DECENTRALISATION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION SERVICE DELIVERY TO THE DISTRICT:

A Comparative Study between Somali Region and South Nation, Nationalities & People Region (SNNPR), Ethiopia.

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## List of Acronyms

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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Community Based Organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPRDF</td>
<td>Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDRE</td>
<td>Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GER</td>
<td>Gross Rate Enrolment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPS</td>
<td>Industrial Projects Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Government Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONLF</td>
<td>Ogaden Liberation Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC UK</td>
<td>Saves the Children United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNNPR</td>
<td>Southern Nations, Nationalities and People Region</td>
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Abstract

Primary education service in Somali Region was performing worse than primary education service in SNNPR. To identify the major reasons of having this poor performance of primary education service in Somali Region, this study compares primary education service of Somali Region with primary education service in SNNPR. There were differences and similarities between the two Regions on how primary education service is delivered at the local level. In both regions government plays a dominant role in the process of delivering primary education service at the district level. However, due to capacity at the lower level of the Government and community participation, primary education service in SNNPR outperforms primary education service in Somali Region.

Therefore, this paper argues that primary education service in Somali Region performs worse than primary education service in SNNPR due to lack of capacity at lower level, in-efficiency of service delivery and lack of commitment by the concerned bodies of primary education service in the Region.

Relevance to Development Studies

Education is important to achieve human development. According to Lock and Verspoor (1991 in Charleslote, 2005:31), in this knowledge based world economy, education is key factor to be more competitive and be economically progressive. Education offers an opportunity of improved livelihoods and decent life. Therefore studying primary education service which is the foundation of education sector is more relevant to the development studies.

Keywords

Decentralization, Primary education service delivery, Community participation
Chapter 1  Introduction

1.1 Background

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has nine regional Governments and two administrative councils. The country has a population of 65, 344,000 (Asmelash, 2000 in Van der Loop, Theo 2002:11). About 85 percent of the population in the country live in the rural areas. Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy of the country by contributing ___ percent of the national GDP. This paper is going to compare primary education service in Somali Regional State versus South Nation, Nationalities and people Region (SNNPR). These are two of the Nine Regional States of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Somali Region is located in south-east of Ethiopia. The Region is the second largest region and fourth in a population size. It is situated in arid and semi-arid land with an area of 215,900 km². According to the result of population and housing census conducted in 1997, the population of the region was estimated to be about 3,797,000, of which 85 percent live in the rural areas (Ethiopian Statistical Authority in ibid), and agriculture sector particularly livestock is the main sources of livelihood in the Region (Somali Region, Education Bureau, 2005:9). The Region comprises nine administrative zones, 52 districts and has more than 67 small towns (Somali Region, Education Bureau, and 2005: 9). Socio-economic infrastructures in the Region are very poor and scant in quantity. Lack of basic infrastructures coupled with political instability in the Region is major factor that make the region not to be able to achieve its development goals (Somali Region, performance Report, 2007:6:9).

Somali Region faces persistent and recurring droughts that affect the lives of the people in the Region. Lack of security in large area in the Region also affects the development of the Region. As a result, the social services in the Region were relatively low and scant. In 2000, the coverage of drinkable water supply in Region was only 15.6 percent (Somali Region, Water Resources
Development Bureau, 2000 in Abdulahi, 2002:36). In 2002, the basic health coverage of the Region was also about 25 percent (Somali Region, Health Bureau, 2002 in ibid). Like other sectors, education sector performs lower and proved to be inefficient and inadequate to meet the demand of primary education service in the State. In 2003, in order to address these social services related problems in the Region, the Regional Government has decentralised primary education service delivery and management to the districts. The major aims of this were to improve the efficiency of primary education service and also to enhance the role of local communities in primary education service in the Region (Somali Region, Education Bureau, 2005: 27).

On the other hand, SNNP Region being one of the federating regions falls in the southern part of the country. It has a population of 12,903,000 and covers an area of 112,000 km². The Region comprises 76 districts and 149 towns. (Asmelash, 2000 in Van der Loop, Theo, 2002: 11). It has 39 different ethnic groups each having its own language (Jaleele Erega, 2002:32). It is the third most populous region in the country. About 20 percent of the total population of the country are living in this region. SNNPR boasts various environmental and climate conditions: arable highlands (dega), midlands (woinadega) and lowlands (kolla), and pastoral rangelands (bereha). But the most characteristic environment of the Region is a relatively fertile and humid midland which contains the densest rural populations of the country (SNNPR, 2006:6).

The South Nations, and Nationalities and people Regional State had relatively good social services. In 2002, the Region health coverage was 51.6 percent. Whilst about 60 percent of the population in the region had access to safe and drinkable water. In education sector, the Region had GER of primary service of 85 percent whereas its net enrolment was 74.5 percent (SNNP Region, Finance & Economic Development Bureau: 2003:1).
1.2 Statement of the Problems

Education plays a vital role in achieving economic development, social harmony and stability. Ethiopia being one the poorest countries in the world has high illiteracy rate, poor performance of education sector, low quality of education service. In 1991, a political milestone of the country took place. After the defeat of Derg Regime, Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) led coalition came to power. Decentralised ethnic federalism was adopted as a political system of the country. In 1995, a new federal constitution was adopted. The major aim of this regionalism was to transfer political power and resources to the nations, people and ethnic groups in the country.

In 1994, in order to improve education service, the Federal Government of Ethiopia adopted National education and training policy. This policy was not just more than a general framework for the education system of the country as whole. It gives a guideline and general principles for the Regional Governments to develop education sector. Although, education service at the national level had shown a tremendous improvement in the last couple of years, still significant numbers of school age children in Somali Region have no access to primary schools. As stated by Tasaw, in the period between 1998 and 2002 education sector at the national level achieved a high gross enrolment ratio (GER). On average, the national GER of the primary education in that period was 67 percent which shows a substantial increase from the preceding years (Tasaw, et al 2005:3). On the other hand, Somali Region, Education Bureau indicated in its report the average GER of primary education in the Region in the period between 1997/98 and 2001/02, was about 15.11 percent. In this low GER of primary education, the girl’s participation was far less than the boys’ participation. According to this data about 84.9 percent of school age children in the Region were out of the primary schools (Somali Region, Education Bureau, 2005:13).
In 2004/05 the GER of primary education in Somali Region was 22.67 percent comparing with the national GER of primary education service of 79 percent (Somali Region, Education Bureau, 2005:13-14). In contrast, in the same year, the GER of primary education of SNNPR was 63 percent, that was three times higher than the GER in Somali Region (Bureau of Finance & Economic Development of SNNP, 2005:2). Although, after decentralisation, the GER of primary education in Somali Region improved, an estimated 78.3 percent of school age children in the Region were not attending the primary schools (Somali Region, Education Bureau, 2005:13:14). This low GER in the Region, was highly biased against the girls and rural school age population children in the Region. If this appalling condition of primary education service performance keeps continuing, it will have far reaching negative repercussion on the development of the Region. Therefore, there is sense of urgency to find out factors behind this low performance of primary education service in Somali Region. Doing so, this study is going to compare primary education service in Somali Region with primary education service in SNNP Region.

1.3 Research Objective and Research Questions

1.3.1 Research objective.

The objective of this Research is to find out, by comparing primary education service in Somali Region versus SNNPR before (2000-2002) and after (2003-2004) decentralisation of primary education service to the districts, why primary education service performs worse than primary education service in SNNPR.

1.3.2 Research Question

This study has one main research question and four sub-research questions. The following are the research questions of this study:

Why does primary education Service in Somali Region perform lower than primary education service in SNNPR?
Sub-questions

- How is primary education service delivered at the local level?
- Has decentralisation of primary education service to the district improved the role of other actors in primary education service delivery in Somali Region comparing with SNNPR?
- What are the factors contributing to low performance of primary education services in Somali Region comparing with SNNPR?
- How do local communities participate in the primary education service delivery in the Somali Region comparing with SNNPR?

1.4. Method

1.4.1 Primary Data

Although this study had used mainly secondary data, primary data was used as well. Primary data was collected by using open-ended questionnaire method. The sources of primary data were actors in education sector in these regions such as Regional Bureaus of Education, Office of Education in the districts, Non-government Organisations and Community Based Organisations.

Primary data was collected from two districts from each Region. In Somali Region, primary data was collected from Jigjiga district and Shinile district. Open-ended questionnaires were distributed to the Regional Education Bureau, District Education Offices, two local NGOs and two primary schools from each district. On the other hand, in SNNPR, primary education was collected from Regional Education Bureau and Kamba district and Bena-Tsesemay district. Open-ended questionnaires were distributed to Regional Education Bureau, Kamba district Education Office and Bena-Tsesemay district. Using open-ended questionnaire was also collected from two local NGOs and two primary schools from each district.

1.4.2 Secondary Data

This research is a comparative study of primary education service of Somali Region and SNNPR by selecting some specific districts. Secondary data was
the major source of data for this research. Written literatures such as books, reports, statistics and policy documents, journals and articles produced by different bodies in the education spheres were used for this study. Reports, education statistics and plans produced by regional education bureaus and district education offices of these regions and other actors involved in education sector were also studied.

1.5 Sampling Method

In this study purposive sampling method was used. Two districts were selected from each region as sample districts. These districts were selected on the basis of set of criteria. One major factor considered in this was the livelihood pattern in the districts. One district was selected from each major economic zone (pastoralist and agro-pastoralist) in these regions. Accessibility was another factor considered in the selection of sample districts. Finally, security, particularly in Somali Region was also considered in the selection of the districts under study. On the basis of the set criteria, the researcher selected two districts from each region. In Somali Region, Jigjiga district was selected from agro-pastoralist districts. In contrast, Shinile district was chosen from pastoralist dominated districts. In SNNPR, Kamba district was selected from mixed farming or agro-pastoralist dominated districts, and Bena-Tsesemay district was selected from pastoralist districts in the Region.

Although the sampling method used does not make the selected districts representative of all districts in the Region, it fitted the criteria set by the researcher in order to get districts that have the characteristics of major livelihood pattern in these Regions.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

This study was not immune from bias and limitations. The first limitation is, the major source of data of this study was secondary data. The used secondary data such as written reports by the Government and NGOs was not free from bias and limitations. In addition, using open-ended questionnaire had its own limitations. The sampling method used was not enough to have representative districts from the Regions. The selected districts were not representative of
the actual primary education service in the district, rather were selected on the
cconvenience grounds. Lack of proper documentation and information
management in Somali Region was also another factor that has seriously
affected this research. Somali Region has no proper data base and limited
available information were not organised at all. Getting data from the Region
was one of the toughest challenges the researcher had faced during secondary
data collection.

Therefore, these limitations might have some effect on this research one
way or another. However, the researcher had tried best to minimise the effect
of these limitations on the end-result of this study by using different sources of
data such as primary and secondary data
Chapter Two: Conceptual Frame-work

In this chapter concepts and theories are presented. It deals with decentralisation concepts and is sub-divided in to six sections. The first section deals with decentralisation and its forms. The second section, deals with rationales and justification for adopting decentralisation. That is efficiency and responsiveness of local demands. The third section deals with the challenges and constraints in the decentralisation process. The fourth section presents decentralisation of education services, particularly delegation and devolution of education service delivery to lower level. The last section of this chapter discusses about community participation and the role its role in primary education service.

2.1 Decentralisation

In the last couple of decades decentralization has became a global phenomenon practiced by majority of world states irrespective of their geographical location and population size. In developing countries decentralisation is taking place at high speed with different forms of arrangements. Decentralisation is part of global influence on improving governance and national political system where people and citizens are given ultimate power over their political life.

According to Brillantes and Cuachon (2002:2), decentralisation refers to “transfer of authority on a geographical basis whether by de-concentration, (i.e., delegation) of administrative authority to field units of the same department or level of government or by the political devolution of authority to local government units or special statutory bodies”. It has two categories: decentralisation from the centre to lower tiers of government or to Non-government organisations and market decentralisation, where the government divest and withdraws from providing economic goods and services to the private sector. There are three types of decentralisation: political, administrative, fiscal and economic decentralisation. These three types of
decentralisation are inter-woven and no effective decentralisation process can take place without coherently applying all these types of decentralisation.

### 2.1.1 Political Decentralisation

Political decentralisation is a transfer of political power and authority from the centre to lower level or sub-national structures (European Commission, 2007: 15). Similarly, Brilliantes and Cuachon, (2002: 5) defined political decentralisation as a process of transferring authority to lower level tiers of government. In political decentralisation all actors and stakeholders are involved in the process of formulating and implementing policies. According to World Bank’s technical team, this type of decentralisation requires a constitutional and statutory reform that establishes legal grounds for pluralistic political system and legally binding local territory (Brilliantes and Cuachon, 2002: 5). Political decentralisation takes in the form of devolution. According to European Commission:

Devolution is an arrangement or a process in public administration in which district bodies are created by law, separate from the central administration, and in which local representatives—either elected or appointed by the population—are (progressively) given powers to decide on a variable range of public matters and progressively gain access to resources which can be utilised at their discretion (European Commission, 2007:15).

It also involves making local government more accountable to the constituent and enabling local people to participate more in the process of socio-economic development. Political/democratic decentralisation theory is process-output oriented approach. As a process, it enables local people to participate in all issues and decisions affecting their lives and to hold local government accountable. As an output, it improves the service delivery and helps local government to meet local people’s demand by mobilising local

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1 ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/governance-democracy/document
resources and support (Blair, 2000; Heler, 2001; Manor, 1999; Olowu and Wunsch, 2004 in Paulos Chanie, 2007:90)

2.1.2 Administrative Decentralisation

According to European Commission (2007:16), administrative decentralisation refers to redistribution of responsibility and decision making authority for delivering public services with the branches of central government or its agencies that operates in different areas. Administrative decentralisation takes three forms: de-concentration, delegation and divestment. De-concentration is a process in which the agencies or ministries at the central level delegates decision making power and resources management to its branches at lower level. This form of decentralisation is an extension of central government structure and it’s accountable to higher tier of government.

On the other hand, “delegation is more extensive form of decentralisation. It redistributes responsibilities to local units of government or agencies that are not always necessarily branches or local offices of the delegating authority”. Despite the transfer of some accountability to lower level, still vertical accountability is more dominant than down-word accountability. Divestment being derived from finance literature is another form of administrative decentralisation. Divestment refers to transfer of responsibilities and authorities for planning and managing public services from the government to non-government development organisations, private sector and voluntary organisations.

2.1.3 Fiscal Decentralisation

Fiscal decentralisation is a process of transferring responsibility and decision making authority of revenue generating and expenditure responsibilities to deliver public services. There are five forms of fiscal decentralisation. First, self financing and cost recovery were the service users are expected to pay the full price or share the cost of the service. Another form of fiscal decentralisation is co-financing and cooperation where the end user involves in the process of
delivering public services. And the third form is expansion of local revenue through increasing tax base or the rate of some specific tax. The fourth, is inter-governmental transfer by the central government were the central government subsidises the local government in order to deliver public services. The last form is borrowing capacity of the local government, where the local government is given the authority to borrow money from the financial market (Brillantes and Cuachon, 2002:5). Fiscal decentralisation has a policy implication on the economic re-distribution, macro-economic efficiency, income re-distribution and political efficiency (European Commission, 2007:17).

2.2 Rationales for Decentralisation

The rationale for adopting decentralisation is context specific. Nevertheless, the most frequent justifications for adopting decentralisation include to improve efficiency in service delivery (Cheema & Rondinelli, 1983 in Adgo Maru, 2005:9), enhance inter-ethnic harmony, and ensure “equality and stability” in the society (Smith, 1985; Olowu, 2001 in ibid). To achieve efficiency, promote equity and enhance community participation in the process of local decision making are the major reasons for adopting decentralisation (Smith, 1985; Abbay et al, 2004; Cheema & Rondinelli, 1983; Meherete, 1998 in ibid). Griffin (quoted in Ribot, 2002:9) contended that decentralisation can achieve effectiveness and efficiency by improving the implementation and allowing actor to participate in the process. It also improves coordination mechanism at lower level and enhances the relevance and sustainability of the service. In addition, Maas (1959) and Hill (1974) argued that political decentralisation enhances local accountability and improves the political skills of the local politicians and helps national integration. It brings government closer to people. It also provides better services to the client groups. Similarly, it promotes liberty, equality and welfare in the society (Maas, 1959; D.M.Hill, 1974 in Smith, 1985:4-5).

The ‘erosion of the highly centralised developmental state in the 1980s and realisation of the importance of local actors in promoting local development were playing important role of shifting from centralisation to
decentralisation. Globalisation and external influence was also part of the factor triggering local decentralisation in order to improve local governance and accountability (European Commission, 2007:6).

### 2.2.1 Efficiency of Service Provision

Efficiency of service provision is an over-riding impetus for the government to undertake decentralisation process (Therkildsen, 2001; Conyers, 2000 in Ribot, 2002:8). It is argued that decentralisation is preferable than centralisation on the ground of service delivery efficiency in the process of delivering public goods. This argument of efficiency is attributed to the monopoly nature of central government and its corruption practices in the process of delivering public service (Ibid:9).

Efficiency and effectiveness are the most important justifications for decentralisation of public service. Efficiency is defined “as the maximisation of social welfare”. In order to achieve ‘social welfare’ individual preference are met through market mechanism where as the community collective preference are met through public service (Wolman, H.1990: 30:31). Smith (1985) stressed that the state’s efforts to divide areas according to some criteria such as population size, density and agro-ecological features gives the opportunity to enhance efficiency of public service delivery and its administration. The size and delimitation of areas is based on setting on the notion of the optimum size.

World Bank (in Adgo Maru, 2005:10), stated that decentralisation increases efficiency and responsiveness to the local people. In this regard, decentralisation brings decision making power and resources allocation closer to the local people; thus, local government has a comparative advantage over the central government to be more responsive to the local demand. As Abbay et al. (in Ibid), stated devolving decision making power to the lower level, will minimise the cost of mobilising local resources to efficiently execute the planned activities. As a result, local government tends to be more responsive to the demand of local people.
2.3 Challenges of Decentralisation in the Developing Countries

Decentralisations in most of the developing countries face challenges and problems that make them to fall behind its expectation (Smith, 1985; Manor, 1999 in Nijenhuis, 2002:25). The reasons why decentralisation in the developing countries has not been successfully were attributed to number of factors. Lack of political will by the central government to transfer more power to the local government is one factor that limits the effectiveness of decentralisation in the developing countries. Another factor is lack fiscal capacity by the local government to implement their local development programs (ibid).

Mannor (1999 in Nijenhuis, 2002), stressed that decentralisation often increases public spending as it increase its areas of intervention and scope, this increases the chance of failure as there is no fund available for the increased expenditure assignment. Lack of local capacity in-terms of skilled human resource and shortage of basic infrastructures make decentralisation in the developing countries not to be successful (Ibid). McGinn, and Welsh, (1999:76), argue that most decentralisation reforms fail due to failure of political support by the involving parties and lack of capacity at local level. In addition, elite capture is another factor that limits the success of decentralisation process at the local level. Decentralised power to the local level might be high jacked by a few powerful local groups those put their private interest before the public interest (Paulos, 2007:98). Moreover, in the neo-patrimonial regimes, some authors argue that in the developing countries lack of effective political institutions in place such as fair and free election and down-word accountability mechanism makes local officials not to feel accountable and threatened of being not re-elected if they fail to meet the

2.4 Decentralisation of Education Service

2.4.1 Delegation of Education Service Delivery

The delegation of responsibility from centre, regional or local government to school management gives the opportunity to improve the effectiveness of school management and planning, (Kofi, 2007:25). Delegation of responsibility to local government and lower level does not only improve efficiency of resources allocation and management, but also enhances community participation in education services and improves sustainability of services.

2.4.2 Devolution of education Services

Devolution being a form of political decentralisation is defined as a transfer of power and authority to a legitimate sub-national government or local government. Devolution involves state political reform where inter-governmental relationship between the state and lower level governments is redefined (Richard and James, 1998:7). Nodye argues that decentralisation is helpful for education service delivery, if it devolves power and enough resources to lower levels and communities. Thus, decision making authority vested at the school level will increase the responsibility, accountability and improve efficiency in resources utilisation. Although, the success will depend on how higher levels of government particularly the centre or the state supports and strengthens local institutions, decentralising education service delivery system improves local response to the needs of the school and also enhances community participation in school management and support learning process (Ndye, 2005:26)

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2 For more, please refer to Paulos Chanie, 2007
2.5 Community Participation

Community participation is a contested concept. Community can be defined on the basis of geographical location, on the basis of ethnicity, linguistic racial and religious characteristics. It can be also defined on the basis of associations and collection of group of people with common goals, (Bray, 1996 cited in Kofi Addea, 2007:27-28). Community participation is defined “as process of social action in which people of a community organise [by] themselves for planning and actions; define their common individual needs and problems; execute with a maximum reliance upon community resources; and supplement these resources when necessary with services and materials from governmental and non-governmental agencies outside the community” (foster, 1982” Awortwi, 199 in Kofi, 2007:28)

Community participates in education services at different levels. Community participation in education service starts from household as a parent to the society level as a member of the society. All actors and stakeholders are responsible to contribute towards achieving effective education service. Parents alone can not take the responsibility to educate their children as long as education is an interactive process with the rest of the world. Community and society provides social structures, values and plays a vital role to establish effective education system. Schools as “institutions” prepare and shape the children for the “betterment of the society” in which they serve. Schools operate with in the framework of the social structure (Mitsue, 1999:1, 2).

Collette and Perkins (cited in Mitsue, 1999:3), classified community participation in education services into six forms: “(a) research and data collection; (b) dialogue with policy makers; (c) school management; (d) curriculum design; (e) development of learning materials; and (f) school construction”. Heneveld and Craig (1996 in Mitsue, 1999) also noted that in sub-Saharan African Countries, the parents and communities play a vital role to improve the effectiveness of school services. First, Parents send their children
to the school to learn and acquire knowledge. Second, community provides financial and material supports to the school to deliver effective education services. Third, community has a vital role in the school management and there are continuous interactions and communications among actors involved in the education services.

Furthermore, Williams (cited in Mitsue, 1999:3) stated that there are three models of community participation in education services. The first model is “traditional community-based education”. In this model, the community provides and takes the responsibility of delivering education services in order to maintain and transmit their traditional knowledge and culture to the next generation. The second model is “government-provided education”. In this model, the government is the sole responsible body in the provision of education services as well as its delivery. However, due to resources and capacity constraints of the government, this model faces challenges in terms of sustainability. Literature indicates that the failure of the government-provided education services has led to the emergency of the “collaborative model”. In this model, the government and the community have both an important role to play in the delivery of education services. The community actively participates in the process of education services delivery whereas the government regulates and provides important inputs and supports in education services to be delivered.

### 2.5.1 Iddir Association as a Community Participation Strategy in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, local communities practice different forms of participation in public sphere. One of these forms is Iddir: voluntary traditional associations that local communities organise by themselves to form a solidarity groups. It is a traditional association practised by the people since long time. These are social associations where people get together and work together for common purpose. Currently these associations play pivotal role in public services. Government uses these associations for multi-purpose including public participation in public services and also political space for the local people to
practice their political rights. However, using these traditional associations is not an end in itself but means of addressing social problems. These traditional associations’ offer window opportunity for the public to participate in the decisions that affects them. But, these traditional associations to be effective depend on how they are used and organised by the public bodies.
Chapter Three: Contextual Factors

3. Democratization and Decentralisation in Ethiopia

3.1 Decentralised Ethnic Federalism

According to the decentralisation literature, political decentralisation enhances ethnic harmony and improves social equality and stability (Smith, 1986; Olowu, 2001 in Adgo Maru, 2005:9). In order to harmonise the divergent and competing political interest of multi-ethnic society in the Ethiopia, EPRDF led government championed and developed a federal constitution that sets foundation for ethnic based federalism system of government. The newly endorsed federal constitution sets and serves as a legal base for establishing ethnic federalism. The major justifications for adopting ethnic based federalism were to establish political harmony among the diverse ethnic groups in the country (Assefa, 2006:131). In line with ‘the national oppression thesis’, ethnic federalism was adopted in order to reverse the political dominance of prolonged ruling class of the state by one ethnic group (Aalen, 2006; Merera, 2002; Young, 1997 in Paulos, 2007: 390). Another justification for adopting ethnic based federalism was to accommodate the political interest of different ethnic groups in the country (ibid). The third justification was to empower local people in order to improve local governance and achieve political stability in the country. The Fourth, reason for adopting this federalism was the geographical disperse of the regions disfavours to centralise power and decision making authority, hence decentralisation was seen a viable option of establishing effective administration at the regional level (Paulos, 2007:395). Therefore all above stated justifications were some political justifications for adopting unpopular type of federalism in a country that never have had a working democracy.

Political decentralisation, in the form of devolution envisages the creation of autonomous and statutory local governments with some degree of autonomy for planning and implementing of socio-economic development
activities, (European Commission, 2007:15). In Ethiopia context, the Federal constitution clearly stipulates nine regional governments and two administrative councils with clear statutory power and boundaries. However, the constitution leaves for the Regional Governments to devolve power and resources to lower tier of government: the district level (Ethiopian Constitution, in Assefa, 2006:132). The Federal Constitution gives much more emphasize on the ethnic and collective identity and regional states rather fraction part of the Regional States, the grass-root level structure at the district.

The constitution, in its article 50, sub article 4, clearly states that the Regional Governments shall transfer ‘adequate power’ to the lowest level of government structure in order to enhance local people’s participation and involvement in the socio-political issues (Federal Constitution, 1995: 25). Although this shows the importance of the local government in the eyes of supreme law of the nation, but so far no laws or proclamation enacted by the House of Representative that explains the mechanism and details on how power should be devolved to lower level. Devolution of authority to the basic unit of local governance is left for the whims of the Regional government of which had delayed practical implementation of the decentralisation process at the local level. As asserted by Poland (1998 in Van der Loop, Theo 2002:16), the current problems of Ethiopian decentralisation is more practical than political holds water tight in the actual implementation of decentralisation in the Ethiopia.

The decentralisation of public service from the Regional States to the local government has taken place in two phases. The first phase of local decentralisation has taken place in the period of 1995 -2001. This phase was more political and administrative type of decentralisation. In this period the power and resources were concentrated in the hands of Regional Governments and Zonal administration. Resources allocation decisions were made at the Regional level. And the political and fiscal autonomy of the local/district government were eroded by the powerful Regional Government and its zonal administrative organ. This era of decentralisation was cementing
and strengthening the Regional State rather than local governments. The Regional Government structure became so powerful; in contrast, the structure at district level was a victim of the powerful regional government as they were not given any fiscal and political autonomy to deal with their socio-economic affairs.

In 2002, after the ‘renewal’ of EPRDF, new waves of local decentralisation have started: more powers and authorities were devolved to the districts. The internal political conflict with in the inner circle of TPLF was a factor that led devolution of resource and power to the lower level. The political ‘renewal’ of EPRDF was the engine of the new changes in the political direction of the ruling party. A comprehensive local decentralisation was adopted by the ruling party (EPRDF), and communicated to the coalition parties such as Somali Democratic Party which is not member of EPRDF but have a political coalition. This type of decentralisation has brought a new energy of devolving political, fiscal and administrative power to the district level. However, some critique says that this was not more than a new political tactics of EPRDF in order to win the political support of the local people, particularly rural dwellers in the upcoming elections.

However, the actual application of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia faces a number of critiques. Paulos, (2007:253) argues that the ethnic based decentralisation of the country that aimed to transfer more administrative and fiscal authorities and devolve genuine political power to lower level has been derailed and hijacked by the political homogeny of top EPRDF leadership. Regional governments are spoon fed by the central government and weak in their political sphere. They have less political authority to design and implement their socio-economic development such as education and health on the basis of the demand of their constituencies.

The Regional political partiers developed a patron-client relation with their counter-part at the national level of which they provide a political support and
become good obedient for the directives given by the national politicians and get in return political support and protection to stay in power. In addition, the Central Government controls almost all important sources of revenue. On average, about 87 percent of the national revenue was collected by the Central Government machineries. Therefore, controlling major sources of income allows the Centre Government to cement patron-client relationship with the leadership of the Regional Governments. Moreover, political homogeneity of EPRDF and weakening the other vital civil society actors such as strong political parties, advocacy groups and working local NGOs were limiting factors of local decentralisation in Ethiopia. Over all, ethnic based decentralisation in Ethiopia is facing multi-facet problems and challenges and getting out of this, is uneasy political task for inclusive political process (Ibid).

3.2 National Education and Training Policy

In the Haile-Sellasie and Derg era education services like other social services were centralised and managed at the centre. During the rule of Haile-Sellasie and Derg Regime the education service coverage was very low and inadequate. A large proportion of school age children in the country were not attending in the basic education services. In 1994, the Government adopted Education and Training Policy. The specific objectives of this policy were “[to] promote relevant and appropriate education and training through formal and informal programmes”. This policy was aiming to provide education service system that builds social harmony and nurtures ‘democratic values’ of the citizens. This policy clearly stipulates the right for the Regional States to use their own language as a teaching language (GOE, 1994: 11). Therefore, one can say that this policy advances the basic principles of ethnic federalism in the country.

This policy advocates that management of education service will be decentralised to the lower level. It also indicates that ‘educational institutions’ will be autonomous in their administrative issues and will be managed and ran
by an elected representative of the involved actors. It also gives a clear
direction and principles on the management of the basic education service,
peoples’ participation and education service deliveries (ibid). However, these
guidelines depend on the Regions to develop and enact relevant regulations on
managing of education services at the local level.

3.3 Local Decentralisation in Somali Region and South
Nation, Nationalities and People Region (SNNPR).

3.3.1 District Decentralisation in Somali Region

Somali Region is one of the Nine Regional States of the Federal Government.
It has three branches of government: the legislative, the executive and the
judiciary. The Regional council is elected every five years. This arrangement,
being its first type of political arrangement in the Region, has faced a number
of constraints. At its creation, the decision making authorities and resources
were concentrated in the hands of the leaders at the Regional level. Corruption
and mal-administration was mush-rooming and common phenomena in the
Region. As Hagman, stated, in 1993, after the Region got its ‘autonomous
power’, the state machineries were confined in few urban areas. Power and
resources were conspicuously used at the Regional level. Resources were not
devolved to the districts. The limited development interventions in the Region
were concentrating in small pockets in the Region, mainly in the few urban
areas (Hagmann, 2000:1)4.

The Region has three levels of administrative structure, i.e., regional,
zonal and district level. The Zonal structure was directly accountable to the
Regional government but does some coordination activities between the
Region and districts. Somali Region was well known for its ‘top-down’
approach in development planning, used to weaken the local institutions at the
district level by planning for them and giving less resource. The administrative
structure at the district was the weakest tie of government in the Regional
structure. The district administration was accountable to the zonal
administration body and they were not elected nor appointed by the local
people, in other words they used to serve as a representative of regional
politicians.

In 2003, the Regional government held its first local election at the district
level and most of the districts in the Region elected their local councils. This
swift local decentralisation was attributed to the political pressure from the
Central Government, persistent poor performance of the Regional sector
bureaus and growing insecurity in large part of the Region, (Respondent from
Somali Region, Education Bureau). Although, local decentralisation was
supported by the majority of the local people in the districts, however, this
hope did not last long as the local governments in Somali Region started to
follow the footsteps of their ‘role-model’ leaders at the Regional level.
Hagmann contended that local decentralisation in Somali Region was un-easy
task as there were no government institutions in the districts, particularly in the
rural areas. The active presence of anti-government forces such as Ogaden
Liberation Front (ONLF) was also negatively affecting the implementation of
intra-regional decentralisation in the Region, (Hagmann, and 2005:1). Local
decentralisation in Somali Region was facing a number of constraints. As
asserted by some authors, lack of political will by the higher level politicians
stands in the way of successful implementation of decentralisation (Smith,
1985; Mannor, 1999 in Nijenhuis, 2002:25), similarly, lack of execution capacity
and basic infrastructures at local level are major factors that are responsible for
the failure of decentralisation (McGinn and Welsh, 1999:76). Local
decentralisation in Somali Region was confronting multifaceted problems. To
mention some, lack of political commitment by the Regional politicians, low
capacity at lower level and in-adequate basic infrastructures were some of the
factors affecting local decentralisation in Somali Region.
However, these challenges on the local decentralisation in the Region stemmed from ill-thought process of local decentralisation in the Region. Local decentralisation in the Region was carried out without much strategising and setting basis of pre-existing local situations. The Regional government did not undertake any local capacity assessment and did not have a clear vision on the local decentralisation in the Region. As a result, pre-matured confidence of the local people on this local decentralisation in Somali Region was fading away. According to the response of questionnaire by the Shinile district Education Office, the poor performance of local government in the district has created a confusion and disappointment of the local people. Local decentralisation did not improve the socio-economic services in the district. Thus, people in the district have started to lose hope and confidence in the local decentralisation, (Shinile District, Education Office, 2008). All these limitations shed light on the poor preparation and lack of political commitment of the Regional Government in the local decentralisation.

3.3.2 District Decentralisation in SNNPR

South Nation, Nationalities and people Regional State (SNNPRS) being one of the Regional States of the Federal Government, has unique diversity and inhabited by multi-ethnic groups. In 1995, the Region held its first local election in the districts. Although, this was the first wave of local decentralisation in the Region, did not bring that much change on the service delivery in the districts (SNNPR, 2002:15). However, this era of local decentralisation was more administrative and quasi-political decentralisation but there was no fiscal decentralisation. And this has created no significant changes in the basic social services at grass-root level. The major public services were delivered through the Zonal departments. Districts were mainly responsible routine and administrative activities.

In 2001, as part of EPRDF’s renewal strategy, devolution of power to the districts was back on the track. This has created favourable conditions for all Regional States including SNNPR, to decentralise more power, particularly fiscal authorities to the districts. In 2002, the Regional Government under took a comprehensive intra-regional decentralisation. Local councils were elected,
and given some level of fiscal autonomy on expenditure assignment and revenue generating authorities. This enabled the local government to exercise their political and fiscal autonomy in socio-economic sphere in their territories (Ibid: 21).

The second-phase of local decentralisation in SNNPR was aimed to improve the service delivery at the local level by devolving decision making authorities to the elected local councils. Another aim was to improve local accountability by allowing local people to elect their local representative and be held accountable for their public duties. The third purpose was to enhance the local participation in the process of delivering effective and responsive service delivery (SNNPR, 2005:4). However, the second phase of local decentralisation in SNNPR focused on shifting power from the zones to the districts. In the process of preparation for decentralisation, the Regional Government conducted extensive local capacity assessment and had designed local decentralisation strategy. In addition, local capacity building supports were given to the districts. Public service delivering responsibilities such as education, health and agricultural extension service were clearly demarcated among the Regional, zonal and district level. Districts started to delivery the newly transferred responsibilities (SNNPR, Education Bureau, 2007).
Chapter Four: Decentralization of Primary Education Service to the Districts: Somali Region versus SNNP Region

4.1.1 Decentralisation of Education Services in Somali Region: The Case of Jigjiga District

Jigjiga district has a population 269,096; it has the largest population size in the Region. The majority of the population in the district live in the rural areas and agriculture is the main sources of livelihood (CSA, 1997 in IPS, 2000:124), about 80 percent of the population in the district were engaged in agriculture sector particularly, mixed farming (Jigjiga District, 2007: no page number). The rainfall of the district being bimodal is 600 mm (IPS, 2000:9). In mid of 1994, Jigjiga district became administrative seat of the Regional Government due to security issue in Gode town: the former seat of the Regional Government. Jigjiga district has relatively better physical and social infrastructures.

Before 2002, primary education service was delivered from the Region. The GER of primary education in the district was 18 percent (Jigjiga District, 2006: no page number). About 82 percent of school age children in the district were attending primary schools. The quality of the primary education was poor; drop outs and repetition rate were high (ibid). Primary education service in the district was delivered without an education institution at the district level. The institutional gap at the district level was one of the major factors that negatively affected primary education service in the district, (Response to the questionnaires, Jigjiga District, 2006). Education services were planed for the district and the involvement of the local people in the process were at minimum level Lack of budget at the district level has also severely constraining primary education service in the district. Primary schools were having neither financial resources nor capacity to mobilise local communities in the district. Although, the Regional Bureau of Education was under taking some primary education related development interventions in the district, the
primary education service was widely remained poor and inefficient. In 2001 and 2002, the Regional Education Bureau spent about Birr 5,602,026 and Birr 9,658,393 on primary education in the district respectively (Somali Region, Education Bureau, and 2003:3). However, these interventions were having less effect on improving primary education service in the district as the bulk of the money was spent on the creation of new education infrastructures.

In 2003, basic public services including primary education were decentralised to the Jigjiga district. Although Jigjiga district did not elect its own local council due to mistrust among the inhabiting clans, the Regional Government, by setting a provisional administration, decentralised administrative and fiscal authorities to the district. In 2004, for the first time, sector offices such as education office accountable to the district administration were established in the district (Somali Region, 2003). In order to enable local government to deliver the newly transferred responsibilities, the Regional government started a substantial budget transfer to the district (Somali Region, Finance & Economic Development Bureau, 2008:3). Once the Regional Government started transferring funds to the district, a new hope of getting primary education service improved in the district was restored in minds of the local people. However, the striking question is, has decentralisation of primary education service to the district improved primary education service in the district? To answer this question, table 1 depicts education service coverage after decentralisation, in the period between 2004 and 2006.

**Table 1: Gross Enrolment of Primary Education in Jigjiga, 2004 - 2006**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School age population</th>
<th>GER</th>
<th>Drop out rate</th>
<th>Repetition Rate</th>
<th>Gender Gap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>66,905</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>68,578</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.212</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>70,292</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Somali Region, Education Bureau, 2007

In table 4 shows that the GER of primary education in Jigjiga was improving in a low rate. In 2005, the GER of primary education in the district had grown by 3 percent. In 2006, it had increased by 4 percent. In 2005, the drop out rate
declined by 4 percent and in 2006 it further decreased by 5 percent. In 2005, the repetition rate decreased by 1 percent, in contrast, in 2006, it had decreased by 4 percent. The girl’s participation in the GER of primary education in the district was far below the boys. On average the gender gap rate was 24 percent, of which shows the participation of girls in primary education was far less than the participation of boys.

4.1.1.1 Devolution of Budget to the District

Fiscal decentralisation as a process of transferring responsibilities and decision making authorities of revenue generation and expenditure assignment responsibilities to deliver public services is indispensible for effective decentralisation. One form of this type of decentralisation is budget transfer from central government to lower level (Brillantes and Cuachon, 2002). This fiscal federalism was one of the important components of intra-regional decentralisation. Enabling the infant local government to deliver their responsibilities, the Regional Government has started to transfer a significant amount of budget to the district. Table 5 shows the total budget of Jigjiga district in general and share of education sector in particular in the period of 2004-2006.

Table 2: Total Budget and the share of education Sector of Jigjiga District, 2004-2006.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Budget</th>
<th>The share of local revenue %</th>
<th>Budget Proportion of education sector</th>
<th>Per-student expenditure (Birr)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>15,445,902</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>16,027,105</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>96.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>18,002,326</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Somali Region, Finance and Economic Development Bureau, 2008:1

As indicated in table 5, the budget allocated to the district starting from 2004 up to 2006 had been growing. The share of revenue of the total budget was very low and insignificant. The over all budget of the district had increased by 3.7 percent in 2005 and also by 12.3 percent in 2006. The budget share for
education sector was increasing as well: in 2004 the budget share for education sector in the district increased by 7 percent while in 2005, it had increased by 8 percent. In 2004, per student expenditure of primary education in the district was Birr 80. In 2005, it had increased by 20.6 percent, and in 2006, it had increased by 29.5 percent. In Jigjiga district, although primary education service was decentralised to the district, primary schools did not have a budget resource at their disposal rather the District Education Office was providing stationeries and educational materials in order to deliver their services (Jigjiga District, Education Office, 2008).

4.1.1.2 Local Actors and Community participation in the Primary Education Service

Major justifications for decentralisation include enhancing local planning capacity, community participation and enabling other actors to contribute in the process of improving the efficiency of service delivery (Griffin quoted in Ribot, 2002:9). In addition, the National Education and Training Policy clearly states that, primary education service should be decentralised to lower level of the government structure. This policy envisages active role of local actors in primary education service (National Education and Training Policy, 1994). The major aim of decentralisation of primary education service to Jigjiga district was to enable all local actors in the district to fully participate in the primary education service in the district. As stated in the mission of Somali Region Education Bureau, the Bureau facilitate and design enabling policies to allow other actors such as business sector, NGOs and communities to fully participate and contribute in the primary education service in the districts (Somali Region, Education Bureau, 2005:10).

In the process of delivering effective public services at the local level, institutional arrangement is necessary and vital. Pre decentralisation, education sector never have had an office in the district. In the period between 1995 and 2003, education service was delivered from the Region. Primary schools in the district were facing severe shortage of resources and
organisational capacities. Primary education service at the local level was suffering twin problems: lack of priority by the Regional Government and lack of awareness of the community (Anonymous, 2008). Additionally, local actors and community were not involved in the process of delivering primary education service in the district. Thus, government was the sole responsible body for providing and delivering primary education service in the district.

In 2003, education office was established in the district. As the Regional Education Bureau stated in its guidelines for decentralisation of primary education services, District Education Office is responsible for allocating resources, planning and managing basic education service in the district. This being very important step towards addressing the ‘critical institutional gap’ that existed at the lower level, education office was not only responsible for providing education service, but also to facilitate and enable other actors such as NGOs, private sector and organised community groups to contribute in the process of delivering primary education service in the district (Somali Region, Education Bureau, 2006).

A part from the role of the government, other actors like private sector, NGOs and Community Based Organisations could have a role to play in the process of improving education service in the district. The question that this paper is addressing in this research is, has the decentralisation of primary education service improved the role of other actors in the primary education services in the district? To answer this critical question there was no concrete information about the role played other actors, but the limited available data shows that the role of other local actors in primary education service in the district was very low and scant.
4.1.2 Decentralisation of primary Education Service: The Case of Shinile District

Shinile district being in Shinile zone is located in the northern part of the Region. It has 27 sub-districts (kebel s) and total land size of 11,780km², predominantly low land area (SC-UK, 2008:9). The population size of the district is estimated to be 89,116. About 80 percent of the population in the district live in the rural areas (IPS, 2000:124), and 90 percent of the rural population in the district are pastoralist. Livestock and its products are the major sources of livelihood of the people in the district (Shinile District, 2006: no page number).

Before, decentralisation, primary education service in Shinile district was delivered without an education office at the local. The education service in the district was mainly confined in the primary schools. As a result, primary education service in the district failed to meet the demand of primary education services of this highly dispersed population in the district (SC-UK, 2008:9). Table 3 shows the gross enrolment of primary education services in the district before decentralisation.

Table 3: The Gross Enrolment of Primary Education Service in Shinile District, 2001-2002.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School age population</th>
<th>GER</th>
<th>Gender gap</th>
<th>Drop out rate</th>
<th>Repetition rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>20,257</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>20,777</td>
<td>0.137</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Somali Region, Education Bureau, 2003

As indicated in the table 3, the GER of primary education in the district was very low. In 2002, GER of primary education in the district increased by 2.7 percent. In 2002, the gender gap in the primary education of Shinile had decreased by 15 percent. In 2002, the drop out rate of the district decreased by 2 percent. In addition, in 2002, the drop out rate decreased by 1 percent and the number of students repeating had decreased by 16 percent. However, in 2001 and 2002, about 89 percent and 86.3 percent of school age children did not have access to primary education service respectively.
After primary education service was decentralised to the District, primary education services began to stand on its own feet. Table 4 gives some indicators of primary education services in the district after decentralisation of primary education service.

Table 4: the Gross Enrolment of primary Education in Shinile District, 2003-2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School Age Population</th>
<th>GER</th>
<th>Gender Gap</th>
<th>Drop out rate</th>
<th>Repetition rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>21,267</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>21,813</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.285</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>22,373</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>22,947</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>22,100</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Somali Region, education Bureau, 2007

Table 4 indicates that, the GER of primary education was improving in a low rate. In 2004, the GER has increased by 2 percent. In 2005, it had increased by 3 percent. In 2006, the GER of primary education in the district had shown its largest growth rate by increasing 6 percent from the precedent year. On the other hand, in 2003, the drop out rate was 32 percent, where as in 2006 the drop out rate had decreased to 21 percent. In 2004, the repetition rate of primary education in the district decreased by 1 percent; while in 2005, it increased by 6 percent. In contrast, in 2006 it had decreased by 4 percent. On average, the gender gap in the primary education service in the district in this period had shown no significant improvement.

4.1.2.1 Devolution of Budget to the District

Fiscal decentralisation is a process of transferring responsibility and decision making authority of revenue generating and expenditure responsibilities to deliver public services to sub-national level or local government. Budget transfer from the centre to lower levels is one form of fiscal decentralisation (Brilliantes and Cuachon, 2002: no page number). In line with general guidelines and principles set by the Regional Education Bureau, districts have the mandate to develop and improve basic education service with in their territory (Somali Region, Education Bureau, 2005). Although, this gives a clear
signal on the extent of local decentralisation in the Region, there were no clearly established laws and regulations on how budget is distributed among the districts, rather it was based on ad-hoc formula of which every year the Regional Government adopts for budget allocation of the districts.

However, from 2003 onwards, the Regional Government started budget transfer to the district. Shinile district according to its budget envelope appropriates its budget to the sector offices. This table 5 shows the total budget and share of education sector of Shinile district.

Table 5: Total Budget and the Budget Share of Education Sector of Shinile District, 2003-2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total budget of the district</th>
<th>Share of local revenue in %</th>
<th>Budget share of education sector</th>
<th>Per-student expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>6,409,335</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>8,652,120</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.157</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>10,366,567</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.103</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Somali Region, Finance & Economic Development Bureau, 2007

According to table 5, the total budget of the district was fluctuating up and down. The local revenue of the district was significant proportion of the total budget of the district. In 2004, the total budget of the district had increased by 35 percent. In 2005, it had also increased by 20 percent. In 2004, the budget share of education sector was 15.7 percent and increased by 89 percent from the precedent year. In contrast, in 2005, the budget share of education sector had decreased by 34 percent. On the other hand, in 2003 per student expenditure of primary education was only Birr 25; whereas in 2004 it has increased more than twofold of the precedent year; in contrast, in 2005 it had decreased by 24 percent.

Primary schools in Shinile district did not have control and authority over the budget. Instead primary schools in the district were getting material support from the Education Office of the district such as stationeries and other educational materials (Shinile District, Education Office, 2008). In the
same token, primary schools were not involved in the budget deliberation process in the district. As per questionnaire response, the Education Office of the district draws the plan of the service without the involvement of primary schools and local communities in the district. Primary schools were neither invited nor asked their contribution in the planning process. Education service plan of the district did not address the important issues and problems of education service in the district (Anonymous, 2008).

4.1.2.2 Local Actors and Community participation in the Primary Education Service

Effective primary education service delivery requires the involvement of all local actors operating in the district. Decentralisation enhances coordination of other actors and contribution of the beneficiaries as it gives the opportunity to involve in the process of delivering (Griffin quoted in Ribot, 2002:9). But, has decentralisation of primary education service enhanced the role of other actors in primary education service in the district? To answer this question it is necessary to look into the roles played and contributions made by different actors in the district. The Education Bureau of Somali Region, stated in its report, decentralisation of primary education service to the district was intended to enable local other actors working in the districts to participate and contribute to the service delivery (Somali Region, Education Bureau, 2005). However, as per the response of the questionnaire by some primary schools in Shinile district, the role of other actors in primary education in the era of this decentralisation was scant and non-existent. In the same token, local communities were not mobilised by the local government in order to participate in the primary education service in the district (Shinile District, 2008).

However, creating education office in the district was not enough to solve primary education related problems in the district. As stated in the response of the questionnaires distributed to the Education Office of Shinile District, education office in the district lacks the financial and institutional capacity to use the capacity of other local actors in the district to improve primary education service (Respondent from Shinile District Education office, 2008).
Community mobilisation was one of the aims of local decentralisation in the Region. But, in Shinile district, local community was not actively involved in the process of primary education service delivery. This was due to lack of capacity and commitment of the leadership of the local government. (Anonymous, 2008).

4.2.1 Decentralisation of Primary Education Service in SNNPR: The Case of Kamba District

Kamba being in Goma-Gofa Zone has a population of about 74,924. About 85 percent of the population in the district live in the rural areas mainly depending on agriculture, particularly mixed farming. The socio-economic services of the district are relatively good as the population in the district are more settled and their livelihood is based on rain-fed mixed farming.

Since 1995, Kamba district have had its own structure with sector offices including education office. Although, the district was having its own offices, the local administration was not having fiscal and political autonomy to devise its own plan and budget. The budget was appropriated through Zonal administration. In this era of decentralisation, it was more administrative and less political autonomy with no fiscal autonomy. The district administrative body was not able to draw their primary education service plan on the basis of the need of its inhabitants rather it used to implement the plan designed by the zonal administration. This table 6 depicts primary education service in the district in the period between 2001 and 2002.

Table 6: Gross Enrolment of Primary Education in Kamba District, 2001-2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School age population</th>
<th>Gender gap</th>
<th>Dropout</th>
<th>Repetition Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>20,218</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>20,715</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: SNNPR, Gamo-Gofa Zone Education Department, 2006

The table 6 shows that the over all GER of primary education in the district was low but increasing in a low rate. In 2001 and 2002 about 70 percent and
64 percent of school age children in the district were not going to primary schools respectively. But, the district was having low drop out and repetition rate. In addition, the girls’ participation in primary education was far less than the boys.

However, in 2002, in order to improve primary education service in the district, the Regional Government under comprehensive local decentralisation by devolving power and authority to deliver basic public services including primary education to the district. This local decentralisation was mainly focusing on shifting of authority from the Zonal level to the district. The District was given full political and fiscal autonomy to design and implement its mandated responsibilities (SNNPR, 2007:19). This table 7 shows some indicators of primary education service in the district in era of second wave of local decentralisation.

Table 7: The Gross Enrolment of Primary Education in Kamba District, 2003 -2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School age population</th>
<th>GER</th>
<th>Gender Gap</th>
<th>Drop out rate</th>
<th>Repetition rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>22,943</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.073</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>27,430</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>28,617</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td>0.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>29,602</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>0.007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Kamba District, Education office, 2007

As shown in table 7, the GER of primary education in the district, except in 2004, was growing significantly. The drop out and repetition rate of primary education in the district were improving as well. On the other hand, in 2004, the gender gap had decreased by 2 percent, and in 2005, it had also substantially decreased by 14 percent. The gender gap, had decreased by 50 percent of the precedent year, but remained the same in 2006.

4.2.1.1 Devolution of Budget to the District

Fiscal decentralisation is a process of transferring responsibilities and decision making authorities of revenue generation and expenditure assignment responsibilities for delivering public services to the lower level government.
One form of this type of decentralisation is budget transfer from central government to lower levels (Brillantes, 2002). Fiscal decentralisation was one of the major components of local decentralisation in SNNPR. Kamba district has had its own local council, but this council was more administrative than a political and fiscal autonomous body. Education Office at the district was not having fiscal autonomy to prioritise its primary education related interventions and expenditure assignments (SNNPR, Gama Gofa Zone Finance and Economic Development Dept, 2006). Education services in the district were planned and budgeted through the Zonal Department of Education without much involvement of lower level structures such as local administration, schools and local communities.

In 2003, the Regional Government undertook comprehensive public service delivery decentralisation. Full fledge basic public service delivering responsibilities including primary education services were transferred to the district. This local decentralisation was more comprehensive and inclusive local decentralisation (SNNPR, Gamo-Gofa Zone, Finance & Economic Development Department, 2007). The Regional Government started to transfer a substantial amount of budget to the district to deliver its public services including primary education. Table 8 shows that the total budget of the district and budget share for education sector.

Table 8: The total Budget and the Share of Education Sector of Kamba District, 2003-2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Budget (Birr)</th>
<th>The share of local revenue (%)</th>
<th>Education sector Budget share (%)</th>
<th>Per-student expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>5,860,550</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>248.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>7,196,000</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>182.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>7,724,876</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>8,010,850</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>7,198,069</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Gamo-Gofa Zone Finance & Economic Development Department, 2007
The above table 8 indicates that the budget allocated to the district was fluctuating. In 2004, the total budget of the district increased by 22.7 percent. In contrary, the share of local revenue of the district declined by 5 percent. And also the budget share for education sector had substantially decreased by 39 percent. In 2005, the total budget of the district increased by 7.3 percent. The share of the local revenue had increased as well. In 2006, the total budget of the district increased but the share of local revenue had decreased by 3 percent and so as the budget share for education sector.

In 2004, per student expenditure of primary education service had decreased by 26.5 percent. In 2005, per student expenditure increased by 26 percent, while in 2006 per student expenditure had decreased substantially by 40 percent. On the other hand, the actual per-student expenditure at school level was much lower than per-student expenditure at district level. On average per-student expenditure at school level in the period between 2003 up to 2006 was Birr 10 for first cycle primary education schools (1-4) and Birr 15 for second cycle primary education schools (4-8) (Kamba District, Education Office, 2007: no page number).

4.2.1.2 Local Actors and Community participations in the Primary Education Service delivery

To deliver effective education service in the district demands the collective action of all local actors in the district. Before district decentralisation, education service in Kamba district was mainly the task of the Government; Education services were planned and budgeted through zonal education department. As there was no strong local institutions engaged in the primary education service in the district, large number of school age children in the district were not getting access to primary education service. In addition, other actors in the district were playing fewer roles in the primary education service in the district (Goma-Gofa, Finance & Economic Development, 2007).

However, primary education service was delivered through zonal education department and the weak education office at district level was not able to meet the primary education service demand of the local people. Although, the local structure was very weak, due to community participation strategy designed by the Regional Government, the local communities in the district were
vigorously participating in the process of primary education service in the district. The communities were contributing in kind by contributing their labour and cereal crop (Questionnaire respondent, Kamba District, Education Office, 2008).

In 2003, primary education service responsibilities and resources were devolved to the district. A comprehensive and locally autonomous local government structure was endorsed. This second wave of local decentralisation in the Region was mainly aimed to build a strong local/district government who can take full charge of basic socio-economic services at the local level. Although, the zonal structure still existed, the Kamba district took full responsibilities of its development interventions (Respondent, from SNNPR, Education Bureau, 2008). As a result, this led a new land escape for primary education service in the district. However, the striking question is, has the adoption of local decentralisation improved the role of other actors in the process primary education service in the district? The answer of this question will shade light on how other actors have contributed in education service in the district after decentralisation. But, as there was no concrete data about the contribution of other actors in the primary education of the district, it is hard to identify the role of other actors in the primary education service. Nevertheless, this vital question deserves further research on how other actors are contributing in the process of delivering primary education service in the district.

4.2.2 Decentralisation of Primary Education Service: the case of Bena-Tsesemay

Bena-Tsesemay district being in Omo zone has a population of 38,212. About 97 percent of the total population in the district being pastoralist live in the rural areas. Livestock is the major sources of livelihoods of the people in this district. (SNNPR, Finance & Economic Development Bureau, 2006). Primary education services was planned and budgeted by Zonal Education Department but delivered through district education office. The Education Office in the district was having neither authority nor autonomy to devise its plan on the
demand of the local people in the district (South Omo Education Department, 2005). However, the first phase of intra-regional decentralisation did not bring a radical power shift from zone to the district level; the district education office was mainly responsible for the implementation of the plan and programs designed by the Zonal Education Department. In this top-down planning approach, the local communities in the district were playing a role in the primary education service in the district. Local communities on the basis of their localities and social groups were contributing material resources, particularly in the construction of new schools. This table 9 presents some indicators of primary education service in the Bena-Tsesemay district in the period between 2000 and 2002.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School age population</th>
<th>Total Gross Enrolment</th>
<th>GER</th>
<th>Gender Gap</th>
<th>Drop-out rate</th>
<th>Repetition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>7,649</td>
<td>2,718</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>0.073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>7,720</td>
<td>3,020</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>7,684.5</td>
<td>2,869</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.067</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: SNNPR, Finance & Economic Development Bureau, 2007

According to table 9, in 2001, the GER of primary education in Bena Tsesemay district was 35 percent. In 2002, the GER of primary education service in the district increased by 4 percent. The drop out rate of the primary education of the district was 6.9 percent, where as the repetition rate was 9 percent by increasing 1.7 percent from the previous year. On the other hand, in 2002 the gender gap of the primary education of the district was 34 percent by showing a growth of 8 percent from the precedent year.

In 2003, the SNNPR devolved more authorities and power to the districts. Bena Tsesemay being a pastoralist dominated district was part of this local decentralisation in the Region. Local council was elected and locally autonomous local government institutions were established in the district (SNNPR, Finance & Economic Development Bureau, 2007). On the top of that, the Regional Government through the Zonal administration devised and
implemented a local capacity program for the district. After Bena-Tsesemay has got local capacity building programs, has started to strength its local capacity to manage and run education services in the district (Bena-Tsesemay Education Office, 2008). This table 10 shows that some indicators of primary education service in the district.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School age population</th>
<th>GER</th>
<th>Gender gap</th>
<th>Dropout rate</th>
<th>Repetition Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>8,081</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>8,257</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>8,601</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>8,878</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>8,454</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.062</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: SNNPR, Finance & Economic Development Bureau, 2007

As table 10 indicates, the GER of primary education service in the district decreased in 2004 by 2 percent but started to increase afterwards. In 2005, the GER of primary education in the district had shown small margin growth rate. In general, in the period between 2003 and 2006, the average GER of primary education in the district was 40 percent. This shows that about 60 percent of the school age children in the district were out of the primary schools. On the other hand, throughout this period the district has had a very low drop out and repetition rate.

4.2.2.1 Devolution of Budget to the District

Fiscal decentralisation is a process of transferring responsibilities of revenue generating and expenditure assignment responsibilities and authorities for public service deliver to lower level. One form of this type of decentralisation is budget transfer from central government to a lower level (Brilliant, 2002). Bena Tsesemay district being one of the pastoralist dominated districts in the Region got more fiscally autonomous local government. The budget transfer from the Region was one of the viable sources of fund for delivering the primary education service in the district (SNNPR, Finance & Economic Development Bureau, 2007).
Development, 2005). This table 11 shows the total budget of the district and the share of education sector in the period between 2003 and 2006.

Table 11: Total Budget of Education sector Budget Share of Bena-Tsesemay, 2003-2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total District's Budget</th>
<th>The share of local revenue</th>
<th>The share Education Sector Budget</th>
<th>Per-student expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>4,039,091</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>4,959,483</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>5,324,040</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>5,521,077</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>4,960,922</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: SNNPR, Finance & Economic Development Bureau, 2007

As in the table 11 indicates, the budget of the district was growing. In contrast, the share of local revenue was having mixed trend. In 2004, the budget share for education sector had decreased by 17 percent. In contrast, in 2005, the budget share for education sector in the district had increased by 16 percent. But, in 2006, the budget share for education sector had declined by 6 percent. Per-student expenditure of the district was not also stable as well. In 2004, per-student expenditure had decreased by 27.4 percent. In contrast, in 2005 it increased by 64 percent. But, in 2006 it had decreased by 14 percent.

In addition, the district devolved budget to primary school level. The district distributes budget among primary education schools on the basis of number of students in the schools. On average, in the period between 2003 and 2006, the actual per-student expenditure was Birr 10 for first cycle primary education schools (1-4) and Birr 15 for second cycle primary schools (4-8) (Kamba District, Education Office, 2007: no page number).

4.2.2.2 Local actors and Community Participation in the Primary Education service delivery

To have effective and sustainable primary education service, the role and contribution of other local actors and community is vital. In 2002 and the years before, primary education in Bena-Tsesemay district was facing a severe shortage of resources and facilities. Although, education office existed in the
district, primary education service was delivered through the Zonal Education Department (SNNPR, Finance & Economic Development, Bureau, 2005). Primary education service in the district was the sole responsibility of the Government (Bena-Tsesemay District, 2008).

The role of other local actors in the district was limited and scant. The local NGOs in the zone were less visible in the primary education service in the district. In addition, the private sector was not involved in the primary education service in the district (Respondent from Action Aid, Ethiopia, 2008). Although, local communities were demanded to effectively participate in primary education services in the district, lack capacity by the local administrative bodies were severely handicapping the effective participation of the local people in the primary education service in the district (Respondent from Regional Education Bureau, 2008).

In 2002, the second phase of local decentralisation in the Region, local government was the centre-piece of this decentralisation. One of the major aims of this comprehensive local decentralisation was to enhance and improve the role of local actors in the primary education service in the district. Thus, the newly elected local council started to mobilise the local communities in order to improve primary education services in the district. Local community started to strength its voluntarily participation in the process of improving education services in the district by contributing financial and other material resources (Respondent, from SNNPR, Education Bureau). This shows that local people by using their past experience enhanced their contribution in the primary education service. However, the question is how do local community in the district participates in primary education service in the district? According to written reports and the response of the questionnaire by the Regional Education Bureau, the communities in the district participate in primary education service in the district through ‘parent-teacher associations at the school level and its traditional social associations like Ider: idir is a solidarity group of people who supports each-other and cooperate together for their common interests (Respondent from SNNPR, Education Bureau). However, the ‘parents-
teacher committee’ at the school level involves more in the routine activities of the primary schools. Although districts allocates budget to the schools, this budget falls short to meet the demand of the schools, thus the school management in collaboration with the parents through parent-teacher committee, were mobilising local people and get communities’ support in terms of cash and in-kind, of labour and material contribution (Respondent from Key Afer Primary School in Bena- Tsessemay District, 2008).

The other local actors particularly local NGOs and business groups have a vital role to play in the primary education service in the district. The role of private sector in the primary education service in the district was almost scant and non-existent (Bena-Tsesemay District, Education Office, 2008). On the other hand, development organisations such as local NGOs had played a minimum role in term of the scale of the need of the district. One of these local NGOs was Pastoralist Research Development Organisation. This organisation operates in the district and provides support in the area of community awareness creation in order the community effectively participate primary education service. It also provides financial support in order to upgrade the teaching skills of the primary schools teachers and alternative basic education facilitators (Respondent from Pastoralist Research Development, 2008).
Chapter Five: Major Findings and Analysis

5.1 Primary Education Service in Agro pastoralist Districts: Jigjiga versus Kamba District

In SNNPR and Somali Region, primary education service in these districts had shown some positive change over time. Despite the overall improvement, decentralisation of primary education service had a different effect on GER of primary education services in the districts of these regions. This table 12 compares some indicators of education service of Jigjiga in Somali Region versus Kamba district in SNNPR.

**Table 12: Comparison of education service indicators of Jigjiga versus Kamb district**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>School age Population</th>
<th>GER</th>
<th>Drop out rate</th>
<th>Gender gap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Jigjiga</td>
<td>Somali Region</td>
<td>66,905</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kamba</td>
<td>SNNP</td>
<td>27,430</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Jigjiga</td>
<td>Somali Region</td>
<td>68,578</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kamba</td>
<td>SNNPR</td>
<td>28,617</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Adopted from Somali Region, Education Bureau: 2007; SNNPR, Gamo-Gofa Zone Education Department, 2007:2-3.

According to table 12, the school age population in Jigjiga district was more than twice of that of Kamba district. In 2004 and 2005, the GER of primary education in Kamba district was higher than the GER of Jigjiga district by 9 percent and 15 percent respectively. On the other hand, the drop out rate of Jigjiga district in the period between 2004 and 2005 had decreased by 16 percent but this rate was very much higher than rate of Kamba district. In 2005, the gender gap of Jigjiga district was higher than that of Kamba district by 8 percent. This higher gender gap of primary education in these districts shows that the girls’ participation of primary education in both districts (Jigjiga and Kamba) was far less than the boy’s participation.
This shows that primary education service in Kamba district had outperformed primary education service in Jigjiga district by having higher GER of primary education, less drop out rate and low repetition rate. Despite, the relatively better performance of Kamba district, in 2004 about 54 percent of school age children in Kamba district and 69 percent of school age children in Jigjiga district were out of the primary schools. If we look at, how primary education service delivered at local level? Both districts primary education service were mainly delivered by the government, however in Kamba district, due to pre-existence of government structure at lower level and community participation strategy in place, primary education service was delivered through the involvement of local communities.

5.1.1 Budget Resource for Primary Education Service

In the local decentralisation, Somali Region and SNNPR have devolved fiscal resource and authorities to lower level. Budget devolution was one of the important components of district decentralisation in both regions. This table compares primary education expenditure of Jigjiga district versus Kamba district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total Budget of the district</th>
<th>Local revenue share</th>
<th>Budget share for education sector</th>
<th>per student expenditure (Birr)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Jigjiga</td>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>15,445,902</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kamba</td>
<td>SNNPR</td>
<td>7,196,000</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>67.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Jigjiga</td>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>16,027,105</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>96.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kamba</td>
<td>SNNPR</td>
<td>7,724,876</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>113.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Adapted from Somali Region, Finance and Economic Development Bureau, 2007; SNNPR, Goma-Gofa Zone Finance & Economic Development Department, 2007

As stated in this table 13, in 2004, Jigjiga district have had a larger total budget than Kamba-District. But, Kamba district was having larger proportion of local revenue share than Jigjiga district. In 2004, the budget share of education
sector of Jigjiga was higher than that of Kamba district by 8 percent. In 2004 per student expenditure of primary education in Jigjiga was higher than that of Kamba district by 15.25 percent. In 2005, the budget share for education sector of both districts were equal, however, primary Education expenditure per student in Jigjiga district was lower than that of Kamba district by 14.7 percent.

In 2005, the budget share of education sector of Jigjiga district had increased by 23.9 percent, whereas the budget share of education sector of Kamba district had decreased by 26.2 percent. According to this data, Jigjiga district was spending larger share of its budget on primary education service than Kamba district. Although, this large expenditure on primary education service of Jigjiga district shows some degree of commitment by the local government, nevertheless, this huge expenditure on primary education services did not achieve high GER of primary education service in the district due to inefficiency and lavish use of resources in the district. Although, it’s not quantifiable the actual budget spent at the school level, but the available data shows that no budget was given to the schools. Therefore, the primary schools in the district were not having budget at their discretion. As a result primary education service was very poor and scant in the district as it faces sever shortage of resources.

5.1.2 Local Actors and Community Participation in the Primary Education Service Delivery

The role of other local actors in the process of improving primary education services in the district is vital. Primary education service in Kamba and Jigjiga district, the role of local communities and other actors were varying. In Kamba district, the local people were participating in education services as an individual of being member of parent-teacher committee and as a social group in the community, through their traditional association, idder (Respondent from SNNPR, Education Bureau, 2008). In contrast, in Jigjiga district, local people were not participating in primary education service in organised manner. Although, primary education service was transferred to the district, Jigjiga district administration was not able to mobilise the local people to participate in the primary education service. In contrast, local government Kamba district
had mobilised the local communities in order to participate in the primary education service in the district. People were participating through their social groups by contributing their labour, cash and materials such as iron-sheets and other construction materials (Kamba district, Education Office, 2008:6) This indicates that due to the social ties and norms and mobilisation strategy in place, the local communities in Kamba district were fully participating in the process of delivering primary education service through their traditional associations, the *Iddir*. However, one can argue that *Iddir* association being a multiple purpose, to use as a community participation strategy only increase its social burden on the associations and won’t improve primary education service at the local level. Nevertheless, as per the data collected shows, using these traditional associations, *Iddir* as a strategy for community participation had achieved greater GER of primary education service in Kamba district.

Local actors could have had a vital role in the process of improving and delivering primary education service in this district. Primary education service deliveries being transferred to the district, the collective action of local actors were anticipated. However, this opportunity was less utilised in Kamba district and unutilised in Jigjiga district. In Kamba district, local NGOs plays a role to improve education services, where as private sector plays the lesser role in primary education service in the district. On the other hand, Jigjiga district, albeit being the seat of the Regional Government, the contribution of other actors at the district level was very low and invisible.

5.2 Primary Education Service in the Pastoralist Dominated Districts: Shinile versus Bena-Tsesemay District

Shinile district in Somali Region and Bena Tsesemay district in SNNPR are both pastoralist dominated districts. According to the data analysis, primary education service of Bena-Tsesemay district has out out-performing primary education service in Shinile district. Bena-Tseemay district was having higher GER, fewer drops out rate and low repetition rate than Shinile district. Thus, this table 14 compares some primary education service indicators of Shinile district and Bena-Tsesemay district.

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According to table 14, the size of the school age population in Shinile district was more than twice of that of Bena-Tsesemay district of SNNPR. In 2004, the GER of primary education of Ben Tsesemay was more than twice higher than the GER of primary education in Shinile district. The drop rate of primary education in Bena-Tsesemay district was substantially lower than the drop out rate of primary education in Shinile district. Although, Bena-Tsesemay district was having higher gender gap than Shinile district, both districts girls’ participation in primary schools was lower than boys. This large gender gap was attributable to socio-cultural factors in pastoral society such as social norms in place. In pastoral society, the school age girls are predominantly engaged in reproductive activities than attending primary schools.

5.2.1 Budget Resource for Primary Education Service

Both Regional Governments had given more fiscal autonomy plus regional subsidy to the districts. Shinile and Bena-Tsesamay Districts were having fiscal autonomy to some extent for their expenditure assignments and revenue generating responsibilities. This table 15 compares the total budget and budget share for education sector of Shinile district versus Bena-Tsesemay district.

Table 14: Comparison of education service indicators of Shinile versus Bena-Tsesemay District, 2004-2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>School age children Population</th>
<th>GER</th>
<th>Drop out rate</th>
<th>Gender gap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Shinile</td>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>21,813</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bena-Tsesemay</td>
<td>SNNP</td>
<td>8,257</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Shinile</td>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>22,373</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bena-Tsesemay</td>
<td>SNNPR</td>
<td>8,601</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Adopted from Somali Region, Education Bureau: 2007; SNNPR, Gamo Gofa Zone Education Department, 2007:2-3.
Table 15: Budget Resources of Shinile versus Bena-Tsesemay District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total Budget</th>
<th>The share of local revenue</th>
<th>Budget of Education Sector</th>
<th>Per-student expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Shinile</td>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>8,652,120</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>62.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bena-Tsesemay</td>
<td>SNNPR</td>
<td>4,959,483</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>156.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Shinile</td>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>10,366,567</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td></td>
<td>113.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bena-Tsesemay</td>
<td>SNNPR</td>
<td>5,324,040</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>259.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Adapted from Somali Region, Finance and Economic Development Bureau, 2007; SNNPR, Finance & Economic Development Bureau, 2007

As indicated in the table 15, Shinile district was having larger total budget than Bena-Tsesemay district. This is due to the larger population size of Shinile district. In-terms of the share of local revenue, Shinile district was doing better than Bena-Tsesamay district. On the other hand, in 2004, the Bena-Tsesemay district allocated larger proportion of its budget for education sector than Shinile district. Per student expenditure of Bena-Tsesemay district was more than two times of that of Shinile district. In 2005, the budget share for education sector of Bena-Tsesamy district was more than three times of the budget share for education sector of Shinile district. In-terms of per student expenditure, Bena-Tsesamy district allocated more than two times of per student in Shinile district. Although Shinile districts had more budget than Bena-Tsesamay district, the budget share for education sector and per-student expenditure at district level was very much lower than that of Bena-Tsesemay district. Moreover, the Bena-Tsesemay district had devolved budget to the primary school level. Primary schools were allocated budget on the basis of number of students in the school. Per-student was allocated Birr 10 for the first cycle (1-4), where as Birr 15 was allocated per-student for the second-cycle of primary school (4-8). This motivates the primary schools to increase enrolment of the students in the school as it affects their resources. But, In Shinile district, primary schools have had no budget at their disposal. This was
one of the factors de-motivating primary schools to work hard to increase the number of students in the school. Instead, the education office in Shinile district had been providing stationeries and other educational materials on erratic base for the primary schools.

Therefore, this analysis shows that Bena-Tsesemay district allocated the lion’s share of its budget for education sector and spent more on per student than Shinile district. In contrast, Shinile district was spending on primary education service and per student less than 50 percent of that of Bena-Tsesemay district. On the other hand primary schools in Bena-Tsesemay have a budget at their disposal. But, primary schools in Shinile district were lacking budget resources at their discretion.

5.2.2 Local Actors and Community Participation in the Primary Education Service

In pastoral areas, due to the population disperse, the conventional education services and sole sponsorship of government in primary education service proved to be difficult and economically infeasible. Facilitation and contribution of other actors is important in the process of delivering primary education service. The major aims of this local decentralisation in Somali Region and SNNPR were to improve primary education service, and enhance the role and contribution of other actors in the district. However, has decentralisation of primary education service improved the role of other actors in the districts? To answer this vital question, we need to look at the data. In Shinile district, government was the sole provider and delivering body of primary education service in the district. In contrast, in Bena-Tsesemay, although there were no significant contributions by other actors in the district, some local NGOs such as Pastoralist Research Development Organisation (PRDO), were providing technical as well as financial support to deliver education services in the district. Therefore, the role of other local actors was non-existent in Shinile district and scant in Bena-Tsesemay district.

Local community participation as a strategy is believed to help improve primary education service at local level. Community participation in Shinile
district was chiefly confined to the parent-teacher committee at the school level. In Shinile district local communities were not participating in the primary education due to lack of mobilisation and poor awareness of the local communities in the district. In contrast, in Bena-Tsesemay district, local community was participating in the process of delivering primary education service as an individual and as a social group. Community was participating in primary education service through their traditional organisations such as ‘Iddir’: a traditional solidarity group that have social and economic cooperation (Bena-Tsesemay Education Office, 2008). However, one can argue that the nature of ‘Iddir” association of being multipurpose might not be able to offer great opportunity for improving primary education service in the district. But, as a matter of fact, although this claim might exist, however, if these traditional associations are given the necessary capacity building support, they are capable of providing significant contribution in the primary service delivery. Although the role of other actors of these districts in primary education service was hard to prove, the available data shows that the local actors such as local communities and some Local NGOs were participating in primary education service in Bena-Tsesemay district. In contrast, in Shinile district the role of other local actors in primary education was negligible.
Chapter Six: Conclusion and Policy Implications

This study has revealed that primary education service in Somali Region was performing worse than primary education service in SNNPR due to local capacity constrains at the district level, inefficiency of service delivery and lack of local community’s participation in the service. Decentralisation of primary education service in Somali Region did not improve on how primary education service is delivered in the districts. The poor performance of primary education service in Somali Region was attributable to mal-administration, miss-use of tiny resource in the Region and low implementation capacity at lower level of Government structure. This low capacity of the district was the legacy of the long period service delivery dominance by the Regional Government.

Therefore, primary education service in SNNPR was outperforming primary education service in Somali Region, due to institutional capacity at district level, local people’s participation and capacity building support provided by the Regional Government. In addition, primary schools in SNNPR have had authority over budget and were participating in the budget deliberation process at the district level. In contrast, primary schools in Somali Region were excluded in the planning process of primary education service. In the same token, primary schools in the Region were not having budget resources at their discretion.

To sum up, decentralisation of primary education service to the district fail to change and improve primary education service delivery in the districts. The district governments were having neither capacity nor commitment to deliver effective primary education service at the local level. Unlike primary education service in SNNRP, primary education service in Somali Region was not inclusive of all local actors. Local actors such as local NGOs and business groups were not participating in the service. Similarly, local communities in the districts were neither mobilised nor organised to participate in the primary education service. In addition, primary schools in Somali Region were not
having budget at their discretion. Primary schools were having resources scarcity to delivery effective primary education service. More over, the tiny resources were lavishly used at the district level. Local capacities in the districts were not properly utilised. To put in nutshell, decentralisation of primary education service in Somali Region has failed to improve primary education service in the Region due to lack of political commitment and capacity by the politicians of the Region to mobilise the local resources in order to improve the service.

Therefore, to reverse the poor performance of primary education service in Somali Region, there are some policy implications. First, the Regional Government using the experience of SNNPR needs to review its decentralisation strategy, particularly decentralisation of primary education service to the district. The Regional Government should assess critically the capacity constraint at the local level. Second, the Regional Government should provide comprehensive capacity building to the districts. This will enable the District Governments to develop their capacity in order to deliver effective primary education service. Third, set up primary education service standard for the districts. This will serve a benchmark for delivering primary education in the districts. Fourth, enable other local actors other in the districts to participate primary education service. This will increase the budget envelope for the primary education service and also easy the budget burden from the Government. The last policy implication for improving primary education service is to use community participation as a strategy to improve primary education service in the Region. Community participation as a strategy will offer a window opportunity to improve primary education service in the Region. Local communities as owners and recipients of primary education service will offer great opportunity for improving primary education service in the districts.
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Annexes

Gross Enrolment of Primary Education in Somali Region in the period 1998-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School age population</th>
<th>Gross enrolment</th>
<th>GER</th>
<th>Gender Parity index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>771,607</td>
<td>81,790</td>
<td>0.106</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>793,590</td>
<td>103,166</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>782,598</td>
<td>92,478</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Somali Region, Education Bureau, 2005:19

The Gross Enrolment of Primary Education in Somali Region in 2003 and 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School age Population</th>
<th>GER</th>
<th>Student text ration</th>
<th>Gender Parity Index (GPI)</th>
<th>The National Gender Parity Index (GPI)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>839,539</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>1:10</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>888,505</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>1:5</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Somali Region Education Bureau, 2005:13

The Gross enrolment of Primary Education in SNNPR, 2000-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School age population</th>
<th>Gross Enrolment rate</th>
<th>Student section ratio of 1st cycle</th>
<th>Teacher-Student ratio of 1st cycle</th>
<th>Gender Parity index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2,560,000</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>1:76</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>2,635,000</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1:79</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S/no</td>
<td>Variables</td>
<td>Characteristics</td>
<td>Indicators</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1    | Decentralisation of education services delivery | • Assignment of education service delivery to the district  
• Budget allocation for education sector  
• Local government capacity to deliver education services in the district  
• Resources allocation to education services  
• Local Governance in education services: different local actors playing their role in the process of delivering local demand driven education services | • Education service Functions assigned to the local government/district.  
• Proportion of budget allotted to education sector and its trends  
• Gross Enrolment ratio  
• Education Sector budget  
• Budget Devolution to the primary Schools |
| 2    | Community Participation in Education service delivery | • Community involvement of Education service delivery, starting from problem identification to the monitoring and evaluation  
• Community collective action in the process of improving education service delivery  
• Community mobilisation  
The role of the local government/district administration in the process of mobilising the community | • Number of CBOs working in education sector in the district  
• The share of the community in the construction of schools  
• The community’s contribution in the education service expenditure |
| 3    | Local institutions’                                 | • The enabling role of Regional                                                                                                                                   | • The proportion of inter-government |

71
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>capacity</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Local government capacity of providing education service: setting standard and regulation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Actors, other than LG involved in education service delivery in the district</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Local Government strategy of promoting education services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rules and regulations governing the responsibilities and roles of NGOs, CBOs, teacher parent associations, school management committee, village education committee and community based organisations dealing education services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer from the Region to the district</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Technical support provided by the region and zone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Number of CBOs and NGOs working education sector in the district</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The budget support provided by the NGOs or donors to for education sector in the district</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Developing Education Development strategy at the district level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The existing education sector related associations (teachers association and parent &amp; teachers association)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. Efficient and Effective education Service</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Improved access to education service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Minimise drop out students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Minimise repetition students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Increased education service coverage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Gross enrolment rate of primary school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Student/section ratio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Average primary school drop out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Average primary school repetition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Primary school completion rate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. Quality of education Service</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Increased qualified teachers in primary school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Increased qualified teachers in secondary school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Open-ended Questionnaires for Education Bureaus/Offices

Q1. What were the major characteristics of education service in the district before decentralisation?

Q2. Who has initiated decentralisation of education service to the district?

Q3. What are the major responsibilities of education service assigned to the local government / district?

Q4. Does the local Government or district administration have the capacity to properly implement these functions? Please in both answers yes/no give your justifications?

Q6. Does education sector in the district get a technical support from the Regional Government? If yes please specify it.

Q7. Does local community participate in education service delivery? If yes, in what ways do they participate?

Q7. What are the contributions by the local community in education services in the district?

Q8. Does the District education office have a strategy on community participation? If yes, please, state its approach of how this strategy is going to be implemented?

Q9. What are the contributions of other actors such as NGOs and CBOs in education service delivery in the district?

Q10. Why do students drop out from the schools?

Q11. Why school completion rate, particularly grade 10th and grade 8th is lower in this region/district?
Q12. Since education services are decentralised to the district, what are the major achievements made in education service in the district?

Q13. What are problems and obstacles in education service delivery in the district?

14. What has to be done in order to improve education service in the Region/ District

Open-ended Questionnaires for NGOs and Community Based Organisations

Q1. Why do this NGO /CBO involve education services in this district? And what is its strategy of improving education services in the district?

Q2. What are the major contributions of this NGO or CBO in the primary education service in the district?

Q3. How does this CBO or NGO organise local community in order to participate in education service in the district?

Q4. What are the major contributions of the local people in the process of improving education service in the district?

Q5. What are the major achievements of education services through community participation?

Q6. What are the relationships between the local government and this NGO/CBO in the process of delivering education services?

Q7. What are major obstacles faced by this organisation in the process of mobilising local community in order to improve education service in the district?

Q8. What are the possible solutions of these obstacles?
Q9. What are the contributions of other actors such as NGOs and CBOs in education service delivery in the district?

Q10. Why do students drop out from the schools?

Q11. Why school completion rate, particularly grade 10th and grade 8th is lower in this region/district?

Q12. Since education services are decentralised to the district, what are the major achievements made in education service in the district?

Q13. What are problems and obstacles in education service delivery in the district?

Q14. What has to be done in order to improve education service in the Region/District?