CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background and rationale

Today's global economy increasingly places a premium on knowledge-based skills. Poor people will have greater opportunities to earn income, advocate policies, and increase their social capital when they achieve literacy. Promoting female education has become an important focus on the global, national and local levels. Recent efforts are the introduction of the millennium goals, which intend to achieve universal primary education and promote empowerment of women by the year 2015 (UNDP 2003).

Investing in girls and women's education has been one of the most important determinants for development: Primarily it will increase women's labor force participation and earnings. Researchers have confirmed that educated women will spend more of their income on the family's well being than their men do in, for instance, paying their children's school fees (Kwesiga 2002). This will again create intergenerational educational benefits where the mother is an important predictor of the child's educational attainment (Education Advisory Service 2002).

Educating females has also been found to reduce both the maternal and child mortality rates, and women's fertility rates. Although it is difficult to find clear-cut proof of a relationship between the mother's education and a decrease in their children's deaths, the schools' information about hygiene, prevention, and causes of diseases will have positive effects on children's health (Odaga and Heneveld 1995). While the efforts in reducing the fertility rate of the world population are often from a Western point of departure, research has shown that smaller families will bring better health to the household members. In addition, women with more than seven years of education will become aware of the costs of schooling and the use of contraceptives, which both represent influential factors in reducing the family size.

Finally, education can improve the self-esteem of women and change the images they have of themselves. Women will become more independent and widen their outlook. These educational outcomes could further lead to a higher participation in decision-making arenas, and increased authority in the family and in the society as a whole (Kwesiga 2002).

Despite the growing knowledge about the situation of female education, there have been few significant projects and programs that have been implemented to reduce the gender gap in education, particularly at secondary and tertiary levels. The reasons for attending *secondary level* are many, particularly because they would yield social and private returns. Secondary education is crucial for the economic growth because it provides the country with the necessary skills and knowledge for the training of professionals. In addition, higher education yields private returns in the form of enabling young people to acquire attitudes and skills that are not so easily attainable at the primary levels (Bregman and Stallmeister 2001).

Reaching *tertiary level* for women is also important because depriving them of this opportunity means an exclusion from acquiring professional employment. It is only through higher education that women can become engaged in technology-based occupations as well as be involved in policy-making.

In order for females to enhance their condition and to give them the opportunity of contributing in different aspects of their social, economic and political life of the community, they have to participate equally with males in the educational field.

For my research area, the Tigray region in Ethiopia, four factors characterize the education sector at all levels:

1. There are severe gender gap differences in access to higher education.
2. Quality of education is poor with inadequately trained or poorly motivated teachers and lack of school resources.
3. The system is highly inefficient and as much as one-third drop out in the first year, particularly girls.
4. Physical facilities are in disrepair due to war damage and absence of preventive maintenance.

(Source: Ministry of Education 1997)

Education services in Tigray however have improved since the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea ended in 1991, and a considerable effort has been made in overcoming the constraining factors, and promoting gender equity at all educational levels. The Government of Ethiopia (GoE) has proposed an Education Sector Development Program for the period 1997-2005 where construction of more rural schools near the community, providing low cost

schools, continuous sensitization of communities, and a positive discriminatory policy for female students entering the universities have been some of its main priorities. As a result, primary enrolment has increased tenfold and more and more parents send their children to school. In secondary schools, however, 78 percent of the total population who could attend secondary education have dropped out or are still at primary level. The girls' enrolment is only 15 percent in comparison with 28 percent for the boys (Education Statistics Annual Abstract, 2000/2002). In addition, out of a total of 2334 students, the number of female students registered at University level in Tigray was only 338 (Office of the Registrar, 2003). At the primary school level, therefore, the enrolment figures for girls may be comparable to those for boys, but as one goes up the education ladder, the proportion of girls drops. The levels of access are thereby lowest for women at the tertiary institutions. Research done in Tigray indicates that although efforts have been made by the Government of Ethiopia, donors and NGOs for enrolling and improving female education at secondary and tertiary levels, Ethiopia's education sector is still constrained by several factors.

1.1 Review of literature on factors affecting female education

As mentioned, the study on women and education has increased tremendously since the 1970s, and analyses have revealed gender gaps particularly in South Asia and Africa. According to Odaga and Heneveld (1995) and other scholars, the central problems of female education have been identified as socio-cultural, socio-economic, school level, and policy and law factors.

The socio-cultural factors are influenced by the patriarchal systems of social organization where a combination of harmful traditional practices, such as early marriages and pregnancy, religious beliefs that encourage male domination, and heavier domestic duties for the females adversely affect the participation of girls and women in formal education (Odaga and Heneveld 1995;FAWE Secretariat 2001). In addition, the low enrolment and completion rate are continuous processes because society holds a general view that educating girls and women is seen as irrelevant, or in conflict with accepted roles, and educating a boy would yield higher benefits both for his family and his milieu (Wynd 1995;FAWE Secreatariat 2001).

Together with the socio-cultural bias in favour of males, *socio-economic factors* are highly influential in affecting female participation in education, especially in rural areas. Both direct costs and opportunity costs of sending a daughter to school might be perceived by parents to

be unaffordable compared to their family income in terms of the necessary provision of books, paper and school uniforms (Odaga and Heneveld 1995) as well as the loss of labor contribution in the household (Wynd 1995;FAWE Secretariat 2001). If a choice has to be made between sending their girl or their boy to school, this study will illustrate who will usually be given precedence (Odaga and Heneveld 1995;FAWE Secretariat 2001). In addition, parents' educational background and their occupations are chosen as important determinants for girls and women's opportunities in reaching higher institutions (Debele 1980).

Scholars have claimed that *school level factors* limit girls and women's academic achievement and their access to and completion of higher education (Debele 1980;Odaga and Heneveld 1995;FAWE Secretariat 2001). In this research the factors that will be investigated are the school environment, the quality content and the quality learning processes. Being exposed to sexual harassment, the existence of sanitation and guiding facilities as well as the presence of female role models are some of the factors that will be analyzed under the results and discussion.

Several *policy and law factors* might limit female participation in education (Gordon 1994;Odaga and Heneveld 1995), which in this research depends on the existence of legislation that enforce equality between the sexes in areas such as land rights and women's rights. The emphasis on female education stated under the newly introduced Education Sector Development Program (ESDP) will also be examined because it might have implications for the success of girls and women's educational access, achievement and attainment in the future.

In summary, the scholars claim that the educational environment is inadequate, and girls and boys have not achieved equal access to education due to different factors that constrains girls and women's opportunities. As a result, too few women are represented in decision-making arenas, which can be dated back to the low enrolment of females in higher institutions. In addition, international and local NGOs as well as the Government have concentrated their projects and funding mostly at the primary levels. Secondary and tertiary levels have not yet received the attention they deserve, and drop out rates and the number of failed students still remains high, especially amongst female students.

This research intends to examine the different factors that affect the gender-gap and the low enrolment and completion rate of female students. It also attempts to direct attention to the secondary and tertiary sections, so that the GoE realizes that more resources should be allocated to these levels. The following objectives will try to cover the important guidelines for analyzing and discussing the main findings.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study were:

Objective one

To explore the multifaceted and interrelated socio-cultural, socio-economic and school level factors that constrain girls and women's educational access, achievement and attainment in Tigray.

Objective two

To investigate the prevailing policies and interventions made for enhancing the educational situation for the female students at secondary and tertiary levels.

Objective three

To discuss and find possible measures that will facilitate future interventions in reducing the gender gap in education.

The objectives are wide, and to narrow down the focus and provide reliable and valid data I chose to collect data information from students at four secondary schools and one university in Tigray. In addition, data collection was gathered from participants that represented influencing factors for female education, such as the parents and teachers (see Chapter five).

1.3 Clarification of terminology

This research makes use of the terms secondary and tertiary levels. *Secondary level* includes grade 9 to 12, while the *tertiary level* or *higher education* mean institutions such as the University.

In addition, *girls and women* as well as *female students* are frequently used terms throughout the thesis. At secondary level the students would be in a transition between being perceived as

a girl and a woman, and the research will refer to both girls and women in this context. For the tertiary level, the term *women* will be used. *Female students* are a frequently used terminology at both the secondary and the tertiary levels.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

The thesis is made up of seven chapters of which its problem statement, rationale and objectives are presented in the first Chapter. After the introductory section, the Ethiopian educational history is briefly discussed in Chapter two. Chapter three considers feminist theories, the Human Capital theory and theories on women and development, which stand as guidelines in explaining the low participation of girls and women at secondary and tertiary levels. Description of the study areas is found in Chapter four, and methodology and research methods are presented in Chapter five. Chapter six focuses on the analysis and discussion of the main findings, and the conclusion and recommendations are offered in Chapter seven.

CHAPTER TWO
EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF ETHIOPIA

2.0 Educational history from 1900 to 1974

Ethiopia has a long history of education, where the Orthodox Church and the mosque have played important parts in the formal education. Both institutions favored educating boys over girls, and the participation of girls in the educational system was marginal. Gobat
(in Teferra 1996), which spent a few years as a historical observer in Ethiopia, claimed that 'girls had substantially fewer educational opportunities than boys'.

A modern educational system was introduced in Ethiopia at the end of the nineteenth century, but it did not have the cultural backing from the Orthodox Church. The new educational system needed assistance from the Government to enforce the proclamations. Emperor Menilek II, who ruled at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, issued in 1906 a proclamation that boys as well as girls should attend school. However, the part of the proclamation stating this matter did not have its intended effect on educating women, and the problems of discriminatory attitudes toward female education still persist today (Teferra 1996). In 1908 the first regular school was established in Addis Ababa and in 1935 there were 21 government schools with a total enrolment of 4200 students (Abraham 2001). The spread of the modern education had the effect of training skilled personnel to staff the bureaucracy, and the dissemination of ideas. The educational development leveled off in the period 1913 to 1930, due to the fifteen years of struggle between Menilek's grandson, Iyyasu (1913-1916), Menilek's daughter, Empress Zawditu (1916-1930), and Haile Selassie (1930-1974) (Zewde 1991).

A new era of modernization came during the Haile Selassie period (1930-1974). Selassie became the leader of the intelligentsia in his effort to weaken the then strong feudal group. The activities were interrupted by the Italian invasion between 1934 and 1941, and the expansion of education nearly came to a close because government schools were closed down and used as hospitals and barracks. An estimated 75 percent of the technical and administrative personnel were massacred, and left no skills and knowledge to reconstruct schools in the post-war period. After the Italian invaders were forced out of Ethiopia, Selassie established the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. In 1951, the educational facilities again started to expand and the recruitment of foreign personnel increased. Communities began

building and reconstructing schools and provided teaching staff. As a result, 50 schools were offering primary education with a total enrolment of 560.000 students. The Government revived the higher educational institutions, and in 1950 the plan for setting up a university was approved. In the late sixties, there were six state-funded institutions of higher education in Ethiopia and college campuses were established all over the country. The liberation process that was taking place all over Africa, and the strong focus on education from politicians helped the expansion. In addition, Ethiopia received external assistance from donors like SIDA (Swedish International Development Authority) and the World Bank. The first loan was given by the World Bank in 1966, and since then several education projects have been implemented for a total amount of 200 million US dollars (Negash 1996). As a result of the projects and the external funding, primary schools were built in remote areas and secondary education became available in almost all provincial capitals and other major cities. The total enrolment from 1950 to the 1970s increased almost ten-fold. By 1973/74, the primary enrolment had increased to 800 000, or about 15-20 percent of the school-age group (Abraham 2001).

The school system did not have the standard that is required to gain a good quality education for both sexes. An uneven gender ratio existed especially at secondary level. Fewer girls than boys attended schools, and in 1968/69 the percentage of girls in primary school was 30 percent, in junior secondary 26.5 percent, in senior secondary 18 percent, and 7 percent at the universities (ibid.).

Other important issues that aggravated the educational system were an inappropriate curriculum and the language policy. The curriculum was academically narrow and entrenched in traditional teaching and learning methods, and no effort was made to decrease the adult illiteracy (93%), and establish non-formal education. Language was used as a policy of national integration, and all education was carried out in the official Amharic language (ibid.).

2.1 Overthrow of the Haile Sellassie regime (1974-1991)

The regime of Haile Sellassie was overthrown in 1974, and a new military regime of the Derg (1974-1991) seized power. Emperor Mengistu ruled the Derg regime, which had great disrespect for the elite. As a result, the educated Ethiopians did not gain power and lacked voice in the country's politics. In the mid-1980, six years after the overthrow of Haile Selassie, internal conflicts persisted. Some conflicts were inherited from the old regime, and

some from the new regime, which by 1977 proclaimed a Marxist-Leninist orientation. As an opposition to the Mengistu regime, the TPLF (Tigrean People's Liberation Front) was established in 1975. TPLF consisted of radical students from Tigray that demanded land reforms, better access to education and basic health services. Skepticism of the Mengistu regime started to grow, in particular among university students, and a massive support for the TPLF emerged. One of the major reasons for the strong support was the unique cultural and political history of the region that sets it apart from other regions. Tigray has a unified language, and they have distinctive doctrines within the Orthodox Church. It has been a frontier region since it was there that Ethiopia came closest to the Red Sea and to the Islamic centers of Sudan. Politically, an indigenous aristocracy that maintained a distinctive identity governed it. TPLF never accepted the Derg regime at any time, which led to an armed struggle between the two coalitions.

One of the most significant characteristics of the war was the female participation. Monuments were raised and poems and songs were made about their involvement in the war. TPLF also initiated political education in Tigray, and special schools for fighters were built. At these schools, 30 to 40 percent of the students were women. In addition, two women schools were established: Marta and March 8. They were founded to help women take advantage of the new situation that the revolution was bringing. Both these schools aimed to make women familiar with their rights and teach them the history of women's oppression. At the Marta School, all the students were fighters and their primary purpose was to learn skills that they could pass on to peasant women in the communities. The March 8 School consisted of peasant women and female fighters who were given political education. Women felt more empowered during and after the war, and their social status became strengthened both in the urban and rural areas (Hammond and Druce 1990).

In 1989, the Derg lost the Tigray region to the TPLF. The EPRDF (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front) was founded by the TPLF in Tigray, and in the fight for self-determination, they established an umbrella regime that included movements from the entire country. EPRDF took over the existing regime and ended 17 years of civil war, military dictatorship and escalated central control (Pausewang, Tronvoll et al. 2002).

In the post civil war of the 1990s, the EPRDF initiated a new education reform in the context of reconstructing the schools and reinstate Teacher-Training Institutes (TTI). The opening up

of the communities, a new Constitution guaranteeing collective and individual rights, and a decentralization process created possibilities for a development of educational change.

2.2 The new Education and Training Policy (1991-1998)

Enrolment of girls in rural areas remained low after the civil war, and the educational services were not adequate for a good quality education. Total gross enrolment was 23 percent for the males, and 19 percent for the females (Williams 2002). An insufficient number of trained personnel and qualified teachers, and a lack of needed equipment further limited the capacity of the educational system. These deficiencies were exacerbated by decentralization, as capacity was even lower at the regional levels, and low expenditures were used on the educational sector. By 1993/1994, however, the Ethiopian government spent 12.2 percent of the total public budget on education (World Bank 1998).

To meet the demands and improve the situation, Ethiopia developed a new Education and Training Policy (ETP) in 1994. It contained sixty-seven specific objectives, and some of the objectives were: relevant and appropriate education and training; skilled manpower; democratic culture; the right to learn one's native language; specific focus on women and the environment (Transitional Government of Ethiopia 1994). Three aspects of the policy reform became central in the implementation process: curriculum and development of teacher training; gender equity; and community participation. The *curriculum reform* that was introduced through the new education policy focused on being gender sensitive, and preparing materials in different languages rather than the official Amharic language. It emphasized student-centered learning principles and assessments of the students in the classrooms. Textbooks were revised, written in the national languages, and distributed in larger quantities to the regions. The introduction of higher quality teaching methods also strengthened the Teacher Training Colleges (TTC) and the Teacher Training Institutes (TTI). Still, the situation was not perfect, due to uneven quality of the curricula in the different regions, lack of sufficient training and materials to teach all subjects, and uneven book distribution.

Gender equity became an important part of the new agenda. The Ministry of Education (MoE) established a unit that focused on a gender-neutral curriculum and disaggregated statistics by gender. In the curricula, consideration is now taken as to how women are portrayed in the textbooks and guidelines.

Finally, the MoE promoted *community participation* to increase demand for education and to mobilize community resources to the schools. However, little was done by the MoE to implement the community participation beyond its legal mandate, and few resources and programs were used for community mobilization (Williams 2002).

As mentioned, the Government introduced a decentralization process in 1991. The federal Government was established and the legislation gave power to the federal level (Interview with the Deputy Officer of the Tigray Educational Bureau 1st of December 2003). The process aims, among other issues, at providing greater autonomy to ethnic groups and bringing decision-making closer to the schools. The MoE is responsible for overall policy and higher education, while the regional government is responsible for primary and secondary education.

The new educational system is divided into
- I.   Primary Education of eight years with two cycles, first and second cycle. Grades 1-4 from the first cycle (Lower primary school), and grades 5-8 (Upper primary school) in the second cycle.
- II.   Secondary Education consists of two cycles with grades 9-10 (Lower secondary school) in the first cycle, and grades 11-12 (Upper secondary school/Pre-University) as the secondary cycle.
- III. Technical/Vocational education.
- IV.   Tertiary education with various programs and levels.

The school day is divided into morning and afternoon session, where for instance grade 9 and 11 attend school in the morning and grade 10 and 12 attend in the afternoon (Williams 2002).

The planning and implementation procedures of all the objectives in the ETP were subsumed under the current Education Sector Development Program (ESDP), which was implemented in 1997. The content of this program will be analyzed and discussed in Chapter five under school policies since it will have a direct effect on the current situation of female students in the secondary and tertiary sectors.

CHAPTER THREE
THEORIES ON WOMEN

3.0 Introduction

Education cannot stand on its own when explaining the existing factors that affect female education in Ethiopia. Several theories have been set out to explain the status of women in society, both culturally and economically. The theories have most of their bearing from the Western socio-cultural and socio-economic contexts, but can also be applied to the Ethiopian society. For the purpose of this study, the following theoretical perspectives have been chosen: Feminist theories, the Human Capital theory, and theories on women, gender and development.

3.1 Feminist theories

Economic, social and political differences between men and women differ across societies and cultures. Theories are able to explain some of the main reasons for the disparities, but are not able to fully state them (Kwesiga 2002). Feminist theories have the bearing of Western influence, which is apparent in Ethiopia through the colonialism, Western educational systems, modern technology and the mass media. A society that is influenced by Western feminist and social ideology will indirectly or directly affect the unequal enrolment and continuation between girls/women and boys/men at secondary and tertiary levels.

Agonito (1977) is one of the authors that has tried to trace the source of gender inequalities through her book on *History on Ideas of Women*. Her accounts range from the earliest philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle to the modern feminist writers like Simone de Beauvoir and Mary Wollstonecraft. The most important remark of the writers is that there has been a universal patriarchal society where male domination exists in most arenas, such as the ownership of property, law, division of labor and education. Some scholars have claimed that women's subordination is 'natural' while others have expressed that they are fighting for reducing the unequal position and status of women. Rousseau (in Agonito 1977) in his book *The Social Contract and Discourses* wrote that women are inferior beings that needs to be nurtured for the purpose of serving men. Women should be restricted to domestic chores and excluded from education. He insisted that the patriarchal structure of the family is natural, and that only men can govern women but not the opposite way. De Beauvoir (in Agonito 1977), on the other hand, claims that women are an integral part of the society and should be treated

as equal human beings. Women are, however, reduced to serving men for pleasure and thereby exploited and subordinated.

Feminist theories broadly fall under four categories, namely the Liberal Feminism, the Marxist Socialist Feminism, Radical Feminism, and Post-Modernist Feminism. In addition, the research includes a brief description of the Psychoanalytical theory and the Social Interaction theory to provide a broader nuance to the issue at hand. All these theories will help to understand the structural subordination of women. In this study I will use the explanations provided by sociologist S. Acker (1994) and social development professor J. Kwesiga (2002) combined with descriptions from the teacher, writer and lecturer R. Tong (1998). Acker and Kwesiga focus on education and feminism where explanations are, for instance, given as to why women are less present in high position jobs and how the school environment exacerbates women's subordination. Tongs' analysis is based on a general description of the feminist thought since the eighteenth century.

3.1.1 Liberal Feminism

Liberal Feminism aims to strengthen women's status and opportunities in the economic and political environment. The theory focuses on removing barriers that prevent girls and women from attaining their educational path. There are three major themes in Liberal Feminist educational theories: equal opportunities, socialization and sex stereotyping, and sex discrimination.

Equal opportunities imply that girls and boys should be treated as the same. Schools have often been criticized for not providing equal educational opportunities to the sexes by choosing male preferred subjects (Acker 1994). Focusing on equality in education has become a popular term for the national and local government as well as an accepted terminology for the general public. Another major strand in Liberal Feminism is focusing on *socialization and sex stereotypes*. There is a belief that the family and the school socialize the girls (and boys) into 'traditional' attitudes that limit their educational opportunities. Particularly the girls become assigned to sex stereotyped family roles and occupations. Socialization also encourages relationships between the male and female that is not favorable for the women who are in a position of dependency to the man. The third theme is *sex discrimination,* which in short implies that policies and laws create an environment that hinder girls and women's development in the educational field (ibid.).

Strategies to overcome these barriers for girls and women are changing attitudes, alter socialization, and use legal processes. The supporters of this line of thought believes that changing the attitude of teacher and children can be accomplished through removing stereotyping in the curriculum.

The theory has received criticism from a number of scholars and other feminist writers. It has been criticized for emphasizing women's and men's sameness, and women wanting to become like men (Tong 1998). The critics also point to the limitations of the framework, especially ideas of equal opportunities and individualism. Emphasizing individual attitudes, indirectly blames the female for her lack of confidence and perception. It is further claimed that changing attitudes will only be lead by good will from the supporters that intend to improve the situation for the girls, such as the teachers and the politicians (Acker 1994). Above all, the theory ignores the concept of patriarchy and subordination of women, as well as serving the interest of only white, heterosexual, American/European, middle-class women. Investigating other ethnic groups was not a theme in the past, but more recent writings stress issues of ethnicity and has encouraged minority women to join the Liberal Feminist movement. In the concept of heterosexuality, accepting lesbians in the Liberal Feminist movement was widely debated in the 1970s. The movement now supports lesbianism as a personal sexual preference, although it is not viewed as the politically best way to empower women (Tong 1998).

3.1.2 Marxist and Socialist feminism

The Marxist and Socialist theory became apparent in the 1970s and the 1980s. According to its supporters, gender inequalities rise from capitalist and class societies. Concerning education, the key issue is that education reinforces the sexual and social division of labor in the economy and the family. Different courses and subjects are adapted to the different needs and interests of men and women (Kwesiga 2002). For instance, single sex schools based on separated curriculum standards for the girls and boys where the curriculum of the girls' school does not include science, technology and management. Girls and women can become barred from these subject, and often end up in low-paid jobs with fewer opportunities for career improvements. Women are given the image of being 'naturally equipped' for working in the household, or as secretaries (Acker 1994).

The criticism of this approach is that most of the studies done in the educational field consist of theoretical writings, historical research and policy analysis. Empirical studies of school processes are not paid attention and the reproduction of the sexual and social division of labor cannot easily be justified. A strategy of resistance in schools that often falls under the Marxist ideology becomes academic and theoretical without appealing to the practical situations and educational action in a school environment (ibid.). The approach also fails to address gender inequality in non-capitalist states, such as in several African countries (Kwesiga 2002).

3.1.3 Radical Feminism

This approach calls for direct political action, e.g. promoting women's career opportunities and increase their wages. Its key issue is the elimination of male dominance and patriarchy. The approach is in line with the Marxist theory, claiming that the patriarchy co-exist with the capitalist society where the state plays a major part in reinforcing it. Patriarchy assumes male dominance in all aspects of society, and unless change arises, women will be subordinate to men. Eliminating the capitalist society is therefore not enough because patriarchy must be abolished in all manners possible (ibid). In the schools, subordination of females is promoted, and the school environment makes women accept this inequality. The school curriculum and the teaching methods are controlled and defined by men. Harassment in classrooms such as verbal and non-verbal abuse worsens the situation. Strategies for change include informing about sexual harassment, revisions of curricula and teaching methods, and separation of the sexes in schools.

Radical Feminism is mostly criticized for focusing on descriptions rather than explanations (Acker 1994; Kwesiga 2002). It cannot provide psychological justifications and it does not cut across categories such as class and race. However, it has documented data that was ignored by more external approaches (see the Marxist Approach), such as the evidence of sexual harassment at schools. Analyzing the school environment from within has gained a deeper understanding of women's problems (Acker 1994).

3.1.4 Psychoanalytical theory

According to the Freudian theory of the Oedipus complex the boy gives up his first love object, his mother. He gives his id to the superego (collective social conscience), and becomes fully integrated into society. Together with his father, he will rule over nature and women. The girl, who has no penis, separates slowly from her first love object, her mother, and her

integration into society is incomplete (Tong 1998). The belief is based on Aristotle's theory where a woman is identified as an incomplete man (Kwesiga 2002). This theory emphasize how women and men's sexual characters are already formed at infant stage, and how the society's ideology follow us into our adult life (Jonasdottir 1994).

The major criticism is that there are social differences, and not biological determinism that results in a given male dominance. No systematic studies have shown that women treat their infant daughters differently than their sons. Girls are rather socialized into a patriarchal society that restricts their choices, as is evident in the Social Interaction theory.

3.1.5 Social Interaction theory

The Social Interaction approach can be said to represent the opposite of the Freudian line of thought. Maleness and femaleness are results of historical processes where girls are socialized into traditional roles that restrict their choices. Gender inequalities can be explained by the way boys and girls are raised at home, taught in school, and the experiences that they encounter in their future occupations and life. Social conventions and practices thereby limit girls and women's present and future school and work. Strategies to overcome these issues are to come up with measures that could solve the subordination of women, such as implementing measures to avoid sex stereotyping. The patriarchal society as it stands today is made possible by the everyday traditional and cultural practices (Kwesiga 2002).

3.1.6 Postmodern Feminism

The Postmodern Feminism embrace multiple concepts of women, and believe that women's individualistic stance will enable them to resist values and norms that the male culture tries to impose on them (Tong 1998). This is where women are now, right in the center trying to escape their marginalized positions. It is not important for the postmodern feminists to focus on different eras of feminist thought, and pinpoint to where one era ends and one starts because the fight against male dominance has been going on for decades.

Postmodern Feminism also face the problem of how to solve the issue of women's subordination, and find it difficult to come up with practical solution for limiting or abolishing women's inferiority (Kwesiga 2002).

Although all the Feminist theories stem from the Western world, it can provide historical information on the differences and similarities between men and women in the non-western countries. The concepts of patriarchal societies are relevant also for the African countries, where male-domination in the household and in the society as a whole has been and still is strongly present.

From my point of departure, the socio-cultural factors can be reflected in the theories on Liberal Feminism, Social Interaction and Postmodernism since their main focus is that gender inequalities can be traced from how girls and women are socialized into traditional roles through the existing cultural beliefs and values. A further discussion on this matter will be presented under Chapter six.

3.2 The Human Capital theory

Returns to investment in education have received attention since the 1960s when T. Schultz wrote *Investment in Human Capital* where investment in man had to be extended to also account for human capital. He highlighted the economic importance of the advantages of education and the improvements in the 'quality of the labour force' (Schultz 1971). Investing in human capital result in returns that can be measured in the earnings made by the educated population and the created assets in the form of knowledge and skills, which in turn increase the productivity of educated workers. The educated population will earn more than the less educated, and it has become as profitable as investing in physical capital (e.g. machinery and technology).

The latest pattern of the Human Capital theory focuses on returns to education by level of economic development and level of education, or in other words, *the rate of return*. Scholars differentiate between the returns that focus on the individual, the *private rates of return*, and those which accrue to the society, that is, the *social rate of return* (Kwesiga 2002). *Private rates of return* have been used for explaining the benefits and the costs of education for the family, and the changes in the demand for schooling. Parents do not necessarily calculate the private rates of return, however, indirectly consider the costs and benefits of sending their children to school. *Social rates of return* attempt to measure the direct benefits of education in terms of the earnings that is associated with different levels of education (Kwesiga 2002). The highest returns are recorded for the low-income countries, such as the Sub-Saharan Africa (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Returns to investment in education by level in 2002, by regions (Percentage)

	Social returns			Private returns		
Region	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Asia	16.0	11.0	11.0	20.0	16.0	18.0
Europe/Middle East/North Africa	16.0	10.0	10.0	14.0	13.0	19.0
Latin America/Caribbean	17.4	13.0	12.0	26.0	17.0	19.5
OECD	8.5	9.0	8.5	13.0	11.0	11.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	25.0	18.0	11.0	37.3	24.0	28.0
World	19.0	13.0	11.0	27.0	17.0	19.0

Source: (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2002)

In Ethiopia, the social rate of return for the secondary and tertiary levels in 1996 was 14 percent and 12 percent, and for the private rate of return, 24 percent and 26 percent respectively, more or less following the rates of return for the Sub-Saharan Africa countries. Investing in education can thereby improve the economic growth of both the society and at the private level. Returns to education have become an important indicator in literature as well as in policy documents. Governments have allocated their national income to human capital in both high- and low-income countries (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2002). The Ethiopian Government public expenditure on the educational sector has increased year by year, and in 1998, 4.3 percent of the total GDP was allocated to the education sector (World Resources Institute 2003). In this context, *education sector key performance indicators* have been initiated through the Education Sector Development Program (ESDP), which intends to capture the financial inputs and outcomes (access, quality and equity) of education in Ethiopia. Trends that they found were for instance that the average grade four repetition rate has not changed, and that girls' enrolment has remained unchanged (Ethiopia 2000).

In terms of girls' education, increase in income for the parents may lead to a more equal transfer of human resources to their daughters and sons. Parents living in low-income countries often tend to invest less on girls' education since the returns of schooling are not understood as important enough, and their daughters are needed in the household. It has been found, however, that returns to schooling of female students often exceed those of men, especially in secondary schools. In Thailand, for instance, the private return for women was

25 percent and only 8 percent for men. As mentioned in the introduction, the social returns of educating women are high including improving children's health, reducing the number of unwanted births and so on (Herz 1991).

The section on socio-economic factors in Chapter six will analyze the direct costs and the opportunity costs as well as the benefits of sending a daughter to school. Whether or not parents choose to send their daughters to school will also depend on their level of human capital, or in other words, the parents' educational background and their occupation. Will parents that have primary or no education or that are engaged in low-income jobs have a negative effect on girls and women's educational and career opportunities? These issues will also be investigated in Chapter six.

3.3 Women and gender development theories

In the 1970s, the growing realization of the importance of women in development and the development planners' responsibility for doing justice to the women emerged. The 1975 World Conference of the International Women's Year, and the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985), gave attention to recognizing improved educational and occupational opportunities and equality in political participation and social services. The Women in Development (WID) approach rose in this period and became associated with activities of donor agencies, governments and NGOs (Ravazi and Miller 1995). According to WID, achieving equity for women relies on efficient and effective development (Abagaz 1994). The belief is that the contribution of women's productiveness could influence policy planners to direct economic resources to women. By the 1980s, WID was accepted and adopted internationally for achieving integration of women's issues in the development process. The approach generated discussions and research on women, and established institutions in development agencies that aimed at integrating women into development. An example was evaluating projects designed to increase productivity and incomes. Discrimination against women was discovered through these evaluations, for instance in failing to recognize women's role in agricultural production. The WID approach attempted to go beyond the focus on women-only projects and initiate projects that would integrate women into mainstream projects and programmes.

Although women's rights became relevant for the development planners, the WID approach met criticism in the 1990s for not providing the wanted influence on national policies.

Women's needs were overridden by the priority of what development needs from women. Narrowing down the gap between women and men did not seem to be accomplished through the WID approach, and it led to a rethinking of the approach. Men, in being the dominant part of society, should become an integral element of all projects dealing with achieving equity for women. Education projects, for instance, built schools only for girls without sensitizing men about the benefits of educating girls. A strategic shift was made from a narrow WID approach to a more dynamic Gender and Development (GAD) approach (Ravazi and Miller 1995).

The GAD approach suggest that it is important not to focus only on women in isolation, but understanding how both men and women are socially constructed, and how those constructions are powerfully reinforced by the social activities that define them and are defined by them (ibid.). Before the introduction of the GAD approach, scholars did not comprehend to the same extent that society had structures that favored men and provided them with better opportunities. Consequently, women were placed in a subordinate position. The major emphasis of GAD became realizing that women's subordination was caused by the unequal division of labor, and less access and control of resources (Sellassie and Haile 2001). One of the solutions to the problem of inequality between men and women was analyzing the rules and practices by different institutions, such as the household, state and community. In other words, what men and women do? Another solution was a revaluation of women's unpaid work. World measures of GDP and GNP have not included subsistence work and local trade where women are mostly involved (Lewenhak 1992). Women's contribution in the national economy is not accounted for, which again lower their social status (see Chapter six).

Gender training methodologies have been used to assess the WID and GAD approaches by development agencies and researchers. The frameworks in this part are based on the article *From WID to GAD* by Ravazi and Miller (1995). Two frameworks that will be presented here are the 'gender roles' and the 'social relations analysis'.

The Gender Roles Framework was developed by the Harvard Institute for International Development in collaboration with the Women in Development (WID) office of US AID, and is based on the WID efficiency approach. The framework focuses on collecting data at the micro (community and household) level and consists of four parts: The Activity Profile, the Access and Control Profile, the analysis of Factors and Trends and the Project Cycle Analysis (ADB 2002). The Activity Profile analyzed 'who does what', and where and when the

activities take place. By finding the answers to the questions of the gender division of labor it becomes possible to define women's and men's socio-economic opportunities and constraints in the project area. Examples can be the activities that take place in the village or in the household, and the method of travelling to and from the marketplace. The Access and Control profile defines who has access to and control over the resources and income in the Activity Profile, by gender. The analysis of Factors and Trends map the factors that influence the gender patterns of activity and access and control in the project area. These factors can be cultural and religious factors, political and legal factors, education levels, demographic factors etc. Finally, the Project Cycle analysis examines a project or intervention in light of how it should be modified to improve the chances of success for the project. Examples of analysis can be gender-sensitive project planning, and post-evaluation. The advantages of the framework are that it is a practical tool that can be used to define the gender needs of men and women in a project area. It provides a baseline data collection on the activities made by the community and the distribution of roles and resources within the household. The disadvantages of the framework are that it tends to see the household as a homogenous entity that ignores underlying inequalities, such as class and ethnicity. Moreover, it does not include the interests and identity of the women in the household.

The second framework, the 'social relations analysis', is based on the Gender and Development approach. The central problematic within this approach is not women's integration into development per se but the social structures, processes, and relations that give rise to women's disadvantaged position in a given society. As such, ending women's subordination involves redistributing power. The social relations approach offers to the analysis a focus on: the social relations of life, a holistic approach, gender division of labor as 'social connection', and a down-up approach.

The social relations of everyday life
Social relation analysis does not take as its starting point efficiency arguments about women's contribution to development. Instead, development agencies are urged to take a more gender-aware approach to development on grounds that it will help to improve development policy and practice. The analysis begins from the premise that development-planning needs to take into account the social relations of everyday life.

Holistic approach

Given the holistic approach taken by social relations analysis, other forms of social differentiation also need to be taken into consideration, including class, ethnicity, age, cast, etc. The framework also draws attention to social relations embedded in the range of institutions through which social groups acquire resources: the household, the community, the market and the state.

Gender division of labor as social connection

From the perspective of the gender roles framework, the gender division of labor is understood as a form of social separation. In contrast, the social relation analysis understands the gender division of labor as a form of 'social connection'. A critical concern of social relations analysis, thereby, is the precise term under which men and women co-operate and the specific institutions through which such co-operation is structured.

Down-up approach

In contrast to the top-down planning approach of the gender roles frameworks, emphasis is placed on women's NGOs and 'participatory' planning. Whereas the gender role framework highlight the importance of directing economic resources to women, the social relations analysis highlight the need for action-oriented political strategies to bring about women's empowerment.

My line of though in this research coincides with the GAD approach, where I see it as vital to understand how both men and women are influenced by patriarchal societal structures. This study is based on a holistic approach where a combined analysis of socio-cultural, socio-economic, school related and policy factors will enable an understanding as to why, for instance, girls are more occupied in domestic chores than men.

CHAPTER FOUR
DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AREA

4.0 Introduction

My research region was Tigray, which is located in the northern tip of the country along the border with Eritrea in the North, bordering Sudan in the West, Amhara region in the South and Afar in the East. The total population is 3,358 380 of which 1,650 064 are men and 1,707 892 are female. Excluding Mekelle town, the regional capital, there are four administrative zones in Tigray: Western; Central; Eastern and Southern, compromising a total of 36 *woredas* (districts) and 620 *tabias* (sub-districts) (Abraha 2002). My study areas were the Eastern, Mekelle and Southern zone. Saesie Tsambada Emba and Ganta Afeshum were chosen as research *woredas* in the Eastern zone, Hintalo Wajerat *woreda* as the research area in the Southern zone and the regional capital Mekelle as the research area situated in the Mekelle zone. Three socio-economic surveys from the three different zones are used as references in this Chapter. It is difficult to conclude to what extent socio-economic surveys provide a representative sample of the population. Nonetheless, it gives to the reader a general picture of the situation in the three zones. The reason for choosing the research areas will be explained in Chapter five. Section 4.1 will focus mainly on the description of the four research areas, including the population size, the religious affiliation, economic activities, population growth, family relations, health facilities and the educational situation.

4.1 Description of the four research areas

The Hintalo Wajerat *woreda* is located in the Southern region at a distance of 35 km from the capital city of Mekelle. The *woreda* is one of the drought prone areas in the Southern zone, and has 70 *tabias* and 72 *kushets* (villages). Saesie-Tsaeda Emba *woreda* comprises 16 rural *tabias* and one urban centre while the Ganta Afeshum *woreda* is divided in nine *tabias*, with the zonal capital Adigrat. Mekelle zone consists mainly of Mekelle city, which is the capital of the National Regional State of Tigray. The city emerged as a modern center when emperor Yohannes IV chose it as his capital and administrative center of the Empire at the end of the nineteenth century. Mekelle is characterized by numerous socio-economic problems ranging from poor infrastructure facility to high unemployment and infant mortality rates.

The *population size* for the three zones is between 90.000 and 140.000, with the Mekelle zone having the smallest population size of 96.938 (Tigray Region Planning and Economic

Development Bureau 2002) and the Ganta Afeshum Woreda having the largest with 139.192 inhabitants (Relief Society of Tigray 2000).

Homogeneity is found in the *religious affiliation* of all the three research areas. The majority of the population are Orthodox Christianity followers, and Catholics, Protestants and Muslims account for less than ten percent. The ethnic composition of the population is predominantly Tigraway (Department of Planning and Economic Development and Eastern Tigray Development Programme 1997; Department of Planning and Economic Development 2000; Tigray Region Planning and Economic Development Bureau 2002).

The regional *economy* of Tigray is dominantly based on agriculture, with above 83 percent of the population depending on primarily rain-fed, subsistence agriculture with major crops being sorghum, *tef* (Ethiopia's traditional staple), barley, millet maize and pulses. In the rural areas, inhabitants live in houses made of stones and woods, and the houses are facilitated with two rooms being shared in most cases with animals. Tigray has a structural food deficit with 60 percent of the families in Tigray being able to produce food only sufficient for 6 months of the year (Abraha 2002). An example is the Hintalo Wajerat *woreda*, which struggles with decline of agricultural yields and recurrent drought (Fisseha 2002). Industrialization is still at the infancy stage. There are now a pharmaceutical assembly, a cement and textile factory in Tigray, while other small scale enterprises are also operational but suffer the lack of basic infrastructure and industries producing capital or investment goods. A limited distribution of electricity, telecommunications and lack of adequate human resources further constrains the industrial development. Small-scale industries contributed about 90 percent while medium and large-scale industries together contributed 0.21 percent of the total manufacturing production. Such a weakness of manufacturing leads to a dependency on imported technology for accelerating its production capacity (Buffoni and Tadesse 2001).

In Ethiopia, according to the 1995 Central Statistical Authority report (CSA), the population aged ten years and above is considered *economically active*. The total number of employed people was 1 450 814 in 1999 (CSA 1999). This number indicates that only 44 percent of the population were engaged in an economic activity. The remaining part was not engaged mainly due to either the minimum age of ten years, being students, housewives, unemployed or old age. The socio economic survey conducted in the Eastern zone showed that males were more active in the economic activities (Table 4.1), often due to diverse socio-cultural, political and

socio-economic factors that militate against the participation of females in economic activities. An analysis and discussion of these issues will be presented under Chapter six.

Table 4.1 Population ten years and over by activity status and sex in Eastern zone

Urban/Rural and sex	Activity status			
	Total	Active	Non-active	Not stated
Both sexes	400993	254330	143854	2809
Male	187523	127913	58360	1250
Female	213470	126417	85494	1559

Source: (CSA 1995)

The economic engagements of the two *woredas* in the Eastern zone differed slightly, with 49 percent responded being employed in Ganta Afeshum, whereas 47.5 percent were reported working in the Saesie Tseada Emba *woreda* (Department of Planning and Economic Development and Eastern Tigray Development Programme 1997). As a result, unemployment rates, crime and the number of people living on the streets have progressively increased in the largest towns.

Population growth in a society is influenced by the fertility rate and the mortality rate. These rates represent important indicators for the country's social and economic development. One example can be taken from the Eastern zone census (CSA 1995) where the total fertility rate (TFR), that is the total number of children a woman will have through out her childbearing age, was 5.1. On a comparative basis, the estimates for TFR in developed countries were 1.71 for the same period. The mortality indicators include; infant mortality rate (IMR) which shows the probability of dying of children aged between birth and one year per 1000 live births in a given year; under five mortality rate (UFMR) that illustrates the probability of dying of children aged below five per 1000 live births in a given year; life expectancy (LE) at birth, which indicates the average number of years a baby is expected to live, considering all the probabilities of deaths for each specific age group in the process (CSA 1995). Table 4.2 illustrates that death rates were higher at the lower rates, particularly under the age of five.

Table 4.2 Infant and under-five mortality rate and life expectancy in Eastern Zone

SEX	Rural			Urban			Total		
	IMR	UFMR	LE	IMR	UFMR	LE	IMR	UFMR	LE
Men/Women	112	163	51.7	114	166	51.3	112	163	51.6
Male	121	171	50.6	129	184	49.2	122	173	50.4
Female	103	155	52.8	99	148	53.5	102	153	52.9

Source: (CSA 1995), p. 271

Children in less developed countries are more exposed to health problems and many of them undernourished. In the Mekelle zone, the IMR gave 94 per thousand for both sexes, 103 thousand for males and 85 thousand for females. The UFMR was estimated to be 144 per thousand for males, and 125 per thousand for females. Both the IMR and the UFMR were lower in the Mekelle zone than in the Eastern zone, implying better living conditions for the urban population (CSA 1995).

Family ties are strong in the less developed countries. An extended family system is widely spread, and one household usually comprises three or more generations. The survey from the Eastern zone states that the family system might partly be attributed to lack of economic independence, which might be the manifestation of the existing socio-economic development (Department of Planning and Economic Development and Eastern Tigray Development Programme 1997). The family system is patriarchal where men are generally the household heads. According to the Mekelle zone survey representing 1598 households, 55.6 percent were male headed and 44.4 percent female headed (Tigray Region Planning and Economic Development Bureau 2002). In the Eastern zone survey, where the sample size was 2760 households, male headed households accounted for 67.5 percent (Department of Planning and Economic Development and Eastern Tigray Development Programme 1997). One of the main reasons for this situation is that the Ethiopian man has responsibilities for the family affairs, apart from domestic chores such as child bearing and housework.

Early marriage is a characteristic feature of the Ethiopian society, especially for women. In the Eastern zone, the age at marriage for the majority of the female population (84 %) is below 20 years. Moreover, a number of girls (29 %) marry at the age of less than 15 years (Department of Planning and Economic Development and Eastern Tigray Development

Programme 1997). The Southern zone survey had similar results with girls marrying under the age of 15 years, sometimes between the ages of 7 to13 years (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Percentage distribution of age at marriage for women in Southern zone

Age clusters	Respondents	Number of Women	Percentage
1	7-11 years old	185	10
2	12-13 years old	234	13
3	14-15 years old	898	49
4	16-20 years old	369	22
5	Not Stated	110	6
Total		1823	100

Source: (Department of Planning and Economic Development 2000)

Marriage is a highly common engagement in the Ethiopian society, and out of a total of 1823 females in the socio-economic survey in the Southern zone, 72 percent of the respondents were married, 9 percent widowed, 20 percent divorced and 3 percent separated. If the marriage failed to succeed, the first three major reasons for divorce were family dispute, economic problems and early marriage (Table 4.4). Strong family ties here become visible, and the family's influence is an important determinant for whether or not a relationship will succeed.

Table 4.4 Major causes of divorce (percentage)

Number	Response	Number of Women	Percentage
1	Marriage out of interest	125	6.9
2	Family Dispute	836	45.9
3	Don't know each other	47	2.6
4	Parents Intervention	36	2
5	Early Marriage	184	10.1
6	Economic Problem	531	29.1
7	Others	28	1.5
8	Not Stated	36	2
TOTAL		1823	100

Source: (Department of Planning and Economic Development 2000)

Health services are remotely available for the rural population. The utilization of postnatal care, nutritional education and immunization are therefore limited. In addition, harmful traditional practices contribute to the low level of modern health in the zones. A more detailed analysis of these practices will be explained under Chapter six. This situation has made the communities in the zones vulnerable to preventable nutritional diseases that account for more than 80 percent of the reported health problems. However, the health situation is improving and the basic vaccination and family planning coverage have increased in the last five years (Department of Planning and Economic Development and Eastern Tigray Development Programme 1997; Department of Planning and Economic Development 2000; Tigray Region Planning and Economic Development Bureau 2002).

The educational situation in the four research areas represents the most important point of departure for my study, and during the months of October, November and December 2003, I conducted a research to find the factors that constrain girls and women's enrollment and continuation of their education. Four secondary schools and one university were selected as the basis of my data collection. I chose the Agazi Secondary School as my research school in the Ganta Afeshum *woreda*. The school was established in 1957, and the grade level goes from 9 to 12. The second school was the Edaga Hamus Secondary School that was situated in the Saesie Tsaeda Emba *woreda*. Primarily it was a junior secondary school, from grade 9 to 10. Then, in 1979 it became a high school and an engineer secondary school. The third

research school was the Adigudem Secondary School in the Hintalo Wajerat *woreda*. The school was built only months before the research was conducted, and school records on dropouts and class lists were not available. The last school was the Atse Yohannes Secondary School in the Mekelle zone, which had been there for 47 years. The Agazi Secondary School had the highest number of students (4841), while Atse Yohannes had 3472, and the Edaga Hamus Secondary School had 1633 students. The total number of enrolled females was lower at all schools. Edaga Hamus Secondary School, for instance, had 433 female students that enrolled, implying 27 percent of the total number of students (Department of Planning and Economic Development and Eastern Tigray Development Programme 1997; Department of Planning and Economic Development 2000; Tigray Region Planning and Economic Development Bureau 2002).

The fourth study area for data collection in Tigray was the Mekelle University. Established in May 2000, the merger of the two former colleges created the University: Mekelle Business College and Mekelle University College. Even though the management of the two colleges was independent, initiatives were taken to establish a unified university by the Colleges and the common Board of Governors. The first part of the University, namely the Mekelle Business College, was first established as a school of Economics in 1987, and the main objective was to train experts who could assume financial and administrative responsibilities during the armed struggle. After the downfall of the Derg regime, the school designed a new curriculum, and the school was upgraded to a college with a diploma degree in 1991. At the end of the first year, the College received full accreditation by the Ministry of Education (MoE). Since then it has been continuously expanding its programs and intake of students. The second part of the University, the Arid Agricultural College that was established in 1993, two years later took the name Mekelle University College.

At present, the Mekelle University has five faculties: Business and Economics, Dry Land Agriculture, Science and Technology, Law, and Education. Mekelle University caters for more than 6000 students and consists of degree and diploma awarding departments and other academic units. The academic staffs are about 211, and the administrative wing is approaching 500 employees. Mekelle University is now a government funded institution with collaborations with other national and international sister institutions, and is one of the fastest growing universities in Ethiopia (University 2002).

Detailed information on the Gross Enrollment Rate, repetition rates and dropouts of the four secondary schools and Mekelle University will be described under Chapter six on results and discussion since it will have direct implications for the success or failure of female education.

CHAPTER FIVE
METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODS

5.0 Introduction

When conducting social research I had to bear in mind the way that I would go about understanding the social reality. Methods are not tools that can be used neutrally, they will always affect the way that you understand the society or people being studied and analyzed. In my research I have chosen the combination of quantitative and qualitative research strategies, as will be elaborated under section 5.5.

This chapter will present the research design, the sampling procedure, ways of data collection, the validity and reliability of the data collection, and the problems encountered in the field.

5.1 Research Design

A choice of research design reflects decisions on the priorities being given to the research process. My research has most of its bearing from the *cross-sectional research design*. Bryman (2001) defines a cross-sectional design as 'the collection of data on more than one case and at a single point in time in order to collect a body of quantitative and quantifiable data in connection with two or more variables, which are then examined to detect patterns of association'.

More than one case implies that there is a variation in respect of people, families, organizations etc. This research looks into different factors that hinder girls and women from completing school, and thereby includes an examination of the families, the society and the politics that are part of the female students everyday life. When conducting this kind of material, the sampling procedure requires larger numbers. In my study therefore, several questionnaires and interviews were necessary in finding data that was relevant and valid and more easily comparable.

At a single point in time implies that data on the variables are collected more or less simultaneously, in my case through questionnaires, interviews and collection of documents over a two months period.

Quantitative or quantifiable data are methods for having a systematic and standardized procedure for examining the variation between variables. I chose the SPSS system as the main tool for analysis of the findings, which is one of the most widely used computer software of the analysis of quantitative data for social scientists (Bryman 2001).

Patterns of association enable an interpretation of the relationship between the variables. In my analysis it is important to find the relationships between the socio-cultural, socio-economic, school level, policy and law factors to be able to investigate the degree of interconnectedness and complexity affecting girls and women's education.

Using the cross sectional design thereby provides a good baseline for my research methods, particularly for the quantitative method but also in qualitative research. Qualitative research can represent a form of cross sectional design when using focus groups and content analysis as well as semi-structured interviews at a single point in time. A description of the advantages of using both methods of data collection is presented under section 5.3. The basic structure of the cross sectional design thereby represents to a large extent the framework of my research methods and data analysis, and thereby becomes an applicable design in this thesis.

5.2 Sampling procedure

In any research, one of the important aspects is to clarify the data instruments through conducting pre-tests. The objective of pre-testing is to make sure that questions are clear and improves the research design (Kane 1997). This from for testing will therefore provide valid and reliable instruments used in the research. Before initiating the field procedures, I conducted a pre-test on 10 students in grade 12, 5 girls and 5 boys, at Atse Yohannes Secondary School. The students did not comprehend its content as the questionnaires were written in English, and they were in need of assistance through the whole session. The questionnaires had to be translated into Tigrigna, which is their local language. After the translation process, my translator and I were present during the whole procedure of answering the questionnaires. At the secondary schools, my translator explained all the questions to the students to minimize the risk of misunderstandings and misinterpretations. All in all, these efforts helped to ensure the validity and reliability of my data.

Two of the secondary schools were selected from one urban and one rural area in the Eastern zone. The next two secondary schools were chosen from one semi-rural area in the Southern

zone, and one urban area in the Mekelle zone. Different zones in Tigray were selected because of the importance of presenting a representative sample of the population and both understanding the heterogeneity and the diversity between the zones and the urban and rural areas.

In my research I developed four different questionnaires: A girls' questionnaire and a boys' questionnaire for the four secondary schools, one questionnaire for teacher students at the Mekelle University College, and one questionnaire for the university students at the Mekelle Business College. Other main instruments were individual interviews, focus group discussions and gathering general information from the four *woredas* (reports, documents, statistics, school records) and other specific information from the relevant offices and organizations (Tigray Regional Education Bureau, Department of Planning and Economic Development and The Women's Associations of Tigray). In addition, direct observation in the field helped validate the oral statements from the officials, school principals, dropouts, students, parents and teachers. At the four secondary schools I decided to have a total number of 325 questionnaires, interview four school principals, seven teachers, eight parents, and conduct six focus group discussions. The discussion groups consisted of eight participants, where three groups had eight girls in each and three groups had eight boys in each. Of the male students, 78 were from the rural area and 50 from the urban. For the female students, 114 were from the rural area and 100 from the urban. At the Mekelle University College, 37 teacher students were selected from the Education faculty. Responses of the questionnaires at the Mekelle Business College came from 3 male and 7 females residing at the Law faculty and 4 male and 23 female students from the Business and Economics faculty.

As mentioned, both male and female students answered the questionnaires, as it is important to include both sexes in research dealing with factors affecting girls and women's education, particularly in a male dominating society where the female in most cases are dependent upon male support. Since my main focus is about girls and women, I still chose to have them answering the majority of the questionnaires.

The method of selecting the schools and the students was based on a combination of probability and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling means that a sample has been selected using random selection so that each unit in the population has an equal chance of being selected. The aim of probability sampling is to keep the sampling error low. Non-

probability sampling incurs a sample that has not been selected using a simple random sampling. This implies that some units of the population are more likely to be selected than others (Bryman 2001). Non-probability sampling was used when the four secondary schools were chosen. The selection procedure was based on advice from the Deputy Officer of the Tigray Regional Education Bureau, the easy accessibility to the study areas, and the equal distribution of urban and rural districts. As a result, all schools in the Tigray region did not have an equal chance of being chosen. I, however, saw this procedure as the best approach for the time given in the field. Permission to conduct the study at the secondary schools was obtained by the Deputy Officer of the Tigray Educational Bureau in Mekelle city. A letter of introduction was written for the four secondary schools, and given to the school principals when I arrived at the schools. The permission to conduct the research at the University was not necessary. However, my local supervisor contacted the staff at the University and they confirmed that I could hand out questionnaires to the students and conduct interviews with the lecturers.

When selecting a student sample, I used probability sampling in the form of stratified sampling and random sampling at Atse Yohannes Secondary School, Agazi Secondary School, Edaga Hamus Secondary School and the Mekelle University. Class lists were provided from the school principals at the secondary schools, and from two lecturers working at the Mekelle University. A stratified sampling procedure was used when a fixed amount of girls and boys were decided before the male and female students within each grade were randomly selected. At Atse Yohannes Secondary School numbers and sections were written on a piece of paper and arranged in two separate boxes. Grade 9, for instance, consisted of section A-H, with 853 students altogether. Deciding on the amount of girls and boys from each grade, I randomly picked, for instance, section A and number 25. This meant that the student that was number 25 in Section A would become part of my sample. At Agazi Secondary School and Edaga Hamus Secondary School I picked male and female students directly from the numbers on the class lists. The chosen students were then collected by the school principal and gathered in a classroom. Although names sometimes formed the basis of the selection at the schools, anonymity was ensured through the research procedure by explaining to the students and the other interview objects that their names would not be mentioned in my thesis. Students from Mekelle University were selected from class lists and picked randomly after selecting a fixed number of male and female students from the different specializations. The fourth secondary school, the Adigudem Secondary School, was

established only months before I arrived, and class lists were not available at that time. A selection of the students was based on non-probability sampling as the school principal and myself made the selection of the students. We went to each of the classrooms and picked randomly a fixed number of students from different sections and grade levels. As mentioned, a higher number of female students were included in the sample from all schools.

Teachers from the secondary schools and lecturers from the Mekelle University were selected based on the premise of having both female and male teachers in the sample, and in different age ranges. Out of seven teachers, I interviewed one female and six male teachers. The reasons for interviewing only one female teacher were either due to the low number that were actually working at the secondary schools or that they were not able to participate in an interview because of a tight time schedule. Four teachers were from the rural area, and three from the urban areas. One male and two female lecturers were interviewed at Mekelle University. Teachers and lecturers were chosen because they are familiar with the school and student situation, and are important role models for the students. Significant information could be obtained about their perceptions, and attitudes towards the low enrollment of girls and women in school.

During the selection of the parents, interviewing both female and male individuals as well as selecting parents with different educational and occupational backgrounds became important indicators for my study. The parents were chosen in collaboration with the school principals, and meetings were arranged with the parents. Out of the eight parents, one female and two males were from the rural area, and three females and one male were from the urban area. Their present occupation ranged from either having a private pharmacy, selling *tella* (Ethiopia's traditional beer), working as a librarian or being a housewife. A variety of educational backgrounds and income per year implied diversification, and became representative for the population in Tigray.

Separate focus groups for boys and girls were arranged in classrooms at all four secondary schools. Selection was based on asking the students whether or not they wanted to be a part of the focus group. I found it important that the group was made up of volunteers that were willing to have a discussion about females and education.

To widen the research perspective and provide more reliable and valid data, I also interviewed four school dropouts, the Deputy Officer of the Tigray Regional Educational Bureau, the leader of the educational bureau in Adigrat, leaders of WAT in Adigrat and Mekelle and a representative from the Relief Society of Tigray (REST). These interviews gave more in-depth information about the factors that complicate girls and women's education and helped strengthening or weakening the results from the questionnaires and interviews conducted in the school environment.

5.3 Source of data collection

Different approaches to the process of data collection can be face-to-face interviewing, mail questionnaires, written questionnaires, telephone interviewing, focus groups and participant observation among others. A complementary method can reveal discrepancies that a single technique might not. Combining questionnaires, interviews, secondary analysis and participant observation can yield more reliable and valid information and create a triangulation effect when you use more than one person or method to collect the same information (Kane 1997).

As mentioned, I decided to use quantitative methods in the form of questionnaires, and qualitative methods through the use of semi-structured interviews. Other methods, such as mail and telephone interviews and participant observation, were not found suitable. Poor infrastructure made the accessibility of mail and telephone low. In addition, participant observation where you have to live for a certain period of time in the study area became difficult to accomplish through such a limited time span.

One of my most important sources of data collection was the written questionnaire, which aims to provide good *measurements, causality* and *generalisability* in research when used appropriate. *Measurements* will give more detailed differences between people in terms of their characteristic, and provides a consistent instrument for exploring differences. To be able to measure it is necessary to have indicators that will stand for the concepts of the measurement (Bryman 2001). In my case, the main indicators used are those that can explain the more general concepts of culture, tradition, school environment and policies in relation to what kind of effects this has on girls and women's education. Example of indicators can be the educational background of their mother and father, the family income per year, drop out rate of the children in the household, direct costs of schooling etc.

Causality refers to not only describing how things are, but also to say why things are the way they are. My research has tried to explain the difficult situation for girls at school in terms of social characteristics, such as education. The causes can be cultural, such as parents' attitudes of not sending their girl to school, and the effects are drop out.

In quantitative research it is also important to be able to state that your findings can be *generalized* beyond the context in which the research was conducted. Thus, it becomes crucial to generate a representative sample. Using random sampling will to a large extent eliminate bias from the selection of sample however it cannot guarantee a representative sample, as there will always be factors over and above the selection system that can affect the generalization. In addition, the researcher has to bear in mind that the results are only representative of the population from which it was selected in a limited period of time. It will not provide reliable data that can be generalized beyond the relevant town, region, organization etc. from which the sample is taken (ibid), such as being relevant for all of Ethiopia.

Finally, written questionnaires can also capture a lot of information and is less time consuming than interviews. A questionnaire gives the respondent time to consider each question before answering at the speed they wish (ibid).

Qualitative data collection, in the form of semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, also represent essential research methods. This is because it can guide in the interpretation of meaning of material collected through quantitative techniques and illustrate more clearly the findings from the quantitative research (Kane 1997). Semi-structured interviews do not have to follow a certain closed-ended structure, and the interviewer process is more flexible (Bryman 2001). The method can further provide a holistic picture of the factors that affects girls and women's education.

A combination of the qualitative and quantitative methods thereby becomes important in my research to gain the effect of providing a reliable and valid data basis for my analyses and discussions. Testing a theory and at the same time investigate the social reality become two considerations that are important to bring together.

Scientists may seek to replicate each other's experiments. If it is not possible to reproduce the results, then the validity of my research becomes difficult to explain. A clear and detailed explanation of my questionnaires is therefore presented before explaining the problems that I encountered in the field.

5.3.1 Student questionnaires

Both open and closed- ended questions were used in the questionnaires (Appendix 1-4). Open-ended questions allow for a broad response and give the respondent the opportunity to express his or her views and opinions. Closed-ended questions have a clear focus where explicit answers are required. These questions become more easily quantifiable, and are comprehensible to the interviewer and the interviewee (Salkind 2003). The questionnaire for the secondary school students and the university students included firstly face-sheet information of the respondents' sex, age, religion, ethnic group, marital status, number of children, and area of residence. The second part focused on the parents' occupation and educational background and whether or not they had dropped out of school and for what reason as well as the school cost for the parents per month. This would enable me to understand to what extent these issues affected their daughters. Third part sought to find the division of labor in the household and the effects it would have on girls and women's participation in the schools. Fourth part dealt with the school environment. Topics such as repetition rates, tutorial classes, grades, future education, work class participation, subject preference, and club memberships were included. Other questions focused on why they believe girls and boys drop out of school, how they think society view highly educated women, benefits of education, and whom they would seek help if they had personal problems. These questions provided indicators for the present student opinions of the problems as to why girls and women do not continue their education, the educational situation at the schools and the extent of difference between male and female students in these matters. Finally, general questions were asked regarding their brothers and sisters, their teachers, the distance to school, and the school facilities.

For the teacher students additional questions were asked including if and how they would encourage girls to participate in the classroom, and whether or not they were informed about the decentralization process and the Education Sector Development Program. Investigating the interest of teacher students in terms of encouraging girls and being familiar with the most recent policies that have an influence on the education sector would generate information as

to how the future teachers students could aid in enhancing the enrollment and the completion rates for girls and women in schools.

5.3.2 Interviews and focus group discussions

The semi-structured interviews all started with face-sheet questions including sex, age, marital status, area of residence, religion and ethnic group. Their educational background and income per month were recorded. All interviewees were asked about what they believe is the main reason why girls and boys drop out of school. The *parents* were questioned about their children including how many who have dropped out and the workload their children have at home. I also asked them if they would have chosen to send a girl or a boy to school, and what jobs they wished for their children in the future. This enabled me to compare with the questionnaires from the students and ascertaining the role of the parents in the participation of their daughters and sons in school. Interviews with *teachers, lecturers, school principals and representatives from the educational bureau* concentrated mainly on the school facilities, girls' participation in the classroom, the existence of tutorial classes for girls, the implementation of policy issues, and the presence of counseling facilities. *School dropouts* were asked, in addition to the general questions mentioned above, about why they dropped out, and their future prospects. *Focus groups* included general questions on subject preference, tutorial classes, problems that they encounter at school, why girls and boys drop out and their future career opportunities.

All the information obtained from the questionnaires and the interviews will not be included in the analysis and discussion of the findings. Reasons for not including all this information is that only the most vital information that provided answers to the research objectives is taken into consideration.

5.4 Problems encountered

The most significant 'problem' was being a young, white, female researcher. Doing research in a male dominated society where a woman lives in a subordinated position made it more complicated in gaining all necessary information. These issues are difficult to validate, however, just being a female will provide a different point of departure when doing research in a patriarchal society. In addition, being white is often seen as a sign of prosperity and richness. It was sometimes difficult to explain to some of the respondents that I was only here doing research and not representing my government or a non-governmental organization.

Their answers might have been influenced by the belief that I could be of monetary or practical help to them.

Miscommunication, due to different language as well as time concepts and agreements, created additional problems during the course of fieldwork. Firstly, Ethiopia has another time era, meaning a difference of six hours where 14.00pm Ethiopian times are equivalent to 08.00am European times. In some cases there were misunderstanding as to when appointments were to take place. Secondly, some of the interview objects were not present when I came to conduct an interview or they were more than one hour late. Collecting data and working efficiently sometimes became difficult.

CHAPTER SIX
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.0 Introduction

This thesis has dealt with theories and concepts of gender inequality and their application to female education in Ethiopia, a description of the study areas, a brief explanation of the educational system, and a presentation of the research methods. These accounts provide a framework for the law, policies, cultural, social, economic, and school factors that affects girls and women's educational opportunities. The main purpose of Chapter six is to analyze and discuss the main findings in relation to the objectives that were presented under the introduction. A detailed description of the different factors that have an effect on girls and women's educational access, achievement and attainment is explained in the introduction and will not be repeated under this Chapter. The answer to my second objective is analysed in the section on policies and law factors (Section 6.1), while the first objective refers to the sections on the socio-cultural, socio-economic and school factors (Sections 6.3-6.5). Attempts at finding solutions to the third objective are found in Section 7.1 on 'Recommendations'.

When presenting the tables where both men and women are presented, it is important to bear in mind that the number of male and female respondents was not equal, and only comparable in terms of percentages.

6.1 Policies and law factors

Ethiopia has taken many steps to promote human rights and women's rights. Presenting and discussing the historical and current situation of land rights and women's rights in terms of what have been changed to the benefits of women will hopefully develop an understanding as to the effect policies and laws have had and presently have for women in their everyday life. Secondly, a presentation of the school policies will give the reader an opportunity to analyze to what extent the Government has succeed with their new Education Sector Development Program (ESDP).

6.1.1 Land Rights

Since over 80 percent of the population are engaged in agriculture and reside in rural areas, land rights have been a strong political issue in Ethiopia. The history of land rights can be divided into three periods: pre-1974, 1975-1991, and 1991 to the present.

Before the agrarian reform in 1975, peasants gained access to land through inheritance or through groups that traced the descent from a certain ancestor. Most of the land was controlled by political and social elites, and the social relationships consisted of landlord-tenant. Ruling-class women could purchase land or land was given to them (Hoben 1973;Crummey 1981 in Tadesse 2003).

The Derg regime introduced the agrarian reform in 1975, and promised an end to the landlord-tenant relationship. The land reform, however, only led to impoverishment of the peasants. Implementation of the reform was discriminatory against women in the form of not taking intra-household relationships into account because they only registered the land under the household, which in most cases were male headed. The situation was especially difficult for women in polygamous relations and divorced women. In polygamous marriages, men often registered only one woman in the household, and female-headed households came into being as a result of divorce. Although land titles were allocated to these households, they were often of minimal size. Moreover, since women depended on men to help them on the farm, they had less control over the type of produce and land use priorities (Tadesse 2003). New rural institutions were needed, and the Peasant Association (PA) was established. They were responsible for land allocation and served as a tool for the state, giving people little authority over their land rights (Pankhurst 1992). Only house heads were registered as members, excluding many of the women. By 1990, women comprised only 12 percent of PA membership. Similarly, only 7.5 percent women were member of producer cooperatives (Tadesse 2003). Women were not on the political and legal arena where decision over land use was disputed.

When the Tigray People's Liberation Front came to power it introduced a land distribution system that gave rights over land to individuals and not to the household. Until 1987, it was a prerequisite to be married to receive these rights. A Land Law in 1987 abolished the precondition, and land was given to men and women without reference to their marital status. Since 1991, land issues were addressed under the new Constitution in 1994. The new Constitution states that women and men have equal rights to access, use, administration and transfer of land as well as equal treatment in inheritance of property. In addition, the federal Government set forth principles of equality of women and men in areas of economic, cultural, political and educational rights (ibid.).

Few attempts have been made to implement these constitutional provisions and to make women aware of their rights to land. In order for the laws to be enforced more effectively, they have to be more strongly committed to gender equality and include mechanisms of public awareness (ibid.).

Laws of a land often reflect the society's political and economic life, and only 40 years ago the laws were discriminatory against women in Ethiopia. Although the situation has improved for the women in terms of the land rights, there is still low awareness of laws and issues related to women's rights.

6.1.2 Women's laws and rights

Politically, women have been and still are underrepresented in political and social positions caused by fewer opportunities given to enhance their leadership capacities and educational level. In order to improve the condition of women in Ethiopia and eliminate cultural and customary practices that hinder women's full participation in society, the Government of Ethiopia designed a National Policy on Ethiopian Women.

The content of the policy is the following:

- To make sure that women's right to equality applies for all aspects of life
- To eliminate old traditional practices and laws that discriminate against women
- Guarantee women's democratic and human rights
- Create an environment where women can participate in the formulation and implementation of development and economic plans
- Ensure the supply of basic services necessary for women, especially women living in rural areas

  Source: (The Transitional Government of Ethiopia 1993)

Another important instrument for raising women's status was the signing of the 1979 'Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women' (CEDAW). Article 16:b and 16:2 state that women have 'the same right freely to choose a spouse and enter into marriage only with their free and full consent'; and 'the betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age of marriage and to make the registration of marriage in an

official registry compulsory' (United Nations General Assembly 1979). Age of marriage for women is now changed to the age of 18.

Women are now equal before the law and are also participating more strongly in society. There are now women involved on the political arena, and working as teachers, mechanics, technicians etc. Associations such as EWLA (Ethiopian Women Lawyers' Association) and WAT (Women's Association of Tigray) have made great efforts in strengthening women's rights. They are working for educating women and making them aware of their legal rights. In addition, affirmative actions that can bring more women onto the political and legal arena are implemented in several schools and institutions.

Although women formally have gained equal rights, harmful traditional practices, uneven sexual division of labor, and low completion rate in the secondary and tertiary sectors leading to less influence in decision-making processes are still some of the facets prevailing in the Ethiopian society. These issues will be presented under sections 6.3 to 6.5.

6.1.3 School policies towards women's education

Any educational policies will have direct impact on the access, achievement and attainment of girls and women's education. An Education Sector Development Program (ESDP) was developed in 1997 by the government with support from the World Bank and other external funding agencies. ESDP continued the decentralization process from the Education and Training Policy initiated in 1994 (see Chapter two), and intended to make education more efficient and economically relevant. The first five years of the strategic plan focused on the primary sector. The government, however, realized that too much effort and resources were allocated to the primary sector. The second five-year strategic plan gave more attention to the secondary and tertiary levels than previous programs and projects had. Gender concerns were incorporated into almost all components of the ESDP at both regional and national level. At regional level, for instance, efforts were taken to continue increasing girls' enrollment and retention in primary school and decide on measures that could increase the female completion rates. Some of the measures planned that either are planned or already implemented are gender-sensitive training, appointment of female leaders, counseling for girls, initiating an annual educational conference with special consideration to gender issues, tutorial classes only given for girls, and strengthening teachers' encouragement in making girls stronger participants in the classrooms.

The implementation of the ESDP is still at its infancy stage, however, analyzing and discussing the educational situation in Tigray, and investigating the socio-cultural, socio-economic and school level factors will give an indicator of the Government's success. Before presenting these issues, it is interesting to analyze the knowledge of the ESDP and the decentralization process (see Chapter two) among teacher students, school principals and teachers, as they represent vital information resources to the students and the community.

Table 6.1 clearly shows that the knowledge of the Government's new education policy has not yet reached the teacher students. The decentralization process has had a greater information impact as more than 40 percent had heard about it (Table 6.2). These numbers correspond with the answers from the teachers in the four research areas, where four out of six teachers had never heard about the ESDP. The school principals were familiar with its content, and one of them mentioned that representatives from the curriculum development institute came and interviewed the teachers and made suggestions for improvement. He also mentioned that the Government had incorporated gender awareness in their program. When asking another of the principals on the effect of the ESDP, he responded that it tries to enhance learning, develop student centres, and attempt at changing teachers' attitudes so that they treat all students equally. Although the principals were familiar with the ESDP, three of the schools were not directly involved in the program, and the information obtained was only through the media. When asking the Deputy Officer of the Tigray Educational Bureau about the reason for the lack of information and implementation at the schools in the Tigray region he responded that all regional plans were given to each school and the school principals were informed about new education policies. Distributing information directly to the teachers, however, was an expensive procedure. As it is the school principals' responsibility to distribute the information to the teachers and the students, it cannot be effective due to the fact that the majority of the schools are not involved in the programs. In addition, teachers had problems following up the policies, such as reaching the goal of 80 percent pass at exams because they were exposed to heavy workload and having to deal with large class sizes.

Table 6.1 Knowledge of the ESDP (percentage)

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	4	11,0
No	33	89,0
Total	37	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 4

Questions on the knowledge of the decentralization process were more promising, as all of the respondents had heard about it. One of the teachers had the following response when asked about the content of the process: 'Power is given to the *woredas*. The leaders get more information about the different rural areas, and it can to a larger extent identify problems that exist in the rural areas'.

Table 6.2 Knowledge of the decentralization process (percentage)

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	15	40,5
No	19	51,0
No response	3	8,5
Total	37	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 4

Introducing and informing schools about the ESDP are measures that need to be taken by the Government, so that they achieve their goals and objectives and thereby can improve the situation for the girls and women. The next section will analyze and discuss what has been the change in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors before and after the introduction of the ESDP. The Gross Enrollment Rate (GER), repetition rates and the drop out rates in the four research areas are essential indicators when assessing the influence of the education policy.

6.2 The educational situation in Tigray

6.2.1 Introduction

The literacy level is low in Ethiopia, and the Tigray region in particular falls under this category. The illiterate level accounts for 86.3 percent, which is considered significantly lower than even standards in other sub-Saharan African countries (Tigray Education Management Information Services 2001/2002).

After the downfall of the Derg regime, the Tigray Education Bureau (TEB) in cooperation with the Ministry of Education have made vital efforts in reducing the illiterate level and rehabilitating the educational service. In general, the educational access has improved since the end of the civil war. In Ganta Afeshum the educational access accounted for 99 percent. The access to education in the Saesie Tsaeda Emba *woreda* was slightly lower (94 %). As mentioned, these percentages stem from a social survey sample of 1620 participants in the

Ganta Afeshum *woreda* and 1934 respondents in the Saesie-Tsaeda Emba *woreda*. The household access to educational services was lower (58 %) in Hintalo Wajerat, which represents a more rural area with longer distances to the schools than the Eastern zone (Department of Planning and Economic Development and Eastern Tigray Development Programme 1997).

For the years 1997 to 2002, the total number of primary schools in Tigray increased from 789 to 924, which is 17 percent. Including the secondary schools and the University, there are 959 schools in the region. Ganta Afeshum had the highest number of schools (47, see Table 6.3) while Saesie-Tsaeda Emba and Hintalo Wajerat had the lowest (35).

Table 6.3 Total numbers of schools in Ganta Afeshum, Saesie-Tsaeda Emba, Hintalo Wajerat and Mekelle

	No. of primary schools	No. of secondary schools	No. of tertiary schools
Ganta Afeshum	44	3	
Saesie-Tsaeda Emba	34	1	
Hintalo Wajerat	34	1	
Mekelle	34	9	1

Source: (Tigray Education Management Information Services 2001/2002)

6.2.2 Primary sector

The apparent intake rate of students in grade one was 113 percent in 2001/2002 (Table 6.4), which illustrates a narrowing gap between boys and girls. In 1997/1998 the gap was 10 percent in favor of boys, but in 2001/2002 the gap was only 0.14 percent in favor of boys.

Table 6.4 Apparent intake rates in Tigray (percentage)

	Boys	Girls	Total
1997/1998	115	105.5	110.5
1998/1999	89	86	87
1999/2000	112	114.5	113
2000/2001	130	133	131
2001/2002	113	113	113

Source: Annual Abstract Statistics (2001/2002)

The Gross Enrollment Rate (GER), meaning the total enrollment of boys and girls for grade 1-8, was 56 percent in 1997/1998 (Table 6.5). This figure has grown to 72.5 percent in 2001/2002. The GER for girls was constantly lower than that of the boys.

Table 6.5 Gross Enrolment Rate (1-8) in Tigray (percentage)

	Boys	Girls	Total
1997/1998	62	50	56
1998/1999	63	54	58.5
1999/2000	63	61	63.5
2000/2001	74	70.5	72.5
2001/2002	77	74	75

Source: (Tigray Education Management Information Services 2001/2002)

The primary school enrollment for the four *woredas* was high for all age groups (Table 6.6). One of the reasons is that the public schools are free and that the Government has spent a significant amount of their public expenditure on primary schools.

Table 6.6 Primary school enrolments of the four research areas

Ganta Afeshum		Saesie-Tsaeda Emba		Hintalo Wajerat		Mekelle	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
16931	16542	13911	11769	8314	8491	63986	61284

Source: (Tigray Education Management Information Services 2001/2002)

The repetition rate for primary schools was high in Tigray. Repeaters are those students who appear in the same grade at least twice. Grade four was highest (10 %) followed by grade seven (8 %) and grade one (7 %). In Mekelle, 18 percent boys and 20 percent girls in grade one were reported as repeaters (Tigray Region Planning and Economic Development Bureau 2002). In the rural *woreda* Hintalo Wajerat, a total of 6 percent female and 9 percent male students repeated one or more grades at the primary level. Similar numbers were found in the Saesie-Tsaeda Emba *woreda* with 7 percent male repeaters and 8 percent female repeaters (Tigray Education Management Information Services 2001/2002). No diminishing results of the repetition rate were visible from 1999 to 2001.

From 1997 to 2002, the primary school teacher student ratio grew from 1:52 to 1:69, which indicates that the supply of teachers did not coincide with the growing number of students (ibid.). Consequently, managing good quality education has become difficult.

6.2.3 Secondary sectors

Between 1997 and 2002 the secondary school Gross Enrollment Rate increased from 9.5 percent to 28.4 percent and from 4.5 percent to 15 percent for boys and girls respectively (Table 6.7). Although the GER has increased by 15 percent, 78 percent of the total population who could join secondary school (age 15-18) was either out of the system or still in the primary school. In addition, the gender gap in secondary schools was still in favour of boys.

Table 6.7 Secondary School Gross Enrollment Rate in Tigray (percentage)

Year	Boys	Girls
1997/1998	9.5	4.5
1998/1999	12	5.7
1999/2000	17	8.7
2000/2001	26	15
2001/2002	28.4	15.4

Source: (Tigray Education Management Information Services 2001/2002)

The low percentage of the secondary enrollment was further reflected in Ganta Afeshum and Saesie-Tsaeda Emba. Out of a total of 1620 respondents in Ganta Afeshum, 1 percent completed grade 9 to 12. In Saesie-Tsaeda Emba, the completion grade was 0.3 percent. After grade 12, 0.2 percent continued their education in Ganta Afeshum while none of the respondents of the survey in Saesi Tsaeda Emba completed grade 12 (Department of Planning and Economic Development and Eastern Tigray Development Programme 1997).

The completion percentage in secondary schools was further affected by the average age being higher than in the developed countries. Mekelle zone, for instance, had 74 percent male and 86 percent female enrolling in grade 9-10 at the age of 15 to 18. For grade 11 and 12, 72 percent of the male students and 85 percent of the female students enrolled at the age of 19 years and above (Tigray Education Management Information Services 2001/2002). One of the major reasons, which will be analyzed and discussed in the following sections, is that the high

age is often caused by socio-cultural, socio-economic and school level factors. Girls, for instance, are often forced to heavy workload in the household, which often lead to repetition or drop out.

Finally, the drop out rate is also an indicator of the educational situation after the introduction of the ESDP. According to the school principal at Atse Yohannes Secondary School an average of 10-15 students dropped out per year. In 2002, 18 female and 4 male students repeated grade 9, and 6 female and 2 male students repeated classes in grade 11. Grade 10 and 12 did not have repetition rate due to final exams (Personal communication with school principal on the 28th of October). At the Agazi Secondary School only 0.9 percent of the total number of students dropped out (Table 6.8).

Table 6.8 Number of drops, by sex, at the four secondary schools

GRADE	No. of male students	%-of male student drop outs	No. of female students	%-of female student drop outs
9	793	1.7	652	0.3
10	792	3.3	455	0.4
11	612	0.0	259	0.0
12	1030	0.0	311	0.0

Source: Interview with School Director and analyses of school records on the 10th of November at Agazi Secondary School.

Another example is the drop out rate for the Edaga Hamus Secondary School, which is taken from the year 2002/2003 (Table 6.9). Results from the year 2003/2004 were not yet recorded. Here we see that female dropouts were high, particularly in grade 9, and almost non-existent from grade 10 to 12. One of the reasons is that only a small number of female students are actually enrolled beyond grade 9, and that a majority of them repeat this grade level.

Table 6.9 Number of students and drop out percentages in Grade 9-12 in 2002/2003 at Edaga Hamus Secondary School

GRADE	No. of male students	% of male student drop outs	No. of female students	% of female student drop outs
9	340	9.2	150	18.6
10	315	2.8	125	4.8
11	197	4.6	63	1.6
12	107	0.0	13	0.0

Source: Interview with Vice-Director and analysis of school records on the 13th of November at Edaga Hamus Secondary School

Although the completion and enrollment rate of girls at secondary level were low, their wishes for the future were still going to the University. Table 6.10 illustrates that the majority of the female students wanted to attend tertiary sector if they managed to pass their exam.

Table 6.10 Attending University or College for secondary female students

Count

		Female students
	Yes	208
	No	6
Total		214

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1 and 2

These numbers should be interesting for the Government as they are showing that girls are concerned with joining higher institutions, and that other factors represent more important determinants as to why girls and women have fewer educational opportunities.

6.2.4 Tertiary sectors

Research shows that most female students are under-represented in institutions of higher learning. One of the main reasons can be that girls are not able to compete with boys in their performance on the ESLCE (Ethiopian General Secondary Education Certificate Examination). Out of the four secondary schools where I conducted my research, only a total of 579 female students took the exam, in comparison with 1201 male students in 2002/2003 (Table 6.11). Analysing the results of the exams, the total percentage of female students scoring higher than 2.2 was 22 percent. For the male students, 39 percent passed exams with grade 2.2 or better. Entering higher education for girls and women thereby becomes difficult due to the low percentage that pass the exams.

Table 6.11 Results of the Ethiopian General Secondary Education Certificate Examination (EGSECE- 2002/2003)

				Poor		Satisfactory		Good		Very good		Excellent	
School	Took Exam			0.0-1.0		1.2-2.0		2.2-2.4		2.6-3.0		3.2-4.0	
	M	F	T	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Adigudem	212	91	303	0	0	137	69	54	20	15	2	6	0
Agazi	613	325	938	0	4	355	245	176	66	68	9	14	1
Atse Yohannes	68	23	91	3	4	54	19	6	0	4	0	1	0
Edaga Hamus	308	140	448	0	1	191	74	86	23	20	6	11	1

Source: Tigray Regional Education Bureau, EGSECE

Interventions were introduced at the secondary level with the intent of increasing the number of female students at tertiary level. In 1995/1996 a model was implemented at Atse Yohannes Secondary School that aimed at identifying the problems of why there were fewer females attending higher education. After the lecturers chose a sample of 50 female students and conducted the class for about 250 hours, females scored higher grades and became more self-confident (Abraha 2000). Giving special support can thereby have the effect of increasing the number of female students that join the tertiary level. In addition, a majority of secondary schools have initiated tutorial classes for both sexes. Some of the schools even offer tutorial classes for girls only, such as the Atse Yohannes Secondary School. Asking the students whether or not they had or were presently attending tutorials, half of the male responded that they had or were taking tutorial classes (Table 6.12), in comparison with female students where a higher percentage (65 %) responded yes to the same question. This indicates, firstly, that girls were more in need of assistance at school. Secondly, it shows that girls are struggling more either with the subjects itself, or that external factors make it more difficult for them to successfully follow the classes.

Table 6.12 Frequency of attending tutorial classes, by sex

Count

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	75	159	234
No	74	82	156
No response	5	5	10
Total	154	246	400

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

To implement the intervention model and initiating tutorial classes will depend on the schools' resources and its priorities. Atse Yohannes was the only secondary school of the four research schools that had tried the intervention model. According to the school principals, special support was difficult to manage due to heavy workload of the teachers and lack of resources. All the secondary schools in my study were offering tutorial classes. Although female students have received more attention in terms of special support and tutorials, they continue scoring lower than the male students, which is also visible at the tertiary level.

At the Mekelle Business College, which is part of the Mekelle University, a total of 5182 students have enrolled from the year 1991 to 2000, out of which 1491 students graduated. From Table 6.13 one can read that the enrollment was higher for males (74 %) than females (20 %). Partly it can be explained by the difference in performance between males and females at secondary level. The completion percentage was 22 percent for the female students, and 78 percent for the male students. The remaining part (36 %) either dropped out or failed in the process. As a result, the educational wastage presently remains high.

Table 6.13 Students enrolled at the Mekelle Business College (1991-2000), by number and percentages

Programs	Females	Males	Total	%-tage of female students	%-tage of male students
Regular	311	1649	1960	16 %	84 %
Extension	1062	2160	3222	33 %	67 %
Total	1373	3809	5182	20 %	74 %

Source: (Abraha 2000)

Interventions to raise the number of female students in the higher institutions became necessary for the Ministry of Education. Firstly, they decided to introduce affirmative action, where female students were permitted to enter with 0.2 Grade Point Average lower than that of the boys. Secondly, placement of students in its various programmes was decided in a way that seemed best for the student and with emphasis on letting female students have their first choice. Table 6.14 shows that 87 percent of the female Degree students and 60 percent of the female students taking their Degree and Diploma had their 1st choice fulfilled. A high percentage of the female students were then prioritized although they scored lower than the male students (Office of the Registrar at Mekelle University 2003). Thirdly, the Mekelle University College has appointed a committee for the special support of female students. The

main objective for the committee is to enhance the participation of female students. It also solves other administrative and academic problems that the females might face such as providing them with counseling and tutorial classes. When evaluating the introduction of the special support program, the committee concluded that there had been a reduction in the number of female dropouts.

Table 6.14 2002/03 Academic Year Regular Students Placement Registered at Mekelle University

1. By Choice

1.1Degree

Choice	Male	Female	Total
1st Choice	1347	222	1569
2nd Choice	114	15	129
3rd Choice	35	4	39
4th Choice	15	3	18
Without Choice	22	11	33
Total	1533	255	1788

1.2 Diploma

Choice	Male	Female	Total
1st Choice	214	22	236
2nd Choice	50	6	56
3rd Choice	58	9	67
4th Choice	113	45	158
Without Choice	28	1	29
Total	463	83	546

Source: (Office of the Registrar at Mekelle University 2003)

In summary, the existing quality of education in higher institutions is thereby a reflection of the educational situation at the secondary level. An allocation of resources to all levels of education becomes of vital importance for the Government, particularly if girls and women are to be given a greater chance in succeeding at school. It is also important to remember that the inequalities in exam results between the sexes are not based on the students' performances alone. According to objective one, a majority of the constraints girls and women are facing

can also be explained in terms of the socio-cultural, socio-economic and school related factors. These issues will be analyzed and discussed under sections 6.3 to 6.5.

6.3 Socio-cultural factors

6.3.1 Introduction

The society's expectations of roles of men and women represent major obstacles for the educational achievements of girls and women. In many African societies women are taken out of school due to heavy workload at home. Other issues can be the low social status of women due to the cultural traditions and religious beliefs that construct gender differences in education (Bloch 1998).

6.3.2 Culture and religion

Attitudes to girls' education are greatly influenced by parents' influence and the customary practices of a country. According to the customs and beliefs of a 'traditional' society, educating a daughter can provide her with lesser chances of finding a husband or bearing a child if she lives in a society where those values are more important. Men can be more reluctant to marry a woman who is educated because her only role is supposedly to take care of her children and the household (ibid.).

Ethiopia has diversified cultural and traditional practices. On one hand, these practices have a positive bearing on the society, such as postnatal care, and social gatherings. On the other hand, harmful traditional practices, such as early marriage, food taboos, tribal marks and female genital mutilation, affect the status and health situation of the population. Both men and women are victims of these practices, however, the female victimization is greater. According to the Government of Ethiopia, woman in Ethiopia that shows intelligence is taken for a;

'Crafty person; if she dares to express her views, she is labelled "long-tongued"; if she happens to be gutsy and vigorous, she is dubbed masculine; if she is not hard-working, she is considered to lack cooking and house-keeping skills. Women are, as a whole, viewed as a personification of weakness and as treacherous beings who do their duties when they are whipped or beaten' (The Transitional Government of Ethiopia 1993).

This statement can be of slight exaggeration, however, illustrates some of the common views of women in the Ethiopian society. Harmful traditional practices, such as early marriage and female genital mutilation, and religious traditions are here included as examples of socio-cultural factors that affect girls and women's education.

Early marriage and child birth

Early marriage and childbirth are particularly present in the northern and rural areas of Ethiopia. Being married is an important occupation for the girls, and marks the point in a woman's life where childbearing becomes socially acceptable. Being exposed to early pregnancy therefore increase if the girl is married when young. The mean age of marriage for females in Ethiopia is 17.6 years and 22.7 years for the males. Even though the new Constitution prohibits marriage under the age of 18 for girls and 22 for boys, girls still marry at the age of 15, or even at younger ages. According to the Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey from 2000, 14 percent of the female population marries at the age of 15 to 19.

The secondary and tertiary students from the four secondary schools and the Mekelle University were asked, from a list of eight alternatives, what they believed to be the main reason why girls drop out of school. Table 6.15 shows that marriage (47 %) and parental attitude (21,5 %) were the biggest determinants for why females drop out of school or repeat classes. These results clearly indicate that the practice of early marriage is still an important factor as to why girls and women do not continue their education.

Table 6.15 Gender related main reason that girls drop ou
(percentage)

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No response	11	2,8
	Sickness of girl or in the family	35	8,8
	Failed Exams for the girl	35	8,8
	Had enough school or repetition years	13	3,3
	Marriage	188	47,0
	Pregnancy	20	5,0
	Parent's attitude	86	21,5
	Other reasons for the girl	8	2,0
	None of the above options	4	1,0
	Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Explanatory answers when investigating the presence of early marriage are also detectable when looking at the reasons for dropouts among the respondents' sisters and brothers. Of the sisters in the family that had dropped out, the main reason (14.3 %) was due to marriage (Table 6.16). For the brothers, the main reason was being engaged in work (7 %) or poor economy in the household (7.3 %)(Table 6.17). Marriage for the males accounted for 1.3 percent only. Consequently, it is possible to claim that marrying at an early age is still common in Tigray, and the Government's efforts in abolishing the number of early marriages have not been enforced (Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey 2000).

When asking the students about their marital status, only 3 percent of the females responded that they were married or divorced (Table 6.18). It is difficult to say whether or not girls and women continue their education instead of getting married. A relationship of higher education and a higher median age of first marriage were found to be strong in Ethiopia, where women with at least secondary education marries five years later than women with primary or no education (Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey 2000). Other findings have concluded that a low percentage of the women were married because they chose to favor their career instead of having a conventional family life, and due to the high probability of dropping out (Watson and Modgil, et al. 1997).

Table 6.16 Sister drop out (percentage)

	Frequency	Percent
No response	249	62,3
Poor Economy	33	8,3
Parent's Attitude	3	,8
Social Problem	13	3,3
No knowledge of education	14	3,5
Marriage	57	14,3
Work	17	4,3
Failed	8	2,0
Health Problem	5	1,3
Pregnancy	1	,3
Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Table 6.17 Brother drop out (percentage)

	Frequency	Percent
No response	299	74,8
Poor Economy	29	7,3
Social Problem	10	2,5
No knowledge of education	9	2,3
Marriage	5	1,3
Individual Problem	6	1,5
Work	28	7,0
Failed	8	2,0
Health Problem	6	1,5
Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Table 6.18 Marital status, by sex

Count

	Male	Female	Total
Never married	145	220	365
Currently married	2	6	8
Divorced		1	1
Living together but not formally married	1	2	3
Have promised	2	6	8
No response	4	11	15
Total	154	246	400

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Early childbirth often leads to higher risks of maternal and infant mortality. Childbirth-related death in Ethiopia is among the highest in the world where the average woman gives birth to seven children throughout her life (Tadesse 2003). For the students responding to my questionnaire, only 7 women out of 400 male and female students claimed that they had children (Table 6.19). These numbers coincide with the Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey (2000), where a woman having no education becomes a mother four years earlier than those with at least secondary education. The median age at first birth was 19 years among women with no education while the median age increased to 20 years with primary education and to 23 years among women with at least secondary education.

School principals at two of the secondary schools responded that pregnant girls had the opportunity of continuing their education. However, not attending school in ten days for whatever reason, including giving birth, forced the students to repeat the school year. This

complicated the situation for pregnant girls that wanted to continue their education, and will sometimes force them to make the decision of dropping out.

Table 6.19 Number of children, by sex (n=400)

Count

	Male	Female	Total
Yes		7	7
No	154	239	393
Total	154	246	400

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Focus group discussions with female and male students also indicate that harmful traditional practices play an important role for the continuous education of female students. In one of the discussions with a female student group the following statement was expressed: 'We think that the main reasons are marriage and pregnancy'. Another group of male students responded that: 'Due to cultural influence, there is marriage and the parents are poor'. Two of the female dropouts interviewed confirmed this view, where marriage or pregnancies were the main reasons why they dropped out. These results coincide with the Social Interaction theory (see Chapter three) where the social practices and traditional beliefs and values that girls and women are exposed to limit their educational opportunities. As a result, married or pregnant women will become more or less barred from participating in the development of their country.

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)

FGM exists in 28 African countries, including Ethiopia, and has been practiced for centuries. A national survey on harmful practices revealed that in Ethiopia around 73 percent of the female population have undergone some form of genital mutilation (ibid). The practice is often done without any expertise present and with no anaesthesia and under unsanitary conditions. FGM is performed at the infancy stage, mostly at the 8th day after birth. The harmful effects can be infections, pain, diminished sexual satisfaction, difficulty at delivery and death due to bleeding.

In Tigray, 36 percent are exposed to the FGM practice. In Ethiopia as a whole, the reason for making use of FGM is the avoidance of shame and conflicts with the husband. Being a virgin until marriage is a strong cultural tradition in the Ethiopian society. In addition, FGM is practiced for hygienic reasons and religious requirements. The religious requirements are

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often in connection with the Islam, where offerings and prayers made by non-circumcised are not acceptable (National Committee on Traditional Practices in Ethiopia 1998). Although women can be exposed to a practice that could lead to severe pain and death, the majority of the population, and in particular the Muslim society and the rural areas, supports the practice of FGM. Rural women were twice as likely to support FGM in comparison to the urban women, and females with higher education were less likely to support (19%) than women with no education (67%) (CSA 1995). As a result, higher education could help in the fight against harmful traditional practices.

The girls and women can learn the negative effects of the practices if they are included in the curriculum and gain knowledge so that they become stronger and are more able to define their rights (National Committee on Traditional Practices in Ethiopia 1998) Teacher Training Institutes and college students can be informed about the practices and disseminate the information to school students. Education becomes crucial in the struggle against harmful traditional practices.

Religion

Orthodox Christianity dominates in the Northern Highlands of Ethiopia, including Tigray. According to the students' questionnaire, a high number of students are Orthodox Christians (Figure 6.1). This result might be due to the research area being predominantly Christian. The Orthodox Church practices an ancient form of Christianity where communication with God is mediated through Saints, Jesus and the Virgin Mary. Under the imperial regime, the Orthodox Christianity was the state religion. During the Derg regime, it was given the same status as the Islam religion. Although the Derg regime was overthrown, the religious influence is still strong in the Ethiopian society. The Christian culture is noted for their adherence to dietary rules of the Bible. Fasting involves abstaining from all animal products on Saints' days and other holy days. Work restrictions are prevalent on specific days, and operate in both male and female spheres. An example can be that men do not plough and women do not spin or grind (Pankhurst 1992).
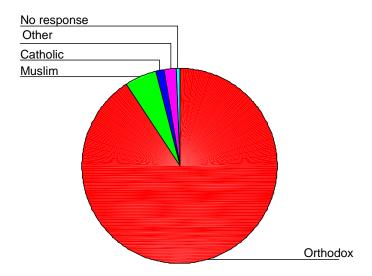
Figure 6.1 Religious affiliation

Ethiopian Christianity is also expressed through food taboos that are found in most ethnic groups. Some of the prohibitions and taboos are occasion specific, for example during pregnancy or area specific by edict of a local "Kalecha" or "Woukabi" (spiritual person). Eating pork, consuming camel meat and most wild animals are also taboo in some ethnic groups (National Committee on Traditional Practices in Ethiopia 1998). Saints' days that restrict certain types of work have implications for the household chores as women are barred from working on certain days. In addition to Saints' day, women do not collect water on Saturday and Sunday, and have to collect enough on Friday to last the weekend (Pankhurst 1992).

Women holding positions in the church are still limited, and they are often only involved as wives, daughters or other relatives of the church leaders. They are considered 'impure' and are barred from most religious leadership positions (National Committee on Traditional Practices in Ethiopia 1998). The dominant Orthodox Christian religion gives power to the man rather than to the women due to the subordination of women that the Church encourages (Pankhurst 1992).

Religion, thereby, plays a barrier in women's life and restricts their career opportunities in becoming a religious leader. Working restrictions of household chores on specific days could provide problems for girls going to school that are forced to help their mother. It is not my attempt to judge any religion for their rules and regulations, however, pinpoint the problems

that women face to a greater extent than the men. In summary, early marriage, pregnancy and parental attitude are essential reasons for female dropouts and repetition. Parental attitude and opinions will be analyzed and discussed under section 6.3.4 on 'Opinions of men and women in Tigray'.

6.3.3 Division of labor

Ethiopian women carry a heavier workload than the men. The division of labor differs from place to place, however, women participate in all types of agricultural work, including weeding, raking, harvesting and preparing trashing field and grain bins. The household chores include fetching water, gathering firewood, grinding grain, preparing cow dung for use, preparing food and raising children. The working day for women range from 13-17 hours, and leaves little time to join other activities, such as going to school (The Transitional Government of Ethiopia 1993). During my fieldwork the respondents were asked about their time allocated to other chores outside school. In housekeeping (Table 6.20) 49 percent of the male students spent between 1 and 6 hours on housekeeping while for the female students, 80 percent worked within the same time period. Another example is hours spent per day in fetching water/fuel (Table 6.21). Boys working between 30 minutes to 6 hours comprised 42 percent. Although these work tasks are identified as heavy since some of the water and fuel have to be collected from a far distance, 54 percent of the female students were doing these work tasks every day.

Table 6.20 Hours per day housekeeping

Count

	Male	Female	Total
,00	64	36	100
,30	13	7	20
1,00	22	45	67
1,30	8	14	22
2,00	23	62	85
2,30		3	3
3,00	10	27	37
3,30		1	1
4,00	6	22	28
5,00	3	13	16
5,30		1	1
6,00	5	15	20
Total	154	246	400

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

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Table 6.21 Hours per day fetching water/fuel

Count

	Male	Female	Total
,00	89	112	201
,30	12	21	33
1,00	17	37	54
1,30		2	2
2,00	16	18	34
2,30		2	2
3,00	4	18	22
3,30		1	1
4,00	6	13	19
5,00	5	6	11
6,00	5	16	21
Total	154	246	400

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Unequal work between the sexes has become culturally 'ingrained' in the Ethiopian society, especially in relation to the food preparation and household chores where women are engaged in most of the work (Pankhurst 1992). If women work many hours a day, one would presume that time allocated for school work would be less, and that the repetition years for female students would be caused by heavier workload. This is illustrated in Table 6.22, where the majority of the women (20) who had repeated one year or more claimed that the reason was their workload.

Table 6.22 Reason for repetition years, by sex

Count

	Male	Female	Total
Poor Economy	23	16	39
Failed exams	8	13	21
Work load	6	20	26
Other	10	4	14
No response	107	193	300
Total	154	246	400

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

In animal care both men and women participate, but they specialize in different animals. In the rural areas, livestock is a sign of prestige and wealth. Livestock provides a survival strategy during draught, and works as a capital asset with nutritional value. Dung is also essential for fertilization, building material and household fuel. Women generally own animals such as chicken, goats and sheep and they are responsible for processing and selling dairy product. Men control the sales of hides and the skin, which provide most of the cash

income for the household. Selling dairy products thereby leaves women with a minimum surplus for the household. Men have control over their own income, and can decide what to spend the money on so that women become in a dependent position to the man (Tadesse 2003). Although change has taken place, women in the rural areas have poor access to credit, lack of decision making in the choice of agricultural inputs and lack of information to improve agricultural production (Abraha 2000).

In the urban areas the majority of women are low-wage-earners. A small number of women are in high-position jobs where only 33 percent work as officials, professionals and clerks. The majority of women are engaged in the informal sector, where they sell *tella* (the traditionally brewed beer)*,* crafts and *injera* (the pancake-like traditional food), as well as work as housemaids, prostitutes and bartenders (CSA 1999). Some of the work in the informal sector is not documented, and women's contribution in the working force is still undervalued (The Transitional Government of Ethiopia 1993). These results corresponded with the students' responses when they were asked if they were engaged in other off-farm activities than household chores (Table 6.23). It turned out that these activities were male dominated, where only 17 percent of the female students were engaged in other activities while 38 percent of the male students worked outside school. Limited preparation for working in income earning jobs can make women more insecure and reluctant to apply for jobs after graduation, which again results in working with non-wage jobs.

Table 6.23 Hours spent per day on off-farm activities, by se: (n=400)

Count

	Male	Female	Total
,00	96	199	295
1,00	2	2	4
2,00	8	5	13
3,00	11	8	19
4,00	5	8	13
4,30		1	1
5,00	5	6	11
6,00	10	7	17
6,30	1		1
7,00		2	2
8,00	16	8	24
Total	154	246	400

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

In summary, the heavy workload for the girls and women, leading to a high rate of repetition years and less time spent on other activities than household chores, will have implications for their grade results and career opportunities. The Liberal Feminist theory (see Chapter three) claims that girls and women are being assigned to stereotype family roles, which can explain the unequal division of labor. Women end up in a subordinate and dependant position to the man, and they become unable to break the chain of strong 'traditional' values and beliefs. Although the theory has been criticized for its ignorance of the concept of patriarchy and serving the interests of Western women only, it nonetheless pinpoint to some characteristic features that still exist in the Ethiopian society. The supporters of the Gender and Development approach (see Chapter three) more or less coincide with the point of departure of the Liberal Feminists, where the unequal division of labor explains women's subordination. Implementing a project or legislating laws successfully will depend on the participants' ability to understand the interrelated range of factors that determine the social relations from a holistic point of departure. Although the theoretical approaches could function as guidance tools for reducing the workload for girls and women, additional factors will complicate the decision-making process for policy planners, such as common societal opinions.

6.3.4 Opinions about men and women in Tigray

The Ethiopian context devalues the status of women, and leaves them in a vulnerable situation. Society expects girls to marry and be housewives and mothers, especially in the rural areas. In this context it is interesting to see to what extent these 'traditional' roles still exist in society. The opinions of the parents, students and teachers will be investigated in this section.

Students were asked, from a list of six items, about society's opinions of highly educated women. The results show that positive images from both male (80%) and female (76%) students were stated (Table 6.24). Although Ethiopia is characterised by a male dominating society, highly educated women do not seem to represent a threat to the patriarchal society, and being educated is viewed as a positive characteristic.

Table 6.24 Views about highly educated women, by se
(n=400)

Count

	Male	Female
Respected	40	53
Intelligent	17	36
Conceited	13	24
Too old for marriage	7	22
Argumentative	10	6
Role models for girls	67	98
No response		7
Total	154	246

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

To assess attitudes further, I wanted to investigate what the students found to be the best job for a girl and for a boy. Finding out what the respondents believe to be the 'best' job for a girl could indicate the societal opinion about girls. The male respondents found that the most suitable jobs for girls were doctor (25 %), nurse (18 %) and office worker (17%) while the boys' best job was engineering (44%) and doctor (21%) (Table 6.25). Since being a female doctor gained a high percentage from the male respondents, it indicates that they believe girls have the capability of working in a high paid job that requires good qualifications. The same results can be said about the female respondents, where nurse (20%), doctor (26%) and office worker (16%) were the jobs that were best for girls to work with (Table 6.26). For the boys, the female responded that engineering (52%) and doctor (28%) were the best jobs. An interesting notification is that only one male respondent answered that farming was a suitable job for a girl, and only nine responded that working as a housewife/housekeeper was a good job for girls and boys. Farming and housekeeping are the jobs that the majority of the population are engaged in, however, not considered to be the best job for either of the sexes. It can be a positive point of departure that the students grant women a higher status and capability than working in the house or on the farm. On the other hand, it can also be that the students do not value the work that women are presently doing or are not viewing working in non-wage jobs as an occupation. Evidence of this is difficult to investigate, however, is important points to consider.

Table 6.25 'Best' job for a girl, by sex (n=400)

Count

	Male	Female
Secretary	15	14
Leader of a company	8	15
Office worker	27	41
Nurse	29	51
Housewife	4	3
Shop assistant		1
Lawyer	7	14
Engineering	10	25
Farmer	1	
Teacher	7	7
Doctor	38	64
Other	2	2
No difference	4	3
No response		8
Total	154	246

Table 6.26 'Best' job for a boy, by sex (n=400)

Count

	Male	Female
Secretary	2	4
Leader of a company	13	12
Office worker	3	5
Nurse	3	2
Housekeeper	1	1
Shop assistant		3
Lawyer	1	3
Engineering	68	129
Farmer	7	7
Teacher	12	3
Doctor	33	69
Other	2	2
No difference	4	2
No response	5,00	4
Total	154	246

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Another issue of concern is to what the extent boys and girls' education is beneficial for the parents. Parents' attitude will have implications on the choices that boys and girls make after graduation and when attending school. If parents are of the opinion that educating boys give more returned benefits as opposed to girls, it might have the effect that parents choose to send their son to school instead of their daughter. Parents from the four secondary schools were asked to state the expected beneficiaries from investing in their daughters and son's education. One of the parents, who was holding a Diploma and managing a private company, said that educating boys and girls were equally beneficial. The other parents mentioned that girls could benefit by gaining more independence, run their own life and become enlightened. A male parent from Adigudem Secondary School claimed that: 'It is important to educate the girl because it can prevent early marriage. Is she is not educated she will become pregnant or married. If she is educated she will not face these problems. She can become independent, and not depend on her husband.' Educating a boy, on the other hand, could bring about development for the country, as he could serve as a doctor and manager as well as teach others. Another male parent from Atse Yohannes Secondary School said: 'The boys think for the country, what is best for the country through education. Boys are educated to bring development'. This confirms that parents believe that they gain more advantages from sons than daughters, and that daughters can in most cases only benefit themselves. Two of the

female parents said that they hoped their sons would give some of the surplus of what they earned to their parents. Their daughters were not mentioned as being beneficial in the same way. Interviewing seven parents cannot give a representative sample of all of Tigray however indicates some of the 'traditional' views in the Ethiopian society.

To present valid and reliable data on male preference in schools, the research also sought results on whether or not the secondary students believed that boys would be sent to school instead of girls (Table 6.27), and if this was the case, why (Table 6.28 and Table 6.29). The item 'No response' under Table 6.28 and 6.29 implies either that the students have not responded to the question or that they have chosen the boy instead of the girl in Table 6.28 or vice versa (Table 6.29). The male students believed to a higher degree that parents would send their son (55%) rather than their daughter (28%). Girls, on the other hand, considered that parents would choose the girl (44%) over the boy (35%). Boys were in this case holding a more 'traditional' view, where male preference would be the parents' choice.

Asking the students the reason for why the boy would be preferred by the parents, they responded that boys were chosen either because they could help the society or their family later, that they were cleverer, or that they could benefit more from being educated (Table 6.28). What is noticeable is that the most important reasons for choosing the boy were due to the girls' situation, such as having a heavy workload at home, that she will get married, or that she will face problems when working outside the home. According to Table 6.28, parents' attitude constituted less than one percent, however, parents' and the society's perceptions will have an influence on most of the factors, such as girls having to work at home. Looking into the reasons for parents choosing girls over boys, the results are different (Table 6.29). For the parents, investing in an education for their daughters is either because the girls need it to a greater extent than the boys (9 %), or that education will lead to greater independency (8.3 %). Helping her family, or the fact that more educated girls are needed due to their low enrolment at secondary and tertiary levels, comprised less than two percent. It seems as if girls only can help themselves whereas boys are able to help himself, his family and his society.

Table 6.27 Parental preference in sending girl or boy to school, by sex (n=400)

Count

	Male	Female	Total
The girl	43	109	152
The boy	85	88	173
No response	26	49	75
Total	154	246	400

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Table 6.28 Reason for choosing the boy (percentage)

	Frequency	Percent
Backward Culture	18	4,5
Parent's Attitude	3	,8
No response	243	60,8
Girls cannot work outside/hard work	5	1,3
Boys are more clever/benefit more	30	7,5
Boy can assist family/society later in life	21	5,3
She will fail	1	,3
She has heavy workload	41	10,3
Girls biologically weaker	1	,3
She gets married	21	5,3
Girls face problems	16	4,0
Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Table 6.29 Reason for choosing the girl (percentage)

	Frequency	Percent
Girls need more education	36	9,0
Become independent	33	8,3
Strenghten their social acceptance	17	4,3
Need the boy to work	20	5,0
Girl is good at school	4	1,0
Girls can help her family	4	1,0
Not many educated girls	3	,8
No response	283	70,8
Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

A final point of remark when analysing opinions about girls and women's education in the Tigrinean society is at the stage when they enter the university. Is it the case that it is more difficult for girls that for boys to enter the university? And what could be the main reason for

this? Out of 75 university students, 90 percent of the male students and 78 percent of the female students claimed that is was more difficult for girls than for boys to enter university (Table 6.30). The high percentage implies that difficulty of entering is still based on gender, with an unfavourable position for women.

**Table 6.30 More difficult for girls than for boys to enter th
University? By sex (n=75)**

Count

		Yes	No	Total
University Students	Male	39	4	43
	Female	25	7	32
	Total	64	11	75

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 3 and 4

When asking the university students what they believed to be the reason for the gender difference, they replied that workload in the household for women (44%) and parents' attitude (17%) were the greatest hindrances for further education (Table 6.31).

**Table 6.31 Reasons why it is more difficult for
girls to enter university (n=75)**

Count

	University Students
Sexual Harassment	1
Other reasons	2
Work load	33
Marriage	4
Poor Economy	5
Far distance to school	2
Admission requirements	1
Parent's attitude	13
Not more dificult for girls	14
Total	75

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 3 and 4

In summary, the parents still hold 'traditional' beliefs that represent hindrances for females, although students viewed educated women working in high-income jobs as something positive. Parents were of the opinion that investing in their daughters' education would only benefit her, while their son could be of help for the whole family as well as develop his country. In addition to the socio-cultural factors, different socio-economic factors will also have great implications for female students aiming for higher education.

6.4 Socio-economic factors

6.4.1 Introduction

Parents' ability to pay for school fees is an important indicator for their children's access to school. Even though Universal Primary Education (UPE) has been introduced in Ethiopia, implying free school costs for primary education, it is still costly to attend secondary schools. Textbooks, uniforms, transportation and stationeries often constitute a financial barrier for the parents. In this research, the socio-economic status of the family was measured in terms of their educational background and their occupation. As I found it difficult to conclude anything about the information given from the students and the parents regarding their family income, the study will use the 1995/1996 *Household income, consumption and expenditure survey of Ethiopia* (World Bank 1995/1996) when comparing the costs of schooling from the fieldwork returns to the average Ethiopian household income.

6.4.2 Household income and costs of schooling

Household income is defined as the sum of money income, which is of recurring nature and accrues to the household at an annual basis. In the survey from the World Bank, 929 enumeration sites were chosen, where one site includes 150-200 households both in the urban and rural areas (Table 6.32). At the country level, the *distribution of expenditure* below 2000 Birr[1] annually were about 12.6 percent of the total households in the country, while the top 4.8 percent spend 12600 Birr or more per household annually. The remaining parts, i.e., 83.6 percent spend between 2,000 and 12,600 Birr per annum. The majority of the population, 68.5 percent, spend less than 5400 Birr per year per household. The difference in spending between the rural and urban areas was significant in the top level (more than 12600 Birr) where the urban population spends more (18.2%) than the rural population (3.6%).

Comparing the distribution of expenditure with that of the *distribution of income* at the country level reveals that 21.1 percent of all households in the country earn less than 2000 Birr per household per annum (Table 6.32). The top 6.0 percent of the households earn 12600 Birr or more per household annually while the rest (72.9%) earn between 2000 and 12600 Birr. The majority of the population (71.7%) earn less than 5400 Birr annually (ibid.).

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[1] 1 Ethiopian Birr=0.81162 Norwegian Kroner (Source: www.valuta.no , accessed 11.06.04)

Table 6.32 Percentage distribution of household expenditure and income

	Expenditure in Birr per household (percentage)			Income in Birr per household (Percentage)		
	Less than 2000 Birr p.a	Between 2000 and 12600 Birr p.a	More than 12600 Birr	Less than 2000 Birr p.a	Between 2000 and 12600 Birr p.a.	More than 12600 Birr p.a.
Rural total	13.1	81.3	3.6	20.8	74.6	4.6
Urban total	7.8	74.0	18.2	23.1	63.4	13.5
Country total	12.6	83.6	4.8	21.1	72.9	6.0

Source: (World Bank 1995/1996)

School costs represent parts of the expenditure parents are using of their income, such as textbooks, transportation, school uniforms and stationeries. Secondary and tertiary students' responses, and interviews with seven parents provided a baseline for comparing school costs with the average household income in Ethiopia, Tigray included. Using descriptive statistics from the SPSS program, the research found an average cost of 90 Birr for the stationeries and 75 Birr for textbooks per year. When I asked the parents they claimed that the cost of stationeries like pencils and exercise books were costs that could strongly influence parents upon the discontinuation of their children's education. One of the parents stated that he was not able to send some of his children to school due to the costs of the school materials. School uniforms had a median of 74 Birr p.a., the transportation to school was 134 Birr p.a., and the mean of tuition fees was 59 Birr per year. The final costs for the parents per year were if they had to pay for lodging for their children, for instance parents living in a rural place having to accommodate a place for their children attending a school in the city. The mean for lodging was 237 Birr. The total amount when summarizing these numbers is 669 Birr. These numbers do not refer to all 400 respondents, and cannot be analyzed as if all students were in need of all these items or services from their parents. The majority of households in Ethiopia (71.7%), however, had an income of less than 5400 Birr per year, which indicate that costs of schooling is high for the parents. With an average of seven children per household, some parents will have no alternative but to educate only some of their children beyond primary education.

When I asked the students about the main reason for school drop out related to the cost of schooling, they responded that for the girls the poor economy (56 %) was the main reason before labor (22 %). 'Labor needed from the girl' is here defined as the opportunity cost of foregone earnings of sending your children to school (Table 6.33).

Table 6.33 Cost related main reason for girl dro out (percentage)

	Frequency	Percent
Poor economy in her family	222	55,5
Labor needed from the girl	87	21,8
Other reasons for the costs	28	7,0
None of the options	46	11,5
No response	17	4,3
Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

For the boys, a higher percentage of the respondents answered that poor economy (64 %) was the main reason (Table 6.35). The need for work (16 %) from the boy was less than for the girl. Since more work was needed from the girls and women in the family, it can be the case that time allocated to schoolwork becomes less for female students, in addition to other factors that also affect their school situation, such as sexual harassment.

Table 6.34 Cost related main reason for boy dro out (percentage)

	Frequency	Percent
Poor economy in her family	255	63,8
Labor needed from the boy	62	15,5
Other reasons for the costs	41	10,3
None of the options	26	6,5
No response	16	4,0
Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

The degree of dependency on the family's income can also have an effect on whether or not the male and female students attend tertiary level. The overall expense per year for the

university students had a median of 1300 Birr per year. (These results were taken from the SPSS program by running descriptive statistics with a total of 63 university students that responded to the question.) In most cases, the university students did not have a job outside school (Table 6.35). Only 24 percent were engaged in work while attending school, and out of this only 6 percent were female students. Income from other sources, particularly for the female students, becomes necessary when joining the tertiary level. Out of 69 students that responded, 91 percent claimed that their relatives supported them (Table 6.36). Not more than 6 percent reported that they were self-financed. A combination of having a small income and high dependency on their relatives' financial support represents major determinants for joining higher education for the female students.

Table 6.35 Hours per day of employment for university students, by sex (n=75)

Count

	Male	Female	Total
,00	21	30	51
1,00	2		2
2,00	4		4
3,00	5		5
4,00	4		4
5,00	2		2
6,00	3	1	4
8,00	1	1	2
12,00	1		1
Total	43	32	75

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 3 and 4

Table 6.36 Who finances you? (n=69)

	Frequency	Percent
Relatives	63	92,0
No one	4	6,0
Other	2	2,0
Total	69	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 3 and 4

Although the Government has proposed that they will aid students and reduce some of the educational costs, the parents still have to pay for basic school materials. Given the low level of income for the parents, and receiving their main income from the harvesting season it becomes difficult to pay the school costs throughout the year. As a result, children, and in particular girls, from poor families become excluded from schools (Nekatibeb 2002). A

suggestion could be that the Government subsidised the costs for the poorest families. When asking the school principals how they assisted students that dropped out of school due to poor economy, they answered that representatives from the student organizations collected money from the students so that the poor families were able to pay for the school costs. In my opinion, it should not have been the students' responsibility to give money to students that cannot afford attending school, as it should be the Government's duty to solve these issues.

Not only is the direct costs and opportunity costs determinants for parents' decision of investing in their daughter's education, but it also depends on the level of the parents' educational background as well as whether or not they have a high-income occupation.

6.4.3 Parents' educational background and female education

In general there is a belief that highly educated families are more likely to have children that will continue going to school after primary level (Kwesiga 2002). In my research I have tried to assess the influence from parental education by analysing the educational background of both the mothers and the fathers from the 400 fieldwork returns. The results (Table 6.37 and Table 6.38) show that mothers of the university students that had primary or no formal education comprised 68 percent, while 46 percent of the fathers fell under the same category. Mothers of the university students that had taken secondary education or higher were 32 percent, while 53 percent of the fathers had secondary education or higher. These results illustrate a high level of education for both parents when compared to the secondary students where more than 73 percent of the mothers had primary or no education and fathers comprised 64 percent under the same categories (Table 6.39). The chances for secondary students to reach a higher level of education may then depend on parents' educational background.

Table 6.37 Educational level of mother

Count

	University Students
No formal education	32
Primary school [1 - 8 Grades]	17
Secondary education [9 - 10 Grades]	3
Pre-university education (11 - 12)	7
Tertiary (university education)	13
No response	3
Total	75

Table 6.38 Educational level of father

Count

	University Students
No formal education	16
Primary school [1 - 8 Grades]	16
Secondary education [9 - 10 Grades]	3
Pre-university) education (11 - 12)	14
Tertiary (university) education	20
No response	6
Total	75

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 3 and 4

Table 6.39 Educational level of mother and father for secondary students

	Secondary students (n=325)	
	Mother's education	Father's education
No formal education	183	143
Primary school (1-8 grades)	55	66
Secondary school (9-10 grades)	29	25
Pre-university education (11-12)	25	18
Tertiary (university education)	19	37
No response	14	36
Total	325	325

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1 and 2

It was also interesting to investigate the gender differences in terms of being a parent to a female or male student. Will female students have parents who are both better educated than the male students? Table 6.40 confirms this where 31 percent of the female students had mothers with secondary or higher education, and 60 percent of the female students had fathers within the same categories. These results imply that having parents with high educational background enable an easier accessibility for the secondary female students in reaching higher institutions.

Table 6.40 Percentage distribution of parental education, by sex

	Mother's education		Father's education	
	Male student	Female student	Male student	Female student
Secondary education (9-12 Grades)	18	3	25.5	19
Tertiary education	9.3	28	16	41

Source: Student Questionnaire from Fieldwork (only answers taken from the SPSS program that provided full information on both parent's educational background was considered here)

A final assessment that would further validate my analyses was to look at the total number of brothers and sisters of the students that had dropped out, and compare this to the parents' educational background. A sample of 50 questionnaires was chosen from the SPSS program where both parents did not have any formal education, as well as a sample of 50 questionnaires where both parents had primary education or higher. The goal was to investigate whether or not the educational level of the parents had an effect on the number of dropouts in a family. Of the 50 students who had parents with no formal education, a total number of 35 of their sisters or brothers had dropped out of school. For the students whose parents had primary school or higher, the number of brothers and sisters that had dropped out was 12. The difference is significant (46 %), and again illustrates that school opportunities for the children depends on parents' educational background.

Parents' occupation represents a final indicator for assessing the socio-economic effects on girls and women taking higher education.

6.4.4 Parent's occupation

University students were asked to state their mother and father's occupation to understand whether or not parents having a high-income job were more likely to support female education. Since more than 80 percent of the population are engaged in farming one would expect that most of the students had parents whose occupation was working with agriculture. For the university students these numbers did not reflect the rest of the society's occupations (Table 6.41). The female respondents answered that a high percentage of the fathers (66 %) and mothers (32 %) had high-income jobs, including jobs as teachers, government employees, managers, traders, industry workers, doctors and nurses. In comparison, the male students had a lower percentage of their parents working in high-income jobs, both for the fathers (30 %)

and for the mothers (26 %). Only 6 percent of the mothers and fathers of both sexes were engaged in farming activities.

Table 6.41 Number of student parental status by occupation for university students (n=75)

	Occupation of mother		Occupation of father	
	Male student	Female student	Male student	Female student
Teacher	6	3	2	3
Government	1	4	5	4
Manager	0	0	1	2
Trade	3	3	3	10
Industry	1	0	2	0
Doctor	0	0	0	1
Nurse	0	0	0	1
Farmer	5	2	12	2
Domestic work	19	17	0	0
No job	0	0	2	0
Retired	0	0	2	2
Dead	0	1	2	2
Other	0	0	5	1
No response	8	2	7	4
Total	43	32	43	32

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 3 and 4

Since occupation broadly correlates with level of income, the results conclude that family income is important for a girl to reach higher education. If the family had high-income occupations, the girl could also overcome other obstacles since parents did not have to weigh costs and benefits in the same manner as parents with low-income jobs. Analyzing the occupation of both parents also indicates that the father's occupation was an important determinant. As table 6.41 shows, 66 percent of the female students had fathers with high-income jobs. Mother's occupation was less varied, and most of the mothers were working in the domestic sphere. No records of management, doctors or nurses could be found. This corresponds with the results from the sample survey of the secondary students, where 23

percent of the fathers had high-income jobs, whereas the majority of the mothers either did not have a job (21 %) or were engaged in domestic work (25.5 %) (Table 6.42).

Table 6.42 Percentage distribution of parental occupation of secondary students (n=325)

	Occupation of mother	Occupation of father
	Secondary students	Secondary students
Teacher	3.3	4.0
Government	3.0	5.2
Manager	0.3	0.3
Trade	7.8	9.5
Industry	0.0	2.1
Doctor	0.0	1.5
Nurse	3.0	0.6
Farmer	7.4	41.2
Domestic work	25.5	0.3
No job	21.0	6.1
Retired	0.3	1.5
Dead	1.0	4.0
Other (driver)	1.0	4.6
No response	20.0	15.6
Total	100	100

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1 and 2

As mentioned, women carry out approximately half of the agricultural production. According to the fieldwork returns however only 7.4 percent of the women were mentioned as working with farming activities. It can be the case that only men are supposed to have the title 'farmer' (41.2 %), and that women are not considered working with agricultural production. In addition, a high percentage of the students answered that their mothers did not have any job (21 %), which rarely is the case since almost all women in developing countries are working either at home or outside. The value of women's work is not yet on equal terms with men's occupation. Numbers of women are not able to find paid employment in many countries, often because of their interrupted work cycle and reproductive role. Child birth and child upbringing yield lower monetary returns to female education, and a married woman with

children spends less that 50 percent of the day in a labor market. Not married women without children, on the contrary, spend 90 percent of their years after school working. Consequently, women earn less money and employers are more reluctant to hire women because of the likeliness of leaving to have children. Working with a non-wage profession is not valued and often part of the patriarchal society where it is a common perception that women are naturally 'equipped' for working with unpaid housework or farming. The male becomes the productive worker and the provider of income for the household (Wuaku 1999). Lack of acknowledgement of the value of women's work is a common experience world over, and exacerbates the difficult situation women are facing in their everyday life (Lewenhak 1992).

In summary, educational background of the parents and having a high-income occupation are therefore important indicators for whom they choose to send to school, and for how long the female students will continue their education. These results coincide with the Human Capital theory (see Chapter three), where parents base their level of investment on expected future benefits. The skills and knowledge acquired is a form for capital that can be useful for them in the future. This study found that parents having a low-income and no formal education tend to place lesser emphasis on educating their daughters because boys' education is seen as more profitable. Girls may become pregnant before completing school, and education for her will only be beneficial at an individual level. The boys, on the other hand, will contribute both to his family and the community.

The final issue, which is also part of the first of objective, is an analysis of the constraining factors in the school environment. Girls and women are not only affected by out of school factors, such as cultural traditions and poor economy in the household. The school itself can also represent hindrances for their educational fulfilments.

6.5 School related factors

6.5.1 Introduction

Schools can be places that have a positive socializing effect but can also be a place where gender differences are enforced. If the school do not have facilities that counter for the students' needs as well as the parents' needs and expectations, then students will drop out or are forced to repeat classes. Lack of school material, sexual harassment, lack of assessment,

long distance to school, few female teachers, and an almost non-existing counselling facility, will cause barriers to girls and women's education.

According to Kwesiga (2002), it is only recently that the school itself has been examined. Parents' influence, and the cultural and religious traditions have always been seen as the major obstacles for women. Assessing the school setting therefore becomes important in future studies focusing on obstacles for female students.

6.5.2 Poor school environment

Female and male students were asked to state the school related reasons for drop out and repetition of boys and girls. Results for the girls and women are summarized in Table 6.43, where the main reasons for not attending were long distance to (39 %) and sexual harassment (19%) at the school. As already mentioned, the poor economy represents a major constraint for the parents, but this section will primarily focus on the school factors.

Table 6.43 School related reason for girl drop out or repetition (n=400)

	Frequency	Percent
No response	25	6,3
Far distance to school	156	39,0
The subjects are not interesting for girls	18	4,5
Teacher's attitude	9	2,3
Sexual Harassment at school	76	19,0
Unsafe travelling to school	39	9,8
No jobs after school	48	12,0
Other school reasons	10	2,5
None of the options	19	4,8
Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Similarly for the boys (Table 6.44), the main reason was the long distance to school (39 %), and a non-existing job market after graduation represented the second major reason (17.5 %). A relatively high percentage mentioned sexual harassment (8.3 %) as one of the factors, which represents an interesting point since we tend to refer only to girls when investigating these issues. A more in depth analysis is difficult since this was not my point of departure. Future analysis on these matters could be interesting, nonetheless.

Table 6.44 School related reason for boy drop out and repetition (n=400)

	Frequency	Percent
No response	35	8,8
Far distance to school	158	39,5
The subjects are not interesting for boys	19	4,8
Teacher's attitude	11	2,8
Sexual Harassment at school	33	8,3
Unsafe travelling to school	30	7,5
No jobs after school	69	17,3
Other school reasons	15	3,8
None of the options	30	7,5
Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Sexual harassment, long distance to school and unsafe travelling represented the majority of factors for the female students, meaning that safety for girls and women becomes important to secure their everyday life at school. In addition, school facilities will determine the quality of the school environment, as inadequate school services could lead to increased repetition rates as well as dropouts. Measures such as building separate bathrooms and changing rooms, having less than 50 students in each classroom, providing sufficient school materials and laboratories, the existence of school clubs, and increasing the number of female teachers represent some of the indicators for quality that could provide a safer and improved school environment for the female students.

Separate bathrooms and changing rooms

When asking the students whether or not the schools offered separate bathrooms and changing rooms, nearly 85 percent answered that these facilities were not available (Table 6.55). This could affect girls and women's everyday life at school in the way that they could fear going to the bathroom. Girls and women whom I talked to during focus group discussion mentioned that some of the girls do not go to the bathroom during the school day due to fair of harassment. As most female students have reached their puberty when attending secondary school, they will need special facilities that are not adequate in most schools.

**Table 6.45 Separate bathrooms and changing rooms
in school (Percentage)**

	Frequency	Percent
No reponse	15	3,8
Yes	46	11,5
No	339	84,8
Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

The classrooms

The average number of students per classroom has increased due to refugees coming from Eritrea after the war ended in 1991. According to the school principals at the four secondary schools, the average number of students was between 65-80 in each classroom. One of the teachers claimed that:

'When going to Teacher's College we were taught to have a communicative approach. This is not possible when there are too many students in the classroom, and the students are not able to show their theoretical and practical abilities. The Government sets a boarder of 70 students, however, this does not work out in Tigray when the war ended between Ethiopia and Eritrea resulting in higher enrolment and overcrowded classrooms.'

Several of the participants in the focus groups responded that one of the most 'boring' things at school were the disturbance in the classrooms due to the excess amount of students. Consequently, few tests were conducted, and the teachers were only able to have monthly tests, a mid semester test and a final exam. At one of the schools, teachers had to correct an average of 580 responses from each test. Checking exercise books were almost non-existent, and depended on the capacity of the teachers. In one of the focus groups, students responded that the teachers did not know if the students understood, because they were unable to help the students during class.

The school materials in the classrooms were more or less sufficient depending on the school economy and its priorities. All students were provided with textbooks that were government funded but had to buy the stationeries on their own. All the schools had laboratories, except for the Adigudem Secondary School that was built only months before my fieldwork. According to the school principal at Adigudem they would have a laboratory and a computer

room in the future. Two of the school principals mentioned that the laboratories did not have sufficient laboratory equipment or they were outdated. Only two schools had computer facilities. Lack of tables and chairs represented a problem at some of the schools, and several students had to stand in the classrooms.

In summary, students did not receive the necessary good quality teaching methods and adequate provision of facilities. Students' work were not assessed at the interval the school found to be the optimal. What about other activities at the schools? Has the school provided the students with the opportunity to participate in club activities?

Social activities at school

Activities that are connected with break time and club participation can stimulate students' social activities and be part of creating a safer school environment where more students know each other. For girls and women this becomes important, as they often tend to be shyer and have a lower self-esteem than the boys (Abraha 2000). In focus group discussions I asked the boys and girls what they do in the school breaks and if they were members of any club at school. In the breaks nearly all the participants in the focus groups said that they spent their free time going to the bathroom, doing homework or going to the library. The most 'fun' thing to do at school was improving your knowledge and being able to differentiate between good and bad behavior. None of the students mentioned socializing with their friends or playing in the schoolyard as school break activities. One of the focus group participants answered that you could socialize in your neighbourhood. It is important, however, to remember that each grade only attends morning or afternoon sessions. Time spent on other activities was done before or after attending school.

Regarding club activities, a low number of the female students (57 %) had been or were active in a club, whereas 68 percent of the male students responded yes to the same question (Table 6.46). Here again we understand that boys are more active than girls. When asking the female students the main reason for not joining clubs, the majority of them answered due to work (11.3 %).

Table 6.46 Past or present club membership, by sex (n=400

Count

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	104	138	242
No	42	95	137
No response	8	13	21
Total	154	246	400

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Table 6.47 The reason for not joining clubs (percentage)

Count

	Female
Not chosen as a member	1.6
Work	11.3
Backward Attitude	1.2
Long distance	5.3
Parental pressure	2.4
Not interesting	8.5
No club in the area	2.4
No response/not member	68.0
Total	246

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

The school club alternatives were numerous, as can be seen in Table 6.48. Anti AIDS clubs scored high (21.5 %) among the students. Ethiopia is one of the most exposed countries in terms of HIV/AIDS cases, where 2.2 million people have died from HIV/AIDS (Disease prevention and control department 2002). The importance of informing the students through media, such as clubs, thereby becomes vital in the future. The schools have good club facilities that compromise for other activities, such as sports, which requires additional resources. Girls and women should be active participants in clubs, so that they are more able to socialize with male students. Talking and getting to know each other could result in better understanding and respect and perhaps reduce the incidences of sexual harassment. Several of the female students that were members of the clubs said that they enjoyed it, and that it is an important forum to get to know people.

Table 6.48 Percentage distribution of club preference

	Frequency	Percent
Not member	204	51,0
ANTI AIDS	86	21,5
Health	8	2,0
Nature	15	3,8
Maths	8	2,0
Science and Technology	3	,8
Population	15	3,8
Other	13	3,3
Media	1	,3
Debating	2	,5
Culture	11	2,8
Anti Drug	5	1,3
Nice and Clean	3	,8
Library	7	1,8
Sports	7	1,8
Drama	12	3,0
Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Another important issue in the context of school related factors is to what extent girls are met with assistance that can help them through their school day, such as guidance and counselling.

Guidance and counselling

Guidance and counselling can help students find an appropriate job after graduation as well as being an informal conversation about personal or academic problems students are facing at home or at school. Many African countries still lack these facilities or they are ineffective or not yet implemented. To try to solve these issues, UNESCO initiated regional training courses on career guidance and counselling for African countries. After assessing these programs they realized that the programmes, where some of them had been introduced in schools, lacked a gender perspective and did not address the socio-economic and cultural changes that take place both externally and internally in the school environment. Teachers were not trained in the profession and thereby lacked the knowledge, skills and attitude for helping the students (UNESCO 1997). A regional training course for Ethiopia can be an effective way in directing more guidance skills to the schools. This would depend on if the schools agree to use some of their resources on such a program and that the program is implemented in a way that is helpful for the students.

In Ethiopia, the concept of counselling was not apparent in the educational literature until the early 1960s. From 1994, only three degree and one diploma course are offered in Addis Ababa University for their undergraduate psychology majors. This means that out of 130 credit hours, only nine credit hours are allocated to counselling. Professionals claim that taking only these courses do not make you a qualified counsellor and that bachelor holders would not be allowed to act as counsellors if they were hired in a developing country. Another problem is that the earlier regimes did not pay any attention to these matters and that other complex issues, such as lack of economic resources, exacerbates the situation (Cherinet and Abdi 1994).

The need for guidance and counselling has become clearer for the teachers, administration and the communities during the last years. Students at the age of 12-21 are at their most important stage of development. They often have problems in this period, and are uncertain as how to solve them. Some of the problems are insecurity, dropping out, future career problems, sexual harassment and so on. The girls, in particular, are faced with unwanted pregnancy, low self-esteem, drop out and parents' lack of willingness to let them go to school. Services offered by the school in terms of guidance and counselling are thereby vital for a healthy development of the students.

A report claimed that over 50 percent of Ethiopian high schools offer these services (ibid.). When conducting interviews with the school principals at the four secondary schools, some of them stated that the school clubs functioned as guidance tools for the girls and boys. In general, teachers are often appointed as counsellors both in the clubs and when they have spare time. The students are then free to ask questions, especially dealing with academic matters. One school director responded that they had a typist last year that worked voluntarily in guiding students. The typist that worked there now was not willing to do the same job this year. None of my study schools had qualified personnel or teachers using professional counselling techniques. During the focus group discussions I asked the students what problems they would like being solved if there existed a professional counselling facility at their school. Some responded that they would ask them how to study properly, how to solve their economic problems, and how to handle HIV/AIDS. Of the secondary female students, only 38 percent claimed that they attended career guidance and counselling at school (Table 6.49). For the male students, 42 percent responded that they made use of these services. In the rural areas, the knowledge of career opportunities might be limited both due to high illiteracy

as well as lack of accessibility to mass media. School counselling becomes all the more necessary in these areas.

Table 6.49 Existence of guidance and councelling at secondary level, by sex (n=400)

Count

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	45	81	126
No	62	118	180
	4	15	19
Total	111	214	325

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1 and 2

Teachers, parents and friends that guide students on an informal basis I have decided to call the 'informal helping profession', as they do not have the necessary skills and knowledge to assist students. When girls and boys have personal problems, they often seek advice from people or milieus in their village. As is shown in Table 6.50, the secondary and the tertiary students responded that they were seeking advice from their mother (36 %) or their friends (25.5 %). These results are interesting because both boys and girls search for help at home with the mother functioning as the main source of guidance. Discussion of female role models will be elaborated under section 6.5.4 on 'The teachers' situation and their influence'.

Table 6.50 Percentage distribution of whom to seek advice (n=400)

	Frequency	Percent
No response	14	3,5
Male teacher	63	15,8
Female teacher	38	9,5
Mother	145	36,3
Father	27	6,8
Friends	102	25,5
No one	9	2,3
Others	2	,5
Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

At university level it becomes even more necessary to have a guide for the students in terms of their working career. Mekelle University offers career guidance and counselling, but often in the form of teachers having it as part of their work responsibilities. In addition, they have an instructor at school that teaches psychology and functions as the main counsellor. More females (69%) make use of these services in comparison with the men (67%) (Table 6.51).

Table 6.51 Careers guidance and counseling at tertiary level, by sex

Count

University students	Yes	No	No response	Total
Male	18	18	7	43
Female	9	8	15	32
Total	27	26	22	75

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 3 and 4

Although female students talk about their personal and academic problems to their teachers or the director, two of the female lecturers claimed that female students are generally scared of going to a male counsellor for advice. Asking a male teacher could be equivalent to asking for sex. Instead, they either sent someone else to ask questions to the instructors or they went to other students for help. Enforcing the implementation of guidance and counselling should represent one of the most important measures for the Government in their future education policies. Handling students should not be left to the 'informal helping profession' alone since they do not have the necessary knowledge and skills to properly deal with many of the problems female students are facing in their everyday life, such as sexual harassment and parents' attitude of not sending them to school. The promotion of female counsellors would create a safer environment where women will feel more comfortable when talking about their personal problems.

6.5.3 School Subjects

Parts of the questionnaire dealt with school subjects, including students' subject preferences, whether or not there should be additional subjects, and if they were taught in subjects such as women's rights and agricultural farming methods. The reason for choosing this particular focus is to enlighten the Ethiopian Government about to what extent students are satisfied with the Government's choice of curriculum and if there is a difference between the subject preference of girls and boys. In addition, the section will analyze to what extent the schools have subjects that will be useful in terms of their work after graduation.

The academic structure will partly determine how well women and men perform in school and how they will meet the development goals of their country. In particular it is claimed that subjects such as Math and Science have the greatest gender disparities in terms of preferences for women and men, where men tend to choose these subjects more frequently than women

(Kwesiga 2002). In my research the students were asked which subjects they did not like. Table 6.52 illustrates that a majority of the females did not like Physics and Maths, while for the boys; History and English were chosen as the 'worst' subjects. Maths and Physics are often said to be typical 'male subjects' where women perform less well than the boys. According to Abraha (2000), the reason is that girls and women believe Math and Physics are difficult subjects, and that they are not able to compete with the boys because they do not have time or lack the confidence to believe that they manage it. Kinfe Abraha, lecturer at Mekelle Business College, in collaboration with the Women's Association of Tigray (WAT), initiated a project of special support for female students in Maths at Atse Yohannes Secondary School. This project was part of the intervention model mentioned under section 6.2.4. The collaborators intended to improve the results of the ESLCE for the 50 selected female students to convince them that they could succeed in education. Time management skills and self-development techniques were introduced and discussed with the students, and they had to write their own time schedule and managing setting goals for the future. An evaluation of the project concluded that female students were able to set goals and prepare a plan for the coming five years and they believed that they could improve their math skills. Results showed that 42 percent of the females scored 2.4 and above, and 42 percent of the student that were part of the special class joined colleges after graduating from high school (ibid.). The real issue is therefore motivation factors and exerting an extra effort from all schools in introducing special support programs for female students. Boys will not necessarily manage better just because it is believed to be a typical 'male subject'.

Table 6.52 Choice of 'worst' subject, by sex (n=400)

Count

	Male	Female
Physics	22	43
Civics	1	1
Business/Economics	1	
Geography	1	7
Maths	9	32
English	15	10
Amharic	8	7
Biology	5	4
Chemistry	6	14
History	18	13
Tigrinya	6	3
No response	62	112
Total	154	246

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

The above findings are further strengthened if we look at which specialization male and female students would choose after graduating from secondary level. Table 6.53 illustrates that a high percentage of the female students want to study Science and Technology (30 %) as well as the Business and Economics specialization (27.5 %). Again, it is possible to conclude that it mostly depends on gaining self-esteem for the female students and that the Government provides extra resources for special support classes.

Table 6.53 Choice of specialization at university after graduation, by sex (n=325)

Count

	Male	Female
Business and Economics	34	59
Law	9	22
Science and technology	37	65
Dryland agriculture	5	7
Information technology	5	17
Education	7	23
Other specializations	9	12
No response	5	9
Total	111	214

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1 and 2

Before analyzing the teachers' situation, this research sought to find whether or not the students were taught in women's rights and agricultural farming methods at secondary level. As the Government in their new education policy seeks to include gender awareness and gender sensitivity in the curriculum as well as in the classroom, it is important to find the percentage of students that have actually heard about issues such as women's rights (Table 6.54). More than 26 percent claimed not to have learned about women's rights at school. In addition, learning good agricultural techniques would be an advantage for students at the secondary level as the majority of the population ends up working with agriculture. Only 14 percent responded that they had learned about how to improve their agricultural skills (Table 6.55). Teachers and participants from the focus group discussions confirmed these findings by claiming that the presence of gender issues and practical learning were almost non-existent.

Table 6.54 Women rights subject

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	217	54,3
No	107	26,8
No response	1	,3
Total	325	100,0

Table 6.55 Agricultural subjects

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	56	14,0
No	268	67,0
No response	1	,3
Total	325	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1 and 2

Implementing subjects that could increase the understanding of the female situation and introducing practical subjects that could meet the market demand should be a priority for the Government as having more women in higher position would be an easier task to achieve and work could become more effective. The theoretical and practical knowledge and skills obtained at school about gender awareness could also have an influence on parents' attitude because students would become aware of the difficult situation women are facing and forward this information to the parents.

Teachers will have some of the responsibility implementing teaching methods that will be of use for the students in their everyday life and also encourage them to treat women and men equally.

6.5.4 The teachers' situation and their influence

Teachers can function as role models and represent a motivating factor for the students. Low salaries in combination with a heavy workload and poor school facilities could, however, lead to lack of motivation and less encouragement of the students.

The teachers interviewed received between 672 Birr to 1433 Birr per month, where the highest salaries were given in the urban areas. All the teachers responded that their salaries were not satisfactory for them compared to the work that they were doing. As mentioned earlier, the teachers were exposed to heavy workload, and there was almost no time for lunch and relaxation. Some of the teachers working in the rural areas were tempted to move to the city, as they could receive a higher salary there.

The teachers' qualification and the number of male and female teachers are also indicators for the teachers' situation. The qualifications differed slightly between the chosen research

secondary schools, where the highest qualification was found at the Agazi secondary school with nearly all the teachers holding a Diploma or a Bachelor Degree (Table 6.56). The total number of female teachers, however, was low at all schools, in particular at Edaga Hamus Secondary School where only one female teacher was working out of a total number of 35 teachers (Table 6.57).

Table 6.56 Teacher's qualification at the four secondary schools

	Teacher's Qualifications			
	Teacher College	Degree	Diploma	Bachelor
Agazi	2		34	24
Edaga Hamus		5	30	
Atse Yohannes		34	26	
Adigudom			14	1

Source: Interviews with school principals at the four secondary schools

Table 6.57 Number of teachers by sex at the four secondary schools

	Number of Teachers	
	Male	Female
Agazi	57	3
Edaga Hamus	34	1
Atse Yohannes	55	5
Adigudom	13	2

Source: Interviews with school principals at the four secondary schools

These numbers are in accordance with the 400 returns from the fieldwork, where the students were asked if they have had or were having any female teachers (Table 6.58). More than 34 percent had not experienced having a female teacher at secondary or tertiary levels. The importance of recruiting more female teachers is clearly reflected in table 6.59, where 66 percent of the female students and 60 percent of the male students responded that the school should hire more female teachers.

Table 6.58 Percentage of female teacher

	Frequency	Percent
No response	14	3,5
Yes	251	62,8
No	135	33,8
Total	400	100,0

Source: Fieldwork results, Appendix 1-4

Table 6.59 Interest in having more female teachers, by sex
(n=400)

Count

		Male	Female	Total
	Yes	91	162	253
	No	58	69	127
		5	15	20
Total		154	246	400

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

According to Table 6.60, the reasons for increasing the number of female teachers for the female students were primarily that women should be equal to men (19%), that they encouraged participation (10%) and that they were role models for the girls (9 %). An interesting point in this regard is that a higher percentage (9 %) of the female students in comparison with the male students (1 %) answered that the presence of female teachers could reduce the shyness and the feeling of shame. The results correspond with whom the girls and women would seek guidance from if they had a choice between a male and a female teacher. Of the female students, 65 percent responded that they would go to a female teacher (Table 6.61), while only 19 percent of the male students would do the same.

Table 6.60 Why increase number of female teachers? By sex
(n=400)

Count

	Male	Female	Total
Equal Rights/Equity	22	47	69
Encourage participation/career	14	25	39
Good teachers	24	15	39
Suitable job	3		3
Role Models for girls	10	19	29
Not feel shame/shyness	3	23	26
Need more female teachers/their knowledge	6	14	20
No response/not wanting female teachers	72	103	175
Total	154	246	400

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Table 6.61 Preferred guidance between male and female
teacher, by sex (n=400)

Count

	Male	Female	Total
Male teacher	115	71	186
Female teacher	30	160	190
No response	9	15	24
Total	154	246	400

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 1-4

Teachers were asked if they believed that female teachers could increase the attendance and persistent rates of female students. They were of the opinion that female teachers could be role models and pave the way for female students. Female teachers were more capable of understanding their problems, and could also be important counsellors for girls when they faced problems. The main reason for the lack of female teachers was that women were forced to get married and stay at home. Poor economy was another reason as well as women lacking self-confidence to stand in front of a group of people and teach.

A majority of the teacher students, school principals and teachers were men, and it is important that they are enlightened about the female history and the difficult situation that women are facing both in and outside the school environment. Providing help and guidance if they are facing academic or personal problems and encourage participation in the classrooms can be some of the measures that should be emphasized. Promising numbers are observable when I analyzed the response from the teacher students, where 97 percent said that they

would encourage girls to become active participants in the school environment (Table 6.62). To give professional guidance, however, requires a minimum of theoretical background or some practical experience. Table 6.63 shows that only half of the teacher students have been introduced to women's rights. These figures correspond to the teachers' responses where they claimed that there was no specific focus on gender sensitivity while going to college. The younger teachers said that they had methodology classes, for instance dealing with class management, but no focus was given on factors that place women in a vulnerable position so that they become less able to cope with school.

Table 6.62 Encouragement of girls by teacher students (percentage)

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No response	1	3,0
	Yes	36	97,0
	Total	37	100,0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 3 and 4

Table 6.63 Existence of women's rights subjects for teacher students (n=35)

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	18	52.0
No	17	48.0

Source: Fieldwork returns, Appendix 3

Introducing gender awareness programs and adapting strategies that could improve the female situation become necessary for the schools. Although affirmative actions, intervention models, tutorials and the appointment of a committee for the special support for women are implemented, additional measures need to be taken into consideration so as to raise the status of Ethiopian women. Recommendations, which are part of the third objective, could guide the Government and national and international agencies in enhancing the enrolment and completion percentage of girls and women at secondary and tertiary levels. These interventions are presented in Chapter seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Conclusion

Educating girls and women is one of the most important pathways to promote social and economic development. Benefits from educating girls and women will yield both social and private returns and can be reaped by individuals, family and society. Social returns are reached by the fact that women will spend more of their income on their families. Educated women are more capable of taking care of their children's health and become engaged in their family's educational attainment. On the private level, educating women bring positive changes in attitude and create innovation and greater self-independence. These findings are particularly true at the secondary and tertiary levels where females graduating would enable representation on decision-making arenas and in policy making. Women can more easily fight for their rights and equality if they are direct participants in changing the legislations. What is critical, then, is what we do at the individual, household, community and national level to ensure that girls and women participate fully not only in their own life but also in their country's development.

It is only recently that developing countries have acknowledged the importance of secondary and tertiary education. Previously, efforts were almost exclusively directed to the primary levels. Although the Ethiopian Government and national and international agencies have made great efforts in reducing the gender gap in higher institutions, women still face significant barriers. The classification of cultural, economic, school, law and policy factors was a useful tool in deciding upon the major constraints women are facing. Women's low social status is a crucial determinant for their limited attendance at higher levels. Their low status is reflected in the dependency on the husband's income, the unequal division of labor, the lack of enforcement of equal rights, as well as society's cultural and religious practices. These factors contribute strongly to lower females' self-esteem, and could lead to lack of motivation for educational attainment.

At one level, the harmful traditional practices requires further attention since these values are still strongly held in the Ethiopian communities. Respondents of this study claimed that *early marriage and pregnancy* are two of the essential factors as to why girls and women drop out or repeat levels at school. Evidence has shown that the median age at first marriage and birth increases when women attend secondary or higher education, and attempts at reducing the

incidences of early marriages will thereby have positive implications for the educational opportunities of women. Another example of harmful traditional practices is *female genital mutilation* (FGM), where the female victimization is greater. The practice does not have a direct impact on the enrollment of girls to higher institutions, but diminishing the practice is important because people that are exposed to FGM could face serious complications later in life in the form of severe pain or infections. Although it is an accepted practice in nearly all milieus, incorporating the harmful effects of early marriage and FGM in the school curriculum and initiate information campaigns in the community could enable the population to gain knowledge of their harmful effects.

From a *religious* point of view, work restrictions and taboos in Ethiopia could have implications for the carrying out of tasks in the household. As it is a fact that women perform most household chores, less time will be spent on schoolwork. In addition, female religious leaders are almost non-existent and boys are more valued when it comes to whom to give religious power. Women's lower status will be enforced through these traditions, and society should realize that equality deserves attention at all levels and in all milieus.

In terms of the *division of labor*, women are responsible for more than half of the agricultural production, and their workday lasts 13-17 hours. Even though girls and women have a heavier workload than their male counterpart, they still lack access to credit and agricultural marketing facilities. As a result, they become dependent on the men that provide most of the cash income for the household. In the urban areas, the majority of women are low-wage-earners and work in the informal sector. Both during and after their education, their involvement in off-farm activities is limited resulting in low income and lack of preparation for working in the formal sector. It is necessary for the communities to realize that educating women are important and reducing their heavy workload could be beneficial for their educational achievements. However, as both the Liberal feminists and the supporters of the Gender and Development theories have claimed, girls and women are assigned to stereotype family roles that has become an 'ingrained' part of the Ethiopian society. If a change has to be made, Westerners cannot just come to a country and implement projects that force people to change their traditional beliefs and values. Change has to be taken step by step, starting at the level of finding the household dynamics, and examine who has the main income and decision-making power before interventions can be made. Applying the theories for the Government

and NGOs is thereby manageable as long as it is relevant for the country's context and has the bearings of a gender sensitivity approach.

The data analyses of this research further found that socio-economic factors would also lead to barriers in women's education. The family income level, and parents' educational background and occupation represented the essential components that had an influence on parents' choice of prioritization for their girls' education. *The high direct costs and opportunity costs* force parents to have their children stay at home, where labor needed from the girl yielded higher benefits for the parents since girls were assigned to do most of the household chores. According to the Human Capital theory and my own results, for families who were not living under poor economic conditions it was more likely that they would encourage both the girl and the boy to go to school, as they would put less weight on calculating the costs and benefits of sending their daughter to school. At university level this was particularly evident where a higher percentage of the parents were from families with high *educational backgrounds*. The female students, in particular, depended on having both parents with an educational background beyond primary level. The same results were visible when analysing parents' *occupation* where the majority of the female students at tertiary level had both parents working in high-income jobs.

Regarding both the socio-economic factors and the socio-cultural factors it is evident that parental attitudes and priorities are important determinants when it comes to decisions of investing in their daughters' education. Change in the educational situation will therefore mainly come from an increased level of awareness from the parents to the relevance of educating their daughters.

Not only will the hindrances for female education emerge from out-of-school factors. The school environment also has implications for girls' educational access, achievement and attainment. The major problems for the female students at school were the exposure to *sexual harassment* and their *long distance to school*. Other significant factors that exacerbated the situation were, firstly, the *lack of separate bathrooms and changing rooms* creating an uncomfortable environment for the girls when reaching their puberty.

Secondly, *overcrowded classrooms* and *shortage of school resources* lead to fewer assessments and poor quality teaching methods. Positively, *club participation* was high in all

research schools and more than half of the female students said that they were or had been engaged in a club. A continuous encouragement of full participation in clubs could yield a better understanding between the sexes and reduce the incidences of sexual harassment. One of the reasons why the female students did not join the clubs was the lack of time due to heavy workload in the household. As mentioned, encouraging parents to reduce the time girls spent doing household chores could release time for other activities, such as joining clubs, or working with cash income.

Thirdly, Ethiopia lacks the presence of professional *counsellors* in school settings. People in the girls' milieu would only be of assistance at an informal level as they would not inherent the fundamental knowledge of how to handle female students dealing with personal problems. According to the female students, educating female counsellors would make the situation easier for the female students because it could lead to a reduction in shyness and the feeling of shame.

Fourthly, there does not seem to be any significant differences between the sexes in their *choice of specialization* at the University. Scholars have claimed that Science and Technology subjects are typically related to the male sphere where women are less able to compete. My research found that in most cases it depends on their self-esteem and the existence of special support classes rather than boys managing these subjects better because it is more 'natural' for them.

Fifthly, *practical skills subjects* and the presence of *gender awareness* topics in the curriculum were almost non-existent. As a result, students were left with lesser capability in managing practical work and low awareness of the problems women are facing in their everyday life. In the future, it is important that students are equipped with the necessary qualifications for the job market as well as being taught about gender sensitivity. People will become aware of the difficult problems women are facing that will enable a stronger understanding of the benefits from educating females.

Finally, *teachers*, as being role models for the students, could have a major influence in regards of being promoters in influencing the subject choice, having a role as counsellors for the students and encouraging women's participation in the classrooms. This, however, will depend on the motivation of the teachers, their workload and the presence of female teachers.

The low salaries and the heavy workload led to inability to perform the amount of assessments needed, and frustration was detectable among the teachers and school principals that were interviewed. Lack of female role models aggravated the difficult situation for the girls and women at school as the majority of female students would go to a female teacher if they were in need of counselling. Female teachers would be more capable of understanding the problems girls are facing as well as reducing the sense of shame female students often experience when approaching a male teacher.

The socio-cultural, socio-economic and school level factors militate against girls and women's enrolment in schools and their continuous education. To increase the number of girls and women in higher institutions as well as in the work life, deliberate efforts have to be made from the local, national and international communities. The Constitution from 1994 includes issues of gender equality in several of its articles, such as giving men and women equal rights to land. The Government of Ethiopia also implemented the National Policy of Ethiopian Women and an Education Sector Development Program, which both promoted equality between men and women, and ways of lightening their workload.

Much work remains to be done on the implementation of these policies and laws and on increasing the participation of women in decision-making processes. Girls and women still enroll at lower rates than the boys, and the gender gap is increasing. Despite this growing body of knowledge about the complex problems of female education, few significant programs and projects have been implemented to reduce the gender gap in education, particularly in the secondary and tertiary sectors. Regional educational reforms and strong community support are still needed to increase female persistence and continuance at the secondary and tertiary levels. My third objective focuses on future interventions that will facilitate an increased enrolment and continuous process of female attendance at higher levels. These issues are elaborated under section 7.1.

7.1 Recommendations

Interventions are required in all developing countries that intend to reduce the gender gap in higher institutions. The issue of female education is complex, and involves several interrelated factors and circumstances that are not easily solved. Change is essential, but will only be possible through long-term plans, and close cooperation between the Government, national and international donors and organizations. Short-term initiatives based on financial inputs in small-scale projects cannot contribute to a systematic change over a long period of time. Recommendations in this study will thereby be based on the premise that change will take time after a thorough, and effective cooperation between the stakeholders involved. Throughout the process it is necessary to have a holistic point of departure if any participating parts intend to diminish the gender gap at secondary and tertiary levels.

7.1.1 Socio-cultural interventions

According to the teachers and the school principals, the number one priority is to convince parents that education is an important tool for development. This could help avoid early marriage and enable a secure environment for girls and women. Women's Association of Tigray should continue their work in encouraging their members not to let their children marry at an early stage, as a majority of their followers are mothers.

Committees both outside and inside the school environment have to be established and supported to teach about cultures and practices that are harmful to the females. Particularly the church and mosques could play an influential role in teaching the society about the factors that leads to high dropouts and repetition rates of female students. The community should direct the low enrollment of females beyond primary level into a contextual setting where also issues of health, environment and economy are included.

Enhancing female education does not only include focusing solely on girls and women. The level of success is also dependant on raising the level of male awareness to the problems women are facing. Living in a male dominated society will depend on the male approval of interventions directed towards enhancing female education.

7.1.2 Socio-economic interventions

The Ethiopian Government has to adopt a policy strategy to lower the cost of instructional materials in the country. One suggestion could be to give financial support to the poorest

families so that they are able to buy stationeries, or school uniforms. There should be a control mechanism to ensure that these materials have been distributed and used properly.

If the opportunity cost is high when sending their daughters to school, one solution could be to introduce flexible school calendars to accommodate household labor requirements. In addition, child-care facilities governed by the community may help female students to continue attending school.

7.1.3 School interventions

In some cases the Government has been very cooperative in enabling NGOs to operate for the improvement of schooling for females. A more frequent co-operation between NGOs and the Government is needed, as the majority of efforts currently are directed towards the primary levels.

The school should offer extra help and motivation for the students, where counselling service should play a highly significant role. Since mothers were important counselling resources for the students it should be of interest to include mothers in school activities on a larger scale than today and encourage them to take decision-making positions in school. There is also an absolute necessity to educate more counsellors than what is presently given at the Addis Ababa University. The media can be of help in attaining these objectives.

The curriculum should be made more relevant in terms of providing the students with basic competencies required for their livelihood and the market demand. In the long term, it could lead to higher efficiency and stronger economic growth. Teachers should relate the content learnt in the classroom to practical experiences whenever possible.

Creating an attractive and gender sensitive school environment should be an essential concern for all schools and institutions. Gender sensitive training for teachers and teacher students, for instance, could create a reassuring environment and eliminate negative attitudes towards female education.

A higher number of female teacher and directors could bring role models closer to the female students. The government should allocate resources for facilitating an environment where

women could work as teachers. A suggestion is to initiate free childcare services for the female teachers, which would lighten their work burden.

Providing proper and separate sanitation facilities could avoid girls from not attending school because they are menstruating or being exposed to sexual harassment.

Proper school information systems should be followed in all schools, which keep records and detailed analyses of the schools drop out rate, repetition rate, and a documentation of students that are facing problems. This information is then made available for teachers and school principals, which in turn could improve the educational situation.

Since a majority of the parents do not allow their daughters to attend school due to long distances, the school could provide free escorting for girls to school or building schools nearer communities to increase girls' and women's access and retention in school.

7.1.4 Policy and law interventions

Institutional and administrative measures are required to minimize the prevalence of female dropouts and high repetition rate. The existence of this problem on a considerable scale implies that more has to be done to improve the situation in Ethiopia. Legal actions and the introduction of new education policies need to be implemented in all schools.

The encouragement and support of more females attending higher education to seek careers in legislative areas could make female participation in education more respected. These women could contribute directly to diminish the gender gap and promote gender awareness through the curriculum.

Enhancing the rights and status of women through regulatory and legal processes is also essential. This is particularly helpful in eliminating parental fears for the security of girls where such illegal actions as abduction, rape, etc. are common.

Many girls are unable to pay their way through school, particularly at secondary level. Scholarships should be initiated at national level to female students that score high as it would also be a motivating factor for the girls and women that wish to attend higher education.

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APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire for Secondary School, level 9-12
GIRLS

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Age

2. Sex   0. Male   1. Female

3. Area of Residence

1. Rural
2. Urban

4. With whom do you live?

1. Parents   2. Relatives   3. Students

5. Religion   1. Orthodox   2. Muslim   3. Catholic

4. Protestant   5. Other (specify)

6. Ethnic or Tribal Group   1. Tigraway   2. Erob   3. Kunama
4. Other (Specify)

7. Marital Status

1. Never Married   3. Divorced
2. Currently married   4. Widowed
5. Not formally married but living together
6. Engaged

8. If married, how old were you when you got married? Age

9. Do you have children?   1. Yes   2. No

10. If yes, how many? Number of children

11. If you have children, how old were you when you had your first child?

Age

II. Your Parents

12. Occupation of

12.1 Mother
12.2 Father

13. Educational Background of

(Choose only one option)
13.1 Mother
       1. No formal education
       2. Primary education (level 1-8)
       3. Secondary education (9-10)
       4. Tertiary (non-university) education (level 11-12)
       5. University education
(Choose only one option)
13.2 Father
       1. No formal education
       2. Primary education (level 1-8)
       3. Secondary education (9-10)
       4. Tertiary (non-university) education (level 11-12)
       5. University education

14. If your mother or father dropped-out of school before level 8, what was the main reason for that?
14. 1 Mother

14.2. Father

15. How much does each of these items costs per year for your parents?
15.1 Transport to School   Birr
15.2 School Uniforms   Birr
15.3 Tuition Fees   Birr
15.4 Textbooks   Birr
15.5 Lodging   Birr
15.6 Stationery [exercise book, pen, pencile, etc]   Birr

III. Your Workload

16. How many hours do you work at home per day?

16.1. Domestic Work
          1. Watching children, hours spent per day
          2. Housekeeping, hours spent per day
          3. Producing food for home consumption, hours spent per day
          4. Working for cash crop, hours spent per day
          5. Fetching water/fuel, hours spent per day
          6. Tending animals, hours spent per week
          7. Washing clothes, hours spent per week
          8. Going to the library, hours spent per week
          9. Other activities, hours spent per day

16.2. Other Employment, off-farm activities
          1. Hours Spent per day
          2. Activities Involved

IV. SCHOOL AND YOU

17. What grade level are you?   grade

18. Number of Repetition Years, if any?   years

19. If you have repeated any level at school, what was the main reason for that? (Choose only one option)

1. Poor economy
2. Failed Exams
3. Much work at home

20. Other Reasons (please explain if there are other reasons)

21. What grades did you receive from these different subjects?

21.1

							8	9	10	11	12
							Grade Level				
1. Tigrigna											
2. Amharic											
3. English											
4. Maths											
5. Biology											
6. Chemistry											
7. Physics											
8. Environmental Science											
9. Basic Science											
10. Geography											

22. Will you continue going to school next year? 1. Yes   2. No

23. If yes, how many more years will you go to school?
Number of years

24. If no, what is the reason for that?

25. If you pass the exams at secondary level, will you go to university or a college?
1. Yes   2. No

26. If yes, what specialisation will you take at the University or a college?
1. Business/Economics
2. Law
3. Science/Technology
4. Dry land Agriculture
5. Information Technology
6. Education
7. Other Specialisations

27. If no, what is the main reason for not going to University?

28. What do you want to work with in the future?

29. In your opinion, what is the best job for a girl? (Choose only one job)
1. Secretary
2. Lawyer
3. Engineer
4. Farmer
5. Teacher
6. Doctor
7. Nurse
8. Housewife
9. Shop assistant
10. Leader of a company
11. Office Worker
12. Other (Specify)

30. In your opinion, what is the best job for a boy? (Choose only one job)
1. Secretary
2. Lawyer
3. Engineer
4. Farmer
5. Teacher
6. Doctor
7. Nurse
8. Housewife
9. Shop assistant
10. Leader of a company
11. Office Worker
12. Other (Specify)

31. Have you had any information on any of these issues at school? (Here you can choose more than one option)
1. Career Information
2. Health Issues
3. Indigenous Knowledge
4. Agricultural Farming Methods
5. Women's Rights

32. What is your favourite subject?

32.1 What other subjects would you like to have in school and why?

33. What is the subject that you hate most?

34. Why?

35. Do you have any tutorial classes?   1. Yes   2. No

36. If yes, what are these subjects?

37. Do you have any special academic classes for any subjects at school?

1. Yes   2. No

38. If yes, what are these subjects?

39. What are the benefits of education for you? (Choose only one option)

1. Access to knowledge
2. Access to information
3. Getting new ideas
4. Better relationships at home
5. More power in relation to men
6. To get certified and then employed

40. Brother and Sisters

40.1. Number of Sisters   40.2 Number of Brothers

41. How many of your sisters have dropped out from school and at what grade level?

41.1 Number   41.2 Grade levels

42. If some of them have dropped out, what was the reason for the drop out?

43. How many of your brothers have dropped out from school and at what level?

43.1 Number   43.2 Grade Level

44. If some of them have dropped out, what was the reason for the drop out?

45. Your mother and father can only send one of their children to school. Whom would they send do you think and why?

1. Their daughter
2. Their son

Why?

46. What is the main reason, do you think, that <u>girls</u> drop out of school?

46.1THE COSTS: (choose the main reason as number 1, and number 2 as the second main reason)
1. Poor Economy in her family
2. Labour needed from the girl
3. Other reasons for the costs
4. None of the options

46.2 THE GIRL: (choose the main reason as number 1, and number 2 as the second main reason)
1. Sickness of the girl or in the family
2. Failed Exams for the girl
3. Had enough school or repetition years
4. Marriage
5. Pregnancy
6. Parent's attitudes of not sending their girl to school anymore
7. Other reasons for the girl
8. None of the options

46.3 SCHOOL (choose the main reason as number 1, and number 2 as the second main reason)
1. Far distance to school
2. The subjects are not interesting for the girl
3. Teacher's attitudes
4. Sexual Harassment at school
5. Unsafe travelling to school
6. No jobs after school
7. Other school reasons
8. None of the options

47. What is the main reason, do you think, that <u>boys</u> drop out of school?

47.1 COST REASONS (choose the main reason as number 1, and number 2 as the second main reason)
1. Poor economy in his family
2. Labour needed from the boy
3. Other reasons
4. None of the options

47.2 THE BOY HIMSELF (choose the main reason as number 1, and number 2 as the second main reason)
1. Sickness of the boy or the family
2. Failed Exams
3. Had enough school or repetition years
4. Marriage
5. Parent's attitudes
6. Other reasons
7. None of the options

47.3 THE SCHOOL (choose the main reason as number 1, and number 2 as the second main reason)

1. Far distance to school
2. The subjects are not interesting for the boys
3. Teacher's attitudes
4. Unsafe travelling to school
5. Sexual Harassment
6. No jobs after school
7. Other school reasons
8. None of the options

48. What is the distance from your home to your school? Km:

49. If the distance is far (more than 5 km), do you feel safe walking to and from school?
1. Yes   2. No

If no, why not?

50. How do you think people look at highly educated women?

(Choose only one option)
1. Respected   4. Too old for marriage
2. Intelligent   5. Argumentative
3. Conceited   6. Role models for girls

51. School Facilities

Do you have separate bathrooms and changing rooms at your school?

1. Yes   2. No

52. Classrooms

How many students are in your classroom? Number

53. How many times a day do you raise your hand to answer questions?

Number

54. How many times a day do you answer questions from the teacher?

Number

55. Clubs
Are you member of any club at school? 1. Yes   2. No

56. If no, what is the main reason for not attending clubs at school?

57. If yes, what kind of club, and for how long have you been a member?

58. Teachers
Do you have any female teachers?   1. Yes   2. No

59. If yes, how many and what subjects do they teach?

60. Would you like if more female teachers were in school? 1. Yes   2. No

61. If yes, why would you like that?

62. Do you receive careers guidance and counselling at school? 1. Yes   2. No

63. If you had personal problems or needed guidance from a teacher, would you go to a male teacher or a female teacher?
       1. Male Teacher   2. Female Teacher

64. In general, whom do you first talk to if you have personal problems or need

help/guidance? (Choose only one option)

1. Male Teachers   4. Father
2. Female Teachers   5. Friends
3. Mother   6. No one   7. Others

Thank you very much for answering all these questions!

APPENDIX 2

Questionnaire for Secondary School, level 9-12
BOYS

I. GENERAL INFORMATION
1. Age

2. Sex　　　　**0. Male**　　　**1. Female**

3. Area of Residence

　　1.Rural
　　2.Urban

4. With whom do you live?

1. Parents　　　2. Relatives　　3. Students

5. Religion　　1. Orthodox　　　　2. Muslim　　　3. Catholic

　　　　　　　　4. Protestant　　　　5. Other (specify)

6. Ethnic or Tribal Group　**1. Tigraway**　　　　**2. Erob**　　**3. Kunama**
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　4. Other (Specify)
7. Marital Status

　　1. Never Married　　　　　　3. Divorced
　　2. Currently married　　　　　4. Widowed
　　5. Not formally married but living together
　　6. Engaged

8. If married, how old were you when you got married? Age

9. Do you have children?　　　　　1. Yes　　　　　　　　2. No

10. If yes, how many? Number of children

11. If you have children, how old were your wife when she had your first child?

　　Age

II. Your Parents

12. Occupation of

12.1 Mother
12.2 Father

13. Educational Background of

(Choose only one option)
13.3 Mother
       1. No formal education
       2. Primary education (level 1-8)
       3. Secondary education (9-10)
       4. Tertiary (non-university) education (level 11-12)
       5. University education
(Choose only one option)
13.4 Father
       1. No formal education
       2. Primary education (level 1-8)
       3. Secondary education (9-10)
       4. Tertiary (non-university) education (level 11-12)
       5. University education

14. If your mother or father dropped-out of school before level 8, what was the main reason for that?

14. 1 Mother

14.2. Father

15. How much does each of these items costs per year for your parents?

15.1 Transport to School   Birr
15.2 School Uniforms   Birr
15.3 Tuition Fees   Birr
15.4 Textbooks   Birr
15.5 Lodging   Birr
15.6 Stationery [exercise book, pen, pencile, etc]   Birr

III. Your Workload

16. How many hours do you work at home per day?

16.1. Domestic Work
       1. Watching children, hours spent per day
       2. Housekeeping, hours spent per day
       3. Producing food for home consumption, hours spent per day
       4. Working for cash crop, hours spent per day
       5. Fetching water/fuel, hours spent per day
       6. Tending animals, hours spent per week
       7. Washing clothes, hours spent per week
       8. Going to the library, hours spent per week

9. Other activities, hours spent per day

16.2. Other Employment, off-farm activities
1. Hours Spent per day
2. Activities Involved

IV. SCHOOL AND YOU

17. What grade level are you?   grade

18. Number of Repetition Years, if any?   years

19. If you have repeated any level at school, what was the main reason for that? (Choose only one option)

1.Poor economy
2. Failed Exams
3.Much work at home

20. Other Reasons (please explain if there are other reasons)

21. What grades did you receive from these different subjects?

21.1

							Grade Level				
							8	9	10	11	12
1. Tigrigna											
2. Amharic											
3. English											
4. Maths											
5. Biology											
6. Chemistry											
7. Physics											
8. Environmental Science											
9. Basic Science											
10. Geography											

22. Will you continue going to school next year? 1. Yes   2. No

23. If yes, how many more years will you go to school?
Number of years

24. If no, what is the reason for that?

25. If you pass the exams at secondary level, will you go to university or a college?
1. Yes   2. No

26. If yes, what specialisation will you take at the University or a college?
1. Business/Economics
2. Law
3. Science/Technology
4. Dry land Agriculture
5. Information Technology
6. Education
7. Other Specialisations

27. If no, what is the main reason for not going to University?

28. What do you want to work with in the future?

29. In your opinion, what is the best job for a girl? (Choose only one job)

1. Secretary	6. Doctor	11. Office Worker
2. Lawyer	7. Nurse	12. Other (Specify)
3. Engineer	8. Housewife	
4. Farmer	9. Shop assistant	
5. Teacher	10. Leader of a company	

30. In your opinion, what is the best job for a boy? (Choose only one job)

1.Secretary	6. Doctor	11. Office Worker
2. Lawyer	7. Nurse	12. Other (Specify)
3.Engineer	8. Housewife	
4.Farmer	9. Shop assistant	
5.Teacher	10. Leader of a company	

31. Have you had any information on any of these issues at school? (Here you can choose more than one option)
1. Career Information
2. Health Issues
3. Indigenous Knowledge
4. Agricultural Farming Methods
5. Women's Rights

32. What is your favourite subject?

32.1 What other subjects would you like to have in school and why?

33. What is the subject that you hate most?

34. Why?

35. Do you have any tutorial classes?   1. Yes   2. No

36. If yes, what are these subjects?

37. Do you have any special academic classes for any subjects at school?

     1. Yes   2. No

38. If yes, what are these subjects?

39. What are the benefits of education for you? (Choose only one option)

1. Access to knowledge
2. Access to information
3. Getting new ideas
4. Better relationships at home
5. More power in relation to men
6. To get certified and then employed

40. Brother and Sisters

40.1. Number of Sisters   40.2 Number of Brothers

41. How many of your sisters have dropped out from school and at what grade level?

41.1 Number   41.2 Grade levels

42. If some of them have dropped out, what was the reason for the drop out?

43. How many of your brothers have dropped out from school and at what level?

     43.1 Number   43.2 Grade Level

44. If some of them have dropped out, what was the reason for the drop out?

45. Your mother and father can only send one of their children to school. Whom would they send do you think and why?

1. Their daughter
2. Their son

Why?

46. What is the main reason, do you think, that <u>girls</u> drop out of school?

46.1 THE COSTS: (choose the main reason as number 1, and number 2 as the second main reason)
1. Poor Economy in her family
2. Labour needed from the girl
3. Other reasons for the costs
4. None of the options

46.2 THE GIRL: (choose the main reason as number 1, and number 2 as the second main reason)
1. Sickness of the girl or in the family
2. Failed Exams for the girl
3. Had enough school or repetition years
4. Marriage
5. Pregnancy
6. Parent's attitudes of not sending their girl to school anymore
7. Other reasons for the girl
8. None of the options

46.3 SCHOOL (choose the main reason as number 1, and number 2 as the second main reason)
1. Far distance to school
2. The subjects are not interesting for the girl
3. Teacher's attitudes
4. Sexual Harassment at school
5. Unsafe travelling to school
6. No jobs after school
7. Other school reasons
8. None of the options

47. What is the main reason, do you think, that <u>boys</u> drop out of school?

47.1 COST REASONS (choose the main reason as number 1, and number 2 as the second main reason)
1. Poor economy in his family
2. Labour needed from the boy
3. Other reasons
4. None of the options

47.2 THE BOY HIMSELF (choose the main reason as number 1, and number 2 as the second main reason)
1. Sickness of the boy or the family
2. Failed Exams
3. Had enough school or repetition years
4. Marriage
5. Parent's attitudes
6. Other reasons
7. None of the options

47.3 THE SCHOOL (choose the main reason as number 1, and number 2 as the second main reason)

1. Far distance to school
2. The subjects are not interesting for the boys
3. Teacher's attitudes
4. Unsafe travelling to school
5. Sexual Harassment
6. No jobs after school
7. Other school reasons
8. None of the options

48. What is the distance from your home to your school? Km:

49. If the distance is far (more than 5 km), do you feel safe walking to and from school?
1. Yes   2. No

If no, why not?

50. How do you think people look at highly educated women?

(Choose only one option)

1.Respected	4. Too old for marriage
2.Intelligent	5. Argumentative
3.Conceited	6. Role models for girls

51. School Facilities

Do you have separate bathrooms and changing rooms at your school?

1. Yes   2. No

52. Classrooms

How many students are in your classroom? Number

53. How many times a day do you raise your hand to answer questions?

Number

54. How many times a day do you answer questions from the teacher?

Number

55. Clubs
Are you member of any club at school? 1. Yes   2. No

56. If no, what is the main reason for not attending clubs at school?

57. If yes, what kind of club, and for how long have you been a member?

58. Teachers
Do you have any female teachers?   1. Yes   2. No

59. If yes, how many and what subjects do they teach?

60. Would you like if more female teachers were in school? 1. Yes   2. No

61. If yes, why would you like that?

62. Do you receive careers guidance and counselling at school? 1. Yes   2. No

63. If you had personal problems or needed guidance from a teacher, would you go to a male teacher or a female teacher?
         1. Male Teacher   2. Female Teacher

64. In general, whom do you first talk to if you have personal problems or need help/guidance? (Choose only one option)

1. Male Teachers   4. Father
2. Female Teachers   5. Friends
3. Mother   6. No one   7. Others

Thank you very much for answering all these questions!

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Age ____

2. Sex   0. Male ____   1. Female ____

3. Area of Residence (that you were born)

1. Rural ____
2. Urban ____

4. Religion   1. Orthodox ☐   2. Muslim ☐   3. Catholic ☐
                    4. Protestant ☐   5. Other (specify) _____

5. Ethnic or Tribal Group   _____

6. Marital Status

1. Never Married ☐   3. Divorced ☐
2. Currently married ☐   4. Widowed ☐
5. Not formally married but living together ☐
6. Engaged ☐

7. If you are married, how old were you when you got married? Age _____

8. Do you have children?   1. Yes ☐   2. No ☐

9. If yes, how many? Number of children _____

For females:
10. If you have children, how old were you when you had your first child?

Age _____

II. Your Parents

11. Occupation of

a. Mother _____
b. Father _____

12. Educational Background of

(Choose only one option)
13.5 Mother

            1. No formal education ☐

            2. Primary education (level 1-8) ☐

            3. Secondary education (9-10) ☐

            4. Tertiary (non-university) education (level 11-12) ☐

            5. University education ☐

(Choose only one option)
13.6 Father

            1. No formal education ☐

            2. Primary education (level 1-8) ☐

            3. Secondary education (9-10) ☐

            4. Tertiary (non-university) education (level 11-12) ☐

            5. University education ☐

13. If your mother or father never went to school, or dropped-out of school before level 8, what was the main reason for that?
13.1 Mother

_____
_____

13.2 Father

_____
_____

14. How much does each of these items costs per year for your parents or yourself?
14.1 Registration fees (if any) _____ Birr
14.2 Tuition Fees (if any) _____ Birr
14.3 Books _____ Birr
14.4 Lodging _____ Birr
14.5 Stationery [exercise book, pen, pencil, etc] _____Birr
14.6 Other expense _____ Birr

14.7 What is your overall expense per year? _____ Birr
14.8 Who finances you?

       1.   Relatives ⬯

       2.   No one ⬯

       3.   Other (specify) ⬯_____

III. Your Workload

15. How many hours did you work when you were living with your parents

per day (answer this question if you are also now living with your parents)?

15.1. Domestic Work

            a. Watching Children, hours spent per day ____

            b. Housekeeping, hours spent per day ____

            c. Producing food for home consumption, hours spent per day____

            d. Working for cash crop, hours spent per day ____

  e. Fetching water/fuel, hours spent per day ____
  f. Tending animals ____
  g. Washing Clothes, hours spent per day ____
  h. Other activities, hours spent per day ____

15.2. Other Employment, off-farm activities (for example jobs outside school or sports activities)

  a. Hours Spent per day _____
  b. Activities Involved

  _____
  _____
  _____

IV. SCHOOL AND YOU

16. What year are you in the university?

1. Year 1 ⬭   **2. Year 2** ⬭ **3. Year 3** ⬭ **4. Year 4** ⬭

  5. Year 5 ⬭

17. Number of Repetition Years at primary and secondary school, if any?

_____ years

18. If you have repeated any level at school, what was the main reason for that? (Choose only one option)

  1. Poor economy ▭
  2.   Failed Exams ▭
  3. Much work at home ▭
  4. Other Reasons (please explain if there are other reasons)_____
  _____
  _____

19. What grades did you receive from these different subjects?
  (Write down your average grades)

20.1

	GRADE LEVEL				
	8	9	10	11	12
1 Tigrigna					
2 Amharic					
3 English					
4 Maths					
5 Biology					
6 Chemistry					
7 Physics					
8 Environmental Science					
9 Basic Science					
10 Geography					

21. What is the faculty that you are enrolled in?
3. Business/Economics ◯
4. Law ◯
5. Science/Technology ◯
6. Dry land Agriculture ◯
7. Information Technology ◯
8. Education ◯
9. Other Specialisation _____

22. Do you wish there were other faculties here?
1. Yes◯   2. No ◯
If yes, what faculty and why?
_____
_____

23. What do you want to work with in the future?

_____
_____
_____

24. Do you believe that it is more difficult for girls than for boys to enter the university?
1. Yes ◯   2. No ◯

25. If yes on question 24, is it due to (Rank the reasons from number 1 to number 11, where 1 is the main reason why girls do not enter university)
1. Sexual harassment at the university___ 7. Far distance to school ___
2. The workload of women ___   8. Admission requirements ___
3. Early marriage ___   9. Parent's attitudes ___
4. Early pregnancy ___   10. Not interesting subjects for girls ___
5. Poor economy ___   11. Other reasons (write) _____
6. Attaining other colleges ___   _____

26. In your opinion, what is the best job for girls? (Choose only one job)
1. Secretary ◯   6. Doctor ◯   11. Office Worker ◯
2. Lawyer ◯   7. Nurse ◯   12. Other (Specify) _____
3. Engineer ◯   8. Housewife ◯
4. Farmer ◯   9. Shop assistant ◯
5. Teacher ◯   10. Leader of a company ◯

27. In your opinion, what is the best job for boys? (Choose only one job)
1. Secretary ◯   6. Doctor ◯   11. Office Worker ◯
2. Lawyer ◯   7. Nurse ◯   12. Other (Specify) _____
3. Engineer ◯   8. Housewife ◯
4. Farmer ◯   9. Shop assistant ◯
5. Teacher ◯   10. Leader of a company ◯

28. What was your favourite subject in secondary school?

29. Would you like to have additional subjects when you went to secondary school, subjects such as women's rights or computer technology?

_____

_____

30. What was the subject that you hated most at secondary school?

_____

_____

31. Why did you not like this subject?

_____

_____

32. Did you have any tutorial classes?   1. Yes ⬭   2. No ⬭
(At secondary school)

33. If yes on question 32, what subjects did you have tutorial classes in?

_____

_____

34. What are the benefits of education for you? (Choose only one option)

      1. Access to knowledge ⬭
      2. Access to information ⬭
      3. Getting new ideas ⬭
      4. Better relationships at home ⬭
      5. More power in relation to men ⬭
      6. To get certified and then employed ⬭

35. Brother and Sisters

35.1. Number of Sisters _____   35.2 Number of Brothers _____

36. How many of your <u>sisters</u> (if any) have dropped out from school and at what grade level? 36.1 Number _____   36.2 Grade levels _____

37. If some of your sisters have dropped out, what was the reason for the drop out?_____

_____

_____

38. How many of your <u>brothers</u> (if any)have dropped out from school and at what level?

     38.1 Number_____   38.2 Grade Level _____

39. If some of your brothers have dropped out, what was the reason for the drop

out?_____

_____

40. If your mother and father can only send one of their children to school. Whom would

they send do you think and why?

     1.Their daughter ◯
     2. Their son   ◯

Why? _____

_____

41. What is the main reason, do you think, that <u>girls</u> in secondary school drop out of the

school before grade 12?

41.1THE ECONOMY AND LABOUR: (rank the options from 1 to 3, where 1 is the most important reason for the drop out)
1. Poor Economy in her family ____
2. Labour needed from the girl ____
3. Other reasons for the costs ____

41.2 THE GIRL: (rank the options from 1 to 7 where 1 is the most important reason for the drop out)
1. Sickness of the girl or in the family ____
2. Failed Exams for the girl ____
3. Had enough school or repetition years ____
4. Marriage ____
5. Pregnancy ____
6. Parent's attitudes of not sending their girl to school anymore ____
7. Other reasons for the girl ___

41.3 SCHOOL (rank the options from 1 to 7 where 1 is the most important reason for the drop out)
1. Far distance to school ____
2. The subjects are not interesting for the girl ____
3. Teacher's attitudes ____
4. Sexual Harassment at school ____
5. Unsafe travelling to school ____
6. No jobs after school ____
7. Other school reasons ____

42. What is the main reason, do you think, that <u>boys</u> from secondary school drop out of

the school before grade 12?

42.1 ECONOMY AND LABOUR (rank the options from 1 to 3, where 1 is the most
important reason for the drop out)
1.   Poor economy in his family ____
2.   Labour needed from the boy ____
3.   Other reasons

42.2 THE BOY HIMSELF (rank the options from 1 to 6 where 1 is the most important
reason for the drop out)
1.   Sickness of the boy or the family _____
2.   Failed Exams ____
3.   Had enough school or repetition years ____
4.   Marriage ____
5.   Parent's attitudes ____
6.   Other reasons _____

42.3 SCHOOL (rank the options from 1 to 6 where 1 is the most important reason for the
drop out)
1.   Far distance to school ____
2.   The subjects are not interesting for the boy ____
3.   Teacher's attitudes ____
4.   Unsafe travelling to school ____
5.   No jobs after school ____
6.   Other school reasons ____

43. How do you think people look at highly educated women?
(Choose only one option)
2.   Respected ____ 4. Too old for marriage ____
3.   Intelligent ____ 5. Argumentative ____
4.   Conceited ____ 6. Role models for girls ____

44. School Facilities

Do you have separate bathrooms and changing rooms at the University?

1. Yes ____ 2. No ____

45. How many times a day do you raise your hand to answer questions?

Number _____

46. How many times a day do you answer questions from the lecturer?

Number ____

47. Clubs

Are you member of any club at school? 1. Yes ____   2. No ____

48. If no, what is the main reason for not attending clubs at school?

_____

_____

49. If yes, what kind of club, and for how long have you been a member?

_____

_____

50. Teachers

Do you have any female teachers?   1. Yes ____   2. No ____

51. If yes on question 50, how many and what subjects do they teach?

51.1Number of female teachers ____

51.2 Subjects the female teachers

teach_____

_____

52. Would you like if more female teachers were at school? 1. Yes ◯ 2. No ◯

53. If yes on question 52, why would you like that?

_____

_____

_____

54. Do you receive careers guidance and counselling at school? 1. Yes   2. No

55. If you had personal problems or needed guidance from a lecturer, would you go to a male lecturer or a female lecturer?

      1. Male Teacher ◯   2. Female Teacher ◯

56. In general, whom do you first talk to if you have personal problems or need

help/guidance? (Choose only one option)

1. Male Teachers ◯   4. Father ◯
2. Female Teachers ◯   5. Friends ◯
3. Mother ◯   6. No one ◯   7. Others ◯

Thank you very much for answering all these questions!

APPENDIX 4

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHER STUDENTS

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Age ____

2. Sex   **0. Male** ____   **1. Female** ____

3. Area of Residence (that you were born)

   1. Rural ____
   2. Urban ____

4. Religion   1. Orthodox ☐   2. Muslim ☐   3. Catholic ☐
                   4. Protestant ☐   5. Other (specify) _____

5. Ethnic or Tribal Group _____

6. Marital Status

   1. Never Married ☐   3. Divorced ☐
   2. Currently married ☐   4. Widowed ☐
           5. Not formally married but living together ☐
           6. Engaged ☐

7. If you are married, how old were you when you got married? Age _____

8. Do you have children?   1. Yes ☐   2. No ☐

10. If yes, how many? Number of children _____

For females:
11. If you have children, how old were you when you had your first child?

Age _____

II. Your Parents

   12. Occupation of

   a. Mother _____
   b. Father _____

13. Educational Background of

 (Choose only one option)

13.7 Mother
       1. No formal education ☐
       2. Primary education (level 1-8) ☐
       3. Secondary education (9-10) ☐
       4. Tertiary (non-university) education (level 11-12) ☐
       5. University education ☐
(Choose only one option)
13.8 Father
       1. No formal education ☐
       2. Primary education (level 1-8) ☐
       3. Secondary education (9-10) ☐
       4. Tertiary (non-university) education (level 11-12) ☐
       5. University education ☐

14. If your mother or father never went to school, or dropped-out of school before level 8, what was the main reason for that?
14.1 Mother
_____
_____
14.2 Father
_____
_____

15. How much does each of these items costs per year for your parents or yourself?
15.1 Registration fees (if any) _____ Birr
15.2 Tuition Fees (if any) _____ Birr
15.3 Books _____ Birr
15.4 Lodging _____ Birr
15.5 Stationery [exercise book, pen, pencil, etc] _____Birr
15.6 Other expense _____ Birr

15.7 What is your overall expense per year? _____ Birr
15.8 Who finances you?
     1. Relatives ⬭
     2. No one ⬭
     3. Other (specify) ⬭_____

III. Brother and Sisters

16.1. Number of Sisters _____ 16.2 Number of Brothers _____

17. How many of your <u>sisters</u> (if any) have dropped out from school and at what grade level? 17.1 Number _____ 17.2 Grade levels _____

18. If some of your sisters have dropped out, what was the reason for the drop out?_____

_____

_____

19. How many of your <u>brothers</u> (if any) have dropped out from school and at what level?

      19.1 Number_____   19.2 Grade Level _____

20. If some of your brothers have dropped out, what was the reason for the drop

out?_____

_____

_____

21. If your mother and father can only send one of their children to school. Whom would

they send do you think and why?

    1. Their daughter ◯
    2. Their son ◯

Why? _____

_____

IV. Your Workload

22. How many hours did you work when you were living with your parents

per day (answer this question if you are also now living with your parents)?

22.1. Domestic Work

                 a. Watching Children, hours spent per day _____

                 b. Housekeeping, hours spent per day _____

                 c. Producing food for home consumption, hours spent per day_____

                 d. Working for cash crop, hours spent per day _____

                 e. Fetching water/fuel, hours spent per day _____

                 f. Tending animals _____

                 g. Washing Clothes, hours spent per day _____

                 i. Other activities, hours spent per day _____

22.2. Other Employment, off-farm activities (for example jobs outside school or sports
activities)

                 a. Hours Spent per day _____

                 b. Activities Involved

_____

_____

V. SCHOOL AND YOU

23. What year are you in the university?

          1. Year 1 ◯   **2. Year 2** ◯ **3. Year 3** ◯ **4. Year 4** ◯

5. Year 5 ⬭

24. Number of Repetition Years at primary and secondary school, if any?

_____ **years**

25. If you have repeated any level at school, what was the main reason for that? (Choose only one option)

1. Poor economy ☐
2. Failed Exams ☐
3. Much work at home ☐
4. Other Reasons (please explain if there are other reasons)_____

26. What grades did you receive from these different subjects at primary and secondary school?

(Write down your average grades)

26.1

	GRADE LEVEL				
	8	9	10	11	12
1 Tigrigna					
2 Amharic					
3 English					
4 Maths					
5 Biology					
6 Chemistry					
7 Physics					
8 Environmental Science					
9 Basic Science					
10 Geography					

27. What was your favourite subject at secondary school?

_____

28. Would you like to have additional subjects when you went to secondary school, subjects such as women's rights or computer technology?

_____
_____

_____

29. What was the subject that you hated most at secondary school?

_____

_____

30. Why did you not like this subject?

_____
_____

31. Did you have any tutorial classes?   1. Yes ⬭   2. No ⬭
(At secondary school)

32. If yes on question 31, what subjects did you have tutorial classes in?

_____
_____
_____

33. School Facilities

Do you have separate bathrooms and changing rooms at the University?

1. Yes _____   2. No _____

34. How many times a day do you raise your hand to answer questions?

Number _____

35. How many times a day do you answer questions from the lecturer?

Number _____

36. What do you learn about teacher's methodology at school?

_____
_____
_____

37. Is it a focus on women's rights in your studies?
1. Yes _____ 2. No _____

38.If yes on question 37, what can you tell me about women's rights?

_____
_____
_____

39. Will you encourage girls to participate in class when you work as a teacher?
1. Yes _____ 2. No _____

40.If yes on question 39, how will you encourage the girls to participate in class?

_____
_____
_____

41.What can be done to get more girls to go to school?

_____
_____
_____

42.Have you heard about the Education Sector Development Program (ESDP) ?

1. Yes _____   2. No _____

43.If yes on question 42, what can you tell me about it?

_____
_____
_____

44.Have you heard about the decentralization process?

1. Yes _____   2. No_____

45.If yes on question 44, what can you tell me about it?

_____
_____
_____

46. Clubs

Are you member of any club at school? 1. Yes _____   2. No _____

47. If no question 46, what is the main reason for not attending clubs at school?

_____
_____

48. If yes on question 46, what kinds of club, and for how long have you been a member?

_____
_____

VI GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT BOYS AND GIRLS

49. Do you believe that it is more difficult for girls than for boys to enter the university?

   1. Yes ◯   2. No ◯

50. If yes on question 49, is it due to (Rank the reasons from number 1 to number 11, where 1 is the main reason why girls do not enter university)

1. Sexual harassment at the university___   7. Far distance to school ___
3. The workload of women___   8. Admission requirements ___
4. Early marriage ___   9. Parent's attitudes ___
5. Early pregnancy ___   10. Not interesting subjects for girls ___
6. Poor economy ___   11. Other reasons (write) _____

7. Attaining other colleges ___ _____

51. In your opinion, what is the best job for girls? (Choose only one job)
1. Secretary ○
2. Lawyer ○
3. Engineer ○
4. Farmer ○
5. Teacher ○

6. Doctor ○
7. Nurse ○
8. Housewife ○
9. Shop assistant ○
10. Leader of a company ○

11. Office Worker ○
12. Other (Specify) _____

52. In your opinion, what is the best job for boys? (Choose only one job)
1. Secretary ○
2. Lawyer ○
3. Engineer ○
4. Farmer ○
5. Teacher ○

6. Doctor ○
7. Nurse ○
8. Housewife ○
9. Shop assistant ○
10. Leader of a company ○

11. Office Worker ○
12. Other (Specify) _____

53. What is the main reason, do you think, that <u>girls</u> in secondary school drop out of school before grade 12?

53.1 THE ECONOMY AND LABOUR: (rank the options from 1 to 3, where 1 is the most important reason for the drop out)
1. Poor Economy in her family ____
2. Labour needed from the girl ____
3. Other reasons for the costs ____

53.2 THE GIRL: (rank the options from 1 to 7 where 1 is the most important reason for the drop out)
1. Sickness of the girl or in the family ____
2. Failed Exams for the girl ____
3. Had enough school or repetition years ____
4. Marriage ____
5. Pregnancy ____
6. Parent's attitudes of not sending their girl to school anymore ____
7. Other reasons for the girl ___

53.3 SCHOOL (rank the options from 1 to 7 where 1 is the most important reason for the drop out)
1. Far distance to school ____
2. The subjects are not interesting for the girl ____
3. Teacher's attitudes ____
4. Sexual Harassment at school ____
5. Unsafe travelling to school ____
6. No jobs after school ____
7. Other school reasons ____

54. What is the main reason, do you think, that <u>boys</u> from secondary school drop out of school before grade 12?

54.1 ECONOMY AND LABOUR (rank the options from 1 to 3, where 1 is the most important reason for the drop out)
1. Poor economy in his family _____
2. Labour needed from the boy _____
3. Other reasons

54.2 THE BOY HIMSELF (rank the options from 1 to 6 where 1 is the most important reason for the drop out)
1. Sickness of the boy or the family _____
2. Failed Exams _____
3. Had enough school or repetition years _____
4. Marriage _____
5. Parent's attitudes _____
6. Other reasons _____

54.3 SCHOOL (rank the options from 1 to 6 where 1 is the most important reason for the drop out)
1. Far distance to school _____
2. The subjects are not interesting for the boy _____
3. Teacher's attitudes _____
4. Unsafe travelling to school _____
5. No jobs after school _____
6. Other school reasons _____

55. How do you think people look at highly educated women?
(Choose only one option)
1. Respected _____   4. Too old for marriage _____
2. Intelligent _____   5. Argumentative _____
3. Conceited _____   6. Role models for girls _____

VII. Teachers
56. Do you have any female teachers?   1. Yes _____   2. No _____

57. If yes on question 56, how many and what subjects do they teach?

57.1 Number of female teachers _____
57.2 Subjects the female teachers
teach_____
_____

58. Would you like if more female teachers were at school? 1. Yes ◯   2. No ◯

59. If yes on question 58, why would you like that?

_____

_____

_____

60. Do you receive careers guidance and counselling at school? 1. Yes   2. No

61. If you had personal problems or needed guidance from a lecturer, would you go to a male lecturer or a female lecturer?

     1. Male Teacher ◯   2. Female Teacher ◯

62. In general, whom do you first talk to if you have personal problems or need

help/guidance? (Choose only one option)

1. Male Teachers ◯   4. Father ◯
2. Female Teachers ◯   5. Friends ◯
3. Mother ◯   6. No one ◯   7. Others ◯

VIII. EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE

63. What are the benefits of education for you? (Choose only one option)

1. Access to knowledge ◯
2. Access to information ◯
3. Getting new ideas ◯
4. Better relationships at home ◯
5. More power in relation to men ◯
6. To get certified and then employed ◯

Thank you very much for answering all these questions!