

**Some Implications of the Interaction of Formal  
Education with an Ethiopian Rural Community: The  
Case of Woyisso-Qancaara Kebele, East Showa Zone of  
Oromia Region**

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## Abstract

The rural community of Woyisso has been experiencing mounting internal and external pressures since its formation. These pressures are contributing to the recent rise in their enthusiasm for formal education. The severe draught that occurred during the ethnographic present has fanned this already high fervor. This means that formal education, as an institution that evolved in an alien culture, is coming into closer interaction with the social and economic reality of the inhabitants of Woyisso. This interaction has several implications.

One implication is the function of the opposition that exists between the worldview and value systems underlying formal education and those that the community holds. In this regard formal education is attempting to replace the idealistic worldview and values of the community with materialistic ones.

An implication of adopting, by households, education of children as a major function of the household is that they are required to make adjustment to the way they go about their traditional functions. Production and allocation of resources are some of the most disturbed household functions. Formal education is disturbing the traditional household division of labor by taking children away from the household and the hamlet for part of a day or for an entire academic period. Moreover, it is placing strain on the resources of a household especially as its children advance through formal education. It was noted that this economic strain was by and large responsible for school dropout.

Among the implication of increased valuation of formal education by the community are the decrease in the practice of early marriage especially infant betrothal; the gradual transfer, from parents to children, of power to make decision on the time of marriage and choice of marital partner; the gradual withering away of the social

institutions that provided for bridewealth and resources for wedding feast or their alignment to the service of formal education; the transformation of traditional norms of gender relations; re-socialization of children into the political values and principles of the government; creation of labor shortfall by taking children away from their traditional productive task which contributed to the migration of laborers into the community.

In all these, formal education is contributing to the increased subordination of the community to the towns.

## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

There are scanty attempts at explaining the origin of formal education as a specialized institution with trained teachers and clearly defined curriculum aimed at providing members of a society with the knowledge, skills and attitude that they need to function in that society (Fagerline and Lawrence 1983: 33). One prevailing explanation claims that it has evolved in Mesopotamia and Egypt with the advent of writing when the acquisition of the skill of reading and writing was institutionalized (ibid). However, formal education, as it is known today, has evolved in the Western and Middle Europe. Since it gradually evolved out of the social dynamics of the West, it could be assumed that it is compatible with the worldview, values, attitudes and institutions of the West.

Formal education as practiced in Ethiopia today was first introduced during the reign of Emperor Minilik at the turn only of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Tekeste 1996:101) together with other modernization reform packages. It is logical to assume that an institution that evolved in a different social and economic context will have some serious implications when it is grafted on other communities with different socio-economic context such as the rural communities of Ethiopia. An initial reflection on some implications of the interaction of formal education among rural communities is the subject of this research. The research attempt to do this by taking the community of Woyisso-Qancaara as a case.

#### ***1. Statement of the Problem***

Before I joined the graduate school about three years ago, I worked for an NGO that required me to make infrequent visits to eight Kebeles in the Adami Tulu Judo Kombolcha Woreda of which Woyisso-Qancaara Kebele was one. During those visits, I observed the emergence of a strong enthusiasm for formal education among rural communities in the Woreda. Fagerline (1983: 78) documented cases in which



"the belief that more education leads to better jobs has been a principal motivating factor for young people to stay in school longer" and for parents to support the education of their children in spite of the economic burden it entails. This implies that rural communities are increasingly seeing formal education as a bridge to urban life. There have been several 'push' and 'pull' factors that resulted in this trend among the inhabitants of Woyisso-Qancaara. The growing scarcity of land, population growth and the erratic and unreliable rain constitute some of the most powerful 'push' factors. The 'pull' factor has been the apparently better standard of living that the rural population observes when they have had to visit towns for medical, economic, judicial and other purposes. These factors have therefore contrived to press the community to place much significance on formal education as a strategy of escaping the uncertainties of rural life and enjoying the relative comfort that towns appear to provide.

To acquire formal education, the inhabitants of Woyisso-Qancaara turn mainly to the five schools in the region that are situated at various distances outside the jurisdiction of the Kebele. These are the Zuuwaay High School, Adami Tulu Junior Secondary School, Woransa Junior Secondary School, Suro Elementary School and Shishoo Xaabboo Elementary School. The Rift Valley Children and Women Development Association (RCWDA) provides a three year non-formal education in its two so-called Access Centers situated within the relatively concentrated settlements of the Kebele. The Ministry of Education recognizes the education it provides as equivalent to the first cycle of the formal school. Therefore, a great number of households in Woyisso send their children to these Centers for primary education. Moreover, as I will elaborate in Chapter Four, the community does not identify these schools any differently from the formal schools. For these reasons, I have also included the Access Centers in the list of schools that provide formal

education to the inhabitants of Woyisso. For the relative location of all the schools to which the children of Woyisso are exposed, please refer to Map C on page 68.

These schools seek to mediate certain knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, values and norms of behaviors to their students through the instrumentality of their curriculum, instruction and environment. Since none of these institutions of learning had arisen out of the social and economic context of the inhabitants of Woyisso, it is reasonable to expect them to be in a dynamic interaction with the social, economic and metaphysical dimensions of the later. The present research seeks to describe some implications of this interaction.

I was able to delimit three possible areas of focus in studying some implications of formal education and the community. The first possibility was to focus on the schools as social systems in their own right and look into the dynamics of interaction among various categories of people within them. The second was to consider formal education as agents of socialization that were aimed at either mediating the culture of the community or replacing all or part of it with some other alien cultural traits. In this case, the primary focus of study would be the students. The third was to regard formal education as one institution that was in a dynamic interaction with the community. For this research, I chose to focus on the third as the major theme of my study although I still looked into some aspect of the other two to render the study a degree of holism.

## ***2. Review of Theoretical Literature***

In sociological literature, socialization is refereed to as a life long process in which members of a society acquire and modify the culture they are born into (Neubeck and Glassberg 1996: 139). In the context of this study, this process of mediating a system of knowledge, skills, norms and values is equated with education. It is only

through this educational process that any society can continue to perpetuate and transform itself.

The literature categorizes educational processes in any society into three broad types: formal, non-formal and informal. Formal education is 'a hierarchically structured and chronologically organized system extending from primary school to the university. 'The formal educational system may in addition include a series of specialized programs and technical and vocational training institutions" (Tekeste 1996:28). Non-formal education is "the motley assortment of organized and semi-organized educational activities operating outside the regular structure and routines of the formal system, aimed at serving a great variety of learning needs of different subgroups in the population, both young and old" (Coombs and Ahmed 1974: xxiv). Informal education is one 'in which the individual learns incidentally by direct participation and imitation' as he/ she engages with the family, neighborhood and community (Watkins 1963:427). The focus of the present study is to describe some of the implications of formal education in an Ethiopian rural community.

Two general theoretical frameworks; namely, functionalism and Marxism, are relevant to explaining the implications of introducing formal education in a rural community. Functionalists define development of a society in terms of the extent to which it has developed a complex of highly specialized, diversified but interdependent functions in which its members are engaged. For them "the movement from traditional to modern society can be explained in terms of different kinds of functional integration" (Feinberg and Soltis 1985:17). Hence, "School provides the role differentiation and solidarity that in most traditional societies are developed through other means" (Ibid: 18).

Human Capital theory is an economic theory of a functionalist orientation that seeks to establish a link between economics and education. Typical of functionalism, the theory defines development "in terms of material prosperity that have, through trial and error, already come to characterize certain regions of the world" (BIC: undated). Other peoples of the developing nations are expected to tread stages of progress in their quest to meet the norms set by the developed nations. Rostow, for one, sets five such stages; namely, the traditional society, pre-conditions for take off, take off, maturity and the stages of high consumption (Rostow 1965). According to this theory,

For any economic growth and development to occur two requirements are necessary. The first of these is the improvement and greater efficiency of technology, because higher technology results in greater production. The second component, however, concerns the utilization of human resource in the employment of technology. The skills and the motivation for productive behavior are imparted by means of formal education. (Fagerline and Lawrence 1983: 47)

From the perspective of modernization theory, a functionalist oriented sociological stand point, the underlying assumption is that "in order for society to become modern (to develop economically and socially), it must be composed of a modern population, meaning modern values, beliefs and behavior" (ibid: 51). According to Lewis (1968), this implies that laying the ground for growth requires the transformation of traditional belief systems, attitudes, institutions and values that are "inimical to effort, to innovation or to investment". In this regard, the theory contends that "education, and particularly schooling, was perhaps the most important agent for transforming a traditional society into a modern one" (Fagerline and Lawrence 1983: 52). Hence, functionalist regard universal compulsory education as closely related to the requirements of industrial society.

On the other hand, Marxists regard "the provision of universal state education [as reflecting] a resolution of the question of control over the schools in favour of the

dominant classes whose interest are articulated in the apparatus of the state and their functioning" (Sharp 1980: 117). With their emphasis on struggle between opposing groups as a driving force behind social change, Marxist oriented approaches regard the school as an instrument for maintaining the interest of the dominant groups. They assert that

schools serve the economic and political status quo in a way that gives the illusion of objectivity, neutrality, and opportunity. They believe that the schools reproduce the attitudes and dispositions that are required for the continuation of the present system of domination by the privileged class (Feinberg and Soltis 1985:43).

Conflict theorists assert that schools are "one of the main agencies of distributing an effective dominant culture" (Appel 1979: 6). Increased schooling is seen as an instrument by which the dominant class successfully establishes its own mode of thinking among most members of the subordinate class thereby establishing hegemony over the subordinate class (Feinberg and Soltis 1985:45).

A reaction to the Human Capital and Modernization theories of functional orientation is another variant of a Marxist orientation called Dependency or Underdevelopment Theory. It places the problem in a global context and argues that explanations that seek to identify the causes of the present material poverty of developing nations in their own social and environmental conditions only divert attention of the historical impact of the West in shaping their present predicament. Based on his studies of the history of poverty in a number of Latin American countries, Ander Gunder Frank, for one, argued that rather than traditionalism, 'European expansion and colonialism [systematically] created the underdevelopment of the Third World' and 'has produced incredible poverty' by constantly draining wealth which 'not only hampered but systematically destroyed indigenous economic development' (Frank cited in Kessing 1983, Roxbourough 1979 and Hoogvelt 1982). In this process, formal education is said to play the role of effecting discontinuities, which are designed shifts of

language and beliefs between parents and children. Mead (1963: 316) characterized formal education as 'a political device for arousing and maintaining national loyalty through inculcating a language and a system of ideas which the pupils did not share with their parents.' It is further argued that as one of the most powerful instrument of domination, formal education plays a mainly integrative function. It is primarily concerned with the provision of skill and information that enable its participants to function in the capitalist systems. As Paulo Ferrere (1972) would have it, it domesticates its participants by systematically substituting indigenous survival strategies, norms, values, customs, language etc. with those of a consumerist worldview and practices that characterizes the West. It regards education as practiced in the developing countries as a neo-colonial instrument of 'cultivating the native mind' by integrating it to the Western perspective, which Mudimbe (1988: 2) identified as one of the three colonial projects. It is a weapon that is robbing the poor of their identity, self-worth and confidence in themselves. Moreover, Chambers (1983), makes a distinction between what he calls 'cores' and 'peripheries' of knowledge in which Western education is said to 'articulate with the preoccupation, power and prestige of the core' which resulted in the drainage of capable human resource of the peripheries to industrial core. Within the Third World countries this migrations is from smaller to larger urban centers, feeding in turn the international flow of brain drain.

It should be noted that Marxists oriented criticisms of formal education lie not in the organization of formal education as such but

rather on the particular form that education has taken as it has historically evolved in Western capitalist societies. The critique, then, is directed more fundamentally at the capitalist model of education, and the diffusion of this model to other societies subordinate to capitalist influence (Fagerline and Lawrence 1983: 59).

Nor are these critics against the function of formal education to bring about change. Quillen (1993:53), for one, states that the school is concerned not only with the

'transmission' and 'conservation' of culture but also with its 'extension'. She stresses that formal education should be promoted in light of cultural change if 'important gaps in what is taught and learned' are to be avoided. She (1993: 51) warns that "if those who make the school curriculum do not understand the changing culture of which they are a part, deadwood will be carried indefinitely in the school program".

The objective of this research is then to investigate whether or the extent to which each of these two theoretical models describe the implications of formal education in a rural community in Ethiopia taking Woyisso-Qancaara as a case for my investigation.

### ***3. Objectives of the Study***

The general objective of this study is, therefore, to identify and describe some implications of the interaction of formal education with the inhabitants of Woyisso-Qancaara. It will have the following specific objectives:

1. To describe some of the internal and external pressures that contributed to the rise in the demand for formal education among the inhabitants of Woyisso-Qancaara Kebele.
2. To identify the social and economic context of the community into which formal education was introduced, with particular focus on kinship and marriage, some elements of the worldview and value system, mode of subsistence and authority and social control of the community.
3. To describe the historical evolution of participation of the community in formal education.
4. To examine the implication of formal education on the worldview and value systems of the community.
5. To look into some implication of formal education on the household economy.

6. To describe some implications of formal education on marriage and social control of the community.

#### ***4. Significance of the Study***

It is now generally agreed that when formal education is effective, it can raise the trained manpower necessary for the overall development of a country. But, for education to be effective it should be relevant to the people it serves. For an educational program to be relevant it should take account of the cultural base and diversity of the people for whom it is intended. Achievement of relevance, however, is a process that requires integration of implementation of educational programs, on the one hand, and researches on how these educational programs are interacting with the community they serve, on the other. The present study hopes to point to the need in this direction.

#### ***5. Fieldwork Circumstances and Motivation***

A preliminary overview of literature was made before fieldwork to clarify focus of the study. The fieldwork started with an initial visit during the last week of August 2002. The main fieldwork lasted from November 15 to December 29 of the same year. I had mentioned that I used to infrequently visit the Woreda in which my research site is found, as part of my duty to an NGO I used to work for before I join the graduate school. It was those trips that first triggered the problem of the present research. Moreover, they have helped me establish a strong rapport with key individuals - a rapport that proved highly instrumental for the amount of data I could gather in a relatively short time and under the severe drought that has hit the whole region. Therefore, I am tempted to date the fieldwork from those times.

The two assistants I had from the community, with whom I had developed intimate friendship during the visit I made before I joined the graduate school, played a significant role in the entry into and efficiency of my stay in the field. I have not



followed official procedure in entering the field. Wasting time on following a long bureaucracy was redundant since I had already established sufficient degree of rapport. However, the Kebele Chairman was made aware of my presence as a researcher when my assistants and I went to the Kebele office to interview him three weeks into my fieldwork. He asked if I had papers from the Wordeja. My assistants challenged him that this would be redundant since I had a recommendation paper from the University, which I produced. Since both were very respected members of the community, the Chairman did not pursue the issue any further and, instead, assisted me by providing information I requested him. On the other hand, my assistants had introduced me to the elders of the community as a student researching on the Arsi Oromo culture. This legitimized my relatively extended presence in the community. Some of these elders were my key informants.

## ***6. Methodology***

I started fieldwork with a two-day training I gave to my assistants in order to build their capacity so that they could assist me in an informed and effective manner. This was followed by drawing a sketch of and clustering settlement within the jurisdiction of the Kebele. This was meant to help us sample households for surveys and interviews.

Observations, survey, interviews, focus group interviews and study of life history are the most prominent methods that I employed in my fieldwork. I was able to observe interaction between and among students, teachers and administrators both in the class and in the school compound.

A survey was made on 40 random households with the aim of finding out the household structure, function, economic status and the level of participation of each household in formal education. It was meant to see if there was correlation among these factors. Appendix One and Two are the results of this survey. I found out from

the informal conversation I happened to have with some members of the sample households later in my fieldwork that the result of the survey that related to the economic status of the household was extremely underrated and, hence, was not reliable. For this reason, I have not taken this aspect of the survey result seriously.

Being unable to gather much of the necessary information from observation due to my limited period of stay and the drought that deranged normal social activities, the bulk of my data was obtained from key informants of various categories who were interviewed to gather information on particular issues. Elders and knowledgeable individuals provided much of the data on the history, and social and economic realities of the community among others. Directors of schools shared with me the history, internal dynamics and organization of their respective schools. They also responded to questions that relate to the interaction of their respective schools with the community. Sample students of Woyisso from all the identified schools were also interviewed to find out their valuations of and expectations from formal education and also the challenges they faced as students. Heads and relevant experts of other governmental and non-governmental organizations are also included in my list of key informants from whom I was able to gather appropriate information. Attempt was also made to verify the information obtained from individual key informants by engaging, whenever possible, a group of them in focus-group discussions.

In-depth interviews with members of sample household was also made to find out the relationship of members of households, the status and role of each member within households and the level, motivation and implication of their participation in formal education. Originally 15 of the 40 sample households to whom the survey questionnaire was administered and have shown direct or inverse correlation among the variables were selected for this purpose. However, members of only ten of these

households were interviewed since the information that households gave began to repeat as the interview progressed.

I had also studied life histories of students and parents who are not members of the sample households for possible cases that could demonstrate the implications of formal education in their individual and collective lives.

With the help of graduate students in Curriculum and Instruction, I also attempted to study the syllabus of the Environment Science for the First Cycle, which is prepared in Ahmaric, in order to have an idea of the contents and methods of instruction of formal education. Conversation with some teachers on the contents of the texts, which are in Oromiffa, supplemented this study.

## ***7. Limitations of the Study***

One of the most acute challenges I have faced in the research is non-availability of sufficient and up to date literature on educational anthropology. Of the few books that are available in the major libraries, most are dated. The Internet provided an inexhaustible list of annotated bibliography of books and courses available at especially American Universities on educational anthropology but I could not come across free reading materials.

An important aim of fieldwork is to capture the character of naturally occurring behavior of a group. The drought that had hit the area shortly before and during the fieldwork had not made it possible for me to witness the conventional intensity of social activities. For example, I was told that there used to be a number of weddings during the season in which I did my fieldwork but due partly to the drought, there was no wedding in the whole Kebele. Moreover, to cope with the drought, people had been in constant movement and it used to take much time to meet members of households selected for the survey and interviews.

Language was yet another limitation of the study. I did not speak Oromiffa and had to completely rely on my assistants for translation. I had, however, attempted to cross check the validity of some dubious translations. I was not, due to the same limitation, able to study the texts of the first six grade levels, which were in Oromiffa. To do this required hiring a capable person who would translate over twenty texts. This was unthinkable for the financial resource and time at my disposal. This meant that my study of the content of formal education was based on study of the syllabus.

## **Chapter Two**

### **The Study Area and its People**

This chapter attempts to put the inhabitants of Woyisso-Qancaara in their proper spatial and temporal context. In the process of doing so, the historical and ecological factors that have contributed to the rise in the enthusiasm for formal education among the community will be described. It will be evident that some of these are 'push' factors arising, as they are, from within the community while others are 'pull' factors caused by the community's interaction with outside agents. Chapter Four will make reference to the contribution that these factors have been making to the mounting participation of the community in formal education.

Woyisso-Qancaara is found in Oromia Region. According to the present administrative structure, Oromia is the largest region in Ethiopia and is home to the Oromo who settled in diverse ecological settings and pursue diverse modes of subsistence. Like other regions of the country, Oromia is further divided into lesser inclusive administrative units called Zones, Woredas, and Kebeles. Woyisso-Qancaara is a Kebele found in Adami-Tulu-Judo-Kombolcha Woreda of East Shewa Zone. Since inhabitants of all Kebeles within the Adami-Tulu-Judo-Kombolcha Woreda share the same ecological features, it will be proper to start the discussion by first outlining the location and ecology of the Woreda in general. This will be followed by a description of the location and ecology of Woyisso-Qancaara Kebele. Finally the political and economic history of the Kebele will be presented.

#### ***1. Location and Ecology of Adami Tulu Judo Kombolcha Woreda***

As is indicated in Map A in the next page, the Adami-Tulu-Judo-Kombolcha is one of the Woredas in East Shewa Zone of the Oromia Regional Government. The Central Statistical Office (2002) projected the population of the Woreda to be 146,552 in 2002. The Woreda covers an area of 1274.54 km<sup>2</sup> with a population density of 115

persons per km<sup>2</sup>. It falls within the Rift Valley and accommodates part of what Ketebo (1977) preferred to call 'Rift Valley Arsi Oromo'. Formally, it houses 36 Kebeles one of which - Woyisso-Qancaara- is my research site.

According to the data obtained from Adami Tulu Agricultural Research Centre, the Woreda is semi-desert with minimum and maximum daily temperature of 13.0°C and 27.9°C respectively and a relative humidity of 59. The main rains come between the months of June - August on a season known to the inhabitants as ***ganna***. The annual average rainfall for the last 10 years is 776.6 mm. However, rainfall has been very erratic and unreliable in recent years. The problem had been particularly severe during the ethnographic present when the whole region was hit with a very severe drought. ***Bira*** is a season of harvest and falls between September - November. Festivities and wedding are held mostly during this season for harvest is already stored during the season. December - February is the dry season and is called ***boona***. The season between March - May is called ***afrassa***. It is a transition to the wet seasons when the sky begins to be heavy with clouds. Little rain may begin to fall by the end of the season.

Malaria is very endemic to the area and claims the lives of many in the Woreda during the wet seasons. Before the introduction of farming, the people would cope with malaria by avoiding settlement around water bodies during the incubation period of the mosquito. With the beginning of farming, however, their life became tied to land that has inhibited movement. This rendered the traditional copying mechanism ineffective and has increasingly made the inhabitants dependent on modern medicine. Now when the symptoms of malaria are presumably detected, malaria pills are administered without consulting a physician. Edao Haaga is a prominent elder of the Habernosa clan. In one of my visits to his home, I found him caught with a severe headache which, according to his diagnosis, was a symptom of malaria.

So, he sent his son to Adami Tulu to buy him **chloroquine**<sup>1</sup>. He said that it was very far and highly inconvenient for him to go to the health stations at Adami Tulu and Zuuwaay towns to visit a physician. Households usually buy malaria pills from the drug stores at the nearby towns and keep them at home for emergency. So, only when a patient does not show any sign of improvement would he or she be taken to the health stations at the towns. At times, when the problem becomes severe, inhabitants of the Woreda would appeal to the government through their respective Kebele administration. If the appeal were heeded, a D.D.T spraying brigade would be sent to the affected areas.

According to Dr. Abdisa Abate<sup>2</sup> copper deficiency (**wuroo**), anthrax (**abasanga**) black-leg (**abagorba**), foot and mouth disease (**aftagir**), pasteurellosis (**gororsa**), goat and sheep pox (**fantata**) are the most common animal diseases in the region. Normally there should be annual vaccination for anthrax, pasteurellosis and black leg. But the Woreda Agricultural Bureau admitted that it did not have the capacity to administer annual vaccination to the huge number of large and small livestock in the Woreda. Instead, it administers vaccination only when there is outbreak of the diseases. Formerly, vaccination service was given for free. But, with the reduction in subsidies, farmers are now required to pay for the service, which many households have found it too expensive.

According to Edao Haaga and Dessie Bedane and other elderly informants, the region was thickly covered with vegetation before the times of the **Derge**<sup>3</sup>. They said,

We never cut trees especially around our hamlets. Trees were community properties that served as shades for community gatherings such as funerals. If anybody cut trees, the elders would impose fine on him. When we require wood for building houses, fencing etc we collected only from far off places where there were no settlement.

The above mentioned informants further said, that with the 'land to the tiller' proclamation of the **Derge** in 1974, the regard for natural resource as community property deteriorated and resulted in a process of massive deforestation, which now left behind only few dispersed trees. The forest protection police of the previous and present governments sometimes patrol the area and caught some individual red-handed cutting trees and sent them to jail. But the efforts have not been consistent and the governments have not been able to control deforestation. The unreliable rain has increasingly forced the inhabitants to cut trees for sell as fuel wood and charcoal. This has intensified especially in the ethnographic present when the area is severely struck by drought.

The severity of the present drought varied from area to area within the Woreda. In Woyisso-Qancaara, for one, there was only a small drop of rain of which most households could extract a few sacks of maize. The plots of others were either eaten by weeds or their holders were not satisfied with the amount of rain to plant their scarce seeds. A lot of cattle have died for lack of pasture or their holders had to sell them for a very low price on the market. Gammadoo Hinseene is a household head in the Kebele and he said that the drought was the severest in the history of the entire region. His view was supported by many other members of the community who were extremely worried about the impending famine.

## ***2. Location and Demography of Woyisso-Qancaara Kebele***

Woyisso-Qancaara is 7 km into the hinterland from Adami Tulu town. Zuuwaay town is an additional 7 km. further north which makes it 14 kms away from Woyisso-Qancaara Kebele. The relative location of Woyisso-Qancaara in Adami Tulu Woreda is indicated in Map B on the following page.



Woyisso and Qancaara used to be two separate Kebeles during the **Derge** and were only combined by the present government. Woyisso was named after an Oromo warrior called Woyisso Maacho, who, according to oral tradition<sup>4</sup>, first migrated from Bale and settled in the area. On the other hand, Qancaara (literary means 'short') was named after the hill that is found in the locality and serves as a boundary-marker with Woyisso. For the sake of brevity, I will use the term Woyisso to refer to the Woyisso-Qancaara Kebele unless specified. In fact, the inhabitants of the Kebele often say Woyisso to refer to their Kebele other than for official purposes.

According to the 1994 census, the population and number of households of Woyisso and Qancaara put together makes 1616 and 328 respectively. If the population grew with the rate of 2.23% estimated for the rural population by the Central Statistical Office (1996), the population of Woyisso would be projected at 1972 in 2003. It seems to me that this projection would greatly understate the actual population size of the Kebele. The Kebele Administration does not have a consolidated demographic statistics of the Kebele but the chairman estimated that the Kebele presently houses at least 500 households. According to the 1994 census, the average size of a household is 4.92. If this average were to be multiplied by the estimate of the number of household given by the Chairman, the population would be 2,460. But, according to the survey I made on 40 sample households, the average size of a household was 10.22 which raises the population size to as high as 5,110.

Before the relatively recent introduction of the bicycle, men used horses and mules for travelling while women mostly walked. Women now travel on carts for which owners charge them. The western boarder of Woyisso is three km from the main asphalt road that connects Addis Abeba with Kenyan boarder town of Moyalee, which crosses through Adami Tulu Woreda. The road was initiated by the Italians

but came to be concluded after the return, to the country, of Emperor Haileseelase from his exile in 1941. Radio was very uncommon before the **Derge**. Only a very small minority who have relative connections with the town followed up national news on the radio that had only Amharic programs. With the beginning of Oromo broadcasts by the **Derge**, the great majority of the populations begun to develop interest in the radio. In the beginning, people bought radio largely for the Oromo songs it was broadcasting. Haji Jemal Geleeto recalled, "The Oromo songs that were being aired used to be quite a fascination for the local people." Nowadays it is not uncommon for household to have radio.

Zuuwaay, Adami Tulu and Bulbula are the three towns in the Woreda that are relatively close to Woyisso. Historically, the people from the surrounding rural areas have come regularly to attend to the markets in the towns. They also visited the town infrequently for medical and judicial purposes. Otherwise, there used to be a very loose interaction of the rural people with these towns. Nowadays, however, members of the community visit them much more regularly for various errands such as to attend to market, schooling, police, court and clinics. Adults go to town on market days on the average of twice a week. Children also attend sport festivals in the towns organized for the schools in the Woreda. They also visit Adami Tulu on holidays to watch special television programs broadcast in Oromiffa. Formerly, it used to be only boys who went to the towns for entertainment, but these days, even girls have begun visiting the towns for the same purpose. Household heads such as Bunee Anaataa and Hinseenee Tuufarii complained,

These days the children do not listen to us once they reach adolescence. They are not afraid of us. They, for example, go to Adami Tulu without our consent. They say it is to watch television and attend sport festivals of schools but they assimilate bad habits and behaviors from the town and become disobedient to us.

Children need money to pay for their entertainment expenses in towns. Parents accuse them of stealing money from them. The above mentioned informants further complained, "The towns are making thieves out of our children. We found out that our children were stealing money from us." Others household heads like Qaabatoo Edassoo allowed their sons to go to the towns on special occasions like holidays. They also sent their daughters to visit and spend some days with relatives and/or their sibling students lodging in the towns.

### **3. *Social, Political and Economic History of Woyisso Kebele***

Oral tradition has it that before the expansion of the Oromo, there were several groups who migrated from Bale, settled in the area for a while and were successively displaced by each other. Each of these groups is known to be a distinct cultural group with its own language. My key informants<sup>5</sup> said,

Of these early settlers, the earliest were the Fandebo. The Fandebo were displaced by the Ililfal. The later were, in turn, driven away by the Wogadina. The Wogadina lived in the area for a much longer period until the Oromo came from the West and displaced them.

Historical and ethnographic literature does not recognize the Fandebo, Ililfal and Wogadina whom oral tradition describes as having migrated to the east once they are driven away from Woyisso and surrounding area. If these groups did exist, they are ancestors of present ethnic groups that occupy areas east of Arsi or they might have been extinct or assimilated with them. This hypothesis seems to be partially vindicated by the findings of Ababas (1982: 4) who maintained that

Dawaro (the present day Arsi region) had been inhabited by the Janjaro who were later displaced by the people of Hadiya. Therefore, when the Oromo invaded Dawaro during their great migration in the 16th century, the dominant people were the Hadiya and, therefore, it was with them that the Arsi confronted.

This observation was confirmed by Haji Teefo Bedane who maintained that as a result of that confrontation, a section of the Hadiya escaped while others assimilated

with the Oromo. According to Edao Haa'ga, these assimilates are the progenies of Unsho whose grandchildren were ancestors of several Arsi Oromo clans of whom the Habernosa clan is one. The existence of a clan called Habernosa in the Hadiya ethnic groups has served as a justification for this affiliation of the Arsi Habernosa with the Hadiya. Haji Jemal Geleto said that for this reason, there is argument among the Arsi if the Habernosa clan are 'pure' Oromo.

According to the informants mentioned above, the present Oromo settlers migrated from a place called Mada Wolago in Bale. Ancestors of the Habernosa clan of Arsi migrated from Bale from a place called Bale Oda Olago, Kurkuru and Midatu.

My key informants<sup>6</sup> denied the hypothesis that the Arsi had adopted or were familiar with soil cultivation before they came to their present settlement (Abbas 1982, Hirut 2001). This denial of early agricultural practices could be because these informants were informed of the Arsi who live in the arid ecology of my research area in which the introduction of the practice was only a recent phenomena. Rather the informants were unanimous in their opinion that animal husbandry was the only mode of subsistence before the introduction of agriculture which happened after the Amhara conquest about fifty years ago. Given the semi-arid ecology of the region, a vast area of land was needed to sustain the large number of livestock that the population required for subsistence and various socio-economic transactions. Pastureland was the property of the clan in which clan members had only usufruct. The individual was free to take his herd to any section within the territory of his clan where his discretion determined an optimal combination of pasture and water was available. Like in many pastoral societies of east Africa, settlement concentrated around the bank of the river during dry season where pasture was more available, and this temporary concentration would disperse during the rainy season to avoid

the threat of malaria since the rain revived the grass in other areas. Since movement was the norm, shelters that were built were temporal.

Before the invasion of Minilik, the Arsi were organized under the Oromo administration system called the **Gadaa**. "The **gadaa** system is a system of classes (**luba**) that succeed each other every eight years in assuming military, economic, political and ritual responsibilities" (Asmarom, 1973:8). In Arsi, the **Gadaa** had five grades namely, **Birmajii**, **Bultuma**, **Horaata**, **Beharaa**, and **Roballe** (Abass, 1982:9, Hirut, 2001:55). A special feature of the Arsi **Gadaa** practice was that "each clan was autonomous and independent. Hence, it had its own **Gadaa** area and a community form of the **Gadaa** government under Abba Buku (father of the sceptre)" (Abbas, 1982: 9). This is not the case among the Borena who have one **Gadaa** for the entire Borena clans. The dispersed settlement of the Arsi clans over a vast area of land necessitated autonomous administration of each clan. However, independent Arsi clan leaders came together in a council composed, among other things, to draw policies on common matters, mediate conflict between clans and organize campaign against other ethnic groups. In any case, with the incorporation of the Arsi by the central government, the **Gadaa** was greatly weakened.

The incorporation of Arsiland, of which Woyisso is a part, with the central government was a process that lapsed several rules. It started with the a serious of campaigns that Minilik initiated from 1882-1886, which were apparently aimed at acquiring control over land, trade resources he needed to consolidate his power and expand his sovereignty (Abbas, 1982: 44). Once Minilik succeeded to subdue the Arsi, he established the patron-client system called **gebbar**<sup>7</sup> in which, Minilik's soldiers were given the legitimacy of the service of the Arsi and that each clan was required to provide annual tribute to the Emperor. The Habernosa clan under whose traditional control fell Woyisso-Qancaara and 35 other Kebeles submitted to the

same imposition. However, this new system was highly resented and a number of clan leaders had run away in revolt against the system.

The central government in Addis Ababa did not have sufficient resource and efficient administrative system to collect tributes from the vast Arsi territory it conquered. To redeem this, the government introduced a form of indirect rule in which clan chiefs were given the title of **balabat**<sup>8</sup> and are entrusted with the responsibility of collecting tributes, and also settle disputes although land remained under the ownership of the clan. In return, the **balabat** were given vacant land. According to Edao Haaga, the **balabat** of Habernosa at that time was Dinsa Ilma who was succeeded during the reign of Haileselase by his son Edao Dinsa who was succeeded by Sutamo Dinsa.

It was during the reign of Hailesilase that clan ownership of land was relinquished and a new tenure was introduced. According to the new tenure, what used to be the territory of the Habernosa clan was distributed among the state, the **balabats** and the people. That part of the territory that was less vulnerable to malaria, was fertile and had already proved habitable and on which small horticultural activities had already been started was allotted to the **balabats**. Virgin areas, which had no permanent settlement or horticulture activities, were distributed among ordinary households. The government reserved for itself half of the land that was most favorable for animal husbandry. This was to evolve later into the Habernosa Ranch, which has been able to survive to the present time.

The new land tenure had greatly contributed to the introduction of agriculture in two major ways. First, the private ownership of land limited the freedom of movement. Herders would no longer have access to vast pastureland and water sources they needed to sustain large size of livestock. . This led to the attachment of households to plots of land and encouraged agriculture. Secondly, the demarcation of borders

with the neighboring ethnic groups which begun during the reign of Haileselise and enforced more seriously by the Derge, had made peaceful interaction with the neighboring ethnic groups, most notably with the Silt'i and Alaba. These groups had already had an agricultural tradition, which was diffused to the Arsi Oromo. Hirut (2001: 55) also mentions that the Arsi had also learnt agriculture from the Amhara. But, according to my key informants<sup>9</sup> these neighboring groups were the main agents for the diffusion of the practice into the Kebele I studied. Although livestock, both large and small, still play very crucial social and economic roles, with the increase in population and the popularization of agriculture, the size of land available for pasture decreased and there has been an accompanying decrease in the number of cattle.

Politically, unlike Minilik, Hailesilase had not relied on heredity for the appointment of **balabats**. When the rightful heir to the position of **balabat** did not have the required leadership qualities or loyalty, the clan elders were required to elect a more competent person who might be from without the lineage of the preceding **balabat**. This meant that **balabat** and clan leader might not necessarily be the same.

Another feature of Hailesilase's rule was the significant effort it made to Christianise the population. Minilik had already started the process by attempting, with some success, to christianise the **balabat**. The **balabat** of Habernosa and some inhabitants of the area accepted Christianity presumably as a strategy to establish connection with the Ahmara elite in the town of Adami Tulu thereby to secure political and economic advantages. Otherwise, the vast majority of the inhabitants were not converted to Christianity. One of the major reasons Hirut (2002: 66) mentioned as having discouraged the Arsi from accepting Christianity was their economic and dietary practices that would not permit them to observe the obligations especially of fasting required by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The Church

enjoined on its believers to abstain from any non-vegetarian food for more than 150 days a year that would be extremely difficult for the Arsi whose substance depended on animals and animal products.

On the other hand, the wider Arsi population embraced Islam much more readily. It is argued that this was as a reaction against the attempt of the Showa Amhara to forcefully convert its subjects to Christianity, 'as an institutionalised channel for expressing opposition to the system of Amhara rule' (Braukamper 1998: 773). This hypothesis is questionable given my informants<sup>10</sup> reckoning that Islam had not been popular among the inhabitants of the Kebele before the Derge about four decades ago.

I would say that Bule's (2001) argument on causes for the Islamization of the Kereyu Oromo better explains the causes for the popular acceptance of Islam by the inhabitants of Woyisso. Accordingly, the alienation of a very large portion of land by the central government constrained movement of the inhabitants, which made possible frequent contact with Muslim pilgrims of a Sufi sect of Islam called the **Woliye** who crossed the area on their way to the Shrine of Sheikh Hussein. The latter would enjoy the hospitality of the inhabitants and, in return, would bless their host and foretell good fortunes about them. In time, the blessings of the **Woliye** came to be believed as effective and their prophecies true. As a result, they came to be regarded as possessing spiritual power and hence begun to be revered in the same way as they revere the **ayaantu**<sup>11</sup> of their own religion- **Waaqe Feta**<sup>12</sup>. The inhabitants labeled the **Woliye** as the **sagadaa**<sup>13</sup> identifying them with the Muslim ritual prayer. According to Haji Jemal Geleto, the **Woliye** were mystic and were never interested in converting the population although their intimate association with and influence on the inhabitants prepared the ground for a direct preaching undertaken later by the **Sheikhs**<sup>14</sup> from Bale who regularly visited the area. The



later were mainly responsible for the conversion of the inhabitants to Islam and the gradual abandonment of rituals associated with the indigenous religion.

Police and local courts were further consolidated during the reign of Hailesilase. Those who assumed office in the latter were appointed from among the Oromo based on merit irrespective of kinship consideration. The first of these in Woyisso area was Grazmach Hasena Hinseene who was succeeded by Bure Bedaaso, Geelto Buure, Kayo Diboo, Tuukke Mama<sup>15</sup>. Their primary duty was to ensure the stability of communities under their respective jurisdiction. Those who could not pursue their interest through the traditional administration would turn to the formal administration, a tendency that significantly undermined the authority of the former to enforce its decisions, and further eroded its fledgling efficacy.

My key informants<sup>16</sup> stressed that the condition of the Arsi was even worse during the Italian occupation when heavy taxes were excised from the population. When Emperor Haileselese returned from exile in 1941, the previous system was reinstated until it was completely transformed with the coming of the **Derge**.

The **gebbar** system, which was initiated by Minilik and reinforced by Hailesilase, had allowed households to retain to a degree their sources of livelihood- land and livestock- and their pastoral mode of production although tax was levied on them on the basis of the number of heads of cattle a household owns. Although some members of the community turned to the police and the local court and the power of elders was lessening, the kinship-based system of social control was still dominant. But with the coming of the **Derge**, both the traditional and the monarchical social and economic structures of the community underwent serious transformations. Land was confiscated from the **balabats** and was declared to be the ownership of the public in which the size of land owned by the government was greatly reduced and was

redistributed to the use of household. The amount of land to be made available to a household was officially determined by its size. Moreover, a large portion of land was left as communal pastureland. Each household paid an annual tax for its entitlement of use of both the private and communal land. As the population increased, the land available to household for private use became insufficient and the **Derge** took the option of making another land redistribution, which converted all communal pastureland into private ownership by households. As of then, taxation was on the size of land available for a household alone.

Politically, vast areas that hitherto were recognized as territories of particular clans were broken down into smaller administrative units called Kebele. Moreover, the **Derge** created its own structure, the lowest in the hierarchy of administration came to known as the Kebele Peasant Association. The **Derge** appointed Kebele administrators on the basis of their active role in and their loyalty to the government. Under the Kebele there were specialized associations such as that for the youth, women and farmers that were aimed at mobilizing their respective target population within the community in various activities such as sports, music and dancing club and regular meetings to study the Marxist ideology. The notion of equality introduced by this system undermined the traditional organization of the community, which was structured on the principle of deference on the basis of age and sex. Households were forced to pay various kinds of regular contributions such as for the Kebele Youth, Women, and Farmer's associations. Shendaa Badhasoo, a household head in the Kebele recalled with regret,

The total amount of annual contributions we paid to the Kebele could add up to Birr 600. When this is added to the heavy land tax we are required to pay, it consumed much of the earnings we get from the sell of grains and livestock!

If there were one account on which the present population of Woyisso is positive about the rules of the **Derge**, it was on the initiative it took to introduce formal

education to the grass-root. As we shall see in Chapter Four, formal education was made accessible during the period of **Derge** like it had never been before. Moreover, the regime initiated literacy campaign nationally and coerced household heads in the Kebele to send their daughters and wives to the literacy class. Haliimaa Turaa, a housewife recalled with gratitude, "Although our parents were reluctant to send us to the classes, the **Derge** forced them to allow us to attend the classes for which we were inwardly happy."

Another feature of the period of the military government was the introduction of various governmental and non-governmental development interventions. The promotion of farmers' co-operatives was one such intervention by the government. The other is the already existing Habernosa Ranch which only changed its objective from fattening Borena breed of cattle for the meat market to availing highbred heifers to farmers organized in co-operatives. The notable non-governmental intervention was Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, which started various agricultural extension services although it pulled out after a few years.

The alienation of land from clans lifted constraints for easy migration of those who suffered from land shortage within their traditional clan territory. Key informants<sup>17</sup> told the researcher that it was during this period that migration of members of other clans into the clan territory of Habernosa intensified. This, in turn, contributed to the transformation of the settlement pattern and traditional system of social control from those that were structured on the basis of kinship to those that are based on territory.

When the present government came to power in 1991, it reduced the number of Kebeles in the country by merging two or three of them together. It also did away with its specialized associations, which meant that now households did not have to pay regular contributions. Moreover, out of the 132 **gasha**<sup>18</sup> of land that the

government owned, 40 were distributed to households who had relative scarcity of land, and taxes were cut. However, the local government structure and the criteria of appointment of officers had not undergone fundamental change. Likewise, taxation has continued to be levied on the size of land on which the household has usufruct right.

The community had continued to be resistant to Orthodox Christianity. Some members of the community have accepted Protestantism. A relatively influential minority religion that has been introduced into the locality in 1994 was the Baha'i Faith. There are a few household heads that have been converted into the religion over the past few years. The national governing body of the Faith has built a two moderate sized room building on a two acre of land donated by one of the few new converts in the Kebele. The believers refer to this building as 'Baha'i center' where they hold their meetings. The Baha'i Faith is attracting more youth due mainly to the non-formal educational activities its development wing- the Sabri Development Institute (SDI)- has been promoting among the community over the past four years. The other notable development interventions that was introduced during and continued through the present government are the various activities of the Rift Valley Children Women Development Association (RCWDA). The educational activities of SDI and RCWDA have contributed significantly to the rise in fervor for formal education in recent years.

To conclude, the inhabitants of Woyisso have been experiencing gradually mounting internal and external pressures since the formation of their settlement. The most notable internal pressures are demographic and ecological in nature. They consist of constriction of land due to population growth and the transformation of land tenure, the unreliable rainfall and endemic human and animal diseases. External pressures are social and economic forces whose influence on the community has

gradually intensified with the incorporation of the Arsi into the central government. Politically, the central government weakened the kinship-based system of social control by enforcing and gradually consolidating its own administrative structure. Parallel to the consolidation of the formal structure at the regional and local levels, the nearby towns of Adami Tulu, Bulbula and Zuuwaay grew and the interaction of the rural inhabitants with these towns intensified. The rural people began to see migration to these towns as a viable option to avoid the internal pressure and enjoy the apparent comfort they observe in the towns when they visit them for official errands and marketing. In Chapter Four, we will see how the present high valuation of formal education is a product of this growing outward orientation. But, before that we need to describe, in the following chapter, the social and economic context into which formal education is introduced and consolidated.

## **Chapter Three**

### **The Social and Economic Context**

In the previous chapter, we have attempted to set the spatial and temporal context of the community. To complete the portrayal of the setting into which formal education was introduced and consolidated, we need also to describe the social and economic context. In doing so, I will, due to limitation of space, focus on only four cultural elements that my investigation revealed are in dynamic interaction with formal education; namely, kinship and marriage, mode of subsistence, religion, and authority and social control. In this connection, it is important to remember that my unit of analysis is not an ethnic group. It is rather a territorial unit- Woyisso-Qancaara Kebele- that happened to have a homogeneous ethnic identity, the Arsi Oromo. For a fuller description of the socio-cultural reality of the Arsi Oromo, one may refer to other works such as Hirut 2000.

#### **1. Kinship and Marriage**

##### ***Kinship***

Woyisso-Qancaara houses just a very small portion of the members of the Arsi Oromo ethnic group. The group is divided into numerous exogamous clans called ***gosa***. The ***gosa*** is a patrilineal group whose members may not be able to articulate exact genealogical connections although they believe to have common decent from a founding ancestor. Traditionally, a given section of an Arsi Oromo territory was associated with one of its clans and was inhabited by members of that clan. Members of each clan had usufruct right over the land that belonged to their clan. Members of other clans might also live within a clan territory identified by a clan other than their own. This was mainly to migration, sanctioned by responsible assembly of elders of the 'owning' clan, of non-relatives and relatives by marriage in search of better pasture. However, with the integration of the Arsi with the central

government, the traditional land tenure was also transformed and identification of clans with territory seized although the sentimental attachment still persists.

Woyisso-Qancaara is just one of the 35 Kebeles that traditionally comprised the Habernosa clan territory. Therefore, members of the Habernosa clan are by far the majority in the Kebele although eleven other clans are also represented. These are the Hadumena, the K'oma, the Alekira, the Asira, the D'bo, the Gatura, the Habelosa, the Habiyi, the Doda, the Koji and the Keta. Of these, the D'ubo, the Oliyee, the Gilinsha, the Asira, the Keta, the Amigna and the Gilo are minorities having less than 10 household each. Before the incorporation of the Arsi, individuals belonging to clans other than the Habernosa were traditionally treated as members of the Habernosa clan except for the purpose of marriage and clan rituals although they were technically strangers to the territory.

Each of these clans are divided into less inclusive segments called the **belbela**, which literary means 'door'. A **belbela** is a group of unilineal kin in which members can demonstrate genealogical links with other members from one of the sons of the founder of the clan they belong to. The founder of a **belebela** is one of the male siblings of the founder of a clan. It is generally believed that a **belebela** is seven generations deep. However, I have found a number of **belbelas** that have surpassed that depth.

Further divisions within the **blebela** are called **anaa**, which literally means 'my closest, nearest'. My informants<sup>19</sup> said that in kin groups with smaller population, ego might consider kinsmen of up to five generations deep as being a member of his **anaa**. However, generally speaking, **anaa** consists of smaller decent units whose genealogical links can be traced to three generations i.e. to a grandfather. Members

of an **anaa** not only trace their descent from an ancestor but also name most of their members although they may live in a distant place.

**Warra** is another level of kin organization lower than but shares common features with **anaa**. It refers to a household head, his married children and their wives and their wives' children. **Warra** consists of those members of the **anaa** that make up a coherent settlement group. Other members of the **anaa** who live in a distance place but are still considered for consultation in case of problems, conflicts and rituals are not members of the **Warra** (Hirut 2001:64).

The lowest kinship unit is **mana**, which literally means 'house'. **Mana** has both a physical and sociological connotation. Sociologically, it refers to a husband, his wife and children in which the husband is the head of the **mana**. It also refers to the dwelling place of a husband, a wife and her children. The physical connotation of **mana** implies that if a man has more than one wife, he is said to be in command of more than one **mana** for each wife lives in a separate house.

Hirut (2001:65) noted that these five levels of kinship organization are "conceptual categories and in daily usage there exists a certain amount of overlap between them, in which no clear distinctions tend to be made." I was able to confirm this when I found my assistants<sup>20</sup> using the terms interchangeably in conversation that did not require making clear distinction among the concepts.

Formally, kinship used to structure settlement. Accordingly, the closer the kinship links the closer used to be settlement sites. Hence, the dwelling place of a household head and his wives especially when they are situated in isolation from other households constitute a '**Qaaye**'. '**Mendera**' refers to a settlement of household head, his children and his children's wives and their children. In other words, a



**mendera** is composed of several **Qaayes**. '**Genda**' refers to a settlement of closely related kin identified earlier as **warra**. It also refers to a whole that is made of several **menderas**. As the genealogy of a household head deepens and multiplies and the settlement of his progeny expands, **Qaaye** unfolds to **mendera** and the latter to **genda**. Nevertheless, with the resettlement program of the **Derge** that forced dispersed settlement groups to settle together in a large settlement area called **sefera**, this kinship/ settlement correlation was upset. After the **Derge** most households returned to their original settlement although there are still some who retained their homes at the **Sefera**.

### **Marriage**

Arsi Oromo clans are exogamous. There are occupational minority Arsi clans in other Kebeles with whom other clans do not marry, but these groups reside outside Woyisso. My key informants<sup>21</sup> said that the Arsi also intermarry with the neighboring ethnic groups, namely, Silt'e, Kembata, Marko, Hadiya, Alaba, Jile and Sidama. I myself have come across household with wives from Silt'e, Marko, Hadiya and Alaba. The same informants said that marriage from other ethnic groups requires little or no bridewealth. And this has been a major incentive for those who can not afford to pay the heavy Arsi bridewealth which on the average can be as high as 2,000 birr, 15 Cattle, 4 sucks of honey, 7-10 woven cloth. However, marriage with the Wolayita is strongly avoided. Asked if he would allow his son to marry a Wolayita women, Buraka Balcha said, "I would never let my son marry a Wolayita least he defiles my clan and disgrace me." Haji Jemal Geleeto and Dessie Bedhane explained that this attitude was rooted in the belief that the Wolayita had served and were sold as slaves during the monarchal regimes. This interpretation was confirmed by the opinion of two elders, Hashu Bene and Seru Xibeso, who said,

The Wolayita are inferior to us. Their forefathers were brought to our area as slaves during the monarchal regimes. Those people who settled on Wolamitu [a settlement area north east of Woyisso Kebele] are their descendant, and we do not want to defile our clan by marrying with them.

Even today the Wolayita migrate seasonally to our Kebele to be employed on our plots.

There are evidences among the Arsi to suggest that marriage is an allegiance between two clans. For example, marriage negotiations are regarded primarily as concerns of the clans of the bride and the groom than of their respective families. Consent for marriage is obtained after a serious of negotiations that involve clan elders. Similarly, abduction is regarded as an offence committed against the clan of the girl and it is not only the man responsible for the abduction but his fellow clansmen are implicated in the offence. Once such an offence is committed, the abducting clan should send elders to plead forgiveness and correct it. The mediating elders should be from a neutral clan. My informants<sup>22</sup> said that if parents or family members consider that clan elders are not likely to give consent to a marriage negotiation out of which they hope to secure advantage, they may facilitate abduction of their own daughter or sister. Eedaasoo Qaabatoo, for example, divulged to me,

My wife was already betrothed to another man following formal traditional procedures before my father wanted her to marry me. My father used to be known for his wealth and prestige, and he was able to persuade her father to change his mind and hand her over to me in marriage. Least elders of my clan persecute my father for disgracing the clan, and that of my wife's fiancée hold elders of my clan responsible for the crime, it was arranged that I abduct her.

### Types of Marriage

The community recognizes two types of marriage arrangements - ***gebera***<sup>23</sup> and ***wolgera***<sup>24</sup>. In ***Gebera***, the boy's father selects suitable partner to his son. If the family of the bride agrees to give their daughter, they pay the required amount of bridewealth in exchange for their daughter.

In ***welgera*** or exchange marriage, two men exchange mostly their younger sisters and less frequently female paternal cousins. Sometimes, fathers themselves

exchange their own daughter for additional wives. **Welgera** can be regarded as a parallel conclusion of two marriages where equivalent number of personnel and amount of bridewealth items are exchanged between two families. In cases where one of the girls pledged for the exchange marriage has not reached marriageable age, the bride's family pays a portion of the bridewealth, called **gutu**, expected of them and she is committed to the care of her parents until she attains maturity. In the meantime, the marriage of the bride who is mature enough is concluded. Even when one of the brides may not have reach maturity, **gutu** has to be given to the infant bride's family. As we shall see in Chapters Seven, pledges that are already confirmed with the exchange of bridewealth are coming in conflict with goals that children set for themselves - goals which are different from those that parents had set for their children. In fact, with the dramatic depreciation of value for early marriage and with a corresponding rise in the priority being given to schooling of children, most parents who have already pledged their children either find excuses to withdraw their pledge or regret having made it.

There are other alternative forms of marriage. A fast declining alternative is locally known as **asseena**, in which a young women takes the initiative to joins the household of a man she wishes to be a wife of without prior agreement or arrangement with him, his family or anyone. A variety of reasons prompt a young woman to take this course of action. She may be aware that she is betrothed to a person she dislikes; or she may be in love with a man and may intensely wishes to be his wife, which is not possible in a formal arrangement; or it may be that she may have serious disagreement with her family that she does not want to live with them; or she may want to unite her family with a prestigious family whose man she wants to serve as a husband. It is culturally unacceptable to refuse and send such a woman back to her parents' home. The normal response for the man and his family is to send a messenger to the girl's family to let them know that their daughter has

joined their household on her own will. The girl becomes a lawful wife without requirement of bridewealth and marriage ceremony although some gifts and cattle may be exchanged between the two families as an expression of appreciation for the established bondage between them.

By contrast, taking a bride by force, known to the Arssi as **butta**, is the short cut a man may adopt if he determines that he has social and economic handicap to marry, according to formal procedures, a woman he falls in love with. There are two variations of this: The typical variant occurs when a boy becomes attracted to a girl and wishes to take her for a wife without consultation with and consent of anybody in his or the girl's family. The girl might have already been betrothed; he may determine that his family will not be able to raise the bridewealth that her family would require of them; or he may belong to a less prestigious family with whom the girl's family may not be willing to unite. In such a situation, the man may bring together his friends and takes the girl by force and secludes her at the home of a distant relative. After that, he sends an elder to his own family who would explain his situation and solicits reconciliation. The parents will eventually accept him and start reconciliation negotiation with the family of the girl.

A much less frequent variant of abduction may occurs when a very close member(s) of the family of an already betrothed woman such as father, mother or brother may, at a later date, want to change their mind. Customarily, however, once marriage negotiation has started between two parties other parties cannot propose for the hand of the same woman until the one already started is concluded with disagreement. In such a case, the dissatisfied member(s) may secretly agree to give their daughter up to a more favorable suitor. They will encourage the suitor to abduct the woman who they persuade not to pose resistance.

Hirut (2001 114-115) identified ***hawata*** as yet another arrangement of marriage 'which is conducted with the consent of the boy and the girl without the knowledge of their respective parents. Key informants<sup>25</sup> told the researcher that since marriage is a matter between the parents and ***gossas*** of a boy and a girl, marital union without the consent of these parties is perceived only as yet another variant of abduction. However, this type of marriage arrangement is becoming more and more popular as social spaces are created that are conducive to the interaction of boys and girls. As we will see in Chapter Seven schools are serving as the most prominent of these spaces.

In any case, abduction is a matter that involves clans. It is regarded as an offence committed against the clan of the girl. Formerly, the girl's clan would spy on the whereabouts of their daughter and send raiders to attack or pretend to attack the household and clansmen of the abductor. The alternative frequently employed now is that, once it occurs, clansmen of the abductor should send elders from a neutral clan to that of the girl to seek reconciliation. The process of reconciliation involves elaborate rituals and is concluded with payment of compensation<sup>26</sup>. Once it is achieved, the union becomes legalized with a payment of bridewealth and holding of appropriate marriage rituals. Once a man succeeds to abduct a woman, however, she becomes his rightful wife no matter what, and her parents can not take her back.

Hirut (2001:114) also identified ***Bimbetoo*** - the Arssi custom where, upon the death of his wife, her kin group supplies the wife's sister as a wife to the widower' in the form of replacement. My informants<sup>27</sup> did recognize this type of marriage arrangement although they said it is fast declining. Given the fact that none of my informants could identify any union that is established by such an arrangement renders their conclusion plausible.

A more prevalent arrangement is marriage by inheritance (locally called ***dhaala***) in which one of the brothers of a deceased husband inherits the widow as his wife. As Hirut (2001:105) pointed out, this is to take care of the biological, social and economic needs of the family of the deceased brother and to perpetuate his progeny. I have come across only a couple of families in Woyisso that are established according to this arrangement.

In any cases, marriage is legitimized with the payment of bridewealth. Household can not afford to raise by themselves the cattle that is required to pay as part of the bridewealth and to provide for the large amount of butter that is spent on wedding feasts and rituals. Therefore, the household head and his wife enter into an association of ***geegayoo***<sup>28</sup> and ***wijjoo***<sup>29</sup> respectively<sup>30</sup> that provide for these requirements. The details of these important institutions will be presented in Chapter Seven in relation to the description of how formal education has transformed them.

#### Typical Relationship between Husband and Wife

The ideal wife is a good homemaker. Household head Quufaa Wondaboo described her with these words, which are shared by almost all the household heads I interviewed:

She prepares and feeds me and my children delicious food, offers warm hospitality to my friends and relatives, assists me in my farm responsibilities, is loyal and obedient to me, supervises my children and their household duty, and ably assumes management of household property in my absence.

The ideal husband is a good administrator and provider of the household.

Housewife Shambaa Hammiyoo described him as follows:

He works hard on the farms, buys clothes and other necessities for his wife and children, and consults with his wives before making decision on especially cattle and grain. He avoids marriage of more wives but if he has more than a wife, he treats them and their respective children with fairness.

The father is the household head and is the highest authority in the administration of the economic and social affairs of the household. In the early stages of marriage, most men beat their wives frequently on petty excuses as a confirmation and reminder of their culturally vested authority over their wives. By the time a wife has begotten children, however, the authority of the husband will have been securely established and he tends to beat her less. When wife beating occurs at the later stages of the marriage, it is caused by men's frustration and anger over their wives' deviation from their expectations. Even this would greatly lessen since, by the time men grew older, they would have subsided emotionally. At the same time, ideally, the wife has developed a high respect and obedience to him. Azamach Edao Bedhaso said that a wife becomes so respectful of her husband that she seizes calling him by his name even in his absence. Instead she calls him as father of one of his sons.

Physical chastisement is only one way in which men demonstrate their authority over their wives'. As has been indicated earlier, culturally sanctioned control of men over final decisions on the valuable resources of the household also serves as instrument of power over women. Godanna Gemechu, for example, said,

If my wife angers me, I sell cattle without her consent and spend the proceeding as I wish just to avenging her and showing the consequence of her action so that she does not commit the same mistake again.

Overt verbal expression of love to a wife is believed to endanger a husband's authority as the patriarch of the household. He may appreciate and praise her in her absence, to relatives and friends Housewife Moomina Tamunii said, "A dignified husband never expresses his feelings to his wife openly. Instead he demonstrates his love by the extent to which he takes care of her needs."

Childbirth is a very important event. It reinforces the linkage between the kin of the husband and the wife. Upon childbirth, the husband seeks to preserve the health and honor of his wife by slaughtering a goat to feed her. Children are very much loved and adorned. There is a special bond between children and their father, which is rarely affected by the conflict that may arise between wives.

#### Household Structure and Division of Labor

The household consists of the male head, his wife or wives and their children. The house is made of a circular base of wood posts to which is attached a framework of intertwined poles coated with straw thatch. And sometimes an older household head will have a similarly constructed but smaller dwelling in which he rests during day times and receives guests. According to the results of my survey, the average number of persons in a household is 10.22. There are variations in household compositions, though. Generally, households that are in the early stages of their developmental cycle are composed of a husband, a wife and their young children. As the household develops and the head marries more wife or wives for each of whom separate houses is built. Marriage of more wives is strongly conditioned on wealth available to the household head to provide for additional wife and the children she is expected to raise. Other factors for variation in household structure are the occasional presence of grand parents and other relatives. In most cases, the eldest living brother of her deceased husband, who assumes all privileges and responsibilities due to a husband, inherits a widow. But, inheritance of widows happens a year after the death of a husband. In the meantime, the household is female headed with the farms and cattle tended by her son(s). If the widow does not have children who are old enough to assume responsibility, the brother(s) of her deceased husband will assume responsibility. When a husband and wife could no more live together harmoniously, the wife may start living separately. If she has mature children, they would attend to the farms. If she does not, she may either



employ laborers or may call on the neighbors for **debo**<sup>37</sup> to do so for her. If she has oxen, a farmer who does not have oxen may plow her farm for her and will use her oxen to plow his own. Sometimes, a husband who lives in towns may marry another wife in the towns and lives with her and assigns a grown up child to assume responsibility of the household. A case in point is that of Toola Tiibeesso:

Toola has a wife and six children in Woyisso. Recently he got a job in a government office in Zuuwaay and had permanently moved to the town. He no longer comes to his family in Woyisso and lives with his newly married young wife in Zuuwaay. The father entrusted his household responsibility to Keedir - his eldest son who is twenty-two years old. Toola supports his wife in Zuuwaay with the salary he earns.

Women prepare and serve food, grind grain, fetch water, collect fuel wood and clean house. They also regularly attend the markets at the nearby towns of Adami Tulu, Zuuwaay and Bulbula to sell cheese and butter and buy small household utilities such as oil and salt with the proceedings. Administration of livestock is the domain of men although women also play major role in milking cows and goats, churning milk for cheese and butter, clearing and moving cattle from barn and prepare forage for the livestock. Other than administration of livestock, men are also responsible for clearing and preparing farmland, plowing, harrowing, sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing and storing grains in the barn. Here too women assist in preparing and serving food and water at the work party and also in harrowing and weeding. Men also go to the markets to sell grain and livestock when the household has some financial emergency.

Girls and boys in the household assist their mother and father respectively, and assume more and more difficult responsibilities, as they grow older. The most common assistance girls render to their mother are fetching water, collecting of fuel wood, cleaning house, preparing food for their siblings and separating calves or heifers from their mother for milking by an adult women. If the household does not have male children and the head is occupied with urgent matters, girls could also

look after the livestock. Otherwise, with the supervision and training of their mother, girls make handcrafts for household decorations, eating plates, food and grain container using strew and clay. Some of these materials will they take with them when they are married off. These are, therefore, partly preparation for their own independent life. Boys participate in weeding but their important role is to look after cattle. If the source of water is very far, young men may help in fetching water.

If a man has more than one wife, he has to schedule his time to work on the farms assigned to each wife. When male children become strong enough, they would take care of the farms of their respective mothers and the father becomes gradually relieved. As boys grow up, they also look after the stock that their respective mothers brought up on marriage. Wives take turn to prepare food for their husband and spend night with him.

Formerly, a residential unit was the most important level of organization for providing large-scale labor. If the household head needed more assistance than could be provided by household labor, he would call upon the neighbors who might be friends, brothers, or paternal cousins. Nowadays, however, the various methods of large-scale labor organization have disappeared. There have been various factors that resulted in the demise of institutions that provided large scale. One of these has certainly been formal education. In Chapter Six, we will outline these factors and explore the role played by formal education.

#### Conflict between Spouse and Dissolution of Marriage

Ideally, relationship between spouses is expected to be harmonious. Failure to conform to the ideal attributes and roles of any or both spouse could, however, result in friction between them. Competition over resources of the household is the most frequent source of conflict between spouse. Ayshaa Goonaa complained that her

husband had sold stock without her consent and spent the proceedings for himself, which, she said, was selfish and irresponsible an act that was impoverishing her and her children. This is one of the most common complaints of housewives in the Kebele. On the other hand, household head Bune Anaataa complained,

Several times, I caught my wife taking grain from our granary to sell it at the market without my knowledge and prior consent. This is sheer stealing! Even if I advise her against it, and beat her when I caught her red-handed, she would not change.

Many household heads of polygamous families admitted to the researcher preference of one wife over the other(s). The view of Burraaqaa Hinseene illustrates this favoritism:

I have two wives. I inherited the second wife from my brother who passed away. I like my first wife. She looks after the cattle properly and takes good care of the family. She has a good character and is very amicable. I enjoy the food she prepares. I love my first wife because I have a lot of children by her and have made a lot of wealth with her help.

Limitation of resources in a polygamous household coupled with favoritism shown by its head to one or the other of his wives could result in friction, which, if cumulative, may aggravate to open conflict. Technically, the resources from which each wife derives her and her children's subsistence are kept separate and there should be no cause for competition and contention. Upon marriage each wife comes with livestock that is given to her by her parents. She can sell the milk products that she derives from these stocks and use the proceeding. Her husband also assigns to each wife a portion of the land given to him by his father. He is supposed to work on the farms of each wife by turn and store the harvest in their respective granary. A disregard of these principles is interpreted by either of the wives as aimed at favoring her co-wife and her children, the conflict could extend to between co-wives. One of the most unstable relationships in this regard is that of Burraaqaa Hinseene and his first of four wives, Shuqoo Sidamoo. Shuqoo complained,

My husband always sells my cattle when faced with emergency that concerns all my co-wives. If he were fair, he would sell one cattle from each of us by turn. Worse, he buys cloths and personal things more to the most junior wife and forgets that if any of us are to be privileged, it should be I for I am the senior wife. He is so ungrateful for the fact that he married all the others by giving my cattle as a bridewealth.

Another case is that of Gammadoo Wondaboo's first wife, Shambaa Hammiyoo, who complained that her husband was very lazy, and if he ever worked, he would spend more time on the farms of her co-wife. Conflict over allocation of his labor on the farms of the various wives will greatly be minimized once the male children of the respective wives grow up and take care of their respective mother's farms.

Apart from allocation of resource, estrangement and conflict could occur in a polygamous marriage when a husband demonstrates emotional favoritism. Ideally, the household heads should take turn to spend nights with each wife. He may in reality spend more nights with a favored wife, who is often younger. Emotional favoritism could also manifest when he sides a favored wife when contentions arise between co-wives.

Domestic conflicts and contentions, if aggravated, could lead to emotional alienation of the husband and the wife. In such cases, the husband performs his social and economic obligations until such time that the children are mature enough to take over these responsibilities without having an emotional and sexual relations.

But this should not imply that all households in Woyisso are unstable. To the extent a husband and his wife or wives approximate the gender norms and roles, their relationship was noted to be harmonious. There are a number of monogamous families with relative harmony. I have also come across a few polygamous households that can fall in this category. One of these is that of Hasan Badhaanee and his three wives. The size of Hasan's household is sixteen. Although the

household faces enormous limitations of resources, members of the household said that they have never been engaged in any serious conflict. The wives attribute this relative stability to the fair treatment of their husband.

### ***Socialization***

In the earliest years of a child's life, a mother spends much more time with it than a father does. Apart from emotional support she gives, a mother feeds her child, washes it, and watches over it least it crosses risky domains or indulging in injurious activities. She also provides psychomotor training to the child such as how to feed and wash itself and how to walk and talk. If the household has older female child, or female members of the extended family, they will of tremendous assistance to her. Otherwise, the protection and education of infants is one of the many domestic roles of a mother. The father, too, spends times with and contributes to the emotional development of the child although the sphere of men's activity, which is mostly outside the home, does not enable him to interact with the child as frequently as the mother does. The education provided by the mother at this stage is not differentiated on the basis of gender. Moreover, both boys and girls are treated the same and are allowed to play with each other freely. However, the gender perception of infant begins to form as early as they could observe differential sex roles of men and women within their household.

Once a child develops a degree of independence from the mother, which is demonstrated in the child's ability to feed itself and walk around the hamlet, boys and girls begin to receive specialized education and develop differentiated perception of themselves. With the onset of this stage, boys and girls begin to associate with each other less and less. The main reason for the segregation between boys and girls that belong to a kinship group is the sexual division of labor. The latter defines their respective physical boundary where one excludes the other. Hence, women role

generally confine women to home most of the day while men role takes men away from the home. The need to preserve the virginity of the female child seems to be the main reason for the creation of a social distance between boys and girls belonging to different clans. Key informants<sup>32</sup> told the researcher that, except under few prescribed situations such as wedding, segregation of boys and girls is a cultural mechanism that is employed to prevent sexual temptations before marriage. Great emphasis is laid on protection of the virginity of female children. It is a sign of honor to the family, a symbol of proper upbringing. If a female child conceives before marriage her family is greatly shamed. Even now when the schools have brought girls and boys closer more than ever, it is extremely rare to find a woman who conceives outside of marital relationship. Virginity is viewed as the greatest gift she can give to the groom upon marriage. It is believed that a woman who has had sexual intercourse before marriage will not be emotionally attached to her husband. She is believed to think always of the person who took her virginity. If a husband takes the virginity his wife, he will have more confidence and less jealous than otherwise.

A mother and older female siblings begin to give a more specialized training to a female child early. This training begins with attending to household errands that do not require much physical strength and, as the female child matures, growth to more complex responsibilities such as cleaning house, fetching water and cooking food for the siblings.

The responsibility of training a male child for specialized male roles rests primarily with the father although older male siblings and male members of the extended family play very important roles. A father begins training a son for the productive work early. The initial training consists mainly in how to look after smaller stock such as goats, calves and heifers. As the child grows older, he is made to herd larger

stock. Involving the child in farming is a gradual process that begins with training the child to participation in weeding and harrowing to ploughing, harvesting and trashing.

The values inculcated by parents in training their children are just as vital for the future full-fledged participation of children in the community as the learning of the techniques of gender oriented tasks. As a female child begins to take more active role in the domestic quires of her mother's household, greater emphasis is laid on acceptance and valuation of obedience, honesty, hospitality, and industry- the socially constructed attributes of the ideal wife. Similarly, when a son begins to be more and more involved in herding and farming, he is required to demonstrate the qualities of respect for, obedience and deference to parents and elders, hard work and trustworthiness. Reward and punishments are the two strategies that parents use to impress these qualities on their children. Different kinds of rewards are administered depending on the accomplishment of the child ranging from simple verbal compliments to gifts of various kinds such as a small stock and purchase of cloth. However, when rewards do not seem to motivate a child to confirm to social norm, parents impose punitive sanctions. But parents usually try to warn and encourage unruly children into adherence before recourse to physical punishment.

## **2. Mode of Subsistence**

### **Production**

The inhabitants of Woyisso have a mixed economy of animal husbandry and farming. The household is the most basic unit of production. Of the variety of livestock households keep cattle are the most important. Women produce butter and cheese mainly from the milk of cow, part of which they sell to fend for small household utilities. Other than serving as means of subsistence, cattle are used in such social transaction as marriage and compensation and also serve as a means of

storage. Cattle are sold only when the household decides to invest a large amount of money on a particular project or to meet major emergency. These include building house, medical problems or food shortage. Next in importance are goats and chickens. These are sold to bridge such minor budgetary gaps as school expense for children or to buy clothes for wives. Donkeys and to a very limited extent horses and mules are the pack animals they keep. However, because of lack of pastureland caused by population pressure, the size of livestock a household could keep has been decreasing over the years. Dessie Bedhane recalled that in olden days when there was large pastureland, a household could own up to 300 heads of cattle but, nowadays, the richest man could have less than a hundred cattle.

Households primarily produce maize for subsistence although when harvest is beyond what is needed for consumption, it can also be sold. One of the most successful farmers in the Kebele, Abbun Jaaleto, said

Maize requires little rain and is the most reliable crop in the region. When enough rain is predicted, we may assign part of our plots for the production of haricot bean, and to a lesser extent, teff and wheat. Haricot bean brings lucrative income and is mainly produced for sale. However, it is sensitive to drought and is highly risky for the unpredictable and erratic rain that characterizes our area. Teff, too, is less reliable and involves a lot of work. Sometimes we also produce barely and pepper.

All households use plough-share pulled by oxen to plough their plots. A farmer starts preparing his land at the end of March and may continue doing so through April. This includes at least two rounds of ploughing. The plot becomes ready for sowing maize at the end of April. Sowing may extend up to the end of May. Haricot bean and teff are sown in July when large amount of rain is available. Harrowing and weeding are other activities that are undertaken before the crop is ready for harvest. Harvest starts in September for maize and extends up to October for various types of crops. By the end of November, crops are stored in the barrens of each household.



## Agricultural Inputs

Land, labor, oxen and seed are the major inputs that most households use for the production of crops. Few households have access or value the use of modern agricultural inputs such as fertilizer, improved seed and pesticide.

The labor input of a household are its personnel that are composed mainly of the spouse and their children. However, a household may also have foster children and employed laborers at its disposal. Relatives who joined the household temporarily or permanently also participate in the labor requirement of the household.

With the 1974 land proclamation of the **Derge**, households were allocated plots of land on which they have usufruct and inheritance right. Legally, allocation by the government and inheritance from a father to children is, therefore, the only mode of having access to land. Since culturally only male children have the right to inheritance<sup>33</sup>, a household obtains land through inheritance from the father of its household head. However, it is also possible to rent land from households who have excess land than they are able to utilize.

When a household has a larger plot of land, and more oxen than its productive labor can manage, it has several options. Weyu Dhkaaboo, for one, owns eight hectares of land. Having sent all his productive children to school, he is not able to employ all his household personnel on his relatively large plot of land. The option he, thus, took was to contract out half of his plot for 100-120 birr per hectare. On the other hand, Kemal Buudee had an equally large plot of land for his personnel to handle but he also had fifty heads of cattle. The option he took was to fallow half of his plot for use as pasture to his cattle. In the past, a highly considered option for a household was to engage, in **debo**, its neighbors and relative living in close proximity. Nowadays, however, the most popular option is employing labor. Kediro Belcha, for example,

holds 7 hectares of land. Every season he concluded a sharecropping agreement with laborers who mostly migrate from Wolayita in which he avails seed, oxen and plot of land. The agreement is such that a laborer would prepare and sow on the plot only. In return, Kediro gives the laborer access to 1/3 of the plot he ploughed and sown. Kediro has to find other means to harrow, weed, harvest, trash and storing the crop on the 2/3 of land that he reserves for himself. To accomplish this, he either maximizes on the personnel of his household or employs labor. The laborer, on the other hand, continues to do these activities on the 1/3 of land he has contracted.

On the other hand, Loke Dhishoo had 8 hectares of land, which could not be handled by his productive personnel. Even if he had enough personnel, his two oxen were not sufficient for the size of land he held. The option he and other households with similar situations took was to contract out the surplus plot together with sufficient seed to persons like Feeyisoo H'hami who had oxen but held small plot of land. In such a case, harvest would be shared equally between the two parties.

If a household has enough productive labor to work on its land but does not have sufficient number of oxen, it may borrow oxen from a neighbor or relative. If this is not possible, then the household may rent an ox for 250 Birr for year. Gammadoo Hinsene, for example, held only six hectares of land but 75 head of cattle of which 14 are oxen. He maximized his income by renting the oxen he did not use on his plot. However, he said that if he did not have to send his adolescent children to school, he would rather rent land in money to make use of his surplus oxen. If an ox is exchanged for land, the exchange rate is a seasonal usufruct right on an ox is equal to a seasonal usufruct right on a hectare of land.

Seed used for sowing is usually saved from last harvest. But, nowadays, most households buy seeds from the market since little seed survives consumption by the

time the farming season arrives. Very few are accustomed to the improved seed, fertilizer and pesticide the Agriculture Bureau has introduced through its agricultural extension service. These inputs are sold on credit to be paid on installment basis with interest. Among the many household heads that had already taken the credit was Memo Berisso who complained:

The interest on their credit is increasing because we were not able to pay it back due to little harvest caused by insufficient rain, which eventuated in a complete drought this year.

Income is obtained from a variety of sources to fend for production inputs and other necessities. The main source of income is sell of livestock, grains and butter. Other sources include rent of plots of land or oxen. My informants<sup>34</sup> insisted that off farm employment is a very rare phenomenon in the community. They identified only Beyene Baatii and Adam Halu who could manage to find a job in the nearby town of Zuuwaay. An equally few household heads like Ashoo Balcha and Gelgelu Dhafu derive additional income from trading grain and cattle. These buy and store grain during harvest season when it is cheaper and sell it on profit when price rises. They also buy cattle from one market and sell it with a little profit in another market. A lot of the community is engaged in the illegal act of cutting trees for making charcoal for sell in towns.

### **3. Worldview and Values**

Before their massive conversion to Islam less than four decades ago, the inhabitants of Woyisso believed in **Waaqa**- the sky God- who created and sustained everything in the heavens and the earth. Given Bartel's (1983) and Gemetchu's (1984) exposition of the Oromo Worldview, Islam has transformed some fundamental concepts associated with the traditional religion. To begin with, although, as Hirut (2001:68) noted, the concept embodied in the term '**Waaqa**' has now become synonymous and been used interchangeably with **Allah** to refer to the creator, the concept '**Waaqa**' originally 'includes countless particular manifestations of Waaqa in

this world, particularization of his creative work which are conceived as beings.' (Barlet 1983: 89). These particularizations of Waaqa are identified as **ayaana**, which 'is believed to be God's creative power manifesting itself through His creatures.' (Gemetchu 1984: 47) Secondly, according to Islam, Allah preceded his creation<sup>35</sup> whereas in the Oromo worldview, **Waaqa** is not conceived as existing outside time and space (Barlet 1983: 91). Thirdly, in Islam Allah punishes both in this world and in the hereafter those who displease Him.<sup>36</sup> The Oromo did 'speak of **Waaqa** punishing man directly, [but] their fundamental view of things is such that in these cases **Waaqa** himself in fact does nothing but rather withdraws from man. This withdrawal mean already in itself that life is diminished in every form: good health, fertility, and material well being. This is the primary view that man is left a victim to minor evil powers. It is these minor powers [called 'evil **ayaana**'], rather than **Waaqa** himself that strike man with misfortune" (Barlet 1983 : 95). Finally, in the Oromo Worldview the laws governing natural and social phenomena are divided into those given by **Waaqa** and those created by man (Gemetchu 1984: 50-51) whereas Islam regards all laws as sent from God which are made known to man in the form of a Revelation<sup>37</sup>. This role of mediation between man and the creator that ancestors enjoyed in the Oromo worldview is subsumed by the prophet Mohammed and, to a lesser extent, by the sages of Islam (Braukamper 1998).

The Islamic jurisprudence called the **Sharia** has several differences on numerous practical matters with the Oromo jurisprudence called **Sera**. Although the great majority of the inhabitants of Woyisso identify themselves as Muslims, the **Sharia** plays peripheral role in the core area of their social interaction (ibid.). A most notable example is marriage. Whereas the principal form of marriage, according to the **Sharia**, is **nikha** (marriage by engagement), the community employs the traditional marriage practices described in the previous section. Arssi clans are exogamous, and marriage between parallel cousins advocated by Islam is highly repugnant.

Although decent is reckoned through the male line, one could not even marry from one's mother's clan. However, due to the influence of Islam, one can now a days marry from one's mother's clan as long as the bride is not of the same **belebela** as that of her mother.

On the other hand, Islam did reinforce some other elements of the Oromo worldview and value system. For example, the Oromo worldview attributed human suffering and misfortune to superhuman beings, known as 'evil **ayaana**' - 'amoral beings, acting only in regard to people from whom **Waaqa** had withdrawn.' (Barlet 1983: 120). The Islamic concept of **shatan** is compatible with this explanation. Moreover, regular communion with the creator holds a central position in both Islamic and Oromo worldviews (Hirut 2002). Furthermore, in the value systems of both religions, truthfulness and honesty, hospitality, respect to others are among the most laudable qualities that are believed to attract divine blessing.

#### **4. Authority and Social Control**

The inhabitants of Woyisso are governed by the tradition system of social control, and the formal structure that was introduced since the incorporation of the community into the central government by Minilik - a structure that has been consolidated by successive regimes. Although the influence of the later is mounting over the years, the former still plays a significant role in the social organization of the community. In this section, I will attempt to describe each independently and conclude by outlining their interaction.

##### ***Traditional Structure***

Disputes that arise within households, between neighborhoods and decent groups are mediated traditionally by elders. Among the most recurrent cases of disputes in the community are those that arise over settlement of debt especially of the bridewealth cattle, quarrels over garden boundaries, theft and marital problems. Key

informants<sup>38</sup> told the researcher that formerly, assemblies of elders were responsible for making policies, too. But the **Derge** greatly weakened this function of elders by introducing an alien local structure called the Kebele that took over the responsibility on policy matters.

Elderhood is not a matter of age but is a relative development of knowledge, skills and qualities. If a person has a good command of the oral tradition, custom and laws of the community and a demonstrated capacity to articulate them in solving problems, and evinces qualities of forgiveness, wisdom, patience, amiability and forbearance, he is looked up to as an elder however young he may be. Nevertheless, the development of these capacities and experience generally requires considerable time. For example, Ismael Inaata, is recognized as the youngest elder in the clan assembly of elders and yet he is in his early 40s. The more a person is recognized for these qualities, the more he is involved in settling more complex problems and conflicts. This function could take a considerable amount of time and may take him to distant places that require him to be absent from home for days. On his part, such a person should regard this responsibility as a divine trust. Elderhood is a prestige and the opportunity to further develop administrative and judicial capacity, but it does not provide any obvious material advantage. An elder starts his career at the local level and will rise to membership in the hierarchy of assembly of elders as he proves himself capable of resolving more complex problems.

When clans used to control their own territory, assemblies of elders were structured according to kinship. With the coming to power of the **Derge**, clans were alienated from their right on their traditional territory. This lifted restriction that circumscribed migration of people into territories, which did not otherwise belong to their own clan. Over the years, families with diverse clan origins populated a particular area such as Woyisso, the administration of which seems to be gradually transforming the long-

standing kinship based political organization to one that is based on settlement. Hence, although kinship based assembly of elders do still exist and function in Woyisso, they are, it seems to me, evolving into territory-based assemblies over the years.

My informants<sup>39</sup> identified four hierarchical levels of assembly of elders that administer the community in Woyisso today. These are those of the family, the neighborhood, the hamlet and the clan. Disputes within a household and among members of different households that constitute an **anna** are dealt with by the **anna** assembly of elders', which consists of sibling household heads, their father and their father's brothers. The main aim of this assembly is to maintain solidarity and harmony of the **anna** and that of households whose heads are its members. The neighborhood assembly of elders is composed of elders in the neighborhood who may have diverse clan origins. Similarly, members in the hamlet assembly of elders are composed of prominent elders of the hamlet that contains a number of such neighborhoods. These mediate disputes that arise among individuals and groups of different clan origins that reside within their respective territorial jurisdiction. However, such cases as homicide, women abduction, physical injury inflicted by a husband on his wife are regarded as conflicts between clans and they are mediated by an ad hoc assembly of elders from neutral clans. Members of a clan assembly of elders are the most prominent elders of some or all of the **belbelas** that constitute the clan. Other than mediating disputes that arise between members of the less inclusive groups (which amounts to disputes between the concerned groups themselves), these level of assemblies serve as a court of appeal from lower levels.

Mediation of conflict between members of an **anna** and neighborhood are relatively simple matters. The guilty person or group compensates the innocent as decided by the elders. The elders' still make use of the compensation stipulated in the **Gaada**

for each type of offence. The public vindication of one's innocence is, however, often recognized as a greater victory than the material compensation it accrues. Whether or not winning a case may entail material compensation; the innocent is also expected to wholeheartedly forgive the guilty and establish harmony. My informants<sup>40</sup> generally agreed that mediation of elders at these levels were informed of justice, compassion and forgiveness, and were usually concluded by heartfelt reconciliation of the litigants. This is necessary given the fact that harmony and peaceful coexistence is essential to this category of people who depend on each other to meet various social and economic requirements. On the other hand, conflicts between members of different hamlets and clans involve long negotiations. Represented by its ablest member, each side seeks to gain advantage over the others. Mediating elders are selected from neutral hamlets or clans. Oratory skill and innocence are important but not the only means to win cases at this level. Dessie Bedhane and Habib Kabetoo among others said that elders at these levels intentionally extended negotiations and latter passed verdict in favor of the party that gave bribes.

The power of elders at any given level is derived from the consensus that members of their administrative jurisdiction have on the wisdom and fairness of their decision and not with the use or threat of use of force. Elders apply four kinds of sanctions: Ostracism, fines, oaths and cursing. Formerly, when the community used to depend entirely on the rule of elders, ostracism used to be a very powerful means of conformation. If a wrongdoer refuses to accept the verdict of elders, he is considered to have placed himself beyond the rule of the community and is ostracized. The elders will curse him and refuse to entertain any case that the wrongdoer wishes to bring to their consideration. Moreover, other members of the community are required to avoid eating, working with, entering the home of and involving the guilty in any social activity such as funerals and weddings. Faced with



this exclusion, the guilty should eventually appeal to the elders for reinstatement in which case he will be fined with a bull that is cooked and served to the elders. He has also to observe the decision of that verdict of elders which he refused to abide by. Oath taking is frequently applied in theft when a suspect could be named. In an elaborate ritual, the suspect is required to swear an oath of innocence over blade of spear, fire and other powerful objects. It is believed that if the suspect is guilty, the object sworn over will kill him. However, dissatisfied claimants whose cases were originally considered by junior assemblies are free to appeal to senior assemblies. If the latter finds that the decision was unjust, the elders who made the decision are subjected to fine.

### ***The Formal Structure***

Side by side with the traditional structure functions the local administrative structure of the government called the **kebele**. The **Kebele** administration is composed of a chairman and a vice-chairman. The later also serves as secretary and treasurer of the administration. Both are appointed by the Woreda Administration. An aspirant to the positions should be a member of Ethiopian People's Democratic Revolutionary Front (EPDRF), the ruling party, and should demonstrate loyalty to it. Geleeto Jamboo and Anaataa Badhasoo said that this loyalty was demonstrated by establishing and maintaining close contact and personal relationship with Woreda party leaders through frequent visit and invitations. Another expression of loyalty they identified was betraying information about the community and its members. Formal education enhances the possibility of being nominated for the position, but it is not the most important criterion. The Kebele chairman, for example, had discontinued his formal education at grade three but has succeeded to retain the office for over a decade. Both are not full time positions, nor are they salaried. According to the above-mentioned informants, acquisition of status and alleged

benefit such as bribes and access to and misappropriation of public funds are motivation for running to these positions.

One of the most important duties of the Kebele Administration is coordination of tax collection. Other duties are performed by three specialized agencies that are appointed under it: The local court, the local militia and the farmers' cadre whose stated roles are mediation of disputes, maintenance of the peace and security of the community, and enhancing the democratic culture of the community respectively. Of these three, the local court is the most involved in the daily life of the community. Other than mediating domestic and community conflicts and disputes, it is also responsible to punish, in collaboration with the police, illegal cutting of trees and intrusion into the Habernosa Ranch.

The administration may also appoint committees for activities that fall outside the responsibilities of these agencies such as for initiating and coordinating development activities. When crimes are committed, the Wordea police is directly involved which consolidates reports and presents it and those involved in the case for trial before the Woreda court, which is in Zuuwaay. Minor cases like conflicts between husband and wife are referred back to the elders. Although clan elders play a significant role in avoiding a possible consequence of blood feud between the concerned clans, homicide falls in the domain of the police and the Woreda court. In cases of conflict and disputes, a person may appeal directly to the Woreda court.

### ***Interaction between the Traditional and the Formal Structures***

The creation and consolidation of local administrative structures of the central government has greatly been weakening the function of assembly of elders and undermined the authority they have enjoyed over the community. The gradual overtake of the policy-making function of assembly of elders by the Kebele was

noted earlier. Moreover, the Kebele also shares the function of resolving conflicts and mediating dispute, which was the exclusive function of the assembly of elders. My informants<sup>41</sup> recalled that when the **Gaada** system was active, there used to be formal procedures of assuming administrative offices. Now, assembly of elders is an ad hoc of a manageable number of the most recognized elders available to resolve a particular problem. It does not have quorum requirements or formal criteria of appointment. The elders that are called upon to mediate a particular case are selected on the considered judgement of the concerned parties. Mediation role is accorded on them when the litigants decided to present their cases to their consideration. They cannot demand that litigants present their cases to them should they prefer to pursue their case with the Kebele or the Court. Moreover, should a complaint be unsatisfied with the decision of elders' for whose consideration he/ she has originally presented his/ her case, he/ she may appeal to the local court of the Kebele.

This should not, however, imply that elders have lost their authority in the community. The assemblies of elders are still highly esteemed for the wisdom and impartiality of their judgement. The community depends on them for instant resolution of conflicts. Failing to abide by the decision of elders once the case has been presented to them is regarded as undermining their wisdom. The elders will not entertain future complaints of the perpetrator of this act. This is a significant risk to take considering the facts that it is the elders that resolve the numerous conflicts and mediate disputes that arise in the day-to-day functioning of the community. The Kebele does not have the capacity to resolve all instances of conflict. Moreover, most of these conflicts require on the spot resolution and going to the Kebele for every mundane difference would not be economical. To top it all, focus group discussants<sup>42</sup> characterized the Kebele administration as corrupt and as having little confidence in the fairness of its decision. Apart from the length of time it takes

before a verdict is passed, appealing to the court or resort to the police entail additional cost of going to the towns and mostly giving bribes. Finally, mediation of elders usually ends with forgiveness and reinstatement of normal relations between the litigants while the impersonal mediation of the local court is regarded as superficial which does not clean trace of estrangement and grudge.

But, still there are situations in which a person may prefer to appeal to the local court than to the elders. Jojobo Ute, for example, fought with Wendo I'kufe who broke his teeth. Jojobo felt compelled to avenge his adversary. So he preferred to appeal to the local court since the consequences imposed by the Kebele are more severe than those that elders might impose for similar trespasses. If a person wishes to take advantage of the fraudulence of the local or Woreda court officials in a dispute, he would rather appeal to them in attempt to win the case by bribing them. Such a person is likely to have a better economic and social standing than his opponent has. Disputes over borders of plots are generally appealed to the Kebele than to the elders for the record of the boundary of each plot is with the Kebele. When the local court finds a case to be too complex to give verdict, they refer it to elders.

The foregoing was a brief description of four core cultural elements of the inhabitants of Woyisso; namely, kinship and marriage, worldview and values, mode of subsistence, authority and social control. It was noted that out of the twelve patrilineal Arsi clans inhabiting the Kebele, the Habernosa surpassed the others in size. These clans are divided into a hierarchy of four lesser inclusive segments according to which settlement is structured. Moreover, the clans are exogamous and exchange women in marriage in seven different alternative ways. Competition for the limited resources of a household was noted to be one of the most important causes of conflict among its members who subsists mainly on animal husbandry and farming. Brief comparison was made between elements of the traditional religion of

the Oromo and Islam. It was noted that Islam has transformed some elements of the traditional worldview of the community while confirming and conforming to others. Finally, four hierarchical levels of assembly of elders were identified that are traditionally responsible for resolution of disputes that arise within the household and in the community. However, since the introduction of the Kebele, the authority and function of the traditional system of social control was noted to have gradually been weakening. In Chapters Four, Five and Six we will examine the implication of formal education on the cultural elements of the community described in this chapter. But before that, we need to describe, in the next chapter, the history of participation of the community in formal education.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Evolution of Participation in Formal Education**

For the sake of coherence of argument, Chapter Two required the reader to assume that the demand for formal education among the community of Woyisso had, indeed, been rising in recent years, and went on to describe the internal and external factors that contributed to the rise in this demand. This chapter attempts to vindicate the validity of this assumption by describing the evolution of community participation in the process of formal education. Demonstration of the active participation of the community will set the final stage for a description of the interaction of formal education with the four cultural elements of the community described in Chapter Three.

A discussion of the communities participation in formal education can better be done by first identifying elements of the process and, then, gauge the involvement of the community in each. I have identified four major elements against which the history of participation of the inhabitants of Woyisso could be assessed. These are establishment and administration of schools, enrolment and attendance in schools, development and assignment of teachers and curriculum designing.

#### ***1. Establishment and Administration of Schools***

##### **School Establishment**

Participation in decision on school establishment has been evolving with the gradual rise in the enthusiasms for formal education. One of my key informants, Dasee Badhaanee, told the researcher that when the embryo of what was to become Admi Tulu Junior Secondary School was conceived at Adami Tulu in 1960, the great majority of the inhabitants of Woyisso were neither aware nor interested in it. The school was established as clerical literacy classes, which, according to Azamach Edao Haa'ga, was aimed at supporting the process of Christianization vigorously

pursued by Emperor Hailesilese. According to the present director of the School, more classrooms were added to it after the fall of the Monarch, and it was converted to a formal school in 1977 with grade levels 1-4. In 1980, grade levels 5 - 8 were added to make it a Junior Secondary School.

According to Azmach Edao, the Imperial government had already opened an elementary school in a far off Zuuwaay, with grade levels 1-6 as early as 1965, which was, in a few decades, to give high school education to the children of the entire region including those of Woyisso. But these communities were neither aware about it nor did they have voice in its establishment. The director of the school told the researcher that the school rose to the status of a high school in 1975 when it opened a ninth grade and each year a higher grade level was added. Zuuwaay high school becomes the only high school that serves all the Kebeles in Adami Tulu Judo Kombolcha Woreda if we disregard the Catholic High School at Zuuwaay to which no students of rural origin go due to the high tuition fee it charges<sup>43</sup>.

The schools at Adami Tulu and Zuuwaay were located in what were then emerging towns. There existed a social and physical distance between these towns and the inhabitants of the surrounding rural Kebeles including that of Woyisso. In 1977, the first formal school was established in the hinterland at Andola Kebele amid cluster of rural Kebeles, of which Woyisso was one. Initially, the school was an elementary school with grade levels 1 -6. Because of its policy to make education available to the rural population, the **Derge** made much of the investment needed to build the school, but inhabitants of the cluster of Kebeles were also made to make financial contributions to building the classrooms. This was the first time when the cluster of rural Kebeles participated in the establishment of a school. It was, nevertheless, alleged that participation was imposed by the **Derge**. Jemal Geleeto and Dasee Badhaanee said, "Households were required to make contribution on the basis of

their economic capacity." According to Aman Hussien, the present director of the school,

The construction of two more classrooms with contribution from the beneficiary communities and assignment, by the government, of more teachers in 2002 made possible addition of grade levels 7 and 8, which raised the school to the status of a junior secondary school.

My informants<sup>44</sup> who discontinued schooling because they did not have the means to lodge at Adami Tulu and enroll in grade six said,

Woransa became inadequate to meet the rising demand after a few years since its establishment. Hence, the communities themselves appealed to the present government for the establishment of more schools. In 1993 and 1995 the government established a first cycle school at the neighboring Kebeles of Shishoo Xaabboo and Suro respectively in response to this appeal.

According to the respective directors of the schools, the former has been providing formal education for grade levels 1-4 since its establishment while the later added two more classrooms in 1998 in which started class for grade 5 and 6. Communities in the cluster of Kebeles had organized contribution for the construction of both schools and the upgrading of the later.

All the three schools that had thus far been established were outside the jurisdiction of Woyisso Kebele and were far from its relatively concentrated settlements, which constrained better participation of its inhabitants. Having observed this, Rift Valley Children and Women Development Association (RCWDA) introduced its ACCESS education<sup>45</sup> program in Woyisso in 1997. In consonance with its objective 'to promote the educational enrollment of children out of school' (RCWDA 2003: 1), RCWDA established two Access Centers<sup>46</sup> within Woyisso. As can be seen in Map C on the next page, one of these was situated at the lower Woyisso and the other at upper Woyisso. They are known to the community as Rift Valley No. 1 and Rift Valley No. 2 respectively. These Centers have brought formal education closest to the community. According to the Coordinator of the educational program,



Originally, Rift Valley no. 1 and Rift Valley no. 2 held classes under a tree and in the Mosque respectively. RCWDA demanded that the beneficiary communities should bring their resources together if they wish to build shelter to the Access Centers. Last year the communities began construction of shelter. They contributed wood and labor while RCWDA offered corrugated iron.

### **School Financing**

Directors of all the formal schools stated that the formal schools have two principal sources of finance - the community and the government. The Coordinator of the Access Education said that RCWDA plays the role of the government in the case of the Access Centers. The government/ RCWDA pays for running expense such as salary for teachers and also covers some expenses such as for stationary. On the other hand, the community should contribute for some running expenses and extraordinary investments such as payment of salaries of guard, assistant teachers and maintenance of fences.

There are two methods by which the schools collected the resource they expect from the community: regular annual tuition fee and extraordinary appeals. Those household heads in the sample interview that sent their children to school said that at the beginning of each year, they pay an annual tuition fee of birr 20-30 to the particular school that their children attend. The fee is constant whether or not they sent one or more children as long as the children go the same school. They also said that other than the regular annual fee, they also have to respond either or both in money and kind to the extraordinary appeal for contribution that the school administration makes. Directors of the school said that these extraordinary appeals are made to meet shortfall of budgets to pay such running expenses as salary for assistant teachers and guards, for maintenance and construction of additional rooms, fencing of compounds, purchase of furniture, equipment and materials such as for sporting activities. Appeal for contribution is made to all households in the beneficiary Kebeles. This is in consonance with the ideology that the public should feel ownership of the schools and all households

should feel responsible to support it, irrespective of whether or not they are sending their children to the concerned school at that particular point in time. However, only those households who send their children to school respond to these calls. In relation to these, Qaabattoo Edasoo who sends 8 of his 10 school aged children to school stated, "I have to pay both the regular fees and participate in the extraordinary contributions. Otherwise, they will expel my children out of school." On the other hand, the schools do not have a mechanism by which they can win or impose contribution on those parents who do not send their children. Tibbeessoo Daaluu, for example, rhetorically asked, "Why should I participate in the extraordinary contributions for none of my 6 children have reached school age and joined none of the school?"

## ***2. Enrolment and Attendance in the Schools***

According to Azmach Edao Haa'ga, prior to the ***Derge***, few households who had connections with the Amahara rulers sent their children to the clerical literacy classes that were given in the towns of Adami Tulu and Bulbula. This might be followed by entry to the formal school at Adami Tulu since no formal school was in existent in the hinterland at the time. However, the great majority of parents did not see any value in formal education<sup>xlvii</sup>. Instead, parents' hope was for their children to spend a life of obedience and assistance to parents while children are young and eventually marry them off when they were mature and continue progeny of lineage by bearing children. Hence, it was not rational for them to incur the economic and social costs of sending their children to the school at Adami Tulu. Very few children had attempted to run away from their households to attend formal education at Adami Tulu. The community labeled these as renegades and they were regarded as disgraces to their parents and lineage. If children were used to the towns, parents worried, they would contract sexually transmitted diseases, which were believed to make them barren. Moreover, they were also apprehensive that such children would become addicted to alcohol, never return to

their village and end up marrying ignoble women from town and dishonor them. The story of an elderly man illustrates this anxiety of parents at the time.

When Dasee Badhaanee was young over 40 years ago, he hoped that if he had formal education, he would be able to go to Addis and find a good job and lead a better life instead of looking after cattle in the village. But, his father would not send him to the school at Adami Tulu. So, he run away to Adami Tulu with some of his friends in the hope that he would be able to attend formal education there. But, his father searched for and found him, brought him to Woyisso and beat him very hard. The father also warned him that if he did not follow his wish for him, he would kill him. Dasee was afraid and abandoned his plan to attend formal education.

After the **Derge** built the first school in the hinterland at a neighboring Kebele -Andola- that started providing formal education of 1 - 4 grade levels, it had a number of attendants, most of whom were adults. Key informants<sup>xlviii</sup> told the researcher that their motivation at the time for attending school at an older age was to acquire the skills of reading and writing and learn the official language-Amharic - which were requirements for candidacy to the position in the Kebele Administration, a symbol of modernity and a means of identification with the political elite. But, latter the number of children attendants began to grow. Aman Obsa, one of the earliest attendants of the school who has become its present director explained:

Children who attended the school were from those households that were in close proximity to the school and who could afford to forgo the labor of their children for the duration of the school hours. They went to the school because their parents allowed them the leisure of doing so as a reward for being well mannered, and not because the latter saw any deeper purpose in the time the former spent in the school. Consequently, most parents regarded it waste of money and refused when their children asked them to buy notebooks and pens. The enthused children had to find ways to fend for these requirements.

Therefore, children went to school after they grew old enough to raise meager income on their own to buy school materials. Few students finished their elementary education under this difficult condition but could not continue any further. Maamoo Barisso was one of those who joined the school latter in his age but dropped out at grade 4. He explained his circumstances:

When I was at in the elementary school, I had to raise chickens to buy notebooks. However, once I was promoted to grade 5, I had to logging in the town of Adami Tulu. This required crucial support from my parents, which they refused because they thought I would become a bad child if I am exposed to the town. Nor did they see any benefit in spending their resources on my education.

The level of attendance of female students in the school was even worse. According to Haji Jemal Geleto, who was one of the first entries into the school, of the 400 students that were enrolled at the opening of the school, only 4 were female. Now married with 7 children, Dherere Kuusa was one of those. She said:

Women were not allowed to stray far from home except when they are sent to the market or to fetch water and fire wood. I was allowed to go to the school at Andola because we lived in very close proximity to the school. In any case, I discontinued school at grade two when I was married off.

The **Derge** had been putting pressure on parents to send their children to school. Parents, on the other hand, depended heavily on and did not see why they should forgo the labor of their children for part of the weekday. Moreover, sending girls to school, which the **Derge** was so keen about, went against the established norm. Parents expressed, in private, their misgivings against the pressure by the **Derge**, but they were not vocal about it for they were afraid of the consequences. In the meantime, enrolment in the school was tediously rising although enrolment of girls continued to be relatively very low. A very small percentage of those students enrolled in the school were from Woyisso.

A major reason for this low representation of students from Woyisso was geographic distance. The school was situated at the boarder with Andola Kebele which was very far from the relatively more densely populated parts of Woyisso. In the previous section, mention was made about the two more schools were opened in 1993 and 1995 in the neighboring Kebeles of Shishoo Xaabboo and Suro respectively. The school at Shishoo Xaabboo was relatively close to households at lower Woyisso while the one at Suro provided an alternative to the households at upper Woyisso although it was still very far

from it. Generally speaking, these additional schools brought formal education in relatively closer interaction with the inhabitants of Woyisso. This led to an increase in the number of enrolment in the three formal schools. The increase in female enrolment was not, however, appreciable. As the aforementioned Dherere Kuusa reported earlier in this section, girls are not culturally expected to stray far away from home. A prominent elderly man, Haji Teefo Badhaanee, recalled that since the schools were far from where they lived, they were not comfortable with sending their daughters to them. But, some exceptional household heads began valuing education of their female children and went ahead with it in spite of criticism of fellow members of their community. A case in point was that of Abbiyoo Fayyisoo

After they completed grade 4 at Woransa, Abbiyoo who sent all his three daughters to the Junior Secondary School at Adami Tulu. He built a house in the town in which his daughters dwelled as they pursued their education. He had been met with sever criticism by the community for sending his daughter to as far away as Adami Tulu where they would easily loose their decency.

Yet another case is that of Dabboo Shenda's daughters who not only went against the norm but also contributed to its transformation.

Dabboo sent his daughters to school when the community was still opposed to the practices. At present, there are only four female students from Woyisso attending tenth grade in the high school at Zuuwaay and two of these are his daughters. Dabboo's four daughters played a significant part in the transformation of the attitude the community had about girls' education. As the community saw them perform well in school without deviating from the moral standard of the community, other members of the community also followed suit. Their active participation in the Primary Health Care Education program of the Sabri Development Institute<sup>xlix</sup> is another factor that influenced the community's attitude towards education of girls.

In the meantime, the population of the Kebele was rising. As a result, land accessible by households was fast diminishing. As land was distributed and redistributed by the government, pastureland was decreasing. With diminishing pastureland, the number of stock a household can maintain correspondingly dropped. Rainfall was becoming more and more erratic which made agriculture an insecure mode of subsistence. Because of these pressures, the rural community was increasingly becoming outward looking. As a

result, the interaction of the community with the towns was steadily increasing. In the meantime, the inhabitants of Woyisso had been observing an apparently better standard of living in the towns. These observations have been reinforced by stories of children in the neighboring Kebeles who completed their education, became public servants and supported themselves and their family. The most popular of such case is that of the aforementioned Aman Obssa who has become a director of Woransa Junior High School. He was one of the early school attendants at the same school. He later went to teacher's Training College and returned to serve in the area. Another was Abbe Fejo, who presently works at one of the branch offices of Telecommunication Authority. Yet another was Mergiya K'abeto who heads one of the Woreda Education Bureau in the same Zone. Some of these had support from their family while others went ahead with their education against the consent of their parents who disowned them.

It seemed that towards the second half of the last decade, the community begun to place much significance and hope in formal education as a strategy of escaping the uncertainties of rural life and enjoying the relative comfort that the nearby towns appear to provide.

It was at this point in the history of Woyisso that RCWDA introduced its educational program. It delivered education in what it called Access Centers which, in principle, could be huts made of straw, private homes, mosques, tree shades etc. The community generally believes that a better quality of education is given at the formal schools and takes its children out of the Access Centers and enroll them in the formal school when the children are physically strong enough. Nevertheless, the community does not identify these Centers any differently from the formal schools. Instead, the term ***mena barnoota***, literary means school, is used to refer to both the Access Centers and the formal schools. Coupled with the non-formal educational activities conducted at the

Baha'i Center<sup>1</sup>, the Access Centers have greatly fanned the emerging enthusiasms of the community for formal education.

Directors of the formal schools and the coordinator of the Access education agreed that in the years that followed 1997, all schools including the Access Centers began to witness a sudden rise in the rate of school enrollment. All schools but Woransa Junior Secondary school have not kept well-consolidated statistics of yearly enrollments in their respective schools to support this claim with concrete statistical data. However, the data obtained on the enrollment of students in the school at Andola (see Appendix Three) can illustrate the point. The data also indicates that although male enrollment in the school has been increasing, its rate of growth has been incomparably lower than that of the female enrollment especially during the four years since 1996. Administrators of all the school agree that this has generally been the case in all the schools. An important factor for the rise in the enrollment of girls is the proximity of the Access Centers to the concentrated settlements of Woyisso. Parents were much less apprehensive of sending their daughters to the Access Centers, which were opened in the midst of the settlements. Once the enthusiasm was generated, however, parents began to feel easy about enrolling their children not only to the formal schools in the hinterland but also to the schools in the towns of Adami Tulu and Zuuwaay. There are 10 and 18 female students from Woyisso in various grade levels currently enrolled in the formal schools at Adami Tulu Junior and Zuuwaay respectively.

As school enrollment rises dramatically, there has been a corresponding rise in the class size. This is clearly demonstrated in the big difference between class size of lower and higher grade levels. According to the appended data on Woransa Junior Secondary School, for example, currently there is one class of 41, 80, 88 and 182 students for grade 8, 7, 6 and 5 respectively. On the other hand, there are two classrooms assigned to each grade level 1 - 4 with up to 120 students in each. In the Chapters Six and

Seven, I will make reference to socio-economic factors that result in dropout that is partly responsible for less attendance in higher grade levels. But, teachers and directors agree that the rise in the enthusiasm is a major cause for the greater number of enrolments in the lower grade levels. Parents in the sample households said that they would send their children to school as early as possible. Most of the interviewed households expressed their priorities thus:

When our children reach school age, we send them to either of the two Rift Valley schools that is closer to our home. We would prefer to send them to the school at Shishoo Xaabboo, Andola or Suro but these schools are too far and our little children would have to walk long distances. But, by the time they finish grade one, they would become older and stronger and we would enroll them in the other schools mainly at Shishoo Xaabboo, which is relatively closer than the others are.

Because of this preference of parents, class size of the first level at the Rift Valley schools is as high as 150 students. Once their children are used to schooling, they send them to the formal schools mainly of Shishoo Xaabboo and, to some extent Andola. According to the directors of the schools, this is mainly responsible for the significant drop of second level enrolment at the Rift Valley Schools and a concomitant dramatic rise in enrolment in the second grade occurs in the school at Shishoo Xaabboo. When students complete grade 4, they can continue with grade 5 in either of the junior secondary schools at Zuuwaay, Adami Tulu or Andola. Among those parents who were interviewed, those parents who have a relatively better economic standing and who value education better are ready to incur the heavy financial costs of boarding children in the towns and forgo their children's labor. Most parents, however, send their children to Woransa Junior High School mainly because of the economic limitations they have. Zuuwaay High School is the only option parents have if they hope to further the education of their children beyond grade 8, since it is the only government high school that is available to the whole region.



According to directors of all schools, enrollment of a growing number of students in each grade level has not, however, been accompanied by growth in the number of classrooms, equipment and furniture in each classroom. The same classrooms and the same furniture that have been used when class size was relatively low are still being used when the class size has grown over three times. The most notable implication of this disparity is that almost all classrooms of all schools are extremely crowded. I observed 4-5 students sitting on a desk while a number of students cover the front floor to the extent that a teacher may inadvertently step on them. The directors said that even then a number of applications have to be rejected every year. A school admits as many students as it deems possible on the first come first served basis.

On the other hand, the sudden rise in the favorable valuation of formal education does not necessarily mean that households are sending **all** their children to the schools. Nor does it necessarily mean that children will not drop out of school once they are enrolled. The survey data on the sample households indicates (see Appendix Two ) that some parents hold back children even when they are past the average school age, which is 10 years old while other joined the schools before they reached the average school age. The same survey also indicated that some children in the sample household have one or more children who have dropped out of school. Differential valuation of educating girls and boys and distance are two most important reasons for holding back some children from school or school dropout. If households that have less valuation of girl education allow their daughters to go to school, it is until such time that a suitor is found for them. The opinion of a head of one of the sample household, Godanaa Gammachuu, is illustrative of this attitude:

I send both my sons and daughters to the schools. I have great hopes in my sons, though. They will succeed in their education, find a job in towns and support themselves. I will also depend on them in my old age. My daughters have a different destiny. Women are more fit for marriage than education. Although I allow them to go to school now, they will have to discontinue their schooling and care for their family once they are married off. Once they join their husband's kin and they will be of little use to me.

For economic reasons, I will outline in Chapter Six, it is not possible for a woman to continue her education once she is married. On the other hand, the expectation for boys is that they finish their education, find job in town and become self sufficient and support parents. There are cases when men continued to go to school even after they got married while the women discontinued immediately. One such case is that of Huseen Dhaabi and Aliimaa Badhasoo:

In 2000, Huseen and Aliimaa were a fourth and third graders respectively at Woransa Junior High School. They fall in love and agreed to marry when Aliimaa stopped going to school while he continued to go to school. She supported the family by selling diary products. He attended the farm after school although she also participates in farm activities as well. Huseen has now reached sixth grade.

Moreover, distance prevents the household from sending all of its children. We have already seen how distance has impeded enrolment, especially of girls. The higher the status of a school, the remoter it becomes from Woyisso and the farther away a student is expected to travel or live from his/ her household as he/ she advances in education. In the beginning, students used to travel to Adami Tulu, which caused much exhaustion. Key informants<sup>ii</sup> told the researcher that the adoption of bicycle as a means of transportation is partly a response to this problem. Bicycles facilitated the daily trip male students should make to and from school. Haji Jamal said,

In those days, the number of bicycles that were parked at the school during the school hours was so high. Nevertheless, the daily travel of several kilometers was eventually found burdensome to the students. These required parents to support their children while they lodged in the towns and continued their education.

This has entailed the economic burdens that not all households are able to assume. This economic handicap to meet the problem distance requires a household to make decision as to how many and which of its children it is able to send to school, and whether any of its school going children should dropout. One coping mechanism against the problem of distance is delaying enrolment of a child until puberty. Most

parents in the sample households said that they would not send those children to school who are strong enough to walk to the first cycle primary schools. Since physical strength comes with age, an average school age in Woyisso is 10 years old. However, age of enrolment in the Rift Valley schools, which are located in close proximity to the relatively concentrated settlement, is lesser.

### ***3. Development and Assignment of Teachers***

According to the educational policy of the government, teachers assigned to teach in the formal schools should be graduates from one of the teachers training college or Institute. Since the medium of instruction in grade levels 1-6 is Oromiffa, teachers to be assigned to these grade levels should be Oromiffa speaking except those who teach Amharic or English as a subject. The Regional Education Bureau has been tailoring the programs of the teachers training colleges and institutes under it to meet the challenges of raising teachers who are capable of teaching in Oromiffa. Admission to these colleges had required a minimum Grade Point Average (GPA) in the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination (ESLCE) and fluency in Oromiffa. The Regional Bureau assigns graduate candidates at the beginning of an academic year to various Woredas. The Woreda Bureau of Education, in turn, assigns the candidate to a particular school within the Woreda. Teachers in the schools said that they preferred to be assigned to schools that were close to Addis Abeba or to schools close to major towns that were relatively near to Addis Abeba. In principle, lots are cast to decide assignment of candidates at both levels except when candidate produces cases, such as health problems, that require special considerations. The same teachers accused that, in practice, the responsible officials in the Education Bureau tend to favor candidates with connections or who could give bribes.

According to Ato Amaan Obsaa, director of Woransa Junior Secondary School, both in principle and in practice, the community did not, in any way, participate in the process of

developing and deciding on the assignment of teachers to the formal schools either directly or through its representative. Some notes of qualification to this generalization are in order: There are years when enrollment becomes too much to be handled by the teachers that the government is ready to assign. Directors of all the schools reported that when this had occurred, the beneficiary communities of a particular school gathered and decided on the amount of contribution that they could make to pay remuneration to additional temporary assistant teachers to be employed. Director of the Woransa Junior High School, for example, reported that the school had three such teachers last year. The Parent Committee of the school recruited these additional teachers. Candidates were members of one of the beneficiary communities who had completed grade 12 and who had recognized moral qualities. This year, the drought has weakened the communities' economy and it is unable to contribute to the payment of allowance to additional teachers. Therefore, such teachers have not been assigned to any of the formal schools. The directors further explained,

Other than assigning additional teachers, the community might be said to participate in the evaluation of teachers through its representative in the Discipline Committee. A teacher who fails to meet the minimum professional ethics is subject to specific disciplinary measure to be imposed by the Discipline Committee of the school. These measures consist of reprimands and penalties of various levels and even outright dismissal.

According to the program Coordinator, The RCWDA refers the teachers in its Access Centers as 'facilitators'. Nevertheless, I observed no demonstrated difference between the way they and teachers in the formal schools relate to the students in the learning/teaching process. The qualification required, however, is very different from those that are employed for the formal schools. The coordinator explained,

In principle, facilitators are recruited from the population within the community that is served by the particular Access Center. They are expected to earn their livelihood by engaging in the economic activities of the community but they are paid an honorarium of birr 120 - 150 by the Association to compensate the time they spend in activities related to the Access Center. Completion of grade nine is the minimum level of education required to become a facilitator although this is amendable depending on the availability of qualified personnel in the community.

Likewise, the method of recruiting facilitators is different. The coordinator further explained,

In principle, the Association recruits facilitators in consultation with the Parent Committee that is elected by the community to administer the Access Centers. Moreover, the Committee is supposed to supervise, monitor and when necessary fire and replace facilitators.

Facilitators in the Rift Valley told the researcher that in practice, Parents Committee had assumed these and other responsibilities to a certain extent. In such situations, the coordinators of the program had made decisions regarding facilitators themselves.

#### ***4. Curriculum Designing***

Curriculum development first entails the formulation of syllabus and next the writing up of text on the basis of the syllabus. Until the present educational policy is adopted, formulation of syllabus and writing of texts had been controlled centrally by the Ministry of Education. As any other local community in Ethiopia, the inhabitants of Woyisso had not had any direct participation in the selection of the contents of what should be thought to their children. Moreover, the curriculum did not consider the socio-economic diversity of the Ethiopian population.

The new Education and Training Policy (1994) preserves the monopoly that the Ministry of Education has enjoyed over formulation of syllabus. As we shall examine in Chapter Five, this monopoly is largely responsible for the fundamental differences in the worldview and value system that exist between that of the community and that which formal education seeks to inculcate. On the other hand, although formulation of syllabus has still been centrally controlled, an attempt has been made to decentralize, for the first time, writing of text. The syllabus was given to the regional governments on the basis of which they were required to write texts that suit their respective population. Since

regions have been divided largely along ethnic criteria, each Regional Education Bureau has been attempting to tailor the syllabus to the social reality of the ethnic group(s) it represents. Among the attempts is the decision to make Oromiffa the medium of instruction in grade levels 1-6.

The Co-ordinator of the Access education told the researcher that RCWDA had made use of three different curricula since the beginning of its educational activities in Woyisso in 1997. He explained:

When the program started, it delivered the curriculum prepared for non-formal education by the Regional Education Bureau. However, the curriculum was found to be insufficient to prepare its students to the second cycle of the formal school. Nor was it regarded relevant to their age. In its stead, the program adopted the syllabus prepared by Action Aid Ethiopia<sup>lii</sup> for non-formal child education on the basis of which it prepared texts. In the process of delivery, however, it was discovered that the syllabus was not relevant to the socio-economic condition it was serving. This created the need to develop a new curriculum based on a syllabus relevant to the life of the people. The Regional Education Bureau of Oromia and Pact-Ethiopia offered to collaborate in this project. The Association and the collaborating agencies determined it would be cost effective if the curriculum was prepared in such a way that it could serve the whole Oromia region.

The processes of preparing the text that are delivered in both the formal schools and the Access Centers of RCWDA share two essential features. First, the process of preparing curriculum has largely been technocratic and had not taken serious account of the views of ordinary people in the grassroots. The curriculum technocrats did administer questionnaires to assess the opinions of the population. If the questionnaires were ever properly responded to, they were administered to a few elite urbanites whose views could not represent the mass of illiterate rural population. Secondly, both curriculums homogenize and, hence, compromise the diverse social, economic and ecological reality of the Oromo. This is the inevitable result of centralization of curriculum development.

The implication of these on the inhabitants of Woyisso is that the community has had no direct participation in the decision-making processes concerning the selection of contents of the curriculum they are exposed to. They might have been involved indirectly in the sense that the curriculum has attempted to take on board some elements of their culture. However, even this indirect participation is limited since the curriculum, as a consequence of their broad scope, could not rigorously address the economic, ecological and social peculiarities of the inhabitants of Woyisso.

To summarize, in this chapter, the evolving engagement of the inhabitants of Woyisso in formal education was sought in its participation in the establishment and administration of schools, enrollment and attendance in schools, development and assignment of teachers and curriculum designing. It was noted that in the beginning, when the community had not valued formal education, participation in any of these was absent. However, as the internal pressures mounted and the community became exposed to external influences such as the imposition of the *Derge*, the inhabitants' valuation of formal education began to rise. However, the community's participation in formal education was the highest in the area of school enrollment and attendance. This was noted to have risen dramatically in recent years. Participation in financing school establishment and maintenance had also been increasing although this was noted to be limited to those parents who send their children to school. To be loyal to the ideology that the community should demonstrate ownership of schools, the government and the RCWDA have been attempting, with some success, to involve the community in the management of the schools. Nevertheless, the level of involvement has not met the satisfaction of the external agents. Participation in the development and assignment of teachers and development of curriculum has remained very minimal from the beginning. This was held responsible for the difference between the worldview and value system of the community and that which formal education seeks to inculcate in its growing number

of students. In the following chapter, I will outline some elements of a worldview underlying formal education and compare them with that of the community.



## **Chapter Five**

### **The Worldview and Values Underlying Formal Education Versus that of the Community**

The previous chapter established the evolution and extent of present involvement of the inhabitants of Woyisso in formal education. There, it was noted that a dramatic rise in school enrollment was observed in the past few years. The implication of this is that students who are primarily socialized in the worldview and values system of the community become exposed to those that are promoted by formal education. To decide whether formal education seeks to transform or confirm the worldview and values into which students were socialized by their community, a comparison of the two should first be made. To this end, I will, in this chapter, attempt to expose some elements of the worldview and values that formal education seeks to instill in children, and compare them with those of the community. The reader may refer to the section entitled 'Worldview and Values', in Chapter Three, for an outline of some elements of the worldview of the inhabitants of Woyisso. Also embedded in the other sections of the same chapter was a description of its social and economic values that relate to kinship and marriage, mode of subsistence, and authority and social control.

Prior to adopting the development strategy under implementation, the present government had adopted two Five-Year plans since its assumption of power. Substantively, the present strategy for 'Promoting Development and Poverty Reduction' is a continuation of these prior plans. A review of the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy<sup>liii</sup> adopted by the incumbent government of Ethiopia (2002) reveals that the strategy is highly influenced by the Human Capital and Modernization theoretical frameworks. These theories provide the economic and sociological ingredients respectively of what has come to be known as the Linearly or Evolutionary model of development (Fagerline and Lawrence: 1983). The later places 'developed'

societies as a model to be emulated by the 'developing' nations, and has, at its bottom, the worldview and value systems of Western liberal ideology (Arbab 2002). Since expansion of formal education is a strong component of the development strategy, it is reasonable to argue that it, too, is highly influenced by the worldview and value system of the liberal ideology. Therefore, an attempt to explicate the worldview and value system of formal education should make strong reference to the worldview and value system of Western liberal ideology.

### ***A. Worldview Underlying Formal Education***

By worldview, I mean a set of generalized and organized conceptions of and beliefs about the world, one's place in and relationship to it. Included in this set are existential conceptions and beliefs that relate to the origin, nature and purpose of the world, including man and his society (FUNDAEC: 2001). Others are epistemological and relate to whether, what and how we can know about the world. The significance of worldview is that it serves to provide meaning and purpose to human behavior. Out of possible responses to a particular stimulus, an actual response or behavior of an individual or a group is largely governed directly or indirectly, implicitly or explicitly by the worldview the person or the group holds. Hence, elements of a worldview for Goulet (cited in Arbab: 2002) are 'symbols conferring meaning' which 'are intimately related to the images society adopts to explain to itself the meaning of life and death'.

In this section, I will attempt to expose four fundamental elements of the liberal worldview that seem to underlie formal education in Ethiopia; namely the nature of reality and man, the nature of society and social relationships, the purpose of human existence and Man's relationship with nature. I will, at the same time, compare these with related elements of the worldview of the community I studied. It should be noted at the outset that Islam, the religion that the great majority of the inhabitants of the community profess, shapes the present worldview of the community. However,

following Braukamper's (1998) assertion that the traditional religion continued to influence much of the life of the Oromo, I will also outline related elements of the traditional worldview. My exposition of the latter will, nevertheless, depend largely on secondary data since I have found no one among the community who professes belief in the traditional religion.

### 1. The Nature of Reality and Man

A fundamental element of a worldview is whether there are "forces and entities whose existence is independent of and beyond observable, material reality" (Hatcher cited in FUNDEAC: 65). The liberal philosophical tradition of the West until the Middle Ages had been divided between camps that generally argued to either affirmative or negative conclusions. With the ascendancy of the Enlightenment, however, there emerged, according to Goulet (Cited in Arbab: 2002), a particular approach to rationality, which has placed heavy emphasis on empirical verifiability. Since the existence of metaphysical dimension to reality could not be empirically substantiated, liberalism is nowadays predominated by agnostic or materialistic views of the world.

On the other hand, all members of the sample households and the students I interviewed expressed belief in God and the after life. Asked if they believed in God, a prominent Sheik in the community, Sheik Rahmmatoo Nagguu responded,

In both our traditional religion, Waaqe Feta, and the religion we accepted later i.e. Islam, we believe in the existence of a supernatural being whether we refer to him as Waaqa or Allah. We believe that he created the world and sustains it with the power of his spirit.

As was noted in Chapter Three, '*ayaana*' in *Waaqe Feta* and '*ruh*' in Islam is non-material force emanating from their respective deities and animate material reality including human beings. Asked what caused the sufferings, misfortune and misery we see in the world, some of the interviewees in the sample households said that they consequences of the evil deeds of man himself while others explained as caused by the

negative non-material forces. We saw in Chapter Three that these negative forces are known to the traditional religion as evil **ayaana** and to Islam **Shatan**. This means that the community worldview includes the existence of powerful forces both negative and positive that lay outside space and time. Hence, philosophically speaking, the community has a strongly idealistic view of the world.

According to Jaggar (1983: 28) classical liberal philosophers had been 'metaphysical dualists' on their view of the nature of man. "That is to say, they believed that human mind and the human body represented two quite different kinds of beings, each irreducible to and connected only contingently with the other." Nevertheless, contemporary version of liberal ideology has, in consonance with its commitment to verifiability, rendered the question of mind/body duality irrelevant. "What is especially valuable about human beings instead is a particular 'mental' capacity, the capacity for rationality" (Ibid.). Jaggar (ibid.: 173) asserts that the dominant strand in the liberal interpretation of reason consisted 'primarily in individuals' ability to be consistent in pursuit of their own ends." She further states that, for liberals, such a rationality, i.e. the desire to promote ones own interest, is an essential characteristics of man which all human beings possess in approximately equal measures.

On the contrary, the inhabitants of Woyisso view man as having a metaphysical dimension. Asked what man is made of, Sheik Rahmmatoo Nagguu said,

Man is made of flesh and bones. But there is an element in him that is more fundamental than his flesh and bones. This element is his ayaana. In Islam, we recognize it by the Arabic word 'ruh', which means the soul.

Contrary to the belief in the metaphysical dimension of existence held by the inhabitants of Woyisso, formal education mediates the agnosticism and indifference to metaphysical dimension of reality in general and man in particular that characterizes the liberal ideology of the West. The indifference to this element of the worldview of the people is

explicitly reflected in the Training and Education Policy of Ethiopia (1994) when it states as one of its specific objectives the provision only of "secular education". The syllabus and texts that are based on such a policy disregard any belief in and conception of transcendental reality. I asked some teachers if they discuss with their students issues that relate to beliefs in non-material entities including God although this has not been part of the curriculum. All responded that such a practice would be against the education policy and they never contemplated doing so.

## 2. The Nature of Society and Social Relationship

The liberal worldview is individualistic. It regards society as "an aggregate of social atoms, among whom there are no significant or permanent linkages" (Wax 1971: 7). When this atomistic conception of society is coupled with the view of the individual as essentially bent on promoting his own good, it results in a portrayal of society as a collection of competing individuals. The role of social institutions becomes the preservation of order by distributing benefits and burdens to self interested and isolated individuals that compose society (Rawls cited in Miller, 1984).

On the contrary, in the indigenous worldview of the inhabitants of Woyisso the individual is not viewed as isolated person whose rationality consists in the maximization of his own interest. This can be inferred from the ideology of kinship that characterizes their social organization in which members of a kinship group regard themselves as being connected by the blood of their ancestor. Gabbiso Roobaa, an elderly man who is a member of one of the sample household, said, "We are one people for the blood of Habera runs through all of us." He was referring to members of the Habernosa clan, of whom he is a part, whose founder was believed to be Habera.

In such a worldview the individual is rather regarded as just an element in a group in which he "may excel only when his excellence enhances the position of his brethren. If

this achievement were to derogate them before others, then it would be incumbent on him to conceal his talents" (Wax 1971: 7). We had already seen in Chapter Three how relationship in Woyisso especially among members of a decent group is, one of reciprocity and cooperation.

Since formal education in Ethiopia is influenced by the liberal ideology, it regards each student as a social atom whose achievement consists in his/ her progress through the grades according to his/ her own inner strength and motives and independently of fellow students. "What an individual does in school, and later, in his vocation, is an achievement - deriving from his own initiative and effort, and of benefit only to himself and his immediate family" (ibid).

### 3. The Purpose of Human Existence

According to Jagger (1983: 175), in principle, liberals "are committed to the belief that individuals are fulfilled whenever they are doing what they have decided freely to do, however unpleasant, degrading, or wrong this may appear to someone else"... In practice, however, they tend "to accept conventional accounts of happiness or self-fulfillment" (ibid). Since in their society most people seek happiness and fulfillment in the acquisition and consumption of goods and services, liberals "are forced to conclude that in fact happiness consists in acquisition of those goods and the achievement of those positions, at least for the majority of people who compete for them" (ibid).

On the other hand, both the indigenous and Islamic worldviews, to which the inhabitants of Woyisso subscribe, dictate fulfillment and happiness in conformation to the 'Cosmic laws' and 'divine will'. According to Gemetchu (1984: 50-51, 52), in the traditional Oromo worldview, from among the diversity of the Cosmos, **Waaqa** has endowed man with a special intelligence to comprehend the cosmic events and to distinguish between good and evil. This advantage is accompanied by the responsibility "to act in harmony with

the cosmic whole" (ibid). It follows that the individual fulfils his/ her destiny to the extent he/ she understands the cosmic laws and confirms to the social order that is derived therefrom "as recognized by the ancestors" (ibid). **Waaqa** withdraws his protection from an individual who fails to do so, and the later will be exposed to the mischief of the 'evil **ayaana**' (Barlet 1983: 95). And Sheik Rahmmatoo Nagguu said,

One meaning of the Arabic word 'Islam' means 'obedience to Allah'. The individual is fulfilled to the extent he wins Allah's favor in this world and the next by obeying Allah's will as prescribed in the Holy Quran. To the extent he deviates therefrom, he will fall prey to the mischievous of the evil spirit, and he will be thrown into eternal fire in the next life.

It should be stressed here that my intention is not to understate the place material things have in the people's conception of fulfillment. All interviewees in the sample households stressed that acquisition of as many cattle is a major source of fulfillment. It is rather to point out that acquisition and consumption of material things does not have as central a place in the meaning the people ascribe to life as Westerners do. The following remark of Gabbiso Roobaa may clarify this point:

We love cattle. They are sources of our livelihood. Moreover, we can not marry without them. But, possession of them should not interfere with our relationship with **Waaqa**. They can be of benefit to us only if he is pleased with us. Otherwise, they will be a curse. Our cattle are also means to maintain good relationship with each other. I give away my cattle when a fellow member want to marry and needs to give them as **geegayoo**. I also give them away when a clansman has to pay them for compensation. In turn, I will receive them from other when I am in similar need. In all this we build our relationship.

According to the Training and Education Policy (1994), education in Ethiopia is aimed at instilling skills, knowledge, attitude and values necessary for a market economy that is characterized by increased production and consumption of goods and services. Hence, the Training and Education Policy ignores the people's conception of ultimate fulfillment in the conformation to 'divine will' and 'cosmic order' and maintaining reciprocal relations with each other and with nature.

#### 4. Man's Relationship with Nature

Before the Middle Ages, natural forces wielded so much power over man that resulted in an attitude of fear and reverence to nature. The explosion of science and technology in the West made it possible to understand the forces of and manipulate nature to man's ends, which effected an enormous attitudinal shift. Accordingly, with the dawn of the Enlightenment, nature was viewed as "a reservoir of material resources to be exploited" (Arbab: Unpublished) using the tools of science. In fact, precise knowledge about the laws of nature and ability to manipulate and exploit them had begun to be regarded as the key to civilization and progress. (Fagerline and Lawrence 1983: 32 - 33).

Granting Gemetchu's (1983) exposition of Oromo worldview, the reverse is true in the view the inhabitants of Woyisso held of nature. The sum total of all particular natures is regarded as having a will and power. In fact, **Waaqa** himself is regarded as the Totality of Nature and manifests himself in particulars through **ayaana**. Man is regarded only one element of this totality albeit his special responsibility. Hence, nature is not as such an object of manipulation and exploitation but of reverence and worship. This attitude of reverence for nature used to be expressed in the various rituals of **Waaqe Feta**, the indigenous religion. In exposing the Islamic view of the relationship of man with nature Sheik Rahmmatoo Nagguu said,

From an Islamic point of view, man is a vicegerent of Allah who created and is independent of nature. Man carries a special responsibility towards all natural phenomena since they are signs (ayat) of Allah. But man is not essentially part of nature. He is expected to transcend the limitations nature imposes on him while maintaining an attitude of respect and cooperation with it.

The Education and Training Policy (1994) mentions the need to 'bring up citizens who can take care of and utilize resources' and 'use and tend private and public properties'. One of the objectives of the syllabus of the Environmental Science for primary education is "to endow students with a degree of understanding about their environment so that they can utilize and care for it." Nevertheless, due to its materialistic stance, the need



to care for nature has been accorded utilitarian rather than metaphysical significance. This is clearly implied in the heavy emphasis both the policy and the syllabus place on the need to equip students with scientific knowledge and accompanying skills and attitudes that would enable them to understand and manipulate rather than worship nature. Because of this, formal education in Ethiopia, it seems to me, inculcates a predatory attitude towards nature typical of Western worldview than one of reverence.

### ***B. Values Underlying Formal Education***

Holding a particular worldview is manifested in a pattern or configuration of meanings that the holder or holders of the worldview 'are ready to use as a guide to behavior' (Fisher and Thomas 1965: 100). To emphasize the influence of a worldview on the actual behavior of its holders, Kluckhohn (cited in Westby-Gibson 1965: 73) termed worldview as 'value orientation'. This means a worldview dictates its holders implicit or explicit judgment of what is good and, hence, desirable 'which include the selection from available modes, means and ends of action.' (Ibid: 72). Goulet (Cited in Arbab 2002) called it 'normative values' that provide 'rules' for "'what ought to be done' in such domains as family relations, work, commercial exchange, and dealing with leaders." For Kahl (cited in Fisher and Thomas 1965: 48), "Whenever people behave according to their standards of what ought to be done, whenever they act according to what they believe is right, proper, decent, or moral, then they are expressing their values.' A web of particular values that members of a society share make up a value system.

In this section, I will attempt to outline some values I identified as constituted in the value system of the inhabitants of Woyiso that are being affected by formal education.

#### **1. Spiritual Values**

In the previous section, we noted that the worldview of the inhabitants of Woyiso recognizes the existence of a supernatural who created and sustains everything in the heavens and the earth including human beings. Man is expected to align himself with

the Cosmic Laws and Social Order **Waaqa** mediates to him through instrumentality of either the ancestors or elders (Gemetchu 1984), the Prophet Mohammed or the patron saints (Brakumper 1988). Particular laws and elements of the social order are valued because they are justified in terms of the will of the supernatural. In this connection, Sheik Rahmmatoo Nagguu said,

For us, Muslims, the Quran and, to a lesser extent, the deeds and sayings of Mohammad are the ultimate standard against which the value of everything we say and do is to be judged. The more we conform to the injunctions contained therein the more we please Allah and it will be better for us both in this life and in the hereafter.

In this sense, most values of the community have metaphysical dimension and, hence, can be regarded essentially spiritual in nature. However, here I will mention only two values that, I feel, connect the individual with the supernatural.

The first of these is prayer. Asked what prayer is and why they pray, Gabbiso Roobaa said,

Prayer is like talking to **Waaqa**. When we feel threatened, we turn to him and ask for his protection. When we feel we have transgressed our limits and displeased him, we plead for his forgiveness. When we feel we are helpless in times of crisis, we request for his assistance. When we are happy we extend our gratitude to him. In general in prayer we connect ourselves with **Waaqa**.

The materialistic worldview that underlies formal education does not accommodate this value of the community. Hence, this important value of the people is ignored in the curriculum.

Fasting is another spiritual value of the community. It was introduced to the community with the advent of Islam. Sheik Rahmmatoo Nagguu explained what fasting and why they fast:

Every year during the month of **Ramadan**<sup>liv</sup>, Muslims abstain from food and drink from dawn to sunset. This is fasting. It is symbol of obedience to the will of Allah and abstention from what Allah abhors.

Since the worldview underlying formal education does not recognize the Allah that the community worships, it accordingly has not made fasting a content of its curriculum.

## 2. Language

It is largely acknowledged that language is not only a means of communication but also a symbol of identity. Hence, naturally a speech community values its language very much. I have observed the pride that the people have about their language when some members of the community with whom I had contact hoped that I would some day learn Oromiffa. In recognition of this value and the 'pedagogical advantage of the child in learning in mother tongue' (Education and Training Policy, 1994), primary education is offered in Oromiffa. On the other hand, many students I interviewed did not value Oromiffa as a medium of instruction. The valuation of, Aliyyii Tusuni, a fifth grader at Woransa junior high school, represents the view of many other students I interviewed:

I would rather learn in Amharic and English. Many people in the towns do not speak Oromiffa and knowledge of these languages would enable me to interact better with them who may give me a good job in town. Oromiffa will not do much once I am out of the villages.

According to my key informants<sup>iv</sup>, in the earliest stage of the history of formal education one of the major motivations for enrolling in school was, in fact, the opportunity to learn Amharic in the hope that this would entitle them to identify with the elite in the nearby towns and win the political and economic favors from them. It seems to me that members of the community especially the students are, at present, suffering from a contradiction that results from differential of the symbolic and utilitarian valuation of language.

## 3. Equality Vs Hierarchy

We have seen that in the worldview of formal education, rationality, which is the defining characteristic of man, is given to all human being in somewhat equal measure. Hence, "the good society must allow the maximum opportunity for the development and

exercise of the individual's capacity to reason" (Jaggar 1983: 174) and to decide on his/her destiny. Moreover, it stresses the liberal belief that "the rules or norms of society should be applied to everyone irrespective of age, sex, friendship ties or relationships" (Fagerline and Lawrence 1983: 96).

On the other hand, among the inhabitants of Woyisso, hierarchy is a value that governs human relationship. As was described in Chapter Three, juniors are expected to show respect, obedience and difference to seniors. Women should do the same to men. Deference should also be shown to elders who are superior in knowledge of the culture and oral tradition and have experience in administration and conflict resolution.

According to the Education and Training Policy (ETP: 1994), formal education seeks to inculcate the values of 'equality', 'respect for human right' and 'democratic culture'. In the overt<sup>vi</sup> curriculum, students are thought the principles and values of democratic governance. In the covert<sup>56</sup> curriculum the ideology of equality is promoted by, for example, providing similar educational content, criteria of evaluation and opportunities for both male and female students and teachers irrespective of their age. An interesting example is the case of Woransa School where over half of the 13 teachers are female. Asked what they want to become after school, most female students said they wanted to be like their female teachers. On the other hand, relationships among students and between students and teachers are largely governed by the authoritarian and paternalistic values of the hierarchical society they grew up in. I have, for instance, observed that contrary to the interactive delivery methodology suggested in the syllabus, lecturing is the actual method employed by teachers. If students ever ask and answer question it is usually the male students. Teachers resort to coercive sanctions including physical punishment to make students confirm to the rules.

From the forgoing it can be concluded that although the policy that guides formal education seeks instill the ideology of democratic governance, actual implementation of this policy is highly tempered by the paternalistic and authoritarian principles that govern social relationships in the community.

#### 4. Material Wealth

One may delineate two general orientations towards life. In the first orientation, which is generally refereed to as a consumerist orientation, men value goods and service more than they value anything else. The high valuation of wealth is manifested in what has variously been called 'the will to economize', 'achievement motivation' or 'acquisitiveness'. In the other orientation men value goods and service, too, but they "value other things besides material wealth" such as "good relations with each other, which may be disturbed by a too aggressive search for wealth" (Lewis cited in Arbab: unpublished 2). Asked to describe the ideally fulfilled man, my informants said,

He is truthful, hospitable, kind, well versed in the Oromo oral traditions and culture, widely recognized in administration and mediation of conflicts, kind and generous, has elaborate and sustained kinship ties, avails himself to others in times of needs, raises good children who follow his footsteps, has an obedient, wise and hospitable wife, possess a reasonable size of cattle.

The covert curriculum of the schools addresses some elements of the values enumerated above. For example, since teachers share the cultural values of students, they are observed advising students on the importance of developing the moral values such as truthfulness, hospitality, and kindness. Nevertheless, the overt curriculum addresses almost none of the values enumerated above. It rather seeks to instill political and economic values in students who are expected to participate in the building of a free-market economic system.

In this connection, it is important to note here the difference between the criteria the school and parents use to measure performance of students. Directors of all schools explained that the schools evaluate students on the basis of grades the child scores on

exams they administer in class. On the other hand, parents use a number of other criteria in gauging a child's educational performance. For example, Buttaa Qoshee, head of one of the sample households, describes his criteria as follows:

A successful student is one who attends school regularly, is willing to write applications to parents and neighbors without charging money, is clean, wise in addressing social issues, obeys and respects his parents and elders, and demonstrates capacity to mediate disputes and reconcile differences.

To conclude, the forgoing was a comparative reflection of the worldview and value system that formal education mediates vis-a-vis those to which the community subscribes. The reflection does not pretend to be an exhaustive analysis and comparison of the two worldviews and value systems. What it attempted to do was to identify only some important elements in both worldviews and value systems and show how the two are in contradiction with each other in almost all cases. This led to the conclusion that formal education is a means of re-socializing the children of Woyisso to a worldview and value system that is characteristic of the West. Faced with a worldview and value system different from that which they are socialized into by their family and community, the children of Woyisso need to take either of the two courses of action: They should either accept the new worldview and value system at the expense of the established ones or reject them altogether. The description of which course they are taking is a topic for an independent investigation in its own right. But, it is safe to assume that the more a student is exposed to formal education i.e. the more she/ he advances through formal education, the more likely will she/ he be re-socialized into the worldview and value systems mediated by formal education.

Having outlined the difference in worldviews and values, the next two chapters attempt to describe some implications of formal education on some elements of the household and the community.

## **Chapter Six**

### **Formal Education and the Household Economy**

The rise in the enthusiasm for formal education among the inhabitants of Woyisso means that the community has vested a new and additional status and role of a student on its school going children. In many ways, this new status and role requires the community and the households that compose it to make compromises with their social and economic status quo. In this chapter, I will look into the implication of this new status and role on households' economy.

The household is the smallest task-oriented and culturally defined social group 'with maximum corporate function' (Carter: 1984: 52-53). Netting and Wilk (1984) have identified production and distribution of resources as two of the most important categories of activities that households across cultures have been observed to perform. As demonstrated in Chapter Four, households in Woyisso are enthusiastically assuming education of children as yet another function in recent years. Below, I will describe the implication of this additional function on the production and allocation of household resources by way of illustrating the compromises household need to make as a result of their engagement with formal education. Implications on other facets of the household such as its structure and other functions than production and allocation of resources are not treated here due to limitation of space.

#### **1. Production and Formal Education**

In their productive activities, households adapt to the labor requirements of their productive tasks. In Chapter Three, it was noted that as girls and boys grow older, they share more workload of their mother and father respectively. Their share of work in the household would keep especially female children busy all day. On the other hand, all but Rift Valley schools keep students for half a day. In addition, teachers in all schools require students to do homework and also expect them to study for exams. Shouldering

these duties take a considerable amount of time. If students were to dutifully meet what is expected of them as students, they would be left with little time to attend to their share of labor in the household.

Faced with this dilemma of double loyalty; namely, its growing commitment to its function of schooling its children, on the one hand, and its dependence on their labor, on the other, the household employs a combination of various strategies to compromise the demands of both. One strategy is the assumption of more burdens by parents. The following case of a sample household illustrates how parents assume a disproportionate share of the workload as a result of sending their children to school:

Kadiroo has six children by his only wife Faaxuma, five sons and a daughter. Two of the children are too young to go to school or share in the household labor while the remaining four including the daughter are above the average school age and are sent all of these to school. The two senior children, Jamaal and Huseen, go to the schools at Zuuwaay and Adami Tulu. Hawwii, the daughter, and Ibrahim, go Shishoo Xaabboo and Rift Valley no. 1 respectively. Since Jamaal and Huseen live in Zuuwaay they do not take part in any of the household activities except when they come to visit the family every other weekend. Hawwii is absent from the household when she went to attend to her school. Ibrahim goes to school very early in the morning and comes back home after the cattle are released from the kraal. The household has not other personnel than the spouse and their children. Formerly when Jamal and Huseen lived with them, they went to school in different shifts and they used to take turn to look after cattle together with Ibrahim. Then Kadiroo supervised the laborers he employed on his plot, and also had the leisure of attending elders' meetings and visiting relatives. However, as his children become occupied with the school, he has spent less time on attending meetings and visits, which he has been devoted to looking after the cattle. On the other hand, when Hawwii went to the Rift Valley School, she came back from school early and was able to assist her mother in household duties such as fetching water, collecting fuel wood, cleaning house. Once she joined the school at Shishoo Xaabboo, however, she has to start out from home early to be in time for the school and takes her much time to walk home after school. By this Hawwi reaches home, Faaxuma, her mother, cleans the house and fetches water.

Adding additional personnel is another strategy that is employed to meet the labor shortfall within the household. One option along this line is temporary employment of personnel for various farm activities on the basis of agreements outlined in Chapter Three in which case the household head will focus on looking after cattle.



By his two wives, Qaabattoo has ten children, eight sons and two daughters, older than the average school age. Of these eight, six sons and two daughters, go to school. Two and three of the latter, including the daughters, go to the schools at Zuuwaay and Amdi Tulu respectively. Two go to the school at Shishoo Xaabboo while the other goes to Rift Valley school. Qaabattoo is an industrious and rich person. Formerly he used to employ labor only on a portion of his eight hectare of land. That was possible because his three eldest children assisted him before they left home to join the schools in towns. Qaabattoo also has 50 heads of cattle who were very well looked after by younger children. Now that his eldest children are absent from household labor activities and his younger children could attend to the cattle only for part of the day, Qaabattoo, had quitted farming and instead started looking after his cattle himself together with his two sons who have not reached school age. Since he could provide oxen and seed, he employs laborers to work on all of his eight hectares of land.

Another option is either adoption or employment of a child to help with looking after cattle in which case the household head may be engaged in farm activities. The following case illustrates this.

Huseen has 10 children by the two wives he married in quick succession. Four of these, two sons and two daughters, have just reached school age and all but one of the daughters are sent to Shishoo Xaabboo where Huseen thought they would get a better education than if he enrolled them at Rift Valley school. With 70 cattle Huseen is one of the wealthiest cattle owners in the Kebele. Before, his two sons started going to school, they used to assist him very much in taking the cattle to pasture and water points. However, these children are now absent from home for half of the day during the school days. On the other hand, the younger ones are not strong enough to assume the responsibility their elder brothers had. Hence, Huseen has employed a child from one of the poor household in the neighboring Kebeles to fill the gap that his children's education has caused.

Yet another strategy requires children to take a portion of the time they would, otherwise, spend on their education and use it to assist labor requirements of the household. There are many illustrative cases similar to that of Zeeynabbaa Baatii:

Zeeynabbaa is a 14-year-old girl who is a first grader in the school at Shishoo Xaabboo. Her mother is the only wife to her father. She has four brothers and two sisters all of whom are younger than her. She joined school late because her mother did not have anybody else who could assist her in the household labor. Now that her younger sisters have started to assume some responsibility, her parents determined that she could attend school for half of the day. Nevertheless, Zeeynabbaa is assigned to do a lot of work once she comes back from school that she has little time to spend on studying and doing her homework. When her mother is faced with emergencies such as to buy consumption items like salt, oil and to the granary from the towns, Zeeynabba is made to absents herself from school and meet these emergencies.

A number of children complained that their parents obliged them to be absent from school to attend to various household errands. They said their parents allowed them little or no time for studying and doing their school homework. Nuur Shuuman, a 18 year old boy and 5 grader at Woransa school said,

I live with my parents. My parents require me to assist them in various errands. This leaves me with little time to study and do my homework. My parents have not gone to school and they do not think that education requires more than attending classes in schools.

Some children said that even if their parents allowed them time to study, they found it difficult to concentrate on their study when they knew that their parents needed their assistance. Hence, students with this attitude preferred to absent themselves from school or suspend their study to assist their parents. One of these is Boruu Dayyee who is in a seventh grader at Woransa junior high school. He said,

We should not complain when our parents request us to assist them because they do this because they do not have any other choice. It is our duty to assist our parents. I, for one, am not able to study and do my homework while I see my parents are engaged in what I should have done.

An extreme form of this strategy is when parents detain one or more children from school for one or more consecutive or intermittent years. The coping strategy of household head Battii Halu illustrates this point:

Battii Halu has nine children, five sons and four daughter, who are past the average school age. His household is composed of his two wives and children only. He has nine hectares of land on which he has enough oxen to employ. If all his sons were not going to school and worked on his land, they would cover his labor requirement without being dependent on employed labor. However, since Battii values the education of his children as much as he values their labor, he attempts to make a convenient compromise by holding back his school going children by turn for a year while extending enrollment of others. For example, presently, two of Battii's children are made to discontinue from school- one at grade 4 and the other at grade 7 while another child has not yet been enrolled although he has reached the school age.

Although the ascription of an additional role of a student to children has increased the burden of all members of the household, the workload weighs heavier on its female members. Even when her daughters are available fulltime to assist her, a mother is the most burdened in any household with a working day of 14-16 hours. In the absence of half-day assistance by their daughter, mothers had to increase their productivity per unit of time, if they are to accomplish the daily household tasks. Shuuqoo Heedhetoo, is a first wife in one of the sample households who sends four of her six daughters to school. Three of her schools going daughters have not even reached the average school age. Shuuqoo had this to say:

I do not want my daughters to be illiterate like I am and live in darkness. I want them to go to school and see the light. So, I have sent all of them to the school. Only my two little girls remain at home. I will send them, too, when they are a little older. Of course, the housework will be much harder without the help of my daughters. I have to get up very early to clean the house. After that, I make fire from maize stalks and wood to prepare breakfast to the family. Once I served breakfast, my children will go to school and I milk the cows and goats and churn the milk to make cheese and butter. I then go to fetch water and have to come back in time to move cattle out from the kraal. When my husband takes the cattle, I collect fuel wood to use it for cooking lunch. Then I come back and serve lunch to the family and boil coffee. If it is farming season, the afternoon starts with participation in weeding. If it is a market day, I go to the market to buy the necessary household items. Upon returning from the market, I grind grain every other day after which I wash cloths. This is followed by milking cows. I will then prepare dinner and boil and serve coffee. Once I serve dinner, I clean my little babies. I am not able to sleep until very late at night.

My daughters help me when they are out of school during the afternoons. But, since school takes them for the morning, I have to accomplish all the work that should be completed in morning.

Other than increasing their own productivity, mothers have to make use of as much use of the time of their daughters if they are to cope with the female labor requirement of their household. This they do both by making them stay at home every few days and by maximum exploitation of their out-of-school time. This implies that daughters miss a number of contact hours with their teachers and are given very little time to study and do their school homework. The case of the aforementioned Zeeynabbaa Baatii is illustrative of this point.

Upon sending his sons to school, a household head has two general options. One option is to employ or adopt a child who can look after stock while he continues to work on the farm. The other option is to employ labor that can work on the farm under his supervision while he takes over his sons' role of looking after stock. This option would free him from both duties for half a day when the sons will be available to look after stock. Household heads in Woyisso generally adopt the latter option. There could be other reasons that could prompt a household head to make this choice but the obviously less hard work it entails could be a major consideration. Daaboo Doshoo, for example said,

Before my sons joined school, they used to look after the livestock while I worked on the farm. They also assisted me in some farm activities as weeding. But, now that they I have sent all of them to school, I have to attend to the cattle myself for half the day. Since the farm activities would suffer if I were to work on it only for the remainder of the day, I employed a laborer on it. Now, I am relieved from the exhaustion that farming causes and have to only supervise the laborer. And for half a day, when my children are at home, they look after the cattle during which I will visit friends and relatives, attend social events like funerals and mediation of conflicts.

Although it lessens the labor burden of the household head, this choice does not contribute to strengthening the household economy. In this connection, it is important to mention that a number of women have portrayed their husbands as lazy. Asked what she likes about her husband, Woore Shuumbaa complained:

I have never seen any good character in my husband. He never works hard. He is a very lazy person. He employs labor to work on our plot instead of working on it himself. As a result, our wealth is not increasing.

Sons, on the other hand, struggle to balance the demands of their father and the school.

Hashuu Gabbiso, a fifth grade student at Andola had this to say:

My father requires me to be absent from school and look after the livestock on occasions when he has some engagements. But this does not happen frequently. However, everyday when I am out of school, my father expects me to look after the cattle and I can not remain at home to study and do my homework. What I do instead is that I take my books with me to the fields and study and do my homework as I look after the cattle.

Haji Jemal Geleeto, Dessie Badhaanee explained,

Formerly, households used to have a lot of cattle looking after which occupies much of the time of its children. But, with the diminishing of grazing land caused by over population, the number of cattle has greatly decreased, and the stock would not require the constant attention of their attendants. This leaves much room to boys to study and do homework.

When parents made requests infrequently, some schools assigned children of a household on different shifts so that the household may have access to the labor of some of its children at any given shift. Otherwise, length and schedule of school hours are generally insensitive to the labor requirement of households. Important exceptions are the two schools of RCWDA. According to the coordinator of the Access educational program, the annual calendar and schedules of school hours were decided on a meeting with the respective communities they serve. Accordingly, the academic year in both Rift Valley schools is from April - January. February and March are relatively too hot for easy movement and children are on vacation. They may also be required by the family to take stock to distant place in search of pasture and water. However, the weekly schedule of the two schools is different. The markets that fall on Wednesday at Adami Tulu and Bulbula are closer to the hamlets at what used to be Woyisso. Since households often need to send their children to these markets, Rift Valley No. 1 is closed on these days. Similarly, Rift Valley No. 2 is closed on Thursday because that is the day when members of the hamlet at the former Qancaara attend the market at Bulbula. There is also variation between the two schools on the school hours. In both centers, classes start early morning and last for only three hours so that the students may be available to provide labor for the households during the day. But, there is still variation on the exact timing. Rift valley no. 1 starts at 6:30 and ends at 9:00 a.m. while the other starts at 7 and ends at 10 a.m. This variation is caused because of distance the two areas have from water point of the Bulbula River.

Households' labor constraint further worsens if parents decide to send their children to the schools at Adami Tulu and Zuuwaay. At this stage, children leave their parents to temporarily dwell in the towns for the academic year. This prevents parents from making use of the extra school hours of their children. A case in point is the household of Hasan Badhaanee:

Hasan has ten daughters and eleven sons by his three wives. Of these, fourteen are past the average school age, ten are going to school and one has discontinued schooling. Ten of these thirteen children go to school. Out of the ten school-going children, four girls and three sons, go to the schools at Ziway and Adami Tulu. Four of them were in grade nine while the other three were in grade 5. This was because there was no age gap since they belonged to three different mothers and a few of them started schooling together. When they were promoted and refereed to the schools in the town where they had to dwell during the academic year, a serious labor shortage was created in the household. This was because these were the eldest of all the children who used to assume a lot of workload in the extended household. Hence, Hasan adopted a child from one of the poor households in the neighboring Kebele of Shishoo Xaabboo while he employed labor to work on his plot. Even with these additional personnel, members of the household need to work much harder to provide for themselves and for the seven 'non-productive' children studying in town.

During the weekends they spend in their household, students are expected to and do generally participate in meeting its labor requirements. For example, children of the aforementioned Hasan visited their household every weekend or two especially during the earliest stages of the semester when they were not pressured by preparation for mid and final exams. But since students will not be at the disposal of parents for most of the year, parents, like Hasan, are forced to use the options of adding additional personnel and raising the productivity of its female members to cope with its labor requirements.

On the other hand, students generally prefer to leave away from their households as far as success in education is concerned although they incur the physiological cost of missing their family. The case of a tenth grader female student at Zuuwaay high school illustrates this point,

It is better to study here far from the family than while living with them. Of course, I miss my parents but living here would give me more time to study and do my homework. There I will have to assist with a lot of household chores and

I had little time to do my assignments and study. This is more painful to me than missing parents. Moreover, water is close here and I do not have to walk long distance to fetch it to cook my food.

A male student of Adami Tulu Junior secondary school who is in the fifth grade also said,

I prefer to study at Adami Tulu for at home various errands I am sent to such as looking after cattle will not give me enough time to study. I have to cook my food here but that does not take me more than an hour. I have a brother who is going to school with me here. We collaborate in cooking and doing other things we need to do.

The forgoing description demonstrates how households make compromises between their perceived long-term advantage in sending children to schools and their immediate labor requirements. It was noted that parents' interest lies in squeezing as much time as possible out of their school-going children to fend for the child labor they require. On the other hand, the interest of school-going children's generally lies in giving more focus and time to their education although they also wish to conform to the cultural obligation of obeying and respecting the wish of their parents.

## **2. Allocation of Household Resources and Formal Education**

In the household context, distribution 'includes pooling, sharing, exchange and consumption' (Netting 1993) of resources to meet the material requirements of its members. As households assume the function of educating children, schooling drains a lot of its resources. In this section, I will first describe the costs of schooling that will be followed by an assessment of how households redistribute their resources to meet these costs.

### **Costs of Schooling**

A household that sends its children to school incurs a number of expenses to meet the material requirements of schooling. These include annual school fees, irregular contributions, and spending on the purchases of materials for the students. All schools

require parents of their students to pay annual fee. The amount varies from school to school but it generally ranges between 20- 30 Birr annually. Moreover, households sending children to a particular school pay the same amount of fee irrespective of the number of children each sends to that school. However, if a household sends its children to different schools, each of the school requires the household to pay the annual fee it stipulates. Other than this, the school's administration makes appeal for contribution payable either or both in money or kind for such purposes as maintenance and construction of additional rooms, fencing of compounds, purchase of furniture, equipment and materials such as for sporting activities and meet shortfalls of budget. A household should buy school materials such as notebooks, pen and pencils and rent or buy textbooks to each of its school going children.

Households with children who advance in their education and join the junior high school in Adami Tulu and the high school in Zuuwaay incur additional expenses of which the most notable are lodging and food expenses. Renting is the most common way of providing accommodation to children. Crowding in one room is the method students use to minimize their rent expense. If loggers come from different household, they share the rent expense, pull together food items and take turn to prepare food. Depending on its size, three to six students of the same sex could inhabit a room together. But, when loggers of a room are of opposite sex, they are siblings who have a reasonable age gap. A few households, like that of aforementioned Hasan Bedhaane, have built, at Adami Tulu, their own shelter of two rooms. These shelters serve parents as guesthouses when they go to the town for various errands apart from accommodating their school going children. A few students live with relatives who have settled in the towns. These incur neither lodging nor food expenses. Logging students or their parents bring grain from the households stock and store it in their homes in the town but they buy other cooking materials such as oil, salt and fuel from the town.



### **Meeting the Cost of Schooling**

In Chapter Three, we noted that households derive their income predominantly from the sale of stock, grain and animal products. The costs of schooling are covered primarily from the sale of grain by the household head. If grain is not available like the case is during the ethnographic present when the area is heavily hit by drought, smaller stock like goats and, on rare occasions, cattle are sold to meet the expenses. Women may subsidize some of their child's educational expenses from the meager income they derive from sale of butter and milk. Few students also cover some of their own expenses from their varied sources. For example, some may work, during their extended summer vacation, on a half to a quarter hectare of land that their father may allot to them to produce cash crops like haricot beans. These students begin preparing their plot in the weekends approaching their summer vacation. However, the drought posed a serious setback for these students, too. Others subsidize their expenses out of the sale of chicken and smaller stock they are given by and encouraged to raise by their parents.

The cost of educating children rises considerably as they join the schools in Admi Tulu and Zuuwaay. Parents in the sample households said that the actual cost of schooling could be absorbed without much economic strain when their children lived with them and went to the nearby first cycle primary schools of Shishoo Xaabboo and Rift Valley. For this reason, households send most of their school going to children to any of the first cycle schools. On the other hand, parents said they found it very stressful to support their children who had to live in and go to school at Adami Tulu and Zuuwaay. This requires households to make decisions on whether some or all of its children should discontinue schooling. The decision has become critical during the ethnographic present when the already existing economic strain is reinforced by the drought.

In conclusion, it is important to point out that anticipation of employment for children in the long run is an important reason for the rise in the enthusiasm of formal education among the inhabitant of Woyisso. However, households who are motivated by this perceived long-term economic advantage are forced to incur the opportunity cost of forgoing the immediate use of the labor of their children. This requires them to employ various mechanisms to cope with the labor shortfall in the household. Assuming more workload by parents, employing labor or adopting children, maximizing on out-of-school time of the children were identified to be some of the most important mechanisms. We noted that other than forgoing child labor, parents also needed to invest part of their income on supporting schooling such as buying school materials and paying regular fees and extraordinary contributions. When students go to school in towns, their parents incur major additional costs such as for lodging. The opportunity cost of forgoing labor and the actual cost of supporting schooling are combined with the decrease in the average income of households and rise in the population to weakening the household economy. It should be mentioned that the growing interaction with formal education has implications on other functions of the household than production and allocation of resource and, indeed, on the structure of the household itself. These have not been described here due to space constraints.

Having reflected on the implications of the households' interaction with formal education, we now turn to describing, in the next chapter, the implications of this interaction at a community level.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **Formal Education and the Community**

In previous chapter, we saw the implications of conferring on children an additional status and role of a student on the household economy. This chapter focuses on other implications of this interaction that operate at community level. We will note that the most glaring implications relate to marriage and marital transactions, gender relations, system of social control and acquisition of productive labor.

#### **1. *Marriage***

##### **A. Infant betrothal**

In the past, infant betrothal was an alternative marriage arrangement where close friends from different clans would promise their infant sons and daughters for future marriage. This is particularly so in exchange marriage arrangement in which one of the brides that may not reach marriageable age is only pledged for a man whose sister the infant bride's brother is due to marry. The pledge is seal by giving **Gottu** - part of the bridewealth. The remaining part is to be given when the girl reaches maturity and joins her husband. In the meantime, she is committed to the care of her parents who, these days, send her to school.

When the girl reaches maturity, however, she is made to join her husband, which requires her to discontinue schooling. At present, if an already pledged female student realizes that her parents are contemplating to give her away, she may appeal to school administration and, sometimes, to the police against her family who are to force her discontinue her education and join a man they pledge her to without her consent. She could even persecute her own parents for such an act. I have come across several cases that demonstrate this conflict of interest among parties concerned in infant betrothal of which the case of Bubukaa Bantee is illustrative:

Bubukaa was a four-year old girl when she was betrothed to a man whose sister was married to Bubukaa's brother. When her brother was married, she was committed to the care of her parents until she matures when her fiancée hoped to take her to his home. In the meantime, her parents allowed her to go to school. When she reached third grade, her father and her married brother decided that she was then mature enough to join her husband. This implied that she had to discontinue her school and be a housewife. Bubukaa found this decision very unacceptable, courageously voiced her protest to her parents and refused to join her betrothed husband. When Bubukaa's parents realized that Bubukaa would not willingly join her husband, they encouraged him to take her by force while she was on her way to school. On the day he made an attempt to do so, he was caught by the school administrators and the police. The police detained Bubukaa's father and brother based on her allegation that they were part of the aborted abduction. They were put in custody for three days and were only released after they vowed that they would not interfere with their daughter's education and force marriage on her in spite of will.

This indicates that the bridewealth that parents have already received and find it difficult or unfavorable to repay are coming in conflict with the educational goals that concerned children have set for themselves. Nevertheless, with the rise in the emphasis being given to education of girls as described in Chapter Four, infant betrothal is in fast decline in recent years. The other implication of the growing commitment to education of girls is the transformation of gender relations, which is the subject of the next section.

## **B. Gender Relations**

An aspect of socialization that was described in Chapter Three concerned the nature of traditional gender relation before marriage. There, it was mentioned that boys and girls associated with each other less and less as they grow out of early childhood. The sexual division of labor and the need to preserve the virginity of the female child were identified as causes for this gender segregation. In Chapter Five, we determined that the gender related values that formal education seeks to inculcate were at variance with that of the community. These variant value orientations express themselves in the interaction of boys and girls in the school setting and in the community.

If formal education were to be based on the gender values of the community, it would have separate physical facilities and separate curriculum for the education of boys and girls. Based on a notion of gender equality, however, the education policy puts girls and boys in the same classrooms and exposes them to same curriculum. As a result, upon joining schools, students become suddenly confronted with new norms of gender interaction. A process of re-socialization starts with enrolment at the schools, which implicitly requires them to break with their traditional gender norms.

The dynamics of sitting position in classrooms is one manifestation of the interaction between the traditional gender norms with those that formal education seeks to inculcates. Teachers in all schools told the researcher that if students were left to decide on their sitting arrangement, all students sitting on any particular bench were observed to be either boys or girls. To break the cultural distance between boys and girls, schoolteachers often attempt to mix boys and girls on the same bench. As is already noted in Chapter Four, the classrooms in all schools are very crowded and a bench is required to accommodate four to five students. This means that students sitting on the same bench will have close body contact. Teachers further said,

At the earliest school years, boys and girls feel ill at ease to sit next to each other. When they are made to do so, they struggle in vain not touch each other. In any case, it would not be long before the students ignore our instruction and rearrange their sitting positions so that boys and girls sit on different bench or even in different rows.

The same principle of avoidance operates outside classroom, in the school compound. I observed that every morning, before students enter their classrooms, they are traditionally required to line up and form several lines. To maintain a straight line, each student in a line is required to put his/her hand on the shoulder of a fellow student standing in front of him/ her. When staff members who lead this ritual do not command boys and girls to mix in these lines, each line becomes gender segregated. When boys and girls are forced to mix in a line, they find it extremely difficult to put their hands on

each other's shoulders. I have also observed that during break times, boys and girls that are in the earliest grades do not associate with each other. They rarely play together.

Apart from serving as a social space to be shared equally by girls and boys, aspects of its curriculum also seeks to bridge the social distance between boys and girls that traditional gender norms had established. An immediate example is a subject in the first cycle that is aimed at realizing the artistic potentials of the student. In the music session of this subject, boys and girls are required and encouraged to sing love songs together. According to my key informants<sup>lvii</sup>, this is against the social norm. They explained,

In our culture boys and girls do not sing love songs when they are under each other's observation. Weddings are the only exception to this norm where they could sing praise of and affection to their beloved. Even then, they can only hope to make references to their loved ones in a very indirect manner. Overriding this cultural norm by the schools has contributed to the easy familiarity that they are beginning to observe among boys and girls.

The extent of avoidance of the opposite sex is not the same among students of all grade levels. Generally speaking, the avoidance gradually relaxes as students progress through formal education. By the time they reach the second cycle, groups of boys and girls may begin to mix within their school compound. I had observed senior male and female students at Andola and Adami Tulu schools playing ball games. Male and female students at Zuuwaay high school said they did not feel any inhibition when it came to studying together. This should not, however, be taken to mean that students who are in the high school have overcome the gender norms they were socialized into by their community and have totally assimilated those that formal education promotes. It only means that the more years they spend in school, the less uncomfortable boys and girls become to come together in public settings and to meet particular academic objective. It is interesting to note that of the many girls and boys I interviewed from all grade levels, none claimed simple friendship with a fellow student of the opposite sex.

However, a reflection on the relationship between students of opposite sex living in the same neighborhood requires us to qualify the conclusion that boys and girls do not make friendship. In Chapter Three, we noted that the neighborhood is normally composed of households whose heads belong to an exogamous kin group. Boys and girls belonging to such a kinship and residential group are socialized into a strict segregation based on sex that should inform their relationship. It follows that the distance that traditionally exists between these boys and girls can be attributed to the sexual division of labor that demarcates the sphere of activities of the sexes, which are mutually exclusive. However, formal education introduced a status and role of a student that both boys and girls share in common, and as the community actively participates in it, a social space is created in the neighborhood in which both girls and boys belonging to a kinship group can engage together. A number of male and female students said that they feel free to study, play and walk to and from school with fellow students of the opposite sex that live in their neighborhood. These students of opposite sex often belong to the same **warra**- a coherent settlement of households whose heads have the same grandfather. The protection that the boys provide to the girls from a possible threat of abduction by boys who belong to unrelated kinship groups may serve to strengthen their intimacy.

In sum, formal education has introduced new norms of gender relations, which, as we will see in the next two sections, transformed the role of parents and children on decision making on marriage arrangement.

### **C. Decision-making on Marriage**

In Chapter Three, the predominant types of marriage negotiations that are initiated and concluded without the knowledge and consent of the boy and the girl; namely **wolgera** and **gebera**, were described in detail. There, we noted that parents decided, for their children, the time of marriage and chose marriage partner for them. Children were not

regarded as mature enough at making informed decisions on such vital matters. They were expected to be content with the decision and choice of their parents. Few, if any, children deviated to the parents' decision of when and whom they should marry.

The introduction of new status and role of a student ascribed to children, however, is challenging the monopoly that parents used to enjoy over decision making regarding the time of marriage and choice of marriage partners to their children. As children progress through formal education, parents would consider their opinion and preferences seriously. A case in point is that of Mahammad Hassan:

The decision of Mahammad's parents to marry him off had been compromised and finally abandoned as Mahammad advanced through formal education. He was betrothed to a girl while he was going to school. When the time fixed for the wedding drew closer, he refused to marry before he had finished his education. He shared this conviction with his parents whom he succeeded to persuade. As he further advanced through the grades, he decided that he should not marry at all in any foreseeable future. He advised his parents that they should inform his decision to the parents of the girl who was betrothed to him so that her parents could, if they need to, marry her off to some other person.

This indicates that conferring an additional status of a student on children is transforming the paternalistic attitude parents held about their children. As we will examine below, this, in turn, has reinforced ***Hawata***, an alternative marriage arrangement that was highly discouraged in the past.

#### **D. Selection of Marital Partner**

In Chapter Three, section one, I expressed my informants' opinion that ***Hawata***-the type of marriage that is initiated with the agreement of the boy and the girl without requiring the prior consent of their parents - used to occur very rarely. In the past, the mutually exclusive social domains of boys and girls had served to minimize instances of attraction that could prompt boys and girls to strike romantic relationship. Consequently, selection of marital parents had mainly remained a prerogative of parents. Children are expected to only accept the choice of partner that their parents made for them. If mutual



attraction between a man and a woman occurred, they would rarely share it with their parents. And if they ever did, their parents would make little consideration of it in arranging marriage for them.

In an earlier section in this chapter, we noted that the schools have created the social space in which boys and girls are regularly exposed to and interact with each other. Once they join a formal school, girls and boys suddenly begin to spend half a day in the same setting. Carefree and close interaction between students of opposite sex is greatly inhibited by the norms of gender relations that they had already acquired from the larger society. However, they now have the chance, at least, to regularly observe each other from a distance. Since most students reach puberty by the time they are enrolled in school, this regular exposure to the opposite sex is likely to eventuate in visual attraction. Some of these visual attractions may develop into intense love such that either or both of the incumbents would wish to become united in marriage.

When a male student feels an intense love to a female student, he often takes the initiative to propose to her. Male students said that the proposal was for marriage and not for extra-marital relationship.

Ayiishaa Doshoo and Balchaa Quufaa were third and fourth graders respectively in Woransa Junior High School when the latter proposed marriage to the former. A few months later, Ayiishaa consented to marry Balchaa. Since they determined that their parents would not approve of their agreement for marriage without the arrangement of parents, Ayiishaa decided to elope with Balchaa. The latter took the former to the custody of a close relative who was in good terms with his father from where he sent elders to his parents to inform them that he has taken a wife and beg their forgiveness for doing so without their knowledge and consent. His parents were unhappy about this action of a child. However, they were eventually soothed by elders to forgiving their son and begun to initiate negotiation with the parents of the girl to legalize his marriage.

Of the many such cases I examined in which visual attraction lead to a proposal, a girl made none of the proposals. This seems to be an adaptation of the norm of the society that requires a man's parents to propose to the parents of an eligible wife. I was not able

to come across a case where a girl loved a boy who was either not interested in her or did not have the courage to propose to her. It is logical to hypothesize that such a girl would never express her love to him however intense it may be. It would be in conformity with the cultural norm of **assena** if she took the initiative to join the household of her beloved following the prescribed rituals, but this would put her education in jeopardy, which, generally speaking, girls are very keen to avoid.

Generally, a boy never proposes to his beloved in person first, but rather does so through a messenger who is likely to be his close friend. Another way of making proposal, which is becoming customary in the schools, is for the boy to write a note expressing his feelings for his beloved and put it in her book without her noticing him. To do this, he looks for such opportune times as breaks when she would leave her books in her classroom to play around with her friends in the school compound. Following the norms of feminine decency she acquired from the society, a girl, who has become aware that she has a suitor, will not normally appear to be eager to accept his proposal even when she is interested. If the boy is determined enough to take her for wife, he has to continue sending messenger or/ and writing notes in an effort to win her consent. In addition, he may, at a certain stage of the process, approach her and try to convince her verbally in person. At any stage of this process, the girl may give in and accept his proposal in which case she would agree to elope with him. Once this happens, the girl stops going to school although the boy may continue schooling.

Nevertheless, girls rarely choose to elope with a boy since they abhor the consequence of discontinuing schooling. If a girl is persistent in her refusal of a boy's proposal, the boy may wait for her outside the school compound, call her names and may even go to the extent of beating her. If the girl could not tolerate the harassment, she may report to the school administration in which case the later advises the boy to restrain himself. The boy may be alarmed after the encounter with the school administrators and stop chasing

the girl. If the administration determines that the boy has not corrected his manners, it gives him a serious warning of disapproval from the school. I was told that there have been a number of cases where this warning materialized. The case of Xaayituu, a fifth grader in Woransa Junior Secondary school, illustrates this and other details described above:

Xaayituu's suitor was also in the same grade. When he proposed to her, she told him that she did not want to marry and preferred to pursue her education instead. He was not content with her response. He would wait for her out of the school compound and insist that she changed her mind. In school, he would write romantic notes and put it in her books. When the girl felt that she could not handle it anymore, she complained to the school administration. He was asked if her complaint was true, which he denied. She produced the notes he had been writing to her as proof of the truth of her allegations. But, he still denied that he wrote the notes. However, the school administration compared the notes with the handwritings in his exercise books and found out that they were indeed his. Other also witnesses testified the truth of her words. It was reported that, in the process, the boy had continued to harass the girl in the school and on her way to and from school while persistently denying to the school administration all allegations that were being brought against him. The case was finally brought to the school's discipline committee and it was decided that the boy should be dismissed from the school. She continued her schooling.

In spite of the sanctions imposed by administrations of the schools against harassment of female students, a boy may abduct a girl he meets at school if he is determined to marry her. In any case, formal education seems to cause a shift in the power of making decisions on marriage arrangements. As is demonstrated in this and the previous section, parents are losing their unquestioned authority of making decision on marriage of their children. As a result, *wolgera* and *gebera* are giving way to *hawata* and, less importantly, to *butta* as frequently practiced alternatives of marriage arrangements. As we will examine in the next section, institutions, such as *geegayoo* and *wijjoo* that are associated with *wolgera* and *gebera* are, consequently, being transformed.

#### **E. The Institutions of *Geegayoo* and *Wijjoo***

In Chapter Three only a passing mention was made about the social institutions of *Geegayoo* and *Wijjoo* in the hope that I will take them up in detail in this chapter. That was meant to save the space that would be incurred if a description of the institutions

was isolated from the analysis of formal education's implication on them, which is in order below.

### ***The Institution of Geegayoo***

**Geegayoo** are the cattle that are paid as part of bridewealth. It can be acquired by any of three methods: If a man is wealthy enough, **geegayoo** may be paid from his own livestock. Otherwise, part or all of the **geegayoo** may be borrowed from his relatives and close friends. My key informants<sup>lviii</sup> said that if a man had already lent **geegayoo** to others when they were in similar need, he could claim the cattle he lent and his debtor has the obligation to pay it back.

There are two reasons for lending **geegayoo**: First, it is a social obligation. Most members of the community can not raise the required amount of **geegayoo** by themselves. Borrowing is the cultural mechanism that is used to cope with the shortfall of cattle that a man needs to pay as bridewealth. If faces the need, he can request his relatives and friends to lend cattle to him. Formerly, a man was socially obliged to lend **geegayoo** when such a request was made to him. "If I needed **geegayoo**," said Dasuu Galgaluu, "I would ask my friends and relatives to lend them to me and I was sure to get them." Refusal to lend cattle was regarded as deviation from the principle of cooperation that governed the social life of egalitarian communities like that of Woyisso. It was resented not only by the person who was put down but also by other members of his kin group and the community at large. Second, cattle that are lent for bridewealth payment are forms of deposit. When the creditor is in similar need, he can claim the cattle he has lent without having to borrow. On the other hand, upon being requested, the debtor is obliged to return cattle equivalent to the cattle he borrowed, no matter what his economic condition may be. "If I am asked to lend **geegayoo**," said the aforementioned Dasuu, "I would readily give it for I know I can collect them when I am in similar need."

Nevertheless, with increasingly more priority given to schooling, which takes children away for a number of years, a potential lender's child is becoming less likely to marry in a foreseeable future. This means that the lender will not regain his cattle within a reasonable period of time since marriage of a child is the only condition in which a lender can reclaim his cattle. Hence a potential lender is less motivated to lend bridewealth cattle. Such a rationality of a potential lender is weakening the social obligation of lending bridewealth cattle.

As has already been noted, the rise in the enthusiasm for formal education is a rather recent phenomenon, and has had a disruptive implication on settlement of **geegayoo** credits that have already been given out. To point this out, it is important to stress that marriage of the creditor or his child are the only socially sanctioned condition when a creditor can reclaim **geegayoo** he lent. In other words, a lender can claim his cattle from a borrower when he is required to pay **geegayoo** to legalize his marriage or that of his son. For this reason, a household that has already lent **geegayoo** considers that "its cattle are out there". The only mechanism by which such a household can regain its cattle is by marrying off its household head or its sons. Parents that have already lent a lot of cattle would be anxious to marry off their children so that they can regain the cattle they have lent. Accordingly, a number of parents of school children whose cattle are 'out there' are requiring their children to marry so that they may regain their cattle. Most children, on the other hand, value their education more than early marriage. They fear that marriage will eventually oblige them to discontinue their education. This differential of valuation creates tension between children and parents. Aman Bedhane's conflict with his mother and his immediate family is one of the many illustrative cases:

Aman's father died a few years ago. He was a very rich man and left behind a good number of cattle for Aman. Aman was the only son and child to his mother. His mother always wanted Aman to get married and inherit and administer the property. Besides she wanted to collect the large number of cattle that she and her husband had been lending to friends and neighbors. On the other

hand, Aman felt that marriage was a hindrance to the education that he was so determined to pursue. His mother and his close relatives kept pressing him to get married. As the pressure mounted, Aman was forced to betroth a girl whom he decided to marry only after he finished school. As the preceding arrangement for marriage continued, he finished grade six and lodged at Adami Tulu to continue with grade seventh. At this stage, he was asked to discontinue schooling and get married, which he adamantly refused to do before he finished his education. His mother became so disappointed by Aman's refusal and declared that he would not get support from her and should not come to her house unless he was willing to get married. Other members of the extended family have also quarreled with him except one half-brother, who is supporting him in clandestine to continue his schooling.

This should not, however, imply that the majority of the parents who have cattle 'out there' are less enthusiastic about formal education. But, it is important to note that enthusiasm of these category of parents involves an obvious contradiction: On the one hand, they aspire to educate their children but, on the other, they are anxious about collecting their cattle 'out there' the soonest possible. The need to resolve this contradiction at a community level is engendering transformation of the objective of the institution of **geegayoo**. As we have already noted, formerly one can reclaim **geegayoo** lent only when one is required to pay **geegayoo**. However, the rise in the educational aspiration of parents for their children and the heavy economic toil that realization of this aspiration entails are collaborating to relax this tight condition. Those parents with cattle 'out there' are asking their debtors to return their cattle so that they may use it for educating their children. Given the high cost involved in education of children especially as they rise to higher grades, such an action is increasingly regarded as legitimate. This trend suggests that the institution of **geegayoo** could in the future accommodate education of children as its additional objective.

On the other hand, by postponing marriage, formal education is greatly contributing to relaxing the time within which **geegayoo** should be raised. As increasing priority is given to formal education, early marriage is becoming sidelined. Since the school takes the children away for a number of years, it would be a while before parents have to make

preparations to marry off their children. Collection of **geegayoo** was an important component of this preparation that, if not forgotten altogether, is postponed indefinitely.

Some of those parents who mostly have a degree of formal education and exposure to towns do not see the usefulness of **geegayoo** anymore. They are convinced that their children will find a marital partner in town once they finish schooling and find a job. Such parents refuse to participate in any **geegayoo** transactions. If their number increases, the institution of **geegayoo** becomes in danger of extinction. Another institutions that faces similar threat is the institutions of **wijjoo** to which we now turn our attention.

### ***The Institution of Wijjoo***

In preparing feast for a wedding ceremony, a mother needs a lot of butter. The amount of butter needed is often too large for the host woman to raise by herself. So, she enters into a permanent association with other women who can contribute the required amount of butter. This association or 'butter bank' is called **wijjoo**, literary means 'to come together'. It is an association of women usually in the neighborhood whose aim is to collect butter from its members and give it to a member who happens to be preparing for an occasion that requires a lot of butter.

The butter that is collected for a particular woman is not a free gift but is a form of credit. Each member will keep a memory of the amount of butter she might have given when any member of the association was in need, and expects return of the same amount of butter from that member when she is in need of it. Conversely, each women keeps memory of the amount of butter she owes any member of the association and feels obliged to return it when her creditor announces that she is in need of butter. Butter is collected when a member is in need of it to prepare for certain prescribed occasions. Of these special occasions, holding a feast on the occasion of a daughter's marriage is one

of the most important. If a woman does not have a daughter, she might join a **wijjoo** association in the name of a son.

In Chapter Four, we took note of how parents especially mothers have suddenly begun laying much value in the education of their daughters. Note only has the rate of enrolment of girls in schools has been increasing over the past few years, most parents also seem to be determined to postpone marriage of their daughter until they complete their education. On the other hand, as we have noted earlier, preparing for a daughter's wedding is an important socially sanctioned occasion when a woman could collect the butter that she had lent out to fellow members of a **wijjoo** association. Indefinite postponement of a daughter's wedding would mean that collection of the butter lent out is also going to be deferred indefinitely. In the meantime, the borrower might forget or deny the credit resulting in a possible risk of losing the butter. To avoid this risk, **wijjoo** members who had already lent out butter are asking remittance on the expressed purpose of using it to support the education of their daughter. Education of girls has not been a sanctioned ground to reclaim butter from **wijjoo** members. However, with the positive shift in the value orientation, and considering the high cost involved in supporting the education of daughters especially once students join the schools in Adami Tulu and Zuuwaay, **wijjoo** association are recognizing education as a legitimate ground to reclaim butter. This direction in the transformation of the objective of **Wijjoo** can be demonstrated by the following case:

Shuumbaa did not have a daughter. Nonetheless, she joined a **wijjoo** association in the name of her son, Furoo, to subsidize the butter requirement for his wedding. However, she did not live to see her son's wedding.

As Furoo went to school, he continued fulfilling the duties in the association in the name of his mother. In the meantime, Furoo completed high school. Unfortunately, he had not scored sufficient point that would allow him to join a public college. He, nevertheless, was determined to join a private college at Nazaret for which he desperately needed money. So, he explained to the **wijjoo** association of his dead mother that he did not want to marry and, instead, he wanted to continue his education. He also explained that he desperately needed money to meet his aspiration, and requested them to remit the butter they would



give him if he were married. The members were convinced of the plea and returned what they owed him and his mother.

To summarize, by taking children away for a number of years, formal education has undermined the norm of early marriage. The rise in the demand for formal education and the decline in early marriage have caused the transformation of social institutions that are associated marriage. Two of these institutions were **geegayoo** and **wijjoo**. It is too early to predict the direction of transformation these institutions are undergoing. Two significant possibilities are they are either in demise or they are adjusting themselves to meet the demand for formal education.

Having described the interaction of formal education with some aspects of the kinship and marriage, we now turn to the discussion of formal education with the system of social control of the community. As is noted in Chapter Five, active participation of the inhabitants of Woyisso in formal education is a very recent phenomenon. None of the recognized elders in the community have had any level of schooling. For this reason, the implication of formal education on the traditional system of social control has not yet become obvious. At this stage, only an indirect possible contribution that the former is making to the eventual demise of the later can dimly be detected.

## **2. Authority and Social control**

In Chapter Three, we noted that for a person to be recognized as an elder, he needed to acquire a great deal of knowledge of the oral tradition, customs and traditional law of the community, among other things. He is also required to demonstrate his capacity of applying the knowledge he acquired in solving practical problems. Haji Teefo Badhaanee and Azamach Edao Haa'ga explained:

A mark of a good father is commitment to teaching his children about the oral traditions and customs of our society. A father should begin to do this from early childhood. However, as a man grows into maturity, he may make use of other sources of knowledge. He travels to distant places to visit sages and acquire

knowledge and wisdom from them and to learn from attendance of actual mediation of serious disputes.

A person's carrier as an elder begins from the hamlet and, to the extent he proves his knowledge and capacity, he rises to assume offices in higher levels of assemblies of elders. Commitment of the community to this process of evaluation, learning and capacity building is a backbone of the traditional system of social control. It is demonstrated in ambitious individuals' willingness to invest the enormous time, effort and material resource it entails.

Elders are of the opinion that, nowadays, this commitment is relaxing among the community. There could be several factors that contributed to this decline, but formal education is certainly one of the most important causes. As its fervor for formal education increases, the community's cost of time, effort and material resources rises. Part of the resources that were spent on preparing individuals for the office of elderhood would be redirected to formal education. The aforementioned informants complained that parents are not giving due emphasis to teaching their children about our culture. Children, too, would rather spend their evenings on studying and doing their school homework than listening to the oral traditions that their fathers may recount. Moreover, when children are in the first cycle, they spend half a day at school and they have a lesser chance of observing conflicts and the traditional methods that are used to resolve them. Mediums for informal learning of the traditional administration become absent as children join Adami Tulu Junior secondary school and join Zuuwaay high school, which physically alienate them from their community. The above mentioned informants further complained,

Book learning is replacing learning about our history and customs. They are ignorant of the wisdom that has been transmitted to us from our ancestors, which would have enabled them to be good administrators of our community.

Thus, having less confidence in the knowledge and administrative capacity of school goers, elders do not seem to care to involve them in mediating community conflicts. Hence, as children grow old and advance in their education, they isolate themselves from participation in solving the social problems of their community.

On the other hand, education is playing a significant role in strengthening the formal administrative structure. Although, very little practical step has been made so far, in principle, educational attainment is becoming an important criterion for assuming office in the Kebele administration. Moreover, as students advance in their education, they leave their community and spend most of the academic year in Adami Tulu and Zuuwaay where they become exposed to, are governed by and, hence, are re-socialized into the formal system of governance. As we have seen in Chapter Five, an important part of this re-socialization is attendance of civics education - a subject students are taught in the schools on the operation and values of the democratic governance as it is defined by the government. Some of the extra-curricular activities they are engaged in at school further reinforce this process of re-socialization by requiring them to work directly with the formal structure. A case in point is the club at Zuuwaay high school in which Haabib Qaabato, a student from Woyisso was an active participant. Haabib relates,

The objective of the club was to eradicate harmful traditional practices such as female circumcision and abduction. We traveled around the many Kebeles in the Adami Tulu Judo Kombolcha Woreda to educate the communities on the harm of those practices and the need to abandon them. The Woreda government also mandated us to prosecute individuals and groups who would be engaged in these practices. Because of this power vested on us, even adult members of our respective communities including elders who were alleged to have committed any of the prohibited traditional practices were afraid of us.

All in all, formal education is contributing to the demise of traditional system of social control by taking the time of children which may otherwise be spent on socializing them into the system. On the other hand,

As a conserver of the political system, and a contributor to political development, education has been regarded as serving three main functions: (1) as the main agent for the political socialization of the young into the national political culture, (2) as the primary agent for the selection and training of political elites, and (3) as the main contributor to political integration and the building of national political consciousness. For each of these the formal school, in the Western sense, is seen as the educational mechanism through which these functions take place (Fagerline and Lawrence 1983: 120)

Other than integrating them politically, formal education seeks to prepare the children to function in socio-economic system of larger society. In the following section, we will examine how this results in the migration of labor into and out of the community.

### ***3. In and Out Migration***

In Chapter Three, we have noted that the labor input for the household's productive activities is composed mainly of the spouse and their children. The previous chapter indicated that one mechanism by which the household uses to cope with the labor shortfall created when children are enrolled in schools is the employment of labor on various arrangements. Since almost all households face the challenge of labor shortfall, they do not have surplus labor to be employed on the plot of their fellow community members. Hence, the labor shortage created in the community has been increasingly attracting laborers from outside the community. Although laborers from the neighboring towns come to work on the plots of the community, a relatively large number of the laborers come from the densely settled areas of Wolayita. The Wolayita migrate to Woyisso and the surrounding areas seasonally and go back after harvest.

Availability of migrant labor has in turn transformed the traditional organization for large-scale labor. Formerly, if a household head needed more assistance than could be provided by household labor, he would call upon the neighbors who might be friends, brothers, or paternal cousins. In turn he would be obligated when asked to come to their aid. One such labor organization is ***debo***. It was an organization of 10-20 adults to extend help in plowing each other's farm. The participants did not only provide labor

but they also used their own oxen. Another such organization is called **Jigi**. It differs from **debo** only in the size of its membership, which can be 50-70. The later was also mobilized for other activities than farming, such as collecting straw thatch, house building or roof re-thatching. Both **debo** and **Jigi** used to be community obligations than matters of options. If a person in the neighborhood was called for **debo** or **Jigi** but is unable to participate in the **debo** or **jigi** for some extraordinary reason, he should secure excuse from the person for whom the **debo** or **Jigi** was organized. If asking excuse in person was not convenient, someone else should do so on his behalf.

The institution of **Jigi** has nowadays become extinct while **debo** is being practiced very little. Several causes could be sited for the gradual demise of these institutions but again formal education is one of the most important ones. As households send their children to school, they find it difficult to cover their own labor requirements let alone participate in that of others. Hence, a household becomes obliged to resort to employing available migrating labor.

Key informants<sup>lix</sup> said,

Nowadays we do not collaborate in **Jigi** anymore. But, sometime we still call upon five or six of our friends and relative to assist us in **debo**. Since we send our children to school, we do not have the time to fend for our own work let along assist in the work of others.

The description, in Chapter Two, of the internal and external pressures that have contributed to the rise in the demand for formal education implied that economic factors are the most powerful motivations to school attendance by students and readiness to assume opportunity and actual costs of educating children by parents. In Chapter Four, mention was made of the hope entertained by both children and parents that the former would secure a job in the nearby and other towns once they finished schooling. This means that children expect to migrate to the town, find a job and make their living. So far, only twelve children have graduated from the high school in the entire history of the

community, it is not possible to say the extent to which the economy of towns will absorb them. However, students from the community who are studying in Zuuwaay high school said that they would make every effort to remain in town. The opinion of Beja Gumetoo, a girl from Woyisso who is a tenth grader in Zuuwaay high school, represents that of her schoolmates from the community:

I hope to score the required point to join preparatory school for college. If I am not lucky enough and do not score the required grade, I will join one of the private colleges. I will press my parents to support me so that I can have a college education. It seems that in order to find a job, I need to go to college. I can not imagine myself going back to the village and leading the kind of life my parents do. It is so unthinkable. There is nothing for me there.

Time will tell if this aspiration of students from the community will be met. But, with such a strong longing to remain in town, it is reasonable to assume that at least a portion of these students will find one thing or another to extend their stay or permanently settle in the towns. Given this assumption, one can conclude that formal education is greatly contributing to migration of the children of Woyisso to the towns.

To summarize, the forgoing was an exposition of some social and economic implications of the introduction of an alien status and role of a student to the community. We begun with a discussion of how formal education is discouraging early marriage and particularly infant betrothal by taking children away for a number of years. It was noted that the bridewealth that parents have already received were going against the educational goals of children. Another implication identified was the transformation of decision-making roles of both parents and children on marriage whereby children are assuming more say on the choice of marital partners and time of marriage. It was noted that this was a consequence the introduction of a social space by formal education in which both girls and boys can equally share which bridged the social distance that existed between them. This, in turn, brought about the transformation of the institutions of *geegayoo* and *wijjoo*- institutions that are tied to those types of marriage arrangements in which parents play exclusive decision making role. Based on present trends, it was also

predicted that these institutions would either die altogether or become subservient to the rising demand for formal education. The gradual demise of traditional system of social control was identified to be yet another implication of formal education. By taking children away for part of the day and for a significant portion of the year, formal education allowed children much less time to undergo full political socialization by their community. On the other hand, it systematically instills, in the children of Woyisso, the values and ideals of the political system promoted by the government. Finally, by serving as a criterion for acquiring job in towns, formal education was noted to have significantly contributed to the migration of children into the community. On the other hand, the shortfall of labor in the community caused when children were occupied with formal education attracted migrant laborers whom the community employed to fill the shortfall.

## **Chapter Eight**

### **Summary and Conclusion**

In the forgoing chapter, I have attempted to describe the implications of formal education in the rural community of Woyisso. Chapter Two was a brief historical overview of the mounting internal and external factors that the community has been experiencing since its formation. It was argued, in Chapter Four, that these factors were responsible for the recent rise in the enthusiasm for formal education among the inhabitants of the Kebele. The sever drought that occurred during the ethnographic present has fanned this already high fervor for formal education. Chapter Three was a description of the social and economic context with which formal education has increasingly been interacting. Special emphasis was given particularly to kinship and marriage, mode of subsistence, religion and authority and social control of the community since my fieldwork revealed that these were the social and economic elements that formal education has been interacting with the most.

It was argued, in Chapter Five, that formal education in Ethiopia is an element of the overall development strategy of the government - a strategy that is largely framed by the evolutionary or linear model of development. Since the later is founded on Western liberal ideology, it was considered reasonable to argue that underlying one of its elements, formal education, is also the worldview and value system of the West. In the same chapter, four elements of the worldview and four elements of value system respectively of formal education were identified as cases and were compared with related elements of the worldview and value system of the community. The comparison led to the conclusion that the two worldviews and value systems were in opposition. However, the worldview and value system that formal education seeks to promote was observed to be modified in the covert curriculum which partially manifests the worldview and value system of teachers, students and administrators.



Chapter Six focused on the description of how formal education was interacting with the household economy. The adoption of educating children as a major function of the household was noted to require households to make adjustment to the way they go about their traditional functions especially of production and allocation of resources. In relation to its function of production, formal education was observed to disturb the traditional household division of labor by taking children away from the household and the hamlet for part of a day or for an entire academic period. Various mechanisms were outlined by which households attempted to cope with this disturbance. In relation to its function of distribution, the focus was on describing the strain that formal education places on the resources of a household especially as its children advance through formal education. It was noted that this economic strain was by and large responsible for school dropout.

The implications of formal education on some norms and social organization of the community were the subject of Chapter Seven. As the community's valuation of formal education increased, the practice of early marriage especially infant betrothal was declining. Children have begun to decide on the time of their marriage and choice of their marital partner. The social institutions of *geegayoo* and *wijjoo* that provided for bridewealth and resources for wedding feast are, at best, aligning themselves to serving the purposes of formal education or, at worst, they are dying. By conferring an identical status of a student to both boys and girls and providing a social space that both can equally share, formal education was noted to undermine the nature and purpose of traditional gender relation. By instilling the values and principles of democratic governance, formal education implicitly re-socializes children against the traditional kinship oriented system of social control. By taking away children from their productive role and creating a labor shortfall, formal education was noted to have been a cause for the migration of laborers into the community.

The community of Woyisso saw its first four high school graduates only two years ago. Last year, an additional eight graduated from the high school. There are now a total of 42 students in Zuuwaay high school. This in itself shows how mass enrollment of the children of the community in the schools is only a very recent phenomenon. The implications of formal education described in this study are functions only of this early stage of engagement of formal education with the community. Furthermore, it was admitted that limitation of space had not allowed a discussion of other implications of formal education in the community that my fieldwork revealed. Among these is the implication of formal education on the structure of the household. Structurally, formal education disturbed the community's norm of cohabitation of children with their parents before marriage. Once children join the schools in the nearby towns, the household may be required to establish two or more homes for its personnel. Moreover, labor requirement in a household may necessitate incorporation of non-relative laborers as temporary or permanent members of the household.

In all this process, formal education, it seems to me, is contributing to the increasing incorporation of the rural community of Woyisso to urban way of life. Functionalism understands this incorporation in terms of the 'role differentiation', 'functional integration' and the creation and consolidation of wider 'solidarity'. Marxism, on the other hand, regards it as a process in which powerful groups establish and consolidate their hegemony over the powerless rural community by effectively distributing their own culture. I have found the latter theoretical orientation to be more powerful in explaining the nature of the interaction of formal education with the community I studied. Of the variants of Marxist oriented approaches, Dependency or Underdevelopment theory is more applicable to the problem at hand.

Accordingly, there seems to exist a 'core/' 'periphery' relationship between the community of Woyisso and the nearby towns of Adami Tulu and Zuuwaay. In this

scenario, the former is trying to articulate itself with the later in the hope of overcoming the mounting economic pressures that it has been facing. Implied in this articulation is re-socialization of the inhabitants of Woyisso into urban worldviews, values, beliefs, attitudes and norms. Thus, among other things, early marriage is being abandoned; monogamy is becoming the norm; the extended family is giving way to the nuclear family; family size is decreasing; kinship is losing its role as a principle of social organization; wage labor is gaining prominence over animal husbandry and farming. As the Functionalists would have us believe, these and other cultural features, for the inculcation of which formal education is highly instrumental, serve to create the principles and values that are required for the economic and political integration of the country. Nevertheless, in as much as cultural elements are essentially products of the Western industrial society, they ultimately serve the interest of the industrial society. Viewed from this perspective, Ethiopia itself can be regarded as a periphery that seeks to articulate itself to the preoccupations of the industrial West. Accordingly, the values and principles of Western democracy are adopted by the government and are distributed to the mass in the rural Ethiopia through the instrumentality of the formal education. Formal education serves as a vehicle for the systematic transfer of the values, beliefs and attitudes underlying the economic condition of the industrial West. The present trend in Woyisso is that the more children are re-socialized in dominant Western culture, the more they are becoming dependent on the job that the capitalist mode of production is ready to offer. With the growing drain of productive labour from the rural to the urban and ultimately from Ethiopia to industrial countries, the capitalist labor market becomes saturated, and contributes to increase in unemployed urban population. The multiplication of unemployed educated mass is an advantage to the capitalist for this reduces the value of labor. Concomitantly, the longer years the children of Woyisso spend on formal education, the less they spend time on learning the skills, values and beliefs that they require to function in their own social and economic context. Therefore, it seems to me that formal education as it has historically evolved in the

west is educating people for the kind of job that is irrelevant to and is contributing to the increased impoverishment of the rural mass.

### **DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Signature:

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### **ADVISOR'S CONFIRMATION**

I confirm that this thesis submitted for Graduate School.

Signature

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### **NOTES**

#### ***Chapter Two***

<sup>1</sup>Cloroquine is a type of drug that is administered to malaria patients.

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- <sup>2</sup> Dr. Abdisa is head of the Animal Health Research Division of Adami Tulu Agricultural Research Centre.
- <sup>3</sup> The '*Derge*' reefer to the military government that dethroned Emperor Hailesilassie in 1974 and took power until 1991.
- <sup>4</sup> Haji Teefo Bedane, Azmach Edao Bedhaaso, Abbu Negesso and Haji Geleeto
- <sup>5</sup> Haji Teefo Bedane, Azmach Edao Bedhaaso and Haji Geleeto
- <sup>6</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Haji Teefo Bedane, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhaso
- <sup>7</sup> **Gebbar** refers to the system of patron client relationship that Minilik established in the areas he conquered. It also refers to the tribute-paying peasant or peasants who were clients to Minilik's soldiers.
- <sup>8</sup> **Balabat** refers to a chief who collected and handed over tribute from his people and to the central government during the reigns of Minilik and Haileselassie.
- <sup>9</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Haji Teefo Bedane, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhaso
- <sup>10</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Dessie Bedane, Haji Teefo Bedane, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhaso
- <sup>11</sup> **Ayaantuu** refers to a spiritual person in the Oromo traditional religion.
- <sup>12</sup> **Waaqe Feta** refers to the belief in **Waaqa**, the creator and sustainer of the world in the Oromo Cosmology.
- <sup>13</sup> **Sagadaa** means 'those who bow down' and refers to the prayer ritual of prostration in Islam.
- <sup>14</sup> **Sheikh** is a title given to those who are learned in the theology and jurisprudence of Islam.
- <sup>15</sup> Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhaso
- <sup>16</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Dessie Bedane, Haji Teefo Bedane, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhaso
- <sup>17</sup> Abbun Jaaleto Haji Jemal Geleeto and Dessie Bedane
- <sup>18</sup> **Gasha** is a unit of measurement equivalent to 40 hectares.

### **Chapter Three**

- <sup>19</sup> Jemal Geleeto and Dessie Bedhane
- <sup>20</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto and Habib Kabetoo
- <sup>21</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Haji Teefo Bedhane, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhaso
- <sup>22</sup> Abbun Jaaleto Haji Jemal Geleeto and Dessie Bedhane, Habib Kabetoo
- <sup>23</sup> **Gebera** means bride wealth. It also refers to marriage concluded by payment of bridewealth.
- <sup>24</sup> **Wolgera** literally means 'exchange'. It is an alternative form of marriage in which sister or daughter are exchanged.
- <sup>25</sup> Azamach Edao Bedhaso, Haji Jemal Geleeto, Dessie Bedhane and Habib Kabetoo

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<sup>26</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto and Dessie Bedane

<sup>27</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Haji Teefo Bedhane, Azamach Edao Haa'ga, Azamach Edao Bedhaso, Dessie Bedhane, Abbun Jaaleto and Habib Kabetoo.

<sup>28</sup> *geegayoo* is cattle that is given as part of the bridewealth.

<sup>29</sup> *Wijjoo* literally means 'to come together' refers to the association or 'butter bank' of women in the neighborhood aimed at raising butter when a member is in need of large amount of butter for ritual and ceremonial occasions the most important of which is wedding.

<sup>30</sup> For a detailed description of the institutions of *geegayoo* and *wijjoo*, please refer to section five of Chapter seven.

<sup>31</sup> *Debo* is a gathering of men aimed at doing farm activities for one member and then all work for other members in turn until all members are worked for.

<sup>32</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto and Dessie Bedhane, Habib Kabetoo

<sup>33</sup> Among the community, women are not entitled to inherit land or cattle although upon the death of their father, they could be given *obsa* literary means 'that which consoles', which is small token gift from the property of their father. A father gives portions of his land to his sons upon marriage. Upon the death of a father, the eldest son of the first wife assumes this role if he is mature enough to assume this responsibility. If the eldest son of the first wife has not reached maturity, the eldest son of the second wife could cover his position until he becomes old enough. Otherwise, the responsibility devolves on the deceased father's brother who holds the land in trust until his nephews are ready to establish households of their won.

<sup>34</sup> Abbun Jaaleto Haji Jemal Geleeto, Habib Kabetoo and Hassan Bedhane

<sup>35</sup> Sheikh Hassen Faaro and Imam Ahemed Awel

<sup>36</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Haji Teefo Bedhane, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhaso

<sup>37</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Haji Teefo Bedane, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhaso

<sup>38</sup> Abbun Jaaleto, Haji Jemal Geleeto, Dessie Bedane and Azamach Edao Haa'ga

<sup>39</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Haji Teefo Bedane, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhaso

<sup>40</sup> Dalu Tiibesso, Bedhaso Shendo, Tuufarii Kabeto, Adam Lemecha

<sup>41</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Haji Teefo Bedane, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhaso

<sup>42</sup> Dalu Tiibesso, Bedhaso Shendo, Tuufarii Kabeto, Adam Lemecha

## **Chapter Four**

<sup>43</sup> Ato Eshetu Mamo who taught physics at both schools shared this information.

<sup>44</sup> Mohamed Gamedo and Argo Hiso

<sup>45</sup> ACCESS education is an initiative of the RCWDA that aims at providing non-formal primary education to children in the Rift Valley region of Oromia who could not join the formal schools because the schools are

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not available in close proximity to their villages. The program was first launched at a Kebele in Adami Tulu Woreda called Anano in 1995/1996 and has been expanding its coverage in other Kebeles. It now has seventeen ACCESS centers in various Kebeles, two of which are in Woyisso.

<sup>46</sup> Access Center is the venue for Access education. It can be under a tree, homes of community members, Mosques or other public places. It may also be a facility built particular for the purpose of delivering an Access education.

<sup>xlvi</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Haji Teefo Badhaanee, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhasoo

<sup>xlvi</sup> Abbiyoo Baadhaanee and Hami Jamal Geleto

<sup>xlvi</sup> The Sabri Development Institute is an educational institute inspired by the teachings of the Baha'i religion. According to the Co-ordinator, its aim is "learning to apply the Baha'i teachings in social and economic development'. Its interventions in Woyisso and a few other Kebeles in the Woreda are in the areas of developing human resource for the expansion and consolidation of the Baha'i religion, literacy and primary health care education. In accordance with the Baha'i ideology that people should be active protagonists of their own development, it attempts to promote involvement of the grassroots in the educational processes it endeavors to initiate together with the local community. The involvement of the grassroots is sought in the development of educational materials, in the development of tutors from among the community who can deliver those materials to fellow members, and in administration of the processes.

<sup>1</sup> Apart from serving as a place of worship and meetings, the Baha'i Center serves as a venue for the various educational activities the Sabri Development Institute runs.

<sup>li</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Haji Teefo Badhaanee, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhasoo

<sup>lii</sup> A non-governmental organization that has promotion of non-formal education as one of its focus.

## **Chapter Five**

<sup>lii</sup> The Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction strategy (2002) is a document that contains "the overall development goals, strategies as well as key sectors strategies and development programs designed to bring about sustainable development and poverty reduction in Ethiopia." It was prepared after a country wide consultation held at Woreda, Regional level.

<sup>liv</sup> *Ramadan* is one of the twelve months of the Islamic calendar during which Muslims are expected to abstain from food and drink from dawn to sunset.

<sup>lv</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto and Dessie Badhaanee, Habib Kabetoo

<sup>lvi</sup> Curriculum has two dimensions to it: overt and covert or hidden. The first is the standard lessons structured into a syllabus and the syllabus into texts. The latter consist of the innumerable lessons that are mediated by the physical and social environment of a particular school. The overt curriculum may be shared by a number of school or all schools in a region or a country but the covert curriculum is specific to a particular school although some similarities could be found between that of different schools.

## **Chapter Seven**

<sup>lvii</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Dessie Badhaanee, Haji Teefo Badhaanee, and Azamach Edao Bedhaso

<sup>lviii</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Haji Teefo Badhaanee, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhaso



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<sup>lix</sup> Haji Jemal Geleeto, Haji Teefo Badhaanee, Azamach Edao Haa'ga and Azamach Edao Bedhaso

## Appendix Two

### Participation of Members of Forty Sample Households in Formal Education

| Code Name of Household Head | Grade level attained | Code Name of wife | Age | Year of Marriage | Grade level attained | Number of Children Dead | No. of Children Alive |    | No. of Married Children |    | No. of Children Above 8 |    |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|----|-------------------------|----|-------------------------|----|
|                             |                      |                   |     |                  |                      |                         | M                     | F  | M                       | F  | M                       | F  |
| 1. A                        | 4                    | K                 | 32  | 1990             | 0                    | 2                       | 1                     | 1  | --                      | -- | 1                       |    |
| 2. B                        | 7                    | 1. G              | 35  | 1978             | 0                    | 1                       | 4                     | 3  | --                      | -- | 4                       | 3  |
|                             |                      | 2. H              | 30  | 1991             | 0                    | 2                       | --                    | -- | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |
| 3. C                        | 5                    | CH                | 21  | 1991             | 0                    | 1                       | --                    | -- | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |
| 4. D                        | 3                    | W                 | 32  | 1983             | 0                    | 1                       | 2                     | 6  | --                      | -- | 2                       | 2  |
| 5. E                        | 3                    | K                 | 25  | 1993             | 0                    | --                      | --                    | 3  | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |
| 6. F                        | 9                    | M                 | 25  | 1996             | 0                    | --                      | 2                     | 1  | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |
| 7. G                        | 0                    | 1.R               | 37  | 1983             | 0                    | --                      | 4                     | 2  | --                      | -- | 1                       | 1  |
|                             |                      | 2.B               | 25  | 1989             | 0                    | --                      | --                    | 3  | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |
| 8. H                        | 1                    | X                 | 18  | 2001             | 0                    | --                      | --                    | -- | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |
| 9. I                        | 0                    | F                 | 34  | 1984             | 0                    | 2                       | 5                     | 1  | --                      | -- | 3                       | 1  |
| 10.J                        | 5                    | T                 | 34  | 1993             | 0                    | --                      | 3                     | 4  | --                      | -- | 1                       | 1  |

| Code Name of Household Head | Grade level attained | Code Name of wife | Age | Year of Marriage | Grade level attained | Number of Children Dead | No. of Children Alive |    | No. of Married Children |    | No. of Children Above 8 |    |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|----|-------------------------|----|-------------------------|----|
|                             |                      |                   |     |                  |                      |                         | M                     | F  | M                       | F  | M                       | F  |
| 11. I                       | 3                    | 1.S               | 38  | --               | 0                    | 1                       | 6                     | 3  | --                      | 1  | 3                       | 3  |
|                             |                      | 2.F               | 22  | 1999             | 0                    | --                      | 1                     | 1  | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |
| 12. J                       | 6                    | B                 | 28  | 1993             | 0                    | --                      | 2                     | 2  | --                      | -- | 1                       | -- |
| 13. K                       | 3                    | 1.L               | 35  | --               | 0                    | --                      | 3                     | 4  | --                      | -- | 2                       | 2  |
|                             |                      | 2.W               | 21  | 1996             | 1                    | --                      | 1                     | 2  | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |
| 14. L                       | 4                    | 1.M               | 46  | --               | 0                    | 2                       | 4                     | 5  | --                      | 1  | 4                       | 3  |
|                             |                      | 2.A               | 45  | --               | 0                    | 4                       | 5                     | 2  | 1                       | -- | 4                       | 1  |
|                             |                      | 3.S               | 34  | 1991             | 0                    | --                      | 2                     | 3  | --                      | -- | --                      | 2  |
| 15. M                       | 5                    | 1.Z               | 32  | 1994             | 0                    | 2                       | 1                     | 1  | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |
|                             |                      | 2.H               | 24  | 2002             | 0                    | --                      | --                    | -- | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |
| 16. N                       | 0                    | R                 | 35  | 1973             | 0                    | 1                       | 3                     | 3  | 1                       | 1  | 3                       | 3  |
| 17. O                       | 6                    | M                 | 27  | 1984             | 2                    | 2                       | 3                     | 2  | --                      | -- | 2                       | 1  |
| 18. P                       | 4                    | K                 | 25  | 1997             | 0                    | --                      | 1                     | 2  | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |

| Code Name of Household Head | Grade Level attained | Code Name of wife | Age | Year of Marriage | Grade Level attained | Number of Children Dead | No. of Children Alive |   | No. of Married Children |    | No. of Children Above 8 |    |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---|-------------------------|----|-------------------------|----|
|                             |                      |                   |     |                  |                      |                         | M                     | F | M                       | F  | M                       | F  |
| 19. Q                       | 0                    | 1.S               | 42  | 1971             | 0                    | --                      | 5                     | 7 | 2                       | 3  | 4                       | 1  |
|                             |                      | 2.A               | 34  | 1985             | 0                    | 1                       | 4                     | 3 | --                      | -- | 2                       | 2  |
|                             |                      | 3.W               | 28  | 1991             | 0                    | --                      | 2                     | 2 | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |
|                             |                      | 4.H               | 22  | 1998             | 0                    | --                      | --                    | 2 | --                      | -- | --                      | -- |

|       |    |     |    |      |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |
|-------|----|-----|----|------|---|----|----|---|----|----|----|----|
| 20. R | -- | D   | -- |      | 0 | -- | 5  | 2 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 21. S | 8  | G   | 28 | 1985 | 0 | -- | 4  | 2 | -- | -- | 2  | -- |
| 22. T | 4  | 1.R | 30 | 1984 | 3 | 3  | 3  | 1 | -- | -- | 2  | 1  |
|       |    | 2.A | 23 | 2000 | 0 | -- | 1  | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 23. W | -- | D   | -- | --   | 0 | -- | -- | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 24. X | 5  | 1.R | 35 | --   | 0 | 1  | 2  | 2 | -- | -- | 1  | 1  |
|       |    | 2.D | 30 | 1983 | 0 | -- | -- | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 25. Y | 0  | 1.K | 38 | --   | 0 | 1  | 8  | 1 | 2  | -- | 7  | 1  |
|       |    | 2.T | 34 | --   | 0 | -- | 2  | 3 | -- | -- | 1  | 1  |

| Code Name<br>of Household<br>Head | Grade<br>level<br>attained | Code<br>Name<br>of wife | Age | Year of<br>Marriage | Grade<br>level<br>attained | Number<br>of<br>Children<br>Dead | No. of<br>Children<br>Alive |    | No. of<br>Married<br>Children |    | No. of<br>Children<br>Above 8 |    |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|-----|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----|-------------------------------|----|-------------------------------|----|
|                                   |                            |                         |     |                     |                            |                                  | M                           | F  | M                             | F  | M                             | F  |
| 26. Z                             | 0                          | 1.F                     | 39  | 1972                | 0                          | 1                                | 2                           | 4  | 1                             | 3  | 2                             | 4  |
|                                   |                            | 2.W                     | 32  | 1982                | 0                          | --                               | --                          | -- | 3                             | -- | --                            | -- |
| 27. AA                            | 0                          | 1.F                     | 40  | 1968                | 0                          | 2                                | 4                           | 1  | 2                             | 1  | 4                             | 1  |
|                                   |                            | 2.M                     | 38  | 1980                | 0                          | 1                                | --                          | 5  | --                            | 1  | --                            | 3  |
| 28. BA                            | 0                          | S                       | 38  | 1982                | 0                          | 2                                | 3                           | 3  | --                            | -- | 1                             | 2  |
| 29. CA<br><br>--                  | 3                          | 1.A                     | 35  | 1982                | 0                          | 1                                | 4                           | 2  | --                            | 1  | 2                             | 2  |
|                                   |                            | 2.E                     | 30  | 1988                | 0                          | --                               | 2                           | 1  | --                            | -- | --                            | -- |
|                                   |                            | 3.A                     | 28  | 1996                | 0                          | --                               | 1                           | 1  | --                            | -- | --                            | -- |
| 30. DA                            | 1                          | R                       | 28  | 1985                | 0                          | 2                                | 4                           | 2  | --                            | -- | 2                             | -- |
| 31. EA                            | 3                          | 1.A                     | 38  | 1975                | 0                          | 1                                | 4                           | 6  | 2                             | 2  | 3                             | 4  |
|                                   |                            | 2.F                     | 37  | 1985                | 0                          | 3                                | 1                           | 1  | 1                             | 1  | 1                             | 1  |
| 32. FA                            | 0                          | 1.H                     | 40  | --                  | 0                          | 3                                | 4                           | 3  | 2                             | 3  | 4                             | 3  |
|                                   |                            | 2.F                     | 34  | --                  | 0                          | --                               | 4                           | 2  | --                            | -- | 3                             | -- |

| Code Name<br>Household<br>Head | Grade<br>level<br>attained | Code<br>Name<br>of wife | Age | Year of<br>Marriage | Grade<br>level<br>attained | Number<br>of<br>Children<br>Dead | No. of<br>Children<br>Alive |    | No. of<br>Married<br>Children |    | No. of<br>Children<br>Above 8 |    | NO of<br>Children<br>Going to<br>School |    | No of C<br>Discont<br>School |   |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|-----|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----|-------------------------------|----|-------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------------|----|------------------------------|---|
|                                |                            |                         |     |                     |                            |                                  | M                           | F  | M                             | F  | M                             | F  | M                                       | F  | M                            | F |
| 33. GA                         | 4                          | 1.A                     | 46  | 1975                | 0                          | 8                                | 4                           | 4  | 1                             | -- | 2                             | 1  | 1                                       | 3  | 1                            |   |
|                                |                            | 2.M                     | 38  | 1983                | 0                          | 4                                | 3                           | 1  | --                            | 1  | 2                             |    | 2                                       | -- | --                           |   |
|                                |                            | 3.H                     | 25  | 1992                | 0                          | 3                                | 3                           | -- | --                            | -- | --                            | 1  | --                                      | 1  | --                           |   |
| 34. HA                         | 0                          | 1.R                     | 43  | --                  | 0                          | --                               | 2                           | 2  | --                            | -- | 1                             | -- | --                                      | -- | --                           |   |
|                                |                            | 2.W                     | 38  | --                  | 0                          | --                               | 4                           | -- | 2                             | -- | 4                             | -- | 1                                       | -- | 3                            |   |
| 35. IA                         | 3                          | SH                      | 42  | 1977                | 0                          | 4                                | 3                           | 4  | --                            | -- | 1                             | 3  | 2                                       | 3  | --                           |   |
| 36. JA                         | 5                          | S                       | 25  | 1987                | 2                          | 3                                | 3                           | 1  | --                            | -- | 1                             | -- | 1                                       | -- | --                           |   |
| 37. KA                         | --                         | SA                      | --  | --                  | 0                          | --                               | 2                           | 2  | --                            | -- | 1                             | -- | 1                                       | -- | --                           |   |
| 38. LA                         | 0                          | 1.F                     | --  | 1961                | 0                          | 1                                | 2                           | 1  | 1                             | 1  | 2                             | 1  | --                                      | -- | 1                            |   |
|                                |                            | 2.G                     | 40  | 1980                | 0                          | --                               | 1                           | 7  | --                            | 1  | 1                             | 2  | 1                                       | 3  | --                           |   |
| 39. MA                         | 0                          | SH                      | 40  | --                  | 0                          | 15                               | 4                           | 6  | 2                             | 1  | 2                             | 1  | 2                                       | 4  | 2                            |   |
| 40. NA                         | 0                          | 1.M                     | 28  | 1992                | 0                          | 5                                | 1                           | 4  | --                            | -- | --                            | 1  | --                                      | 2  | --                           |   |
|                                |                            | 2. K                    | 21  | 1994                | 0                          | 5                                | 3                           | 3  | --                            | 1  | 3                             | 2  | 3                                       | 1  | 2                            |   |

### Appendix Three

#### Number of Students Enrolled in Various Grade Levels at Woransa Junior High School from 1995 - 2003

| Grade<br>Level | 1995/1996 |    |       | 19 96/1997 |    |       | 1997/1998 |    |       | 1998/1999 |     |       | 1999/2000 |     |       | 2000/2001 |     |       |
|----------------|-----------|----|-------|------------|----|-------|-----------|----|-------|-----------|-----|-------|-----------|-----|-------|-----------|-----|-------|
|                | M         | F  | Total | M          | F  | Total | M         | F  | Total | M         | F   | Total | M         | F   | Total | M         | F   | Total |
| 1              | 120       | 10 | 130   | 138        | 24 | 162   | 176       | 65 | 241   | 276       | 121 | 397   | 315       | 190 | 505   | 156       | 89  | 245   |
| 2              | 61        | 3  | 64    | 106        | 7  | 113   | 88        | 13 | 111   | 101       | 27  | 128   | 187       | 74  | 261   | 224       | 114 | 238   |
| 3              | 62        | 2  | 64    | 72         | 4  | 76    | 72        | 4  | 76    | 103       | 7   | 110   | 116       | 45  | 161   | 152       | 71  | 223   |
| 4              | 26        |    | 26    | 61         | 2  | 63    | 52        | 2  | 54    | 68        | 4   | 72    | 86        | 10  | 96    | 100       | 32  | 132   |
| 5              | 18        |    | 18    | 28         |    | 28    | 52        | 2  | 54    | 83        | 3   | 86    | 91        | 5   | 96    | 99        | 12  | 111   |
| 6              | 27        |    | 27    | 18         |    | 18    | 25        |    | 25    | 53        | 2   | 55    | 69        | 1   | 70    | 54        | 5   | 59    |
| 7              |           |    |       |            |    |       |           |    |       |           |     |       |           |     |       |           |     |       |

|   |     |    |     |     |    |     |     |    |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |      |
|---|-----|----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|------|
| 8 |     |    |     |     |    |     |     |    |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |      |
|   | 314 | 15 | 329 | 423 | 37 | 460 | 465 | 86 | 561 | 684 | 164 | 848 | 864 | 325 | 1189 | 785 | 323 | 1008 |

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## Appendix One

### Survey on the Economic Status of 40 Sample Households

| Code Name of Household Head | Age | Clan      | Cattle | Sheep | Goat | Donkey | Horse | Land in Hectare |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----------|--------|-------|------|--------|-------|-----------------|
| 1. A                        | 31  | Habernosa | 5      | --    | 4    | --     |       | 1.5             |
| 2. B                        | 45  | Abeyi     | 13     | --    | 6    | --     |       | 3               |
| 3. C                        | 20  | Abeyi     | 15     | --    | 2    | --     |       | 2               |
| 4. D                        | 35  | Abeyi     | 8      | 2     | 2    | 1      |       | 1               |

|       |    |           |    |    |    |    |  |      |
|-------|----|-----------|----|----|----|----|--|------|
| 5. E  | 25 | Abeyi     | 21 | -- | 6  | 2  |  | 1    |
| 6. F  | 20 | Habernosa | 10 | -- | 4  | 1  |  | 0.75 |
| 7. G  | 45 | Gatura    | 15 | -- | 6  | 2  |  | 3    |
| 8. H  | 20 | Gatura    | 5  | -- | -- | -- |  | 0.33 |
| 9. I  | 41 | Gatrura   | 3  | -- | 2  | -- |  | 2    |
| 10. J | 30 | Habernosa | 15 | -- | 7  | 1  |  | 1    |
| 11. K | 45 | Habernosa | 35 | -- | 8  | 2  |  | 2    |
| 12. L | 29 | Habernosa | 16 | -- | 1  | 1  |  | 1.5  |
| 13. M | 36 | Habernosa | 41 | -- | 4  | 1  |  | 2.5  |
| 14. N | 59 | Habernosa | 40 | -- | 6  | 3  |  | 4    |
| 15. O | 34 | Habernosa | -- | -- | 15 | -- |  | 1    |
| 16. P | 52 | Asira     | 4  | -- | 3  | 1  |  | 3    |
| 17. Q | 32 | Habernosa | 10 | -- | 7  | 2  |  | 2    |
| 18. R | 27 | Habernosa | 3  | -- | 1  | 1  |  | 1    |
| 19. S | 50 | Habernosa | 50 | -- | 10 | 2  |  | 4    |
| 20. T | 32 | Habernosa | 10 | -- | 5  | 1  |  | 3    |
| 21. U | 30 | Asira     | 11 |    | 12 | 1  |  | 1.5  |
| 22. V | 26 | Habernosa | 13 | -- | 4  | -- |  | 4    |

| <b>Code Name of Household Head</b> | <b>Age</b> | <b>Clan</b> | <b>Cattle</b> | <b>Sheep</b> | <b>Goat</b> | <b>Donkey</b> | <b>Horse</b> | <b>Land in Hectare</b> |
|------------------------------------|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|------------------------|
| 23. W                              | 29         | K'oma       | 7             | --           | 5           | 2             |              | 1.25                   |
| 24. X                              | 33         | K'oma       | 25            | 10           | 15          | 5             |              | 3                      |
| 25. Y                              | 40         | D'ubo       | 50            |              | 8           | 4             |              | 4                      |
| 26. Z                              | 65         | D'ubo       | 10            | --           | 10          | 1             |              | 2                      |
| 27. AA                             | 66         | Habelosa    | 10            | --           | 10          | 3             |              | 5                      |

|        |    |           |    |    |    |   |  |      |
|--------|----|-----------|----|----|----|---|--|------|
| 28. BA | 44 | Habelosa  | 7  | -- | 6  | 1 |  | 1.25 |
| 29. CA | 36 | Habelosa  | 12 | -- | 6  | 2 |  | 4    |
| 30. DA | 37 | Habernosa | 6  | -- | 10 | 1 |  | 2    |
| 31. EA | 50 | Habelosa  | 20 | -- | 15 | 3 |  | 4    |
| 32. FA | 55 | Gatura    | 25 | -- | 10 | 1 |  | 4    |
| 33. GA | 46 | Gatrura   | 30 | -- | 30 | 3 |  | 6    |
| 34. HA | 66 | Gatura    | 9  | -- | 5  | 1 |  | 2    |
| 35. IA | 48 | Habernosa | 5  | -- | -- | 1 |  | 4    |
| 36. JA | 34 | Asira     | 4  | -- | -- | 1 |  | 3    |
| 37. KA | 28 | Oliye     | 6  | -- | 5  | 1 |  | 1    |
| 38. LA | 57 | Habernosa | 5  | -- | 3  | 1 |  | 4    |
| 39. MA | 87 | Habernosa | 3  | -- | 4  | 2 |  | 2    |
| 40. NA | 60 | Habernosa | 4  | -- | 2  | 1 |  | 3    |