for this type of animal health worker is greater than the school can fill at its present level of output.

NOTES

CASE STUDY:

TECHNICAL TRAINING DIVISION--
ETHIOPIAN AIRLINES (EAL)

Objectives of the Program

Like many of the training programs found in the modern sector of Ethiopia, the objective of the training programs is to supply the trained personnel that the EAL needs to function. The program grew out of a need for skilled personnel. When a particular need is filled, that aspect of a program is terminated. When a new need arises, a new program is instituted.

The EAL itself was founded shortly after World War II; however, the present training school was not founded until 1967. During the earliest phases of the operation of the airline, the company placed considerable reliance upon expatriate personnel. The training function for Ethiopian personnel during this early period was performed by the UN operated school for aviation personnel, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) in Cairo. Use was also made of Ethiopian personnel who had received training in the armed forces. When the ICAO school closed, it was necessary for the EAL to assume the burden of operating training programs for its own personnel.

Since the objectives of the program are determined by the needs of the company, periodic evaluations are held by all departments to determine their future needs. These needs are relayed to the Training Department which hires and trains the personnel. Some of the training programs, then, are of the "vestibule" variety.

Other aspects of the training programs are in-service in nature. Aircraft maintenance procedures and practices for specific aircraft are continually undergoing change. There are also modifications that have to be made in the aircraft from time to time.
These, plus the need to upgrade the personnel and their skills, require a continuous program of in-service training. Every technical employee is required to go through a certain period of in-service training each year.

**Strategy and Planning**

The main assumption underlying the program is that there are available Ethiopians and other Africans, as the school accepts other nationals for training, who have the necessary background to be trained to meet international standards in the field of aviation maintenance and pilot training. The programs are consistent with the United States Federal Aviation Agency standards, and the graduates must pass the same exams to be certified as comparable technicians graduating from schools in the United States. The test is even given in English. The programs are therefore planned to meet international standards.

**Characteristics of the Participants**

No concession is made to local conditions or characteristics of the students. The materials, methods, and content meet international qualifying examinations. Within the Ethiopian context, the program prefers academic high school graduates over vocational school graduates for its technical maintenance courses. The exceptions are people hired for the building trades and auto mechanics training programs who come out of the formal vocational schools.

**Nature of the Sponsoring Organization**

**Administrative Structure**

The training functions are separated into divisions: commercial, management development, flight operations, and technical training. The latter is divided into two divisions, one for the "recurrent training" activities and the other the Aviation Maintenance Technician School itself. The maintenance school has three basic courses.
Nature of the Organization
The EAL is a parastatal organization within the IEG. As such, it has freedom in its operation and direction within certain limits.

Nature of the Organizational Assignment
The assignment given the school is clear. It is charged with the training of personnel that meet international standards. The number is specified. The training manuals and materials are produced by the Northrop Institute of Technology and the Federal Aviation Agency of the U.S.

Use of Advisors
In its initial phases the EAL relied heavily on expatriates. These have been mostly replaced. This is true both for the operational personnel as well as the administrative staff of the school which is now wholly composed of Ethiopians. About half the teaching staff, however, are still expatriates. It is said that they are going to be replaced by Ethiopians when their current contracts expire.

Content of the Program
Only the contents of the Maintenance School program will be presented as an example. The contents of the other aspects of training, such as pilots, stewards, etc., have the same common characteristic of being identical to that required of a comparable program anywhere in the world as all training is tailored to meet international standards.

The following is from a 1972 brochure describing the three programs of the maintenance school:

1. Airframe and Powerplant Technicians' Course
   This training is given to trainees who are required to do the following:
   A. Maintain airplanes on the flight line and in the hangar.
   B. Overhaul airframe and powerplant components.
C. Overhaul engines.

During the last six months, comprehensive systems training, i.e. classroom lectures and on-the-job training, is given on three specific airplanes: DC-3/C-47, DC-6B, and Boeing 707/720B. Qualified instructors conduct and supervise on-the-job training in all areas.

2. Avionics Technicians' Course

This training runs for 18 months and is given to trainees who are required to do the following:

A. Maintain avionics systems on the flight line and in the hangar.

B. Overhaul avionics components in the Radio, Electrical and Instrument (REI) Shops.

During the initial six months, trainees attend classroom and shop training on the same "General" subjects specified for the A&P technician with some changes made in contents and durations to fit the Avionics specialty. Besides, they also attend "Basic Airframe Systems" and "Basic Powerplant Systems" courses specially designed to give Avionics Technicians general knowledge regarding aircraft systems and components.

During the last twelve months, trainees attend classroom and shop training on the following "Avionics" subjects: Basic Electricity; Aircraft Electricity; Electronics and Solid States; Aircraft Instruments; Communications and Navigation Equipment; Automatic Flight Control Systems; and Typical Aircraft Avionics Systems.

3. Structural Repair Technicians' Course

This course runs for 18 months and is given to trainees who are required to perform structural repair work on all types of aircraft on the flight line, in the hangar, and in the shop. During the first six months, trainees take exactly the same "General" subjects specified for the A&P technician and, in addition, attend a "Basic Powerplant Systems" course specially designed to give Structural Repair technicians general knowledge regarding aircraft engines and their associated systems and components.

During the last twelve months, trainees attend classroom and shop training on the following subjects: Structures for Aerospace Vehicles; Heat Treating and Inspection of Metals (includes Metallurgy); Aircraft Construction and Repair by Welding; Aircraft Sheetmetal Repairs; Wood Structures; Fabric Covering, and Aircraft Finishes; Hydraulic and Pneumatic Power Systems; Assembly and Rigging; Aircraft Electrical, Instruments, Position Indicating and Warning Systems; Communications, Navigation, and Auto-pilot; Aircraft Fuels and Fuel Systems; and Aircraft Auxiliary Systems.
Program Methods

The Setting of the Program

The program is conducted at the EAL central facilities at the Addis Ababa airport. The school is run at the main maintenance facility of the company. When the classes are covering the practical work phase of their training, the students work, under supervision, on the aircraft of the company. The "exercise" type of practical work is kept to a minimum.

Instructional Methods--Nature of the Methods

The school is conducted mainly in the fashion of a regular vocational school of the formal variety. There is a combination of lecture, lab, and practice on-the-job training. There is some difference from the formal vocational school in that more on-the-job experience is given and it is more realistic. All instruction is conducted in English. Modern instructional aids such as overhead projectors, films, demonstration and other instructional devices are used.

Evaluation, Admission, and Certification

The EAL is very careful in the selection of the people it wishes to hire and train. They must be high school graduates, and academic graduates are preferred over vocational school graduates. They are now, however, considering vocational school graduates for the Avionics courses. The EAL also administers its own entrance/screening examination which consists of measuring English, mathematics, and mechanical aptitude. The last time there was an opening for 20 entrants, a total of 600 were tested for admission. The candidates are also given a complete medical examination before acceptance. (Most, incidentally, are found to be very healthy.)

As has already been stated, the standards of evaluation are international and coincide with the FAA exams from the U.S.
Rewards for Participation

At one time the school was a boarding school, providing the trainee both room and board as well as a wage during training. At present the school is being run as a day school with the EAL providing only a wage during training. At the end of training the graduate is assured of a job with the EAL. The pay scale is good, increases and promotions are regularized and the fringe benefits, including the usual airline travel privileges, are generous. The dropout rate is low, both during training and on the job.

Efficiency Considerations

The total cost of the maintenance school varies with the number that must be trained. The director of the school indicated that the cost varies from $300,000 to $500,000 per year.

The usual class consists of 20 students and at any one time, three classes will be in the process of training. The school accepts foreign trainees and last year graduated 15 non-Ethiopians, mostly for the East African Airlines. The foreign student pays a total of U.S. $2,600 a year.

Negotiations at one time were in process with the vocational school in Addis to conduct the training for the airlines. It is not certain who initiated the negotiations, but the idea was dropped when the airlines realized that in order to get the type of trainees it needed, it would have to contribute so much to the school in the way of equipment and services that they might as well do the training themselves.

One often hears the argument that the airlines spend too much money for training, and if the vocational schools could train for all such industries in the modern sector, it could do the job more economically. There are several factors to consider in analyzing this argument.

1. The dropout rate for the EAL school is practically zero.
2. The cost of the training is borne by the company, who passes it on to the customers of the airline. Therefore, the beneficiary of the training or the user of
the skills of the trained person is also the one who pays for it. If the vocational schools did the training, the general population would pay for the training while only a small fraction of the population would actually utilize the skills.

3. The EAL now enjoys much flexibility in adjusting all aspects of the training program to meet their needs.

4. The EAL would have to maintain facilities for in-service training even if another vocational school conducted the pre-service training. The savings in cost to the EAL would not be as great as it might appear at first consideration.

In summary, the EAL is meeting its manpower needs. Whether these needs could be filled by a public institution as well as or as economically is possibly not even a relevant question. The question is why should public funds, sorely needed for other programs, be diverted to train personnel for the EAL when they can meet their needs themselves. The significance here is the possible extension of this principle to the needs of other private and parastatal organizations.
CASE STUDY:
THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Introduction
The Imperial Ethiopian Institute of Public Administration (IPA) was established in 1956 as a joint undertaking of the Imperial Ethiopian Government and the Technical Assistance Program of the United Nations. The IPA is headed by an Ethiopian manager and a well-trained Ethiopian staff augmented, over the years since its establishment, by one or more United Nations experts in various fields of public administration. Initially directed and largely staffed by U.S. personnel, the Institute has now become almost wholly "Ethiopianized." The Institute operates as a staff agency to the Imperial Ethiopian Government for the purpose of assisting government officials to improve the organization and performance of the various ministries and agencies of government. The main functions and operations of the Institute are described in the following sections.

Courses, Seminars, and Lectures Given by the Institute of Public Administration
The number and variety of different in-service courses broadly in the field of public administration for largely middle and upper level officers of government are summarized in Tables 1 and 2. The course content and duration of training varies in accordance with the complexity of the subject matter and level of officers participating in the courses or seminars. Considerable effort is made to interweave principles with case material from actual problems and practices for the sole purpose of improving the standards and operational effectiveness of government operations. Most of the instruction is

The authors are indebted to Ato Hailu Gebre Selassie, Manager of the IPA, for information contained in this report.
## Table 1
COURSES IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION GIVEN AT THE IPA (1957-1962)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Number of Times Given</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Number of Hours (or Weeks) of Instruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to Public Administration</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>180-900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomacy Course for Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 weeks -- 2 hours per session</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training Officers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>41-76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supply Management</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5 weeks -- 1-1/2 hours per sess.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excise Officers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs Officers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>16-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Force Cadets</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>82-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiefs of Secretarial Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Accountants</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel Officers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiefs of Registry &amp; Archives</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Relations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel Officers' Seminar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced Management Seminar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>75-150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget Officers Seminar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2

INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION'S PARTICIPATION IN IN-SERVICE TRAINING PROGRAMS
CONDUCTED BY OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND TRAINING INSTITUTES
(1957-1962)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ministry of Agency</th>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Number of Times Given</th>
<th>Hours of Instruction</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Air Force Cadets &amp; Officers</td>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35-50</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality of Addis Ababa</td>
<td>Registry, filing, and archives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality of Addis Ababa</td>
<td>Clerical course</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality of Addis Ababa</td>
<td>Management</td>
<td>6 groups</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Finance</td>
<td>Registry and archives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One session seminars were also given to future Woreda governors, secondary school directors, commercial bank employees, and the Air Force.

Numerous public lectures were given to groups at the YWCA, School of Social Work, Commercial Bank, and other organizations.
given in the English language but a number of courses, particularly for clerks, are given in Amharic. Certificates are awarded in some of the courses. Ethiopian staff members and United Nations experts affiliated with the Institute provide the instruction.

**Consultation Activities (1956-1969)**

During the period of 1917-1969, the Institute of Public Administration provided consulting services to the Parliament, Council of Ministers, His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet, twenty-two ministries, twenty government agencies, and five Provinces. The consultation involved such activities as: (1) drafting or redrafting laws, (2) recommending rules of procedure, (3) analyzing parts of or whole governmental organizations and ministries, including the preparation of recommendations and organization structures and assignment of duties and responsibilities, and (4) review of office procedures, forms design, and office layout. All consulting work was done as a staff service upon request, without authority to require that recommended changes be made. Assistance was provided, however, to implement changes when requested.

The manager and staff of the IPA also participated in government-wide committees on Administrative Reform, Social Planning, Five Year Plans, and Local Self Government.

**Research and Publications (1957-1971)**

The Research and Documentation Branch of the Institute has carried out research of three broad types.

The first type of research was directed towards the preparation and publication of key information of direct and practical use to the public service. Thus the Institute's Index to the Negarit Gazeta which, for the first time, was to give Ministers and public servants quick and reliable access to all legislations affecting their official responsibilities, has been in great demand since it was published in 1959. Equally popular has been the Administrative Directory of the Imperial Ethiopian Government which was first
prepared in 1957 and has since gone through ten editions. Needless
to say, the Directory has proved a most valuable working document to
Ethiopian Government Officers and others. Another popular publica-
tion of the Institute is the recent manual "Organization of the
Imperial Ethiopian Government" which sets out the current laws con-
cerning each ministry, government agency, and public enterprise and
explains their functions and organization. Apart from its undoubted
value as an invaluable reference document to top government officials,
the manual will also be useful for teaching purposes.

The second type of research was aimed at the discovery and
presentation of factors significant for the improvement of standards
of performance in ministries and government agencies. Such has been
the idea behind the preparation of such documents as "Supply Manage-
ment," "Standard Travel Regulations," "Modern Personnel Administration,
" "Powers and Duties of the Administrative Services Branch of a
Ministry or Chartered Agency," etc.

Third, the Research Branch has, in cooperation with the
Training Branch, been engaged in the preparation of written material
for teaching and training purposes. These have been made available
to trainers attending the various courses organized from time to
time at the Institute.

Thus the research work of the Institute has concentrated on
fields which have a high practical priority and which are significant
for the development of the administration of public affairs in
Ethiopia.

Nevertheless, the activities of the Research and Documentation
Branch have by no means been confined to the above. Its other activi-
ties have included participation in the training programs of the
Institute, translation of useful documents into Amharic, and the
building of a library of 6,000 books and 27 periodicals in public
administration.

More specifically, the IPA has published 24 directories,
manuals on such subjects as accounting, record keeping, work simpli-
fication, etc., organization charts, and related subjects. Seventeen
reference documents have been produced on such subjects as the "Delegation of Legislative Powers in Ethiopia," "Public Relations in Ethiopian Administration," "Budget Preparation and Management," and related subjects. Fourteen syndicate reports have been prepared on such subjects as "Relations between the Civil Service and the Public," "The Problems of Delegation of Authority in the Public Services," "The Financing of Economic Development in Ethiopia," and related subjects. Training material series have been produced on such subjects as "Principles of Public Administration," "Organization and Methods," "Modern Personnel Administration," and "Public Finance."

NOTES

1. From "Research and Documentation Activities (1957-1971)," published by the IPA.
APPENDIX II

RELATED DOCUMENTS
A POSSIBLE PLAN FOR ORGANIZING, SUPERVISING, AND FUNDING AN
EXPERIMENTAL AWRAJA RURAL DEVELOPMENT SCHEME IN ETHIOPIA

Background Considerations/Assumptions

1. Tentative plans of the Government of Ethiopia to extend educational and developmental opportunities to the rural masses will require somewhat bold, original, and imaginative measures to accomplish the objective.

2. These measures will require organizational and other readjustments in the policies and operating procedures of the several central ministries concerned with education/development; in the allocation of financial, personnel, and other resources; and in the organization and administration of local government to carry out the programs.

3. The plan herein proposed for discussion and appraisal by authorities in Ethiopia is designed to facilitate the integration of formal school education and out-of-school "non-formal" education within the overriding context of economic development and personal development of children, youths, and adults. These objectives are perceived as mutually reinforcing.

4. Out-of-school or "non-formal" education is defined for the purpose of this paper as all out-of-school educational activities which are sponsored by governmental, parastatal or private organizations (missionary, church, and other private) to facilitate economic and/or personal development goals.

5. The plan is designed on the following fiscal and budgetary assumptions: (1) that governmental, parastatal, and private organizations are already spending known or calculable amounts of money on education and development with less good results than hoped for, deriving in part from uncoordinated policies at the ministerial policy level and at the local administrative level; (2) that these expenditures are woefully inadequate to achieve education of the rural masses; (3) that some increased allocation of resources will be required, but within reasonable limits, in accordance with presently available or anticipated resources; (4) that increased revenues will be derived from increased local taxation-based presumably on increased production and income and/or by other forms of local contributions, and (5) finally, that some of the experimental features of the plan will be attractive to outside funding agencies (World Bank, USAID, other bilateral sources and private organizations), particularly to finance any foreign exchange costs, special research costs, and for a limited number of expatriate advisors who may be associated with the plan.
6. Because the world experience in solving the problems to which these notes are addressed is so incomplete and fragmentary and because of the intrinsic complexity of the problems, it is recommended that the elements of a possible plan set forth in these notes be severely tested through discussion and scrapped or amended in accordance with reality testing. More importantly, that the whole problem and possible solutions be approached experimentally with the hopes of being right the first time but realizing realistically that modifications in plan and procedure will probably be necessary as experience with whatever plan is adopted, dictates. Furthermore, it is strongly recommended that whatever portion of this plan is tried be sustained for a minimum period of five years—with additional experimental areas being designated for the second five year period, or more as resources allow. In other words, what is proposed for review is to start soon—but with the expectation that it will probably take the rest of the century to extend the plan to the whole of the Empire.

7. The problems of organizing for more effective local administration cannot be separated from ministerial level policy formulation and coordination.

8. Although this proposed plan is not designed to respond to several specific references in the Third Five Year Plan, we believe the suggestions to be compatible with the specific or implied recommendations contained in the plan.

Experimental Awrajas

1. It is proposed for consideration that one awraja in each of the 14 provinces be selected under this plan as an experimental development area for a minimum period of five years. Additional experimental awrajas might be selected by private organizations, one by HSI University, and one by USAID (EDA).

Although we are aware of the tentative plans being laid for a larger number of awraja "development centers," we would recommend this smaller number because of the complexity of the program being recommended and the need for concentrating qualified personnel and other resources to find a successful administrative and program pattern which can later be expanded with greater assurance of success.

2. Insofar as practicable the 14 awrajas should be selected on the basis of being "representative" of the awrajas in their respective provinces and after representative leaders of the awrajas, having become acquainted with the plan, or any amendments made thereto, accept certain responsibilities for collaborating in the attainment of the objectives stated or implied in the plan.
3. The experimentation envisaged includes--but is not limited to--the following features:

a. Demonstration of more efficient administration of currently sponsored government programs of education and development and any new programs which will be fostered by the Central Ministries or developed by the citizens of the awrajas.

b. Experimentation with new programs of education and development including a labor intensive public works cum educational program focused on such programs as rural roads, water supply, erosion control, reforestation, etc.

c. Experimentation with establishing 14 all-purpose awraja Education, Training and Development Centers which will be designed to serve as centers for the administration of development/education programs and to serve as headquarters for all forms of community education and action groups. The centers should include such facilities as: (1) offices for awraja officials associated for the several programs of education/development; (2) meeting rooms for councils and committees; (3) a comprehensive high school or expanded elementary school with facilities available for youths and adults in a variety of activities including skill training, handicrafts, recreation, etc.; (4) central services shops for maintenance and repair of such motorized equipment as is needed for the program and for other new or improved hand tools and equipment; and (5) at some later date possibly headquarters for central services of awraja-based cooperatives such as agricultural supplies (seeds, fertilizers, etc.) storage facilities, food processing facilities, and related equipment.

d. Experimentation with alternative plans for integrating education for minimum formation, elementary and secondary education, and non-formal education into a homogeneous, rational and fundable program for nation-wide education. (See separate memoranda on this subject.)

4. Administration of the Experimental Awrajas

a. The Awraja Education, Training and Development Centers will be administered by an Awraja Development Officer.

b. The Awraja Development Officer will be selected on the basis of a nation-wide competition (for personnel native to each province) covering such qualifications as (1) demonstrated administrative ability--particularly in education and development fields (education, agriculture, forestry, etc.); (2) high qualities of imagination, leadership, and innovativeness; (3) capability to accept delegated responsibility for administration of the education/development program and also to solicit and identify staff help from central ministries concerned with education and development; (4) acceptable to the Awraja Governor.

The Awraja Development Officers will be paid at the level of assistant ministers.
c. The Awraja Development Officers will report to the Deputy Prime Minister for Integrated Rural Development.

d. The Awraja Development Officers will be directly assisted by two deputies—one for formal education and one for other aspects of rural development.

All regularly appointed awraja (and district) level officers for education, agriculture, health, etc., will be administratively responsible to the Awraja Development Officer and will constitute members of his staff. The Awraja Development Officer will have the power to request the transfer of any awraja level officer who is considered unable or unwilling to work as a member of the Awraja Development Officer's technical staff and team.

Students from the Ethiopian University Service will be assigned by the Awraja Development Officer in consultation with the University Head of the Service.

e. The Awraja Development Officer will organize and convene two councils: (1) an Awraja Development Advisory Council which will consist of five citizen members appointed by the Governor and ten elected by the people, and (2) a technical operating and coordinating committee made up of the head or senior awraja level officers for each of the program areas—education, agriculture, etc. The Governor will chair the first advisory group with the Awraja Development Officer acting as executive secretary; the Awraja Development Officer will chair the technical operating and coordinating committee.

f. The budget for each of the Education, Training and Development Centers will be the aggregate of all budget allocations now made to each of the 14 experimental awrajas by each of the Ministries and parastatal organizations plus an additional allotment of 25% of this aggregate amount which will be used for experimental purposes. Awarajas which are not included in the mini-package agricultural program at the time this proposed plan is established will be included as part of the implementation of this plan.

In addition the Awraja Development Advisory Council will be expected to raise the normal amount of taxes and other revenues plus 10% additional in either the form of cash, land, or contributed labor and services computed at standard rates of compensation.

One important criterion for selection of experimental awrajas will be a willingness (expressed in some appropriate form) on the part of the Governor and representative local leaders to accept this responsibility.

The budget for experimental awrajas may be augmented by funds from the World Bank, USAID, and other bilateral donor groups and from other sources. Any such funds will be pooled by the
Deputy Prime Minister for Integrated Rural Development and made available equally to each of the experimental awrajas or on the basis of some acceptable formula of equity based on objective criteria, such as population and other objective criteria.

5. Before assuming office the 14 Awraja Development Officers and the staff of the Deputy Prime Minister for Rural Development will engage in a six-months seminar-type training program which will include (1) visits to countries which have superior programs of comprehensive rural development; (2) study visits to Ethiopian experimental/demonstration organizations such as CADU, and (3) study of selected literature on rural development, literacy training, etc.

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister for Rural Development

1. The experimental awraja rural development plan will be coordinated and supervised by a specially created Office of the Deputy Prime Minister for Rural Development.

2. The principal responsibilities of this office will be to:
   a. Create an integrated plan for rural development in the 14 experimental awrajas.
   b. Establish criteria for and select the 14 experimental awrajas (or districts within the awrajas) after consultation with an advisory council on policy described below.
   c. Establish criteria for and select the 14 Awraja Development Officers after consultation with an advisory council on policy described below.
   d. Aggregate the budgets for and allocate funds from government and other sources to the 14 experimental awrajas in consultation with the Planning Commission and the advisory committee on policy.
   e. Secure from the several participating Ministries (Agriculture, Health, Education, etc.) standards, manuals, guidelines, program suggestions, and educational materials for fostering comprehensive and integrated rural development programs which are ordinarily developed by such ministries or which are requested by one or more Awraja Development Officers. In assembling and organizing these program materials and other program ideas, which will be converyed into specific programs, the Deputy Prime Minister will be advised by a Program Advisory Committee described below.

Thus the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister will be the principal communication and supervisory office for the program.
3. The Policy Advisory Council will consist of a senior administrative official from each of the principal Ministries involved in the program (Education, Agriculture, Health, Community Development, etc.) and a representative from the Planning Commission. Other Ministries, e.g., Imperial Highway Authority or Water Authority, may send representatives when certain programs for which they are responsible are under consideration.

The Deputy Prime Minister will chair this committee and one member of this staff will act as member-secretary. Meetings will be convened as needed—possibly more frequently at the initial stages than later. The Policy Advisory Council will, among other responsibilities, review and advise the Deputy Prime Minister for Rural Development on such matters as: (a) criteria for selection of the awrajas; (b) criteria for selection of Awraja Development Officers; (c) budgets for the Education, Training and Development Centers; (d) proposals for external funding from the World Bank, USAID, and other external organizations; (e) monthly (quarterly) and other reports prepared by the Awraja Development Officers; (f) methods for appraisal of progress; and (g) such other matters as the Deputy Prime Minister may wish to bring to their attention.

4. The program advisory council will consist of a program oriented representative from each of the principal Ministries involved in the program and the Planning Commission plus five or more experienced representatives from the principal private and parastatal agencies now engaged in rural development work such as CADU, YWCA, YMCA, Mekene Yesus, HSIU, SIDA, and Development Commission of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Special program panels may be constituted for such programs as agriculture, youth programs, women's programs, etc., as may be necessary or desirable.

Where desired, expatriate advisors may be attached to the program advisory committee.

Functions of the Participating Ministries and Parastatal Organizations

1. Participating ministries and parastatal organizations involved in the experimental plan will provide the following services to the Awraja Development Officers:

a. The staff for the program services which they would normally provide. Where possible, however, some attention could be given to the selection of such staff members who have an interest in and talent for experimental/team work operations.

b. Policy guidelines, model programs, demonstrations, manuals, standards and educational materials for the programs as now constituted and new guidelines, materials, etc., requested by the Awraja Development Officers.
The policies and programs of the National Nutrition Institute illustrate how central ministries or other central organizations can effectively relate to field organizations primarily responsible for the administration of development programs.

c. Supplies (books, seeds, fertilizers, etc.) which would normally be provided to the awrajas.

d. Technical supervision to the work normally provided but in a framework which recognizes the Awraja Development Officers as being administratively in charge of the program. Some of the ways in which the administrative authority of the Awraja Development Officers for the program could be recognized are: (1) prior clearance with the Awraja Development Officer on the timing and other arrangements for inspection/supervisory trips; (2) copies of reports to the Ministry officials made available to the Awraja Development Officer; (3) any required personnel ratings of field personnel will reflect and incorporate the appraisal of the Awraja Development Officer.

Although strict rules cannot be written for the conduct of staff (ministerial) and line officers (attached to the office of the Awraja Development Officers and the Education Training and Development Centers) all concerned will be urged to adhere to major allocations of responsibility and relationships sketched out above.

2. Parastatal organizations now primarily concerned with the training of skilled workers and managers in urban areas will be requested to provide personnel and services oriented to the needs and opportunities of the rural areas. Examples of such organizations are the Centre for Entrepreneurship (CEM), National Industrial Vocational Scheme and the Confederation of Labor Unions. An example of one such service was that provided by a staff member of CEM who designed a loom for use by the Community Development Training Center.

NOTES

1. Or districts within the experimental awrajas, depending on geographic, cultural or other variables within the awrajas. All other elements in this plan will apply whether a whole awraja or a district within each awraja is selected.

2. For regular awraja level administration the rules and regulations set forth in order No. 43 of 1966, "To establish Local Self-Administration," will apply.
The following is a description of a possible reorganized education system for the rural masses of Ethiopia. It is an exercise undertaken at the request of the Director of the Education Sector Review in April, 1972. It in no way represents a "solid" proposal. It is, however, based upon the perceived aspirations gleaned from various reports, speeches, pronouncements, and minutes of the Education Sector Review. It is also related to the generalizations drawn from the preliminary report of the first half of our review of non-formal education in Ethiopia and upon our experience elsewhere. It represents only one point of departure from which one might proceed toward a solid proposal.

Preamble of Considerations Regarding Education

It is first necessary to state a series of considerations, assumptions, and findings upon which the following "system" was formulated. Each of these requires a separate paper in itself but are very briefly treated in the following. In formulating this system, the following factors were taken into consideration:

1. The present system of formal education in Ethiopia is too expensive to extend to the rural masses. The present formal education system, or some modification thereof, will need to continue to produce the needed core group of highly educated leaders and less well trained personnel who can be "tapped off" for specific vestibule and in-service training programs for specific jobs, and to satisfy powerful social and political demands. Its expansion, however, should be limited.

2. Were it possible to extend the present system to the rural masses, it seems to be ill-suited to their immediate
needs. Whether it could meet the long-range needs is open to conjecture. This may mean that formal education in the rural areas has failed, but it more probably means that formal education in the rural area has been expected to perform tasks for which it is not well equipped. Care must likewise be taken that we do not call upon "non-formal" education to perform tasks it is ill suited to perform.

3. In any reorganized system of education in the rural areas, there must be visible and convenient points of "crossover" from any new system to the present conventional system. However, these crossover points must be carefully administered to ensure that the new system does not become, in actuality, or in the minds of the rural population, merely a program through which one gains entrance to the present formal system.

4. Most villagers in Ethiopia, as elsewhere in the developing world, place education for their children at a higher level of priority than any form of "adult education" for themselves, as they would interpret the terms, not recognizing that some forms of agriculture extension, mini-package agricultural programs, public health programs, etc., are in fact education programs for adults. If adult education programs, non-formal or otherwise, are free, they will probably accept them. However, if they are required to choose between a system of education for themselves or a system of education for their children, they will probably press for education for their children especially if they are asked to help support the program. Adult education for themselves will hold less interest and have a lower priority until education is also provided for their children. A case in point is the fate of the fundamental education program of the late 1950s. The Fundamental Education Program Activities in Ethiopia at the village level evolved rapidly into formal elementary schools serving only children. Another illustration is that almost all facilities built to house adult literacy programs under the Mekane Yesus program now also house elementary school programs and more than half of all adult literacy program enrollees are children. Therefore, any locally supported village level program that is to serve the needs of adults will likely be successful only if the educational needs of the youth of the community are also considered separately or as an integral part of the program.

5. A topic of discussion in the Sector Review has been the length of the program necessary to achieve "minimum formation." An important variable in this determination is the amount of skills, knowledge, and attitudes that are to
constitute "minimum formation." Independent of this variable is the age of the student. Up to a point, the older the student the shorter the length of time which will be required to achieve any given amount of minimum formation.

As an example, a program of minimum formation that might require five years if the child attends school from the ages of 6 to 11 might require only four years if the child is in school between the ages of 8 to 12; or only three years if the student is in school between the ages of 10 to 13, or only two if he is in school from ages 12 to 14. That an older student can learn more and faster has been well established in Ethiopia and elsewhere. The figures used above, however, are illustrative and are not based on research conducted in Ethiopia.

This is partially true because the older child has a broader experiential base upon which to build. The implication of the resource saving in achieving minimum formation, however it may be defined, is obvious.

6. A further argument for raising the age that a child enters school in the rural areas is that the closer in point of time that education can be given to its time of application, the more effective it is likely to be. Therefore one's age at the terminal point of one's schooling should be as close as possible to the age of entry into productive activities.

If a person is to receive only three years of "minimum formation" and his probable entry age into productive activities is 16, his period of "minimum formation" should begin at age 13. If this same period of minimum formation began at 6 years of age and ended at 9, he would theoretically have a wait of 7 years before he could make the fullest use of his education.

7. The present formal education system selects and routes those who are to continue on the basis of written examination. The primary requirement to pass these examinations is the possession of language facility, which at the higher levels is English. Therefore language aptitude plays the most crucial role in determining success or failure. However, there is practically no correlation between language aptitude and other forms of intelligence. The present system rejects as failures many who are limited primarily in their level of language aptitude. It is imperative that in any reorganized system of rural education language aptitude be eliminated as a primary criteria for success or failure, for continuing or being dropped from the system.
8. Many educational programs in the rural areas that have been geared to the needs of the community have failed—not because of a faulty assessment of the needs, but because they ignored what the parents want from the schools. To succeed, possibly some other instrument than the "school" is needed. In any event, both the "wants" and the "needs" of the community must be filled.

9. V. L. Griffiths, in a UNESCO publication, states:

   I hold the view, based on my own experience—and I have seen no evidence to the contrary—that in backward rural areas the schools cannot be made a main instrument of progress . . . only when economic development is already taking place can the schools be expected to play any part—and then only a subsidiary, though quite important, part.

Griffith's experience includes many years in Africa. His reservations refer to "schools" and not to education per se, and certainly not to all forms of non-formal education. The point should be well taken, however, that any form of education, formal or non-formal, in the rural areas—will have to make provision for, or be conducted concomitantly with rural development. Rural development and education related thereto can be mutually reinforcing. The whole may well add up to more than the sum of the two parts.

10. As educators and administrators we have the tendency to view the governmental structure and services to the rural regions as they appear from Addis or the provincial capitals. A more important point of perspective is the view the villagers have as they look at the governmental structure and services. Do they see separate agencies? They see a compartmentalization of services? Should we not consider these perceptions in our planning, and design programs the rural masses can comfortably relate to?

11. A number of hypotheses that have proven more or less true concerning rural development and education in other developing countries need to be considered in Ethiopia:

   a. Rural youth will readily enter agricultural pursuits (and farming) when agriculture that is practiced is relatively more modern than the traditional agriculture of their fathers.

   b. In order to keep population in the rural areas, rural life must be made attractive. Rural life must be perceived as being as good as or better than urban life or there is no incentive to remain in the rural areas. This perception includes more than mere employment. It
includes all those facilities and services which generally make up physical and social overhead capital (health services, roads, electrification, water supply, recreation facilities, security and other services).

c. Agriculturalization or ruralization of the curriculum does not seem to keep graduates in the rural areas. It may merely make them less well prepared to cope with urban life if and when they migrate to urban areas.

d. The elementary school cannot produce agriculturalists any more than it can produce carpenters, plumbers, or electricians. It can merely provide the opportunity to develop the skills of reading, writing, arithmetic, civics, and develop an appreciation of the nature of the rural environment and a positive attitude toward rural living and rural occupations. Specific agricultural content and skills are probably more suitable for inclusion in adult education programs, probably non-formal, that would follow a period of minimum formation.

Rural/agricultural development requires many inputs. The input of education is to provide the broadest possible human resource base for dealing initially with elementary problems of survival and step-by-step to solve more and more complex problems of rural production (broadly defined) and to enrich rural life and living. These objectives can be achieved by:

(a) Fostering adoption of more ambitious standards of production and improved living standards with sufficient realism to call forth new effort.

(b) Developing attitudes and habits such as inquiring minds, foresight, initiative, cooperativeness.

(c) Providing skills: reading, writing, arithmetic.

(d) Imparting knowledge and understanding of change, of elementary rural economics, of science as it affects agriculture, of hygiene and food.

The other inputs for agricultural/rural development are many and equally necessary:

(a) Land reform/improvement of owner-tenant relationships for reasons of motivation and equity.

(b) Agricultural supplies.

(c) Agricultural credit.

(d) Agricultural technology.
(e) Marketing and price incentives.
(f) Rural infrastructure: roads, water, etc.

No quantity or quality of education can make up for the lack of the other needed inputs. In fact, education probably will make their absence all the more critical. A balance of all the required inputs is essential. There are few if any non-formal educational programs unrelated to the above elements which can generate employment opportunities. In fact, probably no educational program, per se formal or non-formal, rural or urban, can in and of itself do anything other than: (1) prepare people for jobs that are already available or which are created by other programs for the development of the economy, and (2) to enrich life by access to a broader range of ideas. An unemployed leaver from a non-formal educational program is as unemployed as a leaver from a formal school. Any program of mass education for the rural areas must be linked with programs to generate employment opportunities in the rural areas or no amount of ruralization of the curriculum will keep the school leaver in the rural areas.

Outline of a Possible Rural Education System

As has been stated earlier, the system which follows has been formulated as an exercise—as an illustration of one point of departure. The chart shows both the present system and a proposed system with the possible points of cross-over.

Some of the main points will be presented. There are admittedly a large number of factors that have been incompletely considered or not considered at all. Indeed, several points are based on factors which vary widely in their complexity, magnitude, and importance.

Basic Characteristics

The proposed system is based on a three phase program. All three phases are terminal in nature. The first phase is called "minimum formation" to conform with terminology used in the sector review. Secondary formation requires prior attendance in a minimum formation program or basic literacy and numeracy. No prior attendance of any sort is required for participation in adult education programs.
STRUCTURE OF A POSSIBLE SYSTEM OF RURAL EDUCATION RELATED TO THE FORMAL SYSTEM OF ETHIOPIA

Present Formal System

1. Elementary
2. Specific Preparation for Formal Secondary Schools
3. Secondary Formation 2 to 3 Years
4. Adult Continuing Education Programs through Development Centers

Rural Education System

Minimum Formation 2 to 3 Years

Secondary Formation 3 to 4 Years

Specific Preparation for University

University
A basic requirement for support from the central government for any program would be that both a minimum formation education program and an adult education program, related initially to agricultural production, and some improvement in living standards, be conducted which would serve the needs of both youth and the adults.

It is recommended that where no school presently exists or where only a 1-3 grade school exists, that the "minimum formation" program be established by accepting the oldest students first who can still be considered to be "youth." If this is determined to be 16 years of age, then the 16 year old should be admitted first, then the 15 year olds, etc. After all youth in the village have been given "minimum formation," then a program of "secondary formation" can be instituted. In either case (that is, the availability of one or both programs), the students should enter at a high enough age so that when they finish they are about of an age to enter into "productive activities." Whatever age this might be is yet to be determined and in any event might not be the same throughout the Empire.

The content of the program of "minimum formation" could be roughly similar to the content of the program of Ministry of Education Literacy program. This includes literacy, numeracy, basic citizenship, health and information, which--according to the official syllabus--is covered in the first two years of elementary school. To this could be added content that will foster an appreciation and understanding of the rural milieu. It should not try to teach agriculture as such, but teach about agriculture.

The contents of the "secondary formation" block can be more specifically vocational/practical in nature. The academic subjects should be kept to a minimum. Maximum use will have to be made of the teaching services of personnel from development agencies, public health workers, agriculture extension agents and similar personnel. Educational radio might be utilized to augment the local teaching staff. As this program is terminal in nature, no English need be taught. The content should be flexible to allow for regional variation and to meet different desires and interests of the students and their parents.
The student should attend "secondary formation" only half-time. The other half could be coupled with some sort of public service works, either through a youth service organization or a government public works program. Where possible, the activities should be those that will produce employment opportunities in the future such as opening up new areas for land resettlement, irrigation projects, improving rural infrastructure, roads, wells, etc.

Education programs for adults should be flexibly structured. They should not be based on nor require the attainment of literacy skills. To assume that the vast majority of Ethiopian adults, some 12 million people, will or must be made literate to participate in adult education is not only unrealistic, it is dysfunctional and unjust. Where possible, literacy training should be a component but not a pre-condition or a requirement for continuance. The content of the adult education should grow out of the villagers daily life and needs.

Cross-Over Points

There are two points at which a person could leave the proposed system and three at which he can enter the present formal system. The first cross-over is direct in that the contents of the minimum formation should be such as to allow a student to transfer directly from that program into the fourth year of the present formal system. The number of students allowed to do so should be carefully controlled. This will prevent minimum formation from becoming just another grade 1-3 elementary school. This could be done by controlling access to grade 4 by an examination (other than an out-and-out lottery, an examination is at present probably the most equitable solution to the selection problem). This would be the only point in the new system where an examination based on the content of the program itself would control access to the next higher level of education. The number allowed from each school to continue in the formal system would be developed on a quota basis. The examination would be drawn up in each individual school. The students obtaining the top scores
would be allowed to continue. The contents of the examination should reflect the contents of minimum formation education as the basis for the test of ability to learn more complex material and "concepts" and not the contents of the next higher grade in school. The actual number allowed to continue would have to be determined by a consideration of facilities and funds available as well as the needs of society at large.

The student who has finished minimum formation could also enter grades 7 or 9 in the regular program after attending a special preparatory program. The purpose of this two or three year preparatory program would be to specifically prepare a student to enter these grades. Entrance to the preparatory program would also have to be carefully controlled by a quota system.

The preparatory program would consist primarily of concentrated language training plus the academic subjects needed to provide a base for secondary school. It would be expected that these students would be older, have more experience and hence would be better able to develop the basic skills necessary to enter the seventh grade in less time than the three years required for grades 4, 5, and 6 or less than the five years (4-8) required to enter grade 9. It would be anticipated that the preparation to enter grade 7 would require no more than two additional years after minimum formation and to enter grade 9, no more than three additional years after minimum formation.

Another entry point is provided after "secondary formation." This specific preparatory period would provide the training necessary to enter the University. Again, the most essential element is English. Entry into the preparatory program should be carefully controlled as to number. A non-verbal multicultural test for scholastic aptitude might prove useful. Such an exam would, of course, have to be developed and perfected specifically for in Ethiopia.

Of the possible operating philosophies that could be adopted for the preparatory programs discussed above, two are:

1. Let those who succeed in the preparatory program continue into the conventional formal school system, and
2. Prepare those admitted to the preparatory program to enter the formal school system.

There is an important difference between these two philosophies. In the first, the responsibility is on the student to succeed if he wants to continue. The program serves as a selection device by allowing the student to prove himself. In the second, the student has already been selected to continue. It is then the responsibility of the program to prepare the student to continue.

The first philosophy assumes that many will not succeed; therefore, if 20 students are to continue into the formal system, 40 or so might be admitted to the preparatory program. With the second, as many students are admitted to the preparatory program as are wanted or needed to continue. If the original selection procedure is adequate, few will fail. In any event, it might be considered that it was the teacher who failed and not the student.

Educational programs that are relieved of the selection and sorting function and the "tyranny" of the leaving examination, have far greater opportunities to be flexible; to try to meet the needs of the students instead of the needs of the "exam"; to plan for each separate program instead of the admission requirements of the next higher program in the system.

The two preparatory programs proposed would probably be best conducted in Worada headquarter villages.

**Administration**

The unit of administration of minimum formation programs should be as localized as possible, preferably at the sub-Worada level. Within this unit, each community could be responsible for its own "Formation and Adult Education" programs. There could be a community committee, which could be based on groups (ider, ekub, igai, E.O.C.) that could coordinate and control all education activities in its area, whether it be minimum formation, secondary formation or adult education, or whatever type of non-formal education is present (mini-package, agricultural extension, malaria eradication, public
health, literacy, animal health, cooperatives, etc.). It is crucial that such committees be formed and operate effectively. It is also crucial that once they begin to operate they can obtain the services of the various governmental agencies. This concept of non-formal/adult education is not based upon the capabilities of the delivery system of various ministries and agencies to reach the rural masses. These "service" organizations need only reach the representatives of the masses, be they a community committee, development center committee, church or similar community based group. The first requirement, then, is to establish the delivery mechanism in the rural area in the form of a community committee, or whatever it might be called, that is capable of providing an organizational base through which non-formal education can be administered. (An elementary example in present use is the community committees of Mekane Yesus.)

One of the greatest difficulties to be encountered in reaching the rural masses with some form of education may be in just the simple task of physically reaching them. There are few roads in the upland plateau regions. Many of the roads in the other areas are dry season roads only. It is therefore important to re-emphasize the school/work aspect of the proposed "secondary formation" program. One of the major contributions will be to make the areas accessible to the outside. After this has been done, work can start on other public works schemes such as water supply and irrigation facilities.

The program is being proposed as a pilot, experimental program. Even if it were to be instituted on a full-scale basis after adequate trial it should be considered that the program be spread using the "oil spot" technique. That is, programs would be started in selected centers and spread from the central points to the surrounding areas. This would give the community workers time to organize the villages and set up their "committees" or "councils" or whatever to administer the program at other local levels.
Teachers and Instructional Materials

These two topics are treated together because they are closely related. The less education and training the teachers have, the more important it is that the materials they use to teach will be clear, detailed, and organized in such a way to make up for the lack of the training and/or education. If the teaching materials for the minimum formation program is sufficient, it should be possible to utilize teachers who have a minimum of six years of school plus six months to one year of teacher training coupled with continuous in-service training. At this level of teacher preparation, the salary should be low enough for the community to meet all or part of the salary of the teacher. This principle is being tried by the Mekane Yesus Church in one of its development areas and seems to be successful.

Coupled with well-structured materials should be the fullest possible use of the mass media, particularly educational radio. There has been some considerable experience in the country with radio enriched instruction. There has also been some experience with radio forums for adults, specifically a program operated in cooperation with the Ethiopian Nutrition Institute and the Ministry of National Community Development. It is possible that one of the greatest contributions of educational radio can be in the area of in-service training for the teacher and help in day-to-day organization and planning. It is not practical to consider educational television except in the urban areas.

Too much reliance, however, should not be placed on educational radio. It can enrich and create interest--it cannot take the place of teachers and other instructional materials. It is most effective when used in conjunction with other media. It can, in particular, enhance the effectiveness of development workers working with illiterate groups through the use of "radio forums."

Summary

Some of the essential features of the proposed rural education system are:
1. The system is to be composed of three blocks, each one of which is terminal in nature.

2. The first block, minimum formation, is—as the name implies—the minimum amount of education that each individual should receive.

3. Secondary formation should be a program that is instituted after all in an area have had minimum formation.

4. Education for adults should be present in all programs. They are thought of as minimally structured programs which take place in "development centers" where adults can take advantage of certain "educative" non-formal opportunities related to their basic problems of survival and improvement of health and living standards.

5. Local participation is seen as necessary in financing, program formulation, and administration. The local community should bear some of the expense of teacher salaries as well as to contribute to the construction of school facilities.

6. The central government will have to help the local community by contributing certain physical and program resources. A certain degree of standardization in construction of school buildings and program offerings can therefore be expected.

7. Part of the educational program should be run in conjunction with rural development projects such as road construction, water resource improvement, irrigation, etc.

8. The bridge programs to the formal system must be carefully controlled and regulated. They should not serve the function of selecting who should go on to the next higher program but should prepare those who have already been selected so they can succeed in the program they have been selected to enter.

May 9, 1972

NOTES


2. Ibid., p. 22.
TO: Dr. Abebe Ambatchew
    Director, Education Sector Review
    Dr. Solomon Inquai, Chairman
    Task Force 14 on "Out-of-School Education"

FROM: Richard O. Niehoff, Michigan State University
      Bernard Wilder, Michigan State University

DATE: April 10, 1972

SUBJECT: Interim Report on Non-Formal Education in Ethiopia
INTRODUCTION

During the past three weeks we have spent our time on the following major activities:

- In visiting several major organizations in Addis Ababa--and on a five-day field trip--which conduct out-of-school (non-formal) educational programs directly or indirectly related to the achievement of developmental objectives.

- In studying papers prepared for the education sector review--Dr. Abebe's memorandum on "Themes for Consideration by Task Force"; a paper by H. E. Ato Million Neqniq on "Merging Formal and Non-formal Education"; Dr. Jacque Nawa's outline of the report on "out-of-school education" and other such reports.

- In reflecting on possible comments and recommendations which, hopefully, might be of some value to you in dealing with some of the major and complex issues which are involved in focusing increased national effort on solving major development problems through the work of organizations which utilize educational methods but which are outside of the formal school system.

We have been very favorably impressed with the quality of thinking in many of these reports and papers, and especially with the vigor and farsightedness of statements and concepts supporting the potential contribution which out-of-school education could make to the achievement of development goals and to a vast increase in the number of citizens who should be involved in the educational/development process. The consequences of organizational and administrative actions which we understand are under consideration by the inter-ministerial committee, working within the context of the sector review, to give support to the far reaching concepts and role which is envisioned for out-of-school educational programs, are indeed daring but appear to be based on candid and realistic appraisals of current and past deficiencies in the formal educational system. In light of the imaginative approach to increased uses of a support
for out-of-school educational programs related to the development process, we are the more humble in reporting on our research to date and on our reflections on the meaning of the data and observations made for the work of task force 14 and other task forces involved in the sector review.

More specifically, the purposes for submitting this interim report at this time are as follows:

1. To inform you of our activities and observations to date for whatever value they may be.

2. To secure your guidance for activities in which we may be engaged for the remaining period of our stay in Ethiopia and for the preparation of our final report when we return to the MSU campus.

3. To secure your reactions to some of our tentative observations, generalizations and recommendations which are necessary expressed, under the time constraints, in something less than polished language.
SECTION II

ORGANIZATIONS VISITED, OR PROPOSED TO BE VISITED, WHICH ARE OUTSIDE THE FORMAL SCHOOL SYSTEM AND WHICH CHARACTERISTICALLY USE VARIED NON-FORMAL EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES TO ACHIEVE DEVELOPMENTAL OR DEVELOPMENT RELATED PURPOSES (*visited; **proposed to be visited)

A. Organizations which provide economic development infrastructure
   1. Ethiopian Air Lines *
   2. Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority *
   3. Telecommunication *
   4. Centre for Entrepreneurship-Management (CEM) *
   5. Imperial Highway Authority **

B. Organizations which produce goods and services
   (or which assist such organizations to produce goods and services)
   1. Wonji Sugar Mill *
   2. National Industrial Vocational Training Scheme *
   3. Ethiopian Metal Tools Co. **
   4. Bahar Dar textile mill **

C. Organizations which train workers to carry out development services
   1. Malaria Eradication Service Training Center *
   2. Community Development Training Center (Awassa) *
   3. WADU *
   4. CADU *
   5. Animal Health Training Center (Debre Zeit) *
   6. Nutrition Institute *
   7. Institute of Public Administration *
   8. Agriculture Agent Training Center (Baku) **
   9. Health and Dresser Training Schools (Gondar) **
   10. Agriculture Extension Training (Baku) **
   11. Ethiopian Orthodox Church—Priests Training School *

D. Organizations which train skilled workers (Vocational Training)
   (with or without assurances of jobs)
   1. Philadelphia Trades Training (Awassa) *
   2. YMCA Trades Training *
   3. YMCA *
      - Secretarial School *
      - Dressmaking School **
      - Nursery Aids Course **
   4. Wanda Guenet (Carpentry Training) * - (Shashamine)
   5. CADU **
6. Agri-Service Ethiopia (correspondence)--(Sodo) *
7. Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions *
8. Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association *(midwife training)*
9. Mekane Jesus--Vocational School (Baku) **

E. Organizations involved in Literacy Training
1. National Literacy Campaign Organizations *
2. Ministry of Education Department of Adult Education and Literacy *
3. Work Oriented Adult Literacy project (UNESCO) *
4. YMCA *
5. Ethiopian Orthodox Church *
6. Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association *
7. Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions *(CELU)*
8. Community Development
9. Mekane Yesus *
10. Military Establishment **

F. Organizations engaged in general adult education and cultural enrichment
1. YMCA *
2. YWCA *
3. Radio Voice of the Gospel *
4. Ethiopia Broadcasting + T.V.
5. United States Information Services **
6. German Cultural Society **
7. British Council and other National Information and Library Services **
8. Mass Media Center **
9. Haile Selassie I University (Extension Division) **

G. Other Organizations with development interests
1. Ethiopian Orthodox Church--His Holiness Abuna Samuel *
2. Ethiopian Orthodox Church--Development Commission **
3. Institute of Agriculture Research **
4. Haile Selassie I University--Ethiopian University Service (Dean Seyoum) *
5. United Nations Development Program *
6. World Bank *
7. SIDA (Swedish Development Organization) **
8. USAID **
9. Planning Commission Staff *

H. Agricultural and Rural Development Organizations providing direct training to farmers/farm supplies
1. Mini Package Agriculture program
2. Wondo Genet--Farm family training school (Shashamine) *
3. Farm family training school--(Bako) **
4. WADU *
5. CADU **
6. Community Development Centers (Village Level Workers) **
SECTION III

TENTATIVE GENERALIZATIONS DERIVING PRIMARILY FROM OBSERVATIONS NOTED IN SECTION II

Availability of Indigenous Models of Effective Non-Formal Educational Programs

The primary generalization deriving from observations made thus far is the conviction that Ethiopia has in the programs of the several private, parastatal, and government organizations the principal elements of policy, standards, and methods of non-formal education which could serve to guide the more massive programs of non-formal education which are contemplated. In other words, we have a clear impression that there are elements of indigenous "models" or "prototypes" which if understood and more widely utilized could provide guidance for formulating policy, organization plans, and administrative measures for more extensive application. They offer the benefits of having been tested on a "mini-scale" in the Ethiopian environments which, over time, has permitted modifications to be made in the programs to assure more effective results. Several tentative illustrations of such elements are offered for consideration, with no importance attached to the order:

The Malaria Eradication Service—
for its clear definition and programming of goals; its systematic approach to informing and motivating citizens to participate in the program; and for careful in-service training and retraining of employees of the service to carry out the work.

Ethiopian Nutrition Institute—
for its formulation of clear and selective goals based on scientific, biochemical, sociological, and anthropological studies of human behavior as related to nutrition; for its sophisticated strategy and method of achieving its program goals through existing agencies; for its experimental approach and evaluation techniques to ascertain objective results of different program methods and for its production and distribution of educational material for different levels.
YMCA--
for its creation of a friendly "community center" setting where many varied activities for all age groups are fitted together in an environment of recreation and education operated largely by volunteers under the guidance of a very small paid staff.

YWCA--
for its careful selection of a limited number of well analyzed instructional goals (e.g., secretarial training and dressmaking) which are aimed at high quality standards and for a wide variety of other programs of interest to girls and women.

WADU--
for its well organized and single-mindedly administered program of agriculture improvement which applies relevant scientific findings from elsewhere after adequate local trials.

CADU--
for its careful background research and formulation of program goals; for its utilization of relevant research findings of Ethiopian and other institutions to mount a comprehensive experimental, and coordinated attack, in limited areas, on the most important factors preventing rural development; for its careful and candid documentation of results and continuous research including cost benefits-studies.

Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association--
for its sustained experiments and demonstrations in work with women involving literacy, training for midwives, handicrafts, health, and other activities which could supply illustrations of effective ways to motivate women to participate in activities designed for personal growth satisfactions as well as for economic benefits.

Philadelphia Trades Training--
for a practical demonstration of effective trades training which maximizes students' motivation, self direction, and ingenuity. Careful study of the non-formal teaching methods should offer helpful suggestions for other trades training centers as well as for vocational education in comprehensive high schools.

Wondo Genet--
training center for farm families for its comprehensive approach to the educational immersion of the whole family with appropriate practical experiences, under guidance, which maximizes practical skills development and minimizes unrelated "academic exercises."
Mekane Yesus—

for its organizational capacity to focus upon and coordi-
nate, on a sustained basis, a wide variety of mass media
activities, development demonstrations, such as the Phila-
delphia trade training project, and the currently being
developed comprehensive area development package approach.

If these and other illustrations of effective non-formal educational
programs are valid, perhaps representatives of the organizations could
be brought together from time to time in working seminars focused on
case-study analyses of the experiences of these organizations as a
whole or on topics which are common to their operations such as how
best to motivate learners in a non-formal setting, production of
educational materials, evaluation methods, and related topics. Or,
should the work of "Task Force 14" be continued beyond the completion
of the sector review, or some other organization replace it, repre-
sentatives of these and other organizations could constitute a
continuing advisory committee to the Ministry of Education or to an
inter-ministerial committee which has responsibility to prepare plans
for expanded out-of-school programs.

Observations on Programs of Training for Literacy

Literacy programs are being considered separately because of
the fundamental nature of the skill. Any program of "minimum formation"
will have at its core some means of the propagation of literacy skills.
It should be pointed out, however, that much development work can
be accomplished with an illiterate group. Although the work of
CADU, WADU, Mini-Package, and Community Development is made easier
when literacy skills are present, the absence of these skills does
not prevent the programs from functioning. The absence of literacy
skills, however, does put a ceiling on the level of development.
This level, however, is far from being reached in rural Ethiopia.
The decision to proceed with literacy programs must be made in light
of the possible benefits of alternate development investments.

Thus far, eleven organizations have been visited that are
offering literacy training to adults. There seems to be four basic
sets of materials in use: that of Yenissrach Dimts, the National Literacy Campaign Organization, the UNESCO Work Oriented Adult Literacy Project, and of the Adult Education and Literacy Directorate of the Ministry of Education.

It can easily be established that there is great variability between these programs and the utilization of the four basic sets of materials in terms of:

1. The cost of producing a literate adult.
2. The length of time required to reach the accepted level of competence in Amharic necessary to be considered literate in Ethiopia.
3. The drop-out rates.
4. The cost of producing materials.
5. The follow-up materials available.
6. The amount of auxiliary services required to conduct the program.
7. The competence required of the teacher.

A comparative analysis of these programs, in terms of the above variables, could be extremely fruitful.

A number of other observations and questions can be made at this, the mid-point of our study:

1. There exist considerable materials in Amharic that can be used or which could easily be adapted for use as follow-up materials for literacy programs:
   
   (a) Yemissrach Dimts has 30 titles that are secular in nature.
   
   (b) Agri-Service Ethiopia has a series, which it is expanding, dealing with agriculture and home economics.
   
   (c) A series of readers was printed on conjunction with the Fundamental Education Program in the late '50s, some of which deal with health, agriculture, etc.
   
   (d) Basic readers from other countries could very quickly be translated and adopted for the Amharic language.

This does not mean to minimize the need for more materials in Amharic. It does indicate that no new literate should lapse into illiteracy because follow-up materials have not been written.
2. There seem to be three levels of objectives in the various literacy programs:

(a) The objective of basic literacy; reading and writing as seems to be the objective of the National Literacy Campaign Organization in the past, YMCA, EWWA, and other organizations.

(b) The objective of "Minimum Formation" reading and writing plus arithmetic, civics, and some general information.

(c) The objective of agricultural, industrial, or home economics training; reading, writing, arithmetic plus substantive content in one of the three subject areas--agriculture/industry/home economics. In light of the desire to move toward a system of mass non-formal education and the basic nature of the skills of literacy, the above three objectives, their materials and procedures, should be evaluated to determine the optimum balance between costs, sequence of introduction of substantive content, time required to achieve results in terms of both literacy skills and content, and costs in terms of physical and human resources.

3. At least four basic organizational patterns are utilized:

(a) Uncoordinated programs--examples are those programs sponsored by voluntary organizations such as the EWWA, YMCA, etc.

(b) Central organization--The pattern of WOALP where everything is provided by a central office. A local representative hires, trains, and pays teachers and provides all materials. All coordination is provided by a central office which meets all expenses.

(c) Provincial organization--The Ministry of Education program operates through a provincial Literacy Officer who administers the programs in his province. The central staff is small and serves only a facilitating and promotion function.

(d) Community organization--The Yemissrach Dimts places the responsibility on the local community to establish a 'Literacy Committee' which provides facilities, hires and pays the literacy teachers, and otherwise administers the program. The central office pays a flat sum per year per center and provides professional supervision.

Short of massive expenditures by the central government, the latter model has the greatest ultimate potential for meeting the objective of mass education.
4. The two most widely used methods of teaching Amharic to adults in Ethiopia are the "Global" approach and a modified "Laubsch" method. The "work oriented" content can be incorporated with both methods. It does not seem that the present experimental literacy program will establish which of the two basic methods is most effective and most efficient both for Amharic and non-Amharic speakers. This becomes a crucial question for the future of the literacy effort in Ethiopia. It is therefore suggested that a controlled experiment be conducted to compare the two basic methods. This would best be done by enlisting the aid of outside researchers, HST University, or both in cooperation.

**Meeting Manpower Requirements**

Non-formal pre-service (vestibule) and in-service training programs are used effectively by parastatal and private organizations which supply economic infrastructure services, e.g., Telecommunications, or which are engaged directly in production activities, to meet their most urgent manpower needs. Furthermore, other organizations such as the Centre for Entrepreneurship and Management (CEM), the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions, and the National Industrial Vocational Training Scheme are designed to provide services to improve the performance of these organizations. These programs tend to have the following characteristics:

1. The educational/training goals are well defined and specific.
2. The training programs are equally specific, combining theory with practical applications with emphasis on the latter.
3. The vestibule training programs are relatively long--up to two years in length.
4. The training staffs are professional and often involve foreign personnel.
5. The attainment of formal levels of schooling combined with other criteria (aptitude tests, interview evaluations, etc.) are required for admission to the vestibule training programs. More often than not the level of attainment in formal schooling, rather than the specific curriculum followed, is considered the critical element in selection.
6. The costs of conducting the training programs are very high (compared with other non-formal educational programs) but are borne by the employers as a regular business expense. These costs are ultimately reflected in the cost of goods or services to the consumer.

7. The teaching materials and methods of training are basically universal—with little need for indigenous material except for adaptations.

8. Promotion-from-within policies combined with additional opportunities for in-service training, regularized increments in salary and other fringe benefits add up to relatively little personnel turnover, and strong motivation for participation in the educational programs.

It appears that the major organizations using training methods described above are currently well staffed—thus closing out opportunities for others coming along, unless present programs are expanded or new programs developed.

The successful patterns described above for meeting calculable manpower needs for economic development organizations have some relevance for creating skilled manpower for other organizations with broader and possibly less specific development objectives, but these organizations are usually not willing or able to pay the high costs or utilize other characteristics of these programs.

For all practical purposes it is our view that Task Force 14 can assume: (1) that the parastatal and private business organizations have effective methods of supplementing formal schooling with non-formal methods for meeting their manpower needs, and (2) that, except where otherwise indicated, the methods have relatively little relevance for massive programs of out-of-school education for youths and adults.

**Implications for Mass Out-of-School Education**

An evaluation of: (1) the numbers of persons enrolled in the programs of the organizations noted in Section II, (2) the locations of the activities—essentially along major roads—or (3) the "delivery systems" for conveying non-formal educational programs (including literacy and accelerated agriculture programs) reveals that the whole composite does not add up to a massive program for reaching the large
numbers of Ethiopian citizens living in rural areas. Some new program ingredients will need to be devised which combine massive public works and experimental development projects infused with non-formal educational experiences. Some "first draft" ideas on this subject are expressed in our reactions to the "themes" document in the next section.

SECTION IV

A NOTE ON "THEMES FOR CONSIDERATION BY TASK FORCES"

Introduction

This note is addressed to the large number of references in the "themes" document to the importance of meeting the "needs and wants of a largely rural and agricultural society"; "the need for a radical change which would make the educational system respond to the needs of the rural majority whose educational needs have not been sufficiently recognized," and similar expressions. "Non-formal education" is viewed as a device or method "potentially able to fill the present educational gap."

Interspersed in the document are, understandably, references to normally used educational terminology such as "life-long education," "educational offering and programs"; "pupils"; "transfers in and out of school," and other similar expressions.

Reference is also made to the need for coordination and integration of the programs of the Ministries of Education, Interior, Agriculture, Community Development and Social Welfare, etc.

We believe that there is need for a philosophical and strategical position paper which might serve as an appendix to or companion document to the "Themes" document specifically addressed to an approach to the education of the rural masses. Some of the major points in such a paper are briefly outlined in the following. They are necessarily "first draft" in expression but susceptible of considerable refinement if the ideas expressed are considered useful.
Philosophical and Strategical Framework for Designing and Implementing a Program of Education for the Rural Masses

1. The basic philosophical foundation which undergirds a program of education of the rural masses is the belief that simple villagers or rural men and women are basically intelligent human beings who are struggling to survive. Illiteracy is not synonymous with lack of intelligence. It is difficult to operate within the limitations of illiteracy but developmentally oriented educational activities do not need to be postponed until all adults are literate.

2. A second consideration is that intrinsic in what the farmer and his wife do and the problems they attempt to solve is their "curriculum" of learning. The fields, crops, animals, and domestic environments are their "classrooms." Their experiences in dealing with survival problems are the substance of their "education."

3. The problems of survival with which the farm family are struggling are immensely complicated and difficult of solution--let no "city man" believe otherwise. An informative book on the complexity of agriculture is the Max Milliken book published by Little, Brown and Company under the title of No Easy Harvest. This book, and possibly others like it, might be considered as "required reading" for educators who wish to become informed on the subject as a background for understanding the problems of rural development.

4. The problems of agriculture and rural life are not only difficult of solution but they constitute an intellectually complex and rich potential "curriculum" of learning. Thus there is nothing intellectually "low brow" or simple about agriculture, and "life-long learning" is a built-in essential for achieving higher and higher yields, better land utilization, better crop rotation, more predictable and profitable marketing arrangements and better child care and home management. In intellectual terms, the fields of biology, crops, animal husbandry, agricultural economics, home economics, hydrology and water management and control are involved--to say nothing of understanding government or other related fields which impinge on rural life.

5. The key starting point in the education of rural people is for them to experience the fruits of adopting a new practice which increases crop production, improves nutrition or which lessens the burden of their work. They thus have a first lesson in "scientific agriculture" and are on their way to an endless possible series of "lessons" which will constitute "life-long learning." The "lessons" must necessarily, at first, be very simple and subject to verification and validation by the farmer himself and/or his wife. But these lessons can, with the farmer's full participation, become increasingly complex and continuous as the learning process continues. The central idea here is that
education is a continuous learning process which cannot be symbolized by certificates, grades, and other educational paraphernalia. Increased production and other improvements in the rural community are their own rewards.

In this connection it is heartening to be informed of the readiness of Ethiopian farmers to adopt new practices as evidenced by the response to the mini-package programs and to the wider range of adoptions involved, for example, in the CADU project. These programs establish beyond a shadow of a doubt that Ethiopian farmers and the wives are "educable" and ready for the "life-long learning" process which is referred to above.

6. Experience elsewhere shows (which is already in evidence or will predictably be true in Ethiopia) that once a farmer experiences the good effect of "modernization" in agriculture he will not only develop an "appetite" for more advanced practices in agriculture but that he will also think of ways in which other aspects of his life may be improved and modernized—including the "environment" of his wife, his children, and the community. Furthermore, the increased production which is an expected concomitant of the "modernizing process" provides a stronger economic base for other improvements.

7. The "self help" concept is frequently referred to in connection with improvement of rural life. This concept is sound if coupled with the idea (as it is in the Ministry of Community Development) that the government also bears some responsibility to help by supplementing the resources derived from "self help" activities. This formula could be very helpful if, for example, the government under a massive public works program would adopt a policy of providing a water supply for domestic consumption, and where hydrology supports, for irrigated crops, at specified intervals of space. Such a program would probably do more to relieve human drudgery and increase production than possibly any other program which might be conceived. Furthermore, the rural masses are entitled to a fair share of the increased national resources which their toil and intelligence have largely created. There has frequently been a disproportionate allocation of resources to the cities as compared with rural areas.

8. Reference is made in the section on "financing education" to the "brutal" fact that the financial resources available are relatively known and do not allow much latitude. Although the import of the statement is clear, it carries a connotation of a fixed and rigid quantum of funds—unrelated to potential increases in available funds deriving from increased agricultural production and better use of natural resources. On a small scale, the immediate effects of the "package programs" appears to be increasing the resources of the participants, although not yet reflected in lowered importation of food grains or increased tax
revenues to the government for further financing of developmental activities through non-formal educational activities. This is not to argue for deficit financing of non-formal education but merely to make the point that increased support of non-formal educational activity in the rural areas should be expected over reasonable periods of time, e.g. 3-5 years, to increase available sources of support. As these resources are increased, they should be "earmarked" for further investment in the rural sector. Although there should be some short-term "indicators" of increased productivity, the long-term framework for development of a viable rural development/education program should be thought of in terms of coming within the century.

9. In order to exploit the experience, particularly in developing countries which have devised and administered successful rural development programs, fostered in part through non-formal educational methods, we recommend the appointment of an interministerial task force to study such programs in light of Ethiopian conditions and to prepare a plan for further experimental application in Ethiopia of the best features of the several schemes examined.

Some elements in the frame of reference for the work of the task force which should be considered follow:

a. The members of the task force should be persons who are interested in rural development and capable of devising a strategy for experimental developments in Ethiopia for the next 5-10 years. At least one person should be from the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, Community Development and Interior. If possible, members of the groups should have had some experience with organizations such as CADU (Comilla-type program), WADU, missionary projects concerned with rural development efforts and similar backgrounds of experience. The task force could well make use of the services of a bright and able researcher to provide secretarial-type services for the task force.

b. Advice should be sought from scholars, planners, and representatives of organizations such as FAO and the World Bank, who have some knowledge of successful programs in other developing countries, as to which country programs should be intensively studied. As a starter, consideration should be given to programs in Bangladesh (Comilla), Mexico, People's Republic of China, Tanzania, Taiwan, and Korea. Some aspects of programs in Israel, Iran, and Egypt might also be studied as well as relevant experience in developed countries such as the Danish folk schools, cooperatives in the Scandinavian countries and the experience of the Civilian Conservation Corps of the United States which combined educational and developmental objectives.

c. The task force should visit the 3-4 countries which are noted above. The visits should be for a long enough period to understand the programs being observed.
d. A small panel of consultants should be convened of the most knowledgeable persons associated with the most successful programs in developing countries. An example of such a person would be Akhter Hameed Khan, formerly director of the Comilla project now in Bangladesh.

e. The above panel of consultants should be brought to Ethiopia for an inspection of local conditions at a time when the task force is in process of formulating their strategy and program document to guide Ethiopian developments for the next 10-15 years.

f. The panel of consultants would be asked to review the final draft of the strategy document and to offer their comments thereon.

g. The report of the task force should be prepared by January 1, 1973.

10. Elements in a possible scheme to implement the goal set forth in section B--"To realize the aspiration of education for all, at least some form of education which takes into account the vast rural majority . . ."

A. Background Considerations

(1) As pointed out earlier in this interim report—if all participants in present out-of-school educational/developmental programs are aggregated (including the mini-package agricultural programs, literacy programs, and all others) it is clear that the goal of reaching the "vast rural majority" is far from being realized.

(2) The variety of projected programs which are at various stages of maturity will probably not materially change the above generalizations in the immediate future. The programs, which have come to our attention and which are all doubtless deserving of support if properly coordinated, follow:

a. Awraja "development centers"—possibly 27 in number.

b. Mekane Yesus development centers—3-5 now in process of being coordinated with governmental authorities.

c. HSIU-proposed "Pilot Scheme for an Interdisciplinary Action Program for Rural Development" which will be at the Awraja or sub-Arawja level.

d. Expansions of mini-package agricultural development programs.

e. ARA (woreda level comprehensive rural development program).

f. Development centers under the auspices of the Ethiopian Coptic Church.
(3) It is assumed that the increased production of foods, which appears assured, will over the next 3-5 years (if present supports prevail and satisfactory solutions are found to storage, marketing, and other problems now on the horizon) reduce the need for present levels of importation of foods and also possibly raise the basis for increased local tax revenues. Accordingly, it may be assumed that additional revenues may be available for more massive developmental/educational programs as herein suggested.

(4) It is further assumed that if the recommendation contained in point 9 above is accepted and a task force to examine experience in other developing countries performs its task (by January 1973) the task force will doubtless recommend some labor intensive public works/development/education projects to involve the rural masses. The following notes attempt to sketch out how this new type of program might be developed.

B. Elements in a possible labor intensive rural development mass education scheme:

(1) The public works education programs could be established at selected Woreda-level centers—at first possibly 10-20 experimental centers and later expanded if successful.

(2) The "models" would have some of the attributes of successful public works programs in Bangladesh and other countries plus an earlier "model" in USA experience in the economic depression of the '30s called "Civilian Conservation Corps."

(3) The projects would all be labor intensive with a minimum use of large scale equipment and a maximum use of hand tools. The actual works programs would be designed on the basis of local needs but could include such projects as: (1) forestation or reforestation; (2) small feeder roads, "farm to market" roads; (3) domestic water supply at predesigned intervals and irrigation where hydrologically feasible and economically justified; (4) water control devices—small dams, erosion control and related works; all of the above would require little training and minimum skills.

At some later stage, more sophisticated projects could be undertaken such as the erection of schools, community centers, and other public structures.

(4) The work periods would be alternated on approximately a 50-50 basis with educational programs of basic literacy and "minimum formation." Attendance at educational classes would be obligatory. Especially trained teachers for teaching adults would be selected from local teachers, university service teachers, and possibly 5-11 grade school leavers.
(5) The workers would be paid a minimum prevailing wage for their work and would receive the educational services free of charge.

(6) The training and supervision of workers would be the responsibility of the substantive departments such as forestry, and the Imperial Highway Authority. Possibly the Imperial Army could be utilized in some manner.

(7) The administration of the project, payment of wages, and other administrative matters would be handled by the Woreda civil administration with assistance from local public works committees which would help in mobilizing labor and in other ways.

(8) Where possible surplus foods may be available (near accelerated agriculture production areas) for providing a free hot meal from surplus stocks made available under some form of price support and acquisition program. The techniques of mass feeding may be taught to selected women who would manage this element of the program.

(9) The Ministry of Health could set up temporary or permanent first aid health stations located in the works areas, which could later become health clinics.

Dr. Wilder and I hope that you will find this interim report of some value. We will appreciate the opportunity to discuss the report with you and others whom you would like to be involved. We deeply appreciate the support and encouragement which you have given to our efforts thus far.

April 10, 1972

NOTES

1. UNESCO has several sets of basic materials. However, the same basic approach is used in each. It should be noted that the materials and methods utilized by the Ministry of National Community Development have not yet been investigated.