Parental Understanding of Educational Quality and its Relationship to School Choice

A comparative study of private and public schools in Gullele Sub-city-Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Yoseph Gizaw Denbi

Faculty of Educational Sciences

UNIVERSITETET I OSLO
June 2019

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ABSTRACT

The concept of quality has been at the forefront of the education agenda for decades. In the *Sustainable Development goals* era the importance of quality of education has been underscored by international organizations, such as UNESCO, the World Bank, UNDP and others. Similarly, governments of respective nations increasingly understand the significance of quality of education and its implication for growth and development. Thus the global focus has changed from access to education to improving quality of education at all levels.

The Ethiopian government also has put in place a program to increase the quality of education provided to pupils at all levels. However, there is a discrepancy in the understanding of what quality of education entails not just in Ethiopia but also among the most authoritative international organizations and educational experts. As the most responsible stakeholders to choose the type of education provided to their children parents often wish to obtain the best quality of education. However, choosing the specific school is a relatively new task for parents in Ethiopia since education was liberalized only less than 3 decades ago and choices remain limited.

By employing a qualitative research design and using interviews with parents as a method of data collection this study uncovers the importance of quality in the decision making concerning school choice by parents. Financial issues and ethical standards of schools are pointed out as particularly influential factors affecting school choice. Furthermore, despite different understandings of the concept of quality of education, participants in the study express a high level of satisfaction with the school choices they have made.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to all the teachers I had, and to the memory of my father; *the best teacher I ever had.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Acronyms

ADLI   Agricultural-Development-Led-Industrialization

EFA   Education for All

EPRDF   Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

ESDP V   Education Sector Development Programme

ETP   Education and Training Policy

GEQIP   General Education Quality Improvement Program

MOE   Ministry of Education

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

TQM   Total Quality Management

UDHR   Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN   United Nations

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF   United Nations Children's Fund

UPE   Universal Primary Education

WB   World Bank

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

The goal of achieving universal primary education (UPE) has been on the international

agenda since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) affirmed, in 1948, that

elementary education was to be made free and compulsory for all children (UNESCO, 2005, p.

19). However, since the Education for All (EFA) movement was launched in 1990 and followed

up in 2000 by the Dakar Framework for Action on EFA, there has been a gradual increasing

awareness of the importance of a focus on the quality of education at all levels (UNESCO,

2005).

Goal 2 of the Dakar Framework for Action commits nations to the provision of primary

education of good quality. Goal 6 includes commitments to improve all aspects of education

quality, so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in

literacy, numeracy and essential life skills. Since, how well students are taught and how much

they learn are likely to have a crucial impact upon the length and value of their schooling

experience (UNESCO, 2004).

Recent trends, especially over the past decade, indicate that quality of education is increasingly

regarded as the key issue in education. Quality of education is principal in the discourse on

education and development since the global focus has now changed from access to quality with

the fundamental belief that achievement in access depends on the quality of education

(UNESCO, 2015a; UNESCO, 2005). In this regard, the challenge so far has been integrating

access with quality (UNESCO, 2015a). Thus, improving quality and learning is likely to be more central to the post-2015 global development framework. Such a shift is vital to improve educational opportunities for the 250 million children who are unable to read, write, or do basic mathematics. Of these 130 million are in school (UNESCO, 2014).

Ever since the launch of EFA in 1990 in Jomtien at the World Conference on EFA, there has been a global commitment to quality of basic education for all children, youth and adults. The declaration identified quality as a prerequisite to achieving equity (UNESCO, 2004). In 2000, this commitment was reaffirmed in Dakar at the World Education Forum which resulted in the Dakar Framework for Action of which two goals (goals 2 and 6) entrust nations to the provision of primary education of good quality, and to improve all of its aspects (UNESCO, 2004).

As realized in 2015, these goals were not met, particularly by some of the poorest countries of the world (UNESCO, 2015a). The global educational goal of the new Sustainable Development agenda in the post millennium development era is to focus on quality of education. Goal 4 of the agenda emphasizes that the *provision of inclusive and equitable quality of education* is a prerequisite for positive learning outcomes needed to attain sustainable development. The focus is on the skills of literacy and numeracy, problem-solving, and cognitive, interpersonal and social skills (UNESCO, 2014).

However, despite such focus by both the international community and individual nations quality of education remains an elusive and debatable concept to academicians and others. As in any other field, the views of the academic community and the public are often not in unison. Hence, many find it difficult to develop fitting quality improvement strategies. To this day, a difference of views exists with the public on what quality is and the ways it is manifested. The relative

agreement comes in the form of acknowledging that quality is a concept so murky and complicated that it is not easily understood or measured.

In the academic world, various views exist on what quality of education is. The predominant ones are the behaviorist, humanist, critical, and constructivist views. The behaviorist view employs a sort of objective interpretation of quality which stresses an economistic view by defining quality of education in relation to quantitative learning outcomes and cognitive achievements of students/learners. In contrast the humanist approach employs a relativist interpretation of quality viewing education as a process (Barrett, Duggan, Lowe, Nikel, & Ukpo, 2006).

Critical theory defines quality and the effectiveness of education as value transmission (UNESCO, 2004). The constructivist tradition views quality as students actively constructing their own knowledge of the surrounding world based on their very own experiences (Young & Marks Maran, 1998).

As key stakeholders in the agenda to ensure global quality of education, multi-national, international and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Bank (WB), and many aid agencies maintain their own views and operational definitions of what quality of educational is.

In fact bilateral and multilateral organizations and international and national NGOs have an increasing influence on efforts to improve quality. Non-governmental actors, the private sector and civil society in collaboration with national governments have played a key role in this

regard. Some of these organizations view quality in relation to the issue of human rights (Yodit, 2009; UNICEF, 2007).

Education is an important indicator of development and a sign of the quality of growth in a given society. Attacking poverty and sustaining development is unthinkable without sound education systems. The centrality of education as a core and principal engine for development and nation building is, therefore, unquestionable. However, in Ethiopia, despite a long history of education and a century old history of modern schooling, the education system remains far behind expectations (Seboka, 2003, p. 5). The UN's Education index consistently ranks Ethiopia at the bottom of the list of countries compared (UNICEF, 1999).

Since the introduction of a relatively liberal economy in 1991 (Feyissa, 2009), the private education sector in Ethiopia, particularly in the city of Addis Ababa, has emerged and flourished as a business in response to excess demand for quality of education. The present trend shows that the demand for private schooling substantially exceeds the supply. The number of private schools and enrollment figures have risen rapidly over the last two decades (Seboka, 2003).

In 2001/02 the number of privately owned and managed schools in Addis Ababa accounted for 98% of pre-primary, 78% of primary, 53% of secondary, 41% of technical and vocational schools, and 67% of college level education in the city of Addis Ababa. This compares to almost nil in 1994 (Seboka, 2003, p.3). Parents have shown a reasonable degree of satisfaction with student performance, safety, discipline and school climate in private schooling (Seboka, 2003).

Quality, among many factors, can influence parental choice to invest in children's education and/or their school choice. Theories, such as market theory and rational choice theory, provide explanations on the multitude of factors that influence school choice. However, how and why

parents choose a particular high school for their children and if parental choice is influenced by their perceptions of quality of education in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia is yet to be well studied.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Public intervention in education has been justified on several counts, especially with regards to equity. However, there is a strong feeling that public spending on education is often inefficient and inequitable as seen in the century old history of modern education in Ethiopia. According to Seboka (2003), when examining the delivery of educational services people at large rarely think of the benefits entailed in the provision of private education. Many people believe that only the government can provide educational services to the public.

However, besides complementing state-run education by expanding educational opportunities overall, private schools can free public resources, sharpen innovation in the classroom, and provide new scope for high standards of education on a competitive basis (Seboka, 2003). As a result, in recent years attention has been given to what has come to be known as the education industry; consisting of schools, services and products (Stokes, 1999). Yet, despite these benefits, private investment in education contributes very little in Ethiopia. The provision of education in Ethiopia was and still mainly is monopolized by the state and the opportunity for school choice is very limited. This is despite article 26 sub-article 3 of the UDHR which states that parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children (UN, 1948).

Education has been considered as society's best investment for quite some time (Psacharopoulous, 1994). Several studies have shown the social and private rates of return to education as being rewarding. For example, the economic rates of return to primary and secondary education are estimated at or above 10 percent a year compared to what the same

person would have earned without education. Despite the importance and benefits of education, access to educational opportunities of quality is limited to the few, especially in the developing world of which Ethiopia is a part (Psacharopoulous, 1994)

Free public schools in Ethiopia may encourage more children to enroll. But they may also make children less likely to become literate, complete primary school, proceed to secondary schools and enter paid employment. Therefore, dropout and repetition rates are likely to increase with fewer students completing primary education and attaining a basic level of education. The current class size in public schools in Ethiopia has put a strain on schools, teachers, and educational materials, resulting in lower quality of education (Oumar, 2009).

Lately, there has been a public outcry that Ethiopian public schools lack quality of education and that private schools are very expensive, thus unimaginable - let alone affordable - to most people (Seboka, 2003). Public schools are said to have poor infrastructure/facility, teachers lack experience and classrooms are over-crowded, which, according to the fifth Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP V) need to be addressed in order to improve quality of education nationwide (Ministry of Education, 2015). On the other hand, Seboka, (2003) claims private schools are increasingly emerging as an alternative to public schools even though there is not much evidence to support the popular claim that private schools provide better quality of education. Parents have shown a reasonable degree of satisfaction with student performance, safety, and discipline and school climate in private schooling.

 Seboka (2003) further claims that there still seems to be an unmet demand for private education as evidenced by the long waiting list for admission, indicating a widespread desire of parents for private schooling. Many parents in urban areas have opted to send their children to private schools spending much money each year in the hope of better quality of education.

The mere difference in classroom size and facility does not, however, guaranty quality of education. Moreover, the fact that more private schools are being opened and that more students are joining private schools does not mean that parents choose them only due to quality concerns.

It is common nowadays to see a series of aggressive advertisements for private schools in Addis Ababa months prior to the start of a new school year (Ethiopian Reporter, 2014). Most of these advertisements capitalize on quantifiable, yet mostly statistically vague achievements of their respective institutions. The way they announce that they provide quality of education varies. Some choose to advertise the quality of the infrastructure to attract and admit new students for the coming year. Others use the performance of previous classes of students in national standardized examinations. Yet others point to the level of recognition from local or federal government education agencies by emphasizing the standard accreditation process which each private school must undergo before getting a permit to be operational. The number of years of experience is another factor that private schools use to promote themselves whereas others again choose to emphasize tuition fee and affordability (Ethiopian Reporter, 2014).

The mentioned differences may have arisen from the different market strategies adopted to attract students, i.e. the need to stand out and win as much market share as possible in a competitive market for education. These marketing and advertisement strategies are not practiced by the public schools. The strategies employed by the private schools make a multitude of information and options available for parents when choosing a school for their children. Moreover, tuition fees, transportation, proximity, minimum admission requirements and many more factors play a part in the daunting decision making of school choice. Hence, it is difficult to single out one particular factor that represents a collective societal understanding of the quality

of education that parents consider when choosing a school or if quality of education is the most important reason for their choice at all.

The societal understanding of quality of education and how it influences school choice is not well researched. This study aims to contribute to filling this gap by way of a comparative analysis between private and public schools in the city of Addis Ababa and the importance of quality of education for parental school choice. To achieve this aim, the study focuses on parental understanding/perception of quality of education and its relation to school choice of a private or a public school respectively.

1.3 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

This thesis aims to contribute to the emerging discussion of the need for quality in Ethiopian education. It is designed to help uncover the understandings of quality in private and public schools. More importantly, it seeks to identify the significance of quality of education as a factor for school choice by parents which ultimately has significant implications for policy. In order to achieve these, the study focuses on the quality considerations of parents.

The specific objectives of the paper are reflected in the following guiding research questions:

1. How and why did parents choose the high school they chose for their children?

2. Is parents' understanding of quality of education related to their school choice decision?

3. How satisfied are parents with the choice they made for their children with regards to quality of education?

1.4 Organization of the Study

The study has been organized into five chapters. After the introduction in this first chapter, the second chapter contextualizes the study in Ethiopia. It focuses on the socio-political context and

outlines the educational policies under different governments. The emphasis is on clarifying the understanding of quality of education at different times.

The third chapter presents the analytical framework employed in this study. It consists of discussions of the concept of education quality, theories of school choice, the private-public school divide and the ESDP V of the Ministry of Education (MOE). Elements are drawn from the conceptual discussion and tied together in the specific framework of analysis that guides the study.

The fourth chapter addresses the methodological aspects of the study, including the research design, methods used, data collection mechanisms, sampling and analysis. It also addresses issues of reliability and validity, and ethical considerations.

The fifth chapter presents the findings of the data collected which are first descriptively presented and then analyzed and interpreted in light of the literature review and the analytical framework.

The final summary and conclusion chapter summarizes the core findings and interpretations, and discusses their implications for policy makers and for further research.

Chapter Two

Education Policy and Quality of Education in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is an East African/Horn of Africa country with more than 104 million citizens making it the second most populous country on the continent next only to Nigeria. With more than 3,000 years of independent history and with more than 80 languages and ethnic groups, it is known to be a vibrant nation with a long history of traditional and church education. It is one of the first countries outside of the Middle-East to accept both Christianity and Islam (Munro, 1991). According to the latest (2007) national census, 43.5% of the population is Christian and 34% is Muslim (Ethiopian Central Statistical Agency, 2007).

Since the coming to power of the Ethiopian People's Republic Democratic Front (EPRDF) in 1991, Ethiopia has become a federation of nine states (Tigray, Amhara, Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz, Somali, Oromia, Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples, Gambella, Harari) and two city administrations (Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa) (Figure 2.1). These are organized according to settlement patterns, language, and identity. Amharic, which is the only African language with its own alphabet, is the official working language of the Federal government (FDRE, 2004).

Since the first education policy was formally adopted in 1940, Ethiopia has gone through three forms of government, each with a different education policy. The first one was the Emperor Haile Selassie I regime that lasted until 1974. The second was the socialist system during the years 1974-1991, and the third one is the current federal system which started in 1994 governed by the EPRDF (Bekele, 2004).

Figure 2.1 Ethiopian Administrative Map

Source: https://www.researchgate.net

2.1 Socio-Political Background of Ethiopia

Ethiopia is often referred to as the oldest independent African nation due to the fact that it was never colonized (Bekele, 2004). The economy remains mainly agrarian with more than 85% of the population reliant on subsistent farming and/or animal husbandry (FDRE, 2004). Agricultural products remain the top commodities for foreign exports, including coffee, flowers, vegetables, and sugar (Bekele, 2004).

Since the end of the monarchy in 1974, Ethiopia was led by a communist military junta for 17 years until the year 1991 when a liberal economy was introduced. Since then, the country engaged in massive economic and political decentralization aimed to achieve sustainable economic development. This strategy was mainly manifested in the construction of massive physical infrastructure and development of human resources. This took place especially after the

end of the border dispute with neighboring Eritrea in 2000,- the result of which was a 2 year bloody war that took the lives of more than 70,000 people and caused a delay in the development of projects in both nations alike (Lata, 2003).

In the post Ethio-Eritrean war era, the Ethiopian economy registered an annual growth rate of 11.8% between 2004 and 2007 (McCormac, 2012). This growth continued at 10% annually until 2014. However, it gradually decreased since 2015 mainly due to climate change and subsequent drought in some regions of the country (Ethiopian Reporter, 2016).

During the years 2015 to 2018, Ethiopia has experienced violent anti-government protests, mainly in the Oromia and Amhara regional states, which started as a result of a disputed master plan to expand the borders of the capital city into Oromia regional state in November 2015 (Ethiopian Reporter, 2018). These anti-Master plan protests quickly turned into a demand for political freedoms as a result of which the Prime Minister resigned in early February 2018 (Stratfor, 2016).

Currently, Ethiopia is undergoing unprecedented political and economic reforms. Although, the ruling party and its underlying manifesto has not changed there has been reforms in many sectors including human rights, political freedom, media freedom, gender equality and others (BBC, 2018). Moreover, the new administration has indicated that a major policy shift will take place in the coming years, one of them being the education policy which is under development at the time of writing this thesis. When completed, this policy will be the second one of the EPRDF era.

The following section focuses on the context of education and education policies of the three governments of Ethiopia from the imperial regime to the current EPRDF. These policies are mainly discussed from a quality of education perspective. The education policy called "Finote

Karta" which is currently under development is not included as its details have not yet been made public.

2.2 Modern Education in Ethiopia

According to Begna (2017) the advent of modern education in Ethiopia has its background in political and religious reasons rather than national development. It refers to the introduction of missionary schools for religious education in some parts of Ethiopia before the modern state education made its entry. Negash (1996) states that the first modern school, the Menilik II School, was created for training Ethiopians to be educated in European languages since the possession of such skills was considered vital for the country's independence.

The notion that linked education to national development began in the 1920s. Negash (1996) quotes Regent Taffari Mekkonnen's (later Emperor Haile Selassie I) speech of 1928 to argue that from this period onwards, the modern school was considered as an institution which possesses the key to fast development. He further argues that after the fall of the imperial regime, the socialist state accepted the task of expanding the education sector in the belief that education held the key to the country's development.

The emergence of the Federalist Government replacing the socialist state has brought the significance of education for development to new heights. Ethiopia's national development strategy under the EPRDF, known as the Agricultural-Development-Led-Industrialization (ADLI) (MOE, 2011), stressed that the essence of national development is to transform Ethiopia into a middle income country by freeing it from poverty by 2025. To such end, the use of science and technology and modern innovations are considered vital instruments of change (MOE, 2010).

2.3 Education Policy during the Imperial Regime, 1941-1973

The administration of Emperor Haile Selassie I was the first regime to transform the traditional church education into a formal one by introducing the first education policy. This, as many would argue, to this day was mainly due to the emperor's own personal belief in the importance of formal education for growth and development (Negash, 2006). This era has been widely considered as the golden age of education in Ethiopia. Some of the achievements are the introduction of incentives and merit based opportunities to join vocational and secondary schools with free accommodation. This resulted in a shortage of schools in the 1940s and 1950s. The year 1950 also marked the establishment of the first higher education institution - the University College of Addis Ababa - on the compound of the Royal Palace which the Emperor himself donated (Haile, 2019).

According to Teferra & Altbatch (2004), in 1960 another education policy was introduced which also greatly focused on technical and vocational training provided alongside formal education, a strategy many support to this day. During this era, the challenges were shortage of schools, of qualified teachers, financial constraints and overcrowded classrooms.

During the imperial era, as Negash (2006) argues, beyond bilateral contributions of countries such as the USA and Sweden, the education policy was also greatly influenced and shaped by international organizations, such as UNESCO and WB with the goal of human capital expansion.

According to Negash, UNESCO suggested that the Ethiopian education policy should emphasize the "role of education in the economic development of the state, with the aim of investment in human capital via the promotion and eventual expansion of the education system" (2006, p. 13). He further states that UNESCO was the most important organization for the Ethiopian education system during the Imperial regime.

Negash underlines that,

> It is important to note that the quality of teaching was far better during the Imperial system of governance than what came to prevail in the succeeding years. At the secondary level for instance most of the teachers were native speakers of English and the pupil-teacher ratio was below 40. It is another matter whether the subjects, especially those dealing with the human and social sciences were responsive to the history and culture of Ethiopia, which they were not. It is also important to note that most of those who currently hold political power received their training during the Imperial era (2006, p. 17).

Begna (2017) corroborates the notion by indicating that historians of Ethiopian education might raise a number of questions as to the policy making capacity of the Ethiopian Imperial government. Furthermore, since the late 1950s, UNESCO, WB and USAID were major partners in the planning of Ethiopian education with UNESCO having the upper hand in assisting the regime. By utilizing the seminal works of Theodore Schultz and F. Harbison on investment in human capital[1], UNESCO indicated the way for developing countries like Ethiopia to expand their educational system (Negash, 2006).

2.4 Education Policy during the Derg Government, 1974-1991

In 1974, the Derg - a committee of military officers - took over the government in a coup after multiple attempts at addressing formal grievances to the Imperial administration (Berhe, 2009). During this era, one of the defining characteristics of the education system was an initiative

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[1] Schultz undertook studies in the USA which showed a direct link between investment in education and increase in income both at the individual and at the collective level. Harbison's works stressed the importance of investment in human capital for development in African nations.

called education for the masses. This was a massive undertaking with politics at the center. Hence, the government did not trust the private sector and as a result schools were the sole responsibility of the public sector (Negash, 2006). Ensuring the right of every citizen to free primary education was of high priority. Thus, the net national enrolment ratio at primary and secondary levels improved much more quickly than during the previous regime. However, quality of education decreased and suffered greatly mostly due to the same bottlenecks as during the Imperial regime, such as scarcity of human and financial resources. Access to education flourished at the expense of quality of education. Moreover, important bilateral relations, such as that with the USA were severed during this era (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012).

Describing the context for education during the Derg era, Neagsh (2006) states:

> The socialist government worked under the lie that education was the key instrument to inculcate Marxist-Leninist ideology and to produce productive citizens. It portrayed itself as a regime that had done more to spread the benefits of education compared to the Imperial rule that it replaced. It is of course doubtful whether the socialist regime achieved any of its objectives (p. 21).

2.5 Educational and Training Policy of the EPRDF Government: 1991-Present

In 1991, after the long and bloody war with Eritrea, EPRDF - a front of four regionally organized parties - defeated the socialist government and took over the role of administering the country under a transitional government. This lasted until 1994 when EPRDF formally established a government. From the onset, EPRDF prioritized investment in education in the belief that sustainable development relies not only on expansion of access but also on improving quality of

education for all citizens. In 1994 Ethiopia introduced the Education and Training Policy (ETP), the first of its kind.

The ETP played a significant role in fostering the environment in which the private sector could make its own contribution to the education sector as opposed to a non-existent private sector during the Derg regime (Seifu, 2000). One such strategy was that the MOE managed to mobilize external support through bilateral or multilateral agreements to improve the education sector, be it in transfer of knowledge or financial supports to this end. The EPRDF administration has also given significant attention to early childhood care and education as well as the expansion of tertiary education of which the enrolment rate has consistently increased (Negash, 2006).

The ETP gave focus to access, equity, efficiency, quality and relevance of education as central to ensure sustainable development (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). These are considered by UNESCO and UNICEF (2007) as central elements to understanding education from a rights-based approach to education. Yodit (2009) further reinforces this by saying that the ETP pictures basic education as the right of all individuals of the country and that the education system will ensure that the provision and distribution of education are equitable in the different parts of the country and that girls are particularly considered.

Under the ETP, the program called the ESDP, a 20-year education sector plan to be revised every five years, was launched in 1997 (MOE, 2008). The fourth cycle was finalized in September 2015 with the main goal of achieving UPE by 2015.

ESDP I and II concluded with remarkable success in expanding access to primary education. However MOE (2010) stresses that despite achievements in the field of access, quality of education and learning outcomes were nowhere near the aspired levels. In response, the third

phase of the ESDP was launched in 2006 which gave more emphasis to universalizing access to quality of primary education by 2015 and quality of secondary education by 2025.

In 2007, the MOE also introduced the General Education Quality Improvement Program (GEQIP) to improve the quality of education in Ethiopia under the ESDP III. This program has four key areas of improvement: (a) teacher development; (b) curriculum improvement; (c) leadership and management; and (d) school improvement (MOE, 2008). Following improvements in these four key areas, Ethiopia has made considerable strides in ensuring relative quality of education compared to the previous years. It has particularly ensured the availability of more trained teachers, and the decrease in the teacher-pupil ratio from 32:1 in 2004/05 to 16:1 in 2008/09 in early primary education (MOE, 2010).

The ESDP III was not without challenges as well. Despite the aforementioned strides, from the onset of ESDP III challenges related to quality were rampant, yet again mainly due to increased access at all levels of education. Amongst the challenges were that average qualifications of teachers had gone down, there was still a lack of qualified teachers predominantly for mathematics and science subjects, and the availability of teaching and learning/ICTmaterials was poor. Moreover, many schools were constructed from poor materials and the physical environment of schools was not motivating enough to keep students interested in school. Hence, as a combined result of all the aforementioned challenges, student achievement also gradually decreased compared to the previous years (MOE, 2010).

According to MOE (2010), ESDP IV was introduced to address these challenges. It has "a consistent focus on the enhancement of the teaching and learning process and the transformation of the school into a motivational and child-friendly learning environment" (p. 6).

ESDP V started to be implemented in September 2015 with a continued understanding of the importance of quality based on the four key components of GEQIP, namely: quality of teacher and leader development; curriculum; teaching and learning materials; and school improvement initiatives. The GEQIP in the ESDP V has two additional components of quality: the use of ICT; and quality assurance initiatives. However, as mentioned earlier, due to recent political developments a reform in the MOE includes the development of a new education policy which is tentatively called "Finote Karta" (Roadmap). If implemented it would mean the end of the ESDP era.

2.6 ESDP V and the Concept of Quality

In the ESDP V (2015), which is being implemented in the years 2015/16 - 2019/20, the priorities of the ETP remain unchanged:

- o Provide equal opportunities and participation for all, with special attention to disadvantaged groups
- o Deliver quality of education that meets the diverse learning needs of all children, youth and adults
- o Develop competent citizens who contribute to social, economic, political and cultural development through creation and transfer of knowledge and technology
- o Promote effective leadership, management and governance at all levels in order to achieve educational goals by mobilizing and using resources efficiently
- o Assist children, youth and adults to share common values and experiences and to embrace diversity (MOE, 2015, p.31)

In ESDP V, the MOE defines quality based on the four key elements of GEQIP: teacher development; curriculum improvement; leadership and management; and school improvement. MOE (2015) further stresses that the ESDP V maintains a holistic approach to develop the quality of general education by employing the concept of the school effectiveness model.[2]

The first key component in the conceptualization of quality as per GEQIP is that of teacher development which emphasizes that quality relies on greater availability of academically qualified, motivated and ethically trained and experienced teachers. The second key component, curriculum improvement, has to do with re-arranging and constantly updating the content of the curriculum and ensuring the availability of textbooks and teacher guides. The third key component of quality, namely capacity development for education sector planning and management, indicates efforts at building the capacity of federal and regional level strategic planning offices and personnel by increasing human and financial resources (MOE, 2015).

The fourth component of quality is school improvement which aims to ensure that schools achieve minimum quality standards to support effective teaching and learning. In ensuring that schools are healthy and safe environments to foster the young generation, the school improvement components encompass four key aspects of its own. These are: improving an active teaching and learning process; ensuring instructional leadership and management; creating a conducive and attractive learning environment by providing basic operational resources to schools; and encouraging community participation in resource utilization and in school decision making processes (MOE, 2015).

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[2] The school effectiveness mode is a view that sets out to measure education as an output by way of student achievement. Proponents include WB.

In addition one must also be cognizant of two newly added components of quality in the ESDP V: the use of ICT; and quality assurance components. According to MOE, the use of ICT includes efforts at increasing the use of ICT in education by improving, producing and distributing digital education resources and ICT infrastructure at all levels (MOE, 2015). It also includes capacity building with regards to the ICT knowledge and skills of teachers and school administrators to support smooth curriculum delivery. Quality assurance, on the other hand, has much to do with regulations that provide a sort of monitoring and evaluation aspect of the skills of teachers through mechanisms, such as licensing of a school's teaching and learning environment and of overall system performance through regular assessment of student achievement (MOE, 2015).

As mentioned earlier, one of the changes of the ETP was the introduction of the concept of school choice into Ethiopian society since schools and education in general were monopolized during the period of the socialist government.

In commenting on the current regime's progress in achieving quality of education, Negash (2006) states:

> As far as the present Ethiopian federal government is concerned the major problem with the education sector is that it did not expand fast enough. Earlier regimes were accused of either not doing enough (elitism in the case of the Imperial regime) or of trying to use education for ideological goals (the military regime). In the middle of the 1990s, the government had the ambition of achieving 50 per cent net enrolment by 2015. This was considered a very high and rather unrealistic goal given the fact that as early as 1996 net enrolment was slightly over 20 per cent. Then came the UN Millennium Development Goals with their intention, rather than programme, of assisting countries to expand their

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education outreach so as to offer universal primary education by 2015. The Ethiopian

government quickly subscribed to the fulfilment of the UN Development Goals and since

the year 2000 it has revised its strategic documents. The race for the provisioning of

universal primary education is according to government prognoses going very well.

However, the most recent World Bank study has amply demonstrated that the price of

rapid expansion has been the serious decline of the quality of education (p. 37).

2.7 Private Education in Ethiopia

Solomon (1997) cited in Seboka (2003) claims that non-government schools in Ethiopia began to

emerge with the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1906. However, the first official

acknowledgement of non-government schools, including private schools did not surface until the

1940s in Proclamation 1943, Article 27 - a law passed by the Ethiopian parliament (Getachew

and Lulseged, 1996). Subsequently, the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts of the Imperial

government delivered the first clear and detailed regulation of non-government schools by

stating specific terms and conditions for operation of private, mission and community schools in

September 1966 (Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, 1973).

This regulation was, however, short lived as a result of Proclamation Number 54, 1975 by the

socialist government of the Derg regime which outlawed the existence of private schools in

Ethiopia (Getachew and Lulseged, 1996; Seifu, 2000). The seizure and nationalization of all

private schools and the reassigning of their management and ownership to the public sector was

institutionalized soon after.

The door for the re-surfacing of private educational institutions opened when the transitional

government of Ethiopia allowed the establishment of private schools after twenty years in 1995.

The Council of Ministers issued a new regulation entitled the "Licensing and Supervision of Private Educational Institutions as per Article 4 (2) of the definition of Powers and Duties of the Prime Minister under the Council of Ministers' Pursuant to Proclamation Number 2/1991 (Seboka, 2003).

Having laid out the context for education and provided provisional perspectives and understandings of the concept of quality of education and school choice in Ethiopia, the following chapter discusses these key concepts in more depth. The purpose is to arrive at framework for analysis that can help guide the study.

Chapter Three

Framework for Analysis

In this chapter the framework used to analyze the data is presented. It has been developed based on a discussion of the concept of and approaches to quality in various sources and on views of quality of education in different paradigms. It also includes a discussion of theories of school choice, in particular market and rational choice theory, in order to set the issue of school choice by parents in the context of quality of education. It, finally, includes a discussion of the definition of and strategies for quality of education in the ESDP V. Elements from each of the conceptual parts are put together in the framework for analysis that guides the study.

3.1 Historical Origin of Quality in Education

Jain & Prasad (2018) claim that although education is instrumental for the economic development of a country, it cannot be associated merely with quantitative expansion since it is essential to maintain a particular standard of quality in order to generate desired economic results. Policies must consider improvements of all areas, not only increasing enrolments, but also availability of school facilities to students, developing learning skills and initiating efficient teaching-learning practices. This is also the view that ESDP V (2015) underlines. Available literature suggests that the notion of quality considerations evolved in line with industrialization as customers began to demand value for the money they spend (Sallis, 1996).

In this regard, Wadsworth et al. (2002) argued that the focus was more on quality of products. When industrialization enabled mankind to mass produce characterized by division of work into small repetitive tasks, the focus of responsibility for quality shifted from individual workers to

systems in the organizations. The concept of quality control - which was widely implemented until the 1940s - dominated production to prevent defective products from reaching consumers. In the post-World War II era, particularly in the 1960s, another shift was made. This time it was to avoid producing defective products at all. This measure led to the emergence of quality assurance which was followed by the concept of Total Quality Management (TQM) in the 1980s (Deming, 1986).

According to Linston (1999), as social services like education began to receive more public funds governments and communities started to demand quality improvements in order to ensure value added of money spent. This intensified when schools started to compete for students. Eventually the concept of quality was adapted to educational institutions which opened possibilities for reforming them.

3.2 Why is Quality of Education Important?

UNESCO's Global Monitoring Report on EFA (2005) highlights the significance of quality of education delivered in schools in terms of the teaching–learning processes. It relates quality of education to higher life-time incomes/revenue. According to this report, quality of schools enhances students' cognitive skills which directly affect their performance in the labor market in terms of earnings, productivity, and economic growth.

Education is also instrumental for developing desirable non-cognitive results in students such as reliability, honesty, determination, etc. UNESCO (2005a) also argues that the accomplishment of universal participation in education will rely upon the quality of education made available. The influential roles of schooling - helping individuals achieve their own socio-economic and cultural ambitions and eventually helping societies to be better served and protected by its

leaders in more equitable and important ways - will be strengthened if education is of higher quality.

The European Union's report on the quality of school education emphasizes that the highest political priority of all member states should be the issue of quality of education. According to the report:" High levels of knowledge, competencies and skills are considered to be the very basic conditions for active citizenship, employment and social cohesion" (European Commission, 2000, p. 5).

Reddy (2007) claims that globally, school effectiveness or quality has been viewed in terms of cognitive outcomes, i.e. student achievements are easily measured by standardized tests. Although this is indeed the primary concern of schooling, quality should not only be defined in terms of cognitive achievement of children, but also by non-cognitive/affective outcomes, such as attitudes and values, which are critical for the all-round development of every child in a given society.

Hanushek (2002) points out that often studies relate the number of educated individuals to economic growth rates of a country. He considers such a measure of knowledge and cognitive skills of people as being unsophisticated because schooling might not be the real cause of growth but may help other features of the economy that are beneficial to growth. Moreover, research underscores the significance of student achievement and focuses more on personal productivity and income and relates it to faster growth of a country's economy. Hence, an economy's ability to grow over time is partly related to the quality of its education system.

3.3 Quality of Education

Despite the fact that the debate on the concept of quality in the field of education has been around for a very long time, it is difficult to find a universally applied definition of quality of education. The following section reviews the definitions given in various contexts and by different scholars. Broadly speaking, there are two main aspects of quality in education: Quality of the education system as a whole; and quality of what the system offers to the students. According to Jain & Prasad (2018) the first includes the schools, stakeholders and the teaching-learning environment while the latter includes quality of the teaching-learning process and the curriculum.

It is, therefore, not an easy task to define quality of education. Adams (1993) further claims that terms, such as efficiency, effectiveness, equity, and quality have often been used synonymously making it even more difficult to define quality in the context of education.

Sayed (1997) argues that the concept of quality in education is obscure and, while frequently, used it is never truly defined. He further discusses how its multiple meanings reflect different conceptual, social and political values. By reviewing the key approaches to quality of education, he discusses what he calls the value basis of quality of education.

By referring to Bunting (1993) Sayed (1997) declares that quality of education has a bottom line and that line is defined by the goals and values which reinforce the essentially human activity of education. The implication is that this bottom line must serve as the starting point for our understanding of the notion of quality in education so that we do not reify the practice of education and reduce education to a technical activity that is static and unaffected by contextual and contingent circumstances.

Barrett et al. (2006) states that,

It is essential to differentiate between education and schooling when discussing quality of education. Some literature does make this distinction but much of it conflates the two concepts, in some cases using them as though they are completely identical. This is perhaps particularly true amongst those working within the quality management paradigm, where institutional effectiveness commonly becomes a synonym for educational quality (p. 2).

A broad definition of education from Hirst & Peters (1970) is a useful starting point for making the distinction. They describe education as "the development of desirable qualities in people" (p.19). Schooling, on the other hand, is about providing the service of education, i.e. of educating young people through institutionalized and universalized organized learning (Barrett et al., 2006). As a result of the discrepancies in opinion, despite universal provision of basic education being widely considered a major improvement for society and the world in the early 20th century, it remains heavily contested (Harber, 2002).

According to Hoy et al. (2000), quality can be understood as a measurement metrics for the process of education which enhances the need to achieve and develop the talents of the customers and meet the accountability standards set by the clients. To Goddard and Leask (1992) quality could simply be understood as meeting the requirements of customers. They conceptualize different customers for education: parents, government, students, teachers, employers, and institutions - who seek different characteristics of quality.

For Grisay and Mahlck (1991), since education is a service and not a product, its quality cannot entirely be in its final output. Thus they emphasize the need that quality of education be manifested in the process of delivery. According to them, considerations of quality should also include provisions of teachers, buildings, curriculum, equipment, textbooks, and teaching

processes. They further explain that quality of education has three dimensions comprising quality of human and material resources available for teaching (inputs), teaching practices (process), and results (outcomes).

At the 1990 World Conference on EFA, it was noted that to achieve the fundamental goal of equity, quality of education was instrumental in assuring children's cognitive development (Wondimu, 2017). UNESCO's definition of quality of education emphasized lifelong learning and relevance as the most important factors (Delors et al., 1996). In this understanding, education is based on four pillars: Learning to know; learning to focus on what is practical application; learning to live together with equal opportunity to develop; and learning to emphasize the skills needed for individuals to develop their full potential.

UNICEF also strongly emphasizes the desired dimensions of quality which were identified in Dakar. UNICEF (2000) identifies 5 dimensions of quality: learners; environment; content; processes; and outcomes. This is founded on the rights of the whole child, and all children, to survival, protection, development and participation. (UNICEF, 2000). The World Conference on Higher Education (2009) stated that quality criteria must reflect the aim of educating students for critical and independent thought and the capacity for learning throughout life. The criteria should encourage innovation and diversity (UNESCO, 2010).

It is possible to identify two dominant traditions within the quality discourse, which have grown together and are to an extent interdependent (Sayed, 1997). The economist view of education uses quantitative measurable outputs as a measure of quality, for example enrolment ratios and retention rates, rates of return on investment in education in terms of earnings, and cognitive achievement as measured in national or international tests. The progressive/humanist tradition tends to place more emphasis on educational processes. Judgments of quality are based on what

happens in schools and in the classroom. Learning of basic cognitive skills, literacy and numeracy, as well as general knowledge are considered vital to quality (Sayed, 1997).

However, schools are also recognized as places where learners acquire attitudes and cultural values. Hence, characteristics such as learner centered pedagogies (e.g. Prophet, 1995; Ackers and Hardman, 2001), democratic school governance (Karlsson, 2002; Suzuki, 2002) and inclusion (UNESCO, 2004) are included in notions of quality of education.

Each of these contrasting approaches is associated with different international organizations in the field of development. The economist view tends to dominate World Bank thinking on education. The World Bank, as Jones (1992) reminds us, is first and foremost a bank and as such justifies its loans for educational development in terms of public financial returns. Since its inception, UNESCO on the other hand, has viewed education as essential although not sufficient for human development and as having cultural, even spiritual, benefits (Delors & et al., 1996). At the current time this emphasis is realized through its themes of cultural and linguistic diversity in education, inclusive education, peace and human rights education and education for sustainable development. The United Nations has highlighted the first and last of these themes through the institution of an International Mother Tongue day and the declaration of 2005-2014 as the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (UNESCO, 2005).

As a result of the differences of definitions and views on quality of education, different approaches to understanding quality have been developed by different stakeholders. Some of the most dominant approaches to quality of education are briefly discussed in the following parts.

3.4 The Human Capital Approach to Quality

The human capital approach is a modern conceptualization of Adam Smith's thoughts on the economy (Smith, 2005). In line with the behaviorist conceptualization of quality that supports cost-efficiency, high rates of return on investment in education in the form of future earnings, and student achievement as measured in national or international standardized testing (Barrett et al., 2006), advocates of this approach suggest investment in human capital to nurture economic growth, improve social services and production of new knowledge (Olaniyan & Okemakinde, 2008).

This approach has served as a rationale for policy makers to focus on quality of education. The likes of the WB have voiced this approach time and again to explain school effectiveness and improvement frameworks. However, this approach has also been criticized because of its over-emphasis on standardized assessments of cognitive achievements and for being too reliant on educational inputs and outcomes rather than on processes to measure quality (Tikly & Barrett, 2011).

3.5 Rights-Based Approach to Quality

As opposed to the human capital approach, the rights-based approach focuses on rights to, rights in and rights through education (Tomaševski, 2004). The rights-based approach to education can be understood as a 4-A system, the elements of which are: Availability, Accessibility, Acceptability, and Adaptability (Tomaševski, 2003). The rights-based approach advocates equitable access to education for all, provision of quality of education and recognizes the protection of human rights values in the system. It also stresses the concept of relevance in order to fulfill personal and societal needs.

Some (Robeyens, 2006; Tikly, 2011) have criticized the human rights approach because of its over-emphasis on and conceptualization of rights as legally formulated, ratified and implemented at international and state levels. They have also underlined the need to understand human rights in education in relation to different contexts, cultures and experience which greatly affect the pedagogic practices.

3.6 The Social Justice Approach to Quality

The social justice approach upholds elements of both the human capital approach and the rights-based approach. By trying to balance both economic growth and human rights as important elements to guarantee sustainable development, it essentially redefines quality of education. Based on the social justice perspective, quality is defined as one that "Enables all learners to realize the capabilities they require to become economically productive, to develop sustainable livelihoods, to contribute to peaceful and democratic societies, and to enhance wellbeing" (Tikly & Barrett, 2010, p. 1).

According to this view, education of good quality arises from the interaction amongst three inter-related enabling environments: (a) policy, (b) the school, and (c) the home and community. Creating enabling environments requires a mix of inputs and processes that interact to produce desired outcomes (Tikly & Barrett, 2010, p. 1). Based on their extensive theoretical work on education quality developed over a five year period (Barrett et al. 2006; Tikly and Barrett 2007; Tikly and Barrett 2011), , Tikly and Barrett have developed the following analytical framework to understand education quality in developing countries (Figure 3.1).

As appears in Figure 3.1, as regards achieving quality of education through polices, Tikly & Barrett (2010) identify inputs and process that are of importance: (a) suitably trained and

motivated teachers; (b) head-teacher training (school leadership); (c) appropriate textbooks and learning materials; (d) infrastructure and resources; (e) school meals and child health; and (f) early childhood care and education. Furthermore, as displayed in Figure 3.1, the enabling school environment and the enabling home and community environments are characterized by specific indicators and interact with the policy environment to provide a unique and holistic context for understanding quality of education.

Tikly & Barrett (2010) discuss the social justice approach to quality of education employing three important dimensions: inclusion; relevance; and democratic participation. Inclusion is understood as uniform distribution of access to education in school which is tailored to the needs of children in different circumstances regardless of sex, ethnicity and social status. For example, special needs education and how the provision of sanitary facilities impact on education for girls, or school feeding programs. According to the social justice approach, the learning environments should be child-seeking, welcoming, gender sensitive, and protective to ensure good quality of education. Relevance is understood as education to meet personal and societal needs. The democratic dimension addresses participation in school affairs by various stakeholders.

The social justice approach as exemplified by the analytical framework by Tikly and Barrett (2010), puts parents as one of the significant stakeholders to ensure quality of education in the enabling home and community environment and an important part of the quality discourse. Parental involvement, support and decision making in education thus become important elements when discussing private and public education and school choice. In the next part, the nature and distinction of private and public education is presented.
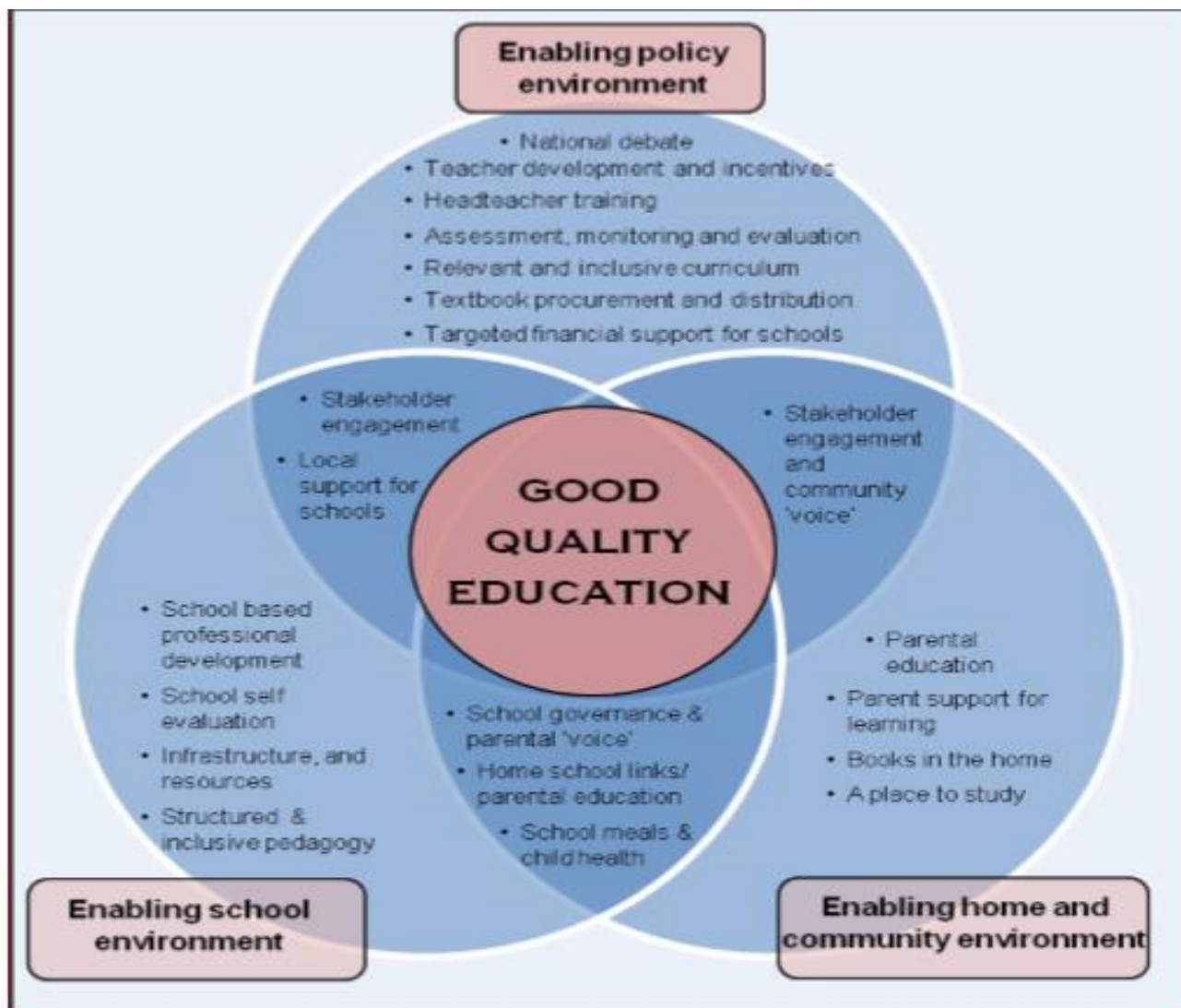
Figure 3.1 Framework for Understanding Educational Quality

Source: Tikly and Barrett (2010)

3.7 Public and Private Education

The distinction between public and private education appears in many studies (Arakelyan, 2005, Bray, 1996, OECD, 2012, Kitaev, 1999, Walberg and Burst, 2003). Usually, public schools are understood as government schools offering education to all children. Private education refers to a variety of formal schools which are outside the public education system (Kitaev, 1999). Kitaev

(1999) identifies 5 types of private education in Sub-Sahara Africa: these are community, religious, spontaneous (bush), profit-making and expatriate private schools.

According to Begna (2017), the reasons for privatization of education and schools may differ in different contexts and countries. But dissatisfaction with the services offered by government schools, access, the pursuit of quality, profit making interests and the desire to lower pressures on existing schools are some of the major reasons. Studies have also shown that many public functions could be performed better, more cheaply and efficiently by the private sector or at least by the public sector using private sector service delivery methods (World Bank, 1995).

The performance of private and public schools has been the subject of comparative analysis in multiple studies (Jimenez, Lockheed & Paqueo, 1991; Bohlmark & Lindhal, 2008; Dronkers & Robert, 2003). Most of them measure school performance using academic achievement in given subjects at a particular level of education. The findings of these types of studies are often similar, showing that students from private schools frequently achieve better than students in public schools. Findings on the potential causes of differences in school effectiveness typically include variables that have a significant influence on students learning (Begna 2017). In this respect, Sammons, Hillman & Mortimore (2000) identified the following eleven factors: professional leadership; shared vision and goals; the learning environment; teaching and learning; purposeful teaching; high expectations; positive reinforcement; monitoring progress; pupil rights and responsibilities; home-school partnerships; and the learning organization.

With particular reference to the conditions that might explain the differences in effectiveness between public and private schools, Dronkers & Robert (2003) included the following conditions: differences in student characteristics and school composition; deliberate school choice; different conditions for teaching-learning and school administration; different school

climates; and a stronger core curriculum. Similarly, Chad & Tan (2008) reviewed factors that influence the effectiveness of private schools versus public schools from practice. The study claims that the reputation of academic programs, school financial support systems, school size, class size, quality of teachers, level of education, special needs education, student admissions, cost, support service, religious affiliation, location, demographic characteristics of students, governance, and teachers' impact and perceptions are the most important factors.

In the central African nation of Chad, private and community schools account for about 15% of total enrollment. In Zimbabwe 94% of the schools are owned and run by the non-governmental sector. In other regions there are similar trends (James, 1991). In Tanzania and Kenya, the provision of private educational services exceeded those in government (public) schools in terms of both enrollment and quality (World Bank, 1995). Seboka (2003) states that experiences of a number of countries show that the private sector has played a significant role in the advancement of education.

Seboka (2003) argues that government intervention in the delivery of educational services is justified since not all members of society can afford the direct and indirect costs of education. If education is left to market conditions, only those who can afford to pay would benefit which may lead to social injustice and under investment. This may further widen income inequalities between the "haves" and "have-nots" (Stokes, 1999; Torres and Mathur, 1995).

Nevertheless, many do not share this view and sternly support private sector provision of education. They advocate that the private sector could address equity issues even better if safety net programs are set in place by governments (Begna, 2017).

Seboka (2003, p. 11) concurs and elaborates in discussing this view:

The adoption of demand side financing mechanisms using voucher systems, scholarships, stipends, competition grants, exemption from certain taxes and other incentive structures are proposed as a policy option for government involvement to support low-income households.

James (1999) cited in (Seboka, 2003) states that,

Countries like Bolivia, Brazil, Pakistan, Peru, Senegal, Japan, Indonesia, Kenya, Liberia, and the Philippines provide partial subsidy in the form of cash grants, low rent buildings or shared facilities, assignment of additional teachers and catering of free training services. Other countries like Jordan, Japan, Republic of Korea, Algeria, Italy and Sweden provide relief from import duties, exemption of property or income taxes, and also arrange low interest rates or guaranteed loans and scholarships for needy students to allow them to attend schools of their choice. Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom, Germany, Lesotho, and Togo pay the salary of teachers as well as provide some recurrent and capital costs to private schools depending up on enrollment (p. 11).

Merrill (1999) estimated educational investment to be at US$2 trillion in 1999 worldwide. As a result, private education is becoming one of the fastest growing sectors around the world. The year 2000 also marked an increased market in education when the World Trade Organization (WTO) signaled the need to recognize trade in educational services and products globally.

In this regard, (Seboka, 2003) states,

The emerging market forces and the contribution of the private sector on its own has thus, begun to force governments to search for appropriate reform options and implementation

strategies for private sector involvement in education. Getting a good private sector involvement in education, therefore, requires genuine partnership, assessment of the market forces, creation of an enabling environment, ensuring greater allocation efficiency, establishment and maintenance of effective supervisory and management mechanisms and support systems to succeed (p. 11).

In the Ethiopian context, ETP claims to have established conditions to encourage and support private investment in education (MOE, 1994). However, there is a view that its implementation has problems and little has been achieved in this direction. Moreover, there seems to exist the view that if the free market principles are pursued, school fees may be go beyond a reasonable price and private education could be turned into an exploitative practice (Seboka, 2003).

Despite the aforementioned bottlenecks to private education in Ethiopia Seboka (2003) found that the disposition of parents to pay for a quality education service was high, but differences in school characteristics, proximity, limited admissions and tuition fees are factors which affect whether or not parents send their children to private schools. .Proponents of both private and public education raise interesting and valid issues and arguments as to what would benefit individuals and societies at large, However, the decision of making the school choice is ultimately left to parents, which raises the issue of how and which form of education to choose.

3.8 School Choice

3.8.1 Market Theory

Support for all forms of school choice, including the public-private choice, has been growing in recent years in Ethiopia (Seboka, 2003). Arguments in favor of greater choice rest on two propositions: that choice would serve to give more control over educational decisions to parents

who in turn would choose good schools for their children; and that competitions between schools for students will help reduce inefficiencies in the delivery of education and, in doing so, improve educational outcomes (Zeichner, 1999). Neal argues that support for giving parents greater discretion over where to send their children to school has recently been growing (1997).

Perhaps the type of choice that provides parents with the greatest freedom of school selection, is the strongest test of competitive market effects on education, and garners the greatest opposition, is the public-private choice (Goldhaber, 1999, p. 19). However, underlying the argument for choice of schools as a virtue are two basic assumptions: one is that some "good" schools deliver education in a more efficient manner than the traditional public schools that are currently perceived, by many, to be failing; the second is that parents know how to and will choose "good" schools (Goldhaber, 1999).

In this regard, Seboka (2003), argues

> The starting point for school choice is the availability of private schooling. School choice
> is believed to increase the efficiency of educational services by encouraging competition
> and sharpening innovations in the sector (p. 2).

Several factors make assessing these claims difficult. For instance, choice proponents (Goldhaber, 1999) often point to private schools as evidence of educational success. On average, private schools have higher standardized test scores, graduation rates, and college matriculation rates than public schools. However, private schools can establish admission criteria such as minimum test scores whereas, in general, public schools must accept all students within specified attendance zones. Private schools also tend to serve students whose parents are more affluent and educated. The bottom line is that it is not immediately clear that differences in performance

between traditional public schools and choice schools are a direct result of the delivery of education, or the result of differences in the backgrounds of public as opposed to private school students. It is also possible for the competition between schools to be on grounds other than academic which may not result in better academic outcomes. For instance, parents may select schools for religious reasons, safety, or student demographics. And, even if competition is based on academics, the free market guarantees efficiency rather than equity (Goldhaber, 1999).

Hargreaves & Fullan, (1998) claim that parental involvement and community are considered paramount in contemporary trends of school improvement and school reform particularly in North America. Advocates of school choice emphasize the notion that private alternatives will revive public education, thus improving overall parental involvement, satisfaction, sense of community and empowerment. They even argue that this will result in improved student achievements (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Driscoll & Kerchner, 1999; Smrerkar & Goldring, 1999)

Proponents of market theory, e.g. Bosetti, argue that,

> A system of school choice will create competition among schools for student enrolment resulting in schools being more responsive to the needs and interests of parents and students by providing different types of programs for different types of families. Competition will result in improved school effectiveness, productivity, and service, leading to higher quality education (2001, p.1).

3.8.2 Rational Choice Theory

While market theory claims that choice helps in improving education systems leading to satisfaction, rational choice theory on the other hand informs the process, plan and decision of most school choices (Bosetti, 2001). It proposes that parents are looking to maximize utility by

making decisions from a perspective of clear value preferences based on cost-benefit analysis, and chances of success of various options available to them. It trusts parents as capable of demanding action effectively from local school administrators and teachers. It stresses that parents can be relied upon to pursue the best interests of their children (Fuller et al., 1996; Goldthorpe, 1996; Bosetti, 1998; Hatcher, 1998).

Wilson (2016) claims that rational choice theory is the most widely used by researchers to understand the school choice process. Based on considerations of extended fields, it suggests that individuals preplan their actions to their greatest advantage. They do this by comparing the cost and benefit of every decision including school choice. While explaining rational choice theory in the context of school choice, Herrnstein (1990) argues that rational choice theory requires parents to be active participants in the school choice process.

Proponents of rational choice theory believe that parents seek out the best school for their children, which they argue is based on academic quality (Chubb & Moe, 1990). With that goal in mind, parents then consider a wide range of schools and filter through information in order to find and select the school with the highest academic quality (Kelly, 2007).

 However parental decision-making is far more complicated than being just the result of individual rational decision making concerned solely with the economic return of investment in particular educational options (Hatcher, 1998). Parental choice is a social process greatly influenced by significant properties such as social class and social networks of parents (Coleman, 1988; Bosetti, 2001).

Coleman (1988, p. 238) claims that "When an individual is faced with important decisions, a rational actor will engage in a search for information before deciding". Ball (2003) counters this

by saying that "parents appear to employ a 'mixture of rationalities' involving an element of 'the fortuitous and haphazard" (p. 23).

In the process of school selection, parents often rely on their values and personalized desired goals, and their social networks to collect information that is necessary for informed choice. If such networks are not available to a parent, without access to relevant and pertinent information, their capacity to make informed choices will surely be limited (Smrekar & Goldring, 1999).

Available literature with empirical evidence on school choice is abundantly and easily available. Much of what is available are theoretical assumptions that mostly span the area of relationship choice vis-à-vis school governance and organizational efficiency (Greene, 2001). Very few empirical studies in the area of school choice tend to focus on whether students who attend private schools show higher achievement than those who attend public schools. Such comparisons are usually limited in scope to test scores in reading and mathematics at the elementary level (Levin, 2000).

However, many disregarded factors that are difficult to measure affect school choice and account for differences among families that select from available schools. This may also account for differences in student achievement/scores (Greene, 2001). Bosetti (2001) states that these "include the level of education of parents, particularly mothers since they are the key decision makers, level of family income, parental involvement in their child's learning, time spent with their children in school related activities, and their values and beliefs about the goals and purpose of schooling" (2004, p. 389).

These two theories - market theory and rational choice theory - when put together form a good framework for understandinging how and why parents make a school choice decision. Thus,

elements of both are incorporated into the analytical framework that guides the analysis of data for this study. The notion expressed in market theory that competition will lead to school effectiveness and subsequently higher level of satisfaction is an important element to observe in light of the data to be analyzed. Moreover, the claim of proponents of rational choice theory which considers that parents play an active role in the education of their children helps in shedding light on the decision making concerning school choice.

3.9 Elements for Analytical Framework

The framework for this study combines elements of social justice thinking related to the concept of quality of education with core understandings of market theory and rational choice theory in order to explore the issue of parental decision making on school choice (Figure 3.2). The social justice approach helps to provide a comprehensive understanding of quality that goes beyond the understanding of identified areas for educational reform in ESDP V.

Unlike the MOE understanding of quality, the social justice approach helps in forming a holistic understanding of quality through its three dimensions of quality of education: inclusion, relevance and democratic participation. These are used for the analysis both of the understanding of parents of the concept of quality in education but also of their reasons for school choice. The elements of quality identified in the ESDP V help place parental understanding of quality of education against that of the MOE definition and priorities.
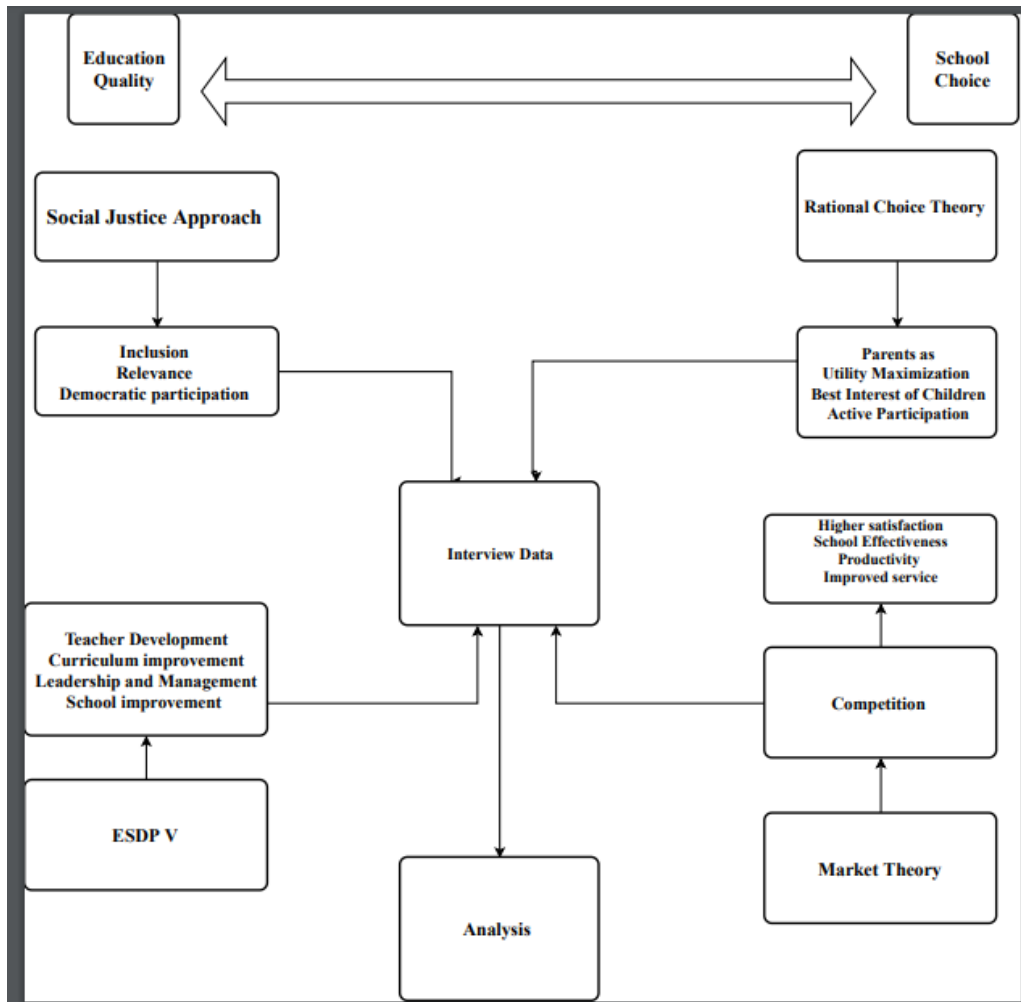
Figure 3.2 Framework of Analysis for the Study

Source: Developed based on Tikly and Barrett (2010), ESDP V (2015), Bosetti (2001)

Market theory is incorporated in the framework because it addresses the issue of competition which in turn addresses the issue of the variety of competitors, both schools and parents, based on a range of factors such as affordability and effectiveness. Rational choice theory is incorporated because, in addition to addressing the cost-benefit analysis of parents before making a school choice, it provides insight into the complexities of school choice related to social class and networks of social relationships.

Put together the social justice approach, the ESDP V, market theory and rational choice theory help to analyze parental understanding of quality and school choice mainly from two perspectives: (a) parental understandings of quality from a broader conceptual point of view; and (b) from the perspective of policy priorities of MoE of Ethiopia.

Chapter Four

Research Design and Methodology

This chapter presents the research design and methodology of the study. It starts with a

discussion of the philosophical assumptions underlying the study. It then explains the principles

adopted and the process for collecting and analyzing the data needed to address the research

questions.

4.1 Philosophical Assumptions

According to Crotty, an epistemological assumption is a way of understanding and explaining

how we know what we know (2003, p. 3). In this respect, this study employs the interpretive

paradigm which, according to Cohen et al. (2007), seeks to understand the subjective world of

human experience. The study begins with individuals and sets out to understand their

interpretations of the world around them. As the study strives to uncover parental understanding

of quality of education and how it relates to their school choice, parents/participants are

considered as active partakers in making sense of their environment. In the context of this study,

participants construct their own knowledge within the environmental context as they are

influenced by their prior knowledge and understanding. The study positions itself within the

constructivist ontological assumption which is a philosophical standpoint that holds the belief

that what is to be studied is a social construction instead of an objective reality.

4.2 Research Strategy

This study employs a qualitative research strategy in order to answer the research questions.

Since the study attempts to uncover the case of private and public education in the context of

quality of education and parental school choice, qualitative descriptive research is employed. Moreover, since the issue of school choice is not well studied in the Ethiopian context, qualitative research is employed to inductively build a new body of knowledge (as per the views of Bryman, 2012).

4.3 Research Site

The study is conducted in Addis Ababa. In addition to being the capital city of the nation, Addis Ababa is also the biggest urban center in the country which makes it one of the few cities in the country where both private and public schools are concentrated in a relatively high number. With an estimated number of 3.5 million residents, the city has great socio-economic power with people from all four corners of the country coming and going in and out of the city every day. Out of the ten administrative sub-cities in Addis Ababa, Gullele sub-city was selected purposefully for this study as it is home to some of the oldest and biggest educational institutions, not just in the city but also in the entire country (Figure 4.1).

From Gullele sub-city two schools – one private and one public, were selected by way of simple random sampling from the list of schools available in the sub-city district education bureau. The private school is the ENAT Secondary and Preparatory school and the public school is the Medhanialem Secondary and Preparatory school. The names are disclosed here with permission from the principals of each of them.

The schools are located roughly 1 km apart, but are exposed to different socio economic and environmental realities. The public school is located in a busy business area surrounded by business establishments whereas the private school is located in a secluded residential area with a quieter environment. The private school has a total of 687 students from mostly middle to higher income families and 28 teachers. It has a five floor building and clean surroundings, two libraries

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and a fully equipped laboratory for practical education. The public school has 1,875 students

from mostly low income and civil servant families, and 67 teachers. It has 27 one floor blocks of

buildings with four libraries and two laboratories. The campus and surroundings of the school

can be described as less than ideal because of visible wear and tear to the buildings, the aging

condition of the facilities and classroom materials etc.

Figure 4.1 Administrative map of Addis Ababa
Source: Addis Ababa City government
Retrieved from http://www.addisababa.gov.et/es/web/guest/gullele-sub-city

4.4 Sampling of Study Participants

A total of 30 participants were selected from the two schools, 15 participants from each equally distributed between men and women (Table 5.1). Parents who had chosen to enroll their children during the two academic years prior to the the study were purposefully selected after being short listed. The short list was developed in consultation with the principals of the respective school. The participants represented different economic, religious, social and age groups which contributed greatly to the attainment of varying views. As can be seen in Table 5.1, private school parents were better educated, with 9 undergraduate degree holders and the other 6 having completed secondary school. In the public school, only 4 parents had undergraduate degrees, 6 had completed high school/vocational school while the remaining 5 dropped out before obtaining a high school diploma.

Most (14 out of 15) of the private school parents were self-employed and one was employed in an NGO. In contrast, 12 of the public school parents were employed; of whom 7 civil servants were working for the government, 3 were taxi drivers for hire and 2 women were working in beauty salons. The other three parents from the public schools were taxi owners.

Most participants were married, except for three single parents. The public school parents had a total of 37 students in public school, whereas private school parents had a total of 29 students. This means that there was an average of plus/minus two children per participant in each category of school.

Table 5.1 Characteristics of study participants

School	Number	Gender	Education level	Employment
Private	15	7 males 8 females	9 Undergraduate degrees 6 Secondary school diploma	14 Self-employed, 1 NGO employee
Public	15	8 males 7 females	4 Undergraduate degrees 6 Secondary school diploma 5 Dropouts	7 Civil servants, 5 Private sector employees 3 Self-employed
Total	30			

4.5 Data Collection

Interviews were conducted from 25 February- 3-March 2017. They took place on the respective

campuses in a quiet classroom designated by the schools for the interview purposes. All

participants were interviewed in a single interview session. The interviews were conducted over

a period of 6 days in total with five interviews per day. The interviews lasted 40-50 minutes each

and were done using a semi-structured interview schedule (Annex I and Annex II). A recording

device was used after obtaining the consent of the participants who all accepted to be recorded.

Before conducting the interviews, two parents – who did not participate in the study - were

selected for pilot testing of the interview schedule. Based on their feedback, some amendments

were made in terms of clarifying some of the interview questions. In addition, notes were taken

mainly on the sequence of events during the interview (for instance when respondents answered

elements of a forthcoming question before being asked the question). Notes were also used to

register noteworthy statements that were outside of the specific interview question but nevertheless relevant for the study, for example ….

4.6 Data Analysis

The data obtained through interviews was first transcribed into a written document in Microsoft office word. Then it was coded and organized under different themes in relation to the analytical framework presented. Grouping was used in line with Cohen et al. (2007) who affirms that the advantage of this method is that it automatically groups the data and enables themes, patterns and similarities to be seen at a glance. This type of analysis is best fitted to a single-instrument approach such as in this study which used interviews as the only data collection mechanism. In terms of the three comparative dimensions identified in Bray and Thomas (1995) for studies of comparative and international education, this study has parents of private/public schools as the non-locational demographic group, the understanding of quality of education and school choice by the two sets of parents as the aspect of education and society being explored, and the school as the geographic/locational level.

4.7 Reliability and Validity

Bryman (2004) stresses reliability and validity as the two major criteria to evaluate the quality of social research. Mason (1996) cited in Bryman (2004) argues that validity and reliability concerns should be adopted in qualitative research by sticking closely to the meaning that these criteria have in quantitative research. However, Guba and Lincoln (1994) propose four criteria for social research which are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. According to Bryman (2004) while the first two criteria parallel external and internal validity respectively, the latter two relate to reliability and objectivity respectively.

With regards to the establishment of the credibility of findings, Bryman (2004) argues that it entails both ensuring that research is carried out according to the canons of good practice and submitting research findings to the members of the social world who were studied for confirmation that the investigator has correctly understood that social world. Although participants of this study were not available after the interview sessions, each interview session was concluded with a summary of the data provided in order for respondent validation and clarification of any misunderstandings to take place.

The data of the study fulfills the criteria of transferability since it provides thick descriptions on the context of parental understanding and school choice. Thick descriptions are (explain)….

As a parallel to reliability in quantitative research, the criteria of dependability were applied by keeping careful record of the entire research process. In terms of confimability, personal biases were avoided and impartiality ensured. Having spent 13 years in the private school category, the researcher particularly tried to recognize personal biases that might affect the research process ahead of time and consciously avoid them to ensure confirmablity of the research.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

The study gave due emphasis to ethical consideration. Before conducting the fieldwork, appropriate clearance was received from all stakeholders, including the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) via an online application, UiO, and the selected schools and district education offices in Addis Ababa. The latter were visited in person before the start of the data collection process. In addition, a written consent was obtained before each interview (Annex I) and verbal consent was obtained from school administrators in order to disclose the name of the schools. Participants were made aware that they had the right to be notified of the findings and

results of the study. The results of the study will be shared with the schools and Participants upon request

Throughout the research, all information provided by the participants was kept confidential. All audio recordings and notes taken by the researcher have been treated with care and have not been disclosed to third parties, including school officials. Audio recordings were kept on a password protected computer to which only the researcher had access. Notes taken were destroyed soon after the conclusion of the interviews after being transferred to a word document saved in a password protected computer.

No harm has been caused to the participants as a result of the research process. Confidentiality and anonymity of the participants was respected at each step of the research process. Moreover, due credit was given to the works of other authors whose works have been cited in this thesis as per APA style 6th edition.

4.9 Challenges of the Study

The most challenging aspect of the research was the political situation of the country during the time of the fieldwork (early 2017 – mid 2018). Due to ongoing protests in the Oromia region which surrounds the city of Addis Ababa, a state of emergency was issued which resulted in a culture of fear of openly sharing information. As a result, the field work was delayed for several months before it was finally conducted to avoid poor data quality.

Another challenge to the study process was the scarcity of information on the forthcoming education policy which is under development at the time of writing the study. It is assumed that the new policy could have provided an up-to-date insight into the future of education and understanding of quality of education in the country seen in particular in the context of the MOE concept of quality applied in the study.

Moreover, interviews with school officials and teachers are neither conducted nor included in this study. In retrospect, this could have helped the study by broadening the perspective ofparental understanding of quality of education to other stakeholders and to corroborate the findings regarding parental understanding.

Chapter Five

Parental Understanding of Quality of Education and School Choice

The following chapter presents the findings and uses the analytical framework for their interpretation. Primary data obtained from interviews has served as the input for the analysis shedding light on the understanding parents have of the notion of quality of education and if their respective understandings of quality of education affect the school choice for their children. Moreover, it provides a comparative analysis of the decision making process of public and private school parents, their understanding of quality, and - information related to the choice of school.

The data presented is analyzed in light of available literature on quality of education, and on the Ethiopian school system. The analytical framework presented in Chapter Three is used to interpret the data.

5.1 Reasons for Choice of a Public or Private School

When asked to provide the three most important reasons that made them decide on the school of their current choice (either a private or a public school), quality concerns were the most important reason for both sets of parents with 28 combined mentions; 13 public school parents and all 15 private school parents included quality concerns in their top 3 list of reasons for their choice of school. Moreover, quality concerns were the number one reason mentioned in all 12 times, 6 times by each set of participants.

The second most frequent response with 18 mentions was tuition fee concerns. Of these 12 were reported by public school parents of whom 8 eight made it their priority. In this regard, one public school parent emphasized the significance of tuition fee concerns by saying,

>As a civil servant with limited funds to pay for private schools, for me and most of my colleagues, it is not even a matter of choice when it comes to the private-public school divide as the public schools are the only choice we have.

Another public school participant further explains why the issue of tuition fees is of paramount importance for most parents considering where to send their children, but especially for families living off a government salary. He posits that the private schools are not even an option to consider for families in the low income bracket like his:

>We are left to choose from a list of public schools primarily because we cannot afford the private school tuitions; in my opinion it is only after that most low income families start to consider other issues such as quality to choose between public schools in the district.

Transportation/proximity came in as the third most frequent concern with 13 mentions, all of which reported by public school parents. Two participants (both public school mothers) emphasized the importance of proximity not just from a transportation perspective but also from the point of view of their children coming home for lunch during break time. This, they claim, helps the family in reducing cost because they do not need an allowance to pay for lunch at school lounges. One of them emphasizes the importance of this saying:

>There is a need for a system to support families that are struggling to send their children to school because it is mostly not even an issue of school choice that concerns us poor families but of having enough food at home. In some schools there were attempts at school feeding programs. However it is only implemented in a handful of public schools.

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As a result the number of applicants have increased so much that it seems easier to send your child to one of those expensive private schools.

It is apparent that tuition fee affordability is closely related to a family's ability to pay for services in the market. The issue of very high tuition fees has been a public issue in the city of Addis Ababa since some much exaggerated fees demanded by private schools have at times initiated public outrage including in the mass media. The public schools eliminate these by making tuition fees universally free to all, which provides a unique perspective to garner a better understanding of the process of school choice.

When asked to describe what would be their considerations for choosing a school in the absence of tuition fee concerns, both sets of participants overwhelmingly indicated a desire for quality of education. Quality was the top answer selected in all 24 times. However it was not always explained by the participants which indicates its elusive nature. However, this also provides a unique context to understand the school choice decision. Beyond tuition fee concerns, parents consider a variety of issues as active participants in the education of their children, as per the views of rational choice theory

However, eliminating tuition fees even in an ideal situation (as the public schools do) does not necessarily eliminate other costs associated with a child's education, as for example transportation costs still worry low income families. In this regard there was no change in the responses since proximity was the second most frequent answer. The same 13 mentions came from the same participants as the first time they were asked. Generally, costs related to education of a child prove to be a significant element in the school choice process, as per the views of market theory.

5.2 General Parental Understanding of Quality of Education

When asked what quality of education means to them most of the participants struggled to form a clear idea and chose to provide answers that were vague. Thus participants were probed to clarify their answers on multiple occasions. In the end 17 (57%) responded with a slight variation: student achievement. The parents who emphasized student achievement indicated their reasons from two principal viewpoints. The first group of ten parents stressed the importance of student achievement from a school choice perspective, meaning that they responded by saying that they chose the schools because they were the best performing schools in the area in terms of students' achievement referring particularly to national examination results.

The other group of 7 respondents chose to focus more on the future hopes of their children's educational achievements improving as a result of their current school's quality of education. Since the latter group of parents was all private school parents they believed that their children's language skills, particularly of the English language, would help them in improving their grades in the future. Thus, they made the choice of sending their children to a private school with a good language program in preparation for tertiary education.

One private school participant emphasized what the issue of quality of education means to him with regards to achievement saying,

> I measure the quality of education in the achievement of my child. I was satisfied with
> my choice of school for the older siblings of the child I have now in school, because both
> of them scored very high in the national (standardized) tests and that is mainly due to
> language skills.

5.3 Comparative Parental Understanding of Public-Private School Differences in Quality of Education

When asked to describe comparatively their understanding of quality of education differences in the private and public schools, both sets of participants universally favored their choice of schools. 13 of the public school parents indicated that private school students are spoiled and unethical whereas 2 pointed out the lack of experience of private school teachers. 11 of the public school parents stressed that education is important in shaping behavior for the better. They applauded the public schools in ensuring that the students are well behaved. One public school participant claimed,

> Sure, private schools may teach better English. However I look at them (private school students) on my way to work and say, what a lost generation!

The private school parents chose to see things differently. 9 of the respondents emphasized a safe environment as a key factor and the main difference between the competing schools. 6 others stressed student freedom in the school setting which they further explained by saying that their current choice of school provides just what they seek. Hence they are sending their children there.

Private school parents stressed that the surrounding environments where public schools are mostly situated are, as one parent delicately put it, "Less than favorable neighborhoods". The areas where public schools are located was the most frequent answer amongst the private school parents with 13 (43%) overall mentions. Furthermore, private school parents were very vocal in criticizing the surrounding areas where public schools are mostly situated.

Two private school participants who previously sent their children to public school reported having caught their children skipping school to go to a hookah place[3]. Hence they stressed that it played a role in finally switching to a private school. The private school chosen for the study was pointed out seven times as a good example of keeping track of its student with claims that parents have a long history of receiving phone calls when a child skips school.

One participant responded:

> We all know that students are easily fooled by things outside the school compound, but at least in private schools I am notified when my child skips school. More importantly the public schools do the parenting for you when your child is found in a Hookah place. Some, I have heard, even call the police which I believe is harsh.

This difference in perspective between private school parents and public school parents is perhaps due in part to (and also a manifestation of) a greater social divide. Just like tuition fee concerns, low income families have limited options when it comes to choosing a residential area with a desirable surrounding for a school. Due to these circumstances children of low income families are accustomed to tougher disciplinary measures both at home and at school and parents are very lenient to extend the rights to discipline children over to school officials and teachers. Meanwhile, middle to higher income families have the luxury to provide suitable living conditions for their children and thus can protect their children from societal ills like smoking Hookah during school hours.

5.4 Top Reason for Not Choosing a Different School Category

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[3] A common practice in Addis Ababa is smoking flavored tobacco through a steamed glass and a pipe.

In addition to their reasons for school choice, both sets of participants were asked to provide reasons why they did not choose the competing school category. The most frequently reported reason was tuition fee concerns with 9 mentions, all of which came from public school parents. The second most frequently reported answer was safety, with 7 mentions all from private school parents. In addition to safety, 3 private school parents indicated concerns over lack of cleanliness. 4 public school parents sternly claimed that there is a high turnover of teachers in private schools which is not the case in public schools mainly because, as parents indicated, public school teachers are much older with decades of experience and would not want to leave their jobs until retirement so as not to lose their state pensions. In contrast, public school parents claim that private schools mostly hire young fresh graduates who leave the job when they find better opportunities elsewhere. Most often, as participants indicated, teachers move to another private school that pays more when they have the chance.

5.5 Parental Source of Information

When asked to mention their main source of information pertinent to their school choice, 73% of the responses (22) mentioned social networks, such as family members, religious networks and colleagues. 20% (6) who were all private school parents relied on advertisement. 2 (7 %) said online resources like websites and forum reviews.

On the type of information they obtained, parents responded that they mostly obtained information regarding school environment and student achievement record in national examinations with 3 mentions of each. This provides an interesting situation, in which private schools have a long history of using student achievement results as advertisement particularly at the start of the school year when results of previous year national examinations are public around the same time (August- September).

One participant articulates this by saying,

> When the school year is approaching, as a parent you cannot help but notice
> advertisement billboards. Schools claim that their students scored the highest in the
> district, and sometimes they all run the same advertisement and confuse parents and it
> makes it apparent that at least some of them are lying.

Moreover, only 30% (9) of both sets of parents, 6 public school parents and 3 private school parents, reviewed official information like the MOE website.

5.6 Consulting Children

When asked to discuss how much they have considered the opinions of their children, the overwhelming majority of the participants from both sets of parents said they disregarded their children's opinions when making their school choice. 90% (27) of the participants acknowledged that their children's opinions were not pertinent to the school choice with 3 exceptions, 2 private school and 1 public school parent. Both private school parents who consulted their children said they considered if the new schools might separate their children from their friends. When asked if the opinions of their children affected their decision making process, all 3 of the respondents responded affirmatively. Furthermore, 12 (40%) of the parents responded that family members and close friends participated in the decision making process.

5.7 Satisfaction

With regards to satisfaction with school choice the results were largely affirmative. The responses where provided as a scale: Very-Dissatisfied-Dissatisfied-Fair-Very Satisfied. 80% (24) responded they are very satisfied, 4 (13%) responded they are fairly satisfied, 2 (7%) responded being satisfied. There is also not much difference with regards to the private-public

school divide since results were similar, with 12 participants from each set of parents being very satisfied.

Moreover, the 4 people who said they were fairly satisfied were asked if they would choose a different school if given the opportunity. They unanimously said they would stay with the same school due mainly to tuition fees and other cost related concerns. All 30 participants claimed that they would not change their choice of school albeit for varying reasons. 13 indicated cost related concerns for not changing school. The remaining respondents reported satisfaction as a reason for not changing their choice of school.

In the following section of the chapter, the data obtained is interpreted in light of the analytical framework developed in Chapter Three.

5.8 Data Interpretation

5.9 Parental Opinion on Difference of Quality of Education

When parents were asked if they believed that there was a difference in the level of quality of education that could influence future earnings, employment and general success, 25 (83%) said that they did not believe so. Both private and public school parents largely believed that university education has more influence on their children's future success. However, despite believing that there is no significant quality difference in the private and public school categories, public school parents expressed that private school students get an advantage due to corrupt practices such as bribing examination officials so that their students pass the national examinations which basically means deciding who goes to university and who does not.

There is a high belief that the national examinations determine the long term future of students. This explains the sense of frustration with regards to corrupt practices which, according to them, permits private schools to manipulate the system to their own advantage. Public school parents believe that due to such corrupt practices, their children will not be able to compete in life with private school children even if they have a better aptitude of the curriculum.

5.10 Reasons for Choice of School

Although parents listed quality concerns as one of the top reasons influencing their parental school choice, a variety of other factors were stressed that give a deeper understanding of the school choice decision particularly with regards to quality of education. The MOE (2008) defines quality of education in the ESDP V as consisting of four key elements: teacher development; curriculum improvement; leadership and management; and school improvement. The social justice approach uses three important dimensions: inclusion; relevance; and democratic participation to define quality.

Largely, parents believe that there are no to negligible differences in the quality of education as it relates to what is taught in the classrooms, They approach the quality of education from a variety of other perspectives such as environmental favorability, ethical standards, and disciplinary practices (as they relate to their views on child rearing). This is in line with the view of rational choice theory which considers parents not only as active participants in the education of their children but also as individuals who consider a wide variety of variables from their social networks to reach a level of confidence in their school choice. This could explain the higher level of satisfaction in the school choice decision made by the participants of this study.

Moreover, although literature and some of the data used in this study suggest that scholarly views of the concept of quality and a lay man view of quality of education are not always identical,it can be said that a family is not completely oblivious to the notion of quality since participants indicated several of the elements of both the social justice approach and of ESDP V, such as the democratic approach, relevance, teacher training and environmental factors.

In light of these, it is interesting to see that parental understanding of quality of education may not always be in unison with neither academic views nor government strategies. But as the first and foremost responsible people for the education of their children, parents do consider quality of education during the process of school choice. The desire for quality of education can be understood as more than a strategy that only development organizations aspire to achieve. It is also the focus of parents. Participants of both school categories believed that schools in the city of Addis Ababa needed to improve in many ways, a notion that fits well with the study framework.

For instance, affordability of private schools was a notion that was raised by parents (including some of the private school parents) which indicates that a certain segment of the population struggles to send their children to school. Basically, public school students, as self-reported by participants, largely come from low income families. This raises the issue of inclusion from the social justice perspective of quality of education since the public-private divide of education fails to provide inclusion to the low income families.

The socio-economic divide that exists between the rich and the poor provides a situation in which finances are the most important concern for millions of families. Parents also claim that since the current Ethiopian government opened the market for the private sector to participate in education, the cost of education in private schools has been increasing to a point where even

some middle income families think it will become unaffordable for them to pay the ever increasing costs of education in the near future. Hence millions of families are left with fewer school choices.

In addition, public school parents were vocal in voicing what the public schools lack in comparison to the private schools. To provide these lacking services would mean making the choice to pay often expensive tuition fees. However, most choose to overlook these problems and focus mainly on the strengths and good qualities of the public schools, such as the experience of teachers. Expensive tuition fees and other costs of private schools means that low income families cannot even consider to leave public schools. Public school parents still have to make the decision between public schools and, yet again, this decision is influenced by cost concerns such as transportation and lunch allowance.

Even after making the school choice decision, parents are concerned with the safety of their children as public school compounds and surrounding environments are believed to foster unethical behaviors like skipping school and engaging in addictive practices such as smoking hookah. Tikly and Barrett (2011) suggest through the social justice understanding of education that learning environments should be child-seeking, welcoming, and protective to ensure good quality of education. However public schools are strongly criticized for not providing an inclusive environment. In this regard, it is important to underscore that public school parents emphasize the need for ethical education given the environments where most public schools are located.

5.11 Parental Views on Quality of Education

Both the ESDP V of the MOE and public school parents emphasized the experience of public school teachers. Parents say that this is because the government has worked hard to keep public school teachers in their job with frequent pay rises and benefits, which seems to have worked. Public school students and parents are constantly made aware that education is being provided to them by well experienced teachers and encouraged to make use of this opportunity. However, there is a huge gap in knowledge to confirm if this is actually true in comparison to private schools.

On a number of occasions, private school parents also claimed that the experienced teachers from public schools work part time in well-paying private schools. Many private schools that have grown tired of the young fresh graduate teachers leaving their schools have started to attract experienced teachers. One parent stresses that, with little to no monitoring put in place in public schools, many teachers give priority to their part-time jobs which is becoming a bottleneck to the teaching-learning process. This relates directly to the capacity building element of the ESDP V since it has to do with education sector planning and management. This means not just monitoring the teachers, but also that the MOE responds to the demands of more experienced and well trained teachers.

With regards to the second element of the ESDP V, curriculum improvement, public schools are required by the MOE to implement strategies towards this end in a top down approach as the Ministry directly administers and oversees such activities as re-arranging and updating the content of the curriculum, and ensuring the free availability of textbooks and teacher guides through its distribution mechanism. In this regard, the public schools outperform the private schools. As private school parents have self-reported during interview sessions, the MOE does not print enough educational materials to cover all the demands of the private sector, which not

only makes it expensive to buy them but also, at times, materials are unavailable in the market. This forces private schools to teach students with old and sometimes outdated educational resources until the updated resources are made available to them. This raises an interesting relevance issue from a social justice perspective since, as one parent noted, most science textbooks found in private schools still states that *Pluto* is a planet.[4]

Many parents have largely tended not to view education as a right that their children have but as a parental obligation. Thus they accept their situation and subsequently parents do not seek help when they are faced with problems. This has serious undesirable implications for the democratic dimension of quality of education.

Moreover, despite the school improvement element of the ESDP V, creating a conducive and attractive learning environment for all by providing basic operational resources to schools as one prerequisite in approaching quality of education and even though parents do not always understand this to be an important element of the national education policy, private school parents understand the implications it has for quality, yet are often left powerless in changing the situation for the better. This is in unison with the views of Seboka (2003) who claims that many people see education in general as the responsibility of the government alone.

However most importantly, parental understanding of quality of education was largely expressed in the form of student achievement. Parents not only chose their school thinking that it provides better quality of education but also believing that their school choice would help their children score better results in national examinations. Further explaining the situation, parents emphasized that it is not a secret that private schools allegedly bribe government officials to let

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[4] Referring to the demotion of Pluto, to a Minor/dwarf planet in 1992.

their students pass national examinations with high scores which in turn boosts the image of the school for the next school year to stand out as a strong competitor in the market.

This practice, raised by 8 public school parents, provides a unique platform to conceptualize quality of education particularly in contrast to the study framework. Neither the ESDP V nor the social justice approach emphasizes student achievement as an element to understand quality of education. However, parents largely believe that national examinations are the most crucial factor in deciding the future of a student as these examinations would decide who would study academic fields and who would go to vocational schools.

As mentioned above, parental emphasis on student scores in national examinations is paramount because academic degrees from universities provide better odds for a better employment and subsequently good salaries/income in the future. In spite of parental conviction, this view is not covered by the quality of education strategy of the country. Neither is it supported by any study on the subject matter. Regardless, it provides a good insight into the process of parental school considerations where if not all, then some parents are choosing private schools as easy access to obtain good grades for their children to give them an advantage in the race to get into the best universities in and outside of the country. This emphasis on measureable student achievement is in line with the human capital approach to understand quality of education. Furthermore, it could be argued that parents view education as an output instead of a process.

However, when comparing the public-private divide, parents tend to rather emphasize issues, such as school improvement in line with the social justice approach and ESDP V.

5. 12 Comparative View of Parents on Quality of Education

The comparative analysis of quality of education provides an interesting insight into how parents of the competing schools see one another. The views range from complex ideas on education to seeking desirable features and characteristics of schools. Generally speaking, private school parents seek to provide a place with freedom and democratic values, such as resolving differences through discussions, the freedom to express themselves and to exercise their freedom of expression. Public school parents tend to focus more on ethical and behavioral concerns of students.

Public school parents underscore the importance of education not only to personal and national development but also to uphold societal and cultural values which they say are lacking greatly in private schools. It is a common practice for public school teachers to discipline students, sometimes with physical punishment, a practice with which all 15 parents in the private school disagree. The argument provided by public school parents offers a unique view into parental views of relevance.

Moreover public school parents argue that practices in private schools in the name of freedom make it difficult to know what level of freedom (democratic dimension of the social justice approach) is tolerable in school settings, without compromising the value system of society. Public school parents believe that spoiled private school students will find it difficult to live in harmony with society, let alone be productive. In this regard, it seems that both private and public school parents uphold different dimensions of the social justice approach. The private school parents see the democratic dimension as more important and central to the quality of education, whereas public school parents believe that relevance of education is more important and central to quality of education.

They further claim that private school students are largely addicted to different substances to the extent that some were under the influence of drugs inside the classrooms, an opinion also raised by two private school parents. Parents view these problems as a very serious danger to the education system. In contrast, the private schools choose to emphasize more on the safety of private schools claiming that public schools, due to their locations in high risk neighborhoods, are the ones likely to engage in addictive and undesired activities.

In addition, public schools are criticized for not providing a conducive physical environment within their compounds. For instance, amongst the frequent complaints by both sets of parents was cleanliness of classrooms and bathrooms. This is mainly due to the higher number of students per class in the public schools which makes it difficult to maintain a clean environment.

Furthermore, most public schools are highly understaffed in their support departments, such as janitorial staff, due to budget constraints. This leads to more sickness amongst public school students.

By examining these arguments, one can see that there are lacking elements ESDP V. However, public school parents have expressed prioritizing ethical and cultural values, which are central in the social justice approach and in tune with the behavioral view of education which claims that the goal of education should be to bring about behavioral change. Ethics is one area of these behaviors that public school parents value. In contrast it is also interesting to see that for the private school parents, democratic values are a priority.

Such differences in opinion are indicative of differences in parenting style. One private school parent stressed this when arguing that since low income families are mostly at work and unavailable because of demanding and long work hours, they are often unable to follow up on

their children. As a result they prefer teachers to discipline their children. Most private school parents are against this and choose to take the responsibility for parenting. Parents from both school categories often referred to their own school experiences, recalling the times they were physically punished. Teachers would discipline students almost on a daily basis during the Derg regime as the freedom of private schools was non-existent.

In light of such information it is easier to understand why some public school parents might prefer not to send their children, even when they can afford to pay tuition fees, to what they perceive is an overly democratic and free environment that does not foster ethical behavior by spoiling children. It is also clear that this practice has not changed much from the Derg era from over 28 years ago since most public school teachers from that time are still teachers in the new EPRDF regime.

5.13 Sources of Information Pertinent to School Choice

The response to this particular question was largely similar for both sets of participants as presented in the previous parts of this chapter. To a large extent parents rely on their social networks to gather what they deem is pertinent information that can help in making a decision of school choice.

Levin states:

> In a liberal democratic society, parents have the right to raise their children in a manner consistent with their lifestyle and their religious, philosophical, and political values and beliefs. Education is a natural extension of child rearing preferences; therefore, parents should be able to choose schools consistent with these preferences (2000, p. 7).

To do so, parents largely turn to the people around them to obtain information and help them in the school choice process to form a clear image of their preference. In places like Ethiopia where communal ways of life is the norm, it is easy to understand that people would trust the information provided to them about a particular school on what indicates quality. The information provided may not always be factual but is accepted as pertinent since it is likely to come from people who have gone through the process of school choice and thus holds much weight in influencing parental decision. For instance, one parent indicated that the current private school of choice was picked because the child's cousin had gone to the same school and his parents recommended it.

However, one cannot overestimate the significance of advertisements in influencing parental decision making as well since, over the years private school advertisements have normalized achievement centered quality of education rhetoric. Sometimes aggressive and misrepresented advertisements confuse the public and expectedly influence parental choice of schools. A few of the participants reported relying on official documents and a few others only visited web-based resources to strengthen their knowledge of the schools they were considering. These two reasons coupled with the absence of any official mechanism to help smooth the process of school choice mean that parents are largely left to their own mechanisms and level of understanding to choose a school.

To a large extent, students themselves were not consulted or their opinions where not taken into consideration in the process of school choice. This goes against the very essence of the democratic dimension from the very start as it would be probable that a child who is not consulted might have difficulty adjusting to a school of his parents' choice. For instance a child

who is separated from his/her friends by his/her parents' decision might experience loneliness and might be isolated from social activities in the school which hinders his/her learning process.

5.14 Satisfaction in School Choice

Most of the parents interviewed responded by saying that they were satisfied with their choice of school. Accordingly none of them indicated a desire to change schools. This is mainly due to the view that both sets of parents accepted the reality and are carrying out their duties as parents with the resources they have at their disposal. Tuition fee concerns are a headache for most parents in Addis Ababa as indicated by previous responses.

One public school parent explains the situation saying,

> It is the responsibility of the parents to educate a child and parents always try to provide what they can. I have friends who send their children to a private school and our intentions are somewhat similar; we both send our children to the school category of our choosing believing that we are providing good quality of education despite always having to balance that with how much cost comes with it.

Although both private and public school parents believe that they ensure quality of education in their particular way, the absence of school choice guidance services, the elusive nature of the concept of quality of education and the significance of education related costs rather indicate that there is a substantial difference between the respective sets of parents when it comes to their school choice decision. This is further elaborated in the concluding section which also makes some suggestions for how to address this in policy making and future research.

Chapter Six

Summary and Conclusions

The study has examined what quality of education means for parental school choice. This chapter summarizes the study findings in accordance with the research questions. It also makes suggestions for future research and to policy makers.

Research Question 1: With regards to the question of how parents choose the schools to which they send their children, the results show the existence of a difference in the process of school choice. Public school parents who are usually low income families are greatly influenced by cost related issues despite the desire for quality of education. These parents start the process of school choice at a disadvantage believing that they are indeed not making a free choice but choosing from the lesser of the bad choices left for them to make. Private school parents on the other hand believe that their choices are made easier for them because of their ability to afford the costs associated with private schooling.

However, there is no difference between parents of the two sets of schools when it comes to the desire for quality of education which indicates that even in financial difficulty, parents view themselves as responsible for providing education of good quality to their children. Quality of education is a notion which might not be well understood and articulated by parents, but parents try to make due with whatever understanding they have. Some emphasize school infrastructure and other relate it to the experience of teachers or a good language program.

In making their choice of a school parents are provided with information from their social networks and advertisements. Despite their desire for quality of education, parents seldom have access to official documents or show initiative to obtain official documents and data to help them

make a better informed decision. Being primarily profit making institutions, private schools provide information that is often vague and telling parents what they want to hear about the level of quality of education. This makes the issue a bit more complicated because most parents do not have a holistic understanding of the elements of ESDP V which is the authoritative document when it comes to quality of education in the country. Hence, parents make the school choice decision without fully internalizing and understanding what the MOE considers to be quality of education. Parents make their choice based on limited and often inaccurate information on the quality of education.

In the absence of any guidance services in the process of school choice to help parents make an informed decision, parents often find it difficult to choose a school that would best fit their children's needs of quality of education. In this regard, public school parents are affected the most.

Research question 2: Parents make the decision of school choice primarily for cost and quality related reasons. According to the participants of this study, financial concerns are an important factor in the school choice process meaning that despite the desire for quality of education, parents are heavily influenced to send their children to a school that fits their socio-economic status. Hence, they reduce their consideration of quality to a few details, such as information on a particularly strong aspect of a school. In other words, quality of education is compromised for financial and personal reasons. It is thus difficult to say that parents make their decision based on specific quality considerations.

Research Question 3: As mentioned above due to simplified considerations of the quality of education, parents are limited to demand more out of the schools of their choice. Most parents want to make due with whatever is at hand meaning that parents are easily satisfied by their

school choices. Many parents do not wish to change schools or demand higher levels of quality of education because they believe they are the sole responsible body for the provision of education to their children. Thus, they fail to hold the schools and other stakeholders to higher quality standards.

For instance, private school parents who wish for their child to speak better English will have to choose a school with a reputable language program, and if and when their children speak slightly better English parents will be satisfied seeing this as quality of education. Public school parents, on the other hand, may want their children to study under experienced teachers, which public schools can provide; hence they are satisfied when this is provided to them. This phenomenon makes it difficult to understand differences of quality that exist between private and public schools because parents have already formed their own understanding of quality based on limited information, thus often have made up their mind that quality of education means the provision of very few services.

6.1 Implications of the Study

The findings of the study have various implications for policy. First, the issue of tuition fees and affordability is overwhelmingly indicated as a factor making it difficult for many parents to send their children to the school of their choice. Policy makers should concern themselves more with how these problems could be addressed. As education has societal and economic implications it is important to address the issue as soon as possible. It is also apparent that there is wide gap between quality of education and quality of students. A large number of students coming from affluent families make their way into good schools whereas children from poor families cannot be considered for admission to such good schools even when they have the merit to study in

these schools. It is important to reach a national understanding that the quality of education should be equally available to all. Quality of education is the right of every student.

Moreover, the MOE should work to make information that help in the process of school choice easily available to parents to help them make an informed decision. This concerns not only which school to choose but is also important to instill the national education quality considerations within the public so that the concept of quality in education is better understood. This should be done to help prevent parents from being deceived by advertisements.

The MOE also should consider bringing together communities so as to have frequent discussions on quality of education with the public and to hear the complaints of parents and address societal ills that are putting a strain on the quality of education. Parents feel that their voices are not heard and that they are the only ones responsible for assuring that their children get the best education despite many stakeholders in the education sector. Quality of education is increasingly understood and prescribed by international organizations as the most important factor in achieving the global development goals. Yet parents in Addis Ababa are left alone to ensure their children's education of good quality. In this regard, NGOs and schools should also be brought into the playing field together with the government and parents to better understand the responsibilities of each party and to plan and act in a manner that can improve the quality of education in both private and public schools.

Seboka (2003) has also shown that children in Ethiopia do not have school-readiness competencies in cognitive and language fields, indicating poor quality of the national curriculum, problems in the teaching–learning process, and lack of quality of teachers. If the basic academic foundations of children at the school level are weak, later educational interventions may also

prove inefficient. Therefore, it is imperative that appropriate interventions are formulated and implemented to remove quality-related problems at high school level education.

It is also important for the MOE to consider expanding school feeding programs. Students from poor families find it increasingly difficult to concentrate on education because they spend the day famished (New Buisness Ethiopia, 2019). Parents in this study (6 public school parents) have indicated that some students see the time they spend in schools as nothing more than a prison sentence. Hence they opt to spend their days skipping school and trying to find whatever work they can. It is very difficult to consider quality of education in these circumstances.

Another implication of the study for policy is with regards to the non-cognitive outcomes of education. When parents reduce quality of education to a few personal understandings of the concept without being fully informed of its complexity, they demand what they think is best for their children. On top of that, when there are private schools that understand quality of education as satisfying the needs of the customer only, quality of education is reduced to a transaction of a sort and as long as this transaction is carried out, there is no problem.

However, these understandings of quality have led to differences in attitudes and ethics of children in the same generation. This has reduced tolerance between private and public school communities since they look upon one another with suspicion. For instance, with regards to non-cognitive outcomes of education, such as producing ethical citizens, it is the understanding of the public school parents that private schools have very little consideration in this regard, while private school parents blame public schools for the same reason.

6.2 Suggestions for further research

Based on the findings of this study suggestions for future research can be made to further examine the quality of education in both the private and public sector. There is a need for a study to examine the differences and similarities that exist between the competing school systems when it comes to quality of education. One worthwhile study could be to explore how elements of the ESDP V are understood and implemented in both categories of schools in the city of Addis Ababa and by the public at large.

It is also important to study the gap that exists between private schools and public schools in terms of quality of education. Such a study would be very helpful for the government and the MOE to address some of the gaps in quality that exist within the divide. It will also be helpful for parents to make a better informed school choice. These studies could analyses comparatively the elements of ESDP V in the two sets of schools.

Another significant area of study could be on the scale of corruption and mischief that exists in the education sector, particularly in private schools. When corruption is rampant in the education sector, it will have societal consequences for creating and expanding the level of income and quality of life students may enjoy later in life. Thus a study on how to address this issue could be conducted in order to provide evidence-based interventions. Finally, the impact on the public education school system of using experienced public school teachers in the private education sector is pertinent since teachers are essential to guarantee quality of education.

Note that I have not crosschecked your references systematically. But be sure to follow the format. For example: journals should be I italics like book titles and titles of edicated books. The titles of articles in journals and in edited books should NOT be in italics.

Also be sure that there is full consistency between references in the text and references in the reference list. You cannot have a reference in the text that is not listed in the reference list and vice versa.

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Annexes

Annex I
Written Consent form

This is study is conducted as part of a requirement of the completion of Masters Degree in comparative and International study at the University of Oslo. As per academic requirements and as rules and regulation of the institution, information deemed pertinent to the study will be collected from stakeholder parties in the education system. The researcher has chosen you to be part of the process and appreciates your contribution in advance.

The information participant provides will be kept confidential and anonymous. The participant will not be mentioned by name and if need be pseudonym will be used instead. The participant has the right to refuse to answer any of the questions and retain the right to drop out of the interview at any point in time in which case the information that has already been provided will be carefully discarded and will not be included in the study. The participant also has the right to ask for explanations for unclear questions.

The Interview will be recorded for the purpose of better remembering the information provided and the recording will be kept confidential and anonymous. The participant has the right to refuse to be recorded in which case the researcher will use not taking to record the data.

Participant's Signature

Researcher's signature

Date

Annex II

Interview Guide for Public School Parents

Part One: Demographic Information

- Gender of the Parent Interviewed

Male	
Female	

- Family Situation

• Married Parent	
• Single Parent	
• Raising a grand child	
• Other	

- Working Condition

Unemployed	
Self employed	
Civil Servant	

- How many children do you have enrolled in a public high school?

- Have your children gone to a private high school in the past?

- Did you attend your high school studies in a public or a private school?

Part Two : General Interview Questions for parents

1. Tell me top three of your reasons to send your children to a public school?

2. Describe what education quality means to you?

3. In your opinion what do you believe is the difference between private and public schools when it comes to education quality?

4. What is the main reason for choosing the current a school for your child/ren?

5.   What is the most important thing for you that high schools should have to offer to their

Student?

6.   Where did you obtain information pertinent to your school choice process?

7.   What is one reason you didn't choose a private school?

8.   How Satisfied are you on a scale from

Very Dissatisfied- Dissatisfied- fair- Satisfied – Very satisfied

9.   If dissatisfied with the quality of education in the public school that you chose for your

child, given the chance to make a new school choice which one would you opt for; a

different public school or a private school?

10.   What do you think are the differences between private and public high schools when it

comes to quality of education?

Annex III

Interview Guide for Private School Parents

Part One: Demographic Information

- Gender of the Parent Interviewed

Male	
Female	

- Family Situation

• Married Parent	
• Single Parent	
• Raising a grand child	
• Other	

- Working Condition

Unemployed	
Self employed	
Civil Servant	

- How many children do you have enrolled in a private high school?

- Have your children gone to a public high school in the past?

- Did you attend your high school studies in a public or a private school?

Part Two

General Interview Questions for private school parents

11. Tell me top three of your reasons to send your children to a private school?

12. Describe what education quality means to you?

13. In your opinion what do you believe is the difference between private and public schools when it comes to education quality?

14. What is the main reason for choosing the current a school for your child/ren?

15. What is the most important thing for you that high schools should have to offer to their Student?

16. Where did you obtain information pertinent to your school choice process?

17. What is one reason you didn't choose a Public school?

18. How Satisfied are you on a scale from

Very Dissatisfied- Dissatisfied- fair- Satisfied – Very satisfied

19. If dissatisfied with the quality of education in the public school that you chose for your child, given the chance to make a new school choice which one would you opt for; a different public school or a private school?

20. What do you think are the differences between private and public high schools when it comes to quality of education?